

Germaine Richier : Tradition and transition, sacred and profane

For Françoise Guiter

Disquieting Matriarch

Germaine Richier, the most important French sculptor in bronze of the postwar period, died prematurely of cancer in 1959 in her mid-fifties. Matriarch for three distinct successive sculptural generations her exhibition in London's Anglo-French Art Centre in 1947 holds the formal key to the 'geometry of fear' British sculptors of the postwar period: Edouardo Paolozzi, Reg Butler, and Lynn Chadwick, who, with their skeletal structures and characteristically brutalised surfaces, were promoted by Herbert Read internationally through the 1950s.¹ Richier was the magisterial precursor for the bronze sculptors in France of the 1960s and 1970s such as César and Ipousteguy, whose work, like her own, was deeply linked to a humanist tradition. Yet important aspects of her art - female subjects, strongly Catholic symbols, and Richier's surprising late, polychromed surfaces, anticipate Niki de Saint Phalle, her lone successor in the France of Pop Art and Nouveau Réalisme.

Richier's magnificent bronze couple *L'Orage* and *L'Ouragane* (*Storm-man* and *Hurricane Woman*) were placed at the entrance to the first major retrospective of postwar French art in Britain at the Barbican Art Gallery in 1982, and were shown again in *Paris Post War. Art and Existentialism*, at the Tate in 1993. When Tate Modern opened, her giant coloured chess-pieces, *L'Echiquier*, 1959, dominated an important room of European art; the bronze version has been subsequently installed in the Jardin des Tuileries with sculptures by Rodin and Maillol. The public were shown her golden-winged bat, *L'Homme-Chauve-souris* and the magnificent *Tauromachie* at the Royal Academy's *Paris Capital of the Arts, 1900-1968*, in 2001.

Why, then, has her work never been honoured with a major retrospective in Paris? Why does she rest almost completely unknown, despite a burgeoning interest among young American scholars, some minor recent publications and the fact that her retrospective catalogue produced in 1996, by Jean-Louis Prat at the Fondation Maeght, Saint Paul, is a major work of reference? A second retrospective held at the Akademie der Kunst in Berlin in 1997 occasioned an international academic conference and publication in German.² Richier's niece and former student, Françoise Guiter is compiling her catalogue raisonné, and has zealously guarded her heritage, endeavouring to place her works in museum collections with the greatest care. One may ask if there are reasons other than those of taste and fashion which have obscured Richier's reputation since her great Antibes retrospective of 1959.

The Giacometti factor? Surely his period of dominance is long past, while Richier's work arouses increasing curiosity. He had ceased exhibiting completely from 1935 to 1946 - over a decade, before Jean-Paul Sartre's consecration of the artist in *Les Temps Modernes*, heralding his first New York show in Pierre Matisse's gallery in 1948.³ While Richier was prominent, Giacometti's work remained invisible in Paris until his 1951 exhibition with Aimé Maeght. In the 1950s Richier was internationally celebrated; she had exhibited in Basle in 1944, Geneva in 1946; her own show with Aimé Maeght was in 1948, accompanied by an important publication with texts by Georges Limbour and the poet Francis Ponge. She showed that year, 1948, at the Venice Biennale. Giacometti, who did not, actually refused to

show at the following Biennale of 1950. Richier received the sculpture prize at the 1951 Sao Paulo Biennale, missing the 1952 Venice Biennale prize by one vote. It is only after Richier's death that Giacometti became indisputably the most celebrated European sculptor in the world with his Washington retrospective of 1963. Subsequently Giacometti's sculptures - initially compared by Sartre to the 'martyrs of Buchenwald' - assumed an archetypal elegance perfectly attuned to the décor and contents of the 1950s or 1960s museum or home of the private collector, where a residually 'existential' aura had a certain chic: initial intimations of tragedy were soon eclipsed by a sophisticated, urban absurd. Richier's art, less cosmopolitan than Giacometti's, is far more disturbing.

While the thread-like but indomitable forms of Giacometti's sculpture notionally eschewed all links with Western sculptural tradition (Egyptian influences notwithstanding), Richier's work deliberately set up dialogues with masters of the past. Richier's animal sculptures may be linked with the romanesque tradition of the gargoyle; her *ecorchés* with her namesake, Ligier Richier; nearer her own time she placed herself deliberately in the tradition of Rodin and the traditions of the monumental bronze, not only through her training and choice of foundries, but even through the use of Rodin's model, Nardone, for her masterpiece *L'Orage (Storm Man)*.

*D'une femme qui soit un grand sculpteur ...*⁴ Two aspects of Germaine Richier as an artist seem to have created unease, specifically her gender and her profound and questioning Catholicism in an age after Auschwitz and Hiroshima. In fact her evocation of a fallen world was visibly linked to the 'feminine' dimensions of her art: woman as Creator, versus woman as the embodiment of ensnarement, sin and death. Despite the chiasmic relationship one could posit here, no feminist discourse was available in the 1950s with which to comprehend or 'hold' her work; thus an unarticulated disquiet responded to the challenges she posed - not dissimilar to the fears generated today around the question of women in the priesthood. The implication of an 'unnatural' reversal was always present, in her appropriation of the Promethean myth of 'stealing fire' for example, or that of Vulcan in the foundry with its streams of red-hot liquid metal.⁵ Poets coming out of Surrealism such as André Pieyre de Mandiargues inverted Sadean metaphors, talking of Richier's cruelty, the way she brutalised her motifs, her sharp, cutting implements. The practical, manly garb she wore in the studio or in the foundries of Rodier, Valsuani and Susse - those which had cast the sculptures of Rodin himself - were visible proof of the anomaly of her status.

The dialogue between the past and the future, tradition and transition, between the sacred and the profane (the female) is present in her work from the outset. Aspiring to be a serious sculptor, Richier had insisted on a traditional training in her metier (her great precursor was of course Camille Claudel). At first, in the Ecole de Beaux-Arts at Montpellier she worked under Rodin's disciple and assistant Guiges; in 1926 she went to Paris, and through sheer strength of character insisted on becoming the only student of Rodin's successor, Emile Bourdelle - a man with links to Provence. The pure lineage of monumental sculpture was modified, in Richier's case through her anti-Parisian, Provençal link with nature.

Death and desire in a female nature

Nature was represented as a female embodiment; the Greek conceptions of naiad and dryad haunt Richier's disturbing metamorphoses, where ugliness, deformity and death itself modify paradigms of Mediterranean beauty inherited from Aristide Maillol or the later Auguste Renoir. Compare Maillol's rounded *Pomone* with her apple of 1907 with Richier's awkward *Pomone* of 1945; it conveys a sense of shame if not of sin. Or compare Renoir's charming *Laundry girl* crouched, washing linen, with Richier's bronze toad, *Le Crapaud*, 1940; woman on her knees, abased, with intimations of female monstrousness, a slimy regression, a nude beginning to hybridize at its extremities - the hands, the feet, the point of the nose... Richier created explicit metaphors of nature's physical invasion of sculpture: for *Le Fôret*, 1946, leaves were pressed into the wet clay of the female figure to leave their silhouettes; found twigs and branches were then cast in bronze as arms and limbs. In terms of materials, her use of *filasse*, a wispy flax armature, constituted the body of sculptures such as the *Cigale* or *Mandolin* - a skeleton leaf about to rot back to nothingness. *La Mante*, 1946, represents, upright and deathlike, the praying mantis celebrated by the surrealists as a token of female sexual power: she devours the male after copulation, reducing him to a dry husk in the Provençal sun. The idea of a reversal of evolution, the degenerating of the human through mammal and bat to bird and insect forms was a powerful metaphor not only of nature, but of regression to a more bestial universe in the aftermath of the atrocities of the war years.

Richier's use of wires may first be seen in the determinist image of the puppet, 1946. But with the *Le Diabolo* (*Young girl with Diabolo*) 1950, the diabolic dimensions of the title are not for nothing; the young girl seizes these wires of control, refuting the idea of helplessness. The snares of gargoyle-like *Le Griffu* take up this formal innovation, changing wires to web, reverting again to the world of animal and insect. More particularly, the female ant, *La Fourmis*, trapped victim in a web seems to have seized the spider's role - to spin herself, becoming an image of power: and insect Fury, a Parcae, one of the three Fates controlling life's duration. 'More bitter than death the woman whose heart is snares and nets' (*Ecclesiastes* 7:26). The Church's fear of woman's powers was expressed in similar metaphors...

L'Orage / L'Ouragane

With *Le Griffu* versus *La Fourmis*, the question of denotation as gendered is raised in French. The metamorphic state of the creatures themselves - the female body of *Le Crapaud* (the toad is gendered male) - had already posited this conundrum as a state of *passage*, transition. With *L'Ouragane*, (*Hurricane woman*) the necessary and female complement to *l'Orage*, the storm, Richier provocatively feminised the title of her sculpture (*ouragan* is a masculine noun).⁶ Conversely, *L'Orage* (*Storm man*) is represented as pregnant with the coming tempest. There is a compelling similarity between *L'Orage* and Rodin's bronze version of the naked *Balzac* 1891-8, who with his distended belly seems pregnant with the teeming life of *La Comédie Humaine*. These ambiguities were surely not lost upon Richier, as she drew plumb-lines and the axes of her projected sculpture onto the very skin of Rodin's model Nardone - now a very old man - from the nape of his neck to the groin and down to the knee. The persuasive claim that Nardone indeed posed for the *Balzac* has, alas, proved to be legend.

Born in 1867 in Italy, Nardone emigrated to Lyon, then Paris, and worked on building sites before becoming an artist's model; he was introduced to Rodin by Antoine Bourdelle in 1903. He may indeed have posed for Rodin's last marble version of *The Kiss* (1900-4, now in Tate Modern). He reemerged in the registers of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris from 1930-1958, posing regularly in Beaux-arts ateliers and those of the Académie de la Grande Chaumière. Richier employed him on a monthly basis to come every morning to her studio on the Avenue de Châtillon. He would take up three different poses on a stool, of three-quarters of an hour duration with fifteen-minute pauses. Proportions traced and then measured directly on Nardone's body were transferred to *L'Orage* using enlarging compasses. This was no grid-like division of the body, but a depiction of 'lines of force' to counteract perpendiculars, giving a dynamic thrust to her work in the round. Richier constructed an armature using wire rods and bones; the sculpture was hoisted from the ground with a derrick.

Richier was keenly aware of the historic force of Nardone's modelling for the *Orage* - so much so that she posed for photographs with Nardone by Luc Joubert, measuring his proportions with the compasses, tracing lines on his body, working on *L'Orage* in the studio with Nardone and with her student Claude Mary in the background.⁷ In 1947, the photography of studio 'work in progress' was still uncommon, and usually portrait-based (one thinks of photographers such as Denise Colomb), while Ernst Scheidegger's famous photographs of Giacometti at work for Jean Genet's *L'Atelier d'Albert Giacometti* were not published until 1958.⁸ One can only regret the absence of more scholarship as regards Richier's self-staging with photographers, who included Brassai, Ernst Scheidigger, Emmy Andriessse and Doris Bivetti-Gattiker. The photograph by Brassai of *L'Ouragane* on its back, *foudroyée*, 'struck by lightning' and prostrate in foliage presumably involved Richier's complicity. 'Like the rebellious sons of Uranus and Gaia she attempted to assault the sky itself, as with the Titans Zeus struck her by lightning' pontificated the critic Alain Jouffroy... A staged 'atonement' for the hubris of *L'Orage*? - a premonition, he argued, of her own premature death.⁹

Richier continued her prewar portrait practice, using Nardone, often with closed eyes, for works such as the eagle-profiled *L'Aigle*, or *Le Guerrier (The Warrior)*. With more than a hint of the death-mask they, too, are redolent of the *memento mori*, a theme in Richier's work made explicit with the skull-like pierced brick head of the *Berger des Landes* or the majestic *Tauromachie* - where the fight between man and bull is over: an almost acephalic figure struts beside the huge golden skull.

Sacred and Profane

In its very essence, sculpture stands against the collapse and corruption of the body in death, having evolved from such practices as the preservation of the dead in Mummies or the wax effigy.¹⁰ Richier's vertical *Tauromachie*, an evocation of life-in-death, may be interpreted as a modern avatar of the masterpiece by Ligier Richier: the tomb of René de Chalons, Prince of Orange, (Saint Pierre, Bar-le-Duc, after 1544). Patriarch of a family of religious sculptors, Ligier Richier specialised in crucifixions and depositions. His statue conflates two genres, 'transi tomb' and *écorché*, demonstrating the transition from the Middle

Ages to the Renaissance. The medieval 'transi tomb' depicted the body, lying costumed with the attributes of worldly pomp and circumstance, above a second sculpture of its decaying cadaver. Ligier Richier's vertical effigy which clutches a heart, its flesh in tatters, is both a *memento mori* and paradoxically triumphant: an animated humanist *écorché*, cloaked in splendour, resurrected. The sculpture was reproduced in *Cahiers d'Art* in 1939.¹¹ It is inconceivable that Germaine Richier was not intrigued and affected by her homonym - an obvious link for critics of her work, such as André Pieyre de Mandiargues.¹²

Indeed, almost from the outset of her career, Richier had been involved herself with the depiction of Christ. Her strange *Head of Christ*, 1931, was perhaps exhibited in 'La Passion du Christ dans l'Art Français' at the Trocadero in 1934. Since 1919, when the painter Maurice Denis set up the Ateliers d'Art Sacré in Paris, the Catholic Church had perforce confronted the problem of modern art in an age of post-first world war scepticism, materialism and scientific rationalism.¹³ Anachronistic second-rate commissions had given rise to what was known as the art of 'Saint Sulpice' after the church square in Paris where vestments and Church fittings could be ordered as required. While Pius XI had denounced 'amoral' art and stylistic 'deformations' in 1932, the Vatican State's pavilion at the Paris World Fair of 1937 demonstrated the viability of a 'modernised' sacred art - but generated conservative reactions and the first so-called *querelle d'art sacré*.¹⁴

The Romanesque and medieval sculpture of the South had a profound effect on Richier's work, encountered first in Arles and Avignon, then in the myriad publications of the Romanesque revival of the mid-1930s. Richier was not initially involved with the new sacred art movement after 1945, having spent the war years with her husband Otto Bänniger in Switzerland. But almost immediately the biblical metaphors entered her postwar work with *La Vierge folle*, the foolish virgin, of 1946 for example, (an awkward Venus Pudica;) or *La Feuille*, 1948, another foolish virgin, with leaf-prints on her skin, and arm cast from a branch: *l'écorce* (bark) prevails over *l'écorché* (the stripped figure). Beyond Eve's first fig leaves, a more frightening notion of the body reverting back into loam, into soil, into the forest itself is intimated: the message is always that of a *vanitas*. And despite Richier's insistence on always working from the model, one may imagine a kind of doubling, a 'transi tomb'-like relationship, between the sculptress, clothed, thick-set, commanding, and the young girl who poses as her model: 'As I am, so shall you be.'

Richier's 'fallen' animals may also be linked to the church: The low animal world of slimy and creeping things, and the magical monstrous (*Le Griffu*) retained vestigial theological meanings. Not only did apotropaic gargoyles symbolise sin leaping away from buttressed fabric of the gothic church, but Woman herself was accursed: the twelfth-century *Luxuria*, at the Cluniac priory of Moissac is naked, an unchaste woman tormented by toads and snakes: 'Female *vanitas* concealed death'.¹⁵ As Michael Camille has demonstrated: 'Women were associated with the dangers of excess, with speaking too much and too loosely.... they could infect others with their venomous menstrual looks.' Pregnancy was 'an image of natural grotesqueness. Saint Jerome referred to a woman with child as a "revolting spectacle... In sexual intercourse, pregnancy and menstruation, women broke out of their boundaries." ¹⁶ *L'Eau*, 1951 - a great jar washed up by the sea, turns the pregnant woman herself into a vessel of water. Richier's sculptural metaphors were thus reinforced by Catholic

anathema, pushing the nude into an eschatological space.

Assy: the Crucifix

By 1950, Richier's work had become internationally notorious in a way that caused her pain far beyond the pleasure of recognition. The genesis of her bronze crucifix commission for the church of Assy was surely the magnificent sculpture of 1946, *L'Homme-chauve-souris*, the Bat-man on the cover of her important catalogue *Derrière le Miroir* in 1948. Spiritual renewal, reconstruction and repair were urgent for the church on a vast scale during these years when neglect of buildings, the preventative removal of stained glass and bomb damage had been compounded by the French church's collaboration with Petain's Vichy Government during the war. The church at first backed the new sacred art of the postwar period, spearheaded by the Dominicans including avant-garde clerics such as Père Marie-Alain Couturier. His ambitious programme for a modernist church for a sanatorium community in the Alps, Notre-Dame-de-Toute Grace at Assy was blessed by Pope Pius XII in 1946.¹⁷ It involved the collaboration of modern artists in a spirit of ecumenicism and reconciliation: Catholics Georges Rouault or the young Jean Bazaine, the Jewish artists Chagall and Lipchitz who had been forced to flee France before the war, and Communists such as Jean Lurçat and Fernand Léger, creator of the mosaic façade, who subscribed to a specifically atheist politics. Richier's femaleness does, not seem to have been an issue; it was she who was commissioned to fashion the very body of Christ for the altar crucifix. The emaciation and featurelessness of Richier's bronze effigy - it did, in fact have a scratched face - obviously had contemporary, existentialist overtones and was in striking contrast to the colourful surrounding works, which were all implicitly indebted to a *tradition française*. On a poetic and etymological level, the fusion of body and bark, of body and wood in Richier's crucifix superbly evoked the metamorphosis of event to symbol. Indeed a placard was set up by the crucifix on the central altar quoting Isaiah 53: 'For he shall grow up... as a root out of dry ground; he hath no form nor comeliness... He is despised and rejected of men... a man of sorrows.' But Richier's crucifix was deemed 'liturgically insufficient', despite its consummate representation of death-in-life and life-in-death: the decay of Christ's mortal remains, His *dépouille*, were too apparent. Pères Marie-Alain Couturier and Régamey must be held partly responsible for the lack of instruction, it has been claimed.¹⁸

'A studio Christ cannot be the Christ for a Church' declared Stanislas Fumet in a famous article.¹⁹ Yet Richier's crucifix exemplifies the proximity between Catholicism and an existentialist Humanism, and the extension of this debate to that between the left-wing Christian 'personalist' intellectual Emmanuel Mounier, and the Communists. (The positive gestures of the Communist party towards Catholics - the so-called 'main-tendue' policy, of which Léger and Lurçat were the willing instruments within the Assy Church space, should not be forgotten here).²⁰

Just as Fernand Léger's magnificent mosaic façade for Assy was dubbed a blasphemy, Germaine Richier's crucifix caused a riot. The so-called Angers tract was issued by the right-wing Integrists entitled 'God shall not thus be mocked' It juxtaposed Richier's work with the head of a tender, bearded Jesus, a typically saccarine Saint-Sulpice prayer-book image, captioned 'The Face of Christ? *Non!* A scandal for Christian piety.' The work was finally

removed by the Bishop of Annecy.²¹ The Vatican's direct attack on Assy came on June 10th, 1950: *Dell'Arte sacra deformatrice*, a text translated and reproduced world-wide, denouncing Assy as a pastiche and an insult to the majesty of God.²²

Yet Richier was preoccupied with the question of beauty. Just after the Assy Church's inauguration on August 4th, 1950, she wrote to her husband, the sculptor Otto Bänniger in Switzerland: `I think that my conversation with a Christ of earth, of wood and of conviction turned out well enough. I think that slowly we are re-entering a decade of beauty....the previous day I went into my studio at 5.00 in the morning; the plaster Christ spread his arms over a whole world of plaster and bronze, which asked only to believe (*qui ne demandait qu'à croire*').²³ Her faith was agnostic : hence the poignancy and ambiguity of the photograph in which she poses as Pieta, a mourning Virgin mother holding her work, a plaster Christ-man, inert and dead. The furore continued into 1951. Jean Cassou, curator of the Musée National d'Art Moderne proclaimed that modern art had three enemies, Hitler, Stalin and the Pope.²⁴ The bronze crucifix was not reinstated at Assy for twenty years, reappearing on the high altar and classified as a historical monument, in 1971. Yet Richier continued to make crucifixes, which, descended from the human to the vegetable and mineral worlds: studded with chunks of uncut Gobain glass like so many early medieval gems, designed to glow when lit from behind. ²⁵

With the tragedy of cancer discovered in the later 1950s, Richier took to a significantly smaller scale, working with contrasting materials such as lead, coloured glass, slate, while castings from carved cuttlefish found on the beaches of the Camargue (in Mycenaean tradition), pursued her links with the textures of the natural world. She took to creating miniature *informel* works in paints, whose dried surfaces she then cast in bronze as textured backdrops for the smallest *étui* or stands, for her jewel-like sculptures; yet even at this point, both religious meaning and a sense of monumentality - the threshold between secular and sacred space - once again could be evoked. Richier's maquette for magnificent cathedral doors would evolve, a delicate and unrealised equivalent, in 1956, to Ghiberti's cathedral doors in Florence. The contemporary Italian comparison as regards bronze sculpture with sacred themes is eloquent: compare Lucio Fontana's cathedral doors (a little earlier), Giacomo Manzù's episcopal sculptures, or Marino Marini's equestrian sculptures whose iconography evoked the conversion of Saint Paul.

In 1956, Richier created the symbolic stone sculptures, the *Tombeaux*, twin tombs for her most famous pieces, *L'Orage* and *L'Ouragane*. Strange metamorphoses and the problematics of chance and control versus determinism continued, with Richier's animal-headed chess pieces, *L'Echiquier*. At the height of her powers, Richier had worked collaboratively with important painters such as Hans Hartung, Zao Wou-Ki and particularly Maria Helena Vieira da Silva, who as the most celebrated female artist of the School of Paris had painted coloured enamel backdrops for Richier's bronzes *La Toupie (The spinning Top / Old maid)* and *La Ville (The City)*. Richier now found a release in polychrome. Her King and Queen couple, cast in a gold version with in 1950 were polychromed in her last year. Before Pop or Nouveau Réalisme, before the polychrome sculptures of a Niki de Saint Phalle, Richier's little-known polychrome hybrids looked to the future, but could be linked with the

past: like the harlequined *jongleur de Notre-Dame* who performed his tricks in front of the cathedral... `Travesty, profanation and sacrilege are essential to the continuity of the sacred in society.'²⁶

Richier was neither the *Vierge folle*, mad virgin, nor *La Toupie*, the dotty old maid, that she parodied when baptising her sculptures so suggestively. Married to Otto Banninger from 1929 to 1952, although partially separated from him some years, she remarried the poet and art critic René de Solier in 1954. She was fiercely independent and sustained her expensive *métier* through a career as a wonderful and respected teacher. Her friend and supporter, Dor de la Souchère curator, at the Château Grimaldi, Antibes, arranged the magnificent retrospective of 116 sculptures she would see before her death in July 1959. Ironically, Richier would die prior to the Vatican II reforms of 1962 which adopted the very artists denounced in Assy as core of the new modern Vatican Museum collection.²⁷ France's sacred art tradition continues, as does the Vatican legacy...²⁸ In this anniversary year of Le Corbusier's church at Ronchamps, France's greatest twentieth-century religious building, her greatest postwar sculptor and religious sculptor - *une femme* - deserves requisite honour and recognition.

With warmest thanks to Mme Françoise Guiter who allowed me to see Richier's studio, preserved with her sculptures in Montparnasse and welcomed me to her home to show me the precious small-scale works.

NOTES

¹ *Germaine Richier*, Anglo-French Art Centre, 1947, with a catalogue text by René de Solier, included major early pieces such as *L'Escrimeuse (The Female Fencer)*.

² See *Germaine Richier*, Berlin, Akademie der Künste / Weinand Verlag, 1997. See also my text, 'Germaine Richier und der eschatologische Raum', *Raum und Körper in den Künsten der Nachkriegszeit*, Berlin, Akademie der Künste / Verlag der Kunst, 1998.

³ Jean-Paul Sartre: 'La Recherche de l'Absolu', *Les Temps Modernes*, 28, January, 1948, pp. 1153-63. See 'Under the sign of Sartre' in my text 'Paris Post War. In Search of the Absolute', *Paris Post War. Art and Existentialism, 1945-1955*, Tate Gallery, London, 1993, pp. 36-9.

⁴ André Pieyre de Mandiargues, 'La Main déchaînée', *Le Disque Vert*, I, 4, July-August 1953, reprinted in *Germaine Richier*, Paris, Galerie Creuzevault, 1966 (unpaginated) - a prolonged, mediation on the issues of bisexuality inherent in this linguistic paradox.

⁵ See Mircea Eliade: *Forgerons et Alchimistes*, Paris, Flammarion, 1977.

⁶ The model for *l'Ouragane* was Therese, a Bluebell girl (see Garnier, below).

⁷ See my article 'Liberia Nardone', *The Dictionary of Artists' Models*, Jill Berk Jiminez ed., London and Chicago, Fitzroy Dearborn publishers, 2001, pp. 391-394. Much primary research on Nardone was conducted by Bénédicte Garnier; see 'Liberio Nardone, ou l'homme est un paysage', *Supérieur inconnu*, 11-12, July-December, 1998.

⁸ Jean Genet, *L'Atelier d'Alberto Giacometti*, Paris, Marc Barbezat, 1958; one should recall Alain Resnais' little known films in the early 1940s of the artists Hans Hartung, Christine Bouteiller, Henri Goetz at work in their studios, long before Henri Clouzot's *Mystère Picasso* of 1959.

⁹. See Alain Jouffroy: 'Germaine Richier, l'Ouragane retrouvée' in *Hommage à Germaine Richier (1902-1959)*, Paris, Galerie H. Odermatt-Ph.Cazeau, 1992, p 4.

¹⁰. See Julius von Schlosser: *Histoire du portrait en cire*, (1911), Paris, Editions Macula, 1997.

¹¹. Georges Duthuit: 'Représentations de la mort', *Cahiers' d'Art*, vols 1-4, 1939, p. 27.

¹². André Pierre de Mandiargues, op. cit, refers to 'L'autre Richier (Ligier)' in a discussion of Richier's 'sadism'.

¹³. See the survey by Chanoine G. Arnaud d'Angel: *L'Art Religieux Moderne*, Grenoble, B. Arthaud éditeur, 1936 (two vols., with an extensive bibliography and 320 heliogravures); 'Bilan de l'Epoque 1920-1940', *Art Sacré*, March-April, 1948; Joseph Picard: *L'Art Sacré Moderne*, Paris/Grenoble, B. Arthaud éditeur, 1953.

¹⁴. See Pius XI, summarised in Arnaud d'Angel, op. cit., 1936, Chapter VI, p 76ff, and Corinne Wiktor: 'Etats Pontificaux. Paul Tournon' in *Paris 1937, Cinquantenaire de l'Exposition Internationale des Arts et des Techniques dans la vie Moderne*, Paris, Institut Français d'Architecture, 1938, pp. 152-7. The plan to reinstall the Vatican Pavilion window in Paris' Notre Dame cathedral provoked the debate: 'La querelle des vitraux de Notre Dame', *Art Sacré*, February 1938. The Musée des Arts Décoratifs held its major 'Exposition de l'Art Sacré Moderne' from November, 1938 to January, 1939.

¹⁵. Paul Binski, *Medieval Death, Ritual and Representation*, London, British Museum Press, 1996, pp 139-140 (he also refers to Frau Welt, Worms cathedral).

¹⁶. Michael Camille: *Image on the edge. the Margins of Medieval Art*, op. cit., pp. 68-9, making an analogy with the Bakhtinian body 'never finished, never completed; it is continually built, created and builds and creates another body' (citing Bakhtin, *Rabelais' World*, translated 1968, p. 317).

17. See 'Le Père Couturier', *Art Sacré* 9-10, May-June 1954, p 31, for Couturier's stay in Rome from March to April, 1946 and the Pope's blessing of the Assy project.

18. William Rubin, *Modern Sacred Art and the Church of Assy*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1961, Chapter 12, 'The Richier Crucifix', p. 160 note 1. This archetypal Cold War study pitches 'modern art' against the 'realism' of the art of Saint Sulpice.

19. Stanislas Fumet: 'Un Christ d'Atelier ne peut pas être un Christ d'église', *Recherches et débats* 15-16, July, 1951, in Rubin, op. cit., p. 163.

20. On July 14th, 1949, the Catholic church forbade its members to join the Communist Party - which depended on the Catholic working class vote was crucial; new efforts towards rapprochement followed those of 1936-8. See Maurice Thorez: *Pour l'Union. Communistes et Catholiques*, Paris, Editions Sociales, 1949 and debates in Emmanuel Mounier's Catholic review *Esprit*, 1946-1950.

21. 'On ne se moque pas de Dieu', the Angers tract with Richier's crucifix labelled: 'Le Christ? NON. Un scandale pour la piété chrétienne' is reproduced in 'Le dossier de la querelle', *Art Sacré*, 9-10, May-June, 1952, p. 4.

22. See Rubin, op. cit., pp. 54-5 for extensive quotation and discussion. For the French text see Cardinal Celso Constantini: *La Nouvelle hérésie iconographique*, C.S. E. EEE, Angers, nd. For the 'Sacred Art debate' see R. P. Pie Regamy, 'La Querelle de l'Art Sacré', *La vie intellectuelle*, Editions du Cerf, Paris, November 1951, pp. 3-48; Victor-Henri Debidour ed., *Problèmes de l'Art Sacré*, Paris, Editions de la Nouvelle Critique, 1951; and the bibliography given in *Germaine Richier, Rétrospective*, Saint Paul, Fondation Maeght, 1996, p 215.

23. See 'Fragments de lettres de Germaine Richier au sculpteur Bänninger, 1950-1956' in *Germaine Richier*, 1966, op. cit., (np).

24. Jean Cassou: 'Paris, Controversy and Quintessence', *Art News*, April, 1951, in Rubin, op. cit., p 51; Bernard Dorival this assistant, Bernard Dorival added 'The White House' (see 'Epurons les églises', *La Table Ronde*, June, 1951).

25. Significantly, the *Croix avec verres de couleur* of 1953 remained in the artist's studio.

26. Michael Camille, op. cit., p. 29.

27. Vatican II, the twenty-first ecumenical council was held from 1962-5; see Walter M. Abbott ed., *The Documents of Vatican II in a new and definitive translation*, New York, 1966, and catalogues of Vatican Museum collections.

28 See Inge Linder, *Pilgrimage to the Millennium: Sacred Art in France, 1962-1995*, Ph.D., University of London, 2000. See also Deyan Sudjic, 'Alpha for architecture, beta-minus for art. The artistic legacy of Pope John Paul II', *The Art Newspaper*, XIV, 158, May, 2005, pp. 34-5.