

ABSTRACT This paper investigates an historical episode that involved an object that was both scientific and popular. In 1908, the first almost complete Neanderthal skeleton was discovered at La Chapelle-aux-Saints, France. From its very rebirth, the specimen became an object of interest to scientists holding different views of human evolution. It also was of interest for a public whose Catholic and anti-clerical stances were voiced through the press, and for the modernist clerical prehistorians who had discovered it. Conceiving of *reconstruction* as referring to either verbal or visual representation of the caveman from La Chapelle-aux-Saints, this paper discusses the multiplication of Neanderthal images in newspaper articles and illustrations that expressed particular scientific and political interests. This treatment of the newspaper as a site of encounters and knowledge production among these various constituencies is afforded by a set of newspaper excerpts on the specimen collected by the first person to physically reconstruct the bones, Marcellin Boule, at the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris. While the newspapers were welcome allies in the dissemination of the discovery and of the scientist's renown at home and abroad, Boule might have been less content with the way in which the various papers represented his work – or was he? As an object associated with such large issues as religion, evolutionism and nationalism, the 'Old Man from La Chapelle-aux-Saints' had to fulfil contradictory desires and his images multiplied accordingly.

Keywords history of anthropology, human evolution, science and the press, science and religion, scientific and popular visualization/reconstruction

Mirror, Mirror on the Wall:

Neanderthal as Image and 'Distortion' in Early 20th-Century French Science and Press

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This paper is about events surrounding the nearly complete Neanderthal skeleton that was discovered in a cave in the French village of La Chapelle-aux-Saints on 3 August 1908 (Department of Corrèze). The human bones were associated with fossil animal bones and a tool culture characteristic of Neanderthal (Mousterian). From the start, the Neanderthal skeleton related to both religious and scientific concerns, since the prehistoric burial was not only located close to the village church, but was also unearthed by three priests. The Catholic priests Jean and Amédée Bouyssonie placed the caveman's bones into the care of Marcellin Boule (1861–1942), Director

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of the Laboratory of Palaeontology at the prestigious Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris (Bouyssonie et al., 1908). As we will see, this transaction was mediated by other priests, themselves great authorities in the field of archaeology (Albarello, 1987: 69–70). The transfer set off a series of reconstructions of the La Chapelle-aux-Saints Neanderthal, by Boule, the press and various illustrators. These reconstructions can yield information about the interactions of 'science' and 'the public', and also about scientific and popular conceptions of Neanderthals in the early 20th century. *Reconstruction*, as I use the term, may refer to the actual effort to put together the skeleton from the constituents, as well as to verbal and visual representations of the specimen. In this sense, a newspaper article is a site of display, even when the reconstructions are limited to the verbal realm.

The main source for this analysis is provided by a set of newspaper articles on the La Chapelle-aux-Saints Neanderthal, which were collected by Boule. By the early 20th century, newspapers had become more specialized and internationally distributed, as news spread faster due to the telegraph, the postal system and the railway. Mass production had become possible through the introduction of steam printing (first used by *The Times*, 29 November 1814), the rotary press (first used in the 1840s) and linotype typesetting machines of the 1880s, all of which radically increased the scale of production and decreased production costs. Finally, regular use of photographs began with the perfection of the halftone process for facsimile reproduction in the 1890s. Around the turn of the century, newspapers incorporated photography for reporting topical events, and the profession of newspaper illustrator gradually became obsolete. The success of these industrial technologies depended on the relative freedom of the press, which was legally guaranteed in France in 1881. Combined with free and compulsory elementary education, which expanded the number of potential readers, it initiated the Belle Époque of the newspaper.

As Anke te Heesen (2004a, 2004b) has shown in her discussion of collections of newspaper clippings, the early 20th century was not only marked by the industrialization of the press, which began early in the previous century, but also by a change in status of the newspaper article. The newspaper article entered academia as a scientific object to be collected and analysed, especially in economics, history and sociology. Artists and natural scientists also collected newspaper excerpts, such as the German physicist Ernst Gehrcke (1878–1960), who collected articles on his rival Albert Einstein (1879–1955). The press was seen as an intermediary between the individual and so-called public opinion, itself diffuse and emergent, and increasingly perceived as a problematic entity. No more primarily an instrument of the cultivated classes for the education of the general public, the press seemed to become indistinguishable from the mind of the new public, expressing a mass psychology. As the example of Boule will show, the relationship of the scientist to the press attained a similar ambivalence, as newspapers could be used by scientists to publicize

new discoveries and gain considerable fame or even political influence, while at the same time there was the danger that the press would act too autonomously, 'distorting' the picture painted by the scientist. Now as then, the boundaries between science, the press, the public and the individuals making up a public were fuzzy and unstable. In this sense, newspaper articles, such as those in Boule's collection, as well as illustrations, such as those distributed via *L'Illustration*, *The Illustrated London News* and *Harper's Weekly*, can be viewed as boundary objects that facilitated communication between science and the public while simultaneously reifying their existence as separate realms (Star & Griesemer, 1989; Bowker & Star, 1999: Ch. 9).

As James Secord (2003) has shown for Victorian Britain, through the growth of the popular press, scientific objects, such as the world's largest telescope 'Leviathan', built in 1845 at Birr Castle in Ireland, came to occupy spaces where science, politics and mythology met. Spurred by the press, science increasingly conducted its research with an eye towards novelty and visibility, so that the press was an integral part of what it meant to do science. As Secord's case of the spectacular images of nebulae illustrates, newspapers became the site of political strife around scientific objects that involved fundamental issues such as religion and evolution.¹ Visualizations of the La Chapelle-aux-Saints Neanderthal and their role as mediators between different scientific views as well as between 'science' and 'public' are thus another focus of this paper. The so-called Old Man of La Chapelle-aux-Saints was physically reconstructed in Boule's laboratory, but the newspaper clippings and illustrations can be understood as alternative reconstructions, and the scientific and political contexts that informed them will therefore be of interest.

I will argue that the reception and transformation of Boule's Neanderthal reconstruction in various newspapers, and the fact that Boule collected the articles in which these transformations took place, points to a back-and-forth communication between the scientist and the public. Boule wanted to extend the application of a particular view of evolution from the animal to the human domain as tree-like rather than unilinear. He was aware of the fact that evolution was perceived as anti-clerical and, while it had served as a metaphor in radical discourse, by then it had become the unifying structure for a progressivism underlying all kinds of public discourses. Boule's reconstruction of the La Chapelle Neanderthal could be accommodated by evolutionists as well as anti-evolutionists. Morphologically, Boule presented the Neanderthal as a missing-link, but phylogenetically, he denied it the intermediate place between apes and humans. For the Neanderthal to fulfil this seemingly reconciliatory role, no longer that of a human ancestor, it had to be reconstructed as 'the other'. As we shall see, at a time when *race* and *nation* were often conflated (Stocking, 1994), and national rivalries marked the pre-war atmosphere, this otherness was sometimes framed by exactly such an amalgam of national and racial terms.

As Many Images as there are Mirrors

Like most fossil human taxa, Neanderthals had a difficult birth. Despite engendering great controversy, the famous Feldhofer Grotto skull and bone fragments, discovered in 1856 in the Neander Valley in Germany, eventually became the first scientifically accepted Neanderthal remains. Even though in Thomas Henry Huxley's (1825–95) view the Feldhofer skull represented 'the most pithecoïd of known human skulls' (1894: 205), he classified it as a mere variant of the modern human type.² He estimated the skullcap to be of normal cranial capacity and as much closer to the Australian Aborigine than to the ape; the Neanderthals thus might have evolved into modern human races. In 1866, a Neanderthal mandible was found in La Naulette, Belgium; earlier finds, such as the child cranium from Engis, Belgium (1829–30) and the female cranium from Forbes Quarry, Gibraltar (1848), were now ready for re-evaluation and confirmed the presence of a distinct type of *Homo sapiens*. While the image of the Neanderthal had thus progressed from a recent pathological form to a scientifically established fossil human race, it was only after the turn to the 20th century that it became conceptualized as a separate fossil species, and thereby unambiguously placed in an evolutionary scheme of human pre-history. The German anatomist Gustav Schwalbe (1844–1916) introduced a unilinear view of human evolution, according to which *Pithecanthropus erectus* (today *Homo erectus*), found by the Dutch physician Eugène Dubois (1858–1940) in Java in 1891, had evolved into *Homo primigenius* (Neanderthal) and eventually modern humans (Schwalbe, 1906; Spencer & Smith, 1981: 436).³

In France, the archaeologist Gabriel de Mortillet (1821–98) had been the most influential 19th-century proponent of such a progressive view of evolution. De Mortillet was a radical politician as well as a scientist, who played an active part in the February Revolution of 1848 and was sentenced to prison under Napoleon II; he avoided the sentence through exile in Switzerland. Back in Paris in 1864, he became an extreme left member of the Chamber of Deputies and represented a working-class Parisian district. He also became director of the Musée des Antiquités Nationales in Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1867. De Mortillet and his followers fought against the influence of the Catholic Church in education and science and to that purpose they founded a Masonic lodge of scientific materialists and anti-clericals. The same radical politics marked de Mortillet's anthropological school at the École d'Anthropologie (founded in 1875). His political views were strongly interwoven with his linear view of human evolution from a hypothetical *anthropopithèque*, or man-ape, via Neanderthal to modern humans. According to his model, human morphological as well as cultural evolution had taken place in Europe and had progressed in linear fashion through the known fossil forms and Palaeolithic industries (de Mortillet, 1883). On the basis of this universal law of evolutionary progress, paleoanthropology became a political weapon for radical and socialist aims. Striving for progress in a humanist sense, de Mortillet reasoned that

the political left would eventually prevail by necessity. He predicted an inevitable succession from the reign of the nobility, to the reign of the bourgeoisie, and finally to the reign of the socialists. Although the discovery of *Pithecanthropus* provided de Mortillet with a possible candidate to represent his hypothetical genus *Anthropopithecus/Homosimius*, the fossil from Java contradicted his conception of Tertiary hominids as fairly large-brained, but not fully upright. As the example of Boule will show, with the death of de Mortillet and many of his colleagues at the École towards the turn of the century, there was growing opposition in anthropology and archaeology to linear views of both morphological and cultural evolution (Hammond, 1980; Cohen, 2001).

During the reign of Napoleon III (1852–70) and the early conservative years of the Third Republic, and under the Concordat with the Catholic Church (the Catholic Church had been re-established under Napoleon Bonaparte after the French Revolution), the anti-authoritarianism professed by these early evolutionary anthropologists was not well received. Anthropology, especially in combination with evolutionary theory, was treated with distrust. In France, the publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1964[1859]) did not have the same effect as in other European countries. Evolutionary theory was viewed askance by the majority of biologists, and opinions within the French scientific community did not start to change until the 1870s and 1880s. The delay is intriguing considering the fact that France had had such great evolutionists as Comte de Buffon (1707–88), Etienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (1772–1844) and Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744–1829). However, the political situation, and the institutional power of George Cuvier's (1769–1832) school at the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle and of the Académie des Sciences, whose exponents were motivated by scientific, religious and ideological convictions in their fight against evolutionism, helped bring about the delay (Grimoult, 2001: Ch. 5).

Towards the end of the 1870s, after the reign of Napoleon III and when the republicans finally triumphed over the conservative and monarchist forces in the Third Republic, the political climate changed. Views held by de Mortillet and his anthropological school gained ground. The republican project was marked by secularism and materialism, which emphasized the power of reason to access the world through such human enterprises as science and technology. This mind set was accompanied by a love of realism and naturalism in the visual arts and literature, and was also associated with an approach to the world through historical narratives that allowed for linear progress and development. The Universal Exhibition of 1889, held in Paris, celebrated the Third Republic's achievements during its 18 years of peace, and in the spirit of the French Revolution. Gustav Eiffel's new tower emblemized the Exhibition's message: progress and knowledge based on reason's mastery over nature were boundless. Freemasonry provided the organizational structures, within which anti-clericalism, the belief in progress, liberty and human solidarity, and the search for universal truth in science and art flourished. It stood for

universal male suffrage, free and secular education, and positivism, and thus for the core elements of republicanism (Fortescue, 2000: Chs 2–3; Sowerwine, 2001: Chs 3–4).

Within this framework, Lamarckian evolutionism, with its emphasis on the inheritance of acquired characteristics, served scientific materialists and radical republicans to advocate a non-aggressive nationalism, anti-clericalism, and social reform. With its inherent progressivism, neo-Lamarckism became the theoretical substructure of political, economic, criminological and educational writings. It afforded a vision of human nature and society as malleable to external influences, and therefore with nearly unlimited potential, once freed from Church dogma. The Catholic Church was generally identified with conservative regimes such as the Restoration Monarchy and the Second Empire, and it was therefore viewed as hostile to the Revolution and to republicanism. It was perceived as a primary obstacle to progress, as it had inscribed in the biology of the French people such corruptive characteristics as a sense of sin, and, through its grip on education, it was responsible for the degeneration of the faculty of reason through generations of disuse. Within the neo-Lamarckian framework, humans could thus control evolution by controlling the environment. To a cultural environmentalism that had been typical of the 18th century was added the belief that the changes the environment would effect in the individual could become biologically inheritable. Accordingly, better social conditions would eventually lead to a fitter people, with biology and culture engaging in a long process of reciprocal enhancement. This vision united the anti-clerical Republican coalition in the Chamber of Deputies, made up of the Radicals and the moderate Opportunist left, and after the 1880s built the basis for a socialist and radical reform movement that included demands for better working conditions and nutrition, greater sexual equality in education, criminal reform and reform of the laic laws (Persell, 1999: Ch. 6).

In parallel to this formation of a new left, the late 19th century also saw the birth of a modern right that had given up on monarchy, but was now building on nationalism and anti-Semitism to advocate traditional hierarchies institutionalized in the nobility, army and Church. It found expression in the *Action française*. Nonetheless, at the eve of the 20th century, a coalition of anti-clerical republicans, radical republicans and socialists had achieved some social reforms, including the separation of Church and state (1905). Culturally, the bourgeois rationality and realism that underpinned the Third Republic began to be subverted in a movement that would find its ghastly confirmation in the horrors of World War I. Generally speaking, linearity and progress gave way to complexity and stagnation or degeneration; a universal reality yielded to subjective perceptions, and self-assurance to uncertainty. At the very moment that global time was implemented (10.00 hours, 1 July 1913), the objectivity of time was questioned in art, by writers such as Marcel Proust (1871–1922), and in science, by Einstein. However, it seems that the movement had not yet

reached the masses, but was perceived as a fringe phenomenon, involving circles of the avant-garde artists and intellectuals personified by such degenerate figures as Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) (Sowerwine, 2001: Chs 5–7). This appraisal of the general climate appears to be supported by the newspaper coverage on the La Chapelle-aux-Saints Neanderthal.

It was at this moment in history that Boule had the good fortune to receive the bones of the La Chapelle-aux-Saints Neanderthal specimen. Boule was given the specimen because the three clerical prehistorians who discovered it consulted another clerical prehistorian, the renowned archaeologist abbé Henri Breuil (1877–1961), about whom to send it to. Breuil recommended Boule, his old friend and fellow student under Émile Cartailhac (1845–1921). The other possible destination for the bones, the École d'Anthropologie under de Mortillet's successors, was less appealing to the clerics because of its radical politics, materialism and anti-clericalism. Even though all the Catholic priests involved in the discovery were modernists, who were looking for a compromise between science – particularly evolutionary theory – and religion, they did not favour a purely materialist view of evolution. As much as the abbés disliked clerical orthodoxy and the associated fixity of species, a purely stochastic evolution, free from any trace of divine intervention, was just as unthinkable. Thus, Boule's relationship to the clergy and the École's anti-clericalism and materialism cast the die.⁴

On 14 December 1908, Boule's interpretation of the skull was presented to the Académie des Sciences. In the paper that would inform scientific and popular views of Neanderthal for many decades to come, Boule (1908) agreed with Schwalbe that Neanderthal was a separate species and not simply a fossil race or pathological form of modern humans. However, he contradicted Schwalbe and de Mortillet by rejecting Neanderthal as ancestor of modern humans. In this and succeeding monographs on the find published in the *Annales de Paléontologie*, he supported this move by emphasizing the simian traits of the skeleton, even postulating that Neanderthal man had not carried himself entirely upright, but had had a rather stooping posture. The reason for this brutish image has partly been attributed to the fact that the bones of the Old Man of La Chapelle-aux-Saints had been afflicted with osteoarthritis. Although Boule was aware of the deforming illness, as becomes clear from one of the newspaper clippings in his collection, his reconstruction apparently did not take it into account sufficiently.⁵

Like Schwalbe, Boule placed the Neanderthal anatomy between that of *Pithecanthropus* and 'the most primitive of modern races', but he did not take such placement to imply a direct line of descent. The main point of Boule's paper on the specimen was that the Neanderthals differed enough from modern humans, morphologically as well as culturally, to be classified as a separate species, and that both had inhabited Europe at the same time. Although Boule did not exclude interbreeding, in his view Neanderthal was not our ancestor. This also called into question the ancestral status

of *Pithecanthropus*, which seemed to show even more marked Neanderthal specializations. Hominid evolution must therefore have had more than one line of descent, and the ancestors of modern humans were again unknown (Boule, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914 [1912], 1923 [1921]: Ch. 7; Sommer, 2005).

Thus we arrive at the first scientific reconstruction of the La Chapelle specimen, an illustration of which was published by Boule in 1913 (Figure 1a). Even though the skeleton was well preserved, the parts that are shaded in the illustration had to be inferred. To this purpose, Boule used the La Ferrassie specimen as a substitute.⁶ This pictorial reconstruction of the Neanderthal, as well as the verbal reconstruction accompanying it, was juxtaposed to a modern Australian Aboriginal skeleton (Figure 1b), apparently with the expectation that the viewer would immediately notice the obvious difference. According to this logic, even ‘the primitives at the peripheries of the earth’ are considerably more advanced than this brute, which is closer to the apes than any human race. Neanderthal not only contrasted with modern human races, however, but also with our fossil ancestors:

It has to be remarked that this human group of the Middle Pleistocene, so primitive with regards to physical characters, would also, judging from the evidence of prehistoric archaeology, be very primitive intellectually. When, during the Upper Pleistocene, we find ourselves, *in our country*, in the presence of industrial manifestations of a higher order and of true art, the human skulls (race of Cro-Magnon) have acquired the principal characteristics of true *Homo sapiens*, which means fully-developed foreheads, large brains and faces with little prognathism.⁷

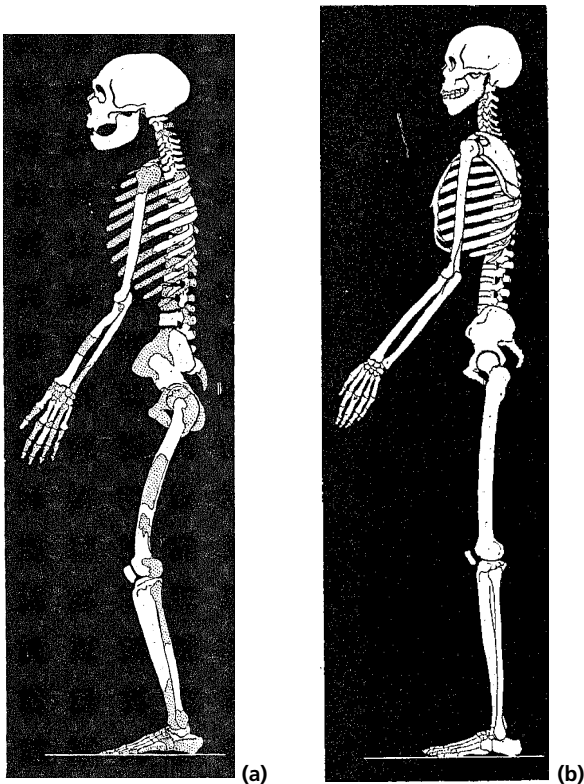
When juxtaposed to the morphology and culture of the Cro-Magnon race, whose presence in Europe Boule claimed to have overlapped with Neanderthals, the backwardness of the latter seemed even more striking. After all, as the caves in southern France amply illustrated, Cro-Magnon possessed modern human anatomy and enriched their elaborate tool culture with veritable pieces of art, such as engravings on stone and bone. It seems then that both comparisons – with the ‘most primitive modern human race’ and with the contemporary prehistoric race of Cro-Magnon – served the purpose of expelling Neanderthal from the human line of descent. Neanderthal was far too primitive in morphology and culture to serve as our direct ancestor.

Michael Hammond (1982, 1988: 118–20) emphasizes the context of France and its anthropology at the time to situate Boule’s expulsion of the Neanderthal from human ancestry. In 1902, Boule succeeded Albert Gaudry (1827–1908) as professor of palaeontology at the Muséum d’Histoire Naturelle in Paris. Well aware of the Cuvierian tradition and associated suspicion towards evolutionism at the Muséum, Gaudry strictly limited his evolutionary ventures to the animal kingdom. In addition, Gaudry was not a materialist like the members of de Mortillet’s circle, but reserved a space in his evolutionary system for a spiritual force. Finding

himself in a more relaxed atmosphere, Boule sought to apply Gaudry's branching model of mammalian evolution to human evolution. The La Chapelle-aux-Saints discovery proved to be Boule's chance to do so.⁸ As we have seen, this happened at a time when Lamarckian linear evolutionism had entered the public sphere. Nevertheless, Boule achieved great fame through his study of the Old Man, whom he made the type of a separate species, *Homo neanderthalensis*, a name coined by William King (1809–86) many years before (King, 1864). In 1910, Boule's dominance over the École was cemented by his appointment as head of the Institut de Paléontologie Humaine, endowed by Prince Albert I of Monaco. Boule tightened his connections, if not his school, by attaching to the Institute his allies Breuil and Hugo Obermaier (1877–1946), another cleric expert in prehistoric art. Rather than looking at the political and institutional context in more detail, I will now proceed to analyse Boule's newspaper collection. This will bring additional actors into the story, who are essential for the establishment of that context.

FIGURE 1

(a) 'Reconstruction of the skeleton of the Man from La Chapelle-aux-Saints, seen in profile. About 1:15 of original size' (from Boule [1913: 232]). (b) 'Skeleton of an Australian seen in profile. About 1:15 of original size' (from Boule [1913: 233]).



The Journalistic Multiplication of the Image

Stephen Hilgartner (1990) and others have offered ways to transcend or complicate the opposition between science and popularization by showing that we really are dealing with a continuum of genres, and by discussing how scientists put that binary to political use. Science maintains its mythic location outside culture by counter-posing itself to the mass media and their alleged popularizations/vulgarizations. Scientists can employ the 'dominant view' of popularization for their purposes, when they use the media to disseminate their interpretations of data, while they can dismiss different interpretations as mere distortion. In the contrast between the mass media and the scientific paper, journalists are among the primary victims of the scientific boundary police.⁹

The analysis of the newspaper clippings collected by Boule can be brought to bear on these issues. The collection contains articles and excerpts related to the discovery of the La Chapelle-aux-Saints Neanderthal specimen, as well as a few pieces of correspondence. Like many of his contemporaries, Boule paid newspaper-cutting bureaus to search the papers for relevant articles. They searched for keywords, such as Boule's name, that of the Muséum and those of other scientists working there. Among the French services Boule employed was *Le Courrier de la Presse* in Paris, founded in 1889, which demanded 0.30 French francs per delivered excerpt, a price that decreased with the number of articles provided. Another Parisian service he used was *Argus de la Presse*, founded in 1879, which called itself 'le plus ancien Bureau de Coupures de Journaux' ('the oldest newspaper-clipping bureau'). Boule's collection also holds clippings that he himself found or that were sent to him by friends and intrigued strangers in France and abroad. The clippings are interesting for two reasons. First, they provide insights into the interplay among the scientists, the newspapers and the publics, and second, they represent Boule's awareness of the public Neanderthal affair.

As we will see, the newspapers and their journalists were active participants in the construction of a popular caveman out of the bones found in La Chapelle-aux-Saints. The majority of the press was not unsympathetic towards Boule's interpretation of the Neanderthal as evidence for human evolution, although contrary to Boule they preferred to see it as a true missing-link between ape and humans that could be used for their progressivist ideas. However, the anti-evolutionist press could construe Boule's denial of an ancestral status to Neanderthal as in agreement with a creationist interpretation of human origins. Furthermore, Boule's description of the Neanderthal skeleton as exhibiting both primitive and progressive morphological traits was taken up in several radically different ways by the press: the Neanderthal skeleton appeared as missing-link, or, alternatively emphasizing the primitive or the modern aspects of its anatomy, was dismissed as having been either a modern human being or an animal. At least from Boule's point of view, some of the newspaper articles on the La Chapelle Neanderthal were grave distortions of the information

given by him. In other words, what this case study argues for is that both the scientist and the newspapers tried to use each other for their own purposes. In fact, from several of the newspaper clippings one gains the impression that they no longer deal with the same object as Boule. In some of the clippings, Boule's reconstruction of the La Chapelle Neanderthal has been transformed beyond recognition, so that one has to speak of multiple cavemen.¹⁰

On 14 December 1908, Edmond Perrier (1844–1921), director of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, presented the spectacular discovery of the nearly complete Neanderthal skeleton to the members of the Académie des Sciences and some journalists. The address Perrier gave on Boule's work and insights, at least according to one paper, had been revised by Boule himself.¹¹ *Le Figaro*, like *Le Temps*, *Le Gaulois* and the *Journal des Débats*, addressed the Parisian and provincial bourgeoisie, and was appreciated for its matter-of-fact style. It was centre-right republican, and moderated in its tone (Guéry, 1997: 113; Thogmartin, 1998: 95). It described the Académie des Sciences' reaction to the discovery unfolded before its members:

The Academy has not spared admiration for this discovery: whereas the communications are usually heard in the midst of the brouhaha of private conversations, this time, the silence was general; the clear voice, the precise and elegant language of Mr Perrier rose in the hall, heard by all, and nearly all the members, leaving their armchairs, were standing, crowded around the desk on which the learned director of the Museum had placed the exhibits, collected by Mr Boule for his admirable work.¹²

The speeches at the Académie were not always understandable to everyone, and so the journalist Albert Gorey assured the readers of *Le Radical* that he would try to reproduce Perrier's words as accurately as possible given the difficult circumstances under which he had to work. Not only did he have to report on all kinds of topics ranging from cordless telephony to parthenogenesis and radioactivity, but he also had to write on the spot, hampered further by the poorly audible speakers at the Académie.¹³

Nevertheless, the audience was fascinated and the press, inspired by Perrier's brutish description of the Old Man, turned the caveman into a veritable beast: '... it has not only the *appearance*, but a detailed examination establishes that if this "man" sometimes stood upright, he must nonetheless more often have lived "on all fours"'.¹⁴ The caveman could not walk properly, and also lacked another deeply human capacity, laughter: 'Another oddity pointed out by Mr Boule: the disposition of certain bones of the face demonstrate that this face lacked the flexibility of expression of the human face; man-ape had no smile!¹⁵ Less variation in facial expression had been attributed to 'lower human races' such as 'the Negro', and there could hardly be anything more dehumanizing to a Frenchman than the lack of a smile.¹⁶ In view of such baseness, the *Journal des Débats* reassured its distinguished public that there was nothing extraordinarily shocking in the Neanderthal's primitive aspect. Even at this moment, there coexisted 'radically lower forms of the human species' in the remote corners of the earth: '[t]here have always been inferior humans on earth,

even very alive at this moment. There is nothing astonishing in the fact that one finds at the beginning of the ages beings that betray a coarse constitution, a primitive state destined little by little to disappear.¹⁷ If anything, Neanderthal man, just like ‘the extant savage human races’, made the march of progress of such civilizations as the French even more apparent. As becomes clear from an earlier article in the *Journal des Débats*, the Old Man of La Chapelle-aux-Saints had been framed by the discourse of progress from the time of its presentation at the Académie: skulls of an anthropoid ape, *Pithecanthropus*, an Australian Aborigine and a Parisian were aligned in front of the audience for comparison with the Neanderthal.¹⁸ This progression of beings provided comfort for an audience faced with the brutish Neanderthal:

... since his appearance on earth, man has been essentially progressive; since then, by and by, he has not ceased to advance, to perfect himself, and today nobody can anticipate at which point the road of progress will end; this ought to console modern civilized man for having to count among his ancestors a being inferior to the most degraded savages of our times.¹⁹

The hierarchy of races that constituted part of the Neanderthal debates from the start was invoked by Boule himself. He built on the discourse of progress, so pervasive at the time, even if he did not try to demonstrate a linear line of descent. Inspired by the presentation at the Académie, the journalist Paul Hyacinthe-Loyson of the *Comaedia* paid Boule a visit at the Muséum. There he was confronted with a similar visual argument:

In response, Mr Boule aligned six skulls in front of me ... : that of a chimpanzee at the head of the line, then, in the order of merit, that is to say according to their development; the skulls from Java, of Neanderthal, that of la Chapelle-aux-Saints, that of a modern Australian, and, finally, the head of *Homo sapiens*.²⁰

The *Comaedia*, which was founded in 1907 and specialized in matters of theatre, literature and the fine arts (Feyel, 1999: 140), gloated in its humorous and sarcastic style that the orthodoxy with which certain scientists, newspapers and religious conservatives had greeted Darwin’s theory of evolution had finally been proven wrong by the discovery of this nearly complete missing-link. In the face of this new evidence, the *Comaedia* triumphed: it would be difficult indeed to deny humankind’s descent from the ape.

As these first examples show, as careful as Boule and Perrier might have been to dissociate any direct genetic ties between the apes and Neanderthal, and between Neanderthal and ‘primitive modern humans’, the press almost invariably described the Old Man as a missing-link. *Le Figaro* claimed that ‘this work [of the eminent geologist and paleontologist Marcellin Boule] is nothing less than the discovery of an ancestor of man, but an ancestor who unites in one individual the characteristics of human races and many characteristics peculiar to the anthropoid apes.’²¹

L'Événement of Wednesday 16 December 1908 published an article under the heading 'Un Ancêtre de l'Homme' ('An Ancestor of Man'). After describing the La Chapelle Man as walking with his upper body slanted forward and sometimes on all fours, the article stated that '... this being ... without possible contestation, is our ancestor – just as he himself descends from the ape.'²² *Le Journal* declared: 'It seems certain that the skull concerned has belonged to an ape much superior to the species known today, or, if one likes, to a very inferior man, that is to say to the intermediate being, referred to by Darwin and most anthropologists.'²³

Le Journal (founded 1892), with *Le Petit Journal* (1863), *Le Petit Parisien* (1876) and *Le Matin* (1880), had become one of the four largest newspapers at the turn to the 20th century. It had a print run close to 1 million in 1910, and could afford to sell at one sou. It tended to take sides and state its position clearly, even though its political line was not always easily identified. This set it apart from the smaller opinion papers, which supported particular political or intellectual views. The big four addressed the peasants of the provinces and the working masses of the city, with *Le Journal* and *Le Matin* addressed to a somewhat better-educated group, such as middle-class clerks and schoolteachers. The new public found time to browse through a paper while riding buses or trains, waiting in theatres, or sitting in cafés. In general, the Paris Belle Époque cafés, particularly in Montmartre, provided a unique public space where the well-off bourgeoisie mingled with the bohemian artists and intellectuals. In accordance with their broad readerships, the big four maintained a simple and sensational style. In their pages, news replaced opinions (Guéry, 1997: 105–11; Thogmartin, 1998: 92–95; Feyel, 1999: 137–39).

The majority press of the Third Republic was not disposed to give Neanderthal up as evidence for linear evolutionism and socio-cultural progressivism. The La Chapelle Neanderthal was reconstructed for the public as an ape-man and used as evidence for humankind's simian ancestry, quite contrary to Boule's intentions – or was it? It was confusing, since Perrier, who presented Boule's work on the specimen to the Académie, informed the audience of Boule's verdict that Neanderthal was not a direct ancestor of modern humans, but he also stressed the many simian traits and stated Boule's opinion that the Neanderthals were much closer to the anthropoid apes than any other human group (see also Albarello, 1987: 80–84). Furthermore, Boule incorporated the Neanderthal into the discourse of progress, which was widely associated with a linear view of human ascent from the ape through the known fossil hominids.

At one point, Boule tried to clarify and stabilize his own interpretation. In *Le Matin* on 27 December 1908, he refuted the immense ages sometimes attributed to the skeleton as well the direct genetic ties to ape and humans. *Le Matin* was founded with the aim of distributing telegraphic information of a universal and true nature. However, under the leadership of a businessman from around the turn of the century to the end of World War II, it stirred violent campaigns against successive governments and used its pages for blackmail, threatening the reputation of a person or

company until they yielded to the paper's demands (Thogmartin, 1998: 93–94, 110–11; Feyel, 1999: 138). Boule, too, meant to use it for a cause:

In the last few days, the fuss caused in the newspapers by the discovery of a skeleton of fossil man has clearly shown [that the question of human origins agitates the minds of people]. Since this discovery has sometimes been distorted or badly interpreted, I accept with pleasure the offer of *Le Matin* to publish in its columns a short clarification of the questions it raises.²⁴

Boule explained that human phylogeny did not represent a line from ape through ape-man to humans, but a structure with sidelines. Thus, while fossils may conceptually diminish the anatomical gap between living apes and humans, as did *Pithecanthropus* (*Homo erectus*) from the ape side and *Homo neanderthalensis* from the human side, it did not follow that either these fossils, or apes, were in a direct line of descent with modern humans. Again, anatomically, the La Chapelle Neanderthal might well have been an ape-man, a missing-link; phylogenetically, however, the Neanderthals represented a branch that had gone extinct in the Pleistocene, while the beautiful and artistic Cro-Magnon, anatomically already a modern human, had begun the line of descent that would transform the world forever.

While Boule's corrective in *Le Matin* does not seem to have had the intended effect, the publication of his monograph on the specimen was more successful (*L'Homme Fossile de la Chapelle-aux-Saints*, 1913; Paris: Masson).²⁵ Several newspapers again took up the subject. The militant socialist paper *L'Humanité*, founded by the socialist Vice-President of the Chamber, Jean Jaurès, in 1904, represented the working class (Sowerwine, 2001: 78). The paper expressed outrage about the high price of the book, which hindered the new reading public in exerting its democratic rights. After all, a work on human evolution would have been of considerable educational value. Clearly, *L'Humanité* protested, book editors had not yet realized that the entire nation could now read and was hungry for intellectual food.²⁶ Another of its articles on the La Chapelle Neanderthal carried the subtitle 'Notre Parenté avec les Singes' ('Our Kinship with the Apes'), and was illustrated by means of a diagram of the superimposed profiles of a chimpanzee head, that of the La Chapelle Neanderthal and that of a modern human, which showed that in the course of evolution the frontal part of the brain had gradually increased while the jaws protruded less and less.²⁷

Le Journal invented a jingle on the La Chapelle specimen's primitiveness: 'He was not very pretty, this old hunter of the quaternary forests. With his protruding jaws, receding chin, his pronounced eyebrows that formed a bar joined above the nose, his receding forehead and flat skull, the appearance of his face took after the ape.'²⁸ It no doubt gained in impact through Franz Kupka's (1871–1957) brutish pictorial reconstruction of the Neanderthal that accompanied the article, and which I will discuss in the next section (see Figure 3). The Old Man appeared as rather

too uncouth to be a human ancestor. Indeed, it seems as though some journalists, once they had had the chance to read Boule's monograph, reproduced his ideas on the Neanderthal(s) rather accurately. They described them as a separate species, of which humans were not direct descendants. They claimed that human origins went much further back in time than previously imagined. This was supported by the fact that the noble Cro-Magnon had been the Neanderthals' contemporary, and then suddenly replaced them. Possibly, we had budded off from the non-human primate line even before the anthropoid apes, so that we evolved somewhat in parallel to the apes. In the 'reviews' of Boule's monograph, the La Chapelle Neanderthal appeared subhuman, rather than as missing-link between ape and humans. Neanderthals were now seen as an unsuccessful play of nature on its way of creating true humanity; just as there had been other (dead-end) side-branches that represented nature's trials and errors.²⁹ This interpretation might also have fitted the widespread fear of degeneration that by then had superseded a belief in unlimited progress.

The newspaper coverage discussed so far, taken from the mainstream French press that held pro-Republic and anti-Church stances, embraced Boule's interpretation of the La Chapelle-aux-Saints skeleton within an evolutionary framework of the human past. At least initially, it connected the Neanderthal more closely with the ape than Boule had done, since there was a need for a missing-link within mainstream neo-Lamarckian progressivism. It was this discourse of materialist evolutionism, as an instantiation of the general law of progress, that united the main part of the opinion papers and mass distributors in the Third Republic, even if the individual newspaper slanted its reports to the taste of its socialist, radical or more conservative readership. More astonishingly, the religious and politically reactionary press also managed to integrate the skeleton into its ideological framework. As we have seen, the Third Republic was marked by strong anti-clerical feelings, and was therefore an inhospitable place for religious orthodoxy and anti-evolutionism. With the turn to the 20th century, political power lay firmly in the hands of the socialist and radical coalition, and in 1905, legislation on the separation of Church and state had been passed (Persell, 1999: 192–96). It did not help to soften the feelings of the reactionary Church that the ape-man had been discovered by three priests who held socialist ideals, represented the modernist approach to the scriptures, and regarded scientific and religious truth as harmonious.

Notwithstanding this trend, Boule added two aspects to his interpretation of the La Chapelle-aux-Saints caveman that made it more palatable in clerical circles. In the aftermath of Boule's monograph, Perrier reiterated these in the *Feuilleton du Temps* under the heading 'Le Monde Vivant'. With *Le Temps*, Perrier chose a very serious paper with an excellent reputation. In fact, despite its small circulation, it was the most influential paper in France. It was centrist to the point of being the 'semiofficial newspaper of the Third Republic' (Thogmartin, 1998: 113). Initially, there is again an evocation of the missing-link: 'The bearing was that of those old

people who walk with their heads slanting forward, the back arched, the legs half-bent. It was already no longer that of the ape; it was not yet that of *Homo sapiens*.³⁰ A missing-link between ape and humans was always bad news for the religious conservatives. But there were also aspects that could potentially soften clerical minds: first, the Old Man's burial gave testimony to religious feelings: 'Moreover, the old man of La Chapelle-aux-Saints had a brain of exceptional dimensions among his companions, and the care with which he was interred seems to indicate that he was, for his times, a personality.'³¹ Second, he was neither a direct descendant of apes nor a direct ancestor of humans. His state as missing-link was presented as purely anatomical, and Perrier was quick to add: 'Let us add quickly in order to reassure for a moment the adversaries of a relationship of any kind between man and the apes: it is more or less certain that there is no direct kinship between Neanderthal man himself, the gibbons, the oranges, the chimpanzees and the gorillas.'³²

Seemingly seizing on either Boule's interpretation of Neanderthal as a different and more ape-like species, or alternatively on his discussion of Neanderthal culture and the burial in which the La Chapelle-aux-Saints specimen had been placed, the Catholic press found two radically different ways to avoid the threat of an ape ancestry and materialist evolutionism. While some newspapers reconstructed the La Chapelle specimen as an animal, and others as fully human, none presented it as something in-between. If the Neanderthal was an animal, it could just as well be pre-Adamite, and the Bible did not exclude the possibility that some of the animals God created were rather human-like in appearance. On the other hand, if Neanderthal was merely a human variant, it could not be used as evidence for human evolution. Thus, the *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique*, under the presumably ironic heading 'Une Découverte Sensationnelle', assured its readership that the La Chapelle-aux-Saints find did not threaten Catholic beliefs.³³ As a human being, it did not narrow the gap between ape and humans and therefore added no new support to the evolutionary view. After all, the Old Man had human, if primitive, anatomy, was intelligent, fashioned tools and possessed a kind of religion, as demonstrated by the fact that the skeleton had been ritually buried. The relative primitiveness of the La Chapelle specimen could be explained by the fact that he had lived shortly after humans had been created, and had therefore migrated far from the centre of Creation. In the process his morphology and culture degenerated, like those of the human races that followed him.

The integralist Catholic paper *La Croix* introduced the exact opposite stance. Like the *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique*, *La Croix* belonged to the militant papers, which aimed not so much at conveying information as at using it to advocate their cause. It was founded in 1883 with the idea of balancing the views of the majority of newspapers that regularly attacked the Church. *La Croix* was known for its anti-republican and anti-Semitic stances, and violent nationalism. However, the Assumptionist Order, which had controlled the paper, lost its authorization in 1900 when the

left-wing government that came to power in 1899 no longer tolerated the order's campaigns against Jews, Protestants, freemasons and socialists (Fortescue, 2000: 75). Regardless of this, the paper continued to address a politically conservative clerical and Catholic bourgeois readership that opposed the Republic, a readership that in the wake of World War I had reached 300,000, not taking into account the paper's several regional editions (Guéry, 1997: 114; Schlosser, 2002).

Because the La Chapelle Neanderthal had become such a big affair, *La Croix* felt obliged to take a stance: 'There is right now a storm in France around a skull . . . the abbés Bouyssonie and Bardou have discovered in a cave in the Corrèze; a skeleton that could well be that of a man, unless certain details kindled the hope in some very knowledgeable men that it might be the skull of an intermediate between man and ape.'³⁴ *La Croix* reasoned that if the Neanderthal were human, his age would present no problem, since the Bible was not specific on the subject of human antiquity. However, the scientists described the fossil as very beast-like. Thus, since God had created Adam as perfect man with an immortal soul, the ape-like Neanderthal might have to be regarded as an animal. As animal, his age was of no interest, since the Bible made clear that animals had been created before humans, and the tradition of interpreting the days of the Bible allegorically was by then well established. Either way, the matter was therefore crystal clear: 'if it was an animal, it was pre-Adamite, if he was a man, he was posterior to Adam.'³⁵

Le Croix nonetheless felt the urge to at least send a blow in the direction of the heretical prehistorians, especially the most radical among them:

Only misadventures such as happened to Boucher de Perthes himself and to the too famous Mortillet should inspire prudence in the *conquistadors* of fossil humans and pithecanthropes. Science has already committed such mortifying blunders in this matter that it should not proceed too . . . scientifically.³⁶

It thus seems that, while the press mostly emphasized the Old Man's location between ape and humans in order to fit it into the wider neo-Lamarckian progressivism that marked the dominant socio-political discourses of the time, the religious venues made sure that he was either human or animal, but certainly not an ape-man or missing-link. They sought to avoid the materialism and anti-clericalism associated with evolutionism.

Apart from the fact that Boule presented the Neanderthal in a seemingly ambiguous way – one that could accommodate evolutionist as well as creationist worldviews – the prestige the discovery implied for French science and the French nation was strategically used to further promote it to the press and the public. Boule and Perrier may have appealed to patriotic feelings as part of a strategy to mitigate the two factions, with the modernist clergy in-between. The Third French Republic and the German Empire had arisen out of the hostility between France and Germany in the

aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71), which had cost France not only men and money but also large parts of Alsace and Lorraine. On 19 May 1909, *Le Radical* seized the opportunity to slander Otto von Bismarck (1815–98), who had strategically provoked the war between the North German Confederation and France to add the southern states to a united German Empire. Bismarck's skull had turned out to be the only one surpassing the La Chapelle Neanderthal's in size: '... if Bismarck had a skull similar to the La Chapelle-aux-Saints man's, it is because the iron chancellor displayed an atavism, by which the mentality of Palaeolithic times was revived, when, already, force ruled.'³⁷ More and more French voices clamoured to regain the territories lost to Germany.

The barriers between the French and German anthropological communities had been hardened by the archaeologist Otto Hauser (1874–1932), who had sold the French Neanderthal discovery from La Moustier to a German museum (Museum für Volkskunde, Berlin), and who, despite being Swiss, came to represent the Prussian threat. On 19 December 1908, *Le Temps* published Boule's demand for legislation on excavation rights at French prehistoric sites to avoid such theft. (In fact, this traumatic experience would lead to the first law protecting the national prehistoric heritage [Albarelo, 1987: 59].) However, the examples of La Chapelle and La Quina, where Henri-Martin discovered Neanderthal remains in 1911, strengthened the hope that this would never happen again:

This sensational discovery made by a French scientist, will remain – needless to say – the property of France and of French science. Even under the regime of the liberty of excavation, which is the only one suiting the free and fertile activity of our prehistorians, there was no fear that the La Quina skeleton would end up – like the Les Eyzies skeleton, bought for 125,000 francs by Mr Hauser – enriching the laboratories beyond the Rhine.³⁸

But the bones were not only affiliated with the nation. Boule himself was sometimes viewed as having kinship with 'his' skeleton. In a letter by René Verneau (1852–1938), director of the ethnological museum, which was accompanied by two newspaper excerpts, Boule was referred to as *la père* of the La Chapelle Neanderthal: 'Enclosed, you will find an issue of *Rictus* featuring on the last page an article concerning your child . . . What kind of father, indeed, would remain insensitive to that which concerns the son he has procreated!'³⁹ How wonderful to conceive of the skeleton – reconstructed by the hands of the savant not unlike the way God might have moulded Adam's bones out of earth – as his creation rather than as a pre-existing entity that only needed to be discovered! On the other hand, as we have seen, the La Chapelle Neanderthal could claim the press as a second parent, and Verneau became part of exactly this co-creation in a circuit between science and the press when he sent Boule public news on the discovery.

Another tool for promoting or contesting a reconstruction entered the circuit: the visual image. The visual reconstructions of the La Chapelle

specimen drew from partial material and views, just as Boule had to put the anatomical reconstruction of the La Chapelle Neanderthal together from incomplete individual bones, and I had to resurrect the public reconstructions from a fragmented and unordered collection representing Boule's awareness of them. Rather than adding to the firmness of Neanderthal's identity, the visualizations increased its instability and multiplicity.

Whose Face Is Reflected in the Mirror? – Visual Reconstructions of the Old Man

Seemingly, the first visual representation of a Neanderthal accompanied a short anonymous report on the Neander Valley find in *Harper's Weekly* in July 1873 (Anonymous, 1873: 617) (see Figure 2). Even though the Neanderthal of *Harper's Weekly* is clearly more primitive and savage than earlier representations of prehistoric humans,⁴⁰ at the time the article was published, Neanderthal had not yet achieved its peak as a symbol of the beastly caveman. The author of the brief report discussed the view of the

FIGURE 2

'The Neanderthal Man' (from 'The Neanderthal Man', *Harper's Weekly* [19 July 1873] 17[864]: 617). Provided by courtesy of HarpWeek, LCC.



THE NEANDERTHAL MAN.

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find by Huxley and others as representative of a fossil human race, while he did not give much credence to the idea that the peculiar anatomy of the skull was abnormal or pathological. Although it is difficult to identify with Victorian gender stereotypes, it may be easier to recognize the figures as human. Apart from the hairless body, the fully upright stance, and the human face, the cultural surroundings include the Neanderthal within 'the sacred image of the same'.⁴¹ The Neanderthal has the dog as his domestic companion, knows fire, wears a primitive kind of clothing, and has rather elaborate compound tools. Although the text suggested that '[a] more ferocious-looking, gorilla-like human being can hardly be imagined' (Anonymous, 1873: 618), the illustration expressed the dominant theory of the time and envisioned Neanderthal clearly within the imaginable range of human beings.

Stephanie Moser (1992) has re-discovered and juxtaposed the two illustrations of the La Chapelle specimen of most importance in this context, which are based on the opposing theories of Boule and Arthur Keith (1866–1955), curator of the museum at the Royal College of Surgeons in London. In the French newspaper *L'Illustration* of February 1909, there appeared a most remarkable visualization of Neanderthal, based on Boule's reconstruction of the La Chapelle specimen, by the Czech painter, engraver and illustrator Kupka (Honoré, 1909: 128–29). It was reproduced a week later in *The Illustrated London News* (Anonymous, 1909: 312–13) (see Figure 3). The difference from the *Harper's Weekly* illustration is striking. It becomes immediately clear that the Neanderthal has changed from being perceived as 'same' to being identified as 'other'. This hairy creature, in a barren environment that seems to reflect its dull mind, is marked by an expressionless face, an uninventive club, bent knees, and a forward stoop of the upper body. His arms are long, his legs are short, and his chest is of incredible dimensions. In a large reproduction of the image, I can recognize the shape of an ape in his shadow. Obviously, he has not progressed far from such a stage.

As we have seen, Boule's brutish reconstruction of a caveman that was associated with the expulsion of the Neanderthal from our direct ancestry was new for the scientific community and the public alike. There can be no doubt that Kupka's realistic rendering eventually lent credibility to this idea. It seems difficult to imagine such a being as our immediate ancestor. However, as we have seen with verbal reconstructions, the primitiveness of the creature enhances human achievement by contrast. In fact, both *L'Illustration* and *The Illustrated London News* hailed the La Chapelle specimen as humankind's oldest known ancestor. The realism of the illustration, while drawing on a tradition that goes back to the Renaissance, set into stark relief for viewers of the Third Republic such bourgeois values as rationalism, materialism, technological and social progress, and scientific objectivity. Clearly, the history of visualizations of prehistoric humans has ties to art history (Conkey, 1997; Haraway, 1997: 175–87; Wiber, 1998: Ch. 3).

FIGURE 3

'An Ancestor: The Man of Twenty Thousand Years Ago', by Franz Kupka (from 'The Most Important Anthropological Discovery for Fifty Years', *The Illustrated London News* [27 February 1909: 312–13]). Reproduced by courtesy of The Illustrated London News Picture Library.



In general, a strong claim to truth may be established through the gratuitous detail of landscape, flora and fauna, combined with the familiarity of the prehistoric human bodies, their expressions and gestures (Gifford-Gonzalez, 1993: 28–29). In contrast, the viewer of Kupka's illustration is not engaged with a familiar scene, but is instead distanced from the apish creature. The same naturalism is employed to suggest the reality of an imaginary other. In addition, the scientific expertise of the artist is emphasized in cases ranging from Benjamin Waterhouse Hawkins (1754–1846), who reconstructed the dinosaurs for the Crystal Palace, to the Parisian sculptor Elizabeth Daynes, one of the most sought-after interpreters of Neanderthals today (see also Moser, 1993: 76). Thus, *L'Illustration* assured its readers of the authenticity of the reconstruction:

However, *L'Illustration* could not avoid giving its readers a plausible representation of the now famous man whose skull France owns. No artist would have been better qualified for this delicate task than Mr Kupka, particularly well-versed in questions of prehistoric anatomy and geography, who was chosen by Elisée Reclus for the illustration of the last work of the celebrated writer: *L'Homme et la Terre*.⁴²

The image gains further authority through Kupka's insistence that his Neanderthal was not generic, but represented the individual from La Chapelle-aux-Saints. Similarly, Daynes today rejects the attempt to represent types, but aims instead to find and reconstruct the personality of a particular specimen: 'He's [a child whose remains were found near Lisbon,

Portugal, classified as Neanderthal by Erik Trinkaus] really an individual person, and I have tried to find his character, his attitude, and bring him to life' (Davis, 2002).

Apart from the artists' own expertise, their cooperation with the scientists is stressed. Thus, the caption below the reprint of Kupka's image in *The Illustrated London News* claimed that the scenery was reproduced '[w]ith the aid of Mr Marcellin Boule' (Anonymous, 1909: 313). This is particularly remarkable because, even though Kupka emphasized the authenticity of the reconstruction of the Neanderthal's physical appearance, which he achieved by applying the missing muscles to the fossil bones, he decided not to represent his culture. Instead of Mousterian tools, the creature holds a club, and it would be far fetched to imagine Kupka's brute being ritually interred by his fellows. Boule was unhappy about the fact that his authority was given to the image, and complained to Kupka in a letter. Kupka replied that he had had nothing to do with the caption. Although Kupka had told *The Illustrated London News* that Boule had designed a draft that indicated the composition of the scenery, he denied that he told them of any other drafts. On the contrary, he had asked not to place responsibility for the image on Boule.⁴³ By providing Kupka with an outline of how to draw the scene, Boule clearly shared his part in the production of the image. He probably knew that the brutish visualization of the Neanderthal by Kupka would support his scientific arguments, but at the same time he did not wish to be associated with it.

Scientific and popular visualizations are thus no mere ornaments of texts, they constitute theories and contain elaborate arguments, feeding back into the scientific debate (for example, Rudwick, 1975, 1989, 1992; Moser, 1992).⁴⁴ This is further illustrated by the fact that Keith made use of the same powerful tool of visual argument to contest Boule's theory and Kupka's image. At that time, Keith conceptualized human evolution as a linear progression through the supposedly fossil human finds, and he therefore was not so easily convinced by Boule's and Kupka's reconstructions and the associated expulsion of Neanderthal from human ancestry. Keith argued for the great antiquity of modern human anatomy, which he supported with the controversial Galley Hill skull, discovered in the Thames Valley in 1888, to which he ascribed an age of 170,000 years.⁴⁵ If Neanderthal was to be an ancestor of this anatomically modern specimen, referred to as 'the earliest known Briton', then it had to be considerably older than Boule's 20,000-year estimate for the Old Man. In fact, Keith referred the La Chapelle specimen back 500,000 years. But even with this difference in age, Boule's brute was an unlikely candidate to be the father of Galley Hill Man, whose image was also distributed by *The Illustrated London News* (Keith, 1911a: 305) (see Figure 4). Keith thus envisioned the La Chapelle-aux-Saints specimen as much more human-looking and published his illustration in the same paper to take up the fight against Boule on equal grounds (Keith, 1911b: 779) (see Figure 5).

Comparing Keith's reconstructions of the Galley Hill Man and the La Chapelle Neanderthal Man, the two men are indeed akin. So much so,

FIGURE 4

'Modern Man, the Mammoth-Slayer: The Briton of 170,000 Years Ago', by Amédée Forestier (from Keith [1911a: 305]). Reproduced by courtesy of The Illustrated London News Picture Library.



that one might imagine the two representing the same modern human individual in a kind of picture sequence showing a daily routine. Read in this way, the Galley Hill Man is modern man on the hunt, armed with spear and axe, cunningly awaiting the approach of the listless mammoth from behind a tree. The La Chapelle Man would be the same man after the hunt, returned to the safety and warmth of his cave. The spear is identical in both images. The man has undone his hair and sits by the fire engaging

FIGURE 5

'Not in the "Gorilla" Stage: The Man of 500,000 Years Ago', by Amédée Forestier (from Keith [1911b: 779]). Reproduced by courtesy of The Illustrated London News Picture Library.



in an evening task, such as working a bone with a stone tool. His garment is still that of a fur-skirt, only now he has adorned himself with a necklace, maybe to celebrate the successful hunt. Obviously, these images carry the same signature. The famous Amédée Forestier, who worked as illustrator for *The Illustrated London News* and specialized in reconstructions of prehistorical, (pre-)classical, Saxon, and Medieval times, seems to have been the perfect choice for a depiction of Galley Hill and Neanderthal

Man as just two steps in a long series of European humans with modern anatomy.⁴⁶

On the other hand, the contrast between Keith's and Boule's visual reconstructions of the Old Man is as striking as the differences between their theories of human evolution. How different for example is the nest shown at the right side of Kupka's illustration (Figure 3) from the cosy Victorian homeliness of Forestier's image (Figure 5)! In addition, while Kupka's brute leans forward in animal fashion, Forestier's Neanderthal is depicted in an attitude that western viewers – and especially a Victorian viewer – would easily identify as that of an intelligent person immersed in thought. The immediate recognition of the Keith Neanderthal as in the image of the same reinforces the inability to identify with the other, the Neanderthal as evolutionary failure, who is even more primitive than 'the least advanced savages' and much closer to the apes.

It's All in the Reconstruction: The Sacred Image of the Same or the Unholy Other?

Michael Hammond (1982: 19–23) has argued that Boule was a great conciliator who aimed to disengage paleontology from politics, and who worked with political radicals as well as conservatives, and believed in a way to change science with the help of the more enlightened clergy such as Breuil. This put him in clear opposition to de Mortillet's school of anthropology, which, as we have seen, considered human history as an integral part and logical consequence of human prehistory. The analysis of Boule's collection of newspaper clippings allows us to go one step further and to speculate that Boule's expulsion of the Neanderthal from the direct ancestral line of modern humans and also from their species enabled reconciliation on all fronts. The religious papers could read Boule's brutish reconstruction as symbolizing sub-humanity, therefore bringing the Neanderthal into harmony with a non-literal reading of the biblical *Genesis*. Boule's rejection of previously discovered fossils as human ancestors, together with his distancing of the human from the ape line, further enlarged the space for a Church-friendly reconstruction. On the other hand, most of the newspapers aligned with the dominant neo-Lamarckian discourse and could read Boule's emphasis on Neanderthal as anatomical link between *Pithecanthropus* and 'modern savages' (or Palaeolithic human races) as a true missing-link in de Mortillet's sense, disregarding his denial of any direct genetic ties. The fact that Boule distanced Neanderthal from human anatomy ironically rendered it an even stronger missing-link, since a separate species better served the argument for a linear, progressive evolution.

In this interpretation of a back-and-forth between Boule and the press, Boule anticipated the reactions of materialist and anti-clerical papers on the one hand, and the conservative Catholic press on the other. He therefore presented the Neanderthal, the story of its discovery and its national significance in a way that it could be accommodated by both

ideologies. The newspapers took the bait, but went further to use Boule's findings for their own purposes even more effectively. As a result, the Neanderthal of La Chapelle-aux-Saints, the scientific type specimen of *Homo neanderthalensis*, was variously turned into a true missing-link of considerable age and primitiveness, a full-fledged human, and a non-human animal. Boule reacted by distancing himself from the 'distortions' and replied to them by stating his own interpretation more precisely in *Le Matin* and in his monograph on the discovery. An image of Neanderthal emerged out of this dialogue as an evolutionary failure: a brutish, club-bearing caveman, far exceeding even Boule's emphasis on simian traits, which would prove resistant to amelioration for many decades to come. Both its resistance to change and Boule's uneasiness with the degree of apishness or otherness, conjured up also by Kupka, testify to the fact that this image was originally co-constructed by Boule and the press.

However, there is room for an alternative interpretation of the interactions of Boule with the press. One may also speculate that Boule, who collected the reconstructions produced by the press, had intended his interpretation of Neanderthal to represent a separate and unsuccessful branch of human evolution, not only to demonstrate the validity of Gaudry's theory of evolution for human phylogeny, but also to provide the final blow to the politically explicit, purely material, linear view of human evolution associated with de Mortillet and the École. In that case, he may have regarded the textual reconstructions by the Republican press as pure distortions. He also may not have foreseen the rival reconstructions by the religious and anti-clerical press. Within this interpretation, Boule appears less successful in propagating his view of the Neanderthal either in the public or the scientific realm, for which the example of Keith demonstrates initial opposition.

In the episode of the La Chapelle-aux-Saints Neanderthal, visual reconstructions played a potent part by standing for a certain theory of Neanderthal's role in human evolution, and also presenting an especially convincing kind of argument by themselves. Through visual techniques such as extreme naturalism, scientific illustrations exploit the centrality of human vision as our main tool for knowing the world. As we have seen for textual reconstructions, visual reconstructions can be placed along a continuum from expert to popular use. A skeletal reconstruction, a reconstruction of the muscles superimposed on the bones, a pictorial representation, a dioramic three-dimensional reconstruction and so on, can be located at different positions along this axis.⁴⁷ Images of the Old Man have figured in all of these forms of materialization (for example, Stringer & Gamble, 1993: 18–24).⁴⁸ Even a stone statue to adorn the Musée National de Préhistoire des Eyzies-de-Tayac, in the Dordogne, was created (for example, Albarello, 1987: 90, 92; Trinkaus & Shipman, 1993 [1992]: 404).⁴⁹ In midst of this multiplication of avatars, just as Boule had tried to stabilize the verbal image of Neanderthal created through the press, he came to argue against speculative reconstructions. He justified his own

contribution to Kupka's illustration by once again emphasizing the sculptor's anatomical expertise and by describing the procedure as scientific and objective. Boule thus tried to reify the boundaries between science and art, and science and popularization, which had proved so slippery to him: 'The artist is at full liberty to attempt to produce works of imagination, original in character and striking in appearance; but men of science – and of conscience – know too well the difficulties of such attempts to regard them as anything but pastimes and recreations' (Boule, 1923 [1921]: 227).

Obviously, by using visual reconstructions as boundary objects, Boule not only distanced his science from public 'distortion', but also from other 'non-conscientious' scientific interpretations of the Neanderthal. However, it seems that, though visual reconstructions partly function as tools for reifying the science/non-science distinction, or as easy-to-digest translations of 'expert knowledge' for 'the lay public', and thus as persuasion, they might also fulfil the scientist's need as an aid to imagination and creativity. The Boule–Keith dialogue in the visual language of the newspaper illustration can be interpreted along these lines. Furthermore, as both Kupka's and Forestier's illustrations show, one should not construct the artist, or the viewer for that matter, as a passive recipient of ideas and follower of instructions (Gifford-Gonzalez, 1993: 26).

To conclude, the data discussed in this paper allow for the interpretation that Boule, and Perrier as representative of the Muséum, tried to use the press as a means to get public sympathy and increase acceptability for their scientific views. It suggests that Boule at the same time wanted to be perceived as entirely working within the scientific realm by distancing himself from 'distortions'. However, it also suggests that his authority was not sufficient to control the public images that were created of the La Chapelle Neanderthal. Rather, the amalgam of reconstructions produced by Boule, the press and the artists was constitutive of the hunching-brute image of the caveman both within the scientific community and in the public at large. It was only in the mid-1950s with a re-evaluation of Boule's reconstruction of the La Chapelle skeleton that a more human Neanderthal image began to appear in the mirror.

Notes

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1. Simon Schaffer (1998) has also argued that, rather than having been restricted to a well-bounded scientific domain, the issues of nebular astronomy in the British Empire

- around the mid-19th century were negotiated in the public sphere of mass lectures and cheap graphic journalism.
2. Huxley's interpretation of the Feldhofer Neanderthal is part of *Man's Place in Nature* (1895).
 3. The secondary sources on the history of interpretations of Neanderthals are numerous indeed. The scientific literature on Neanderthal that includes some historical overview is similarly extensive and has its roots in the second half of the 19th century (see for example, Jordan, 1999).
 4. On the abbés Bouyssonie and Breuil, see Albarello (1987: Chs 2 and 3) and Alan Houghton Brodrick (1963: 127–42); the greater controversies on the place of Neanderthal in the phylogenetic tree are discussed elsewhere (Gruber, 1948; Campbell, 1956; Brace, 1964; Spencer & Smith, 1981; Hammond, 1982; Spencer, 1984).
 5. In *Le Temps* of 19 December 1908 (the day after the discovery had been presented to the Académie des Sciences), Henry de Varigny stated that '... le sujet a dû connaître les ennuis de rhumatisme. Il était assurément arthritique' ('... the subject must have been affected with rheumatism. He certainly was arthritic') (Bibliothèque Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, B.34, Boule: Documents relatifs à la découverte de l'Homme de la Chapelle-aux-Saints; extraits de presse, correspondance; all translations from the French are mine). For a more detailed analysis of how Boule arrived at his results see Trinkaus & Shipman (1993 [1992]: 190–94). Straus & Cave (1957) have shown that, while the pathology of the Old Man from La Chapelle-aux-Saints may well have forced him into something of a stoop, classic Neanderthal in a healthy condition was fully human in posture.
 6. In 1909, Denis Peyrony (1869–1954) and Louis Capitan (1854–1929) discovered another Neanderthal burial in a rock shelter in the Dordogne, at La Ferrassie (La Ferrassie 1). In 1910, Peyrony unearthed La Ferrassie 2, a female. These skeletons, which were also brought to Boule's laboratory, were used to complement the missing parts of the La Chapelle specimen (Trinkaus & Shipman, 1993 [1992]: 188–89).
 7. 'Il faut remarquer que ce groupe humain du Pléistocène moyen, si primitif au point de vue des caractères physiques, devait aussi, à en juger par les données de l'archéologie préhistorique, être très primitif au point de vue intellectuel. Lorsque, pendant le Pléistocène supérieur, nous sommes, dans nos pays, en présence de manifestations industrielles d'un ordre plus élevé et de véritables oeuvres d'art, les crânes humains (race de Cro-Magnon) ont acquis les principaux caractères du véritable *Homo sapiens*, c'est-à-dire de beaux fronts, de grands cerveaux et des faces peu proéminentes' (Boule, 1908: 525; my emphasis).
 8. Loring Brace (1964) has interpreted Boule's work as being mainly in the Cuvierian tradition, which he identifies with anti-evolutionism and catastrophism. Boule's delegation of Neanderthal to a dead-ending side-branch and its sudden replacement by anatomically modern humans would thus represent such an instance of catastrophic change.
 9. For the concept of boundary-work, which can be applied to the science–public distinction with the latter including the press, see Gieryn (1983). In Gieryn's model of boundary-work by the scientists, the press may take the role of the scapegoat from outside, which is made responsible for undesirable consequences of scientific work through 'distortion' (Gieryn, 1983: 792).
 10. Malone et al. (2000), in their analysis of US newspaper coverage of passive smoking, have arrived at a similar view of the print media as central actors in the construction of the issue in relation to public concerns, rather than as simple translators and distributors of scientific facts. That the agency of the press has to be taken into account in its own right in their example means that media advocacy in public health is as critical for policy action as the science which underlies it.
 11. *La Liberté*, Monday 21 December 1908, 'L'Homme Préhistorique', by Léonce Balitrand (Bibliothèque Central du Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle [hereafter B MHN], B.34, Boule: Documents relatifs à la découverte de l'Homme de la Chapelle-aux-Saints; extraits de presse, correspondance). Where not otherwise

indicated, newspaper articles and excerpts refer to this location, which is the equivalent of Boule's collection of newspaper clippings.

12. 'L'Académie n'a pas ménagé son admiration pour cette découverte: alors qu'on écoute les communications le plus souvent au milieu du brouhaha des colloques privés, cette fois, le silence était général; la voix claire, la parole précise et élégante de M. Perrier s'élevait dans la salle, entendue de tous et presque tous, les membres, quittant leurs fauteuils, étaient debout, se pressant autour du bureau sur lequel le savant directeur de Muséum avait déposé les "pièces à conviction" réunies par M. Boule [sic] pour son admirable travail' (*Le Figaro*, Tuesday 15 December 1908, 'À l'Académie des Sciences', by Alphonse Berget).
13. *Le Radical*, 19 May 1909, 'Fortes têtes', by Albert Gorey. Further insights on the La Chapelle find were presented to the Académie on 17 May 1909 and on 7 June 1909. The report in *Le Radical* thus appeared 2 days after the second presentation.
14. '... non seulement l'apparence devait exister, mais un examen approfondi établit que, si cet "homme" se tenait quelquefois debout, du moins devait-il le plus souvent vivre "à quatre pattes"' (*Le Figaro*, Tuesday 15 December 1908, 'À l'Académie des Sciences', by Alphonse Berget).
15. 'Une autre remarque curieuse faite par M. Boule: la disposition de certains os de la face démontre que cette face n'avait pas la mobilité d'expression de la face humaine; l'homme-singe n'avait pas le sourire!' (No source, by Salagnac).
16. In accordance with this picture, Joseph-Henry Rosny (1856–1940) made the capacity to laugh one of the key distinctions between Neanderthals and Cro-Magnons in *La Guerre du Feu* (1911). With notable exceptions, the impassive and earnest face has remained a characteristic of visual representations of Neanderthal up to the present.
17. 'Il y a toujours eu sur terre des hommes inférieurs, même à l'heure actuelle de très vivants. Il n'y a rien d'étonnant à ce qu'il s'en trouve à la base des âges des êtres qui trahissent une constitution grossière, un état primitif destiné à disparaître peu à peu' (*Journal des Débats*, 24 December 1908, 'Revue des Sciences').
18. *Journal des Débats*, 15 December 1908, 'L'Homme Fossile de la Chapelle-aux-Saints', by G. Grandidier.
19. '... dès son apparition à la surface de la terre, l'homme a été un être essentiellement progressif; depuis lors, d'ailleurs, il n'a cessé de marcher en avant, de se perfectionner, et aujourd'hui personne ne peut prévoir où il s'arrêtera dans la voie du progrès; c'est ce qui doit consoler l'homme civilisé actuel de compter parmi ses aïeux un être inférieur aux sauvages les plus dégradés de notre époque' (ibid.).
20. 'Pour toute réponse, M. Boule aligna devant moi six crânes ... : celui d'un chimpanzé en tête de file, puis par progression de mérite, c'est-à-dire à raison de leur développement; les crânes de Java, du Néanderthal, celui-ci de la Chapelle-aux-Saints, celui d'un Australien actuel, et enfin le chef de l'*Homo sapiens*' (*Comœdia*, Saturday 2 January 1909, pp. 1–2, on p. 2, by Paul Hyacinthe-Loyson).
21. 'Ce travail [de l'éminent géologue et paléontologiste Marcellin Boule] n'est autre que la découverte d'un ancêtre de l'homme, mais d'un ancêtre qui réunit dans un même individu les caractères des races humaines et beaucoup de caractères particuliers aux singes anthropoïdes' (*Le Figaro*, Tuesday 15 December 1908, 'À l'Académie des Sciences', by Alphonse Berget).
22. '... cet être ... sans contestation possible, est notre ancêtre – aussi bien qu'il descend lui-même du singe' (*L'Événement*, Wednesday 16 December 1908, 'Un ancêtre de l'homme', by Frontis).
23. 'Il paraît certain que le crâne dont il s'agit a appartenu à un singe très supérieur aux espèces actuellement connues ou, si l'on veut, à un homme très inférieur, c'est-à-dire à l'être intermédiaire indiqué par Darwin et par le plupart des anthropologistes' (*Le Journal*, by Salagnac; also reproduced in Albarello [1987: 85]).
24. 'On l'a bien vu, ces jours derniers, par le bruit que la découverte d'un squelette d'homme fossile a fait dans les journaux. Comme cette découverte a été parfois déformée ou mal interprétée, j'accepte avec plaisir l'offre du *Matin* de publier dans ses colonnes une brève mise au point des questions qu'elle soulève' (*Le Matin*, 27

- December 1908, 'Celui qu'on a découvert dans la Corrèze avait au moins 20,000 ans', by Marcellin Boule; see also Albarello (1987: 93–94, 113–14).
25. The monograph was a compendium of the work on the La Chapelle specimen Boule had already published serially in *L'Anthropologie* and the *Annales de Paléontologie* (Boule, 1911, 1912, 1913).
 26. *L'Humanité*, 30 July 1913, 'L'Antiquité de l'Homme – l'Homme de la Chapelle-aux-Saints', by Jean-Paul Lafitte.
 27. *L'Humanité*, 29 January 1913, 'Notre parenté avec les singes', by Jean-Paul Lafitte.
 28. 'Il n'était pas joli, joli, ce vieux chasseur des forêts quaternaires. Avec ses mâchoires saillantes, à menton effacé, ses sourcils proéminants, qui formaient une barre se rejoignant au-dessus du nez, son front fuyant et son crâne aplati, l'aspect de son visage tenait un peu de singe' (*Le Journal*, 6 June 1913, 'L'Homme de la Chapelle-aux-Saints', by Remy Perrier).
 29. See also *La Dépêche* de Toulouse, 2 June 1919, 'Notre Époque – L'Homme de la Chapelle-aux-Saints', by Pierre Mille; *Journal des Débats*, no. 140, Tuesday 21 May 1913, p. 1, 'L'Histoire de l'Homme Fossile', by G.G.
 30. 'L'Attitude était celle de ces vieillards qui marchent la tête penchée en avant, le dos voûté, les jambes à demi fléchies. Elle n'était déjà plus celle des singes; elle n'était pas encore celle de l'*homo sapiens*' (*Feuilleton du Temps*, 23 Mai 1913, 'Le Monde Vivant', by Edmond Perrier).
 31. 'Le vieillard de la Chapelle-aux-Saints avait d'ailleurs une cerveau de dimensions exceptionnelle parmi ses compagnons, et le soin avec lequel il a été inhumé semble indiquer qu'il était, de son temps, un personnage' (ibid.).
 32. 'Disons-le tout suite, pour réassurer momentanément les adversaires d'une parenté quelconque entre l'homme et les singes: il est à peu près certain qu'il n'y a aucune parenté directe entre l'homme de Néanderthal lui-même, les gibbons, les orangs, les chimpanzés et les gorillas' (ibid.).
 33. *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique*, pp. 165–66, 'Une Découverte Sensationnelle', by J. Guibert, head of the seminary of the Catholic Institute of Paris.
 34. 'Nous avons actuellement, en France, une tempête autour d'un crâne . . . MM. Les abbés Bouyssonie et Bardon ont découvert dans une grotte de la Corrèze un squelette qui serait bien celui d'un homme, si certains détails ne laissaient espérer à des hommes très savants que c'est celui d'un être intermédiaire entre l'homme et le singe' (*La Croix*, 6 January 1909, 30e année, no. 7907, 'Autour d'un Crâne'; see also Albarello [1987: 116–18]).
 35. 'Si c'était un animal, il était préadamique, si c'était un homme, il est postérieur à Adam' (ibid.).
 36. 'Seulement, des mésaventures comme celle qui arriva à Boucher de Perthes lui-même et au trop fameux Mortillet, doivent inspirer beaucoup de prudence aux *conquistadors* d'hommes fossiles et de pithécantropes. La science a déjà commis de si mortifiants impairs en cette matière, qu'elle ne saurait procéder trop . . . scientifiquement' (ibid.). Boucher de Perthes (1788–1868) had been one of the pioneer advocates for prehistoric man. However, among genuine stone tools, he also identified natural flints as tools, animals and humans cut out of stone, as well as religious totems that turned out to be plays of nature. He even claimed to have found evidence of early hieroglyphs.
 37. ' . . . si Bismarck avait un crâne semblable à celui de l'homme de la Chapelle-aux-Saints, c'est qu'il y avait dans le chancelier de fer un phénomène d'atavisme, faisant revivre en lui la mentalité des temps paléolithiques où, déjà, la force primait le droit' (*Le Radical*, 19 May 1909, 'Fortes Têtes', by Albert Gorey).
 38. 'Cette sensationnelle découverte d'un savant français restera, est-il besoin de le dire, la propriété de la France et de la science française. Même sous le régime de la liberté des fouilles, que est celui pouvant seul convenir à la libre et féconde activité de nos préhistoriens, il n'y avait pas à craindre que le squelette de la Quina allât – comme celui des Eyzies, payé 125.000 francs par M. Hauser – enrichir les laboratoires d'outre Rhin' (Bibliothèque Musée de l'Homme, Henri Breuil, Cachet 2: AP7 A3 A.1. La Quina, Feuille GN 818.9, A5/A16, Quina, ZM, 'Notre plus Vieil Ancêtre').

39. 'Sous le même pli, vous trouverez un numéro du *Rictus* qui contient, à la dernière page un article relatif à votre enfant . . . Quel est, en effet, le père qui resterait insensible à ce qui concerne le fils qu'il a procréé!' (B MHN, B.34, letter from R. Verneau to Boule, Paris, 4 March 1909).
40. See for example Louis Fugier's *L'Homme Primitif* (1870).
41. I use Donna Haraway's (1997: 35, 71, 76, 243) trope of the Sacred Image of the Same here to refer to the western scientific tradition of constructing the scientist as unmarked, as outside culture, as man per se. In this sense, the visual reconstruction of Neanderthal mimics God's creation of Adam, the prototype of the white western male citizen. This imperialist notion of the particular as the universal is played out in the reconstructions of Neanderthal as the same versus Neanderthal as the other, the marked, the Negroid, the apish, the subhuman.
42. 'Toutefois, *L'Illustration* ne pouvait se dispenser d'offrir à ses lecteurs une représentation vraisemblable de l'homme désormais célèbre dont la France possède le crâne. Aucun artiste n'était mieux qualifié pour cette tâche délicate que M. Kupka qui, particulièrement versé dans les questions d'anatomie et de géographie préhistorique, fut choisi par Elisée Reclus pour illustrer le dernier ouvrage du célèbre écrivain: *L'Homme et la Terre*' (Honoré, 1909: 127).
43. Letter from Kupka to Boule, dated 22 February 1909 (B MHN, B.34).
44. On the Neanderthal in science and popular culture see also Stringer & Gamble (1993: Ch. 1). Several authors have dealt with visual reconstructions of human origins, highlighting the fact that they betray anthropocentric, ethnocentric and androcentric perspectives (Gould, 1989; Gifford-Gonzalez, 1993; Moser, 1993; Conkey, 1997; Wiber, 1998).
45. For an overview of Keith's early outlook on human evolution, see *Ancient Types of Man* (1912 [1911]), with Ch. 4 on the Galley Hill Man and Chs 10–13 on Neanderthals.
46. On Forestier, see Moser (1998: 156).
47. On the distinction between anatomical reconstruction and diorama see Gifford-Gonzalez (1993: 27–29).
48. For the bone and muscle reconstructions – the latter done by Joanny-Durand – see Boule (1923 [1921]: 225, 227).
49. It was sculpted by Paul Darde in 1931.

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