

# Auguste Rodin's *The Burghers of Calais*

## The Career of a Sculpture and its Appeal to Civic Heroism

*Richard Swedberg*

**T**HE *BURGHERS of Calais* is one of Rodin's best-known sculptures, perhaps only second in popularity to *The Kiss*. This statue dates from 1895 and was originally commissioned by the City of Calais to celebrate a local hero. Soon, however, it was incorporated into the national culture of the Third Republic – and today it can be found all over the world, from Europe to the Americas and Asia. According to information from the Rodin Museum in Paris, we can find *The Burghers of Calais* in the following cities: Calais, Paris, London, Brussels, Venice, Copenhagen, Basel, Washington, New York, Philadelphia, Stanford, Tokyo and Seoul (Le Norman-Romain and Haudiquet, 2001: 8–9). A few more places can also be added which seem to have eluded the people at the Rodin Museum, including Canberra, Australia.

To some extent, it is clear that Rodin's sculpture owes this feat of universal appreciation to its outstanding artistic qualities. Rodin, of course, is considered one of the master sculptors of modern times, and *The Burghers of Calais* is generally recognized as one of his most inspired creations. Nonetheless, in this article I will argue that there is also something more to Rodin's sculpture, and that it is this particular quality that has made its spectacular international career possible.

What then is this extra element or quality? I will present my answer in the last section of this article, after a discussion of how it came into being in the first place. In formulating my answer I have taken as my point of departure some comments that Georg Simmel made about Rodin. Simmel

was an ardent admirer of Rodin and also met with him a few times. According to Simmel, no other artist in the second half of the 19th century expressed the *Zeitgeist* as well as Rodin (Frisby, 1992a: 66; cf. Simmel, 1911: 201, 1996: 346).

In exploring the issue of what it is that gives *The Burghers of Calais* its special appeal, I will proceed as follows. I will first present the coming into being of the sculpture, from the original commission in Calais for a single-figure statue, to the inclusion of Rodin's six figures into the national heritage of Republican France, and from there to its successes in the international arena. I will then review the historical facts about the incident in 1347 on which the sculpture is based. This is of particular interest since it was early rumored that the story about the burghers of Calais was based on a myth and falsified historical facts. All of this negative information, I will argue, makes it even more remarkable that *The Burghers of Calais* has been such a success.

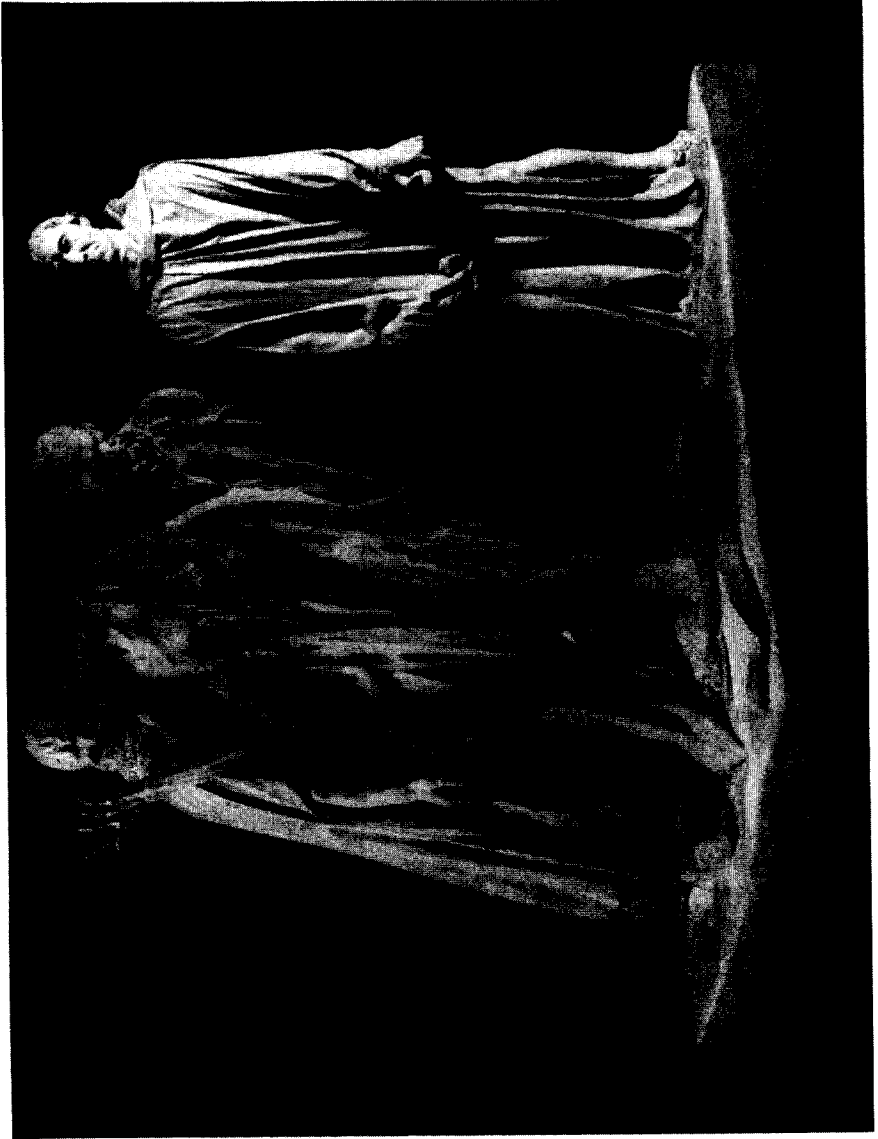
Auguste Rodin's monument *The Burghers of Calais* was unveiled in 1895. The sculpture depicts an event that took place in 1347 and was part of the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) between England and France (e.g. DeVries, 1991; Moeglin, 2002). King Edward III had besieged the French town of Calais for nearly a year, and by early August its starved citizens could no longer hold out. Edward III then told the people of Calais that they would all be killed, unless six of its citizens presented themselves to him, dressed only in their shirts, with a rope around their necks, and with the keys to the city in their hands. Rodin's sculpture depicts the six citizens at the moment when they are about to leave Calais for the king's camp. Torn between their desire to stay alive and their desire to save the lives of the other people in Calais, they slowly set out on their difficult journey.

Rainer Maria Rilke, the German poet who for a few years worked as Rodin's secretary, has tried to capture Rodin's vision in *The Burghers of Calais* in one of his essays in the following way:

[Rodin] felt immediately that there was a moment in this story when something portentous took place, something independent of time and place, something simple, something great. He concentrated all his attention upon the moment of the departure. He saw how the men started on their way, he felt how through each one of them pulsed once more his entire past life, he realized that each one stood there prepared to give that life for the sake of the old city. Six men rose before him, of whom no two were alike. (Rilke, [1903] 1946: 49)

### **Some Basic Facts**

*The Burghers of Calais* was commissioned by the Municipal Council of Calais in 1884 and inaugurated a little more than a decade later (e.g. McNamara, 1977). It is made of bronze and weighs about 2 tons. Each of the six burghers is slightly larger than life and about 2 meters tall. They all stand on the ground, which is cast as 20–30 centimeters high. The exact



measurements of the statue are as follows: it is 219.5 centimeters high; 266 centimeters wide; and 211.5 centimeters deep.<sup>1</sup> The main figure in the group is Eustache de Saint-Pierre, an old man who was also the richest citizen in Calais. Of the other five burghers, the main historical source only names three: Jean d'Aire and the brothers Pierre and Jacques de Wissant. The remaining two figures are known from a more recent historical document as Jean de Fiennes and Andrieu d'Andres.<sup>2</sup>

Rodin's main source of inspiration for his sculpture was the account of the siege of Calais in *The Chronicles* by Jean Froissart (1333?–1400/1) from the late Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> Froissart tells how the inhabitants of Calais, after they had surrendered, were told by Edward III that they would only be spared on one condition:

... that six of the chief burghers of the city shall come out, their hands and feet bare, and with halters round their necks, and with the keys of the town and the castle in their hands. These will be at my mercy, and the rest of the town shall go free. (Froissart, 2001: 154)

The people of Calais were given this message at the market place, and it made them despair and cry. But:

Soon afterwards, the richest burgher in the town, Sir Eustache de Saint Pierre, got up and said: 'Gentlemen, it would be a great shame to allow so many people to starve to death, if there were any way of preventing it. And it would be highly pleasing to Our Lord if anyone could save them from such a fate. I have such faith and trust in gaining pardon and grace from Our Lord if I die in the attempt, that I will put myself forward as the first. I will willingly go out in my shirt, bareheaded and barefoot, with a halter round my neck and put myself at the mercy of the King of England.'

At these words the crowd almost worshipped him, and a number of men and women fell at his feet weeping bitterly. It was a most affecting sight to witness. Another very rich and much respected citizen, called Jean d'Aire, who had two beautiful daughters, rose up and said he would keep him company. The third to volunteer was Sir Jacques de Wissant, who was very rich both by inheritance and by his own transactions; he offered to accompany his two cousins, and so did Sir Pierre his brother. Two others completed the number, and set off dressed only in their shirts and breeches, and with halters round their necks, as they had been told. (Froissart, 2001: 155)

Despite its ominous beginnings, the episode with the six burghers of Calais ended well. Edward III wanted them to be executed, but the queen intervened on their behalf. As a result of her efforts, the lives of the burghers were saved. Froissart describes what happened as follows:

King Edward summoned Sir Walter de Manny and the two marshals, the Earls of Warwick and Stafford, and said to them: 'My lords, take the keys of the city and castle of Calais. You will imprison all the knights that you find there, or make them surrender an oath. They are good men and I will reward them.

But all the other mercenary soldiers will be disbanded, and so will all the inhabitants of the town, men, women, and children. I am going to repopulate Calais with Englishmen.'

These orders were carried out. Only three of the citizens were allowed to remain in Calais, a priest and two other old men, who were versed in the customs, laws, and institutions of the city, and could point out the various properties. (Froissart, 2001: 157–8)

One can say that three forces were mainly responsible for Rodin's *Burghers of Calais* turning out the way that it did: the Third Republic, the Municipal Council of Calais and Rodin himself. While Rodin's vision was no doubt the most important factor in this process, the other two were important as well. To some extent, the ideas of the Third Republic were also part of Rodin's own vision. And in subtle ways, as we know from Simmel's essay, the *Zeitgeist* had found an echo in Rodin's vision.

The Third Republic (1870–1940) made a huge effort to break with the royalist past of France and move the country in the direction of a modern nation for common people – a general strategy that suited Rodin well since he came from a modest and hard-working background. Much of this desire for a decisive break with the past had to do with the humiliating defeat that France had suffered in the war against Prussia in 1870. The Prussian army had easily overrun the French army and then besieged Paris and brought it to its knees. Rodin had taken part in the defense of the capital and was in general a firm nationalist. When he was asked by Kaiser Wilhelm II to make a bust of him, for example, Rodin declined. He did not want to portray an 'enemy of France', as he put it (Butler, 1993: 487; cf. Cladel, 1937: 193).

But Rodin was also an internationalist and a universalist, and in this aspect as well he was in unison with the Third Republic. While the old France had been Catholic, the new Republic wanted to cut its link to the Church and replace the fervor of the believer with the fervor of the citizen. The Third Republic, more generally, wanted to be a modern nation, in line with the times. This desire took many expressions, including an attempt to reshape the whole educational system, from the bottom up, in which Emile Durkheim and others played a key role. In many respects, the ideals of Durkheim and his sociology were those of the new France: there should be solidarity between the citizens, respect for the individual and veneration of society. 'Society' primarily meant French society, but there also existed a sincere and firm commitment among the ideologues of the Third Republic to universal ideals and an international society (e.g. Durkheim, 1915, [1912] 1996: 74–5).

In its attempts to create a new identity for France, the Third Republic made 'La Marseillaise' into the national anthem and Bastille Day (14 July) into the national holiday. It was also deeply involved in reinterpreting the past of the country, since it was generally believed that a nation consisted of people with a common heritage. In 1882, for example, Ernest Renan had published his famous essay 'What is a Nation?', in which he argued that

two elements make up a nation: 'one is the possession in common of a rich legacy of remembrances; the other is the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to continue to value the heritage which all hold in common' (Renan, [1882] 1994).

One of the most popular ways to embody this new attitude to the past was through public monuments; and the Third Republic has gone down in history as having been obsessed with statues. Its mania for statues (*'statuomanie'*) translated into a rate of erecting statues that exceeded that of any earlier regime six times over (e.g. Agulhon, 1978, 1989; Butler, 1993: 124–37, 199). Favorite subjects were extraordinary individuals, who had emerged from the mass of citizens and who could not be identified with the royal past. The typical statue was often of an individual; it was allegorical in nature; and the whole thing was mounted on a pedestal and given the shape of a pyramid.

Statues of famous individuals and various 'monuments to the Republic' soon began to adorn Paris. An obvious case of *statuomanie* was the new town hall of the capital that was erected in the late 1870s, to replace the *hôtel de ville* that had been burned down during the Commune. It was adorned with more than 100 sculptures of famous men (102) and women (6), which meant that an army of sculptors had to be hired. One of these was Rodin, who was commissioned to make a statue of d'Alembert, the famous philosopher and mathematician from the 18th century.

It is clear that *The Burghers of Calais* fitted in very well with the general ambitions of the Third Republic to create a new past for the nation (e.g. Ozouf, 1998). Rodin's sculpture depicted a famous incident from the history of France and one that involved a group of citizens, as opposed to the king and his entourage of nobles. The burghers had also sacrificed themselves for society, the collective representation of all the citizens. A common interpretation of Rodin's sculpture, finally, was that it represented a celebration of heroism, not in victory but in defeat. Calais may have lost the war against Edward III, just as France had lost the war against Prussia in 1870 – but its citizens had behaved like true heroes and deserved to be remembered as such.

But even if the Third Republic in several ways influenced the creation of Rodin's *Burghers of Calais*, it only did so in a very general way. And it did *not* commission or pay for the statue; this was done by the Municipal Council of Calais. We shall therefore now turn to the role of Calais and its people in the story about Rodin's sculpture. As we shall see, the people in Calais had their own vision of what the statue should look like; a vision that both inspired and repelled Rodin.

The decision by the Municipal Council of Calais to commission a statue of Eustache de Saint-Pierre was taken by a unanimous vote on 26 September 1884.<sup>4</sup> That the decision was taken at this particular point in time had much to do with the local history of Calais and its efforts to maintain its identity as a city. In the early 1880s it had been decided to merge Calais with the neighboring city of Saint Pierre, in order to create a

new and dynamic city in the Third Republic. The famous medieval walls of Calais had to be destroyed as part of the merger, and the decision to commission a statue of Eustache was a way of affirming the identity and medieval past of Calais. Through skillful politics the mayor of the city also succeeded in giving the new city the name of Calais.

Over the years Eustache and his companions had become an important symbol for Calais. In 1820 the French government had presented the city of Calais with a bust of Eustache de Saint-Pierre, which can still be found in the town hall. The sculpture depicts the leader of the burghers from the chest upwards, in the style of Antiquity. Eustache de Saint-Pierre is dressed in a shirt, has a rope neatly arranged around his neck and a calm, dignified expression on his face.

In the 1830s one of the civic organizations in Calais announced a contest to show that Eustache de Saint-Pierre was a true hero, despite some slander to the contrary in a neighboring city. During the period between 1840 and 1870 several initiatives were taken to have statues made of Eustache de Saint-Pierre, but they all fell through for one reason or another. One artist, for example, presented a model that showed Eustache de Saint-Pierre standing in a shirt, with the keys of the city in his hands. The statue was set on a pedestal, which, in turn, was standing in a basin supported by dolphins spouting water. The model was rejected because it was felt that Eustache de Saint-Pierre did not look like a hero.

The person behind the decision in September 1884 to commission yet another statue of Eustache was Omer Dewavrin, the mayor of Calais. That Rodin's sculpture could be installed and officially unveiled in Calais 11 years later was also due to the efforts of the energetic Dewavrin. When the mayor visited Rodin in Paris in October 1884 he was immediately captivated by Rodin's ideas for the statue, but Rodin still had to compete with two other sculptors for the commission. Unlike his competitors, however, Rodin decided to depict *all* of the burghers, not just Eustache de Saint-Pierre. His proposal also had another quality that made it very attractive to the people in Calais: Rodin offered to produce the statue at a very low price.

Rodin's first model for the statue shows the six burghers standing on a pedestal on which a triumphal arch has been sketched. The figures form a close-knit group, led by Eustache de Saint-Pierre, who shows the way with his arm. The group gives a very compact impression since its members are very close to one another; they are also all encircled by a rope around their necks. The general atmosphere of the model is one of triumph and defiance in the face of a difficult fate.

Once he had seen Rodin's model, the mayor assured Rodin in a letter that 'you have rendered the idea in the most thrilling and heroic fashion. . . . Everyone who has seen the group is gripped by it' (Butler, 1993: 202). This may well have been true at the time Dewavrin wrote his letter but, according to other sources, some critical comments were also made by the members of the Committee for the Monument in Calais. After some politics

and a personal visit by Rodin, however, Dewavrin had his way, and on 23 January 1885, the Municipal Council decided to give the commission for the monument to Rodin.

According to the contract that Rodin now signed, he was obliged to produce a second model, and by late July he had done so. The new model from July 1885 differed in several important respects from the first one. The pedestal had been removed and the figures now stood directly on the ground. Also, the rope that encircled the whole group was gone. Rodin had produced each of the six burghers as a separate sculpture, which meant that they had to be fitted together; and the exact arrangement that Rodin may have had in mind is not known today. It nonetheless appears that Eustache, Jean d'Aire and Jacques de Wissant were in the front row of the sculpture or at least in the focus of the viewer. Eustache looked considerably less energetic and leader-like than he had done in the first model. One figure was doubled over in despair and seemed to be falling out of the sculpture. The atmosphere of heroism had been replaced by suffering; 'the native hue of resolution' by 'the pale cast of thought'.

The majority of the members in the Committee for the Monument in Calais did not like Rodin's new model, and Rodin was handed a list of complaints and suggestions for how to change it. More or less the same complaints were also echoed in an article in the local newspaper, *Le Patriote*. The new model for the monument, the critics charged, depicted the burghers as standing in front of King Edward III in a very humiliating position. Grief and sorrow, not triumph, were the general mood of the model. The Committee wrote to Rodin:

We did not visualize our glorious fellow-citizens proceeding to King Edward's camp in this way. Their dejected attitudes offend our religion. (Cladel, 1937: 91)

Rodin's work, the Committee suggested, could also be improved by changing the monument into the shape of a pyramid, which was the traditional shape that monuments had in those days. This would be much preferable to Rodin's current arrangement of the six burghers in the form of a square, with each of them the same height.

Rodin's answer to his critics was that he was an artist and needed freedom to create, and that the only figure he could possibly change was the one doubled over in despair. He scoffed at the idea of changing the shape of his statue into that of a pyramid, which he regarded as an outmoded and useless convention.<sup>5</sup> His critics had also got it wrong when they said that he had depicted the burghers in front of the king. The moment that Rodin had chosen to depict, he emphasized, was a very different one, namely when the burghers decided to leave the City of Calais and start their walk to the camp of the king.

A few months later the Municipal Council accepted Rodin's second model, but it is clear from Rodin's correspondence that he was still not sure



about how to proceed, and what changes he was supposed to be making. In 1886, however, something happened that would deeply influence the fate of Rodin's sculpture. In that year a series of bankruptcies shook Calais and most of the money for the monument was lost. Without any resources it was pointless for the Committee for the Monument to continue, so it was disbanded. When Dewavrin around the same time lost his position as mayor, the last link between Calais and Rodin had been cut. *The Burghers of Calais*, it seemed, would never become a public monument in Calais.

In 1893, however, Dewavrin was re-elected as mayor, and he immediately reactivated the project for the statue of the burghers. A national lottery was held to raise money, and the mayor pressed Rodin, as much as he dared, to finish the statue and have it cast. A last conflict between Rodin and the Committee for the Monument emerged over where to put the statue in Calais, and whether it should have a pedestal or not. The Committee members were not in a mood to negotiate about these matters, which they considered as falling within their own jurisdiction and not that of Rodin. To Rodin's great chagrin, the statue was placed at the entrance to a park – something that Rodin thought was only suitable for allegorical statues – and also quite close to a *chalet de nécessité* or a public bathroom (Coquiou, 1917: 106). Against Rodin's wishes, his group of burghers was, in addition, placed on a 5-foot-high pedestal and behind a conventional wrought iron fence. Thus the easy interaction between the sculpture and the inhabitants of Calais that Rodin had envisioned and hoped for, became impossible.<sup>6</sup>

Rodin's statue was unveiled on 3 June 1895 as part of a series of official festivities in Calais which drew a crowd of some 30,000 people. The whole thing lasted for two days and included lectures on Eustache de Saint-Pierre, a torch-lit parade, an international gymnastics competition, bell ringings and an avalanche of official speeches. The national government was represented through its Minister of the Colonies, Emile Chautemps, who also made one of the official speeches. The minister told his audience that:

... your celebration, citizens of Calais, is a national celebration. The burghers of whom you are legitimately proud, belong to France. ... One's fatherland is not just a group of interests; it is first and foremost a community of memories. What makes it a fatherland is the same as what makes a family a family, namely to have the same pleasures and hopes, to have suffered the same pains. (*La Justice*, 5 June 1895)<sup>7</sup>

After the minister had finished his speech, there were loud cries of 'Vive la République!' and three rounds of applause.

It is clear that without the actions of the people in Calais there would have been no statue; and that Dewavrin and others in Calais also influenced Rodin by drawing his attention to the chronicle by Froissart. Nonetheless, Rodin primarily shaped *The Burghers of Calais* according to his own vision, and it is to this theme that we now shall turn. At the time when the statue was commissioned, Rodin (1840–1917) was in his mid-40s and not yet

acknowledged as a major sculptor. While his name was known in the relevant circles, he had not yet had his breakthrough. For example, it was only a few years earlier that he had received his first commission from the state to produce a major statue. But this commission had not worked out since the building, which the monument (*The Gates of Hell*) was to be part of, had failed to materialize. Rodin's eagerness to get the commission for the statue in Calais was correspondingly great; and as an example of this one can mention the extremely low price he asked for it. Later he said: 'I delivered six figures in bronze for the price they offered me for one' (Gsell, 1971: 144).

When Rodin in October 1884 was told about the possibility of getting a commission for a monument of Eustache de Saint-Pierre he read Froissart's *Chronicles* and was immediately captivated by the story about the burghers. He later said: 'I devoured the chapter called "How King Philip of France could not Free Calais, and How King Edward of England took It"' (Coquiote, 1917: 104). What Rodin found especially gripping was the scene with the six burghers who volunteered to sacrifice themselves for the people of Calais. 'I was enflamed by this tale', he said (Coquiote, 1917: 103).

Under the impact of Froissart's chronicles Rodin introduced his first major innovation: the statue should be of all the burghers who had offered to give their lives, not only of Eustache de Saint-Pierre, as the people in Calais had wanted. Drawing on this idea Rodin quickly put together the first model, which was shipped to Calais only a month later. In a letter he describes his conception of the statue as follows:

The idea seems to me to be completely original from the point of view of architecture and sculpture. The subject imposes a heroic conception and the ensemble of the six self-sacrificing figures has a communicative expression and emotion. The pedestal is triumphal and has the rudiments of a triumphal arch, in order to carry, not a quadriga, but human patriotism, abnegation and virtue. . . . Eustache de Saint-Pierre, alone, his arm slightly raised, by the dignity of his determined movement leads his relatives and friends. (Elsen, 1963: 73; Judrin et al., 1977: 41-2)

A little more than six months later, by mid-July 1885, Rodin's second model was ready, and it contained several major changes in relation to the first model. For one thing, as we know, the pedestal had been eliminated, and the burghers were now standing directly on the ground. Rodin had also chosen to depict the moment when the burghers were about to set out on their walk to the camp of the English king.<sup>8</sup> As a result of this, the whole mood of the sculpture had changed from one of triumph and defiance to one of sorrow and suffering.

While the group in the new model was still united, it was by no means as compact as it had been in the first version. The figures were not only part of a group but had been transformed into distinct individuals. Eustache de Saint-Pierre was still at the center of the new statute, but he was not its main focus or the obvious leader of the group, as he had been earlier.

Since Rodin was severely criticized for his second model, and since he had answered his critics in writing, we know with some precision what he was trying to accomplish with it. In a letter to the mayor of Calais Rodin explains, for example, that it was a misconception that he had portrayed the group of burghers as standing in front of the English king:

Eustache de Saint-Pierre is according to the critique in front of the King . . . but, no, he is leaving the city and descending towards the camp [of the king], and it is this that gives the group its aspect of march, of movement. (Judrin et al., 1977: 55)

In a first version of his answer to the critique in *Le Patriote*, which has been preserved, Rodin gives the following reason why he chose *not* to use the form of a pyramid for his statue:

No rule, no regulation says that you have to use the form of a pyramid: this is a good convention and has its justification in many cases, but in this case it would be perfectly awful.

That the figures in the group are all equally high has to do with their union in justice. Their sacrifice is equally huge – and so should their dimensions be; they should only differ between themselves in attitude. (Judrin et al., 1977: 56)

The critique directed at the second model had angered Rodin, and some years later he would recall how the people in Calais had wanted his burghers to ‘have some of the *Marseillaise* in their gestures’ (*Le Journal de Rouen*, 21 June 1889). Nonetheless, the critique also made him unsure about how to proceed with his sculpture. In September 1885, for example, he told the mayor that he had chosen to work on two of the figures in the second row of the statue since they ‘were not the ones who had been criticized’ (Judrin et al., 1977: 57).

When the Committee for the Monument went bankrupt in 1886, however, Calais lost much of its hold on Rodin. He was now free to proceed more or less as he wanted and this is what he did. Much of the work on *The Burghers of Calais* appears to have been carried out in the mid-1880s, and the whole sculpture was ready to be exhibited (in plaster) by 1889. That year Rodin held an exhibition together with Claude Monet at a gallery in Paris, and it was here that *The Burghers of Calais* was for the first time shown in public.

The statue that Rodin exhibited in 1889 (and which is very close to the one that was later to be cast in bronze for Calais) both differs from and is similar to the second model from 1885. The two are similar in that both depict the six burghers standing in despair on the ground, and about to leave for the camp of the English king. Each burgher also attempts to deal with the situation as best as he can – some being stoic, while others are in despair. Still, each individual looks quite different in the two statues, both

in their faces and in the way that they hold their bodies; and we are therefore justified in regarding them as two different statues.

Rodin once referred to *The Burghers of Calais* as ‘my novel’, and it is true that each figure seems to have a story to tell (Butler, 1993: 211). In an attempt to give the reader a sense of what Rodin was trying to accomplish with the final version of his statue, I will cite some excerpts from various interviews with him, in which he explicitly discusses his burghers.<sup>9</sup> According to Rodin, ‘the “advancement” towards death is the dominating content of what happens here’ (Zuckerlandl-Szeps, 1934). As for the burghers, ‘they are tied voluntarily by the same sacrifice, but each one responds individually according to his age and situation’ (Elsen, 1963: 74). ‘Each of the burghers expresses his feelings, his torment . . . or fear’ (Jeanès, 1946: 132). ‘Saint-Pierre was the soul of the sacrifice, and the one who said to the others: “We have to do it”’ (*Le Journal de Rouen*, 21 June 1889). Or, as Rodin put it in another interview:

Eustache braces himself. It is he who is going to speak. And he doesn’t want his voice to tremble. He is immobile but he is going to walk . . . (Jeanès, 1946: 132)

The exhibition in 1889 with Monet was a great success for Rodin, and it was this year that he had his breakthrough as an artist. The successes continued during the 1890s and would not stop till Rodin had become France’s leading sculptor and one of its most celebrated cultural figures. What this meant for Rodin’s relationship to the attempt by Dewavrin from 1893 onwards to revive the Calais project, is that Rodin’s hand had been considerably strengthened. When he began to work on his statue in the 1880s he was often willing to comply, but in the 1890s he was considerably less willing to do so. The mayor in Calais had, for example, great difficulty in getting Rodin to answer his letters and to put the finishing touches to his sculpture.

Still, as we know, Rodin ultimately had to yield when it came to the issue of where to place the statue in Calais, and whether it should be placed on a pedestal or not. Why Rodin wanted the statue to stand directly on the ground in Calais is clear from a letter from 1893:

My original idea was to have the burghers leave the market place, in the confusion of farewells, with only Saint-Pierre having started to walk, to shorten this difficult moment. By placing the statue very low I had thought that it would become more familiar to the public and make it easier for the public to enter into the misery and the sacrifice, into the drama . . . [it would] allow the public to penetrate to the heart of the subject, as in the Entombments in churches, where the group is always on the ground. (Judrin et al., 1977: 76; cf. Elsen, 1963: 78)

### The Historical Facts About the Burghers

Few would deny that Rodin's *Burghers of Calais* is a statue which, in a moving manner, depicts the anguish, pain and suffering that the six burghers experienced on that fateful day in 1347, when they decided to give their lives for their fellow citizens. When one turns to the historical foundation for the famous episode with the burghers, however, it soon appears that it is rather weak and even suspect. This was sensed already in the 18th century by several people, including David Hume and Voltaire. In his history of England, the skeptical Hume wrote that 'this history of the six burgesses of Calais, like all extraordinary stories, is somewhat to be suspected' (Hume, [1762] 1853, 2: 395). He thought that 'the numberless mistakes of Froissart . . . invalidate very much his testimony', and added that 'it is scarcely to be believed, that if the story has any foundation, he [that is, King Edward III] seriously meant to execute his menaces against the six townsmen of Calais' ([1762] 1853, 2: 395).

Voltaire was considerably harsher than Hume, and provocatively stated that the story about the burghers was 'the least memorable' part of what had happened in Calais during the siege of 1346–7 (Voltaire, [1756] 1963: 719). 'The idea of trying to repair the disasters of France with the help of the greatness of the soul of the six inhabitants of Calais', he found 'enormously ridiculous' ([1756] 1963: 720). He similarly felt it 'ridiculous' to seriously think that Edward III would have killed the burghers. To Voltaire, the whole episode was irritating and of little interest.

Beyond their general skepticism, which made them suspect that something was wrong with Froissart's account, Hume and Voltaire had no historical data on which to base an alternative view. Such facts, however, were presented by the French scholar Louis-Georges-Oudard-Feudrix de Brequigny (1714–94) during a session in a learned society in Paris on 11 November 1766 (Brequigny, [1766] 1774: 528–40). The evidence that Brequigny presented was devastating for Froissart and the general view of Eustache de Saint-Pierre as the heroic leader of the burghers.

During a visit to London, Brequigny had studied various documents in the Public Records Office, including a number of letters by Edward III. From these it was clear that, contrary to the impression left by Froissart, the English king had not removed everybody who was French from Calais once the siege was over, and replaced them with Englishmen. He had let a few of the original citizens of Calais remain in the city, including Eustache de Saint-Pierre. It was also clear from the historical records that Eustache had received quite a bit of property from the English King *after* the siege was over – hardly what one would have expected of the leader of the civic resistance against the King.

The key section in Brequigny's account of his discoveries in London reads as follows:

One should not imagine, as is usually done because of the historians, that all of the old owners were chased away [from Calais], that all the French were

excluded. On the contrary, I have seen a number of French names among those who received houses thanks to his new conquest. But I had not expected to find, among those who had accepted the generosity of the new ruler, the very person who one would have thought would have been the most likely to hold his generosity in contempt, the famous Eustache de Saint-Pierre.

In letters from 8 October 1347, two months after the surrender of Calais, Edward gives Eustache a considerable pension, while noting that he has added amply to his fortune. The motives for this favor are the services he will be rendering, be it in maintaining the order in Calais or in watching over its defense. Other letters from the same day, based on the same motives, give to him and his heirs most of the houses and lots that he owned in the city, while adding a few more (Brequigny, [1766] 1774: 539; cf. Moeglin, 2002: 194–5).

Brequigny also noted, not without sarcasm, that the very same queen who supposedly had felt so tenderheartedly for the burghers, did not object to receiving some of the houses that had been confiscated from them. When Eustache died, his property was confiscated rather than passed on to his heirs, and the reason for this, as the records show, is that they had remained loyal to the French king – ‘their legitimate master’ (Brequigny, [1766] 1774: 540). More generally, Brequigny also felt that Froissart and also Jean le Bel were better poets than historians. ‘One could make a long list of [Froissart’s] errors’ – but ‘no historian is more seductive than him’ (Brequigny, [1780] 1808: 595). ‘With his pen history takes on the charm of a novel.’ Similarly, Jean le Bel was a ‘historian and a poet at the same time’ ([1780] 1808: 595).

What is one to make of Brequigny’s facts, and how have they been treated by historians, especially French historians, since their publication in the mid-18th century? One telling anecdote in this context comes from the 19th century and has already been referred to in this article, when it was noted that a civic organization in Calais intervened to stop some slander of Eustache de Saint-Pierre. In 1834 a prize contest was announced in Morinie, a nearby city to Calais, by its *Société des Antiquaires* for an essay on the following topic: ‘The Devotion of Eustache de Saint-Pierre and His Companions during the Siege of Calais in 1347, which Several Authors Have Put in Doubt’ (Moeglin, 2002: 242). The prize went to a certain Auguste Clovis Bolard from Calais, whose main conclusion was that Eustache de Saint-Pierre ‘had become a traitor to his country and passed over to the side of the victors’ (Moeglin, 2002: 243).

Bolard’s essay so upset the good people of Calais that one of its civic associations immediately announced a new contest (with a larger sum as a prize) for another essay on Eustache de Saint-Pierre. The motivation for the contest read as follows:

This essay, in addition to being a eulogy of the heroic actions of the great citizens of Calais, shall have as its main goal to combat the historical doubts

that have been raised about this event, among others by Mr. de Brequigny, member of *l'Académie des Inscriptions*, and by one of 'the recent prize winners' of *Société des Antiquaires* in Morinie. (Moeglin, 2002: 244)

The reference to the recent prize winner is to the man who had declared Eustache a traitor, Auguste Clovis Bolard.

Many other examples can be mentioned of how historians, amateur historians and other people have reacted to Brequigny's discovery in London about Eustache de Saint-Pierre. A special reference should also be made of a recent and very comprehensive study of the way that the episode with the burghers in Calais has been handled in French historiography. This work, written by Jean-Marie Moeglin, is entitled *The Burghers of Calais: A Study of a Historical Myth* (2002; cf. Moeglin, 1994, 1997). Moeglin is a professor of medieval history at the University of Paris XII and his book on the burghers has been well received.<sup>10</sup>

Like all serious historians, Moeglin accepts Brequigny's facts from the Public Record Office in London. He also adds some reasons of his own why the episode with the burghers should be treated as 'a historical myth'. Summing up his findings in the preface to his book, he writes as follows:

The reader who will follow me throughout this study till its end will come to know that the burghers of Calais were not heroes. They were just like other burghers, and to be fair one ought to send them back to the anonymous mass from which the genius of Jean le Bel, Froissart and Rodin have singled them out. (Moeglin, 2002: 9)

In his 462-page study, Moeglin begins with Froissart and the other medieval chroniclers, and ends with current history writing in France. Along the way he also accounts for the way the burghers of Calais have been presented and discussed in major histories of France. Moeglin has also looked at a huge number of schoolbooks in French history, from the Third Republic to those used today. Given the enormous amount of material that Moeglin has ploughed through, he may well have produced the definitive study of the burghers, at least from a historical perspective.

According to Moeglin, the story of the burghers first appears in a chronicle by Jean le Bel (1290?–1370), from whose work Froissart (1333?–1400/1) picked it up and then embellished it. Exactly how much Jean le Bel knew about what happened in Calais on 4 August 1347 is impossible to establish today. What is clear, however, is that Froissart added quite a bit to the element of civic heroism that can be found in le Bel's account. While both le Bel and Froissart constructed their chronicles with specific feudal rulers in mind, they also sensed the existence of a new and growing audience for their tales, according to Moeglin, namely that of the burghers or *les bourgeois*.

Moeglin's major innovation, when it comes to the episode with the burghers, has to do with his theory of how the behavior of the six burghers

on 4 August was understood during the Middle Ages, and how this understanding has been distorted since. The six burghers, he argues, did not step forward and volunteer their lives to save their fellow citizens – this is simply a later and ‘modern’ (mis)interpretation of the event. What actually happened was something quite different, and not at all unusual during the Middle Ages; and this is that those who were defeated in a siege presented themselves to the victors in a public display of humiliation and atonement; as a result, their lives were spared.

With the help of primary data – other medieval accounts, including pictures in medieval manuscripts – Moeglin supports his thesis that exactly the same ritual the six burghers of Calais went through also took place at many other occasions during the Middle Ages, with the same result:

... the accomplishment of this ritual gives the defeated or guilty the implicit but not explicit assurance that the victor will abstain through his own will from acts to which his victory gives him the right – to put them to death or reduce them to slaves. (Moeglin, 1997: 225)

There was usually first a public procession in which the defeated marched to the victor, with a rope around their necks and the keys to the city in their hands. After this display of public humiliation the lives of the defeated were usually spared. According to Moeglin, this ritual of public humiliation and atonement was of religious origin but had been appropriated for political purposes. The element of public humiliation, Moeglin suggests, restored the grandeur of the victor, who also got to play a role a little like God in dispensing mercy. The whole process, in brief, was an example of a ‘successful public degradation’.<sup>11</sup>

For a long time during the Middle Ages the chronicles of Jean le Bel and Froissart were not particularly popular, and Moeglin speculates that the reason for this may have been that the people during this period understood very well that there was nothing special about the behavior of the six burghers from Calais. By the 16th century, however, knowledge of the medieval ritual of public humiliation and atonement had been forgotten, and an opportunity for playing up the element of civic heroism in the chronicles was now opened up. The first person to seize on this – and who came to play a key role in magnifying the element of civic heroism in the story – was Paul Emile (c. 1460–1529), an Italian historian of some renown. In a work from 1520 Emile reinterpreted the medieval story about the burghers, who Jean le Bel and Froissart had cast as martyrs or religious heroes, into one where the burghers appeared as citizens dying for their country. We have here, in brief, an example of how the idea of Christians dying for the glory of God was transformed into that of citizens dying for the glory of their country. At this point of his study, Moeglin also refers to Ernst Kantorowicz’s famous study ‘*Pro Patria Mori* in Medieval Political Thought’ (1951).

When Paul Emile added to the element of civic heroism in the anecdote about the burghers, he was deeply influenced by various authors



in Antiquity and their ideal of the citizen dying for his political community. This borrowing from Antiquity was similarly very popular in 17th-century French historiography, according to Moeglin, who also notes that the interpretation of the episode with the burghers of Calais in terms of civic heroism has more or less remained the same from that time onwards. It is true, he says, that a universal dimension, inspired by Rodin, has been added to the story, but Moeglin declares this 'a bit superficial' from the perspective of French historiography (2002: 412).

Towards the end of his study, Moeglin sums up his findings by saying that the story about the burghers of Calais essentially rests on 'a misunderstanding' (2002: 430). He concludes his work by asking the following question: 'Under these conditions what remains today of the six burghers of Calais?' His answer is: 'a historical myth', some 'superbly enigmatic tales' from the Middle Ages, and 'the extraordinary monument of August Rodin' (2002: 430).

### **Discussion of the Universal Appeal of *The Burghers of Calais***

Moeglin, to repeat, did not care very much about the universalist dimension that Rodin had added to his sculpture. This dimension is nonetheless very important for the question that will now be addressed, namely, what is it about *The Burghers of Calais* that has made it so popular all over the world so that today we can find it in London, New York, Tokyo, Seoul and so on? My own suggestion for how to find an answer to this question is to start from some of Georg Simmel's observations about Rodin. I will therefore now turn to Simmel's views on Rodin, and then proceed from there.

Simmel regarded Rodin as 'the greatest artist of our time' and also met with him a few times (e.g. Gassen and Landmann, 1993: 125; Simmel, [1917] 1957).<sup>12</sup> But while Rodin was a superb artist, he did not, according to Simmel, have much of an understanding why this was the case. As an illustration of this, the following anecdote can be told. When Simmel met with Rodin in 1905, the sculptor told his German visitor that '[I am] a naturalist' and '[I] only make what I see' ([1917] 1957: 196). Simmel then pointed at a highly stylized head of a horse in Rodin's atelier, and asked Rodin if he had ever seen a horse which looked like that. Rodin said, 'Of course not, I modify a bit (*un peu*).'<sup>13</sup> To which Simmel answered, 'Well, that *bit* is Rodin' (*Eh bien – ce peu – c'est Rodin*).

To Simmel, what made Rodin so special was not only his superb artistic abilities but also that he had succeeded in capturing the *Zeitgeist*, the spirit of modernity. Simmel regarded Rodin's art as the embodiment of modernity; and one of his few definitions of modernity can be found in a statement about Rodin (Frisby, 1992a: 66; cf. Simmel, 1911: 201, 1996: 346). Simmel, more precisely, singles out the element of *movement* in Rodin's art, and says that it is a symbol for modernity, with its absence of a fixed point from where to judge everything. In the modern world, as opposed to at other times, there exist many alternative viewpoints and many alternative values.

Simmel does not say very much more than this about Rodin and modernity, which means that the reader has to work out the implications of this statement for him/herself. The first clue to pick up on, I feel, is Simmel's reference to the element of 'movement' in Rodin's art, and we are reminded that Rodin himself emphasized this quality of his art. When Rodin discussed the element of movement in his sculptures, however, he tended to do so in a very literal sense. Sculptures should move, he felt; and he had a particular fondness for one that he had entitled 'The Walking Man'. Rodin also made a careful distinction between movements as seen through the eye of the photographer and as seen through the human eye; and he much preferred the latter because of their fluid quality.

In deciding on how to carry out his assignment for *The Burghers of Calais*, Rodin settled for the moment when the burghers were just about to start their march to the camp of the English king. What made this moment so dramatic, Rodin felt, was that the burghers now had to overcome their last remnants of fear, and this was something that could be depicted in the movements and expressions of each individual.

There is, however, more to Rodin's notion of movement and its role in *The Burghers of Calais*. This is the fact that Rodin wanted the viewers to be free to move very closely to the sculpture, so that they could better identify with the burghers and understand why they had volunteered to give up their lives. This is the main reason why Rodin eliminated the pedestal from his first model and planted the burghers flat on the ground. This is also why he was so upset when the authorities in Calais went against his wishes and not only placed the burghers on a pedestal, but also surrounded them with a wrought-iron fence.

Focusing on the element of movement in Rodin's work leads in a natural way to a general discussion of the way in which the viewers were supposed to identify with the burghers. By casting several copies of his sculpture, each looking like the 'original', Rodin gave the viewer an opportunity to identify with an 'authentic' piece of art – something that heightened the experience (cf. Krauss, 1985: 151–94). By including six different individuals in his sculpture, Rodin also gave his viewers six different individuals to identify with. All of the burghers, as we know, were committed to giving their lives for their city – but each of them reacted in a different way to the moment of departure. Some steeled themselves and held their bodies erect, while others were deep in despair, struggling with their fate, as evidenced by clasped hands and lowered heads. Rodin depicted the leader of the group, Eustache de Saint-Pierre, as its oldest member, and it is clear that Eustache was firmly determined to start the march to the king's camp. Some of the younger members, in contrast, kept in the background and were tormented by the idea of leaving their lives and their beloved. In a private sculpture that Rodin never completed, we see for example the suffering head of one of the young burghers (Pierre de Wissant) together with a beautiful torso of a young woman, perhaps his wife. In another of these private sculptures, made of parts from *The Burghers of Calais*, we see the head of another

young burgher (Jean de Fiennes), leaning into a hand, as if seeking comfort (e.g. Le Normand-Romain and Haudiquet, 2001: 54–5).

And here we may finally have found a key to the universal appeal of Rodin's statue. The notion of sacrificing yourself for your own community is something that many people have as an ideal, but also something that they know would be very difficult to live up to in reality. Most of us would like to be able to rise to the difficult occasions in life – but we also know that this will be hard to do; and Rodin's statue allows us to move from a state of certainty to a questioning of the soul and back. The viewer, in brief, finds a whole spectrum of responses to the call for sacrifice in Rodin's sculpture.

What Rodin is trying to capture through his sculpture is something other than physical courage, a quality that was much celebrated in Antiquity and also in the Middle Ages. Instead he is focusing on what Bismarck in 1864 had famously termed *Zivilcourage*, namely the non-physical type of courage of the ordinary citizen to stand up for his or her ideals in difficult situations (cf. Swedberg, 1999). This civil courage (as it may be called in English) is something that came to the forefront with modern society and with the ideal of the modern citizen.

We may also note how Rodin in his sculpture rejects the image of the old-fashioned hero – who faces death without batting an eyelid – and replaces him with six ordinary individuals who are all committed to sacrificing their lives, but who also are human enough to fear and tremble when they contemplate their harsh fate. Mike Featherstone has reminded us what an awkward figure the old type of hero is in the modern world (1995), and to this we can add that Rodin has given us six modern heroes. Rodin, as we know, rejected the various suggestions by the citizens of Calais to cast Eustache de Saint-Pierre along traditional lines, that is, as a hero standing on top of a pedestal in the form of a pyramid. Instead he gives us, as it were, a democratic *exemplum*: several figures, all standing on the ground, and slightly larger than life.<sup>13</sup> We also have a whole sociology of heroes: here is one burgher who is young and in despair over leaving his wife and small children behind; here is another who is old and has less to lose; and so on. Old-fashioned heroism, to phrase it differently, had given way to civic heroism.

Finally, what are we to make of the disturbing information about Eustache de Saint-Pierre being a turncoat? Does not this piece of information destroy the beauty of Rodin's sculpture and invalidate its appeal? One answer to this question would simply be to note that it apparently has not destroyed the appeal of *The Burghers* since Brequigny's discovery in the mid-18th century has gone unchallenged among serious historians for several centuries. One may actually turn the question around, and point out that *The Burghers of Calais* must somehow possess an enormous appeal since it has been able to survive attempts for several centuries – most recently by Jean-Marie Moeglin – to point out that it is based on a story that is a lie or a myth.

*The Burghers of Calais*, in sum, appeals in a very powerful way to modern people, and I think that it does this because of its hopeful and subliminal message that heroes are ordinary people and that ordinary people under certain circumstances can become heroes. The hopeful message of Rodin's sculpture to its viewers can perhaps be formulated in the following way: the heroes of our time are not like the lonely and extraordinary individuals that you find on top of pedestals in sculptures from earlier centuries. They are instead like you or me – common people who stand directly on the ground, surrounded by other and like-minded individuals, who all move forward together.

#### Notes

A first version of this article was given as the Annual Vilhelm Aubert Lecture in Oslo on 13 October 2004. I am very grateful to three anonymous reviewers and Mike Featherstone for many helpful suggestions. I also thank Marie-Pierre Delclaux for her assistance during my visit to the archives at Musée Rodin in Paris, Mabel Berezin, Ruth Butler, Jean-Marie Moeglin, Geir Øygarden, and the librarians at Cornell University.

1. The measurements refer to the main plaster cast of the sculpture which can be found at Musée Rodin (Le Normand-Romain and Haudiquet, 2001: 6, 31). The copy of *The Burghers*, which can be found in the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts in New York, and which is cast in bronze, measures 209.6 × 238.8 × 190.5 cm (Blackburn, 2001: 53). The figures, in brief, are slightly larger than real-life people.

2. The names of the four burghers can be found in Froissart's *Chronicles*, the classical source for the episode with the six burghers. The names of the remaining burghers are based on a document that was discovered in 1863 in the Vatican Library by Kervyn de Lettenhove. The latter is also known in this context as an editor of Froissart's *Chronicles* (McNamara, 1977: 10). Rodin himself only referred to one of the burghers in this statue with his historical name – Eustache de Saint-Pierre. The other five burghers in Rodin's statue were assigned their names in 1931 by a curator at the Musée Rodin (Moeglin, 2002: 273).

3. Froissart produced three different versions of *The Chronicles*, and the relationship between these is still somewhat uncertain in historical research (Moeglin, 2002: 37–48). The most common version is the second one.

4. The following account of the role of Calais in the creation of Rodin's sculpture is primarily based on Judrin et al. (1977) and McNamara (1977).

5. Jules Dalou's *Triumph of the Republic* is a well-known example of a monument in the form of a pyramid. In this monument from 1899 the Republic is portrayed as a woman with a Phrygian bonnet who stands on a globe, which in its turn is situated on a chariot. The figure of the Republic is led by Liberty and followed by Honest Labor, Peace and Abundance.

6. Rodin would later argue that a very high pedestal – much higher than the one in Calais – was another alternative. When this way of presenting his monument was chosen in London he was very satisfied (e.g. *The Morning Post*, 28 May 1913).

7. Articles from newspapers that are cited in the text come from Musée Rodin's collections and usually lack a page number.

8. The first model depicts the burghers marching together and not when they set out to march.
9. Anyone who reads the secondary literature on Rodin quickly comes to realize that the convention for how to cite a famous person was different a hundred years ago from what it is today. Authors did not have tape recorders, and some of the interviews with Rodin consist of recollections from many years after the actual encounter with him.
10. See for example the reviews in *Le Monde* by Nicholas Offenstadt (2002) and in *Le Point* by Laurent Theis (2002).
11. Harold Garfinkel's notion of 'successful degradation ceremonies' is aimed at situations where there is a fairly permanent shift in identity, say from someone who is 'your colleague' to someone who is 'a pedophile' or 'a terrorist' (Garfinkel, 1956). Still, the term also seems applicable to situations such as those with the burghers, where only a temporary shift in identity is involved.
12. When Simmel first became aware of Rodin's work is not known. He did, however, visit an exhibition of Rodin's work in Paris in 1900 (e.g. Butler, 1993: 355; Frisby, 1992b: 23). Simmel's first essay on Rodin appeared in 1902, and in this year he also visited the famous Rodin exhibition in Prague. In 1905 Simmel met with Rodin for half a day in Paris; for an account of the conversation during this meeting the reader is referred to Simmel ([1917] 1957). Simmel also had drawings by Rodin in his study. One of Simmel's main articles on Rodin was published in 1909, under the title 'Rodin's Art and Movement as a Motive in Sculpture' ([1909] 2001). This article was translated into French exclusively for the benefit of Rodin, who expressed his gratitude for this in a letter to Simmel in August 1910 (Rodin, 1987: 108). Parts of the correspondence between Simmel and Rodin seem to have been lost, even if a few letters from Simmel to Rodin are known (see Gassen and Landmann, 1993: 125–6). According to Sociological Abstracts and similar databanks, the only sociological study of Rodin that seems to have been undertaken is a PhD thesis by Anne Norinne Bates from 1993, entitled 'The Sociology of Auguste Rodin'. Bates' analysis, it may be added, is heavily inspired by Simmel but has little to say about *The Burghers of Calais*.
13. The reader may recall that the figures in Rodin's sculpture are all somewhat larger than life (for exact measurements, see the beginning of this article and note 1). I thank Geir Øygarden for the observation about height, *exemplum* and that Rodin's sculpture can be seen from the perspective of rhetoric.

#### References

- Agulhon, M. (1978) 'La "Statuomanie" et l'histoire', *Ethnologie française* 8(3–4): 145–72.
- Agulhon, M. (1989) *Marianne au pouvoir: l'imagerie et la symbolique républicaines de 1880 à 1914*. Paris: Flammarion.
- Bates, A.N. (1993) 'The Sociology of Auguste Rodin', PhD thesis in Sociology, Syracuse University, NY.
- Blackburn, R. (ed.) (2001) *Rodin: A Magnificent Obsession*. London: Merrell.
- Brequigny, L.-G.-O.-F. de ([1766] 1774) 'Mémoires sur les recherches relatives à l'histoire de France, faites à Londres', in *Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, vol. 37. Paris: L'Imprimerie Impériale.

- Brequigny, L.-G.-O.-F. de ([1780] 1808) 'Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Calais: second mémoire', in *Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, vol. 50. Paris: L'Imprimerie Impériale.
- Butler, R. (1993) *Rodin: The Shape of Genius*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Cladel, J. (1937) *Rodin*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.
- Coquiote, G. (1917) *Rodin à l'Hôtel de Biron et à Meudon*. Paris: Librairie Ollendorff.
- DeVries, K. (1991) 'Hunger, Flemish Participation and the Flight of Philip VI: Contemporary Accounts of the Siege of Calais, 1346–47', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 12: 131–81.
- Durkheim, E. (1915) *L'Allemagne au-dessus de tout: la mentalité allemande et la guerre*. Paris: Colin.
- Durkheim, E. ([1912] 1996) *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*. London: Routledge.
- Elsen, A. (1963) *Rodin*. New York: Doubleday and Co.
- Featherstone, M. (1995) 'The Heroic Life of Everyday Life', in *Undoing Culture*. London: Sage.
- Frisby, D. (1992a) *Simmel and Since: Essays on Georg Simmel's Social Theory*. New York: Routledge.
- Frisby, D. (1992b) *Sociological Impressionism: A Reassessment of Georg Simmel's Social Theory*, 2nd edn. London: Routledge.
- Froissart, J. (2001) *Froissart's Chronicles*, trans. J. Jolliffe. London: Penguin.
- Garfinkel, H. (1956) 'Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies', *American Journal of Sociology* 61: 420–4.
- Gassen, K. and M. Landmann (eds) (1993) *Buch des Dankes an Georg Simmel*, 2nd edn. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot.
- Gsell, P. (1971) *Rodin on Art*. New York: Horizon Press.
- Hume, D. ([1762] 1853) *The History of England*, vol. 2. London: Valpy's Standard Cabinet Edition.
- Jeanès, J.E.S. (1946) *D'après nature: souvenirs et portraits*. Besançon: Granvelle.
- Judrin, C., M. Laurent and D. Viéville (1977) *Auguste Rodin: le monument des Bourgeois de Calais (1884–1895)*. Paris: Edition Musée Rodin.
- Kantorowicz, E. (1951) 'Pro Patria Mori in Medieval Political Thought', *American Historical Review* 56(3): 472–92.
- Krauss, R. (1985) *The Originality of the Avant-garde and Other Modernist Myths*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Le Normand-Romain, A. and A. Haudiquet (2001) *Rodin: The Burghers of Calais*. Paris: Musée Rodin.
- McNamara, M.J. (1977) *Rodin's Burghers of Calais*. Los Angeles, CA: Cantor, Fitzgerald Group.
- Moeglin, J.-M. (1994) 'Eduard III et les bourgeois de Calais', *Revue Historique* 592: 230–67.
- Moeglin, J.-M. (1997) 'Pénitence publique et amende honorable au Moyen Age', *Revue Historique* 604: 225–69.

Moeglin, J.-M. (2002) *Les Bourgeois de Calais: essai sur une mythe historique*. Paris: Albin Michel.

Offenstadt, N. (2002) 'Review of Jean-Marie Moeglin, *Les Bourgeois de Calais*', *Le Monde* 24 May 24: vii. (Reprinted in *The Guardian*, 15 August 2002, as 'History Refuses to Look Kindly upon the Good Burghers of Calais'.)

Ozouf, M. (1998) 'L'Idée républicaine et l'interprétation du passé nationale', *Annales HSS* 6: 1075–87.

Renan, E. ([1882] 1994) 'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?', in J. Hutchinson and A. Smith (eds) *Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rilke, R.M. ([1903] 1946) *Rodin*. London: The Grey Walls Press Ltd.

Rodin, A. (1987) *Correspondance de Rodin*, vol. III, edited by Alain Beausire, Florence Cadouot and Frédéric Vincent. Paris: Musée Rodin.

Simmel, G. ([1909] 2001) 'Die Kunst Rodins und das Bewegungsmotiv in der Plastik', in *Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 12. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Simmel, G. (1911) 'Rodin', in *Philosophische Kultur*. Leipzig: Klinkhardt. (This is a revised version of Simmel [1909] 2001.)

Simmel, G. ([1917] 1957) 'Erinnerung an Rodin', in *Brücke und Tür*. Stuttgart: K.F. Koehler.

Simmel, G. (1996) 'Rodin (mit einer Vorbemerkung über Meunier)', in *Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 14. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Swedberg, R. (1999) 'Civil Courage (*Zivilcourage*): The Case of Knut Wicksell', *Theory and Society* 28: 501–28.

Theis, L. (2002) 'La Légende des bourgeois de Calais [Review of Jean-Marie Moeglin, *Les Bourgeois de Calais*]', *Le Point* 14 June: 113.

Voltaire, F.M.A. de ([1756] 1963) *Essai sur les mœurs*, vol. 1. Paris: Editions Garnier Frères.

Zuckerlandl-Szepts, B. (1934) 'Die Bürger von Calais', *Neues Wiener Journal* 16 September.

**Richard Swedberg** is Professor of Sociology at Cornell University. His two main areas of interest are economic sociology and sociological theory. His recent works include *Max Weber and the Idea of Economic Sociology* (Princeton University Press, 1998) and *Principles of Economic Sociology* (Princeton University Press, 2003) He is currently working on a study of the concept of interest.