

Realism in Ornamentation: Ferdinand Hodler's Idea of Unity

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Unity

In an issue of the *Revue de Genève* in 1886, an anonymous contributor writing under the pseudonym "mysti" raised the question of Hodler's principle. The writer, who is likely to have been Louis Montchal, writer and personal friend of the painter, was writing about the painting called *Glimpse into Eternity* (cat. 13, p. 20): "The creative principle that guided Hodler's masterly brushstroke in this work is the principle of infinity. To be able to depict this rather dodgy abstraction [that of infinity], the painter did not rely on his own imaginative powers. He wanted to be true—and wants to be so still. With all the boldness of genius availing himself of naturalism as a vehicle for visualizing his ideal, he took a man—a poor man, I should add—and placed him larger than life right at the center of his canvas. The mystical quality of this work is sparked off by the contrast between the crudeness of the carpenter and that elusive word eternity!"¹ This interpretation by "mysti" points out up several problems at once: Hodler's adherence to a principle (irrespective of how the various aspects of that principle might be defined), the relationship between depiction and description, the connection between the painter's stylistic realism and the transcendent nature of his content, and the involvement of the viewer in making the leap from one to the other.

In a letter dated January 8, 1909, Artur Weese, professor of art history at the University of Bern, told his pupil Wilhelm Worringer in Munich of a lecture he was to give in Zurich that coming Monday. The title of the lecture, which was to include a discussion of the works of Cuno Amiet, Claude Monet, Vincent van Gogh, and Ferdinand Hodler, was "Impressionism and Eurhythmy." Weese at the same time described a recent visit to Hodler in Geneva: "I was astonished at what an analytical mind he has. He espouses his ideas like a true theorist, at times vaguely, at times crudely, but superbly well. He stakes everything on unity, parallelism, permanence, and symmetry." Inspired by the painting *Eurhythmy* (cat. 49, pp. 104/05) of 1894/95, as well as the fact that Impressionism owed its name to Monet's work *Impression, soleil levant*, Weese had suggested to the painter that he call his principle "Eurhythmy."²

Ignoring the professor's advice, Hodler retained the term "Parallelism," which he understood to mean any repetition of any kind which lends a painting unity. As early as 1904, he had endeavored to persuade Else Spiegel in Vienna of the advantages of multiple—especially four- or even five-fold—repetition: "I love clarity in a painting, and that is why I love Parallelism. In many of my works, I have chosen four or five figures to express one and the same emotion, since I know that repeating a thing deepens the impression made by it. The reason why I tend to prefer *five* is because an odd number is bound to enhance the order of the work, creating a natural center in which I can concentrate the expressiveness of all five figures. If I were to opt for a larger number, the eye would not be able to take in all the figures at once. That is something I want to avoid, however, so as not to disturb the coherence and order of the work."³

Hodler had discussed the importance of order and unity to a painting in a lecture he gave in Fribourg in 1897, the text of which was printed in a daily newspaper, and again in 1909 in *Der Morgen*, albeit with an additional chapter on Parallelism.⁴ Both the lecture and the essay close with the same prophecy: "The work of art will reveal a new order, the order inherent in all things: the idea of unity."⁵ In his Fribourg lecture, Hodler described his mission as being to discover the essential unity in all natural phenomena, and to realize this in his paintings, and in this way demonstrate it to the public. The most important precedent, not just for the artist's missionary zeal, but for the principle of unity itself, was Charles Blanc's widely circulated treatise on the *Grammaire des arts du dessin* (Grammar of the Arts of Drawing) published in Paris in 1867. In this work, Blanc declared the straight line to be a symbol of unity and the curved line a symbol of multiplicity, and drew an analogy with colors: White was the unity of light without color, black the unity of color without light, and it was between these two poles, he said, that the wonderful drama of nuanced harmonies was played out. In his treatment of composition, Blanc exclaimed enthusiastically: "Unity! Here we have the secret of all composition!"⁶

Blanc's textbook was the compass needle from which Hodler took his bearings when defining the mission of the artist and the role of



Cat. 13 *Glimpse into Eternity*, 1885
Oil on canvas, 246 x 168 cm
Kunstmuseum Bern

art: "The mission (if one may use this word), the mission of the artist is to lend expression to what is eternal in nature, namely its beauty, to expose its [nature's] essential beauty. He validates nature by bringing things to light, by bringing the forms of the human body to the fore, and by showing us nature aggrandized, simplified, and liberated from all insignificant detail. He shows us in his work his own mass of experience, emotion, and spirit."⁷ Writing in 1867, Blanc had outlined the greatness and the mission of art in similar terms: "It is the mission of the artist to remind us of the ideal, which means to unveil to us the original beauty of things, to expose their imperishable character, the essence of their being. Those ideas that manifest themselves in nature in a form that is chaotic or obscure are delimited and illuminated by art. The beauties of nature are subject to the action of time and to the universal law of destruction: Art delivers them from this, redeeming them from time, and from death."⁸

Hodler, like many of his contemporaries, was a firm believer in the mission of art and of the artist, and in art's concern with the disclosure or revelation of eternal beauty. At the time of his Fribourg declaration of faith, he was already working on an allegorical poster commissioned by the Zurich Art Society. One of his designs shows a young woman in profile, picking flowers, another version shows a young female figure dressed all in white, and crouching on a green hilltop in front of an Alpine backdrop. Her arms are raised skywards, and she appears to be smiling straight at the viewer.⁹ This amiable Medusa is an allegory of painting itself: Although larger than life, she is wearing a girlish dress to signify her innocence; she is facing the viewer head on, and is reaching up into the parallel stripes of cloud in the sky. This was the figure that Hodler chose to make known his ambitious goal of encompassing both the physical and the metaphysical, and of uniting these in a single whole. That this program would be blazoned forth in placards displayed on street corners did not disquiet him.

The Pledge

Hodler made his solemn pledge to art at the age of twenty-one. By that time, he was already living in Geneva, having walked there from Langenthal in late 1871 with the aim of copying the works of Alexandre Calame and François Diday at the Musée Rath.¹⁰ While doing so, he was "discovered" by Barthélemy Menn, in those days the most important art teacher in Geneva, who took him on as a private student in his class at the École des Beaux-Arts until 1877. In the eighteenthies, Hodler painted a number of portraits of the teacher he so venerated, and was to retain a feeling of deep gratitude towards him throughout his life.¹¹ Menn introduced the young Hodler to Leonardo da Vinci's treatise on painting and to Albrecht Dürer's theory of proportions, as well as encouraging him to read the works of Charles Blanc. This in turn led him to read Vitruvius's book on architecture, from which he copied both passages of text and drawings, among them the section on the symmetry and proportions of the temple and of the human body.¹²

According to a note made several years later by his biographer C. A. Loosli, the self-portrait called *The Student* of 1874 (cat. 1, p. 18) shows Hodler making a solemn pledge—both to himself and to his future audience—to devote himself to his art with the utmost seriousness and with "such unflinching commitment as assumes a readiness to make any sacrifice."¹³ The portrait was painted on a large canvas and like the earliest surviving self-portrait of 1872 shows the artist



Cat. 7 *The Angry One*, 1881

Oil on canvas, 73 x 53 cm

Kunstmuseum Bern, bequest of Ch. Edm. von Steiger-Pinson

with a pageboy haircut.¹⁴ In his left hand, he is holding an angle and plumb line, as thus two of the four attributes of *Giudizio*, the personification of informed aesthetic judgment in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*.¹⁵ His right hand is raised in the gesture of one swearing an oath, while the six books on the red chair identify him as a scholarly painter. The objects behind the artist's back—the crumpled sheet of paper, the closed portfolio, and the framed canvases stretched over it—represent three stages in the development of a work of art: the first sketch, the preparatory drawing, and the finished painting. As they are turned to face the wall, however, they must be read as symbolizing artistic intent, rather than achievement. There are innumerable self-portraits of artists in their studios with pictures hidden from view. The tradition can be traced back to Rembrandt, Poussin, and Velázquez, one of its main purposes being to evoke the mystery surrounding art that has yet to be created, and the artists who have yet to create it.¹⁶ In 1865 and hence a few years before Hodler, Paul Cézanne had likewise produced such a significant work. It is the small canvas called *The Stove in the Studio*, which in addition to the painter's paraphernalia in the foreground shows the back of a large canvas leaning against the stove, its painted front tantalizingly beyond our view.¹⁷

What Hodler was hiding from view in his self-portrait of 1874 can be easily deduced from the shape and size of the frame. The work in question is likely to have been *Le Nant de Frontenex*, which Hodler had entered for the Concours Calame in the same year.¹⁸ With this painting, which shows a narrow path through the forest with a deer half-hidden behind the trees and bushes, whose foliage is in turn set off against the brownish-green light of dusk, Hodler won the first prize and with it a prize money of 300 Swiss francs.¹⁹ The forest with a deer was a motif with which Gustave Courbet had delighted his viewers on several occasions. At the Salon of 1868, for example, his painting of *A Hunted Roe Deer on the Alert, Spring* had found a buyer in the person of Aristide Boucicaut, who was even willing to pay 4,000 francs for it.²⁰

Almost all of Hodler's self-portraits are directed straight at the viewer, or rather at his audience, which comprised not just lay visitors to exhibitions, but officials, critics, collectors, and art experts, too. As much as Hodler criticized, and even castigated, them, like any other exhibiting artist, he did not dispute their right to be his arbiters. His self-portrait called *The Angry One* (cat. 7) of 1881, constitutes an exceptionally aggressive confrontation inasmuch as it shows the artist with knitted brow, angrily turning his head to look over his shoulder at his viewers. When it was first unveiled, the self-portrait was assumed to be a portrait of the artist as madman—*le portrait d'un fou*.²¹



D ANTONIVS VAN DYCK EQVES
CAROLI REGIS MAGNÆ BRITANIÆ PICTOR ANTVERPÆ NATVS.
Anthonis van Dyck pinxit.
G. H. Can. pinxit.

1 Anthonis van Dyck, *Self-Portrait*

Engraving

From *Icones principum virorum...* [1636–40],
facsimile edition, Venice 1878

At the Salon de Paris in spring 1881, for example, it was exhibited as *Un insensé* (A Madman), while at an exhibition in Geneva in September of that year, it bore the title *Le furieux* (The Angry One).²² The title chosen for the Paris exhibition describes the subject's distraught mental state, while that for the Geneva exhibition describes a strong emotion—which doubtless has to do with the specific situation in that city.²³ Jura Brüscheweiler has pointed out that Courbet's early self-portrait *Le désespéré* of circa 1843 was exhibited at a gallery in Geneva in 1876.²⁴ So perhaps it was this work that inspired Hodler to confront his own audience with a discomforting picture of mental distress—or even to alarm it with an expression of undisguised rage. Hodler in this case was following the example of earlier portraitists, and specifically that of Anthonis van Dyck, whose collection *Icones principum virorum...* containing portraits of high-ranking contemporaries includes two of himself viewed from the back, but with his head turned. While one of these was enlarged to produce a bust on a plinth for the frontispiece (fig. 1), the other shows the artist in his role as painter to the court of Charles I of England wearing a heavy gold chain and gorgeous clothes. The figure viewed from the back with his head turned became paradigmatic for portraits of self-confident artists. Hodler may well have encountered it in the facsimile edition of *Icones*, which after a number of reprints was at last republished in Venice in 1878.²⁵

A short bust portrait of 1891 shows Hodler with his left shoulder thrust forwards, his head turned towards the viewer, and his pupils lodged in the corners of his eyes (fig. 1, p. 144). As in *The Angry One*, he has turned to face the viewer—with all the historical implications pertaining to such a pose since van Dyck—, but is wearing a completely different facial expression. What is conveyed here is not rage, but strength—the strength of a bull.²⁶ This self-portrait was probably painted in Paris, where *Night* (cat. 24, pp. 92/93), the masterpiece he had entered for the Salon du Champ-de-Mars, had just won him widespread praise, including from Pierre Puvis de Chavannes.²⁷

Hodler in most cases produced several copies of the self-portraits he completed after 1910; these were doubtless intended for collectors who wanted to hang a portrait of the painter alongside their paintings—a form of authentication that had been practiced since the seventeenth century. One of the numerous different versions of the *Self-Portrait* (cat. 103, p. 271) of 1912, for example, went to the collector Theodor Reinhart of Winterthur, who had ordered it two years previously. This work shows the artist with his eyes wide open in an expression of astonishment modeled on that of Charles Lebrun.²⁸

Appropriations

On a visit to the Augustinermuseum in Basel in 1875, Hodler saw Hans Holbein's famous painting of the *Dead Christ* (fig. 4, p. 292) and like everyone who saw this painting for the first time was fascinated by its unsparingly naturalistic depiction of a decomposing corpse. This horrifying image was to haunt him for many years to come, right up to the time of his deathbed portraits of his lover Valentine Godé-Darel.²⁹ Hodler's approach to earlier models was not so much to copy as to transform them, as was evident as early as 1876, when he painted the emaciated corpse of a peasant boy in Langenthal, clad only in the most pitiful rags.³⁰ Unlike Arnold Böcklin or Max Klinger, Hodler saw the *Dead Christ* as a painting of a corpse like any other, and so had no qualms about drawing on it for his own painting of a deceased member of the rural proletariat.

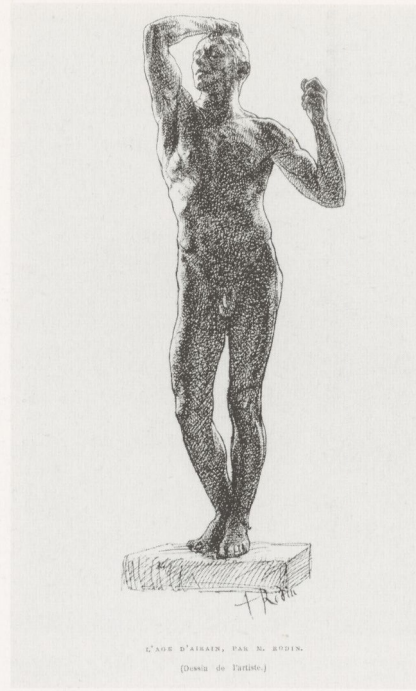
Around 1884, Hodler painted *Dialogue with Nature* (cat. 11, p. 25), which shows a young male nude against a landscape with a high horizon.³¹ The figure is depicted in profile and looking up to the right while walking rather stiffly along a horizontal path. His right arm is crooked at such an angle that his right hand is no higher than chest height, while his left arm is rather higher so that the left hand is at head height. The fingers of both hands are splayed, and the palm of his left hand is turned slightly to the right. The path behind the figure is shown mean-

dering into the canvas, while the three groups of trees in the meadows in the distance are positioned in such a way that the gaps between them are filled by the figure's head on the one side and by his left hand on the other. The preparatory drawing shows a figure walking along a path, but not the gestures of the naked youth of the painting.³²

A number of other painters, including Camille Corot and Barthélemy Menn, had painted their own nude figures in a quasi-natural setting. Hodler himself took up the motif in his multiple depictions of the *Good Samaritan* (see cat. 16, p. 72) of the mid-eighteen-eighties.³³ The *Tribune de Genève* saw in the standing figure in *Dialogue with Nature* an indebtedness to the nudes of Puvis de Chavannes: "The most striking of the large canvases are the *Gymnasts' Banquet*, the very decorative looking *Angry Warrior*, the *Prayer*, which is truly admirable in parts (the seated old man and the pastor), and the *Dialogue with Nature*, a nude study en plein air, which is somewhat in the style of Puvis de Chavannes."³⁴ As one of France's most highly esteemed painters in those days, Puvis de Chavannes had been commissioned to paint some murals in the entrance hall of the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon and had finished this work on these in 1884. The right half of the main mural of *Le bois sacré cher aux arts et aux muses* (*The Sacred Grove Beloved of the Arts and Muses*) shows two naked youths in a grove, one of whom is kneeling, while the other is in a walking pose with his arms raised.³⁵ The other visual sources for Hodler's youth that have been suggested include Egyptian reliefs of young men bearing gifts with which museum-goers in Geneva must surely have been familiar, given that Geneva was an important center of Egyptology in the nineteenth century.³⁶ Charles Blanc, moreover, had illustrated the chapter on proportions in his *Grammaire des arts du dessin* with five reproductions of Egyptian originals, including a frieze from Memphis³⁷ (fig. 5, p. 40). Hodler's most important source, however, is likely to have been a Greek bronze (fig. 2), which, having once stood on the terrace of the palace of Sanssouci in Potsdam, was later transferred to the Stadtschloss in Berlin, only to be looted by Napoleonic troops. The statuette was returned to Berlin in 1830, however, and thereupon exhibited in the rotunda of the Museum of Antiquities. Konrad Levezow, moreover, had published a paper about this *Betender Knabe* (*Praying Boy*) in 1808, illustrating what he had to say with an engraving of the work by Heinrich Anton Dähling.³⁸ The bronze, which is generally attributed to Lysipp or one of his circle, shows a boy in a walking pose with his arms raised.³⁹ Nor should Auguste Rodin's famous sculpture *The Bronze Age* should not be forgotten as a possible source, either. This



2 Lysipp (circle), *Praying Boy*, ca. 300 BC
Bronze, height: 128 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung, Altes Museum



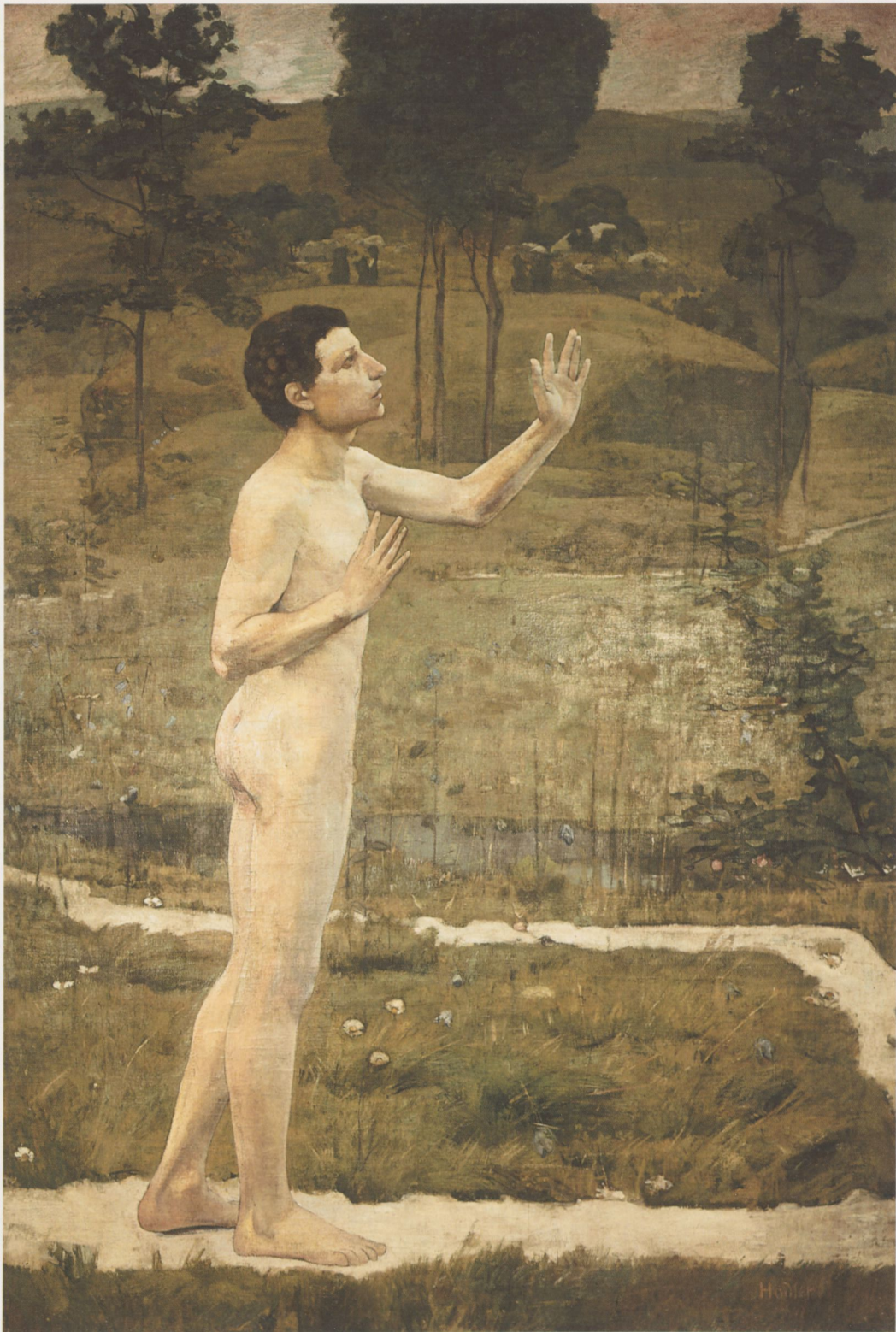
3 Auguste Rodin, *The Bronze Age*
Reproduction of a drawing
From *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 28, 1883, p. 59

was first unveiled in Brussels in 1877, at which time it was called *Le vaincu* (*The Vanquished*). By the time it was shown again at the Salon de Paris it had acquired the name it still has today, albeit with the subtitle *L'homme qui s'éveille à la nature* (*Man Awaking to his Nature*), which probably carried considerably more weight with Hodler.⁴⁰ In 1883, and hence one year before *Dialogue with Nature*, the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* published a drawing by Rodin showing a frontal view of this work (fig. 3).

As Hodler became more sure of himself as an artist, so he abandoned copying in favor of a much more creative approach to his visual sources. Two of his depictions of the Good Samaritan may help to shed some light on this development. The first version produced around 1883 shows a man administering water to a prostrate youth. The youth is shown at such a sharp angle of perspective that his figure is severely foreshortened—a technique that since the fifteenth century had counted as one of the most difficult for the painter to master. Jean Cousin's drawing book, first published in 1571, and reprinted on several occasions thereafter, contains four plates illustrating the difficulty of depicting reclining figures in all four positions: on the back, on the belly, from the head, and from the feet.⁴¹ In the mid-eighteen-eighties, Hodler took up the theme of the Good Samaritan again, but this time with the prostrate figure lying almost parallel to the canvas in

a position similar to the second one in Cousin's book. The helpful Samaritan on the far right of the work is shown emerging from a hollow and bending over the head of the naked youth. Shortly before Hodler, this motif, complete with the perspectival foreshortening of the victim, is to be found in Théodule Ribot's *Le bon Samaritain*, which was painted in 1870–75 and itself draws heavily on an earlier work by Johann Carl Loth.⁴² A small painting in the Louvre (fig. 4) which in those days was attributed to Adam Elsheimer may also have counted among Hodler's visual references.⁴³ In this work, the victim is lying almost slightly diagonally, while the Samaritan and his servant are rendered as half-figure portraits, and at least two thirds of the canvas is given over to trees and dense undergrowth.

The reason why Hodler took such an interest in this theme is not known. What is known is that he painted two versions of the later composition, one of them for his patron Johann Friedrich Bützberger, and the other without any particular buyer in mind. Hodler's later revising of the second version, the one that now hangs in the Kunstmuseum Bern (cat. 16, p. 72), eliminated the Samaritan from the work, and consequently stripped it of its Biblical subject-matter.⁴⁴ In his discussion of the 1887 exhibition at the Kunstmuseum Bern, Josef Victor Widmann turned this rejection of literary sources on its head by describing the work as a "mythologized image (of the death of Abel)."⁴⁵



Cat. 11 *Dialogue with Nature*, ca. 1884

Oil on canvas, 237 x 162 cm

Kunstmuseum Bern, on permanent loan from the Gottfried Keller-Stiftung



4 Jacob Pynas (attributed to Adam Elsheimer until 1977),
The Good Samaritan, first half of the 17th century
 Oil on copper, 21 x 26 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris

The importance of visual sources to Hodler continued to wane throughout the eighteen-nineties, even as he himself became increasingly monolithic. Adhering closely to his models or to his nature studies, he produced compositions of great simplicity according to ornamental principles. He also protested vehemently—including to Loosli—whenever he was described as a Symbolist,⁴⁶ and refused to be tied to any school or movement that had exponents other than himself. Other artists interested him very little, and even less so the more successful he became. His conduct at the nineteenth exhibition of the Vienna Secession in 1904 is telling in this respect. He had submitted thirty-one paintings to this show and the hanging committee had allocated him not just the main gallery, but the two adjoining vestibules, too. Hanging in the second gallery were twenty works by Edvard Munch, while the other rooms featured paintings by Axel Gallén, Hans von Marées, Ludwig von Hofmann, Wilhelm Laage, Emil Rudolf Weiss, and Thorn Prikker, as well as thirty canvases by Cuno Amiet. When the Viennese press hailed Amiet as Hodler's epigone, the friendship between the two men cooled off markedly.⁴⁷ Neither did Hodler, at least as far as we know, have anything to say about Munch, some of whose greatest works were on show in Vienna. Is it possible that he was not even aware of his Norwegian neighbor—the man ten years his junior who was now exhibiting all over Europe? Or did he imagine that the Viennese were quite right to accord his own works pride of place, and consequently ignored Munch for exactly the same reason? Surely after viewing Munch's symmetrical *Summer Night on the Seashore*, no. 43 of the exhibition, or his painting *Dead Mother*, which in Vienna was

exhibited as *Death and the Child*, Hodler must have realized how close the two men's thematic and artistic interests were. Perhaps the parallels in Munch's oeuvre were a source of Hodler's unease. Not until much later did Hodler draw inspiration from the works of a contemporary; that was in 1910/11, when he used Henri Matisse's sensational *Femme au chapeau* (*Woman with Hat*) of 1905 as a model for a portrait of his French lover Valentine Godé-Darel.⁴⁸

Ambitions

Not content to exhibit his works in Geneva or even in Switzerland alone, Hodler believed he should be measured against international competitors in the world's art capitals and above all in Paris. Starting in the early eighteen-eighties, therefore, he tried hard to make a name for himself in that city.⁴⁹ In August 1887, for example, he wrote to the education department of Canton Bern to request a grant for a stay, or even a course of training, in Paris—in vain, as it turned out.⁵⁰ Two years later, however, he was among those selected to represent Switzerland at the 1889 World Exposition in Paris, and there received "honorable mention" for his painting *The Parade of the Wrestlers*—an honor also accorded Félix Vallotton for one of his portraits.⁵¹ One of Hodler's best opportunities, however, came when his ambitious Symbolist work *Night* (cat. 24, pp. 92/93) was exhibited at the Salon du Champ-de-Mars in Paris. In February 1891, the president of Geneva's Conseil administrative Turrettini had had the work excluded from an art show at the Musée Rath on grounds of "immorality." Hodler had thereupon exhibited the work on his own account at the nearby Bâtiment électoral, and by charging one Swiss franc admission had accrued revenues of 1,300 francs over a period of two months. Acting on the advice of Mathias Morhardt, a friend of his from Geneva, and Marcellin Desboutin, who had spent some time in Geneva in the early eighteen-eighties, Hodler decided to submit his painting to the jury of the Salon du Champ-de-Mars, chaired by Puvis de Chavannes.

Night, whose main concern is the reclining nude in all its many permutations, was clearly influenced by *Le sommeil*, the mural which Puvis de Chavannes had painted for the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lille in 1867, and two smaller versions of which he produced in the years following. *Le sommeil* shows two separate groups of sleepers on a meadow near the seashore, one of them silhouetted against the rising moon, the other lying beneath some trees.⁵² That Hodler's *Night* was inspired by Puvis de Chavannes is evident from his paraphrasing of the couple in the lower right-hand corner of the work. Hodler, too, paints the back of a woman lying in the arms of a man, even if his

group is lying in a different direction, and his female figure is completely naked, rather than draped in red up to her waist, as she is in the work of the French Symbolist. The drawing of the sleeping couple made in preparation for *Le sommeil* (*The Sleep*) was reproduced in an 1888 issue of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* together with an essay about Puvis de Chavannes by André Michel (fig. 5).⁵³ Hodler drew heavily on this drawing both for the couple in *Night*, and again, eighteen years later, for one of the couples in *Love* (see cat. 86, p. 199).⁵⁴

Puvis de Chavannes glossed his genre painting of peasants asleep after bringing in the harvest with a quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid* in which sweet slumbers are celebrated as a gift of the gods.⁵⁵ Hodler, on the other hand, contrasts the peaceful slumbers of his figures with a deeply disturbing motif: The sleeper in the middle of the figures has been wrenched awake by a terrifying nightmare and is portrayed as one fearing for his life and screaming like Laocoon. The literary source of this motif, for which various visual points of reference can be cited, was probably *Le horla*, a short story by Guy de Maupassant published together with other novellas in 1887. The eponymous Horla is a product of the narrator's hallucinations, an evil spirit whose relentless menacing and persecution drives its victims to suicide. Being but a specter, the Horla is invisible at first, but one night is found squatting beside an unconscious sleeper, whom it strangles almost to death: "I sleep for two, perhaps three, hours, and then am afflicted by a dream—no, a nightmare! I sense that I am still lying in bed asleep; I sense it, and know it, too; but I also sense someone approaching me, staring at me, touching me, placing his hands around my throat, and throttling me with all his might. I try to defend myself, but am paralyzed by that impotence to which our dreams invariably subject us, and so am unable to help myself. I want to scream, but cannot. I



5 Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, Study for *Sleep*
From *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 37, 1888, p. 41



6 Henry Fuseli, *Nightmare*
Wood engraving
From W. Bürger, *Henry Fuseli*, 1871, p. 5

want to move, but cannot. Gasping from the exertion of being unable to do anything, I try at least to turn over in order to shake off the creature now strangling me and crushing me—but I cannot."⁵⁶

At this point in the story, the picture Maupassant is most likely to have had in mind is the best known depiction of the *Cauchemar* there is, namely Henry Fuseli's painting *Nightmare*, several painted versions and countless prints of which were in circulation at that time. The *Henry Fuseli* fascicle that W. Bürger (Bürger-Thoré) published in Paris in 1871 for Charles Blanc's *Les peintres de toutes les écoles* included a woodcut of this work (fig. 6), as well as the following explanation of this bizarre invention in the gothic genre: "Füssli's ambition was to appropriate the genre of gothic poetry. Having debuted with *Oedipus* shortly after his return from Rome, he presented in 1782 the *Nightmare*—the first work that was to win him the public's favor."⁵⁷

This reference to *la faveur publique* on the part of the great French critic could well have encouraged Hodler to transform the peaceful slumbers of Puvis de Chavannes' pastoral into a horrific nightmare. After all, one problem he faced was that of how to rid his work of the stigma of genre painting attached to most nineteenth-century depictions of people asleep.⁵⁸ To be sure of succeeding in this endeavor, Hodler adopted three different strategies: First, he took care to show different kinds of sleep. Second, he produced a rigorously composed, essentially ornamental work with the screaming victim of the nightmare at its center, and both the individual sleepers and the couples arranged in such a way as to produce a rotationally symmetrical com-

position. The reclining figures, moreover, are aligned in parallel to the canvas itself, the only exception being the man leaning against the dune in the top right. Third, Hodler chose a landscape setting which is not at all realistic, despite being bathed in white moonlight, and in which the fleshy, pale gray hue of his painstakingly sculpted figures is almost identical with that of the dune-like terrain on which they are lying.

The next opportunity of exhibiting his works in Paris was that provided by the Rose+Croix, a lay order of Catholic mystics which in 1892, under the leadership of Sâr Merodack Joséphin Péladan, initiated its own series of art exhibitions in the French capital. At the invitation of Antoine de la Rochefoucauld, Hodler—like other Swiss artists—agreed to take part in the first Rosicrucian Salon at the Galeries Durand-Ruel, and submitted his *Les âmes déçues* (*The Disappointed Souls*, cat. 33, pp. 100/01), even if he later chose to keep distance from this event.⁵⁹ The painting Hodler exhibited with its five black-clad figures, and his own echoing of the same in the five white-clad figures of *The Disillusioned* (cat. 36, pp. 140/41), warrants further discussion with regard to both the evolution of the motif, and the composition. The theme of the weary old man can be traced back to the late eighteen-eighties, when Hodler first saw a lithographed version of Vincent van Gogh's *At Eternity's Gate* (fig. 7).⁶⁰ He drew his own old man, his elbows resting on his thighs, and his face hidden in his hands, in 1891/92, but unlike van Gogh opted for a frontal view.⁶¹ The composition is likely to have been based on Henri Brispot's *En province (In the Country)* (fig. 7, p. 99), which having won a prize at the Paris World Exposition of 1889 must have been widely known at the time. Brispot's work shows five aged provincials sitting next to each other on a bench positioned at a slight angle in relation to the canvas.⁶²

It was out of these basic ingredients that Hodler developed two symmetrical compositions showing five figures sitting on an uncompromisingly horizontal bench. The most wretched of the five is the figure in the middle, who is flanked on either side by two by and large symmetrical pairs of figures. In the first version of the work, the figures at either end of the bench are shown turning into the canvas; this has the effect of rounding off the composition in exactly the same way on both sides. In the second version, this framing function is entrusted to two small tree trunks instead.⁶³ What Hodler had done was to replace the anecdotal arbitrariness of Brispot's work with a composition shaped by its rigorously frontal viewpoint and by its bilateral symmetry. However, the fact that his five figures are modeled on different sitters makes for both variety and individuality. Hodler, it seems, was



7 Vincent van Gogh, *At Eternity's Gate*, 1882
Lithograph, 49,7 x 34 cm
Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam

working out the compositional matrices for a row of five figures to which he would repeatedly return.⁶⁴ His aim in creating this particular row of old men was undoubtedly to amplify the impact made by just one of them. In the *Selbsterklärung* recounted to us by his biographer C. A. Loosli, Hodler described the work as follows: "Five figures are slumped next to each other; they are all the same size, and hence of the same importance, and they are all the same distance apart. I have eliminated all things perspectival so as to bring their essential sameness better to the fore."⁶⁵ With this, Hodler made the case for unity.

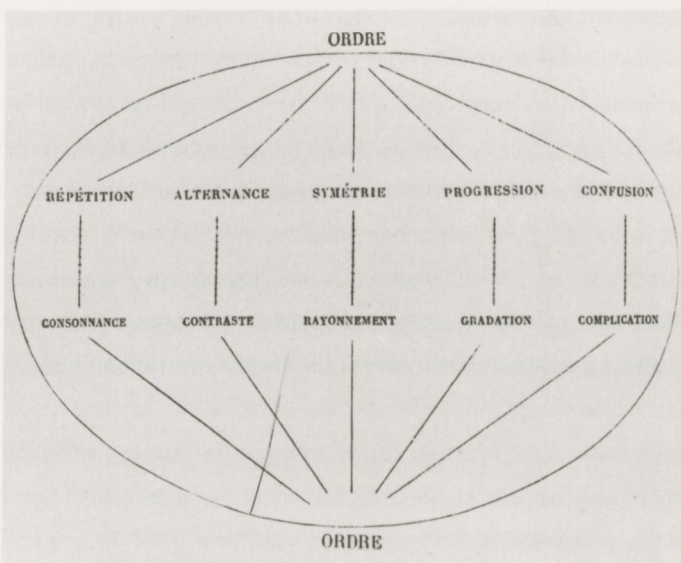
Composition as Ornament

Although Hodler began applying ornamental principles in his paintings in the early eighteen-eighties, it was not until *Night* and the two paintings of a symmetrical row of five seated old men that his canvases became fully developed ornamental compositions. Hodler's chief concern was not with the ornament as such, but rather with the difficulty of combining realistic representation with ornamental composition. This is a problematic endeavor, in that it seeks to homogenize what are actually diametrically opposed approaches. The ornamental principles of symmetry demand the repetition of abstract elements, whereas realism is defined as the accurate and recognizable reproduction of living things, landscapes, and the things of nature as they really are. Hodler never really departed from the mimetic method. Yet his

realism is still only one side of the coin, the other being the ornament. His combination of the two was often hard to accept both for his critics and for the viewing public. Without wishing to relinquish realism, Hodler must nevertheless have been impressed by the high status the ornament had enjoyed since the mid-nineteenth century, and which it continued to enjoy until Adolf Loos began his drive to liberate humanity from all "superfluous ornamentation."⁶⁶

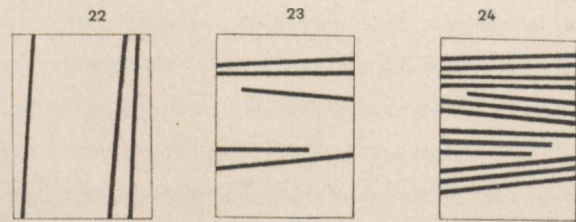
The Great Exhibition in London of 1851 had demonstrated the economic and aesthetic importance now given to ornamentation.⁶⁷ The principles were laid down by Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* and Ralph N. Wornum's *Analysis of Ornament*, both of 1856. The latter work in particular, which was reprinted several times prior to 1900, explained the difference between painting and ornament as follows: "The ornamental principle of symmetry may be introduced into a picture, but it is far from being essential to it; and when this principle is introduced, which it often is, the picture really becomes an ornamental design. . . . Any picture, whatever the subject, which is composed merely on principles of symmetry and contrast, becomes an ornament, and any ornamental design in which these two principles have been made subservient to imitation or natural arrangement has departed from the province of ornament into that of the picture or the model, whichever it may be."⁶⁸

In his highly successful *Elements of Drawing* of 1857, John Ruskin recommended the "law of repetition" as a means of generating unity within a composition and in doing so introduced an ornamental principle for both drawing and painting.⁶⁹ In his *L'art dans la parure et*



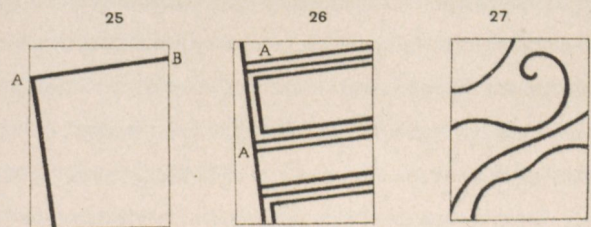
8 Charles Blanc, "The Rules of Ornamentation"
From *L'art dans la parure et dans le vêtement*, Paris 1875, p. 60

façon qu'il en résulte des espaces aigus et des angles pointus inharmo-
niques. En effet, les espaces qui séparent les formes sont aussi des formes,
les espaces qui séparent les ornements sont aussi des ornements; par
conséquent, à ce titre, ils méritent autant d'attention que ces formes et



ces ornements, et l'œil, en travaillant, doit les fixer en leur milieu et ne
pas s'arrêter exclusivement et successivement sur les lignes que l'on trace.

Il gêne souvent de beaux arrangements en y apportant sa note indécise
et douteuse. Le mauvais effet du faux parallélisme provient de l'inquiétude
où l'on est de savoir si c'est une chose faite exprès ou une faute. Au reste,



ce ne sont pas tant les lignes elles-mêmes qui choquent, que la forme
des espaces qui existent entre elles. Il est si manifeste que le doute se
trouve à la base du mauvais effet, qu'en prenant un exemple désagréable
de cet arrangement (23), il suffit d'en doubler les lignes (24) pour qu'im-
médiatement l'esprit se déclare satisfait devant cette preuve de volonté.

9 Eugène Grasset, "Faux parallélisme"

From *Méthode de composition ornementale*, vol. 2, Paris [1905], p. 51

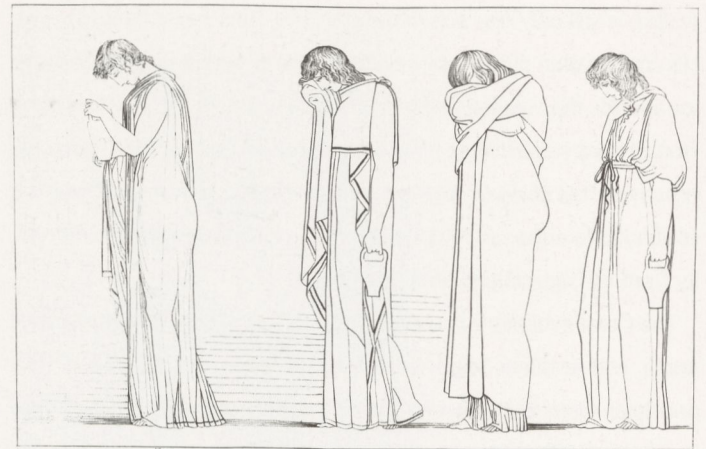
dans le vêtement of 1875, Charles Blanc, too, had analyzed the principles of decorative art, claiming that nature was "sublime," but never beautiful, for it lacked the three preconditions of the beautiful: order, unity, and proportionality.⁷⁰ The only instances of order, symmetry, and harmony in nature, he argued, were those to be found in the crystalline, the vegetable, and the animal realms. He arranged the general rules of ornamentation in an oval mnemonic (fig. 8), in which the primary and secondary concepts are represented as complementary pairs, and the two poles are *ordre*—the *primum mobile* of the whole Universe. Blanc propagated *unité* as the paramount goal of *ordonnance*, and defined "répétition, alternance, symétrie, progression et confusion" as the universal laws of ornamentation, some of which could be applied to the other arts as well.⁷¹

Hodler applied the rules of ornamentation to the composition of his figure paintings in both *Night* and in the two large canvases that followed. He also divided up his work into a first stage entailing the

study of live models, and a second devoted to the composition of the painting and the appropriation of his model studies. Hodler always made use of a Dürer pane—a learners' mimetic tool—to do this, and made paper prints of the drawings made straight onto the glass so that he could work on these and use them for the development of his compositions. The compositions themselves were sketched out on small sheets of paper or in sketchbooks, in which the figures were represented by simple parallel lines.⁷² When executing the painting itself, Hodler worked his model studies into the composition,⁷³ which marked a departure from purely ornamental composition as described in Eugène Grasset's two-volume *Méthode de composition ornementale* (Method of Ornamental Composition) of 1905. Whereas Hodler's compositional matrices are no different from Grasset's ornamental compositions (fig. 9), Hodler occupies the matrices with realistically executed figures based on his studies of live models. Artistic parallels to this method have been found in Ernst Häckel's *Kunstformen der Natur* (Art Forms of Nature) of 1899–04, in which the lithographer incorporates some of the symmetrical forms that occur naturally in the world of nature in purely ornamental plates, and in the portraits of Gustav Klimt, which combine realistically rendered facial features with large areas of two-dimensional ornamentation.⁷⁴ Hodler's method, like that of Klimt, inevitably sparks off a conflict between the two-dimensional area occupied by ornamentation and the three-dimensional space occupied by his corporeal figures.

In the landscapes he produced after the turn of the century, Hodler increasingly gave preference to motifs which could be reproduced as stripes, as in his views of Lake Geneva, or which permitted natural reflections or some other opportunity for symmetry—as did such near-pyramidal peaks as the Niesen or the Mönch. Hodler handled these by placing the pyramidal peak in the center of the canvas and arranging the clouds in an oval around it. Pale clouds were added to lend the summit a kind of nimbus, which was then amplified by means of a beam of light radiating out from behind the dark mountain.⁷⁵ The ornamental disposition is especially clear in those striped landscapes—such as *Lake Geneva with Jura* (*Landscape Rhythm of Forms*, cat. 93, p. 243) of 1909—that are completely without any lateral delimitation, and derive their rhythm from the stripes of cloud in the sky.

Ornamental composition for Hodler was a means of tying his mimetic treatment of a natural subject or model to a spiritual, or transcendent content. This is evident both in his development of themes, and in his effort to present the metaphysical view. The painting *Glimpse into Eternity* (cat. 13, p. 20) of 1885 shows a coffin-maker



10 John Flaxman, *The Choephoroe*.

Electra Leading the Procession to the Tomb of Agamemnon, copper engraving From *Œuvres de John Flaxman, sculpteur anglais, comprenant L'Illiade d'Homère, — L'Odyssee d'Homère, — Les tragédies d'Eschyle, — L'Œuvre des jours et la théogonie d'Hésiode auxquelles on a joint Les tragédies de Sophocles par Giacomelli*, Paris s. d. [ca. 1821], plate 83

in his workshop kneeling on a board in order to saw it. In a gesture reminiscent of Michelangelo's *Moses*, the joiner is holding his beard in his left hand, while leaning heavily on the saw he is holding in his right. The entire composition, the interruption of the subject's work, his posture, and the conspicuously placed coffin are all suggestive of epiphany—of the unexpected intrusion of the spiritual in the workshop. In his review of the Salon Suisse in 1885, Hodler's friend Duchosal discussed both this painting and the duality of the artist who painted it: "Hodler is both a mystic and a realist, and this duality leaves most people either divided, or confused. He excels at reproducing not just the stuff of memories or of dreams, but the realities of everyday life as well."⁷⁶ Hodler returned to the theme of a window of spirituality suddenly opening up in the middle of hard physical labor in *Architecture* of 1889/90, which was his entry to the competition to find an artist to decorate the main hall of the Swiss Polytechnic in Zurich.⁷⁷ This shows a bearded old man working at his drawing board and various semi-nude men and boys carrying stones and other materials to a nearby construction site, where a row of columns has already been erected. Clad in the robes of classical antiquity, the old man—perhaps Vitruvius—is resting on one of his measuring instruments, which in turn is resting on his drawing, and looking skywards as if in search of inspiration for the building he has not yet finished planning.

Hodler repeated this figure in *Autumn* (cat. 39, p. 139) of 1893, except that in this work, the bearded man is shown with his head



11 *The Procession of the Panatheneans*, Parthenon frieze, ca. 440 BC
Marble, width: 207 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris

bowed and standing on a meadow with two largely leafless trees on either side of him. The five figures processing 2 – 1 – 2 along a stony path in *Eurhythmie* (cat. 49, pp. 104/05) are certainly very similar, but differ with regard to the shape of their heads, their hair, and their beards indicating that they were based on different models. As in *Autumn*, the scene is framed by two spindly trees on either side, while the spatial depth is veiled by a white mist. The men are facing left, and their flowing robes leave us in no doubt that they are in fact walking. This forward motion, however, is thwarted both by the centering of the group in the canvas and by the use of two trees to frame it on either side. The overall impression, therefore, is more one of a slow and solemn procession, rather than swift forward motion. The idea for the name given to this painting could have come from Charles Blanc, who in his *Grammaire* of 1867 defined *eurhythmia* as a Greek word meaning “the totality of all measurements and the myriad accords contained in the unity of a single concert,” and described the human form as a paragon of eurhythmie.⁷⁸

Among the numerous other painters who had already tackled the problems posed by a row of figures in motion were Hippolyte Flandrin, Anselm Feuerbach, Edward Burne-Jones, and several others, too. John Flaxman’s illustrations of the Homeric epics and the Greek tragedies include one of the scene from Aeschylus’s *Oresteia* in which Electra and a group of libation bearers make their way to the grave of her father Agamemnon (fig. 10). The procession of the Panatheneans from the Parthenon frieze in the Louvre (fig. 11), which Blanc reproduced in his book, was also a known source.⁷⁹ Hodler conceived his painting as a succession of essentially similar, if physiognomically different old men, surging equably, but inexorably towards their fate in

much the same way as Burne-Jones arranged his rhythmically charged groups as a frieze.⁸⁰ Auguste Rodin set himself a similar challenge, and found a dynamic solution to it, in his memorial to the *Burgers of Calais*. These men, who were ready to sacrifice themselves for their town, are rendered by Rodin not just walking, but trudging, twisting, turning, and dawdling—always with the matching facial expression.⁸¹ Hodler made sketches of this work, the definitive version of which was unveiled at the World Exposition in Paris in 1889, but for his own work *Eurhythmie*—which unlike the *Burgers of Calais* was not based on a historical event—sought to convey a simple, universal law using an ornamental composition as his vehicle.⁸²

Hodler saw in his combination of realism and ornamental composition a means of expressing symbolic content, and so of making it readily comprehensible to the viewing public, without any recourse either to literature or to allegory. Among the risks of this method are the kind of critical vagaries and uncertainties that occur in *Day* and *Truth*, which were developed as one project over a period of several years and then separated into two autonomous canvases only at a very late stage in the project.⁸³ *Day* (cat. 57, pp. 110/11) of 1899/1900 uses five female figures in various poses to symbolize the diurnal rhythm; in other words, the commonplace experience of time and light from sunrise to sundown, depicted both simultaneously and symmetrically. In the 1902 and 1903 versions of the canvas called *Truth* (cat. 68, pp. 188/89), however, Hodler returned to allegory with a personification of truth surrounded by figures symbolizing expulsion and evasion. Truth herself is depicted frontally with her arms raised, whereas the black-clad adversaries on either side of her form a semi-circular ornament. The main problem with this work is that every suggested action is deadened by the ornamental quality of the composition.

Hodler used ornamental composition to establish a certain distance from the natural situations he liked to paint. His *View into Infinity* (see cat. 152, pp. 302/03), which was commissioned for Karl Moser’s new Kunsthaus in Zurich, and several versions exist, grew out of numerous model studies made using a Dürer pane, copies, and enlargements, to say nothing of countless extravagant compositional experiments to which hundreds of drawings still testify.⁸⁴ Only by working at this level of intensity was Hodler able to combine realistic figures with essentially ornamental, five-fold repetitions of the same, which despite the naturalistic appearance of their constituent parts cannot possibly be traced back to any realistic source. As in almost all his multi-figure compositions—*Day*, *Emotion*, *Sacred Hour*, *Love*, and others—, ornamental symmetry and floral decoration are used as a

means of removing the setting from the real world and placing it in another realm. Hodler, in other words, sought to forge a link between the natural and the metaphysical by placing realistic figures in an unnatural, ornamental setting. This is not Symbolism in disguise, however;⁸⁵ for whereas his artistic goal was closely related to that of Symbolism—which after all aimed to restore to painting its ancient links with the spiritual—his method, with its constant references to live models and real landscapes, and his combination of the same with an essentially ornamental composition, is not.

World Law

Hodler's Genevan friends Louis Duchosal and Mathias Morhardt were among those few of his contemporaries who understood what he was doing, and supported him in his endeavors as best as they could. Another artist who seems to have understood Hodler's intention was Vasily Kandinsky, who at that time was in Munich and about to combine painting with a theosophical interpretation of the spiritual. After seeing a major exhibition of Hodler's works at Heinrich Thannhauser's *Moderne Galerie* in Munich in 1911, Kandinsky included mention of his Swiss counterpart in the closing chapter of his 1912 book *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, in which he paid tribute to the "constructive efforts" then being made in painting.⁸⁶ Untroubled by false modesty, Kandinsky argued that the "melodic" compositions of Dürer and Raphael—"melodic" in this case meaning defined by simple geometrical shapes—had set in motion a historical development that had now culminated in his own "symphonic" compositions. Between these two extremes, the "melodic" and the "symphonic", he argued, came the "rhythmic": "Awakened to new life by Cézanne and later by Hodler, these melodic compositions were described in our age as *rhythmic*. This was the heart of the renaissance of compositional goals."⁸⁷ Kandinsky accorded Cézanne and Hodler a historic role in his narrative, and it was following his lead that Fritz Burger, himself a painter, art historian, and friend of Franz Marc, called his 1913 analysis of contemporary painting *Cézanne und Hodler*. Burger's main concern in this work was to draw a subtle distinction between Cézanne and Hodler in the vast context of Fauvism, Cubism, and German Expressionism.⁸⁸ After Burger, however, sympathy with Hodler's utopian program dwindled markedly, reaching its low-point in 1942, when the narrow-minded Hans Mühlestein and Georg Schmidt accused him of having betrayed both realism and his proletarian origins in favor of "bourgeois idealism," which in their eyes was execrable.⁸⁹ Not until the nineteen-fifties was Hodler's standing in the European

context reassessed. In 1954, Werner Haftmann, for example credited Hodler with having helped to bring about the "art turn" that took place around 1900, but went on to lament his "creaking pathos," and rated Edvard Munch the greater artist of the two.⁹⁰ Writing a year later, the young Werner Hofmann pointed out that the art historians' psychoanalytical approach to form had developed more or less parallel to the apprehension of the work as an autonomous whole—by Cézanne, Seurat, van Gogh, Munch, Gauguin, and Hodler.⁹¹

That Hodler could be understood in terms of either realism or idealism was a grave misunderstanding on the part of Mühlestein and Schmidt. Hodler's combination of realistic depiction with ornamental composition was rather a bold—if problem-fraught—undertaking. His paintings imply the utopia of an unmediated relation between the body, mind, and matter. As we know both from repeated utterances by the artist himself and from a large number of commentaries, the term Hodler himself used for this principle was Parallelism. We also know of his insistence that he had not only invented the term, but been the first to apply it as well. Loosli reports how on several occasions Hodler went out on a limb, recklessly declaring: "My work stands or falls with the rightness or wrongness of Parallelism. Either Parallelism, as I understand it, have described it, and applied it, is a global law of universal validity, in which case my work has universal significance; or I am mistaken, in which case my entire output is nothing but self-delusion and fraud."⁹²

"Parallelism" in the past has always been understood as a primarily formal principle resting on different kinds of symmetry (and hence repetition).⁹³ At this level, Hodler's dogmatic claim to have been the discoverer of Parallelism is hard to follow. There can be no more talk of his having "discovered" the technique of repetition, and of bilateral, translational, and rotational symmetry for painting than there can be of his having coined the term "parallelism", which his teacher Menn is also known to have used. The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* of 1814 contained an entry for *parallélisme*, which it defined as a term that could be used to describe lines and areas in geometry or the immutability of the Earth's axis in astronomy.⁹⁴ That Hodler could have been ignorant either of the term itself or of the discovery of symmetries in nature and in art is out of question. So was his demand for "copyright" to the term Parallelism really just dogmatism, or could he perhaps have been using the term in a way that was not covered by the standard definition?

The *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe* (Dictionary of Philosophical Terms) published by Rudolf Eisler in 1901 contains three

articles on "parallelism": one on logical parallelism, one—very long one—on psychophysical parallelism, and a third on biogenetics.⁹⁵ "Psychophysical parallelism" hypothesizes the parallel existence of material and mental processes. The idea that mental processes manifest themselves in material events was first floated by G. W. Leibniz in 1702. "Psychophysical parallelism" is the notion that body and mind are not causally linked, but instead are in some way coordinated. Gustav Theodor Fechner understood the "parallelism of the spiritual and the physical" to mean that the physical and the mental correspond, just as do the inside and outside of the same creature.⁹⁶ Numerous philosophers and psychologists in both Europe and the USA were to become involved in this debate, among them Wilhelm Wundt in Germany, Henri Bergson in Paris, and William James in the United States.⁹⁷

That Hodler actually read one of these many treatises on psychophysical parallelism seems unlikely, although it cannot be ruled out that his well-read Genevan friends introduced him to the idea, or raised what is actually a relatively simple hypothesis in one of their many discussions or conversations. Nevertheless, it seems more likely that Hodler had become aware of the connection between mind and matter that was such a preoccupation of so many late-nineteenth-century occultists, and that he himself made the link between this and his own idea of unity.⁹⁸ Even before his brief affinity towards the Rosicrucian Order, to whose 1892 art show he contributed one of his paintings, his figure paintings from the eighteen-eighties onwards certainly attest to an interest in epiphany (as in *Glimpse into Eternity* or *Dialogue with Nature*) and to a concern with spiritual content. Only in the portraits, the patriotic theme paintings, and the battle scenes is Hodler unable to manifest this interest. Many of the landscapes, on the other hand, actually underscore the spiritual dimension, whether with the aid of symmetry and light phenomena and/or by being stripped of all vestiges of human presence. The very last landscapes, which are also known as the *paysages planétaires*, show us Hodler on the threshold of a metaphysical experience—standing on the shore of Lake Geneva as if on the edge of the Earth itself and from there gazing out into Space.⁹⁹ It was these simple, light-flooded landscapes (cats. 158–162, pp. 337–43) with their narrow strip of shoreline, a body of water reflecting the light of the sky, the Alps of the Savoy, and a narrow strip of sky in pale blue or smoldering orange that afforded Hodler a "view into infinity." Here, too, however, he is at pains not only to reproduce accurately the silhouette of the Savoyan Alps

as seen above the lake, but also to create an ornamental composition made up of horizontal stripes with no lateral delimitations. It is the unity of color and light that forges the link with the "cosmic" or the "transcendental"—whatever one prefers to call it.

By combining realistic figures with ornamental composition, Hodler created his own unique vehicle for conveying an essentially spiritual content. "Parallelism" for him was to be more than just formal repetition; it would involve establishing a connection between the physical reality of a figure or a landscape and a spiritual content as well. When Hodler claimed to be practising "Parallelism" in his paintings, then what he meant was not just formal repetition, but "psychophysical parallelism," too. Because this was such an unusual undertaking, he could indeed claim to have invented a new principle, and even describe it—not without reason, given the status of psychology and ornamentation at that time—as a "global law."

Did Hodler have a principle? We have discussed certain aspects of a principle, but have not actually named it by name. Duchosal preferred the notion of infinity, Weese proposed eurhythmy, Hodler himself insisted on "Parallelism," although he once suggested a concept which is perhaps preferable, even if it lends too much weight to the utopian quality of his work. "The idea of unity" was so important to Hodler that at the Salon d'Automne in Paris in 1913, he and Mathias Morhardt committed a terrible faux pas.¹⁰⁰ Hodler, whom President Raymond Poincaré had just elevated to the Legion of Honor, was guest of honor at the show, contributed six canvases which caused widespread consternation, and were even decried as "Prussian" in some circles. What Hodler had chosen to exhibit was a version of *Unanimity* (see cats. 179–184, pp. 356–59) a monumental painting for Hanover town hall that he had just finished work on. Misjudging the political tensions between Germany and France, Morhardt claimed that Hodler's rather militaristic-looking painting in fact had a humanitarian mission: "I would love to think that the masterpiece *Unanimity* that Hodler submitted to the Salon d'Automne of 1913 is a visible symbol of that truth which is both old, and at the same time new, and that it heralds a humanity that is greater, stronger, and more humane."¹⁰¹ Perhaps Hodler believed himself capable not only of reconciling the opposite poles of realism and ornamentation, but of conveying through this paintings the idea of an all-embracing unity.

I would like to thank Andreas Rufenacht, Monika Schäfer, Anette Schaffer, and Patricia Bieder for their assistance with the research for this essay. I am also indebted to my colleague Wolfgang Pross for his pointers regarding the handling of Parallelism.

Notes in the Essays

Oskar Bätschmann: Realism in Ornamentation: Ferdinand Hodler's Idea of Unity (pp. 19–33)

- 1 mysti..., "Fantaisie sur un tableau de Hodler," *La Revue de Genève*, 2, September 25, 1886, pp. 378–82: "L'infini, tel est le principe créateur qui a guidé le magistral pinceau de Hodler. Pour exprimer cette désespérante abstraction, le peintre ne s'est pas fié à son imagination. Il a voulu—il veut toujours—être vrai. Avec l'audace logique du génie, il a pris du naturalisme pour faire de l'idéal. Il a empoigné un homme—je veux dire un homme pauvre—et l'a planté tout vivant au milieu de la toile. Du contraste de ce charpentier aux formes brutales et de ce mot insaisissable: Eternité! Jaillit soudainement l'étrincelle mystique."
- 2 Artur Weese, *Ausgewählte Briefe 1905–1934 (Jahresgabe der Bernischen Kunstgesellschaft für 1935)* (Bern, 1935), unpag., letter IV; in 1910, Weese published an analysis of some of Hodler's works and principles, especially those of repetition and eurhythmy, see Weese 1910.
- 3 Hodler 1904.
- 4 Freiburg 1981; Hodler 1909, pp. 23–26.
- 5 "L'œuvre révélera un nouvel ordre perçu des choses et sera belle par l'idée d'ensemble qu'elle dégagera." See Freiburg 1981; Loosli 1921–24, vol. 4, pp. 299–314.
- 6 Blanc 1867, p. 532: "L'unité! voilà le véritable secret de toute composition," see p. 25.
- 7 Freiburg 1981, according to p. 38 (of the facsimile of the manuscript): "La mission (s'il est permis de dire) la mission de l'Artiste est d'exprimer l'élément éternel de la nature, la beauté, d'en dégager la beauté essentielle—il fait valoir la nature en mettant en évidence les choses, il fait valoir les formes du corps humain—il nous montre une nature agrandie—simplifiée dégagée de tous les détails insignifiants. Il nous montre une œuvre qui est selon la mesure de son expérience, de son cœur et de son esprit." Underscorings in red and black as in the original MS.
- 8 Blanc 1867, p. 14: "L'artiste est chargé de rappeler parmi nous l'idéal, c'est-à-dire de nous révéler la beauté primitive des choses, d'en découvrir le caractère impérissable, la pure essence. Les idées que la nature manifeste sous une forme embrouillée et obscure, l'art les définit et les illumine. Les beautés de la nature sont soumises à l'action du temps et à la loi universelle de destruction: l'art les en délivre; il les enlève au temps et à la mort."
- 9 Zurich et al. 1983/84, nos. 62–92, pp. 46–60.
- 10 Loosli 1921–24, vol. 1, pp. 12–15, 18–29.
- 11 Louis Hautecœur, "Ferdinand Hodler (1853–1918)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 60 (1918), p. 387; Loosli 1921–24, vol. 1, pp. 36–46. For more on Hodler's portrait of Barthélemy Menn, see Fischer 2005, p. 16.
- 12 Loosli 1921–24, vol. 1, pp. 41–46, based on memoranda and various other writings in Hodler's estate, et al.
- 13 Loosli 1921–24, vol. 1, pp. 34–40; Hodler remembers painting the self-portrait called *The Student* "in a Rembrandtian light" in the basement of a house belonging to Frank de Morsier; Brüscheweiler 1979, pp. 36–37; Pfäffikon 1981, pp. 14–16, no. 11, under "Der Student."
- 14 Geneva 2005, no. 1, p. 99.
- 15 See Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Siena, 1613), p. 292; the male figure of *Giudizio* is shown sitting on a rainbow and holding the attributes of an angle, yardstick, compasses, and plumb line. I would like to thank Tristan Weddigen for pointing this out to me.
- 16 Christopher Brown et al., eds., *Rembrandt: Der Meister und seine Werkstatt*, exh. cat. Gemäldegalerie SMPK im Alten Museum, Berlin, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and The National Gallery, London, 2 vols. (Munich, 1991), vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 131–33. For more on the comparison with Poussin and Velázquez, see Wolfgang Kemp, "Teleologie der Malerei. Selbstporträt und Zukunftsreflexion bei Poussin und Velázquez" (1992), in idem, *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Munich and Berlin, 2006), pp. 77–98; Oskar Bätschmann, *Nicolas Poussin: Dialectics of Painting* (London, 1990), pp. 45–61; Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat, eds., *Nicolas Poussin 1594–1665*, exh. cat. Galeries nationales du Grand Palais (Paris, 1994), no. 190, pp. 428–31.
- 17 John Rewald, *The Paintings of Paul Cézanne: A Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. 1 (New York, 1996), no. 90, p. 91.
- 18 Pfäffikon 1981, nos. 8–10, p. 131; Fischer 2005, pp. 15–16.
- 19 Brüscheweiler 1983, p. 49.
- 20 *Gustave Courbet (1819–1877)*, exh. cat. Galeries nationales du Grand Palais (Paris, 1977), no. 104, p. 195.
- 21 *Gazette de Lausanne et Journal Suisse*, 119, May 21, 1881, p. 1: ". . . Cette toile légèrement insensé s'appelle dans le livre: Un insensé . . . C'est le portrait d'un fou." ["The catalogue calls this somewhat crazy picture: A Madman . . . It is the portrait of a crazy person."]
- 22 Brüscheweiler 1983, p. 64. Exh. cat. *Salon de 1881*, Paris 1881, reprint (New York and London, 1977), no. 1157: "HODLER (Ferdinand), né à Berne (Suisse), élève de M. Menn.—A Genève, Grande Rue, 35; et, à Paris, chez M. Gallerand, boulevard Voltaire, 16.—L'insensé." The critics discussing the work shown at the Geneva exhibition refer to it as the *Furieux*; see *Journal de Genève, National, Politique et littéraire*, 247, October 20, 1881, suppl., p. 1.
- 23 As Hodler portrays himself with a newspaper in his hands, Jura Brüscheweiler has interpreted this work as a portrait of his fury upon reading an unfavorable critique in the *Genevois*, and hence as a spontaneous reaction on the part of the artist; Brüscheweiler 1979, p. 54; Jura Brüscheweiler, "Zu einigen Porträts und Selbstbildnissen: Entstehung, Deutung, Datierung," in Zurich and Berlin, 1983, pp. 405–22.
- 24 Brüscheweiler 1979, pp. 44–45, fig. 14a; see Pierre Courthion, ed., *Courbet raconté par lui-même et par ses amis* (Geneva, 1948–50), vol. 2, p. 255; Paris, 1977 (see note 20), no. 5: *Portrait de l'artiste dit Le désespéré*, pp. 81–82, the catalogue recalls both Rembrandt and Jacques-Louis David, but above all the *Frayeur* by Charles Lebrun. See Michael Fried, *Courbet's Realism* (Chicago and London, 1990), ch. 2: "The Early Self-Portraits," pp. 53–84.
- 25 Anthonis van Dyck, *Icones Principum Virorum* (Antwerp, no year [ca. 1636–41]) and (Antwerp, 1645); [van Dyck] *Iconographie ou Vies des Hommes illustres du XVII. Siècle, écrites par M. V.** avec les portraits peints par le fameux Antoine van Dyck et gravées sous sa direction*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam and Leipzig, 1759). See Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *L'iconographie d'Antoine van Dyck. Catalogue raisonné*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1956), 2nd extended ed. 1991; the nineteenth-century facsimile edition contains no indication of either the place or date of printing. The catalogue of the British Library in London suggests Venice and 1878 (British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings). See Hans-Joachim Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim et al., 1984), pp. 45–164, 181–220; Bätschmann 1994.
- 26 Weese 1935 (see note 2), unpag., letter XXII to Maria Weese of July 19, 1927 describes this self-portrait enthusiastically as one of the greatest masterpieces of the genre: "The most acute observation looking in the mirror, without pale vanity looking over its shoulder. Astonishing candor, resolute inquiry, and wonderful painting."
- 27 Brüscheweiler 1979, pp. 74–76; Geneva 2005, no. 3, p. 102.
- 28 Winterthur 2005, vol. 1, no. 73, pp. 220–22 (Regula Bolleter).
- 29 For more on Holbein's *Dead Christ*, see Jochen Sander, *Hans Holbein d. J. Tafelmalerei in Basel 1515–1532* (Munich, 2005), pp. 132–47; 437–38; (Zurich, 1976).
- 30 Bätschmann 1989; Geneva 2005, no. 11, p. 111.
- 31 Pfäffikon 1981, pp. 63–64.
- 32 Zurich and Hanover 1990/91, no. 26, pp. 26–27.

- 33 Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot, *Nymphe couchante: le sommeil*, 1855–58, in Claude Lapaire, *Musée d'art et d'histoire Genève* (Zurich, 1991), p. 94, fig. 122, and Jura Brüscheweiler, *Barthélemy Menn, 1815–1893: Étude critique et biographie* (Zurich, 1960).
- 34 G. B., "Exposition Hodler," *La Tribune de Genève*, 7, 292, December 12, 1885: "Parmi les grandes toiles, nous remarquons la 'Fête de gymnastique,' le 'Guerrier furieux,' d'un effet très décoratif, la 'Prière,' qui contient des morceaux admirables (le vieillard assis et le pasteur) et le 'Dialogue intime,' étude de nue en plein air, un peu dans le style de Puvis de Chavannes."
- 35 *Puvis de Chavannes au musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon*, exh. cat. Musée des Beaux-Arts (Lyon and Paris, 1998), pp. 24–53 (Pierre Vaisse).
- 36 The Egyptologist Édouard Naville taught at the University of Geneva from 1881. See Denis van Berchem, *L'Égyptologue genevois Édouard Naville: Années d'études et premiers voyages en Égypte 1862–1870* (Geneva, 1989).
- 37 Blanc 1867, pp. 38–56.
- 38 Reproduction of Heinrich Anton Dähling in Konrad Levezow, *De iuvenis adorantis signo ex aere antiquo hactenus in regia Berolinensis nunc autem Lutetiae Parisiorum conspicuo* (Berlin, 1808). See also Gerhard Zimmer and Nele Hackländer, eds., *Der Betende Knabe: Original und Experiment* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997).
- 39 Sara Stocker discovered that Karl Stauffer-Bern made the same connection with Hodler's *Worshippers* of 1888, which was intended for an exhibition at Belvoir-Park on Lake Zurich, see Sara Stocker, *Vom Handwerker zum Propheten: Zur künstlerischen Entwicklung von Karl Stauffer-Bern zwischen 1881 und 1889*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Bern, Institute of Art History, 1999.
- 40 Alain Beausire, *Quand Rodin exposait* (Paris, 1988), pp. 65–67, 73; exhibited again in 1880, in Paris, and following its purchase by the state executed in bronze that same year. See Albert E. Elsen, *Rodin's Art: The Rodin Collection of the Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University* (New York, 2003), pp. 37–48.
- 41 Jean Cousin, *L'art de dessiner, augmenté de plusieurs figures d'après l'antique* (Paris, 1821), pp. 58–65.
- 42 Gabriel S. Weisberg, *The Realist Tradition: French Painting and Drawing 1830–1900*, exh. cat. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland et al., 1981/82, no. 90, pp. 123–25. Théodule Ribot sold the painting to the city of Pau in February 1875 after the exhibition at the Société des Amis des Arts.
- 43 *Inventaire Napoléon*, ca. 1810, Inv. 1269; the new attribution to Jacob Pynas was made in 1977 by Keith Andrews.
- 44 Brüscheweiler 1983, pp. 75–76.
- 45 Widmann 1887.
- 46 Loosli 1938, pp. 150–58.
- 47 Cuno Amiet and Giovanni Giacometti, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Viola Radlach (Zurich, 2000), nos. 217, 221, pp. 369–71, 374–76.
- 48 Warth 1989, p. 14; Bächtzmann 2007/08, p. 156.
- 49 Loosli 1921–24, vol. 1, p. 55; Hirsh 1994, pp. 66–107.
- 50 Brüscheweiler 1983, pp. 83–84.
- 51 Marina Ducrey, *Félix Vallotton 1865–1925: L'œuvre peint* (Zurich und Lausanne, 2005), vol. 2, pp. 10–11.
- 52 Aimée Brown Price, ed., *Pierre Puvis de Chavannes*, exh. cat. Van Gogh Museum, (Amsterdam and New York, 1994), no. 47, pp. 116–18.
- 53 Andre Michel, "Exposition de M. Puvis de Chavannes", in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 30, 1888, pp. 36–44.
- 54 See Phyllis Hattis's comments on *Liebe* in Berkeley et. al. 1972/73, p. 71.
- 55 *Libret du Salon de 1867*, no. 1252: "Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, Le Sommeil, 'Tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris incipit.' (Virgile, *Enéide*, liv. II)" ["It was the hour when for weary mortals their first rest begins, and by grace of the gods steals over them most sweet."] (Amsterdam, 1994) (see note 52), no. 47, pp. 116–18.
- 56 Guy de Maupassant, *Le horla* (1887), in idem, *Contes et nouvelles* (Paris, 1974), vol. 2, pp. 912–38, pp. 915–16: "Je dors—longtemps—deux ou trois heures—puis un rêve—non—un cauchemar m'étreint. Je sens bien que je suis couché et que je dors . . . je le sens et je le sais . . . et je sens aussi que quelq'un s'approche de moi, me regarde, me palpe, monte sur mon lit, s'agenouille sur ma poitrine, me prend le cou entre ses mains et serre . . . serre . . . de toute sa force pour m'étrangler. Mois, je me débats, lié par cette impuissance atroce, qui nous paralyse dans les songes; je veux crier,—je ne puis pas,—je veux remuer,—je ne peux pas,—j'essaye, avec des efforts affreux, en haletant, de me tourner, de rejeter cet être qui m'écrase et qui m'étouffe,—je ne puis pas!"
- 57 W. Bürger, *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles: École anglaise* (Paris, 1871), fascicle "Henry Fuseli," pp. 4–5: "Fuseli ambitionna de s'approprier le genre de la poésie fantastique, et, après avoir débuté, aussitôt son retour de Rome, par un *Édipe*, il exposa, en 1782, un *Cauchemar*,—the *Nightmare*,—c'est le titre de sa première œuvre qui entraîna la faveur publique." D. H. Weinglass, *Prints and Engraved Illustrations By and After Henry Fuseli: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Aldershot, 1994), nos. 67–69, pp. 55–73.
- 58 For more on the motif *Le Sommeil ou quand la raison s'absente*, see exh. cat. Musée cantonal des Beaux-Arts (Lausanne, 1999/2000).
- 59 *Exhibitions of the Rosicrucian Salon* (reprint of the catalogue of the 1st to 6th Salon de la Rose+Croix, published in Paris from 1892 to 1897) (New York and London, 1981); Jacques Lethève, "Les Salons de la Rose-Croix," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 102 (1960), pp. 363–74.
- 60 Jacob Baart de la Faille, *L'œuvre de Vincent van Gogh: Catalogue raisonné* (Paris, 1928), vol. 2, no. 1662, fig. in vol. 4; see Pfäffikon 1981, pp. 88–89 (Franz Zelger).
- 61 Munich and Wuppertal 1999, nos. 69–71.
- 62 Bächtzmann 1986, p. 70, fig. 7.
- 63 Vignau-Wilberg 1982, pp. 202–11.
- 64 Bächtzmann 1986.
- 65 Loosli 1921–24, vol. 4, p. 285.
- 66 Werner Oechslin, *Stilhülse und Kern: Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos und der evolutionäre Weg zur modernen Architektur* (Zurich, 1994).
- 67 Shai-Shu Tzeng, *Imitation und Originalität des Ornamentdesign: Studien über die Entwicklung der kunstgewerblichen Musterbücher in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts und im 19. Jahrhundert in England, Frankreich und Deutschland* (Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft, vol. 54) (Munich, 1994); E. H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (Oxford, 1979).
- 68 Ralph N. Wornum, *Analysis of Ornament: Characteristics of Style: An Introduction to the Study of the History of Ornamental Art* (1856), 10th ed. (London, 1896), p. 9. In his introduction, Eugène Grasset elevates his *Méthode de composition ornementale* of 1905 to the status of ornamental composition: "La faculté de composition de l'ornement est donc un don poétique, comme il en faut un pour tous les autres arts, car ce don procède aussi de la vision préalable sans laquelle il ne peut exister que de pénibles arrangements dont les soudures et les disproportions montrent le côté artificiel. Chez le poète, le vers surgit tout fait dans l'imagination; il en est tout autant des formes ornementales." ["The ability to compose ornaments is therefore a poetic gift such as one must have in every other art as well; for it is this gift that requires one to have a definite vision in one's head before proceeding. Without this, composition is bound to be but a paltry piecing together, dilettantism, and disproportion, revealing of its own artificiality. The poem is finished in the head of the poet; and this is the case with ornament, too."] Eugène Grasset, *Méthode de composition ornementale*, vol. 1, Paris [1905], p. 1.
- 69 John Ruskin, *The Elements of Drawing* (1857), reprint (New York, 1971), pp. 167–70.
- 70 Charles Blanc, *L'art dans la parure et dans le vêtement* (Paris, 1875), p. 1: "Elle [la nature] n'est point belle, parce qu'elle manque des trois conditions du beau, qui sont l'ordre, la proportion et l'unité."
- 71 *Ibid.*, pp. 60–61; Blanc 1867; Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des arts décoratifs* (Paris, no year [1880?]).
- 72 Collection des Musées d'art et d'histoire de la Ville de Genève, Cabinet des dessins, Carnet Inv. 1958_176/90, pp. 10–11; Carnet Inv. 176/70, p. 34.
- 73 For more on Hodler's working method, see Bächtzmann 1999; Beltinger 2007.
- 74 Ernst Häckel, *Kunstformen der Natur*, Leipzig 1899–1904. Gustav Klimt, *Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer I*, 1907, oil, silver-, and gold-leaf on canvas, 138 x 138 cm, Vienna, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere.
- 75 Bächtzmann 2003, pp. 51–61, 184–85.
- 76 Louis Duchosal, "Le Salon suisse à Genève," *La Revue de Genève*, 1, October 20, 1885, pp. 37–42: "Hodler est un mystique et un réaliste, dualité qui déconcerte et désoriente la plupart des jugements. Il excelle à rendre les choses du passé ou du rêve, et les réalités de la vie."
- 77 Brüscheweiler 1973, fig. 1, p. 2.
- 78 Blanc 1867, p. 30: "l'ensemble de toutes les mesures, la variété des accords contenue dans l'unité du concert."
- 79 *Ibid.*, p. 427.
- 80 See Bächtzmann 1989, pp. 16–19.
- 81 Auguste Rodin, *Burghers of Calais*, 1885–95, bronze, 231 x 245 x 200 cm.
- 82 See Bächtzmann 1989, p. 23.
- 83 Bächtzmann 1986 (1 + 2).

- 84 Zurich 1998, nos. 856–1087; Bern 1999 (1), nos. 187–263.
- 85 Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character (The Charles Eliot Lectures 1947–1948)*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1953), p. 141.
- 86 Vasily Kandinsky, *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (1912), ed. Max Bill and Jelena Koch-Fontaine (Bern, 2004); Paul Klee, in *Die Alpen*, 6 (1911/12), pp. 243–45.
- 87 Kandinsky 2004 (see note 86), pp. 143–47.
- 88 Burger 1913; see Hüttinger 1984.
- 89 Mühlestein and Schmidt 1942, 2nd ed., 1983; see Hüttinger 1984.
- 90 Werner Haftmann, *Malerei im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1954), pp. 81–83.
- 91 Werner Hofmann, "Studien zur Kunsttheorie des 20. Jahrhunderts" (1955), in idem, *Bruchlinien: Aufsätze zur Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1979), pp. 34–54.
- 92 Loosli 1921–24, vol. 1, p. 75.
- 93 See my own comments in Bächtli 1986 (1 + 2).
- 94 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, 2 vols., 5th ed. (Paris, 1814), vol. 2, p. 226.
- 95 Rudolf Eisler, *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1901), pp. 975–83.
- 96 Gustav Theodor Fechner, *Zend-Avesta: Gedanken über die Dinge des Himmels und des Jenseits vom Standpunkte der Naturbetrachtung* (first ed. 1851), ed. Max Fischer (Leipzig, 1919), pp. 256–69.
- 97 Wilhelm Wundt, "Über psychische Causalität und das Princip des psychologischen Parallelismus," in *Philosophische Studien*, 10, 1894, pp. 1–124.
- 98 *The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890–1985*, exh. cat. County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, and Haags Gemeentemuseum, Den Haag (New York, 1986); see Friedrich Wilhelm Fischer, "Geheimlehren und moderne Kunst: Zur hermetischen Kunst-auffassung von Baudelaire bis Malewitsch," in *Fin de siècle: Zu Literatur und Kunst der Jahrhundertwende*, ed. R. Bauer et al., (Frankfurt am Main, 1977), pp. 344–77; *Okkultismus und Avantgarde: Von Munch bis Mondrian 1900–1915*, exh. cat. Schirn Kunsthalle, Frankfurt am Main (Ostfildern, 1995), pp. 32–37 (Marty Bax). Aarau 1998.
- 99 Widmer 1919, p. 9.
- 100 Baumgartner 1998, pp. 76–77.
- 101 Salon d'Automne 1913, p. 267, "Exposition de Ferdinand Hodler," p. 268: "J'aime à penser que ce chef-d'œuvre, *Unanimité*, que Ferdinand Hodler a envoyé au Salon d'Automne de 1913, est le symbole visible de cette vérité si nouvelle et si vieille tout ensemble, et qu'il annonce une humanité plus grande, plus forte—plus humaine aussi."