

Degas' *The Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen*

The Unknown First Version

by Gregory Hedberg, Ph. D.

The bronze of Edgar Degas' famous *The Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen* in this exhibition was cast from a late nineteenth-century plaster (figs. 1-2) that records the artist's sculpture in an early, previously unknown state. There is substantial evidence that when Degas' wax statue was first shown in 1881, it looked quite different from the way it does today, and several Degas scholars have previously suggested that Degas reworked *The Little Dancer* after 1903.¹ However, until this plaster was recognized as recording the first version of Degas' statue by the present author, there was no visual evidence to indicate what Degas' 1881 version actually looked like. The newly-discovered plaster—called the Valsuani plaster, after the Valsuani foundry in Paris where it lived from 1955 until 2006—is now in a private collection in the United States and will eventually be donated to a museum. Because it was made directly from this amazing plaster, the bronze of *The Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen* in this exhibition can now be recognized as recording the first version of Degas' famous statue.

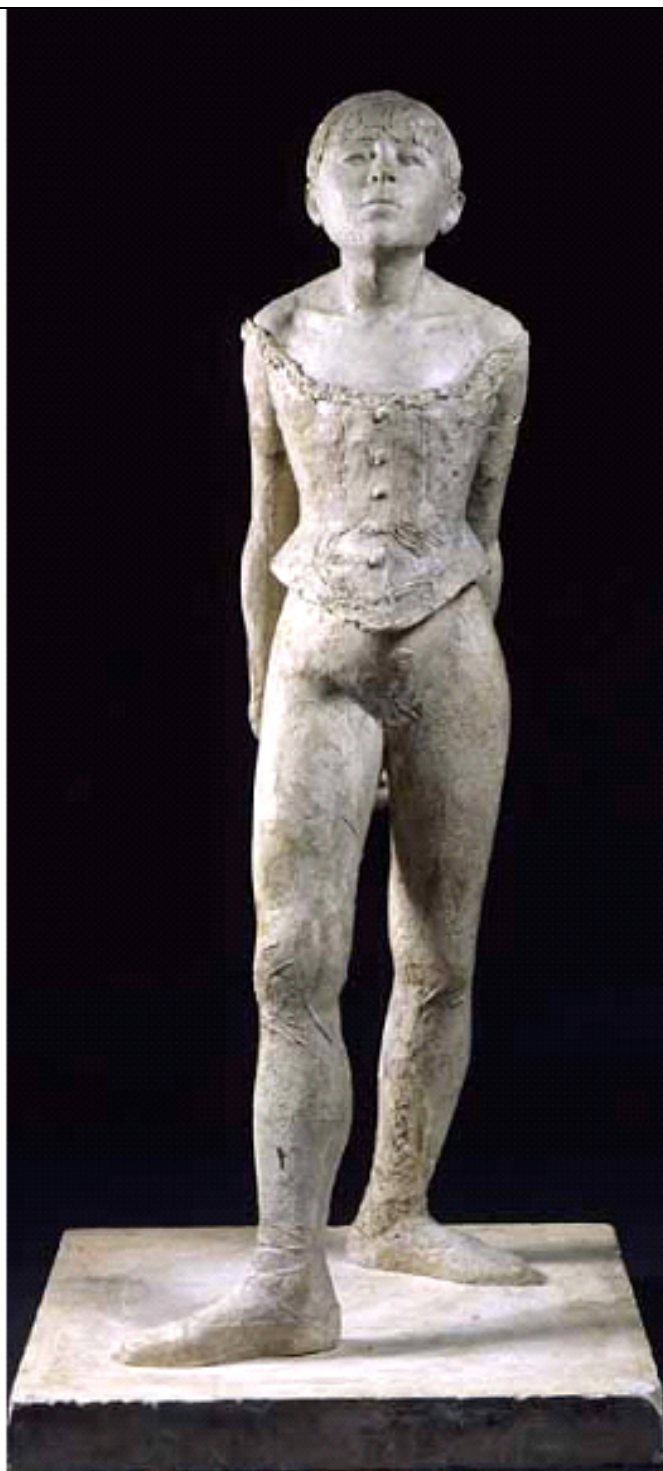


Fig. 1-*Valsuani Plaster of The Little Dancer*, 39 3/4 inches high, without the base, front view, cast between 1887 and 1903, from Degas' 1881 version of his wax statue. (Private Collection)



Fig. 2 - Valsuani Plaster of *The Little Dancer*, left profile

The History of Degas' Wax Statue

The Little Dancer, Age Fourteen was first conceived as a wax sculpture around 1878. After being exhibited in a glass vitrine in the Sixth Impressionist Exhibition in Paris in 1881, the sculpture was returned to Degas who continued to display it in his apartment. The Valsuani plaster was cast from Degas' wax statue of *The Little Dancer* at some point between 1887 and 1903. After April 1903, *The Little Dancer* was again moved, now from the second floor living quarters of Degas' apartment to his top-floor studio, where it is amply documented that he then extensively reworked the wax statue.

The person who inspired Degas to rework his first version of *The Little Dancer* two decades after it was

shown in 1881 was the art collector, Louisine Havemeyer (1855-1929), of New York City. During her visit to Degas' apartment in Paris with the American artist, Mary Cassatt (1844-1926), in April 1903, Havemeyer admired Degas' wax statue and expressed interest in buying it. However, Degas did not want to sell it to her because he said the wax had blackened. Instead, Degas proposed making a bronze of *The Little Dancer*. In order to cast a bronze of any wax statue, a plaster must be made first. We now know that the elderly Degas was able to suggest a bronze of *The Little Dancer* to Mrs. Havemeyer, because in 1903 a plaster already existed—the Valsuani plaster from which the present bronze was made. Thus, the bronze that Degas proposed to Mrs. Havemeyer in 1903 would have looked just like *The Little Dancer* in this exhibition.

In the fall of 1903, Mrs. Havemeyer wrote to Mary Cassatt that she did not want the bronze Degas had proposed to her, but only wanted to buy the original wax. ⁱⁱ

After his idea for a bronze was rejected, Degas decided to repair his wax statue and sell it to Mrs. Havemeyer. He told the art dealer Ambroise Vollard that he was “finishing” *The Little Dancer* for Mrs. Havemeyer; Degas had even set a price of 40,000 francs. ⁱⁱⁱ Degas also asked his sculptor friend, Paul-Albert Bartholomé (1848–1928), for advice about repairing a wax sculpture “that was going to go to America.” ^{iv}

The fact that the sixty-nine-year-old Degas reworked his statue of *The Little Dancer* is not at all surprising. Throughout his career Degas frequently reworked his art. ^v To cite one example, The J. Paul Getty Museum recently purchased a painting by Degas called *The Milliners* that was originally “finished” in 1882, just one year after Degas “finished” his wax statue of *The Little Dancer*. The painting

now shows two workers in a Milliner's shop, but when conservators at the Getty museum recently X-rayed the canvas, a different composition appeared underneath. The Getty painting is now dated by the museum "about 1882 to before 1905." Coincidentally, the twenty-year span of time between the "completion" of the first version of the Getty canvas and Degas' reworking of it is similar to the twenty-year period between Degas' original "completion" of his first version of *The Little Dancer* in 1881 and his later reworking of his wax statue after 1903. The Valsuani plaster is like the X-ray of the Getty painting in that it reveals a previously unknown first version of a major work of art by Degas.

Comparisons between the Valsuani plaster of *The Little Dancer* and the wax, now in the collection of The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., show that after the statue was moved to his studio in 1903, Degas changed the figure's leggings, bodice, skirt and ribbons, and, most importantly, the figure's pose. In 1998, Richard Kendall pointed out that there is indeed clear evidence that the original skirt and hair ribbons on Degas' wax statue were changed at some point between 1881 and 1918.^{vi} The green ribbon around the figure's neck and the blue ribbon at her waist, observed by critics in 1881, were no longer present on the second version of the statue when it was photographed for the first time in 1918. The skirt on the wax of *The Little Dancer* is today also different from the skirt seen in the 1918 photograph.

There is also clear evidence that Degas changed the figure's bodice after 1903. In 1881, the female reviewer Nina de Villard specifically stated that the bodice on Degas' *Little Dancer* was made of "coutil," a cheap muslin-type fabric similar to duck cloth or twill.^{vii} However, today we find a very fancy bodice made of cotton faille, a very closely woven, shiny fabric that is similar to grosgrain silk. It

is much more luxurious than the inexpensive fabric described by Nina de Villard in 1881, and surely not to be mistaken for it.

Additional documentary and physical evidence substantiating that *The Little Dancer* bronze in this exhibition represents the first version of Degas' wax statue is found in the author's forthcoming book, *Degas' The Little Dancer, The Unknown First Version*.

What Happened to *The Little Dancer* statue after Degas died?

After Degas died in 1917, the wax of *The Little Dancer* was found in the artist's studio along with seventy-three other wax and plastilene sculptures that were all eventually used to cast bronzes. Before the first photographs were taken of Degas' wax of *The Little Dancer* in 1918, bits of iron armature that were sticking out of it—likely caused by Degas' alterations to the figure—had to be cut off by Bartholomé.^{viii} Indeed, Degas apparently never considered the renovations of *The Little Dancer* finished enough to sell the statue to Mrs. Havemeyer.

After Degas' death, Mrs. Havemeyer revisited her desire to buy *The Little Dancer*. She sent Mary Cassatt to see the wax statue in late 1919. Seeing the reconfigured wax for the first time, Mary Cassatt sent Mrs. Havemeyer a telegram, now in the archives of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which stated "Statue Bad Condition."^{ix} In December 1919, Mrs. Havemeyer then quickly sent a cable back to Cassatt declining to buy the wax. On January 16, 1920, Cassatt wrote to Mrs. Havemeyer that Joseph Durand-Ruel also thought that the wax statue was not in a good state.^x In his 1918-19

monograph on Degas, Paul Lafond recorded that Degas' *Little Dancer* had been relegated to his studio and was now a ruin.^{xi} The wax statue remained unsold until 1955.



Fig. 6 - *The Little Dancer*,
from Degas' wax in 1921 by
Adrien A. Hébrard. Joslyn

Nebraska.

plaster, 39 inches tall, cast
Albino Palazzolo for
Art Museum, Omaha,

The Hébrard versus Valsuani Bronzes of Degas' *Little Dancer*

The fascinating story of the many extant bronzes of Degas' *The Little Dancer, Age Fourteen* is presented in the essay by Walter Maibaum, Executive Director of the Sculpture Guild of America. Suffice it to say, however, that no bronzes were made of any of Degas' sculptures while the artist was alive. After Degas' heirs failed to sell the original wax statue of *The Little Dancer* as a unique piece, two identical plaster casts were made of it by Albino Palazzolo (1883–1973) for Adrien A. Hébrard (1865–1937), the Parisian *fondeur* in 1921, three years after the artist's death. One plaster is now at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; the other (fig. 6) is at the Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska. All of the Hébrard bronzes of *The Little Dancer*—the only bronzes now generally known—were made from the plaster now in Omaha.^{xii}

The fundamental difference between *The Little Dancer* bronze in this exhibition—made by the Valsuani Foundry—and the Hébrard bronzes of this model is the dating of the plaster from which the bronzes were made. The Valsuani bronzes were made from a lifetime plaster (figs. 1-2)—the Valsuani plaster—which was cast from the wax before late in life Degas reworked *The Little Dancer*. All of the Hébrard bronzes, on the other hand, were cast from the Hébrard plaster, now in the Joslyn Museum (fig. 6), which was made in 1921, four years after Degas died, and after the wax had been reworked by Degas and then restored by Bartholomé. Thus, the Valsuani bronzes record Degas' first version of his wax statue, while the Hébrard bronzes record the second.

Evidence that Bartholomé did indeed make plasters from Degas' waxes is found in a letter that Degas wrote to Bartholomé in 1892. Referring to a portrait bust he was working on, Degas wrote to his close friend: "The moment I return I intend to pounce upon Mme. Caron. You should already reserve a place

for her among your precious bits of plaster.”^{xiii} Degas’ letter to Bartholomé is not dated, but based on the relationship of this letter to others shortly preceding it; Prof. Theodore Reff of Columbia University dates this letter to Tuesday, 30 August 1892. This letter implies that by 1892, Bartholomé was routinely casting plasters from Degas’ waxes. In 1901, Degas also wrote a letter to Bartholomé, where he addressed him as “My dear friend and perhaps *fondeur*...”^{xiv} (By definition, a *fondeur* is someone who casts bronzes, typically using plasters.)

Degas Plasters and the Valsuani Foundry

All of the other Degas bronzes in this exhibition were also cast by the Valsuani Foundry from plasters that were made by Bartholomé for his own collection while Degas was still alive. These plasters were apparently preserved by Bartholomé and then his wife in their apartment and his adjacent studio in Paris. They were ultimately brought to the Valsuani Foundry in 1955. Archival research recently undertaken by Louise d’Argencourt in Paris has revealed that although Bartholomé died in 1928, his art collection—and presumably also his “precious” collection of Degas plasters—remained with his second wife, Florence Letessier (died 1959). D’Argencourt discovered that Letessier lived in the same rue Raffet apartment with Bartholomé’s adjacent studio from 1901 until she was forced into an asylum in November 1955.

Recently revealed documentation gathered by Walter Maibaum indicates that indeed in 1955 Palazzolo brought the Valsuani plaster of *The Little Dancer*—plus numerous other plasters made from Degas’ original waxes—to the Valsuani Foundry from a heretofore unknown location. From 1955 to 1964, court certified casting records, also obtained by Walter Maibaum, document that Palazzolo cast more Degas’

bronzes at the Valsuani Foundry, including four new Hébrard casts of *The Little Dancer*, two in January 1959 and two more in October 1962.^{xv} For these new bronzes of *The Little Dancer*, Palazzolo continued to use the posthumous plaster now in the Joslyn Museum (fig. 8) and not the older, lifetime plaster (figs. 1-2) that recorded Degas' first version of his wax. Having just sold the wax statue of *The Little Dancer* to Paul Mellon, Nelly Hébrard (1904–1985), Adrien A. Hébrard's daughter who had become head of her father's foundry, could not now suddenly cast a different—albeit an earlier—version of Degas' famous statue. She continued to make bronzes of the more familiar second version.

When the rest of Bartholomé's extensive art collection that included works by Degas (as well as furniture, tapestries and decorative arts) was auctioned off in Paris in two sessions at the Hotel Drouot in June 1956, there were no Degas plasters, as they had been taken by Palazzolo to the Valsuani Foundry the year before. In the mid-1950s, Degas plasters would have been of little value to anyone other than Nelly Hébrard and Palazzolo.

In addition to *The Little Dancer*, *Aged Fourteen*, the Valsuani bronzes of other models are therefore particularly valuable because they, too, record Degas' waxes from an earlier moment in time, before any forms were flattened or damaged from handling, and before Degas himself made some alterations and repairs. Moreover, as has been pointed out by Arthur Beale, Chairman Emeritus of Conservation and Collections Management at The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and Gary Tinterow, Engelhard Curator in Charge of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Department of Nineteenth-Century, Modern, and Contemporary Art, Hébrard's serialized edition of Degas bronzes are surmoulages, or "aftercasts," made from other bronzes (specifically, the "modèle" set now in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena, California, which first came to light in the 1970s).^{xvi} Because they are second generation casts, the

Hébrard bronzes have far less detail than the Valsuani edition of Degas bronzes which were made from original lifetime plasters.

While he was alive, Degas was apparently excited about the possibility of making a bronze of his *Little Dancer*, as well as other models, using the plaster casts made from his waxes by his dear friend Bartholomé. Degas once confidently remarked to the sculptor Aristide Maillol (1861–1944) “Yes, I model, and perhaps one of these days, I shall be cast in bronze.”^{xvii} Noted earlier, Degas also wrote a letter to Bartholomé, addressing him as “My dear friend and perhaps *fondeur*...” Degas’ surviving heirs officially authorized the Valsuani edition of bronzes of *The Little Dancer* as authentic casts that reflect the artist’s intent, based on such clear evidence that Degas had himself proposed just such a bronze in 1903.

THE FIRST TRULY MODERN ATTEMPT IN SCULPTURE

The most important difference between the Hébrard and Valsuani bronzes of *The Little Dancer* is the figure’s pose. The first version of Degas’ wax statue, recorded by the plaster (fig. 1), depicts a figure with level hips and shoulders. On the other hand, Degas’ second version of *The Little Dancer* has a *contrapposto* pose (see fig. 6), where the figure’s weight is on one foot and the hips and shoulders are not level. Invented in Greece around 450 B. C. E., a *contrapposto* pose is a traditional and very gracious stance where the figure’s weight is mostly on one foot and the hips are not level, creating an “S” curve of the body. In 1881, *contrapposto* poses were extremely common in Europe, if not the rule, and were considered by the French Academy to be an essential element of Fine Art. William Bouguereau (1825-1905), for example, filled his paintings with figures in a variety of *contrapposto* poses (see fig. 7). Expressive, open figures with *contrapposto* poses are universally found in European Art from the late

Renaissance onwards, particularly in the sculpture of Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) or Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741-1828).



Fig.7
–William

Bouguereau, *The Youth of Bacchus*, 1884, oil on canvas, private collection, Paris.

In his first version of *The Little Dancer*, Degas rejected the traditional European *contrapposto* pose in favor of one that echoed the four-sided poses of African and particularly Egyptian art. In a typical Egyptian statue (see fig. 8), everything above the waist is rigidly symmetrical and balanced. The figure's two arms hang down parallel to one another, the head faces straight forward, and there is no twist to the hips or shoulders. Degas followed all of these basic rules for an Egyptian statue when he made the first version of *The Little Dancer* in 1881, as evidenced by the Valsuani plaster. The only

deviation Degas made from the “rules” of Egyptian sculpture is that he placed the arms of his figure behind her back, albeit they are still parallel.

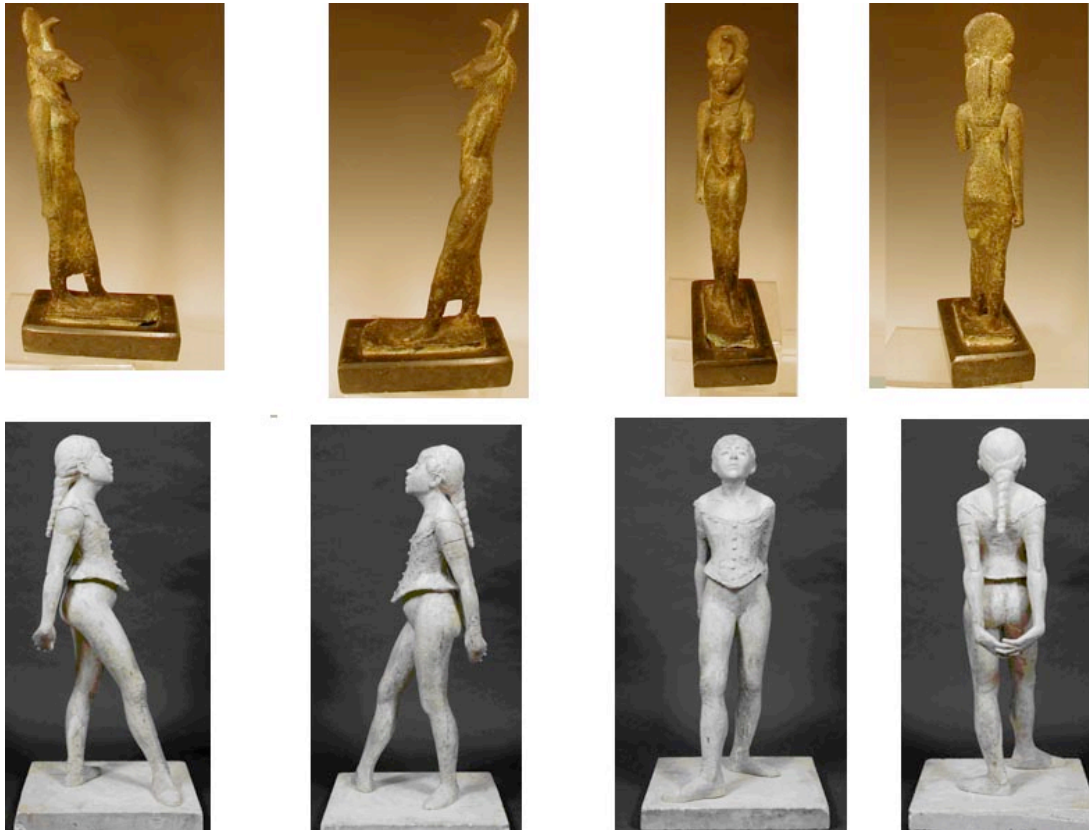


Fig. 8 – *Egyptian Bronze Standing Goddess Sekhmet*, XXXVIth Dynasty, Ca. 664 to 525 B.C., aged and varied patina with remains of gilding, 8 _ in. high, private collection, New Jersey, proper right side, left side, front, and rear views compared to similar views of *The Little Dancer Plaster*

For thousands of years, the only asymmetrical parts of a typical Egyptian statue were the figure's legs. One leg was typically shown stepping forward while the other leg remained beneath the figure. The

figure's weight, however, always fell equally on both feet—as it does with the dancer in the Valsuani plaster—thus creating the sense that the figure was locked into place, standing still and not moving forward. Degas' first *Little Dancer* also has one leg forward and the other leg back beneath the figure. He broke the rules somewhat by turning the right foot out to the right and the left foot out to the left, placing his figure into a classic fourth-position at rest ballet pose, with equal weight distribution. However, the balance and frozen rigidity one finds in virtually all Egyptian and African art is still evident.

A visual clue regarding the very Egyptian aesthetic of Degas' original version of *The Little Dancer*—as evidenced by the Valsuani plaster—is the very odd, vertical coil of hair going straight down the middle of the figure's back (see figs. 2 and 8). This hairstyle is Egyptian, while the swirling ponytail on the wax today is clearly not. Behind many ancient Egyptian statues (see figs. 9-10) there is a coil of hair very similar to the one found on the Valsuani plaster. Like the African mask Picasso depicted in his *Les Femmes d'Alger* in 1907, with his *Little Dancer's* coil of hair Degas chose to blatantly reference the art that was inspiring him.

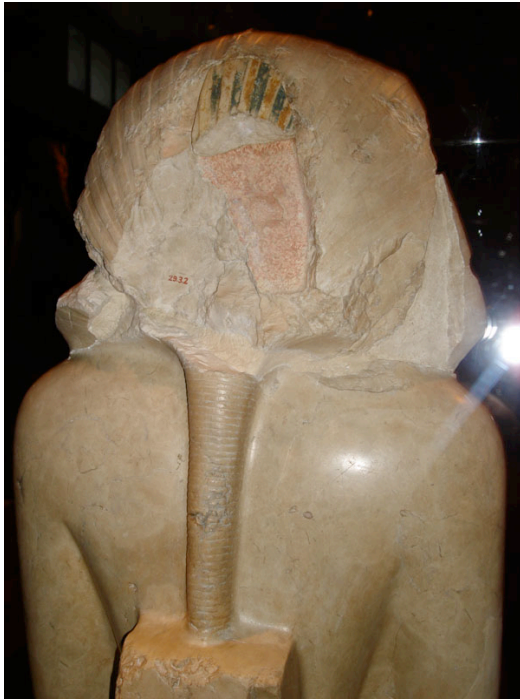


Fig. 9 – Egyptian, *Hatshepsut Enthroned*, **back view**, about 1473-1458 B.C., limestone, height 76 3/4 in., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1929

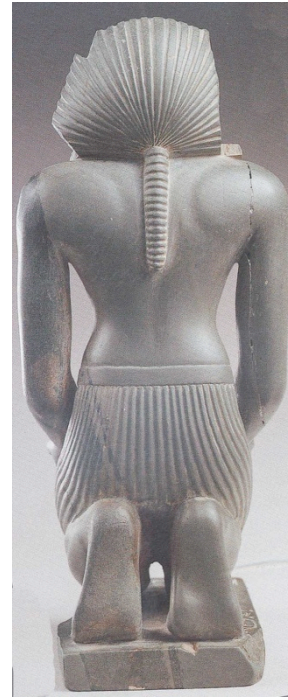


Fig. 10 – Egyptian, *Pepi I Kneeling*, back view, about 2275 B.C., (6 in. x 1 _ in. wide x 3 _ in. deep), Brooklyn Museum of Art, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund 39.121

When it was founded in 1929, the Museum of Modern Art in New York decided that “modern art” began in Paris in the 1880s; therefore the museum’s collection goes back to that date. One key reason for this starting date is because there was the sudden appearance in a number of avant-garde paintings during this time of figures that had flattened, four-sided poses that also echoed Egyptian art. Putting a stiff Egyptian-looking pose on a contemporary figure was a radical new development in the history of art. A key example is George Seurat’s, *A Sunday on the Island of La Grande-Jatte* (fig. 10), now in the Art Institute of Chicago. Finished three years after Degas exhibited *The Little Dancer*, this iconic

masterpiece is overflowing with figures posed either strictly in profile or fully frontal views. Contemporaries at the time recognized the Egyptian qualities of Seurat's figures, as they had done earlier with the first version of Degas' *Little Dancer*. Indeed, when Seurat's painting was first exhibited in 1884, several contemporary critics likened Seurat's Sunday strollers to Egyptian figures, one noting that the painting "looks like a modernized version of ancient Egypt."^{xviii}



Fig. 10 – George Seurat, *A Sunday on the Island of La Grande-Jatte* – 1884, 1884-86, oil on canvas, 81 x 120 inches, Art Institute of Chicago.

Three years earlier, several reviewers had also criticized Degas' *Little Dancer* for being stiff and doll-like, while later, others observed its Egyptian qualities.^{xix} In a letter to Mrs. Havemeyer, Mary Cassatt recalled that Degas' *Little Dancer* "...made a great sensation. It is more like Egyptian sculpture."^{xx} Indeed, the most original feature of Degas' first version of his wax statue is the fact that it is much more

Egyptian— particularly in the figure’s stiff pose and coil of hair—than Degas’ second version of the wax.



Fig. 12 - The front, left profile, right profile and back views of Degas statue as it would have been seen in 1881 inside its glass vitrine.

When it was exhibited in 1881, the very unusual —indeed radical—four-sided Egyptian pose of Degas’ wax statue was emphasized by the square, four-sided glass case Degas used to display the figure. In the nineteenth century, wax sculptures were typically displayed at the Salon without any vitrine. Looking through the four sides of Degas’ glass case (see fig. 12), visitors to the Sixth Impressionist Exhibition would have seen four distinct views of the squared-off pose of Degas’ wax statue—the right and left profiles, and the full front and back—the same four archaic, or Egyptian-like, views Seurat later used for his doll-like figures in *La Grande-Jatte*. The squared-off pose of Degas’ first version of *The Little Dancer* in its square glass vitrine not only likely inspired Seurat, but planted the seeds of Cubism and Primitivism found over two decades later in the work of Braque and Picasso.

In his 1881 review of the Sixth Impressionist Exhibition, the famous novelist, Joris-Karl Huysmans, wrote of Degas’ *Little Dancer*: “The fact is that, with one blow, M. Degas has overthrown the traditions of sculpture as he has for a long time shaken the conventions of painting...//...this statuette is the only

truly modern attempt I know of in sculpture”^{xxi} The discovery of the Valsuani plaster allows one to understand that it was largely the unorthodox pose of Degas’ first version of his statue that was *truly modern*.

It is now evident that Degas’ *Little Dancer* foreshadowed the stiff, Egyptian-like poses in figures seen shortly afterwards in drawings and paintings by Seurat, then in twentieth century sculpture by Modigliani and Giacometti, and, more recently, in works by Magdalena Abakanowicz, Kiki Smith, and the contemporary Chinese artist, Zhang Xiaogang. Turning to the world of the art collector, in the decades after Degas’ wax figure was shown, the four-sided poses of African and Pre-Columbian sculptures, as well as archaic Chinese art, slowly became much more appreciated. In the 1880s, however, art which did not exhibit gracious and flowing *contrapposto* poses as seen in works by such artists as Bouguereau and August Rodin was not considered to be art. Degas’ *Little Dancer* reflected the aesthetic of what was then considered to be the “primitive” art of ancient Egypt and the continent of Africa, not the “fine” art of ancient Greece and the continent of Europe.

With the discovery of an accurate picture of Degas’ first 1881 conception of *The Little Dancer*, one can appreciate the earlier archaic, as well as the later, more expressive phase of Degas’ art as found in the second version of his statue. We can also at last understand why Degas took the unusual step of displaying *The Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen* in a glass case in 1881. It was to emphasize the squared off pose of Degas’ revolutionary wax figure.

CONCLUSION: REEVALUATING DEGAS AS A SCULPTOR

With the rediscovery of a more accurate picture of Degas' first version of *The Little Dancer*, the artist's rightful place in the pantheon of great sculptors like Donatello, Michelangelo and Rodin can be affirmed. Although a beautiful work in its own right, knowing only Degas' second, late, and extensively reworked version of his most important sculpture (a version the artist never considered to be finished) has unfairly clouded the modern scholarly assessment of Degas as a sculptor. Although extremely popular, virtually no connoisseur of nineteenth-century sculpture ranks Degas' second version of *The Little Dancer* as an unqualified masterpiece in good condition. In 1946, when The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York published an article in its *Bulletin* on *The Little Dancer* and the complete set of Hébrard bronzes given to them by Mrs. Havemeyer, the gift was treated with a certain embarrassment. The author, Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, noted that the pieces "...cannot be considered as serious works in sculpture in the academic sense of that word."^{xxii} The four-year effort that Degas had put into his first version of *The Little Dancer*—recorded by the Valsuani plaster and now the Valsuani bronzes— produced a masterpiece in sculpture that can rival any work of art ever produced by the greatest artists of all time.

This is not the first time that such a bold assessment of the greatness of Degas sculpture has been made. Two very astute nineteenth artists who knew first-hand Degas' first version of *The Little Dancer*—which exhibited magnificent tooling and modeling skills that created an anatomically correct figure with a modern four-sided pose—thought Degas was an unqualified genius as a sculptor. Writing to Mrs. Havemeyer, Mary Cassatt once observed: "I think Degas will live better and longer by his sculptures than by his paintings. I think him a greater sculptor than painter."^{xxiii} In a discussion with the art dealer and connoisseur Ambroise Vollard, Pierre-Auguste Renoir invoked Degas' wax ballet

dancer to advance the claim that Degas was "equal to the ancients." When Vollard assumed that the artist was referring to Rodin, Renoir exclaimed, "Who said anything about Rodin? Why, Degas is the greatest living sculptor!"^{xxiv}

Now that Degas' incredibly complex and revolutionary first version of his most famous sculpture, *The Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen*, has at last come to light, both Renoir's and Cassatt's observations about Degas' tremendous ability as a sculptor acquires new veracity.

The Author: Dr. Gregory Hedberg

Dr. Hedberg received his B.A. in Art History from Princeton University and his Ph.D. in Art History from the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. His specialty as an art historian is the study of the creative process of artists. His work in this area includes his Frick Collection and Institute of Fine Arts symposium talk and subsequent article on an aspect of the creative process of Michelangelo (author's "The Farnese Courtyard Windows and the Porta Pia: Michelangelo's Creative Process," *Marsyas*, XV, 1970-71, pp. 63_72) cited in Leo Steinberg's selected bibliography on Michelangelo. He also instigated and organized two museum dossier exhibitions in this area. One concerned the creative process as revealed in numerous drawings and paintings that lead up to Millet's *Gleaners* in the Louvre (see the author's *Millet's "Gleaners,"* catalogue with Robert Herbert, Yale University, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1978); while the other dealt with the eleven paintings and two drawings by Leger that evolved into his *Le Grand Déjeuner* in the Museum of Modern Art (author's *Leger's "Le Grand Déjeuner,"* catalogue with Robert Herbert, Yale University, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1980). He also presented "The Creative Process of Albert Moore" at the Victorian High Renaissance Symposium at The Brooklyn Museum in 1979.

Other publications or exhibitions organized in the field of nineteenth and twentieth century art by Dr. Hedberg include: *Victorian High Renaissance: George Frederick Watts, Frederic Leighton, Albert Moore and Alfred Gilbert* (catalogue with Allen Staley, Columbia University, Richard Ormond and Richard Dormant), shown at the Manchester City Art Galleries, England, The Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York City and The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1978; *German Realism of the Twenties: The Artist as Social Critic* (catalogue with Peter Selz, University of California at Berkeley; and Wieland Schmied, Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, Berlin), shown at The Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago and The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1980; and *The Tremaine Collection: 20th Century Masters* (catalogue with Robert Rosenblum, New York University), Wadsworth Atheneum, 1984.

In addition to twenty years' experience in museum work—first as a Fellow at The Frick Collection in New York City, then as Curator of Paintings at The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, and later as Chief Curator of The Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford—Dr. Hedberg was Director of The New York Academy of Art, a studio art school which has an active sculpture and anatomy program, from 1987-1992. Since 1992, Dr. Hedberg has been Director of European Art at Hirschl & Adler Galleries in New York City.

ⁱ See Michael Pantazzi, "The Little Fourteen-Year-Old Dancer," in *Degas*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1988, p. 344; Martine Kahane, "Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen—The Model," in Joseph S. Czeszochowski and Anne Pinget, *Degas Sculptures: Catalogue Raisonné of the Bronzes*, 2002, p.101; and Richard Kendall, *Degas and the Little Dancer*, 1998, New Haven and London, p. 41, and p. 179, note 87.

ⁱⁱ See *Degas*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988, p. 343-4.

ⁱⁱⁱ See Anne Dumas, Colta Ives, Susan Alyson Stein and Gary Tinterow, eds., *The Private Collection of Edgar Degas*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1997, p. 101.

^{iv} See *Degas*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988, p. 344.

^v See Henri Loyrette, "What is fermenting in that head is frightening," *Degas*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988, pp. 35-46.

^{vi} See Richard Kendall, *Degas and the Little Dancer*, 1998, pp. 40-42.

^{vii} See Nina de Villars [sic], "Exposition des artistes indépendants," *Le Courrier du soir*, 23 April 1881, p. 2.

^{viii} See Paul-Andre Lemoisne, "Les Statuettes de Degas," *Art et Decoration*, Sept-Oct, 1919, pp. 111-112. Lemoisne erroneously put the dating of Bartholomé's posthumous repairs to *The Little Dancer* to 1881, at which time Bartholomé was not yet a sculptor.

^{ix} See *Degas*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988, p. 352, note 12.

^x See Gary Tinterow, "Appendix: Mary Cassatt on the Degas Sales and the Casting of Sculpture," *The Private Collection of Edgar Degas*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1997, pp. 103-104.

^{xi} See Paul Lafond, *Degas*, 2 volumes, H. Floury, Paris, 1918-19, vol. II, p. 66.

^{xii} See Arthur Beale, "Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen: the Search for the Lost Modèle," *Degas Sculpture* [2002], p. 89.

^{xiii} The complete letter was published by Marcel Guérin (ed.), *Lettres de Degas* (preface Daniel Halévy) Paris, 1931, p. 199, CXLVIII. See also *Degas*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988, p. 455.

^{xiv} See Marcel Guérin, ed., *Lettres des Degas*, Paris, 1931, p.117, no. LXXIX; also *Degas*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1988, p. 346, note 22. Prof. Theodore Reff of Columbia University now dates this letter to Friday, February 22, 1901.

^{xv} All this is further confirmed by Joseph Czeszochowski who has documented that in 1955, there were suddenly nineteen Hébrard casts of Degas bronzes exported from France, none of which were previously identified or matched to existing records. See Joseph Czeszochowski/ Anne Pinget, *Degas Sculptures*, 2002, p. 199, note 8.

^{xvi} See Arthur Beale, "Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen: The Search for the Lost Modèle," in Joseph S. Czeszochowski and Anne Pinget, *Degas Sculptures*, 2002, pp. 87-88; and Gary Tinterow, "A Note on Degas's Bronzes," *Degas*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988, pp. 609-610.

^{xvii} See John Rewald, *Degas: Works in Sculpture, a Complete Catalogue*, New York, 1944, p. 4.

^{xviii} See Robert L. Herbert, *Seurat and the Making of La Grande Jatte*, The Art Institute of Chicago, 2004, pp. 84-85, 106-107, 118.

^{xix} See Richard Kendall, *Degas and The Little Dancer*, New Haven and London, 1998, pp. 55-75.

^{xx} Unpublished letter, from Mary Cassatt, Grasse, 25 June 1918, to Louisine Havemeyer, Archives, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. See *Degas*, 1988, p. 351 and p. 352, note 8. Theodore Reff, "The Morbid Content of Degas' Sculpture," *Apollo*, 1995, p. 67, p. 71, note 42, dates the same letter to May 9, 1918. Note, at this time Cassatt had not yet seen the re-configured statue so her reference to its Egyptian quality goes back to her knowledge of the wax from 1881 and her visit, in April 1903 when the wax appeared without a *contrapposto* pose. Cassatt's telegram "Statue Bad Condition" dates six months later to December 1919.

^{xxi} Joris-Karl Huysmans, "L'Exposition des Indépendants en 1881," *L'Art Moderne*, Paris, 1883, pp. 226-227.

^{xxii} See Albert See Gardner, Albert Ten Eyck, "Arabesques in Bronze." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin*, January, 1946, p. 132. Over the years, museum curators (such as George T. M. Shackelford, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); museum directors (such as Michael Conforti, Director of the Clark Art Institute); art dealers and auction house experts (such as

Michael Findlay of Acquavella Galleries in New York, Daniel Katz of Daniel Katz Ltd, London, and Michael Hall of New York); and numerous scholars (such as Professor June Hargrove of the University of Maryland) have quietly confessed puzzlement at the very poor condition of Degas' statue of *The Little Dancer* as reflected in the Hébrard bronzes and the wax today.

^{xxiii} Louisine Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector*, edited by Susan Alyson Stein, 1993, p. 297.

^{xxiv} Ambroise Vollard, *Renoir: An Intimate Record*, New York, 1925, p. 39.