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# Jean-Galbert Salvage and His *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant*: Art and Patronage in Post-Revolutionary France

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*If France wishes to see the arts flourish and begin anew, with greater energy, with the sublime enthusiasm that is their due and to give men of genius the glory of transmitting to posterity, in marble and on canvas, the memorable scenes that graced the French Revolution, what is required is the intervention of the government, which at all times owes its support to the fine arts.*

—Charles Louis Corbet, 1797<sup>1</sup>

The year 1812 saw the publication of one of the more remarkable illustrated books ever to appear in France. Titled *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant, applicable aux beaux arts, ou, Traité des os, des muscles, du mécanisme des mouvemens, des proportions et des caractères du corps humain* (see Figures 6–8, 18–35, 37), it was inspired by contemporary rhetoric celebrating the role of the arts in the new post-revolutionary society. At the same time, it was a magnificent display of hard-won knowledge of human anatomy and a tribute to medical science. A copy of the 1812 treatise was given to the Metropolitan Museum in 1952 by Lincoln Kirstein (1907–1996), the influential New York writer, connoisseur, collector, and balletomane who was the founder, with George Balanchine, of the New York City Ballet.

Although it has received recent scholarly attention, the full story of the production of the *Anatomie* and of the author's struggle to gain the state's financial support has not been told.<sup>2</sup> This account of the activities and career of that author—a young, talented man of modest means, the physician and artist Jean-Galbert Salvage (1770–1813)—will provide a case study of how the machinery of government functioned, or absurdly malfunctioned, in France's culturally heady post-revolutionary years. The focus will be on the period from 1796 to 1812, when Salvage conceived and produced the work he hoped the state would consider a worthy contribution to artistic progress.

After 1789, the system of state artistic patronage in France underwent a sea change as individuals with new ideas

about the ends to be served by the fine arts took charge of the administrative apparatus. Their role in the cultural and artistic life of the country became crucial, while private patronage from the nobility and the clergy almost disappeared. Under the Ancien Régime a sizable bureaucracy, mostly installed at Versailles, had administered artistic patronage through several ministries, the most important being the Direction Générale des Bâtiments, Jardins, Arts, Académies, et Manufactures du Roi, which took on a much greater role in the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> In keeping with its purpose of contributing to the greater glory of the monarchy, it commissioned works meant to embellish the numerous royal residences and churches, and administered royal production centers such as the porcelain manufactory at Sèvres and the Gobelins tapestry works. In order to distribute the commissions, these functionaries worked closely with the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and, in particular, with the Premier Peintre du Roi (first painter to the king). This system of preference and patronage provoked increasing hatred as the Revolution drew near, and by the 1780s, it was not only the academy of painting and sculpture that was widely held in contempt: all the official academies were the subject of bitter derision. One writer who would soon join the revolutionary cause stated a view widespread in 1783 that “the ancients would never have imagined bodies as bizarre as our academies,” referring principally to the academy of sciences.<sup>4</sup> With the Revolution, both the Bâtiments du Roi and the reviled academies were replaced by new state bureaucracies.

Ten years after the Revolution, many of those holding upper-level administrative posts in the important ministries

were still men with titles of nobility, but ones who had served the Revolution in one manner or another and who professed more democratic values and ideals, ostensibly placing much greater value on merit. Members of the fine arts bureaucracy contended that the state should provide official encouragement to artists for the production and exhibition of works that served as didactic examples of the new ideals and practices that were now appreciated as the true artistic heritage of France. A series of official acts set these goals into effect, including the creation in 1793 of the Musée de la République at the Palais du Louvre, an institution founded on the principle that artistic treasures belonged to all.<sup>5</sup> When it was renamed the Musée Napoléon in 1803, it had become the home of the newly established École des Beaux-Arts, as well as the Classe des Beaux-Arts of the Institut National des Sciences et des Arts, founded in 1795. These institutions were responsible for publicizing French artistic genius and identifying the most talented, who might promote the progress of both art and the nation.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, in keeping with the state's plan to support artists of merit, the budget of the Interior Ministry included a specially designated fund to purchase instructional materials for use in the new institutions of public education and to disseminate a standard of the art of design, with an emphasis on draftsmanship, among its schools and the populace.<sup>7</sup> Members of the Classe des Beaux-Arts judged petitions from artists for state support. Opinions rendered by this body, comprising distinguished painters, sculptors, engravers, and architects, were essential to the process of approval, since their judgments were based on an applicant's tangible achievements. An endorsement by the Classe des Beaux-Arts, known as an *encouragement*, was published and forwarded to the Interior Ministry, giving an artist's work potential monetary value.<sup>8</sup> This *encouragement* was merely a recommendation: it was the minister who decided whether funds should be given, the amount, and the method of payment. He could ask for advice about the merits of a case from individuals, institutions, or the special committees formed for that purpose. Additionally, unsolicited letters could be sent by the applicant or others writing on his behalf. Unfortunately, as Salvage would discover, navigating the state bureaucracy could take years, even for an artist who was well known and had earned the recognition of an *encouragement*.

#### FROM THE BATTLEFIELD TO THE CAPITAL: SALVAGE IN PARIS

In 1796, at the age of twenty-six, Salvage arrived in Paris. He had graduated from medical school at Montpellier in 1792,<sup>9</sup> and when he joined the revolutionary army the following year, he declared himself a patriot (as was required of officers) and was subsequently given the rank of surgeon

third class. He served in the medical corps in the Army of the Rhine and Moselle.<sup>10</sup> By 1796, in reward for excellent service, Salvage was given a post in Paris on the staff of the Hôpital Général à l'Hôpital Militaire d'Instruction pour les Officiers du Service de Santé, established in the seventeenth-century convent of Val-de-Grâce requisitioned for this use.<sup>11</sup>

As he later wrote in the introduction to his treatise, Paris offered him the opportunity to satisfy his yearning to become an artist: "Back from the army in 1796, and employed at the military hospital of Paris, I conceived of the project of using my anatomical studies for an art that I have loved since my earliest childhood. Fascinated by this idea, I devoted myself to drawing with zeal, I attended the academies; I learned to model, to inculcate myself with the antique beauties which I found displayed everywhere." His expressed intentions were also infused with patriotism: "It is not vanity that guides me, nor praise that I seek. My desires are limited to being useful to my country and to seeing thrive there the arts that peace and plenty make possible."<sup>12</sup>

During this period, the concept of progress in all areas of endeavor was tied to scientific discoveries and inventions. Thus, Salvage embarked on an extensive project that would call upon his considerable knowledge and skills as a physician, surgeon, and artist. From the outset, he apparently had in mind the traditional format of an illustrated publication, but its contents would be more ambitious. According to a prospectus published in June 1812, his annotated anatomical drawings would explicate the complex layering of muscles and skeletal formations of the body in movement through multiple views. Further, there would be texts and illustrations with information drawn from medicine, anatomy, physiology, and the natural sciences, intended to aid the artist in the truthful representation of the human body. In addition, Salvage created several three-dimensional anatomized figures, or *écorchés*, exposing the muscles and/or the skeleton beneath the skin, to be used in conjunction with the drawings.

In accordance with a contemporary belief that classical sculpture represented artistic perfection, Salvage chose two famous examples as subjects for his project. In 1803 an entire gallery of the Musée Napoléon had been established for the display of such celebrated antique sculptures as the Apollo Belvedere (Figure 1) and the group known as the Laocoön. By 1811, the Borghese Gladiator, purchased in 1807, was on display (Figure 2). This sculpture, along with the Apollo Belvedere, was the focus of Salvage's *Anatomie*. Commenting on his choice of the Gladiator, he wrote: "The figure known as the Gladiator was the one that struck me the most; its attitude, its elegant carving, its movement, its action, everything in this statue showed me the fruits of science and the genius of art. It was in one of these moments of admiration that I



1. The Apollo Belvedere (detail of head). 2nd-century A.D. Hellenistic or Roman copy of a bronze of 350–325 B.C. by the Greek sculptor Leochares. Marble, h. of statue 7 ft. 3 in. (2.2 m). Museum Pio Clementino, Vatican Museums, Vatican State. Photograph: Scala/Art Resource, New York



2. The Borghese Gladiator, or *Fighting Warrior*. Roman copy of ca. A.D. 200 after a Greek original of ca. 100 B.C. signed by Agasias of Ephesus, son of Dositheus. Pentelic marble, h. 3 ft. 11 ¼ in. (1.2 m). Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York

conceived the plan for a book that unites both the exact study of anatomy and its application to the progress of art.”<sup>13</sup>

Salvage also may have chosen the Gladiator because of its familiarity to artists, both those who had attended the academy’s school and those who acquired their education outside its doors. Within the academy, for instance, the comte de Caylus—the member most committed to the teaching of anatomy—funded a monetary prize in 1764 for anatomical drawing and had the institution’s skeleton repaired so that it could be posed in the position of the Gladiator.<sup>14</sup> The statue was a canonical representation of an athletic virile male and a Neoclassical body type widely quoted in the painting and sculpture of the period. Plaster casts of the work in various sizes were used in private ateliers and academies for teaching anatomy,<sup>15</sup> while bronze and marble replicas embellished both private and public gardens. In 1798 a copy stood in the Jardin des Tuileries, and in 1800 another was to be seen on the terrace at Malmaison, Napoleon’s residence.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps the most noteworthy use of the figure in a public place occurred in 1796, the year Salvage arrived in Paris, when a copy was installed on the newly designed lawn adjacent to the garden facade of the Palais Directorial, the former Palais du Luxembourg,

by Jean-François Chalgrin (1739–1811), a distinguished architect and member of the Classe des Beaux-Arts.<sup>17</sup> In this location it could have been understood to be, like the ubiquitous figure of Hercules in popular imagery, a symbol of the Revolution.<sup>18</sup> The palace and its extensive gardens were only a short walk from the hospital where Salvage worked. It is perhaps not entirely coincidental that a few years later Chalgrin would be among members of the Classe des Beaux-Arts who approved Salvage’s project for state funding.<sup>19</sup>

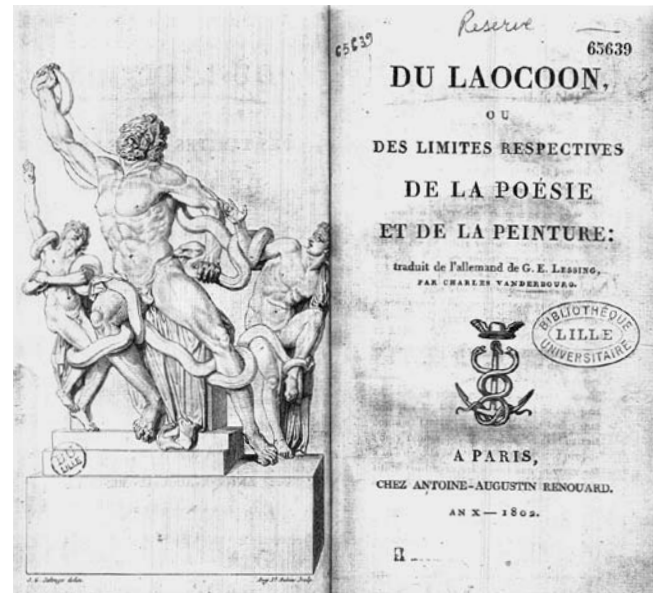
#### SALVAGE’S COLLABORATION WITH ÉMÉRIC-DAVID AND VANDERBOURG

His association with two prominent publications in the early 1800s bolstered Salvage’s career. About 1800, he met the scholar and historian Toussaint-Bernard Éméric-David, who was preparing an essay to be submitted for a literary competition announced by the Institut National in 1797 concerning the question “What can explain the perfection of antique sculpture, and what are the means of attaining it?” (*Quelles ont été les causes de la perfection de la Sculpture antique, et quels seraient les moyens d’y atteindre?*). Éméric-David’s essay won first prize, and a considerably

expanded version was finally published in 1805. A footnote in the text describes the author's close examination of Salvage's anatomized plaster copy of the head of the Apollo Belvedere and alludes to the preparation of the artist's treatise for publication.<sup>20</sup>

Salvage's intensive anatomical investigations certainly supported Éméric-David's own central thesis that the Greeks had achieved a profound knowledge of the human body by means of dissection.<sup>21</sup> From a political point of view, the Apollo Belvedere was also a particularly wise choice for such analysis. Having just been acquired by Napoleon in February 1797, it was brought to Paris in a triumphal procession the following year and prominently displayed in the Musée Central des Arts when the museum was inaugurated in 1800.<sup>22</sup>

Salvage's work also gained notice when, in 1802, Charles Vanderbourg published a French translation of the seminal study by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing concerning the famous Greek sculptural group the Laocoön.<sup>23</sup> The statue had been confiscated as war booty from the Vatican in 1796, brought to Paris, and put on exhibit at the inauguration of the Musée Central des Arts (see Figure 3). Vanderbourg's publication included a frontispiece of the celebrated sculptural group



4. Augustin de Saint-Aubin (French, 1736–1807) after Jean-Galbert Salvage (French, 1770–1813). Frontispiece of Lessing 1802. Engraving

engraved by Augustin de Saint-Aubin, based on a drawing by Salvage (Figure 4). This illustration was noted with approval by Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, the powerful secretary of the Classe des Beaux-Arts,<sup>24</sup> in a review published in the state daily newspaper, the *Moniteur universel*,<sup>25</sup> and it was reproduced again in the catalogue of the 1804 Salon, an occasion that also celebrated the opening to the public of the newly organized Galerie des Antiques.

### REQUESTS AND DELAYS: SALVAGE AND THE CAST OF THE GLADIATOR

Emboldened by his collaboration with Éméric-David and Vanderbourg, in 1803 Salvage wrote to Jean-Antoine Chaptal, the minister of the interior, requesting one of the plaster casts of the Gladiator that the Musée Napoléon manufactured for sale. He was further encouraged by the visit of several members of the Classe des Beaux-Arts to his atelier in December 1803 and in 1804 wrote to the Institut asking for an official visit.<sup>26</sup>

Salvage undoubtedly anticipated a favorable response from Chaptal, who had ardently supported the Revolution before the Reign of Terror, was a major figure in the scientific world, and had himself been trained as a doctor. Chaptal in turn requested that Dominique-Vivant Denon, director of the Musée Napoléon, send a plaster to the artist free of charge. Denon concurred, but no action ensued, prompting Salvage to repeat his request to Chaptal on January 19, 1804. Once again Denon agreed, but the shipment was delayed over the question of whether the cast



3. Hubert Robert (French, 1733–1808). *Drawing from the Antiquities: The Laocoön as Seen from La Salle des Saisons*, 1802–3. Oil on canvas, 14 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 18 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (37 x 46 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF1964-35). Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York

would be given or sold to Salvage. Almost a month later, Barbier Neuville, another bureaucrat, asked Chaptal to authorize delivery of the cast to Salvage, but a further delay arose over the question of who would pay for the shipping. Neuville then asked Chaptal to give it to Salvage gratis, or at a “fair price.” Chaptal again directed Denon to provide Salvage with the cast free of charge, and after another six months, the shipment was finally received.<sup>27</sup> At this point the process had lapsed into a bureaucratic runaround that was to continue for years. However, once the cast was in his possession, Salvage reworked it, carving it into an anatomized interpretation of the Gladiator (Figure 5), and created drawings to accompany this model based on his own dissections of corpses.<sup>28</sup> This figure was on display at the Musée Napoléon during the Salon of 1804, where Salvage made his official debut as an artist.

### SALVAGE, THE SALON OF 1804, AND ENDORSEMENT BY THE CLASSE DES BEAUX-ARTS

Exhibited in two separate sections of the Salon of 1804, Salvage’s colored drawings and engraved plates of the various anatomical studies of the Gladiator (see Figure 6) were listed in the catalogue as *Peinture No. 417: Dessin d’anatomie du corps humain* (Anatomical Drawing of the Human Body) and *Gravure No. 865: Plusieurs gravures représentant le développement du mécanisme musculaire du Gladiateur combattant* (Several Engravings of the Fighting Gladiator’s Muscular Structure). The catalogue noted that Salvage’s *écorché* (see Figure 10) was displayed at the grand stairway leading to the Salon’s exhibition hall. All the members of the Classe des Beaux-Arts thus had the opportunity of seeing the work when they met on August 25 to discuss Salvage’s project before the official opening of the Salon on September 18.<sup>29</sup>

On October 3, an anonymous article in the *Moniteur universel* gave Salvage’s exhibited work generous attention, and on October 27 a positive report was sent to the Classe des Beaux-Arts by the commissioners who had been dispatched to view it. They noted that it was promising but did not represent the complete book as projected, and recommended continued support of Salvage. On November 2, 1804, the *Moniteur universel* printed the proceedings of the Classe des Beaux-Arts, mentioning that Salvage’s project had been discussed and approved, and noting that his *écorché* of the Gladiator could be seen free of charge. Another article published on November 26 reported Salvage’s endorsement by the Institut National, an approval that would seem to have virtually guaranteed the success of his project.

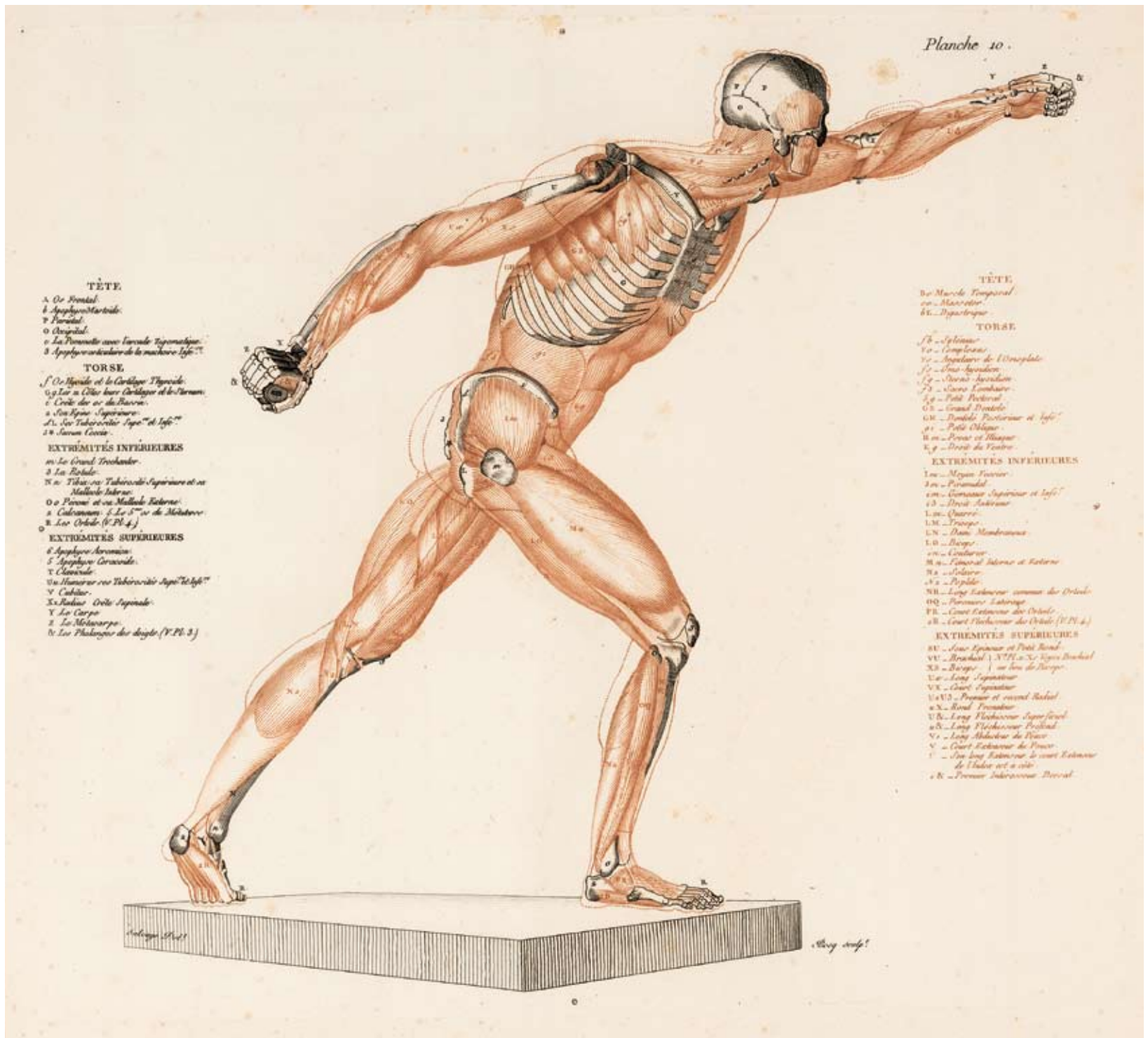
This last article also contained an announcement of Salvage’s plan to raise capital for his projected publication



by the sale of subscriptions, outlining what would be included in the first of four installments to be printed and delivered on about April 20, 1805, and the cost of each. The price depended on the quality of the paper chosen by the subscriber. Counterproofs would also be sold. Subscribers living outside of Paris could receive their orders by post, and foreign subscribers were also solicited. Miniature plaster casts of the Gladiator would be offered for sale at the home of the author at a future date, and the drawings would be available “chez M. Cussac, imprimeur-libraire [printer-bookseller], rue Croix-des-Petits-Champs, no. 33.” Salvage also confidently told the reporter that when the Gladiator was completed, he intended to immerse himself in yet another project, an “anatomy of the horse, in the same manner as the human figure” (*anatomie du cheval, dans le même genre que celle de l’homme*).

Late in 1804, Joachim le Breton, secretary of the Classe des Beaux-Arts, wrote to Jean-Baptiste de Nompère de Champagny (who had replaced Chaptal as minister of the interior in August) to request that the state provide financial support for Salvage’s project.<sup>30</sup> In his reply, Champagny, a member of the nobility who had rallied to the Republic, agreed that Salvage’s work was admirable but reported that

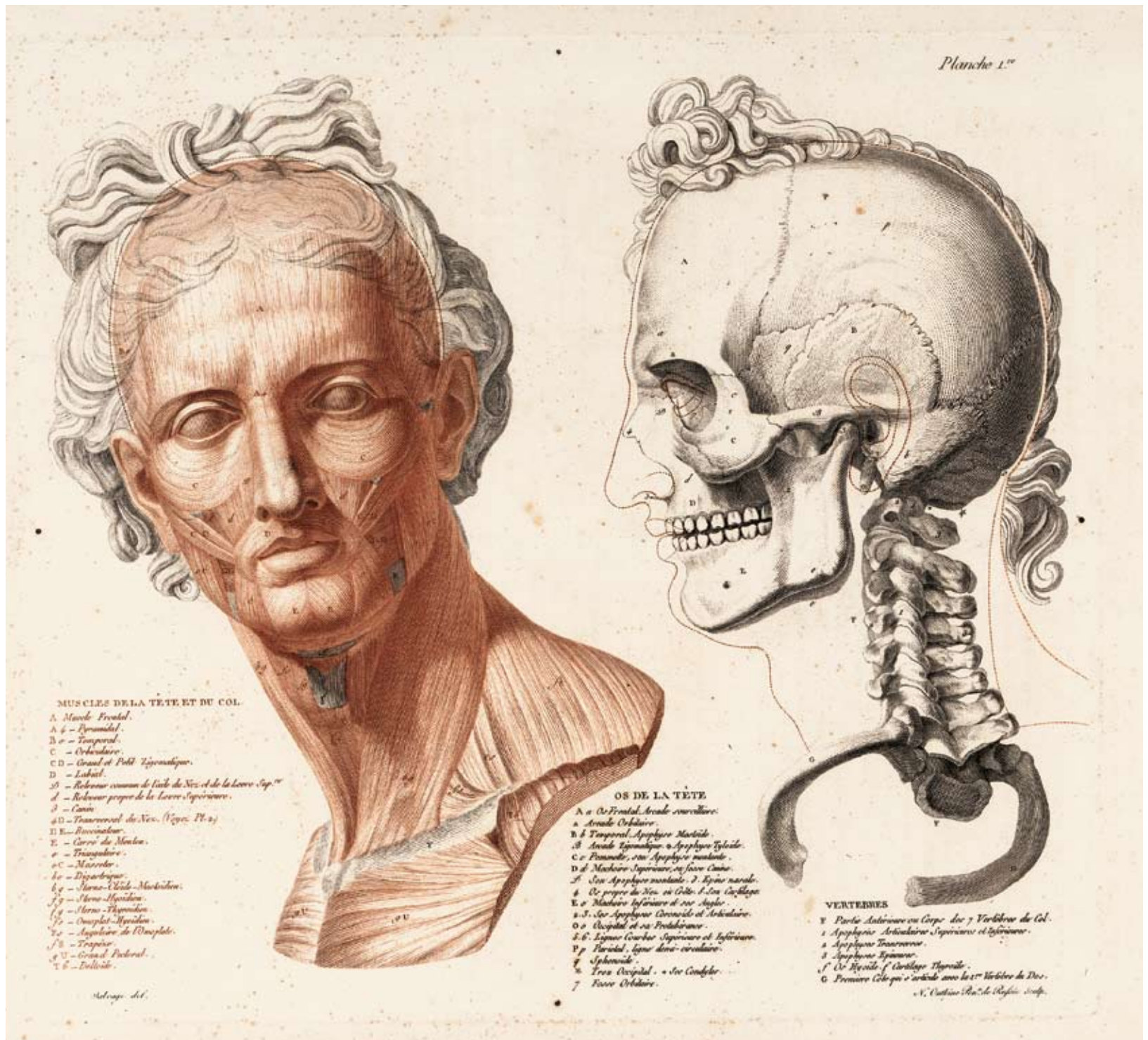
5. Jean-Galbert Salvage (French, 1770–1813). *Écorché of the “Borghese Gladiator,”* 1804. Plaster, 59 x 61<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 78<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (150 x 157 x 199 cm). École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Département de Morphologie (MU 11927)



6. Jean-Galbert Salvage. *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant* (Paris, 1812), plate 10: Right profile of anatomized "Gladiator." Engraving. Folio volume: 74 pages illustrated with 22 copperplates printed in black and red ink, bound in red boards, red leather spine with gold-stamped ornament; 24¾ x 17¾ x 1½ in. (62 x 45 x 3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1952 (52.546.4)

since funds for the arts were already exhausted for that year and public subscription would surely provide Salvage sufficient means, the work did not need a subsidy.<sup>31</sup> Salvage continued his efforts on the publication nevertheless, and by September 1805, both the second and third installments had become available to subscribers.<sup>32</sup>

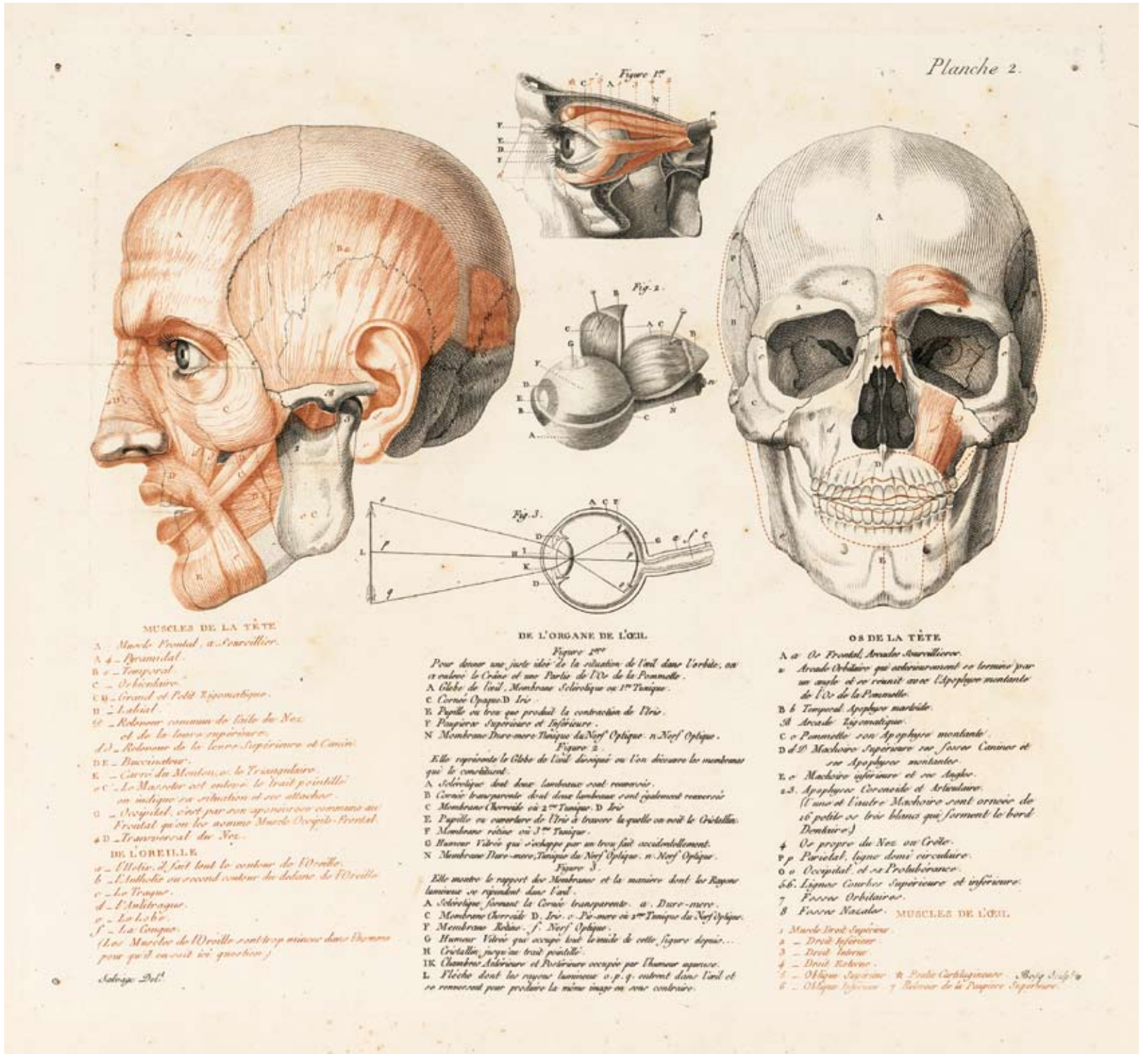
Salvage had reason to expect that his work would be a success, because none of the many currently available anatomy texts treated the topic as thoroughly or in the same manner as his *Anatomie*. One such work, Gérard Audran's *Les proportions du corps humain, mesurées sur les plus belles figures de l'antiquité* of 1683, presented anatomy as



7. Jean-Galbert Salvage. *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant* (Paris, 1812; see Figure 6), plate 1: *Muscles of the Head and Neck; Skull*. Engraving

the study of classical sculpture graphically analyzed in terms of measurements; its 1801 edition had been explicitly endorsed as a teaching tool in French art schools. Another, by Jean-Joseph Sue (1760–1830), *Éléments d'anatomie à l'usage des peintres, des sculpteurs et des amateurs* of 1788, was being used as a textbook in classes at the École des

Beaux-Arts. Yet another conventional work was Johann Heinrich Lavater's German treatise, available in French since 1797. Numerous other publications that addressed anatomy and the representation of the body had been produced in Italy and made available in France.<sup>33</sup> One possible actual model for Salvage's project may have been a treatise



8. Jean-Galbert Salvage. *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant* (Paris, 1812; see Figure 6), plate 2: *Muscles of the Head, of the Ear and Eye; Bones of the Head*. Engraving

published in 1741 by Edme Bouchardon (1698–1762)—the distinguished sculptor and draftsman, and a leading member of the Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture—which included engravings based on the artist’s drawings offered along with a small-scale replica of his *écorché* of 1762.<sup>34</sup>

Modern scholars qualify *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant* as an atlas of great beauty and quality. Its sophisticated and effective use of color as an illustrative device (see Figures 7, 8) made it one of the most attractive books of anatomy for artists, the most copiously illustrated atlas then



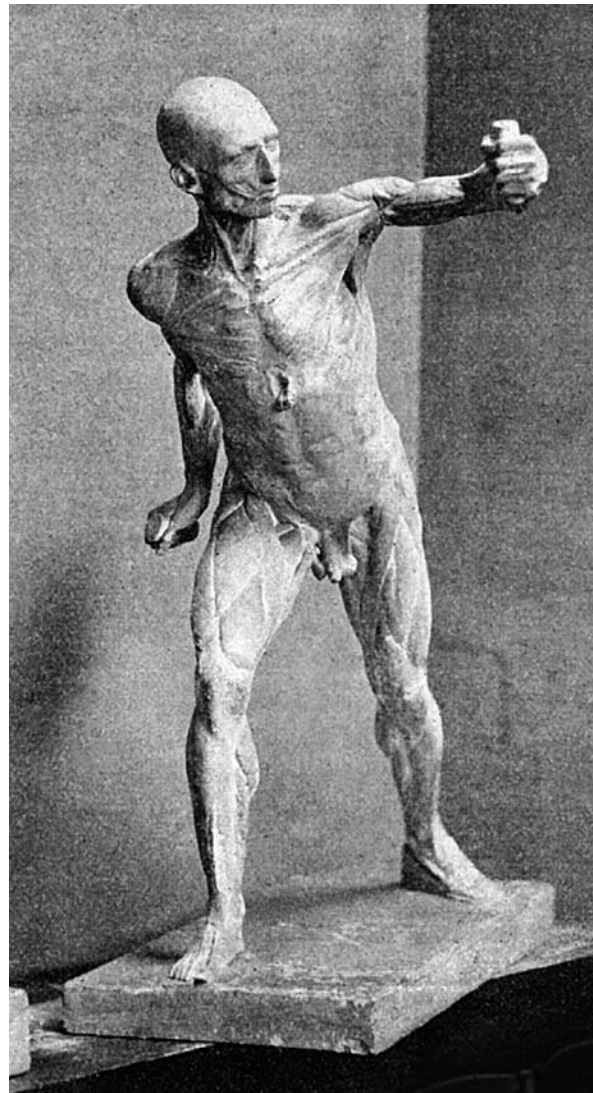
available.<sup>35</sup> Eleven plates displayed the Gladiator's anatomical structure in four views (see Figures 6, 21–30), from skeleton to visible exterior. Seven essays, four of them illustrated, extended the didactic use of the atlas. In these texts, Salvage placed the human figure within a social context that encompassed movement (Figure 33), the body at rest, proportion (Figure 34), age, temperament, moods, and passions—then considered (in the dawn of modern social sciences) to be humanity's fundamental traits, scientifically and artistically.<sup>36</sup>

### SALVAGE'S TENURE AT THE MILITARY HOSPITAL

By the end of 1804, Salvage had worked at the hospital for eight years. His privileged access to the facilities there was essential for the early development of his ideas because it enabled him to dissect the bodies of soldiers who died there. He later described this punishing work in gruesome detail:

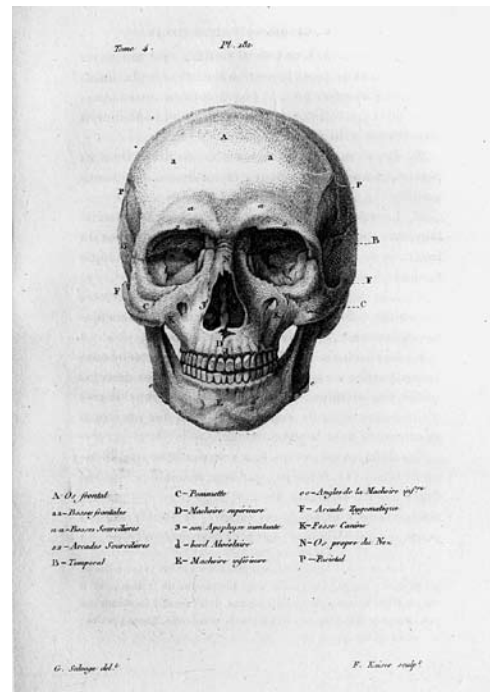
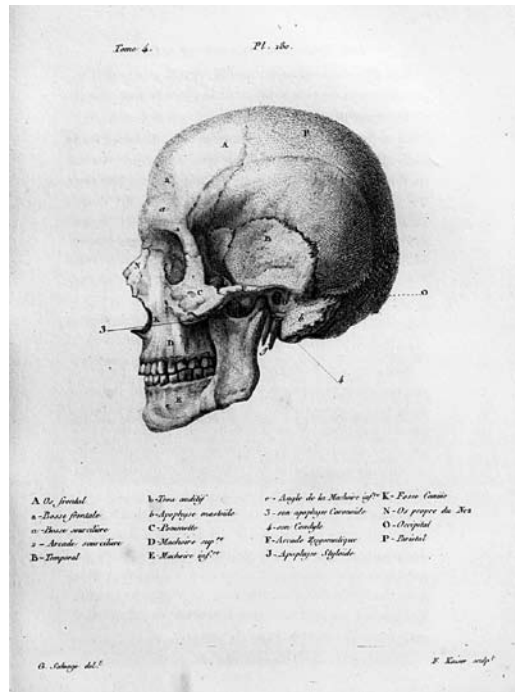
One of the greatest obstacles associated with this type of work for me was to procure subjects whose physical form had not deteriorated through long illness; I therefore had to select them among our soldiers whose bravery, too often quarrelsome, had caused them to die in private duels; finally, after several fruitless attempts, I managed to obtain, at different times, three figures molded from such subjects. These figures represent the different muscle layers that compose the human body, from the outermost, which borders the skin, to the deepest, located right alongside the bones. These figures are posed in the attitude of the Gladiator, and it is owing to them that I was able to analyze the movement of this antique statue, of which I had anatomized a plaster impression.<sup>37</sup>

By 1800, some artists commonly practiced processes used by the surgeon-anatomist<sup>38</sup> involving autopsy, dissection, embalming, and direct casting from human parts. Many of these techniques had been described in detail fifty years earlier by Pierre Tarin in a treatise concerning the art of *anthropotomie* (human anatomy), a process by which chemicals were used to preserve anatomical parts taken from cadavers (including internal organs) in a solid state.<sup>39</sup> A cast could then be made and reproduced in plaster or other materials (see Figure 9). Flayed cadavers, or their parts, thus became the basis for life casts, such as the one Salvage employed (Figure 10) to create many of the drawings in his book.<sup>40</sup> The practice of dissecting corpses was physically dangerous, since the spread of infectious agents to the dissecting physicians was not understood. Tuberculosis in particular—known as *phtisie*, then incurable—posed a

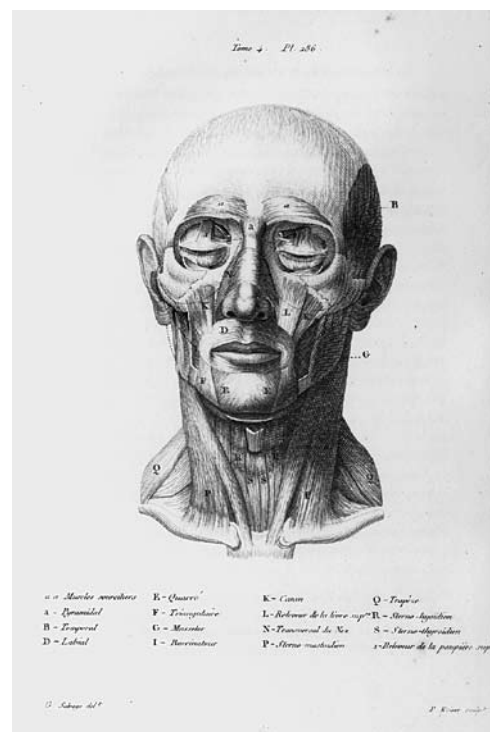
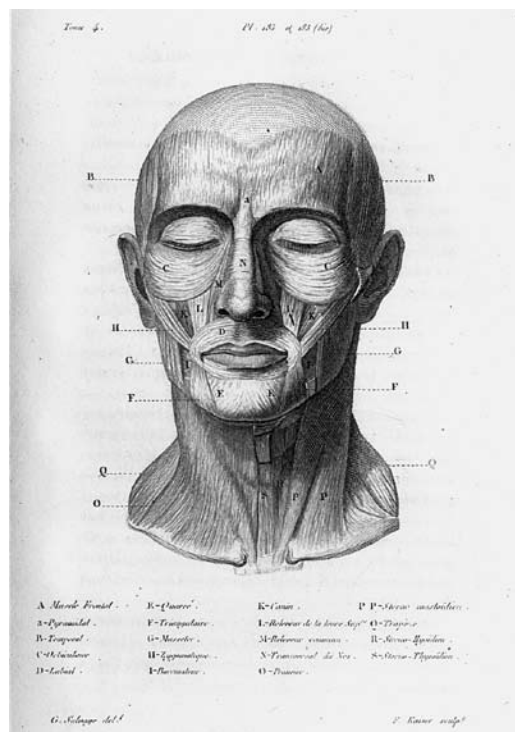


9. Jean-Galbert Salvage.  
Two studies of arms, ca. 1800.  
Plaster, 3 1/2 x 6 1/8 x 18 1/4 in.  
(9 x 15.5 x 46.5 cm), 4 7/8 x 4 x  
18 7/8 in. (12.5 x 10 x 48 cm).  
École National Supérieure des  
Beaux-Arts, Paris, Département  
de Morphologie (MU 12051).  
Photograph: Raymond Lifchez

10. Jean-Galbert Salvage.  
*Écorché after a Corpse*.  
Photograph: Duval and  
Cuyer 1898, p. 186



11, 12. After Jean-Galbert Salvage. *Human Skull: Lateral and Frontal Views*. Lavater 1806–9, vol. 4, pls. 180, 181

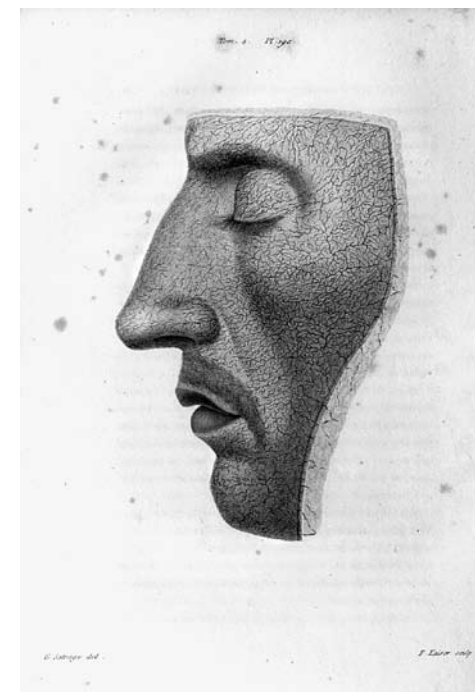
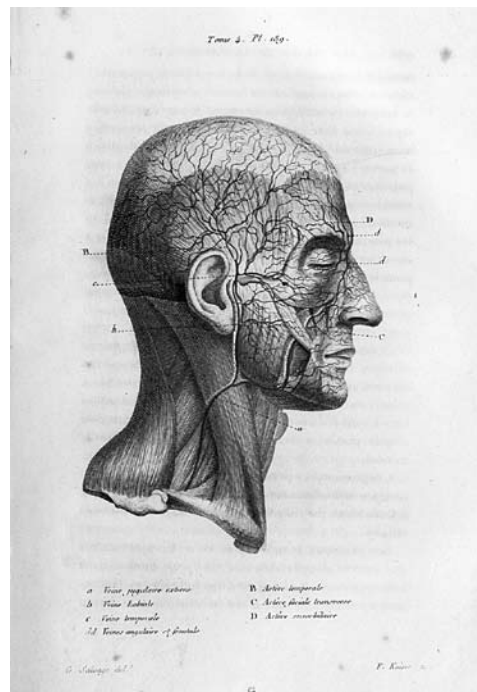
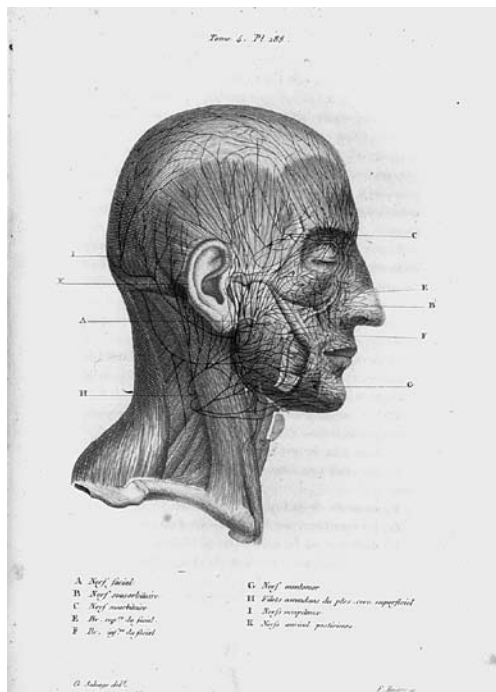


13, 14. After Jean-Galbert Salvage. *Human Head: Superficial and Deep Muscles*. Lavater 1806–9, vol. 4, pls. 185, 186

threat to dissectors, since bacteria passed into the air as soon as a cadaver was opened. Salvage paid a high price when he contracted *phthisie*, from which he would die in less than a decade.

*Officiers de santé* (literally, “health officials,” as physicians were called in revolutionary France) at military hospitals were chosen for their medical skills in treating the wounded, but they were also expected to conduct research useful to the

military. Because Salvage’s project accomplished neither of these goals, his divided pursuits as physician and as artist ultimately caused a problem at the hospital. He had already been reprimanded for taking unauthorized time away from the hospital, apparently working on his publication in an atelier he had taken in the rue de Lille, and in the wake of a general reorganization of military hospitals beginning in 1803,<sup>41</sup> Salvage was reassigned on November 8, 1804, to the



15, 16. After Jean-Galbert Salvage. *Human Face: Superficial and Deep Vessels and Nerves*. Lavater 1806–9, vol. 4, pls. 188, 189

17. After Jean-Galbert Salvage. *Network of Vessels beneath the Skin (Self-Portrait)*. Lavater 1806–9, vol. 4, pl. 190

6e Régiment de Dragons, stationed outside of Paris.<sup>42</sup> In a letter to the Interior Ministry dated October 2, 1805, Salvage asserted that his project could be accomplished only by someone like himself, “physician, painter, and sculptor all in one,” and that his work had cost him nine years of study, pain, and physical illness. He went on to request a discharge instead of a transfer, in order to complete “this unique publication, with which I would henceforth be of more use to society than a low-ranking surgeon could be.”<sup>43</sup> At this time his confidence was still relatively high: he had successfully delivered the third installment of the subscription and was planning a fifth, in which he proposed to address the “laws of physics with a simple and easy method.”

#### SALVAGE’S COLLABORATION WITH J.-L. MOREAU DE LA SARTHE

His request for a discharge granted, Salvage found himself without a stipend and in serious debt. It was at this point that he had the good fortune to receive a commission to create drawings for a prestigious work edited by a prominent figure in the Parisian medical community. Between 1805 and 1809, Jacques-Louis Moreau de la Sarthe, professor at the École de Médecine in Paris, edited a French translation of Johann Caspar Lavater’s famous study *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschen-*

*kennntniß und Menschenliebe*, which had originally been published in four volumes from 1775 to 1778. The new French edition was a much-expanded translation in ten volumes, titled *L’art de connaître les hommes par la physiognomie*.<sup>44</sup> Salvage contributed seven illustrations, which appeared in the fourth volume, first published in 1806 (Figures 11–17).

His intricate drawings display Salvage’s skill as an artist and his medical knowledge of anatomical and physiological systems, from the skeleton to the network of vessels below the surface of the skin. Moreau de la Sarthe used them to illustrate a text in which it was argued that physiological knowledge was necessary for an artist to represent human emotions accurately, and that the human body must be studied from the “inside out,” from the skeleton to the visible exterior. Yet Salvage’s illustrations also reveal a deeper knowledge of anatomical elements in their relationship to physiological systems: three images depict the circulation of the blood in the head and the capillary action that produces reddening or pallor when emotions become excited.<sup>45</sup> In one of these (Figure 17), Salvage used his own profile to illustrate the accompanying text. The close collaboration with Moreau de la Sarthe undoubtedly contributed significantly to Salvage’s conception of his own project as an innovative one that would cross the boundary between artistic anatomy and scientific physiology.

## FINALLY, FUNDING FROM THE STATE

As early as January 25, 1805, Salvage had acknowledged his ill health and reiterated his acute need for financial assistance to complete his ambitious project. More than a year later, he had apparently obtained little relief: in an internal memo to Champagny dated February 8, 1806, a deputy alluded to Salvage's earlier message and urged the minister to send the artist 600 francs.<sup>46</sup> Champagny accepted this advice but reduced the sum to 400 francs. On June 30, Salvage reported to the minister that the fourth installment had been completed but claimed that an additional 6,000 to 7,000 francs was necessary for completion of a fifth and final one—a sum that was not accorded.<sup>47</sup> Six months later, in January 1807, the increasingly desperate Salvage finally requested that the ministry support his project by subscription, rather than by stipends.<sup>48</sup>

By August 1807, Emmanuel Crétet de Champmol had replaced Champagny as minister of the interior, a development that may account for a change in the ministry's response to Salvage. In early October, when Salvage again requested 6,000 francs,<sup>49</sup> Crétet decided that the ministry would subscribe to his publication and that henceforth payments would correspond to a prescribed number of copies to be deposited there. An initial subscription was ordered for sixty copies on ordinary paper at 36 francs each and thirty copies on vellum at 72 francs each, for a total of 4,320 francs. Crétet authorized a disbursement of 5,400 francs but stipulated that the sum of 1,080 was to be withheld until all five installments had been delivered, with the understanding that this final amount would cover the subscription cost for the ninety copies of the last installment.<sup>50</sup> A few weeks later, the Classe des Beaux-Arts endorsed the minister's decision to take the subscription but argued that the sum should be increased to 6,000 francs.<sup>51</sup> In December Salvage received the 4,320 francs due for the four installments but stated that he would need 2,400 more because the work included additional plates.<sup>52</sup>

The struggle for funding dragged on for the next four years, while Salvage continued to produce illustrations for the fifth installment, borrowing money to purchase materials and pay engravers. His new work was exhibited in the Salon of 1808. When the Salon opened, Napoleon made use of the occasion to recognize artists whose work he particularly admired, and Salvage was one of several artists awarded *médailles d'encouragement* (medals of encouragement).<sup>53</sup> He must have been particularly gratified that his drawing of the Laocoön, which had originally been engraved for the frontispiece of Vanderbourg's translation of Lessing's treatise in 1802 (see Figure 4), was reprinted on the cover of the Salon catalogue.

The distinction of Salvage's *médaille d'encouragement* may have prompted the new minister of the interior,

Jean-Pierre Bachasson, comte de Montalivet, to act on the artist's behalf. In July 1810, he asked Jean-Joseph Sue and Dominique-Vivant Denon, director of the Musée Napoléon, to organize special commissions that would “give their opinion as to both the degree to which [Salvage's] work could be considered [useful] to those who engage in the study of painting and sculpture, and what would seem a fair price for his work.”<sup>54</sup>

On August 21, Sue's commission, comprising teachers from the École des Beaux-Arts, recommended that Salvage's project should be purchased for 35,000 francs, although reservations were expressed concerning the accuracy of certain drawings and some members regarded portions of the text as more suitable for the teaching of medicine than for the instruction of art.<sup>55</sup> On September 15, 1810, responding to a memo from Montalivet objecting to the price of 35,000 francs, his superior Barbier Neuville reminded the minister that the last advance of 5,400 francs for ninety copies of the drawings had been authorized on October 8, 1807, but only 4,320 had been paid to Salvage, with the balance of 1,080 to be paid on delivery of the fifth installment. Barbier Neuville now suggested that Salvage be asked how much more money would be needed to complete the project.<sup>56</sup> Salvage responded to the minister of the interior on October 3, 1810, with an itemized list of expenses totaling 11,000 francs.<sup>57</sup> Montalivet answered that he was still awaiting the opinions of Denon's commission to examine the project and would take no action until he heard from them.<sup>58</sup> On October 17, Montalivet received their report, in which it was recommended that 18,000 francs be paid to Salvage for six anatomical figures and the anatomized head of Apollo.<sup>59</sup>

Haggling over the sum to be paid to Salvage continued in numerous memos exchanged between the minister and the artist from April to December 1811. In an April report, a ministry employee claimed to have seen Salvage “wandering about” in distress and complaining that he was pursued by creditors, turned out of his residence, and famished. The employee told Neuville that he had given Salvage money to keep him from committing suicide.<sup>60</sup> Finally, in another internal memo dated December 24, 1811, the state agreed to purchase the entire work, which by then included the text in addition to drawings and the anatomical figures. Of the artwork, Montalivet acknowledged that Salvage had delivered one skeleton and two anatomical studies of the head of Apollo to the École des Beaux-Arts, where they remain today. For these Salvage was paid 3,000 of the 12,000 francs that had apparently been promised earlier.<sup>61</sup>

By May 1, 1812, Salvage had received the remaining 9,000 francs and reported to the minister that his treatise had finally been published in April (Figures 18–35)<sup>62</sup> and had received enthusiastic reviews in the Paris press.<sup>63</sup> He

18–35 (following three pages). Plates from Jean-Galbert Salvage, *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant* (Paris, 1812). Folio volume: 74 pages illustrated with 22 copperplates printed in black and red ink, bound in red boards, red leather spine with gold-stamped ornament; 24<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 17<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (62 x 45 x 3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1952 (52.546.4)



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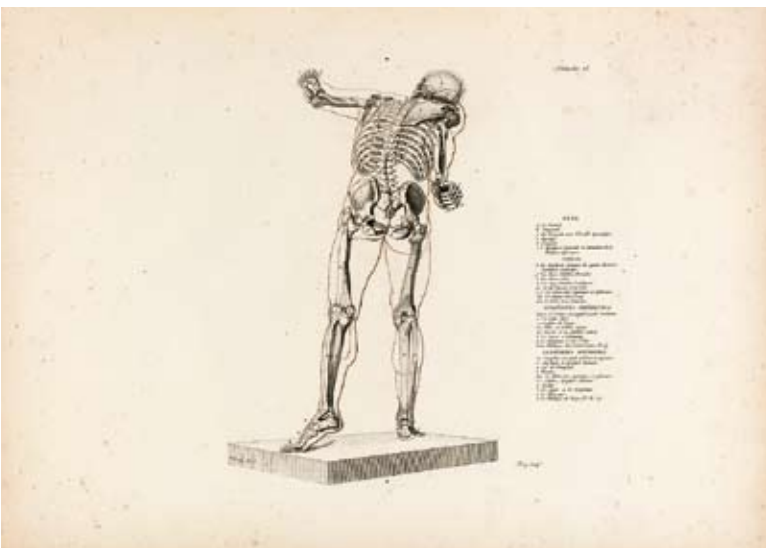
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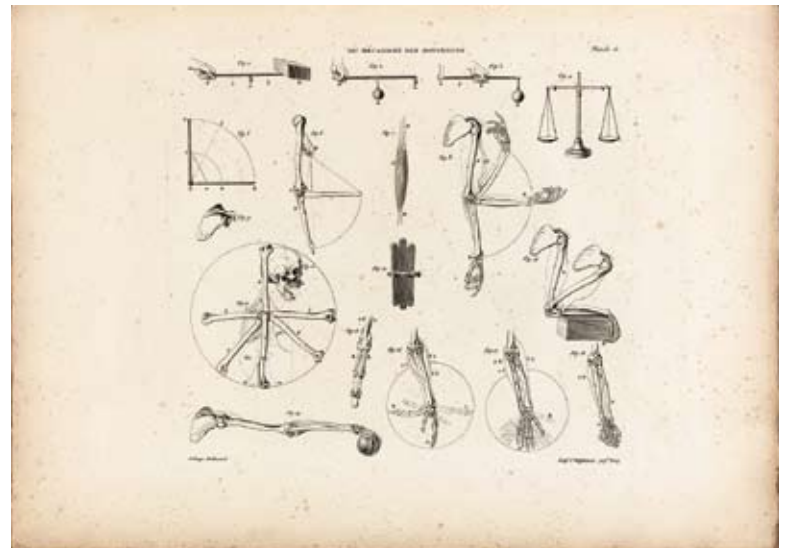
28



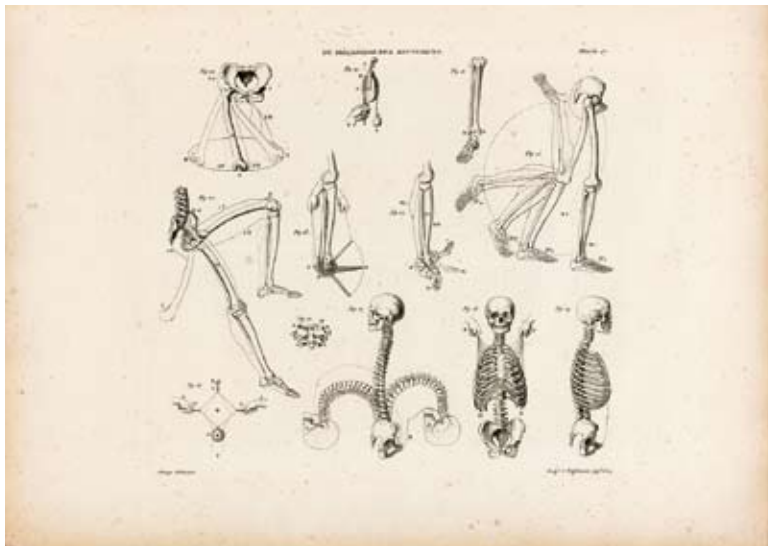
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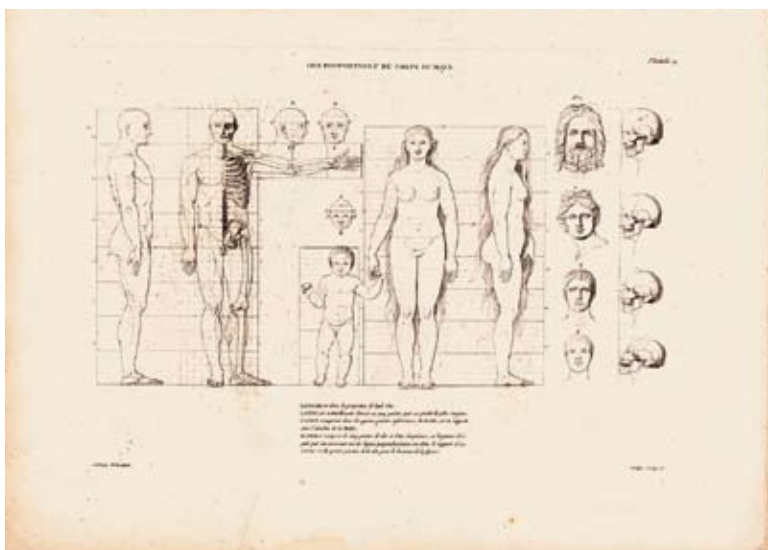
31. Articulation of Movement



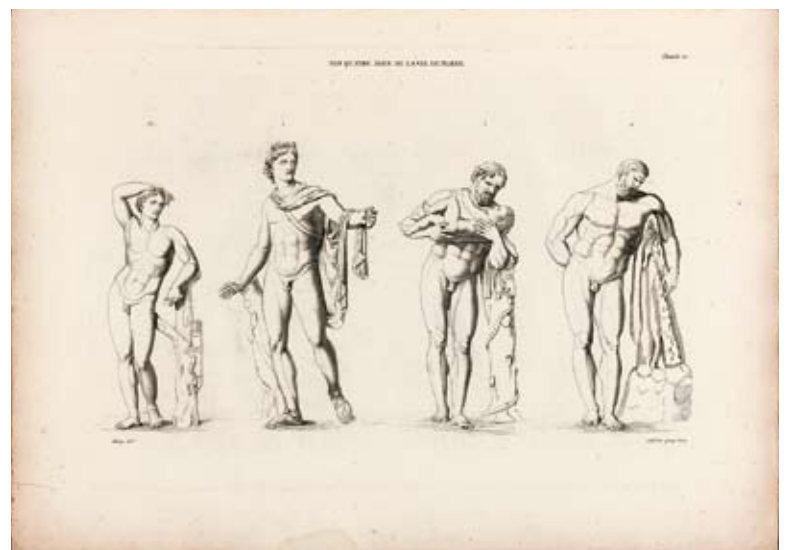
32. Articulation of Movement



33. Analysis of Movement



34. Comparative Anatomy



35. Four Stages of Man's Life

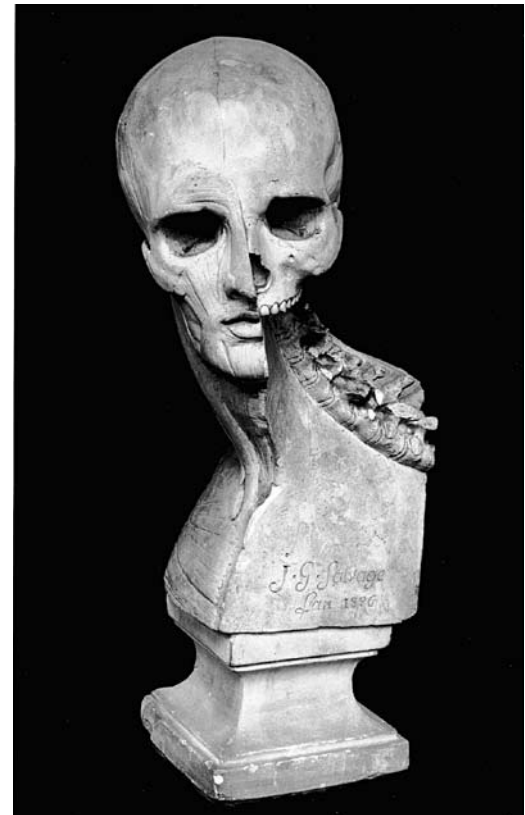
requested another 6,210 francs, for sixty copies printed on paper and sixteen extra copies on vellum. The Classe des Beaux-Arts, pleased with the reception of the fifth installment, again came to Salvage's aid and requested further funding from the ministry,<sup>64</sup> but continuing correspondence among Salvage, Neuville, and Montalivet over the next two months did not result in any additional payments to the artist. More than a year later, in an effort to improve his health, Salvage left Paris for the Cantal to be with his family. He died of consumption on September 18, 1813, in La Rochette de Lavastrie, at the home of his brother-in-law, James Odoul, near the farm where he was born.<sup>65</sup>

### THE AFTERMATH

Salvage's debts came to the attention of city government in 1818 when a creditor, Sieur Martin, approached the Tribunal of the Seine seeking restitution. Martin had lent money to Salvage's cousin Toussaint Salvage of Paris, who, in turn, had made a loan to the artist.<sup>66</sup> Martin requested an investigation and the appointment of a *conservateur* (curator),<sup>67</sup> assuming that furniture and other goods belonging to Salvage could be found and sold for his compensation.

The tribunal's investigation opened on December 1, 1818. Notaries and a curator of the Department of the Seine were dispatched to Salvage's last known residence in Paris at 6, cul-de-sac Saint-Dominique d'Enfer. There they met with the concierge of the building, who told them that Salvage had left Paris owing considerable back rent to the proprietor, Comte Duleau. They were also told that all the furnishings had been removed by Jean Cussac, Salvage's printer and bookseller, shortly after Salvage's death. The officials then proceeded to the Cussac residence at 30, rue Montmartre, where the printer's widow, Dame Anne-Elizabeth Legay, permitted them to see the materials her husband had taken in lieu of payment for debts incurred in the book's production. They found, scattered about in various parts of the house, twenty-one completed copies of the book and a large quantity of copies, some with and some without the text, the frontispiece, or the introduction, along with several hundred copies of the illustrations. They also discovered a mold and plaster casts showing fourteen stages of anatomization of the head of the Apollo Belvedere (Figure 36), four *écorché* models of the Gladiator, and several small plaster figures—in all, estimated to be worth 3,025 francs—and a complete skeleton, valued at 25 francs, of Borreze, former drummer of the Directoire guard.<sup>68</sup>

In addition, Mme Legay Cussac provided the officials with records that detailed the daily expenses of Salvage's mounting debts. Among them was his handwritten "État de mes propres affaires," an annotated list of debts that totaled



36. Jean-Galbert Salvage. *Anatomized Head of the Apollo Belvedere*, 1806. Plaster, h. 26 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (67 cm). École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Département de Morphologie (MU 11923). Photograph: Raymond Lifchez

3,168 francs owed to his tailor, boot maker, grocer, laundress, and a circle of widows who had lent him money with interest. The file culminated with an invoice for the debts Salvage owed his last landlord, Comte Duleau, for his lodgings in the cul-de-sac Saint-Dominique d'Enfer, which amounted to 120 francs, with an additional 9 francs owed to the concierge, and 3 francs, 63 centimes, due for window and door taxes.<sup>69</sup>

There was never any suggestion that Salvage's *Anatomie* would be used as a textbook at the École Centrale des Arts, and it never was. From 1804 until Salvage's death, the contents of the book were on sale by subscription. According to the *Moniteur universel*, installments were delivered to subscribers periodically, and the endorsement of the work by the Classe des Beaux-Arts was frequently reiterated. Even though there were too few subscribers to support the cost of production, much less yield a profit (as the author's accrued debts testify), Salvage attributed its lack of commercial success to the ongoing Napoleonic wars.

In the end, the reasons why Salvage had to wait so long for the state support he requested are complex. The primary



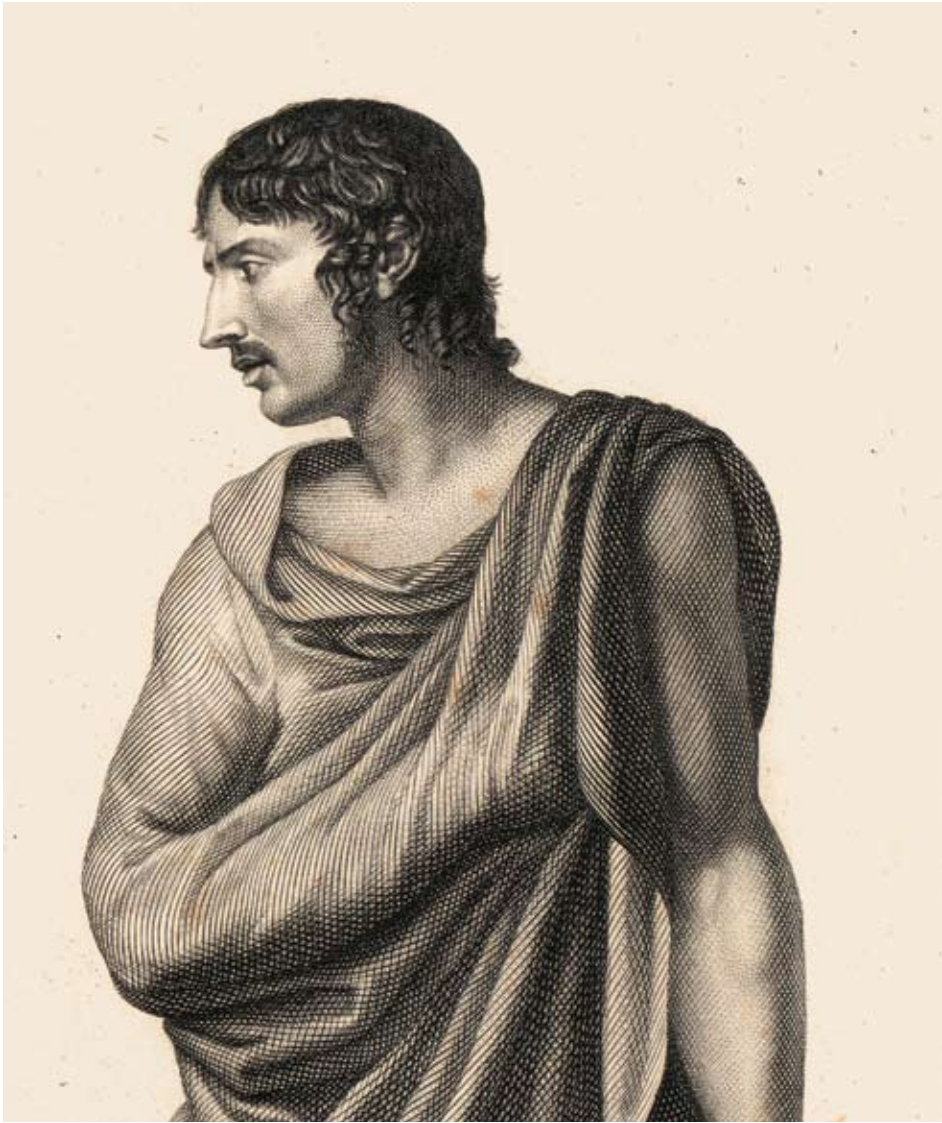
37. Jean-Galbert Salvage.  
*Anatomie du gladiateur combattant* (Paris, 1812;  
see Figures 6–8, 18–35),  
frontispiece



explanation may have been bureaucratic inertia or, as sometimes mentioned in the correspondence, a shortfall in the ministry's annual budget for the arts. Or perhaps it was a question of the state bureaucracy's shifting policies, interests, and personnel; from his first appeal in 1803 until 1812, when the work was finally published, Salvage had to engage the interest of four successive ministers—Chaptal, Champagny, Crétet, and Montalivet. His failing health may have raised doubts that the project would actually be completed: he was physically and mentally drained by consumption, and there were periods when he did not work on the *Anatomie* at all. It would require further research to

determine whether his case was a typical example of bureaucratic inefficiency or of the gap between the political reality and the proclaimed goals of rewarding merit through patronage, but even cursory study of other archival documents pertaining to the fine arts reveals that it was not unusual for artists to wait to be paid for commissioned work long after a project had been completed. Éméric-David himself had to pay for the printing of his *Recherches sur l'art statuaire* in 1805 and still had not been reimbursed by the state as late as 1812.<sup>70</sup>

Salvage sought to bring scientific knowledge to improve the practice of art and to diminish the divide between the



38. Detail of Figure 37, showing Salvage's self-portrait

arts and the sciences—aims shared by the bible of the Enlightenment, Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*. Aware of his special status as a physician, surgeon, and artist, Salvage frequently insisted that he alone could make the necessary connections between science and art that would liberate the artist's imagination. His project and his contributions to Moreau de la Sarthe's edition of Lavater were informed and inspired by the moment in time in which he worked. As John Lesch points out, between 1790 and 1821, physiology in France achieved self-definition as a science, a degree of autonomy from medicine, and official recognition from the scientific world. Closely linked with anatomy, physiology took as its primary goal the elucidation of the interdependent functions of

living organisms through observation and experimentation. Salvage's project, which sought to illustrate the interdependence of anatomical structural elements and the body's movement, may be seen in light of the development of modern physiology.<sup>71</sup>

The question of how artists acquire knowledge of the human body in order to represent it was a long-debated subject in art theory and practice.<sup>72</sup> Both Salvage and Éméric-David subscribed to the theory that the treatment of the figure in the best of classical art shows sculptors' superb knowledge of the body. Certainly, those sculptors acquired their knowledge through observing living figures,<sup>73</sup> and Salvage and Éméric-David alike argued that classical artists were also informed and inspired by a more detailed knowledge of the body obtained through the processes of human dissection.

Salvage's thesis, that the French artist can match the grandeur of the works of classical sculptors in representing the human body if the anatomical structures animating classical works can be revealed and demonstrated, is reflected in his magisterial collection of anatomically detailed, annotated drawings explicating the composition of the human structure. In a certain light, one may view his highly detailed *Anatomie* as a text to guide artists in their own exploration of the human body through the process of dissection.

Rather than dwell on the struggles of a lonely genius failed by society, one might remember Salvage in the way that he himself wished to be viewed by posterity. He summed up the meaning of his life's work in an image that serves as the frontispiece of his book (Figure 37), which he dedicated to "the shades of Agasias, son of Dositheus and citizen of Ephesus, author of the statue of the gladiator" (manès d'Agasias, fils de Dosithee et citoyen d'Ephèse, auteur de la statue du Gladiateur). It contains a self-portrait of Salvage, standing before an altar on which is placed a bust of Pallas Athena (Figure 38). He holds a sheaf of drawings and wears a toga. Carved on the side of the altar is a relief of his alter ego, Agasias, at work on his famous statue next to a cadaver on a dissecting table. Leaning against the altar is a caduceus, or serpent entwined around a staff, an emblem associated with Asclepius, the Greek god of medicine and son of Apollo, who represented the rational and civilized side of human nature in Greek mythology. All three—Athena, serpent, and Salvage—gaze intently at a mirror, a traditional emblem of Truth. For Salvage, the means of attaining this elusive goal lay in the reciprocal bond between science and the arts, and between classical antiquity and the modern world. Two sentences inscribed on the altar underscore the emblematic message: "L'ART S'ILLUSTRE PAR LA SCIENCE" (Art gains luster from science) and "LA SCIENCE SE PERPÉTUE PAR L'ART" (Science endures through art).

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Jean-Galbert Salvage and his *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant* had engaged my interest since 1993, when on a holiday afternoon enjoying the holdings of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century anatomical folios in the collection of the Bibliothèque Forney in Paris, I was introduced to this amazing work. I was immediately curious about its author, whom I had not heard of despite my acquaintance with the genre, and was informed that Salvage's *Anatomie* was hardly an undiscovered treasure. Yet popular and scholarly literature were shy of his history, typically citing only what was necessary to establish his authorship. This article is but one outcome of an intermittent but nevertheless stimulating and immensely enjoyable attempt to tell the Salvage story. There are many who assisted in my pursuit of this project. To begin at the beginning:

Meredith Shedd-Diskol's dissertation, "T. B. Éméric-David and the Criticism of Ancient Sculpture in France: 1790–1839" (Berkeley, 1980), was the touchstone for my own inquiry, and her subsequent publications, and friendship, have informed and inspired my project. Matthew Gerber, over many months while still a graduate student in the History Department at Berkeley, ably and patiently assisted in deciphering the hand-scripted metalanguage of documents from nineteenth-century French bureaucracies to develop one aspect of the Salvage story, in itself much larger than the one I have chosen to tell.

Donald Pistolesi of Montreal was throughout a patient counselor and editor as I sought to produce a manuscript from the vast amount of data I had collected. Carla Hesse, Loren Partridge, Myra Rosenfeld Little, and Michael Driskol each read the manuscript as it was being developed, offering advice and broadening my understanding of the political culture in which Salvage worked in order to better focus the text. Colta Ives, Curator of Drawings and Prints at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, kindly assisted in securing permission from museums and libraries to reproduce the illustrations. It was she who introduced the manuscript to the editorial board of this publication.

In addition, I warmly acknowledge the personnel of the archives who contributed substantially to my project through their generous, personal attention: Alain Chabrat, Archives du Cantal, Aurillac; Jean-François Debord, Department of Morphology, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris; Jean-Jacques Ferrandis and M. Gargar, Archives de l'Hôpital du Val-de-Grâce, Paris; Joel Fouilleron and Philippe Jouve, Archives de Saint-Flour, Cantal; Madame Laffitte-Larnaudy, Archives de l'Institut des Beaux-Arts, Paris; André Soubiran, Bibliothèque des Armées du Val-de-Grâce, Paris; and Françoise Viatte, Department of Graphic Arts, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Béatrice Herbin, my research assistant,

enthusiastically facilitated my relationship with these individuals and their institutions.

My affection for Jean-Galbert Salvage's life story deepened when I visited Chamalières in Lavastrie in the Cantal department in south-central France, the farm, now occupied by Gérard and Robert Salvage, where my subject was born and near which he died.

Finally, I am greatly indebted to my friend and editor, Edith Gladstone, who reshaped stylistic aspects of my manuscript to bring them into line with those of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*. And to Sue Potter, editor of the *Journal*, whose inspired idea was to augment my selection of illustrations for the article with all Salvage produced for his *Anatomie*, thus broadening readers' comprehension of the complexity of the aspect of the Salvage story I chose to tell.

This article is dedicated to the memory of my wife, Judith Lee Stronach.

## NOTES

Translations from French are by the author unless otherwise stated.

1. "Si la France veut voir les arts reflourir et reprendre, avec plus d'énergie, avec le sublime enthousiasme qui leur est propre et donner aux hommes de génie la gloire de transmettre à la postérité, sur le marbre et sur la toile, les scènes mémorables qui ont honoré la Révolution française il faut une intervention du gouvernement qui doit dans tous les temps son appui aux Beaux-arts." Charles Louis Corbet to citoyen Lagarde, secrétaire général du Directoire exécutif, Paris, an V [1797], 8–13; quoted in Pommier 1991, pp. 349–50. Corbet was a sculptor and a librarian at the École Centrale du Nord, and a strong proponent of the French Revolution. See Lennep 1994, pp. 45–52.
2. Sénéchal 1998, pp. 219–28, pls. 87–93.
3. On the changes in its administration, see Locquin 1912, pp. 1–5.
4. Pamphlet of Jacques-Pierre Brissot, quoted by Crow 1985, p. 183.
5. The Assemblée Constituante (National Constituent Assembly of June 1789–September 1791) authorized the sum of 90,000 livres to be devoted to the *encouragement des arts* by decree (of September 17 and December 3, 1791) as *prix d'encouragement*. Recipients were to be chosen by the artists themselves. This system was in place until 1801, at which point recipient artists were both chosen and funded by the government. In 1802 and thereafter, recipients were selected from artists who exhibited at the biennial Salon. Essentially, this process was followed with some modifications until 1815. Lelièvre 1993, pp. 145ff.

Napoleon established the Prix Décennaux by decree of 24 fructidor an XII (September 11, 1804) to commemorate the coup d'état (18 brumaire an VIII [November 18, 1799]) when he became first consul. The prize was to be given every ten years "[pour] encourager les sciences, les lettres et les arts qui contribuent éminemment à l'illustration et à la gloire des nations" (to support the sciences, letters, and arts that contribute with distinction to the luster and glory of nations). Prizes of 5,000 and 10,000 livres were awarded, and the jury was composed of the "quatre secrétaires perpétuels des quatre classes de l'Institut, et des quatre présidents en fonctions dans l'année qui précédera celle de la distribution"

(four permanent secretaries of the Institut's four classes, and of the four presidents presiding the year before the distribution). The first distribution of the grand prizes would take place on 18 brumaire de l'an XVII (November 8, 1808); *Le moniteur universel*, 15 vendémiaire XIII (October 7, 1804), p. 48.

With the creation of the Classe des Beaux-Arts in 1795, artists could petition this body for financial aid without engaging in competitions or exhibiting at the biennial Salon.

6. When the Institut National was reorganized in 1803, the Classe des Beaux-Arts became one of the Institut's four parts (it had been set up by the National Convention in October 1795 as one of three parts); Amouroux et al. 1995, pp. 306–10.
7. Palmer 1985, especially p. 81. Education was seen as the means of founding a new society in which the powers of government and limitations on such powers were viewed as the predominant issues. The educational law of October 25, 1795, established a number of public schools. Among these were the Écoles Centrales, where the practical needs of the working classes were met. Drawing was an important feature in the teaching of painting and sculpture, but also in relation to other subjects. One-third of all course enrollments in all the Écoles Centrales were in drawing, which attracted pupils from the whole range of social classes present in the schools. Among these were students destined to become artists. Courses were aimed at imparting good taste as well as manual skills, and students were assigned exercises in sketching and copying from engravings of paintings and plaster casts of sculptures, as well as *académies*, or studies from a live model.
8. Endorsements by the Classe des Beaux-Arts were published as news items in the *Moniteur universel*, the Paris daily that was the official newspaper of the government.
9. Salvage's medical education was unique for its time. Medical students at the Université de Montpellier were among the first in France to be offered a combined degree in medicine and surgery; the curriculum was formally established in 1728.
10. "Officier de santé JGS dossier," Archives militaires, Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes, A.V. 3 Yg928.
11. Val-de-Grâce was a Benedictine convent requisitioned in 1793 for the purpose of housing a military hospital.
12. "De retour des armées en 1796, et employé à l'hôpital militaire de Paris, je conçus le projet d'utiliser mes études anatomiques pour un art que j'avois aimé dès ma plus tendre enfance. Tout plein de cette idée je me livrai au dessin avec ardeur, je fréquentai les académies; j'appris à modeler, à me pénétrer sur l'antique des beautés que j'y trouvois répandues de toute part" (Salvage 1812, introduction, p. i). "Ce n'est point la vanité qui me guide, ni des éloges que je réclame, mes souhaits se bornent à être utile à mon pays et à y voir fleurir les arts qu'entretiennent la paix et l'abondance" (ibid., p. iv).
13. "La figure connue sous le nom du *Gladiateur* fut celle qui me frappa davantage; son attitude, sa taille élégante, son mouvement, son action, tout dans cette statue me montrait les fruits de la science et les prodiges de l'art. Ce fut dans un de ces moments d'admiration que je jetai le plan d'un ouvrage qui réunit tout à la fois l'étude exacte de l'anatomie et son application aux progrès de l'art" (ibid., p. i).
14. See Locquin 1912, p. 83.
15. Haskell and Penny 1988, p. 222.
16. Pariset 1963, pp. 78–85; Arneville 1981; Ronot 1992.
17. In 1789, the sculpture was confiscated from Boutin's garden at Clichy and warehoused at the Dépôt Nesle until February 11, 1796, when Chalgrin selected it for the garden of the new Palais Directorial and placed it prominently before the south facade. The Gladiator was removed for safekeeping during the renovation of the palace and the underground construction of a government conference center and parking facility completed in 1971. According to the Sénat building conservation staff, its whereabouts remain unknown.
18. "Documents envoyés par le conservateur du Sénat, 1798, Paris le 12 prairial VI [May 31, 1798]," Centre d'Accueil et de Recherches des Archives Nationales, Paris (hereafter CARAN), 17/1192/D. See also Hunt 1983.
19. Procès-verbaux, Séance du samedi 7 fructidor an XII (August 25, 1804), in Bonnaire 1937.
20. Éméric-David 1805, pp. 469–72: "On trouvera des détails intéressants relatifs à l'angle facial, dans l'ouvrage que M. Salvage va publier sur l'anatomie du Gladiateur. J'ai mesuré avec lui la tête d'Apollon, qu'il a disséquée."
21. On this subject, see Shedd 1991.
22. Haskell and Penny 1988, p. 148, fig. 77.
23. Lessing 1802. The first edition of Lessing's publication, *Laokoon*, was issued in Berlin by C. F. Voss in 1766; a second, enlarged edition was published in 1788.
24. The classic study concerning this individual is Schneider 1910.
25. *Le moniteur universel*, June 1, 1803, p. 1142.
26. Rionnet 1999, p. 188. Salvage wrote to the president of the Institut of the Classe des Beaux-Arts on August 25, 1804 (7 fructidor an XII), asking for funds, and a commission was formed to visit his atelier, reporting to the Classe des Beaux-Arts, 5 brumaire an XIII (October 1804). See the commission's report in Bonnaire 1937.
27. Chaptal to Denon, February 15, 1804, CARAN F21 707.
28. To serve as a model for the exhibited anatomized plaster figure, he had trussed his own dissections into the pose of the Gladiator.
29. *Le journal de Paris*, September 18, 1804, pp. 2407–8.
30. Le Breton to Champagny, December 26, 1804, CARAN F21 707.
31. Champagny to Le Breton, January 19, 1805, CARAN F21 707.
32. *Le moniteur universel*, September 14, 1805, pp. 1479–80.
33. See Cazort, Kornell, and Roberts 1996.
34. On Bouchardon's *Anatomie nécessaire pour l'usage du dessein* (1741), see Duval and Cuyer 1898, p. 186, and Ronot 1970.
35. Cazort, Kornell, and Roberts 1996, pp. 43, 63.
36. The seven essays were "Du mécanisme des mouvemens du corps humain," "De la statique du corps humain," "Des proportions du corps humain," "Des caractères propres aux diverses races d'hommes," "De la différence des âges," "Des tempéramens ou complexions," and "Des passions en général."
37. "Un des plus grands obstacles qu'entraînait ce genre de travail, étoit de me procurer des sujets dont une longue maladie n'eût pas altéré les formes; il falloit donc que je les prisse sur ceux de nos soldats qu'une bravoure trop souvent querelleuse faisoit mourir dans un duel particulier; enfin après plusieurs tentatives infructueuses je parvins à obtenir, à différentes époques, trois figures moulées sur de semblables sujets. Elles représentent les différentes couches musculaires dont le corps humain se compose, depuis la plus extérieure ou celle qui répond à la peau, jusqu'à la plus profonde, qui se trouve immédiatement appliqué sur les os. Ces figures sont posées dans l'attitude du *Gladiateur*, et je leur dois d'avoir pu analyser le mouvement de cette antique, dont j'ai anatomisé une empreinte sur plâtre." Salvage 1812, pp. i–ii.
38. On this subject, see Imbault-Huart 1981.
39. Tarin 1750; also see the large bibliography in Lemire 1990.
40. On this subject see Percy [1814] and Imbault-Huart 1975.
41. "Notes du baron Desgenettes sur les hôpitaux militaires," Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Manuscrits, FR 11290. This reorganization ended the work of a majority of the military staff in the hospitals where they were stationed. "9 frimaire an XII [December 1, 1803]: Arrête contenant nouveau règlement sur le service de santé," in Duvergier 1826, pp. 459–60.

42. "Rapport, présenté au Ministre-Directeur de l'administration de la guerre, 17 brumaire an XIII [November 8, 1804]," Archives militaires, Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes, cote: No. 8209.
43. "Un médecin, peintre, sculpteur, tout ensemble"; "cet ouvrage unique, avec lequel je serai désormais plus utile à la société que ne peut l'être un chirurgien du dernier grade." Quoted in "Dossier Salvage, Jean Galbert, Chirurgien né à Lavastrie," Archives militaires, cote: No. 928/5e feuillet.
44. Among other sources, Moreau de la Sarthe probably drew upon a contemporary work published in 1801 by Anthelme Richerand, which stressed the importance of physiology for an artist's comprehension of the body. On this subject, see also Staum 1995.
45. This was an aspect of physiology he was well qualified to depict. Salvage's baccalaureate, "De Sanguinis missione," was on the circulation of blood and capillary systems (Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, Montpellier).
46. CARAN F21 707.
47. Ibid.
48. "Rapport remis à la 3e Division, Paris, January 26, 1807," CARAN F21 707.
49. Salvage to Crétet, Paris, October 7, 1807, CARAN F21 707.
50. "Ministère de l'Intérieur, décision du 28 octobre 1807," CARAN F21 707.
51. "Secrétariat Général; Rapport présenté au Ministre de l'Intérieur, Paris, October 28, 1807," CARAN F21 707.
52. "Rapport présenté au Ministre de l'Intérieur, Paris, December 1807," CARAN F21 707.
53. Salon de 1808, Collection Deloynes, t. 44, no. 1146.
54. "Que MM les Professeurs des écoles me donnassent leur avis tant sur le degré d'utilité dont cet ouvrage peut être pour ceux qui se livrent à l'étude de la peinture et de la sculpture que sur ce qu'il paraîtrait juste d'allouer pour prix de son travail." Bachasson to Monsieur Merimée, Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'École Spéciale des Beaux-Arts, Paris, July 24, 1810, CARAN AJ52 441 Bureau des Sciences et des Arts.
55. "Rapport fait à l'assemblée des professeurs de l'École spéciale des beaux-arts, sur l'ouvrage intitulé Anatomie du Gladiateur combattant," August 21, 1810, CARAN F21 707.
56. "Rapport présenté au Ministre de l'Intérieur par le chef du 3e division," September 15, 1810, CARAN F21 707.
57. CARAN F21 710.
58. Minister of the interior to Salvage, Paris, November 3, 1810, CARAN F21 707.
59. "Rapport présenté au Ministre de l'Intérieur," September 15, 1810, CARAN F21 707.
60. "Rapport de Neuville au Ministre de l'Intérieur," Paris, April 3, 1811, CARAN F21 707.
61. Internal memo from the minister of the interior, December 24, 1811, CARAN F21 707.
62. CARAN F21 707. Salvage's treatise was available as a bound volume through Le Normand, imprimeur-libraire, rue de Seine, and Treuttel et Wurtz, libraires, rue de Lille. A third vendor of engravings, Bance l'ainé, may have handled engravings and counterproofs, which Salvage also attempted to sell by subscription. On November 26, 1804, in the first published announcement about the project, it had been noted that the material would be available from Salvage and "chez M. Cussac, imprimeur-libraire, rue Croix-des-Petits-Champs, no. 33," who was not listed among the vendors in 1812.
63. Favorable reviews of Salvage's work were published in *Le moniteur universel*, May 11, 1812; *Le journal de l'Empire*, May 25, 1812; and

*Le journal des arts, des sciences, et de la littérature*, June 25, 1812.

64. "Séance du samedi 2 mai 1812," Archives de l'Institut National des Sciences et des Arts, Paris, 2E1 1811–1812.
65. See his death certificate, Archives Départementales du Cantal, Aurillac, commune de Lavastrie. The farm where Salvage died still exists and has been continuously occupied since the seventeenth century.
66. "Registre des actes de décès; donne la date des actes de succession," Archives de Paris, cote: DQ8 1002 Rum-Sau.
67. This was an official appointed for the administration of goods and other interests of a minor, incapacitated adult, or deceased person.
68. Borreze, "l'ancien tambour major de la garde du Directoire," one of the several soldiers dissected by Salvage.
69. "Succession Jean Galbert Salvage. Minutes Notariales," AN MC/ET/XCVII/714.
70. "Souscriptions, dossier annuels 1800–35": Éméric-David to Minister of the Interior, Paris, October 21, 1812, CARAN F21 710.
71. Lesch 1984, pp. 13–14, is my source here and in the next paragraph.
72. Cazort, Kornell, and Roberts 1996, *passim*.
73. Métraux 1995.

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