

CHAPTER TWO - NINETEENTH CENTURY DOCTORS' PORTRAITS

In order to see how much of a change the new portraits of doctors and surgeons that began to appear after the mid-1880s represented, it is first necessary to look at the doctors' portraits that were painted throughout the century. This chapter will examine a number of them. These earlier portraits adhered to the standard conventions of portraiture in general and the doctors portrayed in them were shown very similarly to other successful men. Nothing in these conventional portraits identified the doctor as a medical practitioner. A neutral background and the absence of any medical accessories served instead to reinforce the idea that this person simply belonged to his social milieu. He might just easily have been a lawyer or banker. Although a text might be present, the portrait did not identify the subject as a leading surgeon or researcher.

Medicine made significant progress in the 1880s, and at first it might seem that the advances of that decade engendered the new style of doctors' portraits. But medical knowledge had been increasing steadily throughout the century without causing any great change in medical portraiture. The number of

advances in French medical science before 1885 (the date of Pasteur's public demonstration of his rabies vaccine) was significant. Toby Gelfand's list of the "emerging medical sciences," of the early part of the century included "pathological anatomy; specialization; methodological innovations (in particular, the application of statistics to public health, pathology, and therapy); and a host of new instruments and diagnostic techniques such as the stethoscope for mediate auscultation." [1] Erwin Ackerknecht, has maintained that although it is somewhat meaningless to speak of transition periods in medicine, the decades between 1794 and 1848 did witness progress in the field. "Their medicine was not our modern 'laboratory medicine'; but it was not ancient 'bedside medicine' either....It was a medicine based on techniques and concepts unknown to the ancients and their followers - one based on physical examination by hand and ear, on pathological anatomy, on statistics, and on the concept of the lesion." [2] If the store of basic medical knowledge had been enlarging, the ability of doctors to cure and to heal remained extremely difficult to demonstrate. Despite their improved understanding of anatomy and physiology, for most of the century physicians and surgeons could not do much for their

patients, and the public remained largely unconvinced that medicine was really more effective. Portraits of doctors did change when the image of medicine changed, that is, with the Pasteurian Revolution. But even this revolution, although providing a powerful basis for presenting medicine as effective and scientific, was not, in itself enough to explain the new emphasis on science in the portraits of the leading members of the medical profession.

Most doctors whose portraits will be discussed in this chapter played major roles in medical research. This was the new "'hospital medicine,'" [3] and these doctors worked in the major hospitals of Paris (or in a few cases, another major city such as Lyon). Despite their eminent positions and contributions, their portraits give no hint of their clinical or hospital experience. The depiction of those experiences was clearly not thought of as the way to glorify the portrait's subject. Rather than asking the artists to portray them during a dramatic moment of their careers, they commissioned their portrait painters to show them simply as successful and serious men.

For most of the nineteenth century, portrait painting was considered a less important field

of art, a way for painters to earn enough money to support their more serious work, religious and history painting. In the early years of the Restoration, E.F.A.M. Miel wrote, "History painting occupies the highest rank in the hierarchies of genres....I consider the full-length portrait as a dependence of history painting. Several portraitists have proven that they are talented enough to paint history paintings." [4] As the century progressed, more people wanted their portraits made and could afford to commission artists to paint them. By 1831, critics were already complaining that the number of portraits being exhibited at the official Salons was becoming excessive. One reviewer, Auguste Jal, counted 1,250 portraits at that year's Salon. He thought that the large increase was due to several factors, including the needs of artists and the desires of a growing middle class. Jal believed that artists and subjects were equally responsible for the increasing interest in portraiture. Louis-Phillipe's government did not seem to be so willing to spend money on paintings with historical or religious subjects as had the previous royal house. Artists sought commissions among those who had some wealth yet did not live in homes large enough to fit canvases with the dimensions of

traditional history painting. He described a "new class of art buyers whose homes did not have rooms large enough to receive a painting that measured twenty feet. Because the constitutional government is essentially economy-minded in nature and because religious beliefs are quite missing among us, artists were thus forced to exploit the amours-propres or the familial affections of their models in the most commercial of all art forms." [5] Two years later, in 1833, Charles Lenormant wrote, "On se plaint a toutes les expositions de la quantite de portraits qui encombre les salles." [6] C.P. Landon, another contemporary critic, added, "Quant aux portraits, toujours si nombreux depuis quelques annees, ils ont depasse cette fois toute proportion. Comme chez nos voisins d'outre-mer, si cela continue, nos expositions n'offriront bientot plus qu'un galerie des personnages opulens [sic] de l'epoque." [7] The trend continued through the following decades and in 1880, Emile Michel commented that "Le nombre depuis longtemps inquietant des portraits va toujours croissant d'un Salon a l'autre." [8] The number of portraits of medical practitioners was multiplying as well.

According to William Gerdts, in America, "medical portraits were an increasing factor in the

oeuvres of just about all of the many fine portrait specialists in the nineteenth century," [9] Even a brief survey of nineteenth century Salon catalogues indicates that his statement has validity also for France. Medical portraits "abound" (Gerdt's word for the American situation, p. 86). This trend continued during the early decades of the Third Republic and Gerdt's view that physicians portraits were the single most-frequent "medical" subject in oil paintings is correct for France as well. Salon catalogues of the 1870s, 80s and 90s frequently contain six or more entries with the title, "Portrait de M. le docteur...."[10] In America, according to Gerdt, the primacy of portraiture was earned almost by default. Other possible representations of medicine "in action" seemed not to have any widespread appeal. As Gerdt writes, "scenes relating to medicine and science were seldom treated in genre pictures....The distressing or tragic side of everyday life seldom appeared, and pictures involving doctors and medicine, sickness and death were found to be repugnant." [10b] In France, on the other hand, many genre paintings of ordinary doctors were sent to the Salons. The titles of such works, "Convalescence," "Un Accident," "Chez Le Pharmacien," "Le Medecin de Campagne," or "Le Medecin

du Quartier," appear year after year. They contrasted quite clearly with the portraits of individual medical practitioners.

Doctors' portraits have not been studied as a special category, as has been noted in several preliminary works. Gerdt points out that in the United States "'medical art' did not constitute an accepted genre, neither within a thematic hierarchy nor as a speciality of artists, singly or in groups." [11] Thus his book, although mostly a study of doctors' portraits, contains a variety of art works. The explanation for this gap does not seem to lie in the fact that no one has pointed out that it hadn't been done. In 1944, Grete De Francesco wrote that "As yet no one has written a comprehensive history of the portrait, to say nothing of any special historical study of the doctor's portrait." [12] The studies so far have been quite limited, though useful. Two short articles by Helen T. Konjias, "Medical Portraits of the Eighteenth Century," and "Medical Portraits of the Nineteenth Century," are just very preliminary sketches. Bruno Kisch's 1957 chronological survey of collections of medical portraits, "Iconographies of Medical Portraits," presents the researcher an extensive amount of material for review. [13]

The artists doctors chose to paint them had studied with many different teachers - David, Gros, Delacroix or Ingres to name just a few from the early years of the nineteenth century - and their styles reflect the different ideas of art and painting. Despite their often opposite views, the portraits of doctors they made had many common features. They frequently showed their doctors holding open books or manuscripts. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries certain medical instruments - urine flasks, for example - had often been included in portraits to serve as emblems of the profession. When the new style of portraiture began in France after 1886, doctors were again shown with medical instruments. In the years between, the medical text was generally the sole accessory painted. The nineteenth century doctor was often painted in his academic robes, flowing cravat and stiff collar around his neck. His Legion of Honor or other medals were visible on his lapel. If not in professorial garb, in dress uniform if a military doctor, the subject was portrayed wearing jacket and tie. [13b] These doctors were not wearing their hospital tabliers. Thus the accessories which glorified the doctor, whether physician or surgeon, pointed to his academic standing. His skill in the

surgical theatre was not alluded to in these traditional medical portraits.

Furthermore, in many nineteenth century portraits, doctors were often pictured seated, emphasizing their calm and tranquil temperments. They were not shown as men of action with visible accomplishments. Nor are we are not shown the doctor either diagnosing an illness or treating his patient. Although such scenes might be included in genre painting, they were not made part of the doctor's formal portrait. The formal portrait did not depict any single dramatic moment in the subject's career. If biographical references were included in the painting, they were to the subject's entire professional life, a technique or process with which the doctor's name was associated. The texts doctors were shown holding represented a body of knowledge. Doctors were not interested in being portrayed or limited to one single event..

The formal doctors' portraits to be discussed in this chapter, are, I believe, representative of those painted throughout the century. I will look at about seventeen taken in generally chronological order from throughout the century. They are paintings of some of the most eminent men of the French medical

profession. Although the names of some are more familiar, others have become fairly obscure and I will provide some details of the doctor's professional life. All of them were part of the profession's elite. They were painted by some of the most important portrait artists of their time whose names have also become obscure to all but a few. I will furnish some details of their careers as well. It is interesting to note that whether the doctor might be considered "reformer/innovator," or "conservative/traditionalist," his portrait resembled all the others.

One of the earliest is the portrait of Doctor Antoine Dubois (Figure 10) painted by Francois Pascal Simon Gerard in 1804. [14]

Baron Francois Gerard (1770-1837) was among the most successful portrait painters of his time. Gerard was born in Italy, the son of a minor employee of the French Embassy to the Holy See. At the death of his father, Gerard returned to France and began his Academic art studies with the sculptor Pajou and painter, Brenet. Gerard placed second in the 1789 Prix de Rome competition and never completed his entry in the next year's contest. Jacques Louis David was, however, his most influential teacher. Even at the very



FIGURE 10 FRANCOIS GERARD

ANTOINE DUBOIS



FIGURE 11 FRANCOIS GERARD MICHEL CULLERIER

end of his life, Gerard was still associated with this teacher, and Gerard's large history painting, THE PLAGUE IN MARSEILLES 1721 (1835), was given to the city of Marseille as a pendant to David's representing THE PLAGUE AND SAINT-ROCHE that it already owned.

Success came early to Gerard, and between 1795 and 1815, he received commissions for eighty-five full length portraits and nearly 200 smaller ones. Charles Blanc, writing in the 1860s, noted that the number of portraits Gerard painted was enormous. "In 1808 alone, he exhibited twelve at the Salon; in 1810, fourteen....He earned considerable sums and always lived in great comfort." [15] The price for one of his full-length portraits averaged between 10,000 and 12,000 francs. His subjects came from the highest levels of French society, including the Emperor's family, and later, that of Louis-Philippe. Leading scientists such as Humboldt (in 1833), writers such as Lamartine and other leading French citizens had their portraits made by Gerard. According to his nephew, "La reputation de Gerard une fois établie, les princes et les princesses de la famille regnante et les grands dignitaires tinrent honneur d'etre peints par lui." [16] According to Blanc, a common saying in Gerard's day was that he was the "painter of kings and the king of

painters." [17] Gerard had in fact been appointed as official painter to the Empress Josephine in 1806 and, after the Restoration, "Premier Peintre Du Roi" in 1817. The contemporary critic Auguste Jal had a fairly poor opinion of Gerard's talent, and a negative view of his position in the hierarchy of French art. Jal called Gerard "ce Pharaon de la peinture," and added that "Monsieur Gérard a été un artiste très spirituel, mais a-t-il été un grand peintre?...Monsieur le Baron Gerard, comme Girodet, n'a rien d'individuel, il a imité." [18] Official opinion, however, remained quite the opposite. Gerard received all the public honors available to painters. He was appointed Professor at the Ecole Des Beaux-Arts in 1811. He became a member of the Institute in 1812, made Baron in 1819 and Officer of the Legion of Honor in 1824.

Baron Dubois (1756-1837) was equally successful in his own field of obstetrics. He was dean of the Port-Royal Maternity Hospital and had even been obstetrician to Empress Marie Louise. Despite this surgical eminence, nothing in Gerard's portrait identifies his speciality. There are no instruments, diagrams or medical volumes to connect him to obstetrics or to medicine generally. The doctor's

skill as an obstetrician is clearly without importance for the formal portrait.

Dubois' gaze goes past the viewer and is fixed on some object in the distance. He is seated on a round-backed chair with his head and body turned to the viewer's left, thus further cutting any contact between the subject and viewer. This is the same type of chair Ingres used in his portrait of M. Bertin. Ingres, though, managed to increase the sense of intimacy between Bertin and the viewer by bringing his subject further forward in the picture plane. [18b] Dubois remains remote from us; there is a barrier between him and the view that one is not supposed to cross.

Dubois's closed mouth reinforces the separation between subject and viewer. The doctor appears to be deep in thought, and those thoughts shall remain his own. Dubois' high forehead and curled hair around his bald pate were meant to indicate his intellect and serious nature.[19] The subject's classical features also emphasize his great dignity. He is both remote and self-confident.

Several other doctors of the early nineteenth century had their portraits painted by Gerard. A nearly exact contemporary of Dubois, Michel Cullerier

(1758-1827), also chose Gerard as his portraitist. The version in Figure 3 [20] reproduces an 1836 copy by Augustine Cullerier, who added the biographical information not in the original canvas. In the upper right, the subject is identified, "Michel Cullerier Né à Angers Le 8 Juin 1758. Mort à Paris Le 3 Janvier 1827." The words at the lower left identify the artist, "Sa petit-fille Augustine Cullerier 1836. Après Gerard."

Dr. Cullerier worked at the Cochin Hospital specializing in venereal diseases and later at the Hopital des Veneriens when it opened. According to Erwin Ackerknecht, Cullerier was not one of the leading medical authorities in France. "Neither Cullerier nor the younger Cullerier, his nephew, were great luminaries (only the son of the nephew was outstanding)." [21] This description of Cullerier may depend more, however, on Ackerknecht's low opinion of royalist-physicians than on contemporary evidence. One Cullerier is listed as the editor specializing in venereal diseases for the DICTIONNAIRE DE MEDECINE.

[21b] Jaclyn Duffin claims that Ackerknecht describes "the royalist physicians as 'nonentities,' who capitalized on their conncections to take the place of 'virtually all the outstanding members' of the faculty

who were perceived to be 'politically unreliable.'" [21c]. The portrait is confirms the elevated status of its subject. Cullerier wears his academic robes and keeps his right hand thrust inside his vest. Although originally simply a method of keeping one's hand warm (especially after one's gloves had been removed), the pose had become conventional. [22]

Gerard also painted portraits for other doctors including Jean Nicolas Corvisart (1810) and J. Souberbielle (1819). These two paintings share common features with his portraits of Dubois and Cullerier. Both doctors are dressed in contemporary clothing and nothing in either portrait identifies the subject's profession. No medical accessories are present, nor is there anything in the background to link the doctor to his work or to his place of work. In all four, the subjects hands are hidden. Except for his portrait of General Hoche (1836) (which he gave to the city of Versailles), every one of Gerard's full-length portraits (portraits en pied) were of the Imperial or royal families. When painting non-noble subjects, doctors included, Gerard showed them either half length (mi-corps) or en buste.

Corvisart also had a portrait done by Anicet Charles Gabriel Lemonnier (1743-1824). As a result of

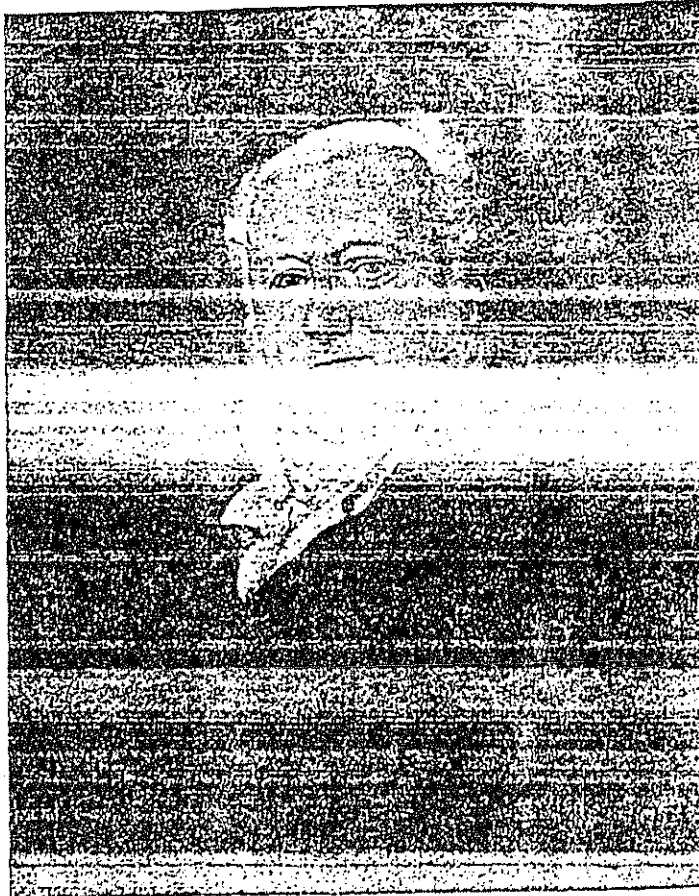


FIGURE 12 - FRANCOIS GERARD J.-N. CORVISART



FIGURE 13 ~ ANICET LEMONNIER J.-N. CORVISART

Lemonnier's connection to the Paris Medical School, he painted portraits for several doctors including Fourcroy, Chaptal, Thouret and Sabatier.

According to Lemonnier's son, Hippolyte, "En 1794, le Comite D'Instruction Publique ayant organisé l'Ecole de Medecine de Paris en rattachant autour de lui tant de savans qui l'ont illustrée. M. Lemonnier fut choisi pour remplir l'emploi de peintre-dessinateur du cabinet de cette ecole. Il a conservé cette place jusqu'a son dernier jour, avec l'approbation et l'estime de MM. les professeurs; l'Ecole de Medecine lui doit quatre beaux portraits, et beaucoup de dessins ou des bizarreries de ne nature sont fidelement retracées." [23] These portraits now belong to the Paris Faculte de Medecin, as does his painting of Corvisart.

Lemonnier was born in Rouen but lived most of his life in Paris. He studied with the Academic painters Descamps and Vien and was awarded the Prix de Rome in 1772 for NIOBE TUÉE PAR APOLLON ET DIANE (Rouen Museum). He was made Agrée to the Academy in 1785, the year he exhibited SAINT CHARLES BORROMEE PORTANT LES SECOURS DE LA RELIGION AUX PESTIFERES DE MILAN. In September 1789, the year he exhibited LA MORT D'ANTOINE, he became a full Academicien. He held the

official position of Administrator of the Gobelins Factory from 1810 until 1816. He was awarded the Legion of Honor at the end of 1814.

Baron Jean-Nicolas Corvisart was born at Dricourt, a tiny village in the Ardennes region, in February, 1755. He had an apparently very independent nature as a young man. Although his father, a lawyer, wanted him to study law, he took up medicine after arriving in Paris in 1772. Ackerknecht relates the story that his independence cost him a job at Mme. Necker's hospital, since he refused to wear a wig, one of her rules. [23b] He became docteur-regent in 1782. He found a position at the Charite Hospital, where he was named Professor of Clinical Medicine in 1789. In Ackerknecht's words, he transformed the hospital into "the center of clinical medicine in Paris." [24]

Corvisart stressed clinical observation. According to Doctors Busquet and Gilbert, "on peut affirmer hautement que c'est Corvisart qui a cree l'enseignement clinique utilisable." [25] In delivering the eulogy for his teacher, Desbois de Rochefort, Corvisart said that "It is in those sad asylums (which are the Parisian hospitals)...that enlightened doctors find, constantly before them, the faithful picture of every illness....It is there

one must go to dissipate, by the flame of observation, the obscurity and the errors which are almost necessarily born from the sole reading of textbooks, the reading even of those which do not contain errors, if there exists a single work made by the hand of man, which has not paid its tribute to error." [26]

He became closely attached to the Emperor and the Imperial family, and Napoleon appointed him physician to the Emperor in 1804. The saying attributed to Napoleon, "I do not believe in medicine, but I believe in Corvisart," indicates both the position Corvisart held as well as Napoleon's feelings towards medical science.

Napoleon made Corvisart a Baron in 1808, the same year his translation of Auenbrugger's study of percussion was published. In 1811, Corvisart became a member of the Institute. His high position at the emperor's court, as well as his brusque manner, aroused jealousy among Corvisart's colleagues. A remark is attributed to Cuvier that the reason Corvisart did not write very much was that he was very lazy. Richerand was another of Corvisart's enemies, a group known as the "bas-reliefs de la piédestal de Corvisart." With the fall of Napoleon, however, Corvisart completely abandoned medicine, although an attack of apoplexy he

suffered the same year may have contributed to his decision. Although unhappy being away from the center of things, he seemed to have accepted it. In a letter to a friend he wrote, "Je vegete presque toujours a la campagne, me souvenant à peine que je l'ai exercée autrefois. Je n'y pense pas une fois le mois." [27]

Corvisart's only original work is a monograph on diseases of the heart (ESSAI SUR LES MALADIES ET LES LESIONS ORGANIQUES DU COEUR, 1806), and his academic standing is based more on his translation of Auenbrugger. Both works though illustrate Corvisart's firm belief in observation. Fittingly, Lemonnier's painting of Corvisart has a portrait of Auenbrugger in the background. Corvisart holds his left hand on the open volume of his expanded translation and commentary on Auenbrugger's work. With the other, he demonstrates the correct position to hold the right hand during percussion. But these are emblematic references to the procedure and it is significant that both doctor and painter agreed that the portrait was not to show Corvisart actually using percussion while diagnosing a patient.

The similarities between Lemonnier's portrait and Gerard's portrait are more striking than their differences. The clothing Corvisart wears in each is

nearly identical. The tilt of the doctor's head, his firm gaze at the viewer, denote a man at the top of his profession. These portraits we have seen thus far, whether of the same doctor made by different artists or of different doctors made by the same artists have shown their subjects in a very limited number of ways. Not one of the doctors has been placed in an actual medical setting.

The portrait of François Joseph Victor Broussais (1772-1838) (Figure 14) by Aglae Elie was painted in 1817, two years after Broussais's appointment as Professor at the Val-de-Grace and the year after the publication of his most important book, EXAMEN DE LA DOCTRINE MEDICALE GENERALEMENT ADOPTEE ET DES SYSTEMS MODERNES DE NOSOLOGIE. Broussais had studied medicine with Bichat at the Ecole de Santé between 1799 and 1803, when he received his doctorate. In 1808 he published his first medical text, HISTOIRE DES PHLEGMASIES OU INFLAMMATIONS CHRONIQUES, FONDÉE SUR DE NOUVELLES OBSERVATIONS DE CLINIQUE ET PATHOLOGIE. By all accounts Broussais' book caused a stir in Parisian medical circles. According to Paul Busquet, "cet ouvrage critiquait fortement les doctrines médicales du jour....L'effet produit par cette publication fut prodigieux." [28] Ackerknecht



FIGURE 14 - AGLAE ELIE F. J. V. BROUSSAIS

called the book, "a bombshell," and that it "marked a dramatic turning point in the history of French medicine." [29] For the rest of his career, Broussais was forced to defend these doctrines.

Because Broussais's medical practice did not go well at first, he decided to join the military. He was sent with the army to Spain, where he stayed for the next six years. After returning to Paris in 1814, through Desgenette's support, he was named professor at the Val-De-Grace. He received the Legion of Honor in 1815.

In 1820 he was appointed Chief Doctor and First Professor at the Val-de-Grace. By royal decree that year, he became a member of the Academy of Medicine, despite the fact that his political sympathies remained with Napoleon. According to Ackerknecht, "Broussais was an ideal representative of the opposition of the Restoration period, which united liberals and Bonapartists, since he himself was as much a Napoleonic as a liberal symbol....Broussais knew all the tricks in the politician's books...identifying his own cause with that of his country and identifying his enemies with national degradation....Like all smart politicians Broussais (from his secure position as chief of the

Val-de-Grace) presented himself as a martyr defending the common man and his health and therefore persecuted by those in power....The rapid scientific acceptance of Broussais or Virchow...must be partly understood in terms of the popularity they acquired as exponents of political liberalism." [30] Broussais was strongly supported by powerful friends in the army.

In general, Broussais's doctrine held that all diseases were inflammations, particularly inflammations of the gastro-intestinal tract. Therefore, his recommended treatment was to reduce the inflammation through bleeding, the procedure with which Broussais's name has become most associated. Ackerknecht cites an interesting set of statistics. In 1820, no leeches were imported into France. By 1834, nearly twenty-two million were imported. Broussais's influence on French physicians can be seen in these numbers.

According to Benezit, Elie, known as "La Veuve Elie," had been a student of Greuze [31] and exhibited frequently at the Paris Salon between 1814 and 1824.[32] Broussais was a "tall, impressive, vigorous, handsome man," [33] and Elie's portrait shows him as such. In this portrait, Elie has combined two significant elements from Broussais's career. In

the background, the dome of the Val-de-Grace is visible through the open draperies. In the foreground, Broussais offers his open book to the public. During his own lifetime Broussais had a reputation of being a very sober and modest man who lived a very regular and orderly existence. His colleagues commented on his continued youthful appearance, remarking particularly on his hair, which never turned grey. Broussais attributed this to the fact that he drank nothing but water all his life. [34] Ironically, he was stricken with cholera in the epidemic of 1832, and suffered severe intestinal illness until his death six years later from cancer. There was further irony in that Broussais's doctrine was also a victim of the cholera epidemic since it was unable to find the cause or provide a cure. Broussais had been a very popular instructor at the Val-de-Grace, it is said that his students carried his body to Pere Lachaise themselves, refusing to allow it to be taken there in a hearse.

Ackerknecht comments that "Broussais was suffering from a permanent need of publicity, and all means seemed justified by this end." [35] Accordingly, he had his portrait made several times. But if Broussais had them made for the sake of publicity, it was not to publicize his ideas but



FIGURE 15 - A. DURUY BROUSSSAIS AU CHEVET D'UN
MALADE



FIGURE 16 - BERTONNIER

F. J. V. BROUSSAIS

himself. These two other portraits show Broussais youthful, vigorous and strong. Duruy's painting shows him at a wounded soldier's bedside during Napoleon's Peninsula campaign. Neither connects Broussais with his medical ideas. The portrait by Bertonnier, (an engraving, not an oil-painting) owned by the Val-de-Grace Museum, does not even have the medical books of the Elie portrait. John Lesch has characterized Broussais's ideas as anti-science, as having served as an obstacle to creating a real scientific base for medicine. "Magendie's efforts to persuade physicians of the value of the sciences were complicated by the vogue for François Broussais's brand of 'physiological medicine,' which peaked in the 1820s." [36]

Ackerknecht, however, remarked that his theories did not die a sudden death, and that even "In 1867, the great Charcot recognized the passage from symptom to lesion and the appreciation of disease, not as an independent unit, but as a change in function, as the two cornerstones of modern medicine--and attributed both advances to Broussais." [36b]

Jean-Antoine Claude Chaptal (1756-1832) was the subject of several formal portraits, one by Louis-Andre-Gabriel Bouchet (Figure 7), another by Baron Gros (1824, Figure 8), a third by Anicet Lemonnier and a



FIGURE 17 - LOUIS BOUCHET JEAN ANTOINE CHAPTAL

lithograph (artist unknown) of "Le Comte Chaptal, Pair de France." Chaptal replaced Lucien Bonaparte as Interior Minister in January, 1801, which at the time included responsibilities for Public Instruction, Cults, Health, Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, Public Works and Labor. Known more perhaps as an industrial chemist than as a doctor, Chaptal's work in social medicine was, according to Aime Coutarel, "equally considerable." [37] He was an enthusiastic supporter of the campaign for vaccination. Along with Pinel, with whom he had close relations, Chaptal began the transformation of the Salpetriere from a prison to an institution of patient-care. He also took a major role in the modernization of the Maternite hospital and, in 1802, founded the first national school for midwives. The fact that hospitals had replaced the Ecole as the center of French medical practice and training was, in part, due to Chaptal's reforms.

Bouchet, a Parisian by birth, had been a student of David and a Prix de Rome winner in 1797. (MORT DE CATON D'UTIQUE). He continued to exhibit at the Paris Salon between 1791 and 1819. Much of his work consisted of scenes based on Greek and Roman history and mythology. But he also was a sought after portrait painter, and many of his subjects were leading

political figures of the time. His portrait of DILLON, VERIFICATEUR-GENERAL DES NOUVEAUX POIDS ET MESURES and of DE LESSART, INSPECTEUR-GENERAL DES PONTS ET CHAUSSES were shown at the Salon of 1798. He exhibited a portrait of LE COMTE DE L'EMPIRE BIGOT DE PREAMENIL, MINISTRE DES CULTES at the Salon of 1810. [38]

Bouchet's portrait of Chaptal is clearly different from the traditional canvases discussed so far. Although he wears a stiff collar with a foulard tied around it at the throat, the knot seems tied in a manner which matches the casual attitude of his right arm across the back of his chair. Chaptal's other clothing, too, especially his Greek-styled pants, reduce the formality of the painting. It is also different in that it does link him to one of his important professional activities. The painting places Chaptal seated in front of a window which looks out to a factory loading area. The book holds open book in his left hand is perhaps his ESSAI SUR L'ART DE FAIRE LE VIN, and the building may indeed hold wine for the market. The design of the building, its lack of windows and entrances indicate that it is not a hospital. Thus, the general rule that the traditional portraits of medical men do not connect them to medicine remains intact. Here Chaptal's professional

activities were outside medicine.

Baron Gros' portrait of Chaptal shows him at sixty-eight years of age, in stately robes and furs, a sash across his chest. Although anchored to his seat by his left hand, he turns his head sideways to look straight at the viewer, as if he had interrupted his writing because of our presence.

The portrait received the admiration of the Salon reviewer, Auguste Jal, in a volume he called "L'Artiste et Le Philosophe Entretiens Critiques Sur Le Salon de 1824." Such imaginary conversations between two enlightened Salon visitors was a reviewing style that stayed alive throughout the century. "Allons admirer ce magnifique portrait de M. le Comte Chaptal, par M. Gros," says Jal's artist. "Mais, il est sublime. Regardez quelle couleur, quelle energie, quelle verité, quelle richesse de ton et d'harmonie!...Je vois, dans le portrait de M. Chaptal, l'homme superieur, comme s'il eut fait une vaste composition ou il eut pu étaler toutes les ressources de son imagination et de sa palette." [39] Gros's more traditional portrait presents quite a contrast to the earlier one by Bouchet. In it, Gros has depicted Chaptal's superior qualities by showing him at work at his desk. One can almost read the word "Ministere" on



FIGURE 18 - BARON ANTOINE JEAN GROS CHAPTAL

the top page of letters.

Another apparent exception to the general rule is the portrait of Antoine Parmentier (1737-1813) by Francois Dumont. The canvas is crowded with emblems of Parmentier's scientific works. Although he did eventually become Inspector General of the Service de Sante, Parmentier was a pharmacien, not a doctor. He was elected to the Academy of Sciences in 1795. His most important work, and that which is depicted in the portrait, was his life-long contribution to the development of French scientific agriculture, especially the development of potatoes and several new cereals. The government had given Parmentier a grant of land to create an experimental farm and Louis XVI, it is said, wore a bouquet of flowers taken from the first crop Parmentier grew there as a show of royal support for his work. [40]

Francois Dumont was born in 1751 at Luneville and studied with Girardet at Nancy. He came to Paris when only eighteen years old and began immediately to paint portraits. His reception painting for entrance to the Academy in 1788 was a portrait of Pierre, the king's first painter. He painted a portrait of the king in 1789. He exhibited at the Salons until his death in 1831. [41]



FIGURE 19 - FRANCOIS DUMONT ANTOINE PARMENTIER

Dumont has managed to combine two sides of Parmentier's scientific life. With his left hand he hold the sheaf of corn and cereal stalks. He gazes intently at them - science must include close observation. But as if to remind us that observation not in itself all of science, Dumont has placed a milkmaid and cow in the background behind these plants as additional representations of Parmentier's experimental farm.

With his right hand, Parmentier records what he observes. He will base the new agricultural text he is writing on the scientific studies he conducts. This text is clearly meant to join the open ones behind his right shoulder, their authors' portraits visible. The year of the painting, 1812, was the year that the third edition of Parmentier's study of corn (1785) was published.

Thus the portraits of Chaptal by Bouchet and of Parmentier by Dumont are only apparent exceptions and the general rule remains valid. The oil painting of Mathieu Orfila (1787 - 1853) by Francisco Jose Pablo Lacoma (1784 - 1849) illustrates the traditional portrait style.

Lacoma was probably the one artist working in Paris in 1831 best suited to paint Orfila's portrait.



FIGURE 20 - FRANCISCO LACOMA MATHIEU ORFILA

Not only were artist and subject near contemporaries in age, but both were Spanish by birth (Orfila was born on the island of Minorca). Each had studied in Barcelona and Madrid before coming to Paris. Each had done brilliantly in his studies. Their successes continued in Paris. Lacoma won a gold medal at the Salon of 1810. Orfila had earned a medical degree in Spain in 1807 and completed French medical studies in Paris in 1811. He became a naturalized French citizen and was then eligible to accept appointment as Professor of Legal Medicine in 1819.

Orfila was named dean of the Faculty in 1831 and the portrait commemorates the event. Lacoma presents Orfila in full academic regalia, medals pinned to his robes and elegantly shod feet planted solidly on the floor. His tassled hat rests on the desk just beyond his right arm. As a professor, Orfila's course was so well-attended that he gave his lectures in the large amphitheater of the Medical Faculty to a standing-room-only crowd of students.

Orfila's main interests were in the related fields of chemistry, toxicology and legal medicine. His published works include TRAITÉ DE TOXICOLOGIE GENERALE, ELEMENTS DE CHIMIE MEDICALE, LECONS DE MEDECINE LEGALE and TRAITE DES EXHUMATIONS JURIDIQUES.

Lacoma's portrait depicts Orfila with his right hand resting on his open volumes. According to Lesch, Orfila was one of the leading voices arguing that science was extremely useful to medicine. When he was proposed for election to the Medicine and Surgery section of the Academy of Sciences in 1821, it was in the category of "authors of works useful to medical science." [42] The portrait clearly indicates that, at least in 1831, showing the doctor/subject to have written about science was a the method by which one celebrated his accomplishments.

Orfila was a reformer concerned about medicine's professional standing. As dean of the Faculty, he was able to make many improvements. He was responsible for the creation of the new dissection pavillions, the Hopital des Cliniques, the Musee Dupuytren (anatomy and pathology) and the Jardin Botanique du Luxembourg. In 1844-1845, he founded the Museum of Comparative Anatomy. He believed that the Health Officers [Officiers de Sante] were so untrained that they were a real danger to public health. He therefore advocated the abolition of the officiat, the degree obtained by health officers. In 1820, as a member of the medical examination jury, Orfila gave failing grades to ninety-nine of the one hundred twenty candidates he examined for health

officer. He was threatened, but refused to change his grades. Andre Delmas wrote that "Ses succes excitent la jalousie, ses reformes pourtant necessaires sont mal acceptees (la Faculte est appelee l'Orfiliade par derision)." [43] According to Ackerknecht, the term "Orfilaide" was so widely used that it even appeared in contemporary medical journals. "Orfila was also a not-too-scrupulous politician, manipulating the concours and serving those in power. He thus made many enemies--some quite voluble ones like A. F. H. Fabre, the editor of the GAZETTE DES HOPITAUX (LA LANCETTE FRANCAISE), who published, in 1836, a satirical poem (illustrated by Daumier) entitled 'L'Orfiliade,'" [44]

The unsigned portrait of Baron Anthelme-Balthasar Richerand (1779-1840) also presents the doctor seated, although unlike Orfila who is wearing academic robes and regalia, Richerand is shown in ordinary clothing. He holds a book in his left hand and his right is tucked inside his jacket. He stares directly at us, tranquil and self-assured.

Anthelme Richerand was born February 4, 1779 to a poor provincial family. According to one biographer, he was the first student selected "Eleve de la Patrie" in 1794 and sent by his home district to the Paris medical school (Alibert, Bichat, Dupuytren,



FIGURE 21 - (unsigned) A.-B. RICHERAND

Moreau de la Sarthe, Pariset and Recamier were some of the others.)(45] Other biographies differ, stating that Richerand's mother let him go to Paris to study only in 1796 when he was still just seventeen years old. [46]

According to Lesch, the Societe Mediale d'Emulation published Richeerand's works as early as 1798. [46b] After receiving his doctorate (1799?), he was almost immediately called up for military service. Due to the intercession of powerful friends, including Cabanis, he was allowed to remain in Paris where he published the NEW ELEMENTS OF PHYSIOLOGY (1801). The book enjoyed a tremendous success. "Cet ouvrage eut 10 editions et fut traduit dans toutes les langues....Il etait dedie a Fourcroy, et au moment de sa publication, Bichat venait de mourir, ce qu mit encore plus en evidence Richerand." [47]

Bichat's text, based on the author's own experiments, had been considered a medical bible, particularly those who admired his experimental method. "[Bichat's] works have become a species of holy scripture from which one cannot depart without sacrilege....The taste of Bichat for experiments has producerd the mania of vivisections, and an unlimited confidence in this manner of studying physiology."

[47b]

Richerand's NEW ELEMENTS, Busquet and Gilbert imply, was a direct challenge to Bichat's RECHERCHES PHYSIOLOGIQUES. Ackerknecht paints a negative picture of Richerand. "With pathological envy and hatred, he pursued those, alive or dead, who, in his mind, obscured his fame--for example, Bichat, Desault, Roux, Magendie, Broc, and Dupuytren. The latter resembled him as to competitiveness but was far more substantial as a scientist. Richerand was a poor speaker and poor surgeon. Chaussier used to allude, in class, to his plagiarisms. Sainte-Beuve called him a charlatan. C. Daremberg put his work into the litterature medicophilosophique category, with that of Pomme, Alibert, Moreau, Virey, and Reveille-Parise--a category that did not imply any compliments." [48]

But some of Ackerknecht's criticisms seem to be too severe or even contradicted by his own words. Ackerknecht at one points derides Richerand's careerism. "He jumped on every bandwagon." [49] Yet after the Restoration, Richerand was among those who opposed the Bourbon-sponsored, reactionary attempt to restore the old separation between medicine and surgery. He did not support the government (as might be expected of a careerist) and his involvement helped

stop the move, at least until 1822.

Ackerknecht even criticizes Richerand's science, which he describes as "the drawing-room or arm-chair physiology that had become fashionable....It was a physiology without experiments." [50] Lesch, too, points out that Richerand's talent lay more in popularizing the work of others rather than in original research of his own. He writes that "Richerand, a surgeon and medical essayist, wrote elegant and popular textbooks of physiology in which he presented not his own research but the results of others, including Haller, Bichat, and the Montpellier writers." [51] But, even as Ackerknecht notes, the chair of surgical pathology was considered, at the time Richerand held it, a "theoretical" chair.

In Ackerknecht's judgment, Richerand, "was quite influential in his time due to his intelligence and his brilliant and poisonous pen." [52] Thus it seems very appropriate, since so much of his influence was acquired through his writing, that Richerand's portrait shows him holding a text.

Charles Emile Champmartin's full-length portrait of Baron Antoine Portal (1742-1832) was shown at the 1833 Salon. The painting shows Portal when nearly ninety years old (FIGURE 22). Portal's long career



FIGURE 22- CHARLES EMILE CHAMPMARTIN ANTOINE PORTAL

began in Paris in 1766, two years after he had received his medical degree at Montpellier. He received support from several established members of the medical profession and as early as 1769 was appointed to the Chair of Medicine at the College de France, a post which he held until his death more than sixty years later. In 1776 he became Antoine Petit's assistant, eventually replacing him in the Chair of Human Anatomy at the Jardin du Roi. From his first years as a doctor in Paris, he attracted a well-to-do clientele and earned a substantial income.[53] In 1818, Portal was named premier medecin to Louis XVIII, a post which he continued to hold under Charles X. It was through Portal's political connections that the ordinance creating the Academy of Medicine was issued on December 20, 1820. His medical works included a treatise on phthisis (1792) and a six volume HISTORY OF ANATOMY AND SURGERY.

Portal, as we can see in the portrait, continued to wear the clothing of the previous century to the very end of his life. Ackerknecht remarks that Portal was "a strange sight when, dying at ninety, he still wore the fashion of his youth." [54] But the sight of eighteenth century dress was not so strange at the time. The ultras chose the style as a political

statement, and Portal's close relationship with the royal family, which went as far back as the time of Louis XV who had named him Professeur D'Anatomie Du Dauphin, made his clothing less strange to those in his circle. In fact the whole room shown in the painting has an eighteenth century aspect. The oak floor has the same parquetry of French salons of the previous century.[55] The softly-curved legs of the tapestried armchairs, table and clock seem similarly anachronistic.

Champmartin seems to have been a fairly obscure artist, a friend of the more widely-known painters of the Romantic school. Richard Brettell describes Champmartin (1797-1883) as Theodore Gericault's "little-known friend and painting companion," as well as "a lifelong friend of the great French Romantic painter Eugene Delacroix." [56] In their review of the 1833 Salon, Laviron and Galbacio still listed Champmartin among the painters of the Ecole Romantique.[56a] His watercolor CAFE TURC of 1827 was included in the EXPOSITION, LA JEUNESSE DES ROMANTIQUES of 1927.[57] Champmartin's portrait of Leon Cogniet was also included in the Exhibition EUGENE DELACROIX ET SES AMIS, ATELIER D'EUGENE DELACROIX (Musee Carnavalet, 1932). [58]



FIGURE 23- CHARLES E. CHAMPMARTIN AFTER DEATH (Study)

According to Brettell, Champmartin and Gericault would visit the Hotel-Dieu in Paris and observe dissections. Champmartin's AFTER DEATH, STUDY OF A SEVERED HEAD (1818/1819 FIGURE 14) was a result of these visits. [59] The study seems to reveal Champmartin as quite a different and complex artist than that of Portal's portrait painter.

In his review of the 1831 Salon, Charles Lenormant compared Champmartin's portraits to that of the great English portraitist, Sir Thomas Lawrence. "Lawrence," wrote Lenormant, "has become the first painter of his country, others say of his century. Lawrence, who has not deigned to send any canvases to the Louvre exhibition [the Salon was held in the Louvre through 1848. RW], has left a deep trace of his passage among us, one of the most brilliant students of our school, Monsieur Champmartin." [60]

By 1833, the year the painting was shown at the Salon, Lenormant seems to have completely changed his opinion of Champmartin. "Although Monsieur Champmartin handles his brush with superior skill, he does not show enough variety in his portraits. His flesh, painted by means of a thick paste, is as soft as butter. He paints all his heads the same way, without distinction as to sex, nor age. The skin on the

decrepit face of Monsieur Portal is scarcely different from the young women and the infants that Monsiuer Champmartin has exhibited. This failing, which I believe capital, already existed in his portraits of 1831." [61]

Some reviews did consider the portrait well made. In the opinion of the critics, A. Annet and H. Trianon, the "pose was natural, the head full of truth, the color in it was good and all the details were rendered well." [62] It was this portrait by Champmartin that they preferred to all his others.

Several other Salon critics, however, agreed in almost identical terms with Lenormant's negative review. G. Laviron and B. Galbacio wrote that "Those who knew Monsieur Portal can indeed find in it the material resemblance of his traits, but Monsieur Portal is not there. When you would say that he is old, broken, worn out, even idiotic if you want, we would still maintain that it is not Monsieur Portal there, that it is not the skillful person, the scientist, the doctor to the Court, which his name represents to us. Because, even so bent down by age that you may suppose, one must still find in him traces of that which he was. You can show us an ankle all wrapped up, an insipid and flabby head, which seem that it must melt in the sun

like butter, and you can say: 'that's him, that's the powerful man.' No! And again, no! That is not Monsieur Portal. Far from having represented a scientist, this painting doesn't even show us a man. There are no arms in his sleeves, no legs in his stockings, no feet in his shoes." [63] Presumably to honor the artist, not the subject, Champmartin received an honorable mention at the 1833 Salon.

In the following years Champmartin's reputation suffered a steady decline. At the Salon of 1839, his painting LA CHARITÉ, was poorly received. "A large, common and very material woman with five or six large chubby-cheeked infants...your chairty is nothing more than a fine waitress for children...Learn from Monsieur Decaisne how to spread a little charm and thought on a similar subject. M. Decaisne perhaps does not have your skillful hand, but he has more feeling than you." [64] A few years later, Arsene Houssaye noted how much further Champmartin's work had declined. "M. Champmartin a fait beaucoup d'enfants sous le pretexte de représenter la Benediction des enfants....M. Champmartin se cherche toujours, mais dans la route ou il s'est engage se trouvera-t-il? Je ne le crois pas." [65]

Henry Scheffer's portrait of Jean Nicolas

Marjolin (1780-1850), is dated 1836. Henry Scheffer (1798-1862) was the younger brother of much more well known painter, Ary Scheffer, and even the BIOGRAPHIES MEDICALES from which this reproduction is taken has misidentified the artist as Ary. Both brothers studied in Guerin's atelier. Henry's Salon debut in 1824 was a success. He was awarded a Second Class medal for CHRIST SUR LES GENOUX DE LA VIERGE. Although he continued to send his work to the Salon, his career was mainly as a portraitist. He won First Class Medals in 1831 and 1855 and was awarded the Legion of Honor in 1837. Puvis de Chavannes was among his students.

Marjolin had succeeded Richerand to the chair of Surgical Pathology at the Paris Medical School in 1818 and remained in that position until his death thirty-two years later. Marjolin was a skillful surgeon and eloquent teacher whose popularity with his students earned him the title, "le bon Marjolin." [66] Jules-Emile Pean watched him operate and took particular note of the extremely clean conditions Marjolin demanded. Ackerknecht also praised Marjolin's personality. "Marjolin had a hard time under Dupuytren, but nothing could spoil his honest and warmhearted disposition." [66b] Scheffer has placed Marjolin exactly in the center of the painting. That



FIGURE 24 ~ HENRY SCHEFFER J. N. MARJOLIN IN 1836

placement, as well as Marjolin's serene pose, inspire further confidence in him. Marjolin looks straight out at the viewer and his direct gaze enhances the impression of honesty.

But once again it is made evident that despite the subject's skill as a surgeon, it is his academic standing that is important. The artist does not show him at the hospital, but at the Faculty, holding a small book (on surgical procedures?)

Tony Robert Fleury's portrait of Augustin Grisolles (1811-1869) also portrays his physician/subject in academic costume. Grisolles was eighteen years old when he came to Paris from his native Frejus to study at the Faculte de Medecin. He rapidly completed his studies, and was already working at the Hotel-Dieu during the cholera epidemic of 1832. He became Chomel's Chief of Clinic and was one of the founding members of the Society of Medical Observation. According to Pierre Astruc, despite Grisolles's deep admiration for his teachers Chomel and Dupuytren, Pierre Louis's statistical methodology was the source of Grisolles's most important ideas. "Au moment ou il en donnera temoignage à ses maitres....celui dont il celebrera avec force les merites, c'est Louis, dont la methode est generatrice de tous ses travaux. 'Le



FIGURE 25 - TONY ROBERT-FLEURY AUGUSTIN GRISOLLE

glorieux createur de la methode analytique et numerique, dit-il en substance." [67] Astruc is quick to point out that Grisolle's scientific methods went much further than simple observation. "Cependant, presque à son insu même, il ajoute à la methode de Louis sa marque personnelle. Avec Grisolle, le procede est appliqué en profondeur." [68]

Grisolle worked in public health, dealing particularly with industrial poisons, dangerous trades and factory conditions. [69] In particular, he studied the poisonous effects on workers of lead and of "ceruse," [a white dye used in paint at that time]. Influenced undoubtedly by the work of Parent-Duchatelet and Villerme, he conducted his investigations in the field, in factories at Courbevoie and Le Pecq. Grisolle recommended replacing lead with zinc to prevent "saturnism." He warned against bleeding as a treatment since, since by his observations, it actually doubled the number of cerebral attacks. Grisolle's Legion of Honor attests to his successful career. He became a member of the Academy of Medicine in 1849; in 1853 he succeeded Trousseau to the Chair of Therapeutics and in 1864 he replaced Rostan at the Faculty.

Grisolle's 1836 monograph on pneumonia showed

just how important his statistical methods might be for medicine. At the time, Bouillaud's theory that pneumonia was always caused by cold weather was the most widely accepted. Grisolles wrote that "Voulant être d'ailleurs beaucoup plus charitable envers M. Bouillaud, je lui dirai seulement que si ses résultats sont différents de ceux de M. Chomel et de ceux que j'ai obtenus moi-même, cela dépend uniquement de ce qu'il interroge ses malades autrement que nous." [70] As he had done for the factory workers, Grisolles warned against treating pneumonia by bleeding. Bleeding was Bouillaud's recommended treatment for the illness. "Malgré Bouillaud encore, il soutenait que les saignées ne jugulent pas la pneumonie au premier degré, sont impuissantes dans le second, accélèrent la terminaison fatale dans le troisième." [71] Grisolles expanded the pneumonia memoir into a long work of 740 pages, *TRAITE PRATIQUE DE LA PNEUMONIE* which he published in 1841 and which, "couronné par l'Académie des Sciences et par l'Académie de Médecine, valut à son auteur la célébrité." [72] According to Ackerknecht, Bouillaud attacked Grisolles because Chomel had been his teacher. Ackerknecht does not seem to connect Bouillaud's criticism of Grisolles to his attack on his pneumonia doctrine, despite the fact that Bouillaud's book

CLINIQUE MEDICALE DE L'HOPITAL DE LA CHARITÉ was published in 1837, a book which Ackerknecht describes as "rich in facts about clinical activities in this famous hospital but somewhat spoiled by his polemical zeal." [73]

Grisolle has been described as a tall and serious person, somewhat cold and disdainful of "frivolous society," who either despite or because of these characteristics attracted a number of students to him. "Sa haute stature, la gravite de son maintien, son sourire ironique, sa parole qui ne sacrifiait pas la realite au pittoresque, attiraient aupres du professeur de clinique, les élèves attachés." [74] These are the traits, particularly the ironic smile, that Robert-Fleury has depicted in the portrait.

Tony Robert-Fleury (1837-1911), son of the artist Joseph Nicole Robert-Fleury, had studied with the painters Paul Delaroche and Leon Cogniet. He debuted at the Salon of 1864 and received medals and awards at the Salon during the rest of the decade as well as at the Universal Expositions of 1878 and 1889. He was awarded the Legion of Honor in 1873, made Officer in 1884 and Commander in 1907. He often worked as an instructor at the Academie Julian. [75]

A half-length portrait of the surgeon Joseph

Pierre Eleonord Petrequin (1809-1876) by Regnier shows him in the academic robes of a professor at the Ecole Preparatoire de Medecine de Lyon. He wears his medal of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, an honor he was awarded in August, 1855, the year before the painting was made. The canvas has remained in the possession of the Petrequin family.

Petrequin studied surgery with Velpeau in 1835 and 1836. In April, 1837 he won an appointment to the Hotel-Dieu at Lyon and assumed those duties in January, 1838. Petrequin had spent the months between his concours and the beginning of his duties visiting Italian hospitals. Upon his return to France, he published several articles in the GAZETTE MEDICALE of Paris about procedures he had observed there, particularly concerning ophthalmic surgery. This new speciality was to be Petrequin's main area of interest for the next fifteen years, although he did not limit his surgery to diseases of the eye. At the conclusion of his tenure as Chief of Surgery at the Lyon Hotel-Dieu, he described the more than 2,000 operations he had performed. "He was delighted to have been present at the great revolution in surgery produced by the discovery of anesthetics and to have shown the superiority of ether over chloroform." [76] Between

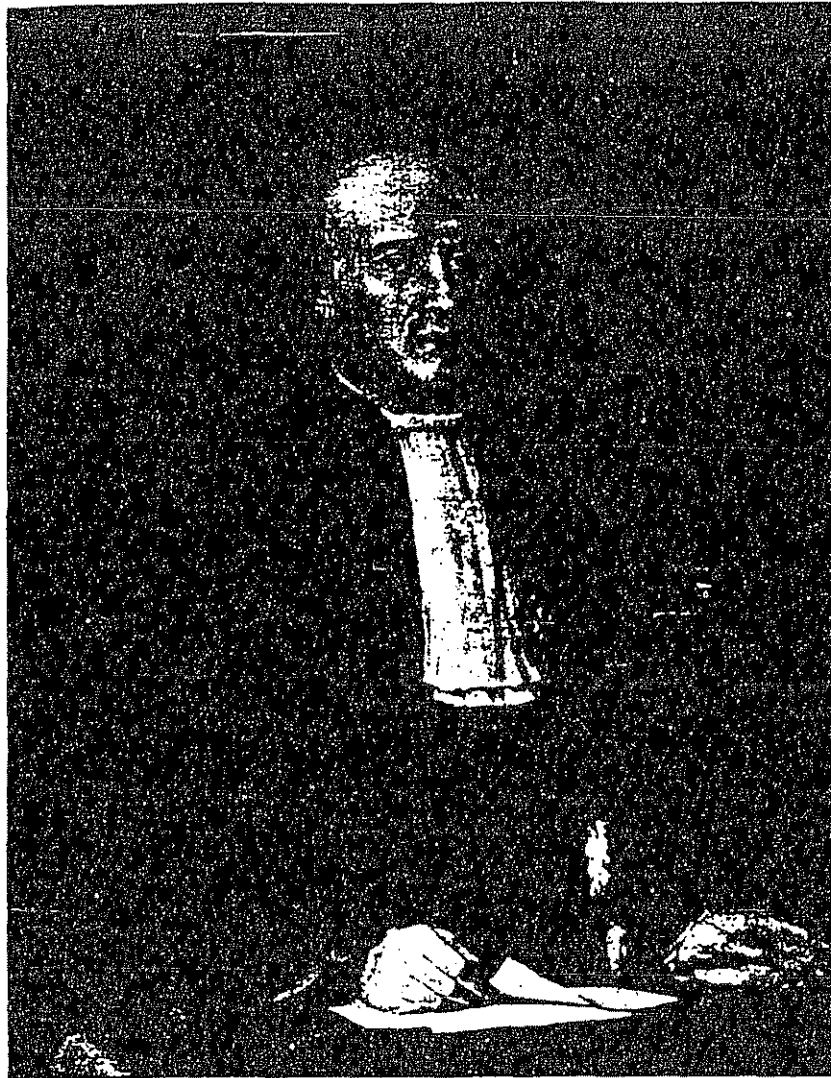


FIGURE 26 - EUGENE REGNIER

J.P.E. PETREQUIN

1844 and 1867, his TRAITE D'ANATOMIE TOPOGRAPHIQUE MEDICO-CHIRURGICALE, CONSIDEREE SPECIALEMENT DANS SES APPLICATIONS A LA PATHOLOGIE, A LA MEDECINE LEGALE, A L'ART OBSTETRICAL ET LA CHIRURGIE OPERATOIRE appeared in several editions and was translated in to German, Italian and Spanish.

At the same time, Petrequin turned to his other interest, the history of surgery, particularly its development in his native city of Lyon. Petrequin was a prolific writer. His works, ESSAI SUR L'HISTOIRE CHIRURGICALE DE L'HOTEL-DIEU DE LYON, DEPUIS SA FONDATION JUSQU'A NOS JOURS (1845) and ESSAI SUR L'HISTOIRE DE LA CHIRURGIE A LYON (1855) were followed by more than forty other studies. [77]

In 1854, Petrequin became Professor of Surgical Pathology and Operational Medicine at the Preparatory School of Medicine and Pharmacy of Lyon, a position he held for the next twenty years. The academic robes Petrequin wears and the pose he chose for his portrait - as if in the midst of a lecture to his students - emphasize once again that the doctor's academic life rather than his clinical experience that was portrayed in the nineteenth century French medical portrait. The portrait lacks any visual reference to his work in general surgery or to his special interest

in ophthalmology. Petrequin was certainly concerned about the standing of the Lyon medical school. His speech to its faculty at the opening of the 1863 academic year entitled HISTOIRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT MEDICAL A LYON, DEPUIS LA RESTAURATION DES LETTRES PAR CHARLEMAGNE was in reality an appeal to the Minister of Instruction Duruy to upgrade the school to a full Faculty of Medicine. In the speech, he noted that there were several less important cities which already had their own Medical Faculties. Petrequin's choice of marking the history of medical education at Lyon from the time of Charlemagne seems to have been a calculated appeal to the cultural and political preferences of Duruy and the emperor. [77b]

Petrequin chose Eugene Jean-Marie Regnier (1796-1865) to paint his portrait, presumably because Regnier was the most important portraitist then working in Lyon. Regnier moreover had a national reputation and during the 1850s, his clients came from the upper echelons of society throughout France. For example, he exhibited a portrait of Mgr. Lyonnet, Bishop of Saint-Flour at the Salon of 1853. At the Salon of 1859 he exhibited a portrait of Cardinal Donnet, Archbishop of Bordeaux. His portrait of Arles Dufour, a member of the Lyon Chamber of Commerce belongs to the Lyon

Museum. Regnier's portrait of Petrequin seems to indicate that the traditional conventions of medical portraiture were not simply a Parisian phenomenon, but were current at the time in France's second city as well.

Leon Rostan (1790-1866) worked at the Salpetriere for nearly his entire medical career. He studied with both Desault and Pinel, under whom he presented his thesis in 1812. In addition to his teaching duties at the Salpêtrière, Rostan published a book for the general public, COURS D'HYGIENE. He became involved in the dispute between the doctrines of Pinel and Broussais, and in his TRAITE ELEMENTAIRE DE DIAGNOSTIC, published in 1826, he opposed Broussais's doctrine that there was only one general disease.

After 1840, Rostan was professor at the Hotel-Dieu, "le professeur aimé des étudiants," according to Astruc [78], where he developed the organicist ideas published in his study, EXPOSITION DES PRINCIPLES DE L'ORGANICISME, PRECEDEE DE REFLEXIONS SUR L'INCREDULITE EN MATIERE DE MEDECINE (1846). In general, Rostan's ideas were that medically there only exist organs and functions in man. Functions are only organs in use:

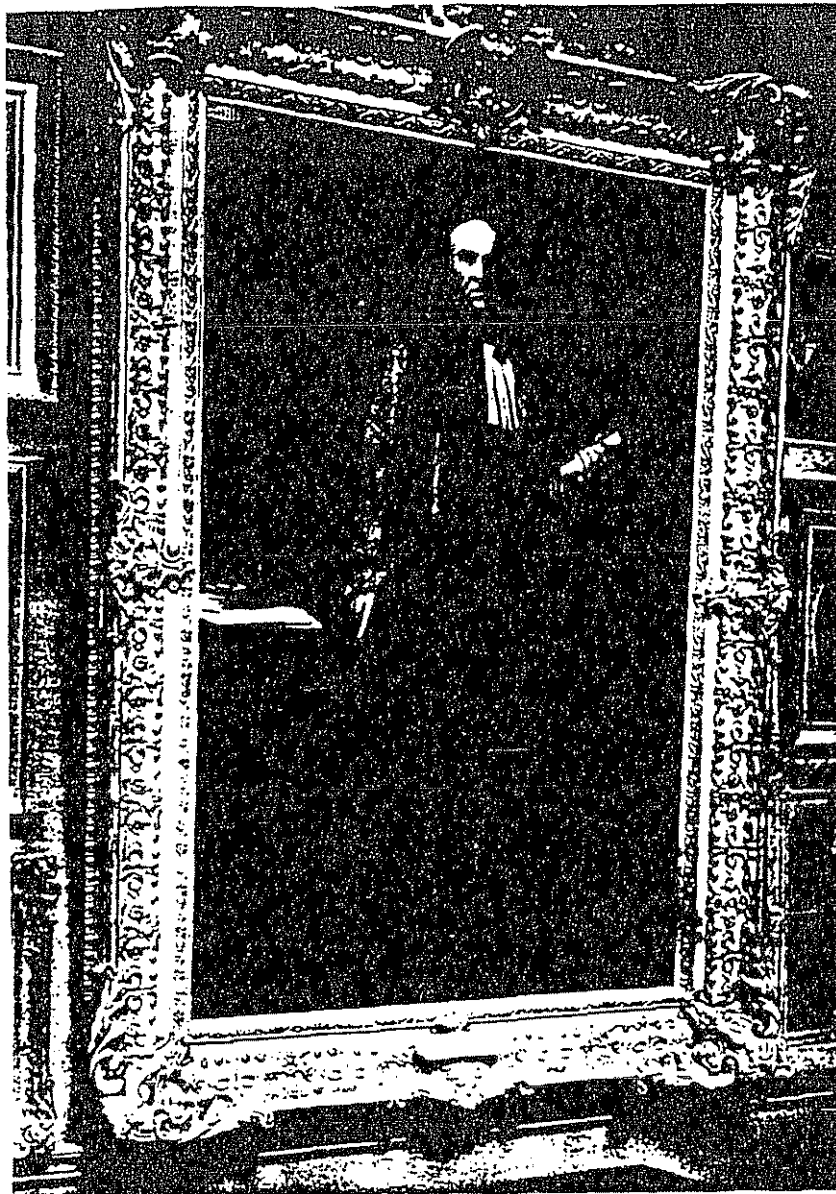


FIGURE 27 - H. FLANDRIN

LEON ROSTAN

unhealthy organs, unhealthy functions.

Despite having received numerous assignments from Louis-Philippe's government, Rostan enthusiastically welcomed the Second Republic. In his lesson of April 11, 1848, Rostan delivered the following message:

During the seventeen years which have just ended, the painful spectacle of our liberties being cut away, one after another, put us into deep despair. Only the love of science and humanity, the happiness to have been able to teach and to communicate to you the fruits of our experience, sustained our courage and turned our face from the humiliation in front of foreigners that our beautiful country had descended to every day and from the corruption and the contempt of our own people to which it had sunk....

Today, a new era opens before us. The most admirable of storms has swept away the impurities with which we have been dirtied, and our regenerated country finally gleams with a radious sparkle under the sun of Liberty. (prolonged applause) [79]

Hippolyte Flandrin (1809-1864) was one of the most successful portrait artists of the Second Empire. His portrait of Napoleon III (1863) is, perhaps, the most well-known painting of the Emperor. [80] Flandrin was born in Lyon. At twenty he came to Paris where he entered the Ecole Des Beaux-Arts and studied in Ingres' atelier. In 1832, despite falling victim to the cholera epidemic, he won the Prix de Rome. He was

awarded the Legion of Honor in 1841, and made Officer in 1853, the same year he was accepted in the Academy. In praising Flandrin's skill as a portrait artist, Henri DelaBorde wrote, "Les portraits de Monsieur Flandrin sont le chef-d'oeuvre de l'esprit de discipline et de methode. Il est impossible d'etudier plus attentivement et de rendre avec plus de precision les caracteres particuliers, la physionomie de chaque type." [81] Delaborde went on to note that in his portrait of Prince Napoleon exhibited at the Salon of 1861, Flandrin had been able to represent the essential character of his subject without even having to dress him in military uniform.

Flandrin's full-length portrait of Rostan, owned by the Fine Arts Museum at Aix, shows him in academic gown, his professor's hat lying on the table next to him. He holds a manuscript in his left hand and assorted papers lie on the table beside him. These documents clearly refer to his medical writings. The index finger of his right hand points earthward, an echo of Aristotle's pose in Raphael's SCHOOL OF ATHENS. Flandrin's pose reminds us of his organicist views, which he indicates are planted firmly in reality.

Reviewing the Salon of 1861, the critic, L. Laurent-Pichat praised a very conventional doctor's portrait. He wrote that the artist Comte "a exposé un tres-beau portrait, celui du docteur G....; c'est parfait d'execution et bien superieur a M. Meissonier."

[82]

Jean-Baptiste-Adolphe de Lafosse's portrait of Pierre-Adolphe Piorry (1790?-1879), painted in 1867, shows the doctor still quite youthful despite his advanced age. His full head of hair and thick sideburns are still dark. Smooth skin and alert eyes add to the impression of a vigorous and still active person. Piorry did in fact look much younger than his years, even into his eighties. Ten years later, those who knew Piorry remarked how youthful-looking he still was. "Paul Labarthe a écrit (NOS MEDECINS CONTEMPORAINS) qu'à cette époque, Piorry paraissait à peine age de 50 ans. Il était alerte et juvenile comme autrefois. Son corps était droit et souple, sa démarche assurée, sa figure vive et animée, son oeil brillant, sa bouche mordante, ses cheveux et ses favoris du plus beau noir.'" [83] This was exactly the impression of himself Piorry hoped to convey in 1867. The events of the previous year help to explain



FIGURE 28 - J.-B.-A. LAFOSSE P.-A. PIORRY

Piorry's concern with his appearance.

On October 26, 1866, just three days before the start of the new term, Piorry resigned his position as professor at the Paris Faculty of Medicine. "Cet acte étonna ses contemporains." [84] According to Piorry's own account, he did not resign voluntarily but was forced to do so by his opponents. In Piorry's account, the Dean of the Faculty, Wurtz told him that "L'opposition de tous mes collègues et même de ceux qui se disaient mes amis était d'une telle violence qu'il fallait ne pas résister." [85] Piorry acceded to Wurtz's demand, "mais avec une forme qui devait faire voir au Ministre combien ma volonté avait été méconnue." [86]

To combat the idea that his resignation was voluntary, Piorry wrote several accounts of the incident (AUX LECTEURS and A L'OPINION PUBLIQUE). Above all, he wanted it known that he was definitely not resigning due to ill health or because of the effects of advanced age. Piorry wrote that Wurtz had suggested he claim such a face-saving excuse. In Piorry's account, Wurtz said to him, "Haven't you already achieved the greatest reputation and the highest degree of public esteem? It is true that you

still have exceptional vigor, but one is never able to see that he himself has weakened. I am much younger than you, yet I know that my own ability and powers as a professor have declined. You cannot escape the laws of old age. Take advantage of this moment of splendor to make your farewell and, not be like those artists who do not know when to retire and who expose themselves to the audience's whistles, whereas previously they had been covered with applause." [87] Piorry absolutely did not want anyone to believe that this excuse was his reason for leaving his post. "Sa protestation s'adresse surtout a l'opinion publique." [88]

Piorry believed rather that opposition to him was based on both his defense of organicism (which he called organopathisme) and his system of mediate auscultation (which he labeled Plessimetrisme). According to Henri Favre, "Sa vie n'a ete qu'une longue lutte pour la defense de ses idees sur l'organicisme, qu'il a soutenu jusqu'a sa mort avec la plus sincere des convictions et avec une indomptable energie." [89]

Had Lafosse wanted to portray Piorry at work, he could have shown him while engaged in the process of "Plessimetrism" at the Hotel-Dieu. According to descriptions of it, it would have been an easy matter

to show the doctor actually using it. Many years later, doctor A. Gueniot wrote a colorful account of Piorry's procedure which he had personally observed as a young Parisian doctor. "A completely new method of examination. Standing firmly on top of a footstool at the side of the bed, Piorry with a sympathetic tone, invited the patient to approach him. He placed his pleximeter on the regions to examine. Then, with a pen able to write on skin, he drew the different distinctive features that the percussion revealed to him. When he was finished, the patient's body was streaked with blue or red lines, quite resembling a geographic map. The footstool was then carried over to the bed of another patient and the demonstration continued." [90] Certainly Piorry's demonstration would have been dramatic enough for an artist to reproduce, and it would have glorified doctor and procedure together. In the end, however, both artist and subject remained faithful to the conventions of the standard medical portrait. Also in 1867, the same year he painted Piorry, Lafosse exhibited another conventional doctor's portrait, that of Paul Broca. The artist has painted his subject half-length, with Broca's left arm leaning casually on several texts.

The conventions of traditional medical

portraiture, because they were those of portraiture in general, were powerful enough to prevent the standard medical portrait from suddenly passing out of favor. Many doctors continued to have their portraits painted in the traditional manner even after the mid-1880s, as can be seen in three examples, the portrait of Daniel Molliere by A. de la Brely, the portrait of Hippolyte Larrey by Jean Gigoux and Cormon's portrait of Pierre Bazy. Brely's portrait of Molliere included an identification directly on the canvas, "Portrait de Daniel MOLLIERE a 42 ans Chirurgien-Major-Titulaire de l'Hotel-Dieu," thus dating the painting at 1890.

There were a few doctor's portraits painted during the earlier part of the nineteenth century which seem to anticipate the new style that was introduced in the mid-1880s. One owned by the Musee Carnavalet, attributed to Nicolau Antonio Taunay, depicts LA CLINIQUE DU DR. DUBOIS SOUS LA RESTAURATION. Taunay's painting (the canvas owned by the Carnavalet Museum appears to be a sketch rather than a finished work) is very different from the formal portrait of Dubois discussed earlier. This painting is set in a clinic filled with people: patients, visitors, assistants. Dubois is treating a patient seated in an armchair next to him. Two others were of the great surgeon,



FIGURE 29 - A. DE LA BRELY

DANIEL MOLLIERE



FIGURE 30 - JEAN GIGOUX

HIPPOLYTE LARREY



FIGURE 31 - FERNAND CORMON

PIERRE BAZY

Guillaume Dupuytren (1778-1839). Dupuytren was chief surgeon at the Hotel-Dieu, and both portraits involve his performing a cataract operation on a female patient. In the earlier of the two, we actually see Dupuytren surrounded by his students and colleagues as he completed the operation. The patient clasps her hands tightly together to help her withstand the pain. According to the author of the article concerning the painting in the ALBUM GONNON, the portrait was painted in 1811 by a certain Dubois, but it was unclear which of the two Dubois brothers, Etienne or Alexandre Jean, actually painted it.[91] Etienne seems to have been the less-well-known brother, which points to Alexandre as the artist. More than a decade after the date of the painting, in 1824, Auguste Jal wrote that "Monsieur Etienne Dubois peu connu jusqu'alors dans les arts, prend cette année son rang....à cause de cet interieur d'un ton riche et brillant, aussi solide que celui de Granet, mais moins dur et moins uniforme." [92] In that review, Jal was referring to a painting by Etienne entitled INTERIEUR D'UN LABORATOIRE, (#535 at the Salon), which may indicate that both brothers were interested in medicine and science.

A second painting of Dupuytren and cataract surgery is, according to the Carnavalet Museum which



FIGURE 32 - ALEXANDRE (?) DUBOIS
DUPUYTREN FAISANT L'OPERATION DE LA CATARACTE

owns it, by an anonymous painter. Unlike the Dubois' painting, Dupuytren is not shown in the midst of his operation, although the Carnavalet entitles the canvas OPERATION DE LA CATARACTE PAR DUPUYTREN A L'HOTEL-DIEU EN PRESENCE DE CHARLES X. [93] Is it that the king has actually been a witness to the surgery, or has he arrived only after its completion? Although Dupuytren appears to have just completed the operation - the patient has just got up from the same type of wooden armchair visible in Dubois' painting of eye surgery - it is difficult to imagine what results could be shown so soon after the surgery. We see not only members of the hospital staff, but officials of the court. Was the painting to enhance the glory of both king and doctor? According to Alain Segal, after the Restoration, Dupuytren was very close to the royal family and received their continued support. "Louis XVIII le nomma baron et le fit ensuite chirurgien consultant. Il entra dans les premiers à la nouvelle Academie de Medecine et, à l'avenement de Charles X, il devint son premier chirurgien et un de ses fervents intimes." [94] Although respected, Dupuytren was certainly not well-liked. Pierre-François Percy's comment about Dupuytren expresses a widely held opinion, "the first of surgeons and the

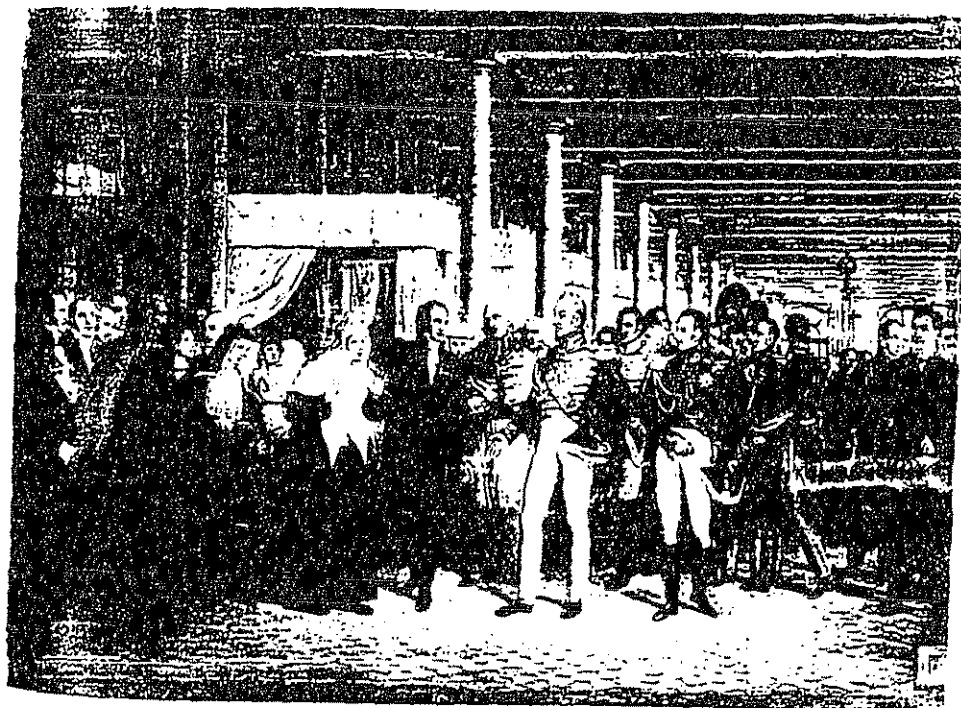


FIGURE 33 - (unsigned) OPERATION DE LA CATARACTE
A L'HOTEL-DIEU EN PRESENCE DE CHARLES X

least of men." [95]

One final canvas painted in the earlier part of the century which shows a doctor at work might not actually qualify as a portrait of a recognizable living doctor. Although it depicts medical men engaged in scientific research, it may more properly be considered type of genre painting in that the people in it are "types" rather than individuals. That is exactly the word the contemporary reviewer Jal used in discussing the painting, since all the faces seem to resemble one another. [96] It is an untitled painting dated 1832 by Emile-Edouard Mouchy showing the vivisection of a dog. The doctor in the middle is wearing a white hospital apron to conduct a demonstration on a live dog. He is surrounded by exactly twelve medical students, six on either side of him. All the faces are turned left or right, many are profiles, none looks directly at the viewer. According to William Schupbach, not much is known about the painting. It currently belongs to the Wellcome Institute, London. Schupbach argues convincingly that an ETUDE DES CHIENS that Mouchy exhibited at the 1833 Salon is this painting. Jal wrote that Mouchy's style was imitative of Gericault's and Delacroix's. [97] Annet and Trianon, two other reviewers of the Salon that year, agreed with Jal's



FIGURE 34 - E.-E. MOUCHY (UNTITLED) VIVISECTION OF A
DOG

assessment. Although they agreed that Monsieur Mouchy has some talent, they wrote, "il est uniforme et n'exploite qu'un seul type, le laid." [98]

Since the faces were "types" rather than individuals, Schubach also questions whether the depiction of the demonstrator should be considered a portrait. "Without positive evidence of intention, we cannot say that it is a portrait, nor of whom it might be a portrait, since all the faces are Mouchy types, not individual portrayals." [99] By 1832, according to Joseph Lesch, "Magendie had...become the leading proponent of animal experiment in physiological investigation." [100] But the evidence in the painting does not support the theory that Mouchy was portraying Magendie and his pupils as romantic heroes, who had to advance medical science in secret, in a dark and cramped (although probably not freezing) space "sous les combles." Schubach writes that although one would like to be able to identify the demonstrator as François Magendie, it is not possible since in 1832, Magendie was already forty-nine years old and "all the figures appear to be of about the same age as Mouchy when the picture was painted (thirty years)." [101] There are other impossibilities in the painting that indicate that Mouchy had not painted a scene he had

actually witnessed. Schupbach points out that the rope could not have actually been tied around the dog's neck as it was depicted in the painting, the animal would still have been able to bite those closest to him until he choked to death. But these details should not detract from the overall painting which does represent a physiological experiment in progress.

Traditional portraits of doctors outside of France followed similar conventions, as the portraits of Viennese Doctors Rosas, Meissner and Litrow or of many British medical men painted by Reynolds, Lawrence and others illustrate. Gerdt's study of American medical paintings demonstrates that in the United States, doctors were depicted in the same poses and attire surrounded by the same emblematic representations of their professions as their European counterparts. Early photographic portraits of doctors followed the same conventions. I have included just a very few of these portraits, some by the most well-known photographers of the period, as illustrations. The New York Academy of Medicine's collection of seventy-two portraits of 102 French medical men of the nineteenth century further illustrate the widespread acceptance of these conventions. Many of the signed photographs are by the well-known photographers Nadar,



FIGURE 35 - PORTRAIT OF ROSAS



FIGURE 36 - PORTRAIT OF MEISSNER



FIGURE 37 - PORTRAIT OF LITTROW

Pierre Petit, and Pirou.

In summary, for nearly the entire first eight decades of the nineteenth, portraits of doctors followed the conventions of portraiture already well-established. They seldom made specific reference to the subject's medical work and even more rarely to any dramatic moment as the doctor worked in his hospital or clinic. Portraitists honored their doctor/subjects by painting them in the gowns of the professor or wearing the black robes of a member of the Academy. Indeed, in a regulation of 1803, Napoleon had ordered professors of the Ecole de Medecine to dress in the following manner:

A black formal coat cut in the French style, a silk gown edged in crimson satin; the shirt front in black silk, a flowing silk cravate; a crimson silk cap [toque], with a gold braid or two braids for a doctor, crimson stockings in silk bordered in ermine.

Important medical posts continued to be awarded to those who had successfully passed examinations, not necessarily to those whose laboratory work had made contributions to medicine. Robert Fox has pointed out that "a change in the style of French intellectual life after the Restoration....above all else, was responsible for the ease which the interests of even established scientists were diverted to popular



FIGURE 38 - FRANCK (PHOTOGRAPH) PORTRAIT OF VELPEAU



FIGURE 39 - ARMBRUSTER (PHOTOGRAPH) J.P.E. PETREQUIN
IN 1868

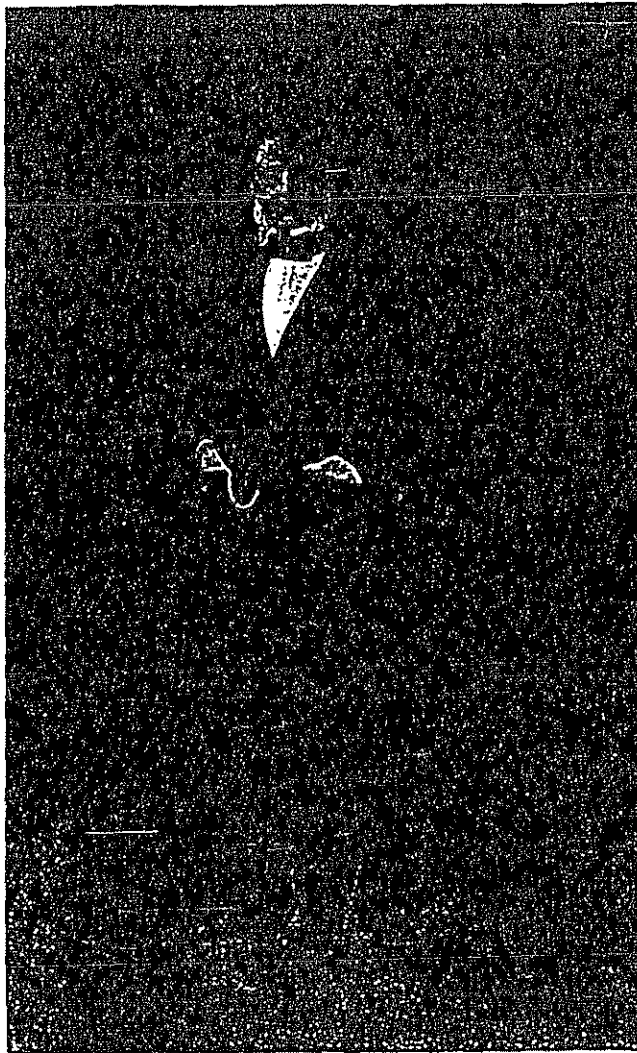


FIGURE 40 - NADAR (PHOTOGRAPH)

TROUSSEAU



FIGURE 41 - WALERY (PHOTOGRAPH)

DECAMBRE

lecturing and public life and for the preoccupation with teaching and success in examinations, such as the highly esteemed agregation, which characterized institutions which might otherwise have become centers of research." [104] A position in the forefront of modern science was not seen as furthering one's career or status. Emphasis, rather, was placed on classical learning, and knowledge of Latin and Greek was the hallmark of the educated elite, including the medical elite. It was even suggested that classical knowledge was vital to the doctor's ability to treat his patient's effectively. The doctor, moreover, was part of a generally educated elite which included members of many different professions. Patrick Harrigan has noted the prevalence of the classics in the education of medical practitioners and other allied professions. "Often products of the classical program in a lycée, many pharmacists and military doctors shared with lawyers, doctors, and graduates of Polytechnique and St. Cyr a classical, lycéen background." [105] During the nineteenth century, medical texts, in Greek and Latin, were often included as an accessory to the doctor's portrait, whereas even those medical instruments which had sometimes appeared in earlier portraits of medical men no longer were to be seen. It

was certainly not the surgical apron which symbolized high standing and authority for French medical men.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Gelfand, Toby. "A Monarchical Profession in the Old Regime: Surgeons, Ordinary Practitioners and Medical Professionalization in Eighteenth Century France," in *PROFESSIONS IN THE FRENCH STATE, 1700-1900*. Gerald Geison, editor. University of Pennsylvania Press. 1984, p. 173

2. Ackerknecht, Erwin. *MEDICINE AT THE PARIS HOSPITAL, 1794-1848*. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1967. p. xi.

3. Ackerknecht, Erwin. *ibid.*, p. xi.

4. Miel, E. F. A. M. *ESSAI SUR LES BEAUX-ARTS ET PARTICULIEREMENT SUR LE SALON DE 1817 OU EXAMEN CRITIQUE DES PRINCIPAUX OUVRAGES D'ART EXPOSES DANS LE COURS DE CETTE ANNEE*, Pelicier, Delaunay, Paris, 1817 and 1818, p. 217

In the catalogue for the exhibit, *PICTURING HISTORY AMERICAN PAINTING 1770-1930*, Rizzoli, 1993, William Ayres, editor, Barbara J. Mitnick traces the hierarchy of painting to 1668, "when French theoretician Andre Felibien enunciated an actual hierarchy of subject matter and placed [history painting] at its summit. In his *CONFERENCES DE L'ACADEMIE ROYALE DE PEINTURE ET DE SCULPTURE PENDANT L'ANNEE 1667*, Felibien asserted that still life (nature morte) was the lowest form of painting; next he placed landscape, then the depiction of animals (positioned higher because they are animate), then portraiture, and finally what he referred to as the grand peinture, his term for history painting." pp. 35-36

Ellis Waterhouse's statement concerning portraiture is not atypical: "Portrait painting ranked very low in the hierarchy of genres in the eighteenth century, as it still does in the very different fashionable pecking order of today. He wanted to be judged as a 'history painter', the highest category at that time, and, such was his reputation as a portrait painter, that he managed to sell a number of indifferent history pictures at much higher prices than he could charge for his portraits." *JOSHUA REYNOLDS*, Phaidon Publishers, Inc. New York, 1973. p. 9

5. Jal, A. *SALON DE 1831 EBAUCHES CRITIQUES*. A.-J. Derain, editeur. Paris, 1831. p.

6. Lenormant, Charles. LES ARTISTES CONTEMPORAINS
SALON DE 1833, vol. 2, Paris, 1833. p. 53

7. Landon, C.P. ANNALES DU MUSEE ET DE L'ECOLE MODERNE
DES BEAUX-ARTS, SALON DE 1833, Pillet Aine, Paris.
1833

8. Michel, Emile. "Le Salon de 1880. I La Peinture
D'Histoire et Le Portrait," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, v.
39, June 1, 1880. p. 680

9. Gerdtz, William. THE ART OF HEALING MEDICINE AND
SCIENCE IN AMERICAN ART. The Birmingham Museum of Art.
1981. p. 45 Gerdtz adds that "As the century
progressed, men of medicine were increasingly the
subjects of artists in both the large urban centers and
in rural areas." p. 30 He attributes this to the
"growing prestige of the medical profession [which]
found pictorial recognition in the increasing numbers
of imposing portrait likenesses of doctors, surgeons,
and dentists and in the recording of the major medical
buildings that sprang up in large urban centers." p. 36

10. For example:

1876: #1050, Huas, Pierre Adophe. PORTRAIT DE
DOCTEUR RICORD; #1324, Lezla, J.-B. Albert. PORTRAIT
DE DOCTEUR...MEDECIN PRINCIPAL DE L'ARMEE; #2053,
Wagrez, Jacques. PORTRAIT DU DR. BASTIEN.

1877: #321, Broassard, Andre et Guillaume,
Etienne, PORTRAIT DU DR. MANDEL; #498, Clement.
PORTRAIT DU DR. L. TRIPIEZ; #540, Cool, Mme. Delphine
de. PORTRAIT DU DR. L.; #709, Deve, Mme. Agathe.
PORTRAIT DU DR. PIERRE DE FORCEVILLE; #1405, Maillart,
Diogene-Ulysse-Napoleon. PORTRAIT DU DR. D.

1878: #838 Dupuis, J.-B. David. PORTRAIT DU DR.
BERNARD. #872, Faivre, Leon-Maxime. PORTRAIT DU DR.
P.F. and #873, PORTRAIT DU DR. B.; #1166, Houlevay, Ch.
Henri. PORTRAIT DU DOCTEUR D.; #1955, Rousset, Jules.
PORTRAIT DE M. BERT; #2149, Tournay, Leon-August.
PORTRAIT DU DR. MOLLOY.

To cite four typical years of the decade of the
80s: 1880, six portraits; 1881, seven portraits; 1888,
three portraits; 1889: six portraits.

Gerdtz points out that, in America, "scenes relating to
medicine and science were seldom treated in genre

pictures....The distressing or tragic side of everyday life seldom appeared, and pictures involving doctors and medicine, sickness and death were found to be repugnant." (p. 45) In France, on the other hand, there were many 19th century genre paintings of "Convalescence" or "Un Accident" or "Chez Le Pharmacien" or "Le Medecine de Campagne" or "Le Medecine du Quatier."

10b. In France, there were many genre paintings of medical scenes and Salon catalogues are filled with such titles as "Convalescence," "Un Accident," "Le Pansement," "Chez Le Pharmacien," "Le Medecin de Campagne," or "Le Medecin Du Quartier,"

11. Gerdts, William. THE ART OF HEALING, op. cit., p. 1

12. De Francesco, Grete. "The Doctors Portrait From The Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century." CIBA SYMPOSIA, Vol. 6, #1, April, 1944. p. 1750

13. Konjias, Helen T. "Medical Portraits of the Eighteenth Century," pp. 1766-1771;" "Medical Portraits of the Nineteenth Century," pp. 1772-1780. CIBA SYMPOSIA, VOL. 6 #1, April, 1944

13b. Some military scenes included images of surgeons tending wounded soldiers. These are military rather than medical paintings and were exhibited with the military group at the Salon. In a review of the Salon of 1810, ENTRETIENS SUR LES OUVRAGES DE PEINTURE, ETC. EXPOSES EN 1810 AU MUSEE NAPOLEON, two of the anonymous author's characters have the following exchange: LE COMPILATEUR: "Il faut des chirurgiens dans tous les tableaux militaires." LE PEINTRE: "C'est a peu pres de meme que si l'on voyait a une noce de village l'accoucheur derriere la mariee." Gueffier Jeune, editeur, Paris. (1811), p. 104

At the end of the century, Brouillet's painting of the COMEDIE FRANCAISE AS AN AMBULANCE DURING THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR was displayed among the military paintings at the Salon of 1891.

14. A catalogue of Gerard's paintings dates the portrait 1804, OEUVRE DU BARON FRANCOIS GERARD, vol. 3. Chez Vignerres, Chez Rapilly, Paris. 1851. A monograph by Hippolyte Gerard on his uncle's work, also dates the painting 1804. LETTRES ADRESSEES AU BARON FRANCOIS GERARD PAR LES ARTISTES ET PERSONAGES CELEBRES DE SON

TEMPS, Imprimerie de A. Quantin, Paris. 1886, p. 409)
The lithograph, however, contains the artist's
signature and date, 1803.

15. Blanc, Charles. HISTOIRE DES PEINTRES, v. 3, ECOLE
FRANCAISE. p. 11; Each chapter is an article about a
different artist. Pagination is only of the chapter,
not consecutive in the volume.

16. Gerard, H. LETTRES ADRESSEES AU BARON FRANCOIS
GERARD, op. cit., p.9

17. Blanc, Charles. HISTOIRE DES PEINTRES, v. 3. op.
cit., p. 9

18. Jal, A. SALON DE 1831 EBAUCHES CRITIQUES. A.-J.
Derain, Editeur. Paris. 1831 pp. 19-20

18b. In his review of the 1857 Salon, Charles Perrier
writes that Ingres portrait of Bertin has become a
model for portraitists. In it Ingres has resolved all
the problems that confront a portrait artist and Ingres
is "le plus grand peintre des portraits de notre
epoque." L'ART FRANCAIS AU SALON DE 1857, Michel Levy,
Freres, Paris. 1857. p. 82 The author includes a
very valuable chapter on portrait painting in France at
mid-century.

19. Franz Joseph Gall, the creator of phrenology, was
working in Paris after 1807. His books began to appear
in France after 1809. Gerdts points out that the
Scottish physician, George Combe, had met Gall's
collaborator Spurzheim in Paris in 1817 and later wrote
an article for the PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL, "On the
Application of Phrenology to the Fine Arts."

Gerdts writes that a large head also was used to
indicate intelligence and serious intellectual pursuits
with respect to several American doctors. For example,
in describing Samuel Bell Waugh's portrait of Dr.
Samuel Gross, he writes, "he has created an ideal,
somewhat iconic image. His body is presented frontally
and symmetrically. His broad forehead suggests
intellectual vigor; his clear eyes, keen perception."
p. 62

20. The complete list of Gerard's work [see footnote
14,] includes a portrait of Dr. Cullorier, 1798 [sic].
The painting is not reproduced in the volume, but it is
more than likely the one in question.

21. Ackerknecht, Erwin H. MEDICINE AT THE PARIS HOSPITAL 1794-1848. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1967. p. 175. Ackerknecht claims that Cullerier was most successful in placing his sons-in-law to the faculty of the Paris medical school.

21b. See Weisz, George. "The Development of Medical Specialization," in La Berge, Ann and Feingold, Mordechai, FRENCH MEDICAL CULTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, Wellcome Institute, Editions Rodopi, Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1994, p. 161

21c. Duffin, Jaclyn. "Private Practice and Public Research: The Patients of R.T.H. Laennec, in La Berge and Feingold, op. cit., p. 121

22. Simon, Robin. THE PORTRAIT IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA, G. K. Hall & Co. Boston, Mass., 1987. pp. 73-75
Simon traces the story that this pose was a trick used by artists who found it difficult to point hands to James Northcote, one of Joshua Reynolds' pupils. "The true explanation of its origin appears to have been the necessity of keeping one hand warm if a glove had been removed (as would be the case in order to shake hands)...Nevertheless, however functional it may have been to begin with, the gesture became merely fashionable as a neat way of solving the problem of disposing your hands differently."

23. Lemonnier, Fils. NOTICE HISTORIQUE SUR LA VIE ET LES OUVRAGES DE A.C.G. LEMONNIER, PEINTRE D'HISTOIRE. Paris, 1824. pp. 10-11. The Comite d'Instruction publique may have been impressed by Lemonnier's 1791 huge (26'x14') HOMMAGES RENDUS AI ROI LOUIS XVI PAR LA CHAMBRE DE COMMERCE DE NORMANDIE which he painted for the Chamber of Commerce of Rouen.

The Government bought his LES AMBASSADEURS ROMAINS VENANT DEMANDER A L'AREOPAGE LA COMMUNICATION DES LOIS DE SOLON (1808) for the Salle Saint-Louis of the Cour de Cassation. For the Empress Josephine, Lemonnier painted UNE SOIREE CHEZ MME. GEOFFRIN and two pendants, FRANCOIS 1er RECEVANT A FONTAINBELEAU AL LA GALERIE DE DIANE LE TABLEAU DE RAPHAEL (LA SAINTE FAMILLE) and LOUIS XIV ASSISTANT DANS LE PARC DE VERSAILLE A L'INAUGURATION DE LA STATUE DE PUGET (LE MILON CROTONIATE).

24. Ackerknecht, Erwin., ibid., p. 83

25. Bosquet, Paul and Gilbert, A. "Baron Corvisart-Des Marets (Jean Nicolas)," LES BIOGRAPHIES MEDICALES, vols. 1 and 2, 1927-1928. p. 105
26. Quoted in Bosquet and Gilbert, LES BIOGRAPHIES MEDICALES, ibid., p. 105
27. Quoted in Bosquet and Gilbert, LES BIOGRAPHIES MEDICALES, ibid., p. 109
28. Bosquet and Gilbert, "Broussias (Francois-Joseph-Victor), LES BIOGRAPHIES MEDICALES, ibid., p. 64
29. Ackerknecht, Erwin. op. cit., p. 62
30. Ackerknecht, Erwin. op. cit., pp. 76-78
31. Benezit. Vol. 4, p. 142. She is listed as ELIE, Veuve, peintre de portraits. 19th siecle. nee a Paris.
32. Benezit, ibid. "Elle figura a diferentes reprises au Salon de Paris, de 1814 a 1824. Thieme und Becker, vol. 10 (1914) indicate that she exhibited at the Salon in 1814, 1822 and 1824. p. 459
33. Ackerknecht. Erwin. op. cit., p. 78
34. Bosquet, Paul and A. Gilbert, LES BIOGRAPHIES MEDICALES, Vols. 1 and 2, J. B. Ballieres & Fils, 1927-1928, p. 76
35. Ackerknecht, Erwin. op. cit., pp. 78-79
36. Lesch, John. SCIENCE AND MEDICINE IN FRANCE THE EMERGENCE OF EXPERIMENTAL PHYSIOLOGY: 1790-1855, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. and London, England, 1984, p. 63
- 36b. Ackerknecht, Erwin. op. cit., p. 63
37. Coutarel, Aime, "Jean-Antoine Chaptal Savant, Industriel, Homme d'Etat," in Pecker, Andre, ed. LA MEDECINE A PARIS DU XIIIe AU XXe SIECLE.) p. 390
38. Belier-Auvray, DICTIONNAIRE GENERAL DES ARTISTES DE L'ECOLE FRANCAIS. Librairie Renouard, Paris. 1882. vol. 1, pp. 131-132 contains a list of Bouchet's Salon entries beginning with the Salon of 1791 (DANIEL

SEPARANT LES DEUX VIEILLARDS QUI AVAIENT ACCUSE SUZANNE)
up to the Salon of 1819 (HAZAELE RENDANT MENTOR A
TELEMAQUE and AUGUSTE ET CINNA). The entries for the
Salons of 1806 and 1812 only list PORTRAITS.

39. Jal, A. L'ARTISTE ET LE PHILOSOPHE ENTRETIENS
CRITIQUE SUR LE SALON DE 1824. Librairie Ponthieu,
Paris. 1824. pp. 331-332. The painting was #820 in
the Salon Catalogue.

In describing the Salon of 1824 and Jal's commentary on
it, Elizabeth Gilmore Holt wrote that the dialogue
form, "a favorite also of Brentano and von Arnim, this
form had been in use since the Renaissance. Jal again
used the dialogue form for his report on the Salon of
1824, L'ARTISTE ET LE PHILOSOPHE, a handsome volume
illustrated with eight lithographs." Holt, Elizabeth
Gilmore. THE TRIUMPH OF ART FOR THE PUBLIC 1785-1848
THE EMERGING ROLE OF EXHIBITIONS AND CRITICS, Princeton
University Press, Princeton, 1979, p. 240.

40. Gordon, Alden R. MASTERPIECES FROM VERSAILLES
THREE CENTURIES OF FRENCH PORTRAITURE. National
Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington,
D.C. 1983. p. 104

In the 1880 Salon, Paul Louis Delance exhibited another
painting of Parmentier and his work, LOUIS XVI ET
PARMENTIER (1m35 x 2m05), #1054 The livret gave the
following explanation: "The king, incognito and
accompanied by three persons, visited the plain of
Sablons [where Parmentier had been given the land for
his farm, RW]. Parmentier dug up some tubers." SALON
DE 1880, EXPLICATIONS DES OUVRAGES DE PEINTURE, ETC. p.
104

41. Belier-Auvray, op. cit., lists Dumont's Salon
entries from 1789 (PORTRAIT DU ROI, PORTRAIT DE M. LE
COMTE DE MONTMORIN, MINISTRE DE L'ETAT and several
other portraits). According to Benezit, op. cit.,
Dumont exhibited at the Salon up to 1830.
Several of Dumont's canvases, like that of his teacher
David, tied classical themes to current issues in
France: UN SPARTIADE DONNANT DES ARMES A SON FILS, LUI
FAIT JURER DEVANT SES DIEUX PENATES DE DEFENDRE SA
PATRIE (Salon of 1800); At the Salon of 1808, just
after the signing of the Concordat, Dumont exhibited
L'ENTREVUE DE ST. ANTOINE ET DE ST. PAUL DANS LE
DESERT.

42. Lesch, John. SCIENCE AND MEDICINE IN FRANCE, op. cit., p. 120, p. 160
43. Delmas, Andre, "Orfila." Pecker, Andre, editeur. LA MEDECINE A PARIS, op. cit. (), p. 409
44. Ackerknecht, Erwin. op. cit., pp. 41-42
45. Ackerknecht, Erwin. ibid., p. 36
46. Busquet, Paul and A. Gilbert. "Richerand (Anthelme-Balthasar) (Le Baron)," LES BIOGRAPHIES MEDICALES, vol. 4, 1930. p. 198
47. Busquet and Gilbert, ibid., p. 210
- 47b. Cross, John. PARIS ET MONTPELLIER, OU TABLEAU DE LA MEDECINE DANS LES DEUX ECOLES, Paris and Montpellier, 1820, quoted in Lesch, John. SCIENCE AND MEDICINE IN FRANCE, op. cit., p. 80
48. Ackerknecht, Erwin. ibid., p. 43
- 48b. Lesch, John. SCIENCE AND MEDICINE IN FRANCE, op. cit., p. 44
49. Ackerknecht, Erwin., ibid., p. 43
50. Ackerknecht, Erwin. ibid., p. 71
51. Lesch, John, SCIENCE AND MEDICINE IN FRANCE, op. cit., p. 81
52. Ackerknecht, Erwin. ibid., p. 43
53. According to Ackerknecht, Portal earned 43,000 francs in 1788. ibid., p. 115
54. Ackerknecht, Erwin. ibid., p. 26
55. Five rooms in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art have the identical parquetry: The "Sevres Room," c. 1770; the room from the Hotel de Labris, Grasse, 1771-1774; the Grand Salon from the Hotel de Tesse, Paris, 1772; the Crillon, Place de la Concorde, 1777-80; the room from the Hotel de Varengeville, Paris, c. 1735. It is also the same parquetry in David's portrait of Lavoisier and his wife in the Metropolitan's collection. See Howard Hibbard's, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, Harrison House, New York.

1980. pp. 372-377, 390

56. Brettell, Richard. FRENCH SALON ARTISTS 1800-1900, The Art Institute of Chicago and Harry N. Abrams, New York. (1986) p. 15

56b. Laviron, G. and B. Galbacio. LE SALON DE 1833. Librairie d'Abel LeDoux, Paris. 1833 pp. 161-162

57. CATALOGUE: EXPOSITION, LA JEUNESSE DES ROMANTIQUES, Maison de Victor Hugo. Paris, May 18-June 30, 1927. CAFE TURC is reproduced on p. 22. Several men smoke water-pipes in the painting.

58. EUGENE DELACROIX ET SES AMIS, ATELIER D'EUGENE DELACROIX. Musee Carnavalet, Paris. June-July, 1932 Cogniet's portrait is signed E. Champmartin on the reverse.

59. Brettell, Richard. FRENCH SALON ARTISTS, op. cit., p. 15

60. Lenormant, Charles. LES ARTISTES CONTEMPORAINS, Tome 1. LE SALON DE 1831. Alexandre Mesnier, Paris. 1833. p. 53

61. Lenormant, Charles. LES ARTISTES CONTEMPORAINS, Tome 2. LE SALON DE 1833, Alexandre Mesnier, Paris. 1833. p. 175

62. Annet, A. and H. Trianon. EXAMEN CRITIQUE DU SALON DE 1833, Chez Delaunay, Libraire. Paris. 1833. p. 97

63. Laviron, G. and B. Galbacio. LE SALON DE 1833. Librairie d'Abel LeDoux, Paris. 1833 pp. 161-162

64. Barbier, Alex. SALON DE 1839. Joubert, Paris. 1839. pp. 109-110. Champmartin's painting was #317 and Decaisne's was #496 at the Salon.

65. Houssaye, Arsene. REVUE DU SALON DE 1844, Aux Bureau de L'ARTISTE, Paris. 1844. pp. 10, 28

66. Pecker, Andre. MEDECINE A PARIS, op. cit., p. 510

66b. Ackerknecht, Erwin. *ibid.*, p. 43

67. Astruc, Pierre, "Augustin Grisolles," LES BIOGRAPHIES MEDICALES, Paris. vol. 8, 1934. p. 311

68. Astruc, Pierre. *ibid.*, p. 315.
69. Ackerknecht, Erwin. *op. cit.*, p. 73
70. Grisolles, Augustin. "Memoire Sur La Pneumonie, D'Apres Un Resume De 50 Observations," JOURNAL HEBDOMADAIRE, 1836. Quoted in Astruc, Pierre, LES BIOGRAPHIES MEDICALES, *ibid.* p. 315
71. Astruc, Pierre. *ibid.*, p. 315 Ackerknecht describes Boullaud's treatments as "saignées coup sur coup (bleedings in rapid succession) without mercy." Ackerknecht, *op. cit.*, p. 109
72. Astruc, Pierre. *ibid.*, p. 318
73. Ackerknecht, Erwin. *op. cit.*, p. 109
74. Astruc, Pierre. *op. cit.*, p. 321
75. At the Academie Julian, Tony Robert-Fleury's atelier was paired with Bougereau's. Lefebvre and Boulanger had the other atelier. Robert-Fleury will be discussed further in connection with his painting of PINEL HAVING THE CHAINS REMOVED FROM THE INMATES AT THE SALPETRIERE.
76. Guiart, Jules, "Petrequin," LES BIOGRAPHIES MEDICALES, vol. 11, 1937, p. 90.
77. These included his studies of recent and ancient medicine. Among them were: ETUDES HISTORIQUES ET CRITIQUES SUR DIFFERENT MEDECINS DE L'ANTIQUITE EN PARTICULIER SUR HIPPOCRATE, GALIEN, PAUL D'EGINE ET ORIBASE; LE TRANSPORT DES BLESSES CHEZ LES ANCIENS; AND LA NOBLESSE DES MEDECINS DE LYON.
- 77b. On the significance of dating French history from the Gauls (decadence) or from the Franks (culture), see Eugen Weber's interesting essay, "Nos Ancestres Les Gaulois," in MY FRANCE POLITICS, CULTURE, MYTH, Harvard University Press, Cambridge and London, 1991, pp. 21-39. For the specific reference to Charlemagne, see p. 31.
78. Astruc, Pierre. "Rostan," LES BIOGRAPHIES MEDICALES, vol. 9, 1935. p. 87
79. Quoted in Astruc, Pierre, "Rostan," *ibid.*, p. 91

80. Benezit, E. DICTIONNAIRE CRITIQUE ET DOCUMENTAIRE DES PEINTRES, SCULPTEURS, DESSINATEURS ET GRAVEURS. Librairie Grund, Paris. 1976. vol. 4, pp. 392-393. Benezit calls Flandrin "vraiment le peintre religieux de la France aux XIXe siècle." As a portraitist, continues Benezit, "dessinateur impeccable, observateur attentif et recueilli devant la nature, il analysait les traits de la physionomie morale de son modèle et faisait resplendir l'âme dans le visage." The article then lists only Flandrin's portraits which remain in Paris from Mlle. Paule Ballard (1839) to the ones of Napoleon III, Casimer Perier and three others of 1863.
81. Delaborde, Le Vte Henri, "Le Salon de 1861," in MELANGES SUR L'ART CONTEMPORAIN, Renouard, Paris. 1866, p. 187
82. Laurent-Pichat, L. NOTES SUR LE SALON DE 1861, L'Imprimerie du PROGRES, Lyon. 1861. p. 23
83. Busquet and Gilbert, "Piorry," LES BIOGRAPHIES MEDICALES, vol. 4, 1930. p. 233
84. Busquet, Paul and A. Gilbert, "Piorry," p. 221
85. Quoted in Busquet and Gilbert, *ibid.*, p. 231
86. Busquet and Gilbert, *ibid.*, p. 231
87. Busquet and Gilbert, *ibid.*, p. 230
88. Busquet and Gilbert, *ibid.*, p. 220
89. Quoted in Busquet and Gilbert, p. 236
90. Gueniot, A. "Souvenirs Anecdотiques," (1927), p. 22. Quoted in Busquet and Gilbert, *ibid.*, p. 220
91. ALBUM GONNON, *op. cit.*, p. 67
92. Jal, A. L'ARTISTE ET LE PHILOSOPHE ENTRETIENS CRITIQUES SUR LE SALON DE 1824, Librairie Ponthieu, Paris. 1824. p. 427
93. The GUIDE EXPLICATIF DU MUSÉE CARNAVALET [Charles Sellier and Prosper Dorbec. Librairie Central Des Beaux-Arts, Paris. 1903] lists this painting as #658. #659 in the same catalogue is Taunay's (attribuee a) painting of Dubois's clinic. p. 185

94. Quoted by Segal, Alain. "Baron Guillaume Dupuytren," in LA MEDECINE A PARIS DU XIIIe AU XXe SIECLE. op. cit., p. 401
95. Lyons, Albert and R. Joseph Petrucelli, MEDICINE AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY, Harry N. Abrams, New York. 1987. p. 515. This article was written by Lyons.
96. Jal, A. SALON DE 1833, LES CAUSERIES DU LOUVRE, Charles Gosselin, Paris, 1833. pp. 372-373. Quoted in William Schupbach, "A Select Iconography of Animal Experiment," in Nicolaas A. Rupke, editor, VIVISECTION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, Croon Helm, New York, 1987. p. 348
97. Jal, A. Quoted in Schupbach, ibid. p. 348
98. Annet, A. and H. Trianon, EXAMEN CRITIQUE DU SALON DE 1833, Delaunay, Paris. 1833. p. 73
99. Schupbach, William. "A Select Iconography of Animal Experiment," in VIVISECTION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, Nicolass A. Rupke, ed. Croon Helm, London. 1987. p. 348
100. Lesch, John E. SCIENCE AND MEDICINE IN FRANCE THE EMERGENCE OF EXPERIMENTAL PHYSIOLOGY: 1790-1855. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., and London, England, 1984. p. 161
101. Schupbach, William. ibid., p. 348
102. The collection is untitled but is listed in the New York Academy of Medicine's Rare Book Room as "Seventy-Two Portraits of French Medical Men of the Nineteenth Century." Call Number 122-A Portraits.
103. Pecker, André, "L'Enseignement et La Pratique De La Medecine A Paris," in LA MEDECINE A PARIS DU XIIIe SIECLE A XXe SIECLE, op. cit., p. 67
104. Fox, Robert. "Scientific Enterprise and the Patronage of Research in France, 1800-1870," MINERVA, 11, 1973, reprinted in Robert Fox, THE CULTURE OF SCIENCE IN FRANCE, 1700-18--, Variorum, Alderchot, Hampshire, Great Britain. 1982, p. 472
105. Harrigan, Patrick J. MOBILITY, ELITES, AND EDUCATION IN FRENCH SOCIETY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 1980. p. 39