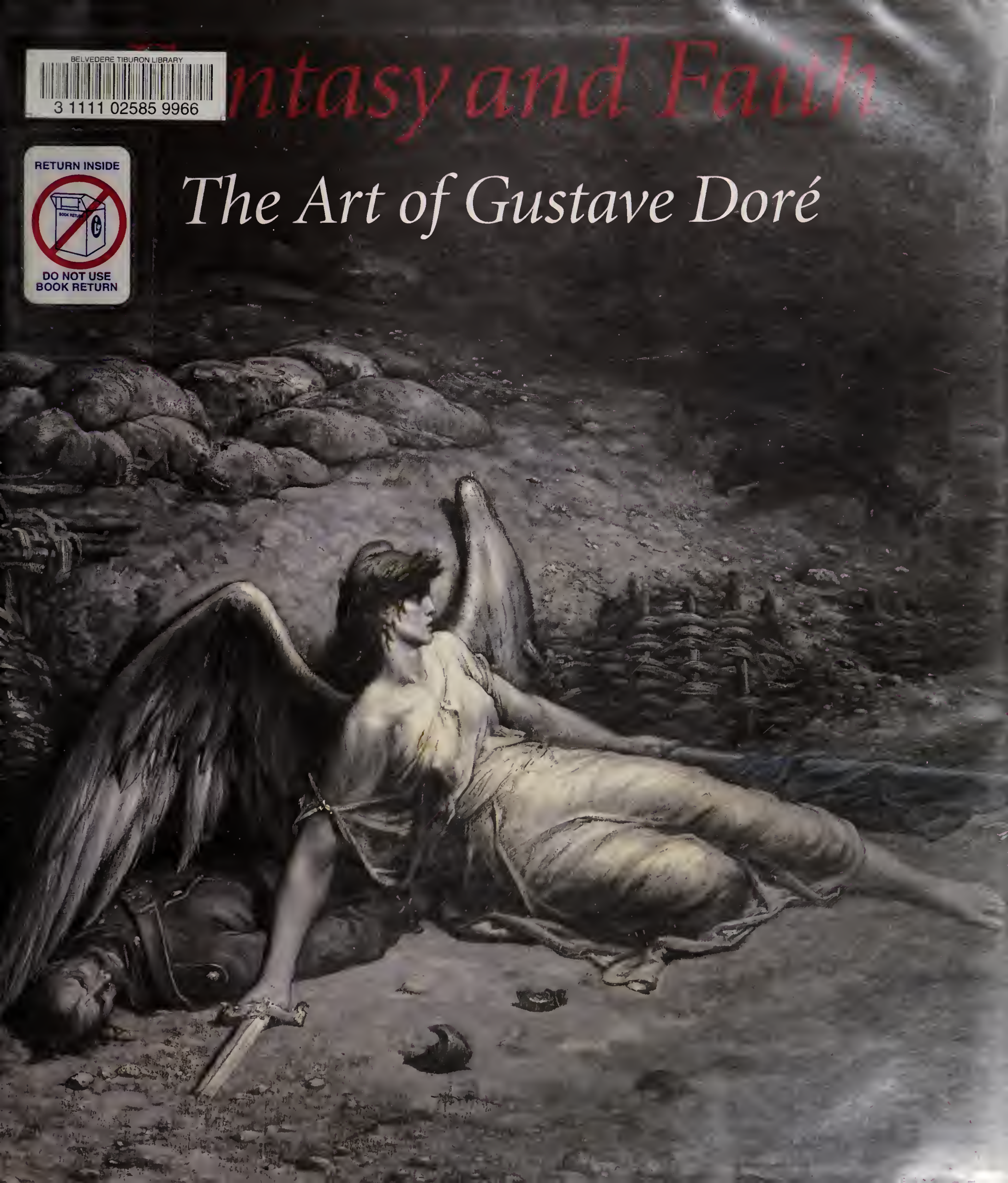
ntasy and Faith

The Art of Gustave Doré



Fantasy and Fa

The Art of Gustave Dore

Edited by Lisa Florman

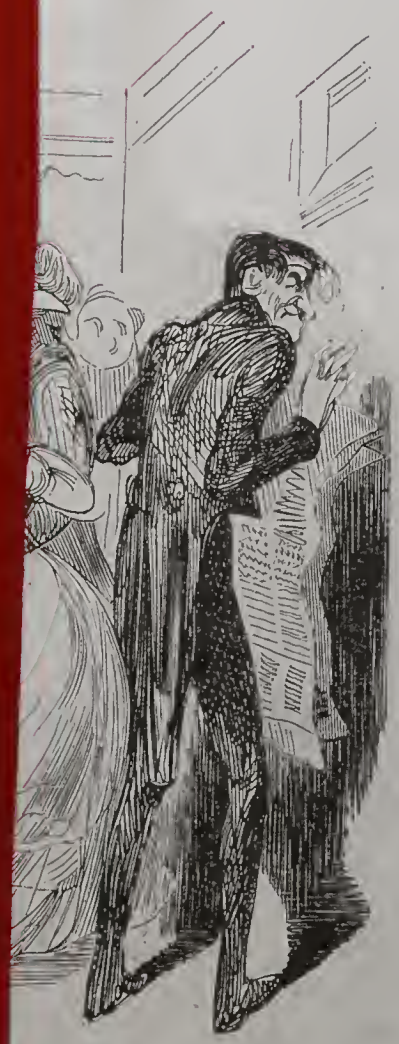
with Robert Rosenblum and Lisa Small

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Gustave Dore (1832–1883) was one of the world's most famous artists. Born in Strasbourg, he was essentially a self-trained prodigy who arrived in Paris in 1846 as a young man and quickly found a place at the center of Second Empire society. He was, and still is, best known as an illustrator of such classic works as Dante's *Inferno*, Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, Perrault's *Fairy Tales*, and, most famously, the great "Doré Bible." Not content with this success, Doré also sought recognition as a fine artist. The tepid critical response to his "serious" art notwithstanding, Doré produced a large body of oil paintings, drawings, and sculptures over the course of his career.

Although Doré had no true students or followers in his own lifetime, the products of his prodigious visual imagination went on to influence some of the titans of early twentieth-century popular culture, from Cecil B. DeMille to Walt Disney. Even today, Doré's legacy continues to assert itself in the realm of comic books and graphic novels.

This beautifully illustrated book situates Doré in the context of French nineteenth-century art, includes a chronology of his major works, and assesses his impact on North American collectors and museums.

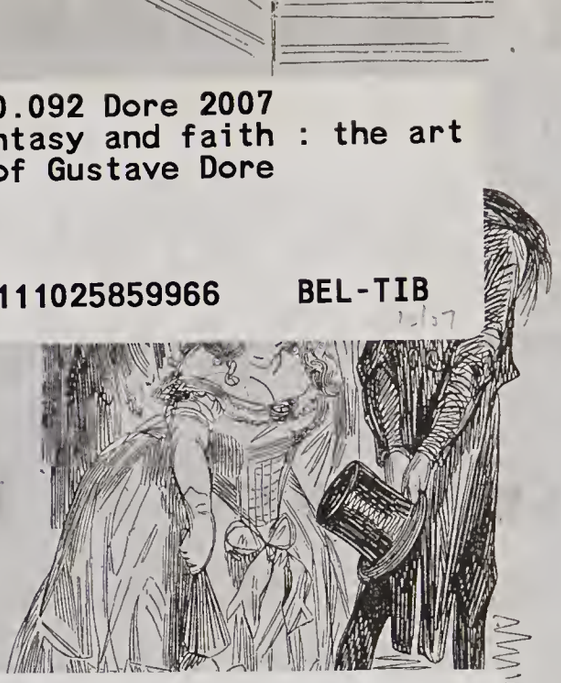
En voici un qui *pose* en homme dégoûté, blasé, revenu de tout...



...e qui *pose* comme ennemi de la presse.

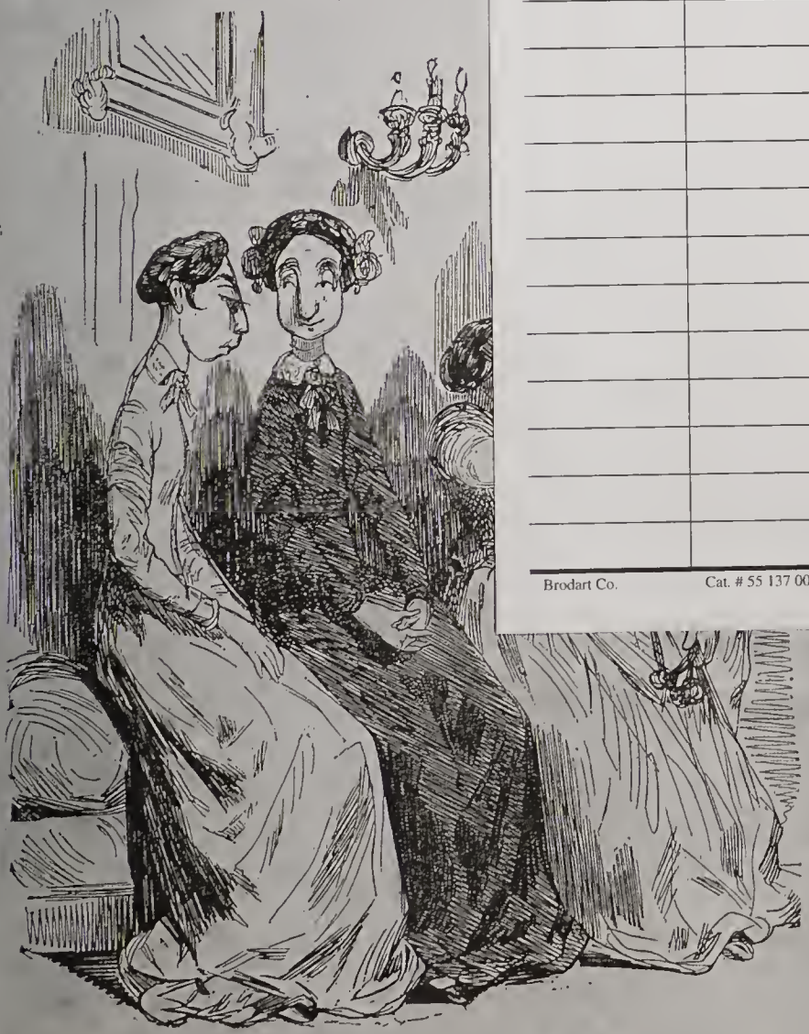
Un autre qui *pose* en homme modeste et sérieux... C'est qu'il ne sait pas danser.

Un monsieur qui *pose* comme connaisseur en peinture.

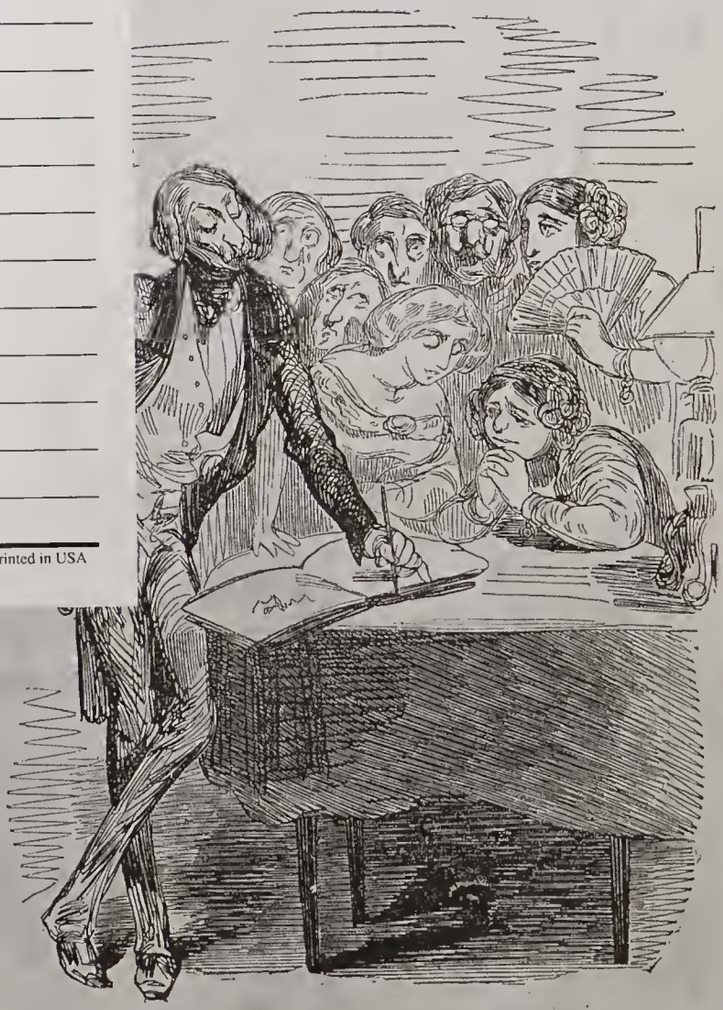


ıpé.

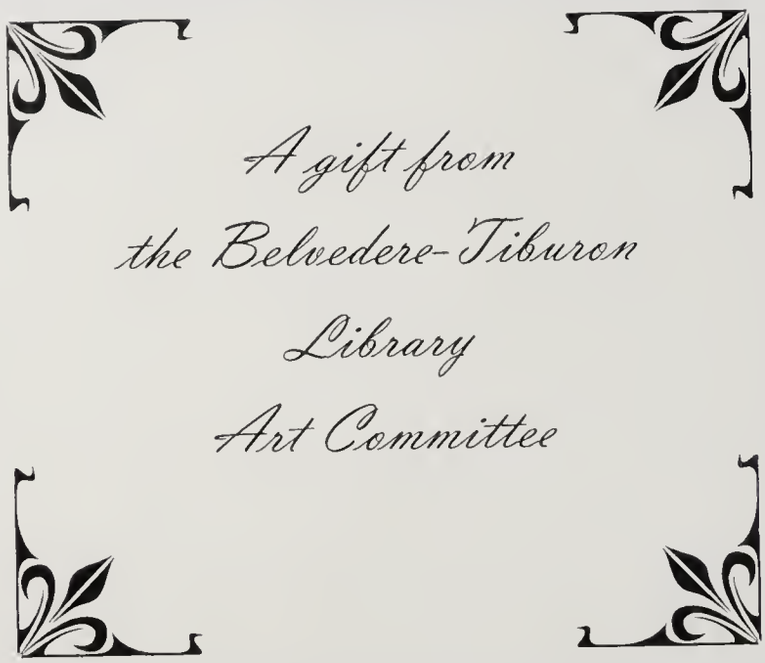
Cet autre *pose* comme philosophe, homme gra réfléchi....



Ces demoiselles *posent* avec raison comme des personnes d'une grande simplicité.



Ce monsieur *pose* comme grand dessinateur, rempli de facilité.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FANTASY AND FAITH
The Art of Gustave Doré

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Eric Zafran, editor
with
Robert Rosenblum
and Lisa Small

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Page 6: Detail of fig. 81, *The Triumph of Christianity over Paganism*, 1867–68, Art Gallery of Hamilton, Ontario
Page 10: Detail of fig. 113, *Rue de la Vieille Lanterne (Death of Gérard de Nerval)*, ca. 1855, lithograph. The Baltimore Museum of Art

Contents

Preface

When the Dahesh Museum of Art began its journey in January of 1995, our founding Board of Trustees decided that every exhibition accepted would be accompanied by some publication, whether concise or elaborate. This particular book is an exception to the rule, for it is being published even without an exhibition in place.

Doré, a prolific and passionate artist, has not only captured the wrath of nature and the dramatic intensity of the Scriptures in his canvases, but he has also touched the child's imagination with novel interpretations in his illustrations—a place where fiction and non-fiction alike appear real. The visual impact of an art exhibition may be short-lived, and the time generally spent viewing the art itself may not be enough to get the most out of an exhibition, hence the importance of reading about it more—expanding one's knowledge through the different interpretations offered by museum experts. Immense efforts, as well as funds, go into such publications, where curators not only present the pertinent facts about the objects themselves, but also investigate, study and interpret the complex themes represented by the featured artworks.

Often we find ourselves wondering about the choice of subject matter, places, dates, or circumstances, and frequently the answers are not discovered within painted symbols, but are embedded in letters from the artist to a friend, or his own diary, an account by a contemporary acquaintance, or in literature, history books, and many other sources. At times, that voice of the factual past is not discernible in a canvas, but is rather amplified by the hand of a diligent museum researcher, who paves for us the way to understanding colorful, yet often obscure, compositions.

My personal fascination with illustrations accompanying a text started in childhood, when I routinely saved pocket money to buy the next volume of an illustrated French literary series. I often found myself dreaming before an image, that powerful and captivating summary of a whole chapter, comparing it to the text and reflecting on the differences. The text gave birth to images, which in turn interpreted the vision of the author—a dynamic dialogue between pen and brush! For a child, those books are treasures of the imagination. As Thomas Carlyle wrote: "In books lies the soul of the whole Past Time: the articulate audible voice of the Past, when the body and material substance of it has altogether vanished like a dream." When an exhibition itself is ultimately dismantled and the lights turned off, a publication in hand remains a faithful reminder of the beauty that once passed through a museum's halls.

In this spirit, I would like to dedicate this publication and, hopefully, a future Doré exhibition, to the guru of nineteenth-century art par excellence, the late Dr. Robert Rosenblum, who told me back in 1987, when the Dahesh Museum was chartered, that it is a museum that belongs in the twenty-first century. To an exceptional scholar and great teacher, may he find Beauty wherever his soul wanders.

Amira Zahid
Trustee, Dahesh Museum of Art

Foreword

The story of this book's development might well be compared to a long journey that, although filled with unexpected delays and detours, finally arrived in an entirely different, but still wonderful place. The project originated with Dr. Eric Zafran, who first became aware of Gustave Doré's significance in the 1970s, when he worked at the Chrysler Museum with its magnificent painting, *The Neophyte*. Later, at the Walters Art Gallery, as it was then called, Dr. Zafran helped bring into the collection the artist's equally grand *Scottish Landscape*. His idea of presenting an exhibition of Doré's works from American collections was supported first at the Chrysler Museum by Bill Hennessy and Jeff Harrison, as well as by a pledge from the National Endowment for the Arts. When the exhibition could not be presented at the Chrysler, the project found a home at the Dahesh Museum of Art, where it was encouraged by former Directors J. David Farmer and Peter Trippi, the latter succeeding in securing further financial support from the New York State Council on the Arts. Ultimately, the Doré exhibition proved impossible to arrange, but Sally Salvesen of Yale University Press in London continued to believe in the project and it is thanks to her and her colleagues that you hold this book in your hands.

Fantasy and Faith: The Art of Gustave Doré is the first major scholarly work on the artist in English in more than twenty-five years. Focusing on works in North American collections, it will reveal Doré's inventiveness and virtuosity in a wide range of media. Although he had no true students or followers in his own lifetime, the fruits of his prodigious visual imagination, many reproduced in the following pages, went on to influence some of the titans of early twentieth-century popular culture, including Cecil B. DeMille and Walt Disney. Even today, Doré's legacy continues to assert itself in the realm of comic books and graphic novels. In keeping with the Dahesh Museum of Art's mission to offer fresh appraisals of nineteenth-century Europe's unfairly neglected artists, this long-awaited publication will help restore Doré's well-deserved reputation as one of the era's masters.

I am grateful to the many people in museums, libraries, and private homes around the world who provided the Dahesh Museum of Art with images for this book, as well as to the wonderful interns who helped gather and organize them: Catherine Donnellier, Naomi Menahem, Tiffany Pak, and Sarah Thomas. I would like to thank Henry Krawitz, and also Eric G. Carlson, whose kind gift enriched the Dahesh Museum's Doré holdings. For his generosity, hospitality, and vast stores of knowledge I owe great thanks to Dan Malan, scholar, author, collector, raconteur, and expert on all things Doré. My colleagues at the Dahesh Museum (current and former) were, as always, of tremendous help with this project at every stage, particularly Peter Trippi, Flora Kaplan, Paula Webster, and Stephen Edidin. I also want to express my gratitude to Amira Zahid and the entire Board of Trustees of the Dahesh Museum of Art, without whose key support this book would not have been possible.

The Dahesh Museum of Art is profoundly grateful to the late professor Robert Rosenblum, who contributed to this book what turned out to be, most unfortunately, one of his last published essays. Like everything he wrote, it is a flawless blend of erudition, clarity, and insight. I am deeply honored to have an essay of mine appear next to his.

Finally, I'd like to thank Eric Zafran for his tireless work on this project through all of its many stages. His unerring scholarship—apparent in the essay and subject sections of this book—along with his belief in Gustave Doré's importance and universal appeal, guided this book's realization at every stage.

Lisa Small
Associate Curator
Dahesh Museum of Art

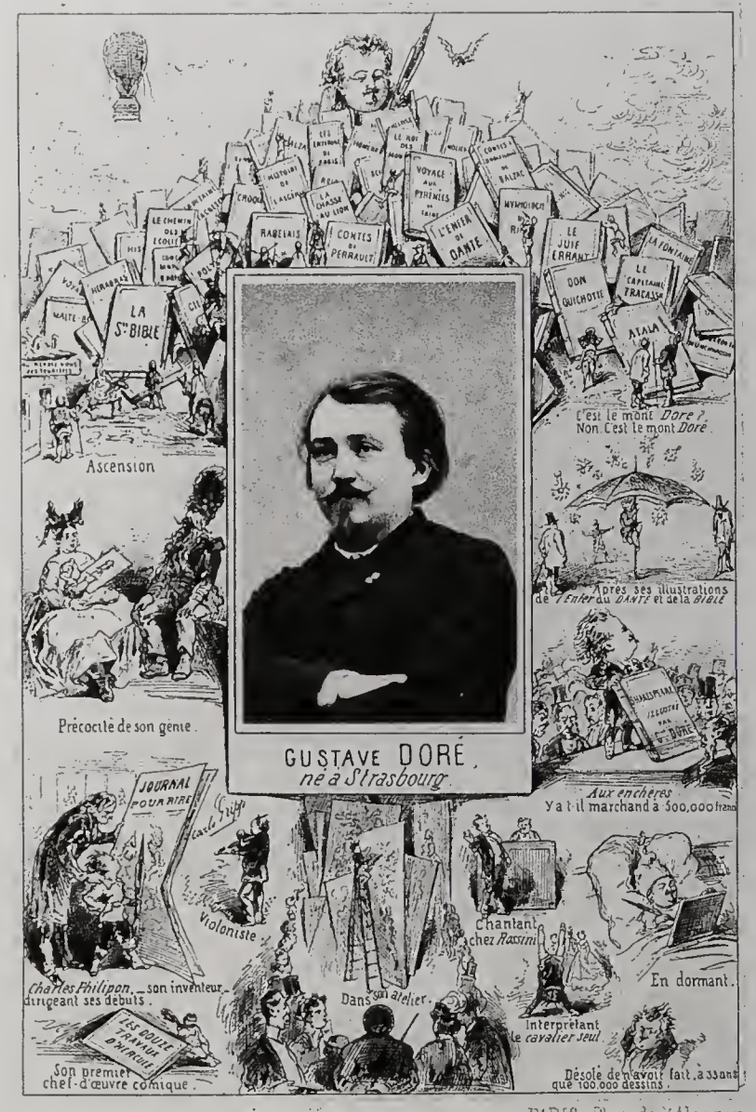
Editor's Acknowledgments

Many individuals have helped this project, providing information, photographs and encouragement, and I would particularly like to thank Gerald Ackerman, Sam Clapp, Marie-Jeanne Geyer, Nadine Lehni, Dan Malan, Victor Mehrlès, Polly Sartori, Robert Simon, Bob Tomlinson, and Ko Tokikuni.

I am also most grateful to my one-time professor at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, the late Robert Rosenblum, for his continuing support for research into the nether corners of the nineteenth century and his ready willingness to contribute such an insightful essay on Doré's place in European art. It was he who wrote consolingly when the exhibition was cancelled, "We all know that exhibitions are like fireworks, but books are enduring!"

My thanks to the dedicated and helpful staffs of the Frick Art Reference Library, the Getty Research Center, and the Documentation of the Musée d'Orsay. In addition I want to thank the following curators, librarians, registrars, scholars, collectors, and dealers who have also contributed information: Lady Jane Abdy, Seth Armitage, Linda Ashton, Ronni Baer, Bernard Barryte, Kit Basquin, Frances Beatty, Sylvain Bellenger, Kate Bergeron, James Bergquist, Suzanne Boorsh, Amanda Bowen, Pete Bowron, Ann Brandwein, Christine Braun, Tobi Bruce, Patrick Shaw Cable, Anne Caiger, Marietta Cambareri, Eric Carlson, Mark Cattanach, Alvin L. Clark, Jr., Jay A. Clarke, Amy Clemmons, Adina Cohen, Christina Corsiglia, Ellie Dawkins, Aaron H. DeGroft, Laure de Margerie, June de Phillips, Louise Dompierre, James Draper, Claudia Einecke, Melissa Falkner, Richard Feigen, Jay Fisher, Carter Foster, Jim Ganz, Ivan Gaskell, Marc S. Gerstein, Laura M. Giles, Margaret Glover, Pat Gomez, Michael Goodison, Meg Grasselli, Gloria Groom, Ann Guité, Beth Guynn, Mark Henderson, Rena Hoisington, Lise Hosein, Linda Izzo, Stanley Johnson, William Johnston, Joanna Karlgaard, Robert Kashey, Sara Kay, Ian Kennedy, George Keyes, Sarah B. Kianovsky, Mimi Kilgore, Michael Komanecky, Victor Koshkin-Youritzin, Diane Larson, Stephen Lash, Cheryl Leibold, Christophe Leribault, Bruce Livie, Shirley J. Madill, Aimée Marcereau, Hope Mayo, Susan Folds McCullagh, DeCourcy McIntosh, Joan Michelman, Peter Morrin, Patrick Murphy, Peter Nahum, Larry Nichols, John Nolan, Patrick Noon, Jeannine O'Grody, David Ording, Lynn Orr, Bénédicte Ottinger, David T. Owsley, Michael Parke-Taylor, Carolyn Peter, Sue Reed, Pierre-Lin Renié, Andrew Robison, Lisa Parrott Rolfe, Cynthia Roman, Linda Roth, Bart Ryckbosch, Kevin Saletino, Alan E. Salz, Frederick Schab, Lisa Schiller, Annette Schlagenhauff, Michael Schlossberg, Hiromi Shiba, Margaret Shufeldt, Joel Smith, Joe Smoke, Stephen Spiro, Eric Stancliff, Timothy Standring, Bill Staples, Perrin Stein, Joey Tannenbaum, Betsy Thomas, Jennifer Tonkovich, Richard Townsend, Mary Villadsen, Roberta Waddell, Evelyn Walker, Stephanie Weil, Gabriel P. Weisberg, Betsy Weisman, Ed Wilson, Elizabeth Wyckoff, Hiroo Yasui, Constance and David Yates, Georgia L. Young, Henry and Martin Zimet.

Eric Zafran



1. *Photo-Biographie,* photograph with lithographic ornament. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris

Chronology

1832 Born January 6 at Strasbourg to Pierre Louis Christoph Doré, engineer of roads and bridges, and Alexandrine Marie Anne Pluchart.

1834 The Doré family moves to rue des Ecrivains.

1837 G. Doré enters class of Professor Vergnette, Place de Cathédrale. He does his first caricatures as illustrations in notebooks and in letters.

1839 Begins study of the violin.

1840 First drawings inspired by Grandville.

1841 First illustration of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The Doré family settles at Bourg-en-Bresse.

1843 Enters the Lycée of Bourg-en-Bresse.

1844–6 *History of Calypso* album of texts with drawings. First lithographs.

1847 His parents take him to Paris and show his work to the publisher Charles Philipon, about to launch the new magazine *Journal pour Rire*, who commissions his first publication, the lithographic album *Travaux d'Hercule*.

1848 By contract between his father and Philipon Doré becomes an official staff member of the *Journal pour Rire* for three years, producing a multitude of cartoons for this and other journals. He attends school at the Lycée Charlemagne. Doré debuts at the Salon with two drawings. He also begins his first painting. Becomes friendly with Nadar. Sudden death of his father.

1849 Madame Doré and her other children move to Paris. Gustave illustrates music scores by his brother, Ernest.

1850 Completes course of study at the Lycée Charlemagne. Doré's first exhibition of a painting at the Salon.

1851 Publication of several lithographic albums.

1852 Illustrations for the *Folies gauloises*.

1853 Journeys to Switzerland with his mother.

1854 Publication of *Oeuvres de Rabelais*, his first great success. Lithographic albums – *Les Différents Publics de Paris, Ménagerie Parisienne*, and wood engravings – *Histoire de la Sainte Russie*. His set of twelve strong social-realist works, *Paris tel qu'il est*, is not well received.

1855 Doré sends *Battle of Alma* and two landscapes to the Salon. His *Murder of Riccio* is refused. With Dalloz and Theophile Gautier makes first trip to Spain resulting in a book *Voyage aux Pyrénées*; also publishes Balzac's *Contes drolatiques*. His friend, the poet Gérard de Nerval, commits suicide, commemorated in a lithograph by Doré.

1856 During this year produces approximately 300 illustrations. Significant works include *La Légende du Juif Errant; Aventures du Chevalier Jaufre*. Also contributes to various journals including *Musée Français-Anglais* and the *Journal amusant*.

1857 Doré exhibits ten paintings at the Salon and receives an honorable mention for *The Battle of Inkermann*.

2. *The Murder of Riccio,* 1855, oil on canvas. 103 ¾ × 123 ¾ in. San Diego Museum of Art. Gift of Mark Gabrych

1860 Journey to Venice.

1861 Illustrations for *L'Enfer* (*Hell*) of Dante, which is a great success and plants the seed of an idea to illustrate literary masterpieces. At the Salon he shows a painting inspired by Dante. Doré is made a Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur.

1862 Spends time at Baden-Baden and travels to Spain again. Illustrations for *The Adventures of Baron Munchausen*, *Histoire du Capitaine Castagnette*, *Contes* by Perrault, and *La Mythologie du Rhin.*

1863 *Don Quichotte* by Cervantes; *Atala* by Chauteaubriand; and *Légende de Croque-Mitaine.*

1864 Invited by Napoleon III to spend ten days at Compiègne, establishing his reputation.

Doré at the center of French culture, friends with writers such as Dumas, Gautier, and Taine; musicians and performers, Liszt, Rossini, Saint-Saens, and Adelina Patti; and of other artists Hébert and Harpignies.

1865 Two paintings shown at the Salon and the State buys one —*The Angel Appearing to Tobias.*

1866 Doré settles into a new studio on the rue Bayard. Illustrations for *Capitaine Fracasse, Paradise Lost*, and the immensely popular *Sainte Bible* (*Holy Bible*).

1867 Exhibits large scale paintings at the Salon – *The Neophyte* and *Le Tapis vert*, which are then sent to London for exhibition there. Illustrations for *Fables* of La Fontaine and Tennyson's *Idylls of the King.*

3. Tennyson, *The Idylls of the King,* 1867. Original binding of Doré's edition. Private collection, New York

1868 Doré goes to England where he is already famous. Opening of the Doré Gallery in London dedicated to his work and he is commissioned to paint for it the huge *Triumph of Christianity.* Illustrations for Dante's *Purgatoire* and *Paradis.* In October he again spends time at Compiègne. Death of his good friend Rossini, whom he sketches on his deathbed.

1870 Doré enlists in the National Guard during the Franco-Prussian War, which inspires him to paint patriotic themes — *La Marseillaise*, *Le Chant du Départ*, *Le Rhin Allemand*, *The Black Eagle*, *The Enigma.*

1871 During the Commune of Paris, Doré takes refuge with his mother in Versailles. Series of caricatures (only published in 1907). Vacations in the Alps. First attempts at sculpture.

4. *Rossini on his Death Bed,* 1868, pencil. Musée Carnavalet, Paris

1872 Doré masters the process of etching and produces print version of *The Neophyte*. Completes the gigantic painting *Christ Leaving the Praetorium* and sends it to the Doré Gallery. Produces the book *London—A Pilgrimage* with text by the journalist Blanchard Jerrold.

1873 Trip to Scotland with Colonel Teesdale. Here he experiments with watercolor for landscape drawings.

1874 Return to England from Scotland.

1875 Popular success in London of *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* by Coleridge. Travels in the Vosges, Switzerland, and the Tyrol. Presented to Queen Victoria.

1877 Shows his first sculpture at the Salon – *La Parque et l'Amour. History of Crusades* by Michaud.

1878 At the Salon exhibits *La Gloire* and at the Exposition Universelle plaster version of his vase *Le Poème de la Vigne*. Completes statue of *The Dance* for opera house at Monaco to serve as pendant to Bernhardt's *Music*. Joins the Society of French Watercolorists.

1879 Doré is made an officer of the Légion d' honneur. Journey to the Swiss Alps. Illustrations to Ariosto's *Roland Furieux.*

1880 Doré's sculpture *The Madonna* wins a third class medal at the Salon.

1881 Death of the artist's mother. Begins work on a monument commemorating Alexandre Dumas.

1883 January 23, Doré dies. Posthumous publication of *The Raven*; Dumas's monument dedicated in Place Malesherbes.

5. *Doré on his Death Bed,* 1883, photograph. From Louis Dézé, "Bibliographie et catalogue complet de l'oeuvre de Doré," 1930


G.ve Doré
1866

Resurrecting Gustave Doré

ROBERT ROSENBLUM

It is an odd and telling coincidence that Gustave Doré and Edouard Manet were not only born in the same year, 1832, but they died in the same year, 1883. Given the conventional patterns of art history, their exact coexistence should be an oxymoron. Manet, pivotal to the concept of the avant-garde, has always represented everything that was adventurous and new in nineteenth-century art, whether categorized as Realism or Impressionism, and continues to occupy center stage in any reading of what happened between the 1850s and the 1880s. From this point of view, Doré might just as well have lived in another century, or at least have belonged more properly to a much earlier generation of artists who, by the 1820s, had been pigeon-holed under the rebellious banner of Romanticism. After all, it was then that young French artists began to thirst for ever more spine-tingling narratives in both contemporary and centuries-old literature, especially in works traditionally banished from the French classical literary canon, that is, works by such old and new foreigners as Dante and Shakespeare, Goethe and Byron. Doré, although not born until 1832, seems to spring from this soil. To be sure, his ambitions and achievements in terms of illustrating a staggeringly vast encyclopedia of world literature far exceeded anything dreamed of by the young Romantics. Yet like them, he continued to plunge us into fantastic extremes that can only be fully experienced behind closed eyes. From this embrace of invisible worlds, he could take us to such extraterrestrial climes as Milton's and Dante's visions of heaven and hell or to the arctic wastelands of Coleridge's imaginary voyages. And again and again, he could make us share such nightmare hallucinations as provided by Don Quixote's delusions, La Fontaine's grotesquely scaled animal societies of rats or grasshoppers, Rabelais's gargantuan humanoids, or Hugo's gigantic octopus (fig. 6). All of these apparitions are depicted within a *perpetuum mobile* of volcanic turbulence, in which figures and settings, light and darkness are adrift in an ocean of shattered chiaroscuro. Whether illustrating the Bible or Byron, Doré conceived his narratives as cosmic events taking place in a world far beyond the space-time coordinates of nineteenth-century life and even farther beyond the reach of terrestrial human scale. What could be less like Manet?

But at second glance, things may not be so black and white. Even thinking of Doré and Manet (figs. 7, 8) as exact contemporaries who presumably lived on separate planets, we discover that there are surprising convergences. For example, early in their careers, both artists bowed before Delacroix's *Bark of Dante*, though to be sure, in very different ways. In 1854, Manet, as part of the academic ritual of replicating the old masters, copied this painting, although he seems to have seen it through a lens that minimized its hellish narrative. Seven years later, at the Salon of 1861, Doré presented a group of paintings and drawings that, ignoring Delacroix's intense color and palpable flesh, pushed his infernal scene to far more extravagant extremes of scale and terror. Now, Dante

6. *Gilliat Struggles with the Giant Octopus*, illustration from *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*, by Victor Hugo, 1866

7. Félix Nadar, *Edouard Manet*, 1865. Musée d'Orsay, Paris

8. Félix Nadar, *Gustave Doré*. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

and Vergil voyage through sublime voids and shadows more appropriate to visions of the Book of Genesis or the Deluge than to those figural traditions of Rubens and Michelangelo that had supported Delacroix's youthful vision of the most corporeal of damned souls. But a more surprising fact is that, in the 1850s, at least part of Doré's prolific production might have made him a competitor for Baudelaire's title of *peintre de la vie moderne*, an honor the poet prematurely bestowed on Constantin Guys in 1859, but, had he waited only a year or two, might have given to Manet. The larger point, however, is that Doré, like Manet, as well as like Guys, Gavarni, and Daumier, even while soaring across Olympian heights and Stygian depths in an opiate delirium, always kept one foot rooted in the realities of modern Parisian life. As he amply and precociously demonstrated in the two albums of lithographs he published in 1854, *La Ménagerie parisienne* and *Différents publics de Paris*, Doré, if constantly perched on the brink of the abyss, could also offer a journalist's view of the widest spectrum of rich and poor at work and at play. His flâneur's repertory covered everything. There are Second Empire ladies in crinolines passing by us in a *calèche* (fig. 9) and outdoor audiences at a *café-concert* enjoying an evening's gas-lit entertainment of song and dance. There are glimpses of such lower depths as the men who clean Paris's new sewer systems or the women who launder clothing on the banks of the Seine (figs. 10, 11). All these themes, in fact, find endless counterparts in the work of those artists grouped within the genealogical table of social

9. *Les Lionnes*, lithograph, from *La Ménagerie parisienne*, Paris, 1854. Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

10. *Les rats d'égout*, lithograph, from *La Ménagerie parisienne*, Paris, 1854. Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

11. *Pies,* lithograph, from *La Ménagerie parisienne*, Paris, 1854. Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

observers dominated by Manet. Again and again, Doré joins forces with those renowned revolutionaries – Daumier, Courbet, Degas, Renoir – who lived in the present tense of mid-nineteenth-century French life.

But there are other unexpected convergences as well. Although many artists associated with Manet seem to have censored the trauma of the Franco-Prussian War out of their work, Manet did not, and neither did Doré who, born in Strasbourg, predictably responded in outrage to the German annexation in 1871 of his native Alsace, whose folkloric charm – peasant girls, gabled medieval facades, and wobbling, force-fed geese – he had evoked in a painting of 1869, just a year before France was stricken (figs. 12 and 163). Manet himself, who, under the Commune, enlisted as a lieutenant in the National Guard, also mirrored these nightmarish months in his pedestrian's view of grim vignettes from Parisian life, scenes as grisly as a glimpse of the corpses strewn before street barricades or as

12. Detail of fig. 163, *Alsace*, 1869, oil on canvas, 75 ½ × 50 in. Musée d'Art moderne et contemporain, Strasbourg

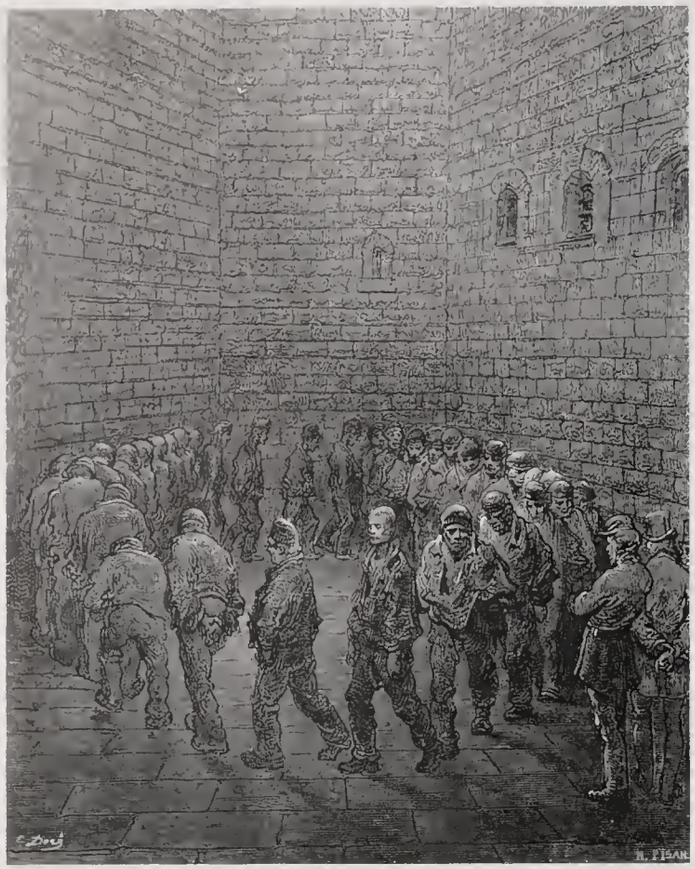
13. *At the Ramparts, National Guards*, 1870–71, pen, ink, and crayon on paper, 6 ⅜ × 9 ⅛ in. Musée Carnavalet, Paris

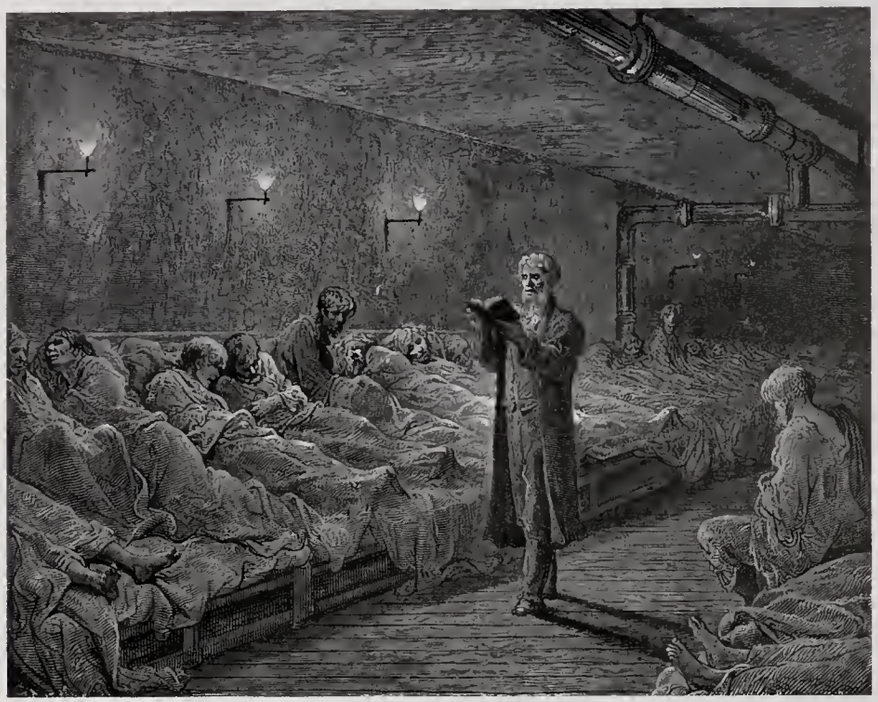
prosaic as the queues of well-dressed housewives waiting for their rations at the local butcher. Predictably, Doré, although he was quite able to document, like a photo-journalist, a street scene as uneventful as a member of the National Guard being visited by his wife and children (fig. 13), tended to elevate this national catastrophe to the level of high-minded allegory rather than reportorial fact. For him, as for such realist contemporaries as Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, the lofty patriotic symbolism of Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People* (fig. 31)and Rude's *La Marseillaise* beckoned once more, as in a tricolor-tinged lithograph he made in 1870 (fig. 29) or, most spectacularly, in his oppressive vision of the monstrous black eagle of Prussia attacking Doré's helpless motherland, one of a trio of paintings grouped under the title "Souvenirs de 1870" that were prompted by the terrible events of that year (fig. 48). This ability to shift from the empirical to the fantastic, when confronted with the unimaginable humiliation and death-toll of the Franco-Prussian war, was even shared by the earthbound Daumier, who could also move from the observable facts of Paris in 1870–71 to macabre allegory. His lithograph of 1871, *Horrified by the Inheritance* (fig. 72), represents a shrouded figure of La France as a towering mourner surveying an infinite field of corpses. In widening retrospect, the airtight domains that once seemed to separate Doré's world irrevocably from that of Manet's appear far more porous. As a final example of how, in the French phrase, *les extrêmes se touchent*, it should be mentioned that in the last decade of their lives, both Manet and Doré made illustrations to Poe's *The Raven* (figs. 14, 15), once more suggesting how artists who are contemporaries, even if they appear to live in totally different universes, may unexpectedly overlap.

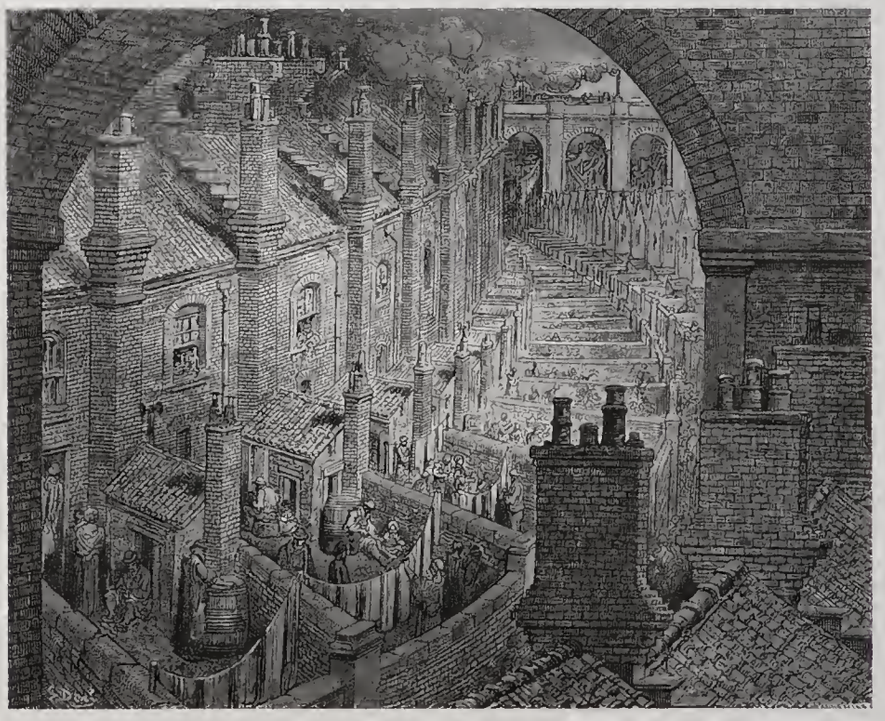
For Doré we need new ways of integrating him into the history of nineteenth-century art, of reassessing his countless connections with the work of his contemporaries, whether French or foreign. Looked at it as a whole, Doré's production has a far wider and more contradictory range than the inherited image of him as a febrile illustrator who was more than up to the challenge of making visible the imaginary journeys of the Ancient Mariner or Sinbad the Sailor and who prophesied Hollywood's fullest battery of spectacle and horror films. His posthumous image, in fact, was so clearly, if narrowly, defined that H.P. Lovecraft, an early twentieth-century master of horror stories, could describe a spine-tingling escape from a haunted house as "a piece of delirium out of Poe or Rimbaud or the drawings of Doré."[1] Is this the same Doré who, for example, could become in 1987 an essential part of *Hard Times*, an exhibition about Social Realism in Victorian art?[2] His well-known illustrated book, *London: A Pilgrimage*, begun in 1869 in collaboration with the journalist and fiction-writer William Blanchard Jerrold and finally published in 1872, after the Franco-Prussian War, seems to wed two very different artists – one who sees the world as an infinity of particular facts and one who seems happier responding to the supernatural extremes of the Bible and *Orlando Furioso*. For here, Doré merged what was at once Dante and Vergil's voyages to heaven and hell and a tourist's eye at large in a contemporary urban cosmos that could offer theatrical extremes of pleasure and suffering. As a French visitor who would respond to the grimmer realities of nineteenth-century London, Doré had been preceded by both Géricault and Gavarni. Inevitably, their London themes may converge (both Géricault and Doré, for example, depicted boxing matches);

14. Edouard Manet, *Perched upon a bust of Pallas (Raven on the Bust)*, 1875, brush and ink transfer relief plate on chine paper for a portfolio of Poe's *The Raven*, 19 × 12 13/16 in. The Baltimore Museum of Art, the George A. Lucas Collection

15. *Perched upon a bust of Pallas just above my chamber door—Perched, and sat, and nothing more*, wood engraving from Poe's *The Raven*, 1884. Private collection







16. *Prisoners Exercising at Newgate Prison*, engraving from *London: A Pilgrimage*, by Blanchard Jerrold (London, 1872). Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

17. *Reading Scripture*, engraving from *London: A Pilgrimage*, by Blanchard Jerrold (London, 1872). Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

18. *Over London by Rail*, engraving from *London: A Pilgrimage*, by Blanchard Jerrold (London, 1872). Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

but in general, unlike the earlier French scenes of London life, which are scaled to the narrow, earth-bound views of a pedestrian, Doré's transform the infinite details of gas-lit streets, race tracks, garden parties, poor houses, opium dens, prisons, the beer industry, homeless families (figs. 135–6 and 138–9) into phantom spectacles that can be experienced both as social documentation, embracing in detail even the luxury and penury of Victorian clothing, and as a fantastic voyage to a modern version of the *Divine Comedy* or Piranesi's *Prisons*. So it is that any consideration of those Victorian artists who, like William Frith, Frank Holl, or Hubert von Herkomer, could provide documentary

panoramas of everything from the cheerful bustle of the race track and the seaside resort to the suicidal despair of unwed mothers, must leave a large place for Doré. And it is not only the reportorial aspect of his work that registers so forcefully, but also his compassion, a response most famously reflected in Van Gogh's copy of Doré's print that documents the hopeless inmates of Newgate Prison doing their daily round of exercise in the confines of an octagonal yard (fig. 16) or in the written comments on his enthusiasm for Doré's entire series of London prints, which he finds "noble in sentiment," particularly singling out the heartbreaking scene of the faithful Christian reading the scriptures by gas-light to the bed-ridden residents of a refuge home (fig. 17).[3] It was an image whose mixture of sympathy for the poor and missionary Christianity must have fitted perfectly into Van Gogh's early evangelical ambitions as a lay preacher. But as with Van Gogh, empathy and precise observation coexist in Doré's visual universe; and it is worth noting here that in a catalogue essay by Jonathan Ribner for a recent exhibition underlining the importance of London's foggy, polluted air as an objective stimulus to the aesthetic vapors clouding the urban visions of Turner, Whistler, and Monet, Doré's London prints were given pride of place in their evocation of what was dubbed "the London Sublime," an infinite stretch of phantom veils enveloping the Lilliputian population of a vast metropolis.[4] In *Over London by Rail* (fig. 18), a typical print from the series, we have a perfect example of the potential richness of art-historical and documentary experience that may be gleaned from Doré's achievement. Here, like Dante and Vergil perched above a chasm, we may look down at the infernal details of Victorian slum-dwellings beneath a railway track, scrutinizing the toxic blanket of soot and smoke that covers the heart-rending facts of clothes-lines hung with never-to-be-white linens, of large, dirt-poor families huddled together for warmth and comfort. But this mixture of Dante and Dickens also features on the distant horizon a railway bridge with the profile view of a steam engine puffing its way across the Thames, an image that cuts deep into the history of modern art, whether seen in the optimistic visions of progress that Monet extracted from the new railway bridge at Argenteuil, as a train was spotted crossing the Seine, or in the proto-Surrealist dreamscapes of de Chirico, whose silhouetted trains immobilized on distant horizons feel no less at home in what finally turns out to be Doré's vision of overwhelming mystery and longing.

Doré's thousands of illustrations to literature and his *London: A Pilgrimage* have always belonged to the visual heritage of the nineteenth century and, still today, in the early twenty-first century will come as no surprise.[5] But what is barely known about the full range of Doré's achievement is that he was not only a hugely successful and productive illustrator and print-maker, but also a painter and sculptor of enormous ambition who, from 1848 to 1879, exhibited regularly at the Paris Salon. This fact kept disappearing from public view, especially in his native country; and even in his lifetime, Doré felt that his career had been torn apart by his parallel artistic lives, referring to himself as his own rival, the serious painter who was neglected because of the international success of his book illustrations. Moreover, his critical reception in France was always lukewarm, and reached a point of insult when Zola, in 1876, recommended that Doré throw away his paintbrush and pick up his pen again.[6] Doré's fears that his ambitions as a painter would be crushed by his fame as an illustrator more than came true. Even today the Musée d'Orsay, with its encyclopedic anthology of later nineteenth-century painting, has only a single canvas by Doré, *The Enigma* (fig. 73), one of the three dispersed allegories of the Franco-Prussian War, and this acquired in 1982, four years before the museum opened. And even when his canvases do turn up in public collections, they are often forgotten by curators, at times being so huge that they remain rolled up and unseen, still deemed unworthy of the care and wall space they would need to be put on public display.

In fact, the tepid critical responses to the paintings Doré exhibited at the Paris Salon may, ironi-

cally, have been confirmed by his huge triumphs abroad, especially in London, where, from 1868 until 1892, a decade after his death, he maintained, under his own name, an ongoing blockbuster show at the Doré Gallery, 35 New Bond Street. Millions of visitors thronged to see his work, in the same way that in 1820 a street audience had flocked to see Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa*, exhibited at William Bullock's Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly as if it were a spectacle that offered cheap theatrical thrills rather than as a great painting that would end up in the Louvre. Always hoping that his paintings would be praised by the elite, not by the masses who already loved his book illustrations, Doré must have accepted his popular success reluctantly, as if it disqualified him from the Olympus of painters to which he always aspired.

In his paintings and drawings, he often expanded the subjects illustrated in his books, spectacular and supernatural scenes from Dante, Milton, and the Bible, much as he could also embrace the wilder shores of classical mythology. A case in point is *Les Océanides* (fig. 168), inspired by Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, a drama that triggered Doré to cast the spectator adrift in the menacing, primeval nature familiar to his prints, now metamorphosed as paint on canvas. We are plunged into a savage trio of stormy sky, foaming sea, and craggy rock, upon which the tortured Prometheus has been chained. The apocalyptic mood, as in the *Fall of the Titans* (fig. 167), is that of the Biblical Deluge, another favorite theme of Doré that would take us to the limits of despair. Here, the water nymphs, daughters of Titan, lament Prometheus's fate, clinging to the rocks and circling above the waters, below the darkening clouds. Their nude bodies, contorted in grief, also have the sexual appeal of mermaids who might lure men to a tragic fate. This dreamlike vision of a Greek theme moves into the territory of later nineteenth-century art, when *femmes fatales* proliferated in every guise. We are not far here from Arnold Boecklin's classical fantasies, a genealogical table that would take us to de Chirico and beyond. It is appropriate, in fact, that Doré's *Océanides* now belongs to an artist long associated with the Surrealists, Dorothea Tanning.

Yet there is also an abundance of earthbound themes in any anthology of Doré's paintings, including *The Neophyte* (figs. 105, 108–10 and 112), an image he recreated in many drawn and painted variations and one that makes an important contribution to the flourishing nineteenth-century category of humoristic glimpses into the worldly aspects of the monastic life.[7] Here we watch the revelation, both poignant and entertaining, of a novice in his exalted profession, a young monk who discovers that his brothers are nothing more than a society of bored and graceless old men who might just as soon be found in a secular home for the aged. Doré's submissions to the Salon also belong to the mid-century passion for Spain and its art. It was a passion encouraged by the display of 450 Spanish paintings at the Galerie Espagnole in the Louvre between 1838 and 1848 through the years of Napoleon III (whose empress, Eugénie de Montijo, was a Spanish countess who, among other things, promoted bullfighting in France) and was a constant stimulus for artists, tourists, writers, musicians. Bizet, Gautier, Courbet, Dehodencq and Manet were all fascinated by this partly exotic culture, as was Doré, who, thinking of illustrating *Don Quixote* (also a favorite inspiration for Daumier's paintings during the Second Empire), finally made the trip to Spain in 1862.[8] Like most of his compatriots, not to mention such American visitors as Eakins and Cassatt, Doré mirrored the more folkloric aspects of Spanish life, much as he would do in his paintings of regional France (Alsace, Savoie), predictably choosing to depict gypsies, siestas, beggar families, picturesque street scenes (fig. 166). Such glimpses from the lives of the anonymous lower classes are, in fact, found throughout Doré's repertory, perhaps most memorably in *Les Saltimbanques* (fig. 19) an impressively large painting of 1874 that, with hindsight, now becomes a major link between Daumier's and Picasso's fascination for the poignant realities to be found in the private lives of street entertainers.[9]

19. *Les Saltimbanques*, 1874, oil on canvas, 88 ⅛ × 72 ½ in. Musée Bargoin et du Ranquet, Clermont-Ferrand

20. François Biard, *View of Polar Sea, Greenlanders Hunting Walrus*. Musée du Château, Dieppe

21. Eugène Isabey, *Shipwreck of the Three-Masted Ship "L'Emily" in 1823*, 1865, oil on canvas, 78 ¼ × 135 ⅛ in. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes

22. *Lake in Scotland*, ca. 1875–80, oil on canvas, 35 ½ × 51 ⅛ in. Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture, Grenoble

But perhaps the most important and unfamiliar aspect of Doré the painter is his enormous production of landscapes, often almost as dramatic and as geographically adventurous as his book illustrations. His three decades of submissions to the Salon featured the sensational dramas of the mountains and valleys that thrilled him in his travels through the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Vosges, and the most mysterious reaches of Scotland. Although at first glance, these landscapes, like his book illustrations, might seem art-historical anachronisms, belonging more properly to much earlier Romantic generations of landscape artists, those of Cozens and Turner, Wolf and Friedrich, they are very much part of a continuous tradition of sublime landscape painting that persisted through the mid-century, both in France and abroad. The prominent historical role given to the revolutionary landscape painting of Courbet and the Impressionists has tended to obscure the pictorial traditions of their contemporaries who never stopped exploring a vision of nature as terrifying in its infinite grandeur and power. Even here, however, there are surprising points of convergence. When Courbet and Doré were confronted with the breathtaking vistas of Switzerland they both chose the same site, when painting their views of La Tour-de-Peilz in Lake Geneva.[10] But more broadly speaking, Doré is best seen as part of the ongoing fascination with the wildest extremes of nature that captivated both artists and their international audiences throughout the nineteenth century. It is important to remember, for example, the continuous presence in mid-century Paris of the shuddering extremes of Romantic marine and landscape painting, whether in the arctic ice-scapes of François Biard (fig. 20), which might even be the setting for Doré's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, or the awesome Alpine views that such Swiss painters as François Diday and Alexandre Calame exhibited in Paris.[11] Moreover, many of the violent shipwreck paintings that flourished in France as elsewhere in the mid-century,

share the engulfing drama of Doré's seas. A case in point is Eugène Isabey's *Shipwreck of the Emily in 1823*, an enormous painting shown at the Salon of 1865, where spectators, perhaps turning from Manet's perplexingly cool *Jesus Mocked by Soldiers* at the same exhibition, must have been thrilled by the lethal force of the storm-tossed sea that threatens to spill over the ten-foot wide frame (fig. 21). But perhaps even closer to Doré's vision of a primal natural world, and related to his huge popular success in England, if not in France, were the Anglo-American masters of sublime landscape, most particularly Frederic Edwin Church. It is telling that at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867 Church caught international attention with two huge, panoramic vistas of remote geographic wonders, *Niagara* and *Rainy Season in the Tropics* (he received the silver medal for the former painting), and elicited excited responses from, among others, Jean-Léon Gérôme, who saw here the beginning of a genuine American tradition. Many of Doré's landscapes, whether they seclude us in the vertical majesty of pine trees in the Alps or terrify us with the fearful turbulence of a Scottish lake seen after a storm worthy of the Book of Genesis (fig. 22), would feel completely at home in any anthology of what has come to be called the American Sublime. And often, when his landscapes stun us with the unnatural calm of measureless silence and light, they feel equally akin to what has been called American Luminism.

It was not only Sublime landscape, however, that engaged Doré the painter, but Sublime Christianity, whose ineffable mysteries he kept evoking in canvases of megalomaniac scale and size. And even when their dimensions were literally small, their infinite expanses produced extraterrestial effects, as if the material, not to mention the contemporary, world had been left light-years behind. These voyages into the Christian supernatural, the kind that were sure to draw crowds in London, were in fact part of a long nineteenth-century tradition of painted religious spectacles, a kind of wide-screen theater of religion. In London, Doré's most conspicuous predecessor was Benjamin West, who, in his last years, began to show his largest and most spectacular Biblical paintings not only at the Royal Academy, of which he was then President, but in the more commercial gallery space at 125 Pall Mall, where works like *Death on a Pale Horse* (fig. 23), *Christ Healing the Sick*, and *Christ Rejected* would both thrill and edify the cash-paying customers. And after his death, in 1820, his financially shrewd sons set up "West's Picture Gallery" in Newman Street, where such paintings became a popular entertainment to rival wax museums and theater, a preview of the role of the Doré Gallery in later nineteenth-century London.[12] The tradition of painted Bible spectacles was, in fact, rich and continuous in the nineteenth century and can offer Doré many companions. In London, John Martin, for one, soon occupied the territory staked out by West, exhibiting mammoth spell-binders in among other places the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, where the *Raft of the Medusa* had already been shown. And much to the point of Doré's London – Paris axis, Martin's work, which included an anthology of apocalyptic subjects, especially from the Bible, was extremely well-known among poets and painters in France,[13] not only in engravings but through, for example, the *Deluge*, a huge painting the artist submitted to the Salon of 1835.[14] It is no surprise then that Doré's work often feels so close to Martin's, whose prints and paintings, with subjects like the *Destruction of Babel, The Great Day of His Wrath*, and even supernatural landscapes like the *Plains of Heaven* must have given the French artist both nourishment and a spirit of competition.

One example, among many, of these close connections may be seen in Doré's large painting of 1877, *Calvary* (also titled *Crucifixion*) (fig. 24), a vast plain of monumental gloom that may distantly recall Rembrandt's famous print, the *Three Crosses*.[15] But in its turbulent theatrics of scale and thunder, it may be more of a branch off Martin's tree, as disseminated, for instance, through the engraving of his own reading of the *Crucifixion* (1830).

23. Benjamin West, *Death on a Pale Horse*, 1817, oil on canvas, 176 × 301 in. The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

24. *Calvary* (*Crucifixion*), 1877, oil on canvas, 43 ¼ × 67 in. Musée d'Art moderne et contemporain, Strasbourg

25. Antoine Wiertz, *The Triumph of Christ*, 1848, oil on canvas, 246 × 434 ¼ in. Musée Wiertz, Brussels

26. Léon-François Comerre, *The Deluge*, 1911, oil on canvas, 135 ½ × 176 ¾ in. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes

And one more artist, this one Belgian, may be added to this strange fraternity of artists both visionary and popular, Antoine Wiertz, whose Brussels studio has become a pilgrimage site for those in search of the most megalomaniac extremes of dimension and fantasy in nineteenth-century painting. There one can see, among other jaw-dropping canvases, *The Triumph of Christ*, perhaps a candidate, at almost thirty-seven feet in width, for the Guinness Book of Records (fig. 25). Wiertz's painting was internationally renowned – both the Russian and Prussian governments bid extravagant sums for it (unsuccessfully, since Wiertz wanted to keep it) and like his other paintings, whether supernaturally Christian or grotesquely secular, has often been viewed as the aberrant product of an insanely ambitious eccentric. But looking once more for members of Doré's strange brotherhood, it is worth noting that his own version of the same theme, *The Triumph of Christianity* (fig. 81), takes place in the same supernatural ethers as Wiertz's, with good and evil, light and dark, pitted against each other in an explosive finale that leaves the audience gasping as the curtain comes down.

It is tempting to think that the legacy of Doré and the flamboyant dynasty of artists to which he belongs expired by the end of the nineteenth century. But whether survival or revival, a canvas of 1911, may give us pause. In Léon Comerre's *Deluge* (fig. 26), another mega-canvas at twelve-feet wide, naked humans and beasts writhe in a dark volcano of horror that might even make Doré envious. But this was painted in 1911, the pivotal year for all the twentieth-century "isms" that would bury the art of the nineteenth century. Survival or revival, Comerre's painting tells us that the ghost of Doré would have a long afterlife.

L'Année Terrible and Political Imagery

LISA SMALL

Between July 1870 and March 1871, France suffered a crushing defeat in its war with Prussia, the Second Empire of Napoleon III vanished almost overnight, and Paris endured a brief, but bloody civil conflict known as the Commune. This unfortunate period, christened *L'année terrible* (the terrible year) by Victor Hugo, was also a significant chapter in the personal and professional life of Gustave Doré. As a native of Strasbourg, a city routed and besieged by the Prussian army early in the war, Doré had particularly strong feelings about the events unfolding around him, which he expressed in numerous drawings, prints, and paintings.

Doré has been described as both a realist and a visionary—his bleak drawings of the poor in Victorian London or his lively scenes of contemporary Parisian life, for example, make a stark contrast to the hallucinatory illustrations he made for Dante's *Inferno* or Rabelais' *Gargantua* (figs. 136, 123).[1] This thematic and stylistic duality is evident as well in his images related to the Franco–Prussian war, which range from documentary sketches and paintings of the siege and bombardment of Paris, to rousing battle fantasies and grim allegories of the war and its aftermath. And in his major paintings of the era—*The Defense of Paris*, *The Black Eagle of Prussia*, and *The Enigma*—the symbolic and the documentary appear side by side. In these pictures, on battlefields still charged with the possibility of victory and on those already littered with the proof of defeat, the closely observed uniforms, bayonets, broken cannons, and dead soldiers coexist with an allegorical figure that, for Doré, literally embodied the valor, strength, and, ultimately, the misery of the country and its people during the tumultuous year of war and siege.

In July of 1870 Napoleon III received the alarming news that Leopold Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a cousin of Kaiser Wilhelm I of Prussia, had been selected to ascend the Spanish throne. Napoleon demanded that the Hohenzollern candidate be withdrawn, fearing not only a Spanish-Prussian alliance but, more significantly, the Prussian Chancellor Otto von Bismarck's ultimate goal—the unification of Germany. When negotiations broke down, Napoleon III declared war on Prussia.[2] This declaration, on July 19, 1870, was the beginning of what would prove to be the swift end of an era. Criticized at home and abroad for its decadence and ostentation, the Second Empire had fallen by early September of 1870 and the Third Republic of France was born.

At first, France was confident of victory over Prussia, emboldened by its history of military triumphs, particularly those associated with the current Emperor's uncle, Napoleon Bonaparte. Émile Zola limned this attitude in a passage from his epic retrospective novel of the Franco-Prussian war, *The Debacle* (1892). In it, an idealistic soldier immersed in his grandfather's tales of the Grande Armée, envisions past glories informing the war that has just begun:

27. *L'Année Terrible*, graphite, pen and ink, brush and sepia ink on paper, 15 ½ × 14 in. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Gift of R.B.F. Barr, 1963

> Whatever the battle, the flags floated with the same swirl of glory on the evening air and the same cries of *Vive Napoleon* re-echoed as the camp fires were lit on conquered positions, everywhere France was at home as a conqueror and carried her invincible eagles from end to end of Europe. She had only to plant her foot on a foreign realm and the defeated peoples were swallowed up in the earth.[3]

Doré seemed less assured than Zola's fictional soldier when he referred to the looming confrontation with Prussia in a letter to his friend the Reverend Frederick Kill Harford, the Minor Canon of Westminster Abbey in London, written a week after the declaration of war:

> You have understood, dear friend, the sad reason why I have put off my projected journey to London—a gigantic and terrible war, which puts France in a fever and on fire! You will understand how, under such circumstances, I should be disinclined to be absent from the country where all are uniting against the common danger which may come. Then, again, great news is expected from day to day; ... My brother Emile, the captain, has just written to us that his division is about to take the field.[4]

According to one of his primary biographers, however, Doré shared the optimistic mood that gripped France in the early days of the war: "[W]hen war broke out over his country, his exultation knew no bounds, and he seized his pencil, and it became a weapon in his hands by which he stimulated the ardor of his countrymen. The large drawings which he sent forth during the war are so many patriotic inspirations."[5] In Blanche Roosevelt's flattering biography of Doré he is described as "an ardent patriot" by one of his closest friends.[6]

But Doré's patriotism was not necessarily synonymous with political support for Emperor Napoleon III, who was widely considered to be the war's instigator. Although he was the grandson of a Napoleonic officer killed at Waterloo, Doré apparently considered himself a legitimist, believing that the throne of France should be restored to the Bourbon line.[7] Yet whatever his specific political allegiances were (a topic largely absent from the published accounts of his life), Doré enjoyed the Second Empire court's favor, frequently attending balls and fêtes and staying several times as a personal guest of the Emperor and Empress Eugénie at their chateau at Compiègne. Zola mentioned Doré among the regular court fixtures in an article that viciously skewers the Emperor's taste:

> M. Gustave Doré, a delightful sketcher who is past master at opening a cotillion, represents almost every year the arts. M. Edmond About, a charming story-teller whose dream is to reduce politics to naughty little anecdotes, is present in the name of French literature. Science, naturally, deputizes all those directors and professors whose salaries eat deepest into public funds. It is clear that only the averagely good are ever chosen, firstly because the above-average are unsociable, unapproachable people, and secondly because mediocrities make highly entertaining company. The genius of France can stay home; Compiègne contents itself with amusing nonentities. Courbet, Hugo, and Littré do not exist for the court, but a great fuss is made of MM. Doré, About and LeVerrier.[8]

Despite the official court's high esteem, Doré twice declined an imperial invitation to the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. In her account of the incident, Roosevelt provides "the artist's own words on the subject:"

> His Majesty was most kind, most amiable. He had asked me once to go to Suez, and I had made some excuse, so I scarcely expected a second invitation. It came, however, and I refused

28. *The Shades of French Soldiers from the Past Exhort the Army to Victory on the Rhine*, ca. 1870, brown wash and gouache with white gouache on wove paper, laid down on cardboard, 25 13/16 × 35 13/16 in. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, Dyke Fund

> it positively. The Emperor looked surprised and half offended. He bit his lip and observed, 'Pray let us say no more about it.'[9]

Roosevelt reminds her readers that by 1869 Napoleon III was not enjoying the popularity he once did, and repeats an observation she claims was made by Doré's own mother, "that [Doré] was seen too often at Bonaparte houses." But wanting to downplay his public association with an Emperor of waning stature was not the reason Doré refused the imperial invitation to Suez. Doré claimed it was simply because he feared that the new people and customs to which he would be exposed while abroad would "instill new thoughts into my mind, and upset all my present train of work ... I am too old to attempt new departures in art."[10]

His opinions of the Emperor and his regime notwithstanding, Doré was certainly inspired by the French troops on the eve of battle with Prussia:

> Alsatian by birth, at the first news of war with Prussia his heart went back to the Rhine. He already saw the French army triumphantly crossing that river which he had so often crossed, and this hope supplied him with the subject of one of his finest sketches ... [Doré] saw there modern Zouaves, wearing the honours of Africa and Lombardy, saluted by the soldiers of the first Empire, and the Republic uprising from her tomb at the sound of the French clarion. He also saw the armies of Condé assisting at this marvellous march, and again carrying into Germany the heroes of Friedland and Jena ... [11]

The sketch mentioned is likely the drawing dating from August 1870 called *The Shades of French Soldiers*, described in one notice as a "patriotic contribution by M. Doré to the war-like enthusiasm of the day ... one calculated to stir a Frenchman's blood, and to excite the meditation and poetic feeling of M. Doré to its highest flight" (fig. 28).[12] Another writer suggested that the subject of this drawing was the idea of the Emperor himself, who

29. After Doré, *The Marseillaise*, 1870, color lithograph. Private collection

30. François Rude, *The Marseillaise* or *The Departure of the Volunteers in 1792*. 1833–36. Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile, Paris

31. Eugène Delacroix, *Liberty Leading the People, July 28, 1830*, 1830, oil on canvas, 102 ¾ × 128 in. Louvre, Paris

> was anxious that that the peculiar genius of the painter should employ itself in producing some characteristic memorial of the reign. When the fatal war against Prussia was declared, Doré was commissioned to paint a grand picture of the crossing of the Rhine by the resistless legions of France. I have heard that the idea was to introduce upon the canvas a spectral host of the dead soldiers of France who did cross the Rhine, watching in pride over the prowess of their descendants.[13]

Zola's fictional soldier in *The Debacle* could have referred to this image to express his belief that France's current path to victory was paved with, and ensured by, the glory of French victories past. Doré himself was inspired by Alfred de Musset's patriotic and defiant poem of 1841, *The German Rhine*, which proclaimed confidently "where the father crossed, the child will also cross."[14]

Another picture from 1870, *The Marseillaise* (fig. 29), offered a similar exhortation to victory in

32. After Doré, *The Marseillaise*, 1870–71, albumen print

33. After Doré, *Song of Departure*, 1870–71, albumen silver print, 15 × 19 ⅞ in. Musée Goupil, Bordeaux

34. After Doré, *The Road to Jerusalem*, from *The History of the Crusades*, by Joseph-François Michaud (Paris, 1877)

the shape of a robed female figure, her mouth open in a war cry, advancing across a field accompanied by an enthusiastic regiment. For this composition, Doré clearly relied on the stirring prototypes of Eugène Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People* (1830) and François Rude's *The Marseillaise* (*The Departure of the Volunteers of 1792*) (figs. 30, 31). Like Rude's Genius of Liberty, Doré's figure in *The Marseillaise* holds a sword aloft in one hand, pointing the way for the crowd of ragged soldiers around her, the standard in her other hand billowing behind her in place of wings. She is also a sister to Delacroix's robust woman of the people, marching amid the ranks of fighters (among which, like Delacroix, Doré included a young, armed boy), and seeming at once to belong in this world and in the realm of allegory.

Doré made a number of drawings that were variations on the Marseillaise theme, and apparently planned one for each couplet of the famous song first adopted by the Convention as the French national anthem in 1792.[15] The stirring revolutionary song, composed in Doré's hometown of

Strasbourg by Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle, was inextricably linked with republican ideals. When those ideals were threatening to the French ruler, as they were during the Second Empire of Napoleon III, the song was banned. As Roosevelt points out "it should be remembered that when [Doré] painted this great picture the strains of Rouget de Lisle's inspired song were not often heard on the Parisian ramparts." But by late August of 1870 the censored song was, in fact, heard more and more frequently in public, as the current conflict with Prussia began to conjure memories of the French Revolution and its aftermath.[16] Although it was still officially seditious, the song was even performed on stage by several popular actresses and singers of the day.[17]

Indeed, Doré may have been inspired to compose his *Marseillaise* and *Song of Departure* (figs. 32, 33)—a similar image based on another popular song of the French Revolution—to capitalize on the correlation between the nationalistic fervor that marked both the early days of the Franco–Prussian war and the Revolution of 1789. For the publishing house of Goupil & Cie, the war and the country's patriotic mood provided a wonderful sales opportunity. They began marketing prints made after paintings that depicted enthusiastic citizens volunteering to defend the First Republic in 1792, imagery that clearly resonated with a population now eager to defend what, by September 1870, was already the young Third Republic.[18] It is not surprising, then, that among the lithographs listed in Goupil's October 1870 catalogue was Doré's *Marseillaise* and its pendant, *The Shades of French Soldier*. *The Song of Departure* was also available as part of their popular Photographic Gallery series. Because they appeared as prints so quickly, it is probable that Doré made his original monochromatic works with this medium in mind, aware of their appeal to a mass market. Jerrold corroborates this circumstance in his comment on Doré's war imagery: "These noble drawings from the inspired pencil of the incomparable draughtsman and master of light and shade, acted like warrior's hymns upon the French people. They crowded the windows of the print-shops, to gaze upon and gossip about them."[19]

But the journalist Edmond Duranty was unimpressed with Doré's Marseillaise imagery, denouncing it as a commercialized example of the fantasy vision of battle and victory prevalent in the early days of the war:

> Gustave Doré, prolific creator of drawings, hastens to diffuse throughout the art market a symbolic *Marseillaise* of his own devising. It is odd in that it presents quite effectively the romantic concepts of tumultuous and picturesque scenic effects upon which we have subsisted since 1792. This accords well with the belief that all that is needed to obliterate the enemy are sticks, knives, rocks, and a riotous crowd chanting patriotic hymns. One does not have the slightest inkling of the mechanistic, grasping, regimented nature of the battle to come. One is surrounded by a circus like atmosphere. *Les Frances*, helmeted and victorious, at the forefront of unruly gangs, swarm beneath the pencil of departing symbolists. The naïve imagery clumsily echoes Rude's bas-relief in its *oaths of the brave* and its *Volunteers of 1870* guiding Victory.[20]

A similarly negative review in *The Art Journal* harshly indicts Doré's visualization of the *Marseillaise*, as well as the song itself, for valorizing what proved to be a dangerously ineffectual defense:

> ... we looked with no small eagerness to the idealization, by the author of the Christian Martyr, of "the Marseillaise." Alas for France, if such be her gods! If the serried battalions of her foes were all composed of men of such exquisite culture that they would be arrested in their march by screaming out of tune, then the masculine, disreputable, undressed harridan

who advances, with a large sword in one hand an a banner in the other, yelling forth a rhapsody, would be a very effective national guardian. Around this genius of the revolution is grouped a very photographer's gallery of frantic faces, all yelling to the same old tune. We mourn for anyone who can find the slightest gleam of manhood, martial worth, high unblenching courage, or appeal to any noble quality, in such childish and unmeaning dissonance. It has been by a terrible lesson the past month has taught France that paper soldiers and paper victories are not all that is requisite for safety, and that truth, in the long run, is the only safe policy. Frenchmen can fight well—there is no doubt of that; but to scream is not to fight.[21]

Whether critically appreciated or not, the ubiquitous female figure of battle that appears repeatedly in Doré's war imagery resonated in the public imagination. Like Delacroix and Rude before him, Doré relied upon a number of sources to create a composite, yet immediately recognizable figure. Roosevelt described her as a "Goddess of Victory," and Doré did frequently supply his figure with powerful, feathered wings, clearly identifying her as a descendent of Nike, the ancient Greek personification of Victory.[22] In 1863 the French archeologist Charles Champoiseau unearthed on the Greek island of Samothrace the most famous classical statue of a Nike, known now as the Winged Victory of Samothrace.[23] Placed in the hall of classical statuary in the Louvre in 1867, her forceful stride, clinging drapery and dynamic wings dramatically affected the public's conception of the image of victory, and surely provided Doré with a model for his own battlefield goddess.[24]

Doré's "Angel of War," as another writer interpreted her, also bears a striking resemblance to the plentiful Christian angels that soar through the artist's biblical imagery in works like *The Ascension* (fig. 97).[25] This similarity has a precise iconographical basis. In the early years of Christianity, artists co-opted the image of the winged Roman goddess *Victoria* (herself an assimilated version of the Greek *Nike*), and converted her into a hovering angel to represent the triumph of Christianity over paganism.[26] Doré certainly recognized the winged figure's adaptability, even recapitulating—in reverse—its original metamorphosis within his own work. In another version he made of *The Marseillaise* theme, the goddess rises in the air on mighty wings above an army, urging them on to victory with a sword and lit torch in her outstretched arms (fig. 32). Several years later, for the illustration *The Road to Jerusalem* in the historian Joseph-François Michaud's *History of the Crusades* (originally published 1812–17), Doré recycled this composition, transforming the French soldiers into Crusaders, and the goddess into a floating Christian angel who still holds a sword, but whose torch has been replaced by a cross-topped banner (fig. 34).

While the classical and religious connotations of the female figure presiding over Doré's war imagery contributed to her contextual legibility, they remained merely constituent elements of a much broader, more complicated symbolic order. Her other accoutrements, which appear together in various combinations in different pictures—a crown of laurels, wings, torch, sword, and, most important, the distinctive Phrygian cap or bonnet—have a long history in French visual culture, high and low. They identify her as an "angel of the Republic," an entity that, after relatively brief but momentous tours of duty in 1792, 1830, and 1848, was resurrected again at the fall of the Second Empire.[27]

The personification of the French Republic dates from 1792, when the government of the Convention decreed that France's state seal include an allegorical figure of Liberty.[28] Having no attributes of its own, an image of the Republic was composed using elements drawn from various other symbolic figures, most notably the Roman personification of freedom, *Libertas*, who wore the soft, cone-shaped Phrygian cap traditionally worn by emancipated slaves in ancient Rome.

35. *Liberty Triumphing over Tyranny*, ca. 1865–75, brown wash and gray and white gouache with graphite on beige wove paper, 18 × 13 in. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Collection of Mrs. Muriel Butkin

Following the precedents of such classical personifications, and the fact that the words *liberté* and *république* are feminine in the French language (as is the country, La France), the Republic was first conceived as a female figure, making manifest the revolution's rejection of the patriarchal monarchy and the literal elimination of the king's body as the central signifier of the French nation.[29] Around the same revolutionary period this allegorical female figure appeared on stamps, coins and other official documents and began to be known as Marianne. The origin of this name is not clear; it had religious overtones, but it was also quite commonplace, and throughout the nineteenth century the Republic's enemies used it derisively when they wished to emphasize the populist agenda she symbolized.

Marianne's iconography was again re-interpreted during the revolutionary year of 1848, when the government organized an open competition for artists to create an official figure of the Second Republic.[30] Although no winner was declared, the entries by painters as diverse as Honoré Daumier and Jean-Léon Gérôme, illustrate the rich—but somewhat muddled—field of representations that continued to inform Doré's later variations on the Republic figure. Like the entries in the 1848 contest, Doré's allegorical figure of the 1870s represents a generalized amalgamation of the attributes of several ancient, mostly Roman, personifications. The strong wings and laurel crown are those of *Victoria*. For *The Marseillaise*, Doré seems also to have been inspired by *Bellona*, the war and battle goddess who carried a sword and a lit torch. And, as previously mentioned, *Libertas* provided what had remained the figure's most salient emblem since 1792: the Phrygian cap.

Including the Phrygian cap in representations of the Republic could be controversial, however, because like the refrains of the Marseillaise, it was closely associated with revolution. It was censored during the Second Empire (as was the figure of Marianne), but even well after the Empire's collapse and the subsequent establishment of the Third Republic, some republicans remained reticent to adopt a symbol that was fraught with the memory of violent political upheaval.[31] Doré drew on the cap's disruptive associations in a number of his sketches, including the chaotic *L'Année Terrible* (fig. 27), and *Liberty Triumphing over Tyranny*, in which the mighty winged figure wearing it emerges triumphantly from an arch beneath lifted iron bars, brandishing her broken chains over what appear to be several fallen kings and ready to trample a crown on the ground in front of her (fig. 35).

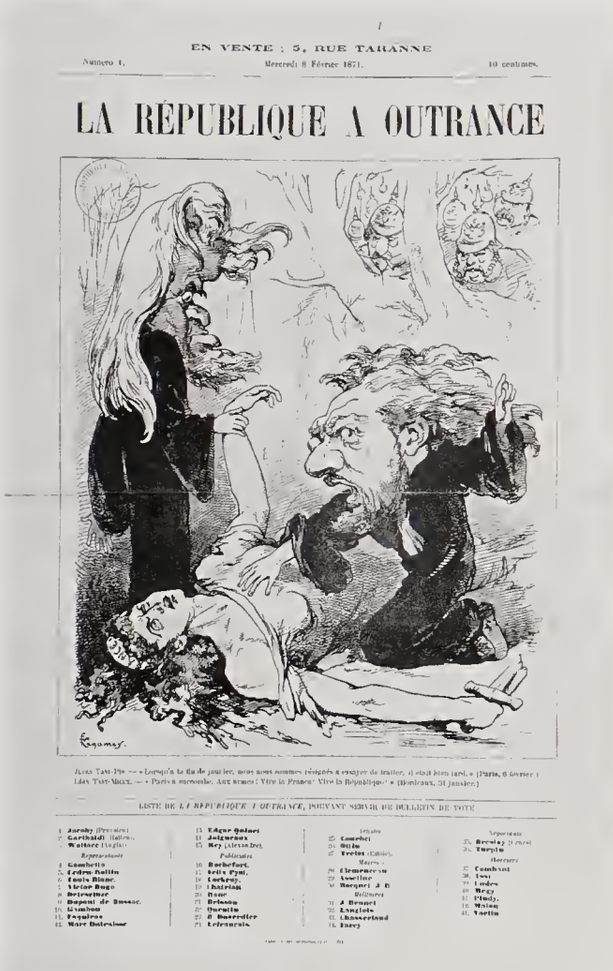
In the end, the great French military success presaged by patriotic images like *The Marseillaise* was not to be. With no allies, ill-prepared conscripts, supply and transportation problems, and woeful planning, it became clear within a few weeks of the war's commencement that there was little chance of France defeating the highly organized Prussians. Doré recognized the grim reality of the situation, the visions he conjured in compositions like *The Shades of French Soldiers* now irretrievably lost, as he lamented to a friend to whom he gave one version of the picture: "Ah! both of our heads were filled with too extravagant dreams! My drawing has no longer any reason to exist; I give it to you. Keep it in remembrance of our vanished hopes."[32]

By mid-August 1870 one of three Prussian armies surrounded Doré's hometown of Strasbourg,

which, to the artist's eternal ire, remained under brutal siege until September 28th, and was ultimately ceded to Prussia. Doré's brother, Émile, served in the French army in Strasbourg during the siege and was taken prisoner, worrying the artist greatly, as he made clear in a letter written just after the capitulation: "No news of my poor brother, the captain; we are in mortal disquietude."[33]

In Metz, the other two Prussian regiments trapped Marshal Bazaine, who did not surrender until late in October, when all of the French *materiel* abandoned there fell into Prussian hands for use in their already ongoing siege of Paris. In an attempt to aid Bazaine, the senior French commander, Marshal MacMahon, brought his forces as far as the town of Sedan at the very end of August. Entirely surrounded by Prussian forces and disastrously hampered by inadequate ammunition, supplies, and many wounded soldiers, including MacMahon himself, Emperor Napoleon III surrendered at Sedan on the morning of September 2nd, 1870, and was taken prisoner by the Prussians. He remained a prisoner in Germany until March 1871, and then joined his exiled family in England where he lived the last few years of his life. In his fictionalized account of the war, Zola described the Emperor's surrender as heralding, "the collapse of a world, the Second Empire swept away in the wreckage of its vices and follies …"[34]

Conservative politicians in Paris had anticipated the dissolution of the Empire and, fearful of revolution, they had taken steps to ensure a smooth transition of power. Veteran politician, historian, and staunch monarchist Adolphe Thiers persuaded the physically ailing and already psychically defeated Emperor to appoint General Louis Trochu military governor of Paris. The day after news of the Emperor's capitulation at Sedan on September 3, 1870 reached Paris Trochu, along with leading republican deputies Jules Favre, Jules Ferry, Jules Simon, and Léon Gambetta, gathered on the steps of the Town Hall in front of a cheering crowd to declare the Third Republic of France.


EN VENTE : 5, RUE TARANNE

Numéro 1. Mercredi 8 Février 1871. 10 centimes.

LA RÉPUBLIQUE A OUTRANCE

Régamey.

Jules Tant-Pis. — « Lorsque la fin de tout ceci, nous nous serons résignés à essuyer de traiter, il sera bien tard. » (Paris, 6 février.)
Léon Tant-Mieux. — « Paris a succombé. Arc aussi ! Vive la France ! Vive la République ! » (Bordeaux, 31 janvier.)

LISTE DE *LA RÉPUBLIQUE A OUTRANCE*, POUVANT SERVIR DE BULLETIN DE VOTE

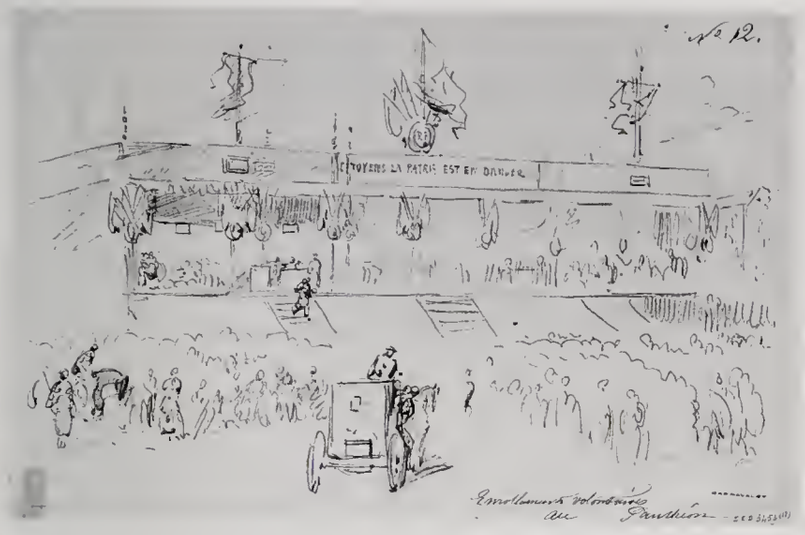
Of these leaders, only Gambetta was a "radical" Republican who wished, along with many Parisians, to continue the war with Prussia, despite all signs that it was hopeless. After attempts to raise an additional army in the provinces, he would later resign from the government when it signed an armistice with Prussia. General Trochu, who became the chief executive of the new provisional Government of National Defense, was, in fact, a royalist, and along with moderate republicans Favre, Ferry and Simon, wanted to end the hostilities inherited from the Empire as quickly as possible and begin reshaping France. A caricature published in February 1871, when France was still divided on the issue of continued war or settlement, depicts the exhausted figure of France, laying on the ground with her broken sword, being exhorted to fight on by Gambetta, while Favre takes her pulse. In the background a horde of Prussian soldiers, joined by Napoleon III, wait to move in for the kill (fig. 36).

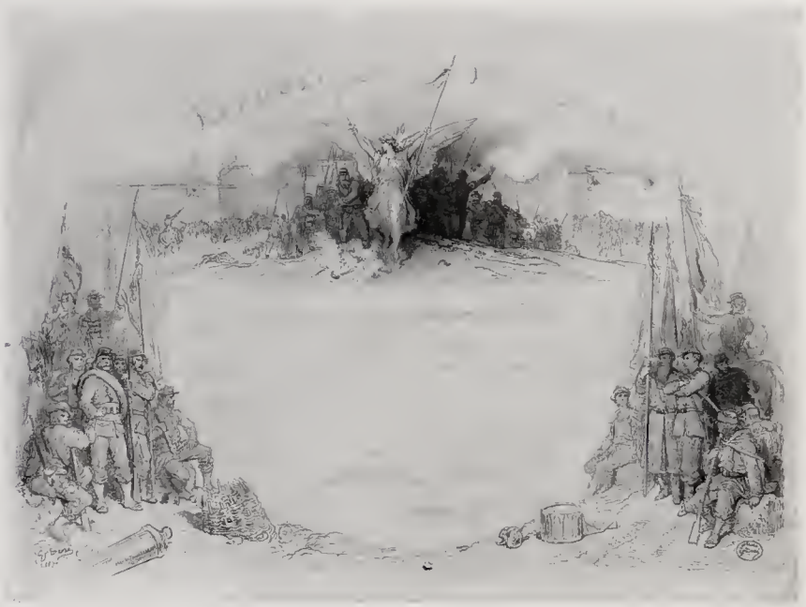
36. Félix Élie Régamey, cover of *La République à Outrance*, February 8, 1871. Bibliothéque nationale, Paris

It was widely expected among Parisians, especially the working-class population, that they would be mobilized, and that the war to defend their country would be fought to the finish (*guerre à l'outrance*). Doré's illustration *The Country in Danger* depicts the people answering this call; under a full moon, the winged woman in her Phrygian cap raps on the door of a house with the hilt of her sword, rousing another citizen to join the impassioned, armed crowd in the street behind her and fight for the country (fig. 37).

37. After Doré, *The Country in Danger*, 1870–71. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris

If it did not continue the war, the new Republic ran the risk of being overthrown by the simmering revolutionary faction in Paris, which certainly desired a fight to the finish. Although Favre met secretly with Bismarck to discuss a peace treaty, the government publicly pledged to carry on with the war, agreeing to arm only the officially sanctioned National Guard, for which many Parisians, including Doré, promptly volunteered: "with hundreds of his professional brethren, all inspired with the same patriotism, he joined the ranks of the defenders of his country in the vain attempt to drive out her enemies from the land."[35] In a quick sketch, Doré captured the scene in front of the Pantheon in Paris, where, under a large tent, citizens could sign up to protect the city (fig. 38). At age 38 Doré was actually too old for combat, as he explained in a letter to Amelia Edwards: "As for military service, I have not been called out—not, that is to say, as a soldier for outside fighting. The limit of age exempted me so far; but I served in the National Guard both in Paris and the suburbs,





receiving no more glorious wounds than some bad colds and severe attacks of rheumatism."[36] He served as well by designing a certificate to be distributed by the Government of National Defense to members of the National Guard. It portrayed the same winged female figure of his *Marseillaise* imagery, here holding a sword and flag and standing in front of the walls of Paris with guardsmen at the ready surrounding her (fig. 39).

The population of Paris spent an anxious September, as the new French Republic and its mobilized National Guard prepared for the Prussian artillery advance on the city. Doré recounted the tense atmosphere and despairing mood in a letter to his English friend, Canon Harford, written on September 13, 1870:

> I believe, dear friend, I am taking advantage of the last mail to England; for the enemy is at the gates of Paris, and we are expecting, every moment, to hear the sound of the cannon. Our misfortune is immense, and our agony is terrible. How shall we escape from the abyss of blood in which poor deserted France is plunged? No hope, no solution appears on the horizon; and yet it would be hard to think that our poor France—so innocent of this war—might be the object of universal disaffection! … I pray you, my dear Harford, offer up a prayer that the drama which is beginning may come speedily to an end, and that the mourning already upon us may not cover the whole of France.[37]

Later, in 1871, Doré translated these sentiments into his painting *The Defense of Paris*, one of the three monochromatic allegorical paintings from 1871 that were grouped in the artist's posthumous sale in 1885 under the heading "Souvenirs of 1870" (fig. 40).[38] Here his allegorical figure stands before a heavy wooden door—the proverbial gates of Paris—bracing it with her strong wings and a

38. *Enrollment of the Volunteers at the Pantheon*, 1870–71, pen, ink wash, and crayon on paper. Musée Carnavalet, Paris

39. *Design for the National Guard Certificate*, 1870, pen and ink on paper, 16 ½ × 21 ¾ in. Musée Carnavalet, Paris

standard held behind her. Soldiers and citizens—including a mother and infant—who have already been wounded or given their lives in defense of the capital surround her.

By September 20th, Paris and its neighboring suburbs were under siege by the Prussian army. Communication with the world outside was possible only via carrier pigeon and hot-air balloon, a circumstance most eloquently depicted by Puvis de Chavannes in a pair of large allegorical paintings (see below). It was also during these early days of the siege that the morale-crushing news reached Paris of the final capitulations of Metz and Strasbourg, each of which had already endured the Prussian bombardment for weeks. Reports of defeat in fierce, close-range combat in the suburbs further reduced the hopes and spirits of the city. But as winter approached and food supplies dwindled, the most immediate concern became the threat of starvation. Many popular prints, paintings, and written accounts of the period portray a freezing and dispirited population forced to eat rats, horses, and even their household pets.[39]

Then, at the dawn of 1871, the Prussians began shelling the city itself. In *The Debacle*, Zola described Paris under siege and attack, desolate and deprived:

> Paris was in its death-throes, but never complained. Shops no longer opened, and the few people walking about never saw a vehicle in the deserted streets. Forty thousand horses had been eaten, and now dogs, cats and rats were becoming expensive. Since corn had vanished, the bread, made of rice and oats, was black, clammy and most indigestible, and to get the ration of three hundred grammes the interminable queues in front of baker's shops were becoming killing. What a painful business these waits were in the siege, when poor women shivered in pouring rain, with their feet in freezing mud! It was the heroic misery of a great city that refused to give in. The death rate had tripled, and theatres had been turned into hospitals. By nightfall the formerly fashionable neighbourhoods fell into a gloomy silence and pitch darkness, like quarters of an accursed city ravaged by plague. In the silence and darkness the only thing to be heard was the ceaseless din of the bombardment, and the only thing to be seen the flashes of guns lighting up the winter sky.[40]

Although Doré did not engage in combat, accounts of his life during the difficult and demoralizing siege offer encomiums about his unflagging service to friends and others in need:

> No wonder that the creator of these spirit-stirring appeals to the patriotism of his countrymen in the hour of danger, who could sketch quietly at the outposts under fire, and who was remarked all over his quarter for the steady help he tendered to his friends and neighbours when food and fuel were hardly to be had in the hard winter of 1870–71, enjoyed such a popularity as not all the Art Academies in the world could have given him.[41]

Another writer offered even more heroic details of Doré's contributions during the siege:

> When the Germans transferred the seat of war from the Rhine to the Seine, Gustave Doré was one of those who turned out in Paris to do duty on the ramparts. He threw himself into the work, not, as many others did, in the spirit of the amateur or the stage-player, but with a complete earnestness and an absolute subordination of every other purpose in life to the business of soldiering. I have heard many true stories of his kindly helpful ways, during the siege, to all friends who needed help. I have heard of him, when relieved long after midnight from duty on the ramparts, tramping weary miles of Paris to a house where a pale light burned always in a window (while lights were still to be had in the besieged city), to ask how the night was faring with a poor invalided friend; and then tramping off again to his own

40. *The Defense of Paris*,
ca. 1871, oil on canvas, 76½ × 51 in.
Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center,
Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY.
Purchase, Suzette Morton Davidson

41. *A Military Encampment*, watercolor on paper. Private collection

42. *Gathering of the Herd in the Bois de Bologne*, 1870, gouache, brown wash, beige paper. 25 ⅞ × 38 ⅛ in. Louvre, Paris

> home, where he would hardly have time enough left him to snatch a mere draught of sleep. I have heard of his ranging Paris to get, if possible, some dry wood to make a fire in the room of this same invalid, because the green raw wood which alone it was then possible to buy made a smoke that was painful to the sick man; and how at last he besieged the office of the Minister of the Interior himself, and talked and persuaded him into giving an order for some of the dry wood which had already been "required" for government service. All through that fearful time I believe Gustave Doré was just the same—ready, energetic, helpful, kind—a genial and pleasant colleague for the brave and the strong, a support and encouragement, whenever he had the chance, for the weak and the timid.[42]

Doré also spent time walking around the struggling city and, marshalling his considerable illustrative talent, made numerous drawings of what he observed. A friend of his recalled that:

43. *Le Lait* (*Milk*), 1870–71, pen, ink wash, and crayon on paper. Musée Carnavalet, Paris

44. *Siege of Paris*, 1870–71, pen and ink, and watercolor on paper, 25 ⅞ × 38 ⅝ in. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Mulhouse

> Doré talked very little during the long walks we often took at that time, in the midst of the fearful débris [sic] that five months of siege had strewn about the ramparts and environs of Paris. He was happy to know that some one was near him, and often forgot to speak. He always had some great project in his head, some great picture or drawing. He composed while he was walking; he compiled all his documents; he remembered all his landscapes; and in the evening by lamplight with one touch of his magic pencil reminiscences and thoughts came to life without erasure or alteration.[43]

In these drawings he depicted scenes such as National Guard encampments, where the artist's fluent and energetic lines capture the tension between the mundane routines of gathering firewood, building shelters and eating meals and the unseen Prussian cannons that threaten to shatter them at any moment (fig. 41); the Bois de Boulogne, so recently the fashionable meeting ground of Second

45. *Le Berceau renversé* (*The Overturned Cradle*), 1870–71, brown and gray wash, white gouache, and crayon on beige paper. Musée d'Art moderne et contemporain de Strasbourg, Cabinet d'art graphique

46. *The Soldier's Farewell*, 1873, oil on canvas, 29 ⅜ × 21 ¼ in. Arnot Art Museum, Elmira, N.Y. Gift of J. Arnot Rathbone, Mary R. Hoffman, and Elizabeth R. Falck, 1947

Empire swells in their fine carriages, now home to a vast herd of sheep and cows, gathered there as a hedge against possible famine (fig. 42); and a group of poor Parisians escaping from the bombardment during the night, carrying their meager possessions in bundles and on carts (fig. 44). He filled one album with twenty-six sketches—some of which were conceived as magazine illustrations—that documented the various hardships facing the population in the beleaguered city, from families huddled together in cellars taking refuge from the shelling, and the wrecked interiors of bombed houses, and women standing in line for milk (fig. 43). Among the most famous of these sketches were the ones of the elephant at the zoo being led to slaughter, and of customers at an upscale butcher shop on the Boulevard Haussmann looking at the displays of exotic animal meat.[44]

Doré claimed to have witnessed "many dramas and episodes of ruin" during the siege and some of his more emotive compositions from that period attest to this, like *The Overturned Cradle* (fig. 45).[45] Depicting a young mother recoiling in horror at the sight of a fallen bassinet and her dead baby, killed when a Prussian shell tore open the wall behind her, it closes the tragic narrative arc opened by *The Soldier's Farewell* (fig. 46) and a related drawing *Departure of the National Guard*, in which a soldier looks down tenderly at his sleeping baby before leaving. He revisited the theme of a child in danger in the only oil painting he made of the siege, *Sister of Charity Saving a Child, an Incident During the Siege of Paris* (fig. 47) a powerful image in which the stark contrast between moonlit snow

47. *Sister of Charity Saving a Child, an Incident During the Siege of Paris*, 1870–71, oil on canvas, 38 ⅛ × 51 ⅛ in. Musée des Beaux-Arts, André Malraux, Le Havre

and dark shadows, between the nun's purposeful stride and the collapsed form of the wounded man in the street behind her, between the distant flashes and noise of the bombardment and the muffled, snow covered ground—littered with a broken shell and blemished by a disturbing red stain—evoke the isolation and threat of sudden, random danger that defined life in Paris under siege.

When his friend Amelia Edwards suggested that he show in London his many fine sketches from this dark time, Doré was outraged: "'Not for the world!' he said hastily. 'Would you have me exhibit the misfortunes of my country?'"[46] Yet Doré did portray the catastrophe faced by his country in one of the more intense images of his career, *The Black Eagle of Prussia.* (fig. 48) In it, the winged, robed figure represents France, still wearing the Phrygian cap of liberty and the victor's laurel crown despite having been defeated and subjugated, circumstances that had seemed impossible when the war started. When Goupil published a print of this picture, (fig. 50) a stanza from a poem by stalwart Republican Victor Hugo appeared in its margin, further emphasizing France's drastic reversal of fortune and her abandonment to a gloating and unworthy enemy:

48. *The Black Eagle of Prussia*, 1871, oil on canvas, 51 × 76 ¼ in. Dahesh Museum of Art, New York

With cries of joy they counted your wounds
And counted your sorrows,
As one counts out coins on a stone
In a thieves' den.[47]

France lies wounded and helpless on a battlefield among fallen soldiers, in a position reminiscent of the classical sculpture the *Dying Gaul*, still gripping her broken sword and standard. A large and menacing black eagle—the emblem of Prussia—bears down on her with its sharp beak and talons, its wings making a powerful contrast to those of France, which shield a dead soldier beneath her (in a preliminary drawing for *The Black Eagle*, the bird is much smaller in relation to the figure [fig. 49]). In the tense opposition between these two symbols—one submissive and one dominant—Doré visualized a new and disturbing dynamic in the relationship between the two nations. Since the publication in 1814 of Madame de Staël's *On Germany*, France had viewed Germany as a land of poets and dreamers, a mistress requiring France's chivalric protection against the Prussian state, which had made its designs on the rest of the German territories increasingly clear.[48] After its defeat France became the "defiled maiden," and a united Germany was transformed in the French mind into a rapacious beast, preparing to have its way with her.[49]

49. Sketch for *The Black Eagle of Prussia*, ca. 1871, graphite and brown ink on paper, 14 ⅜ × 18 ⅝ in. Private collection

50. After Doré, *L'Aigle noir de Prusse* (*The Black Eagle of Prussia*), Woodburytype print, 6 ⅖ × 9 ¼ in. Musée Goupil, Bordeaux

51. Ernest Meissonier, *The Siege of Paris, 1870–71*, 1884, oil on canvas, 21 × 27 ¾ in. Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Doré delineated with an unflinching eye the battleground as it was described in accounts written by witnesses: "The field was still strewn with dead bodies, amongst broken guns, bayonets, knapsacks, uniforms of soldiers, thrown-away swords and scabbards—amongst those warlike débris, men by hundreds were lying dead."[50] Doré heightened the documentary aspect of his painting with such detailed elements as the buttons and epaulets of the line infantry uniform, spent cannonballs, woven embankment fortifications, and lumpen piles of sandbags that echo the bodies of fallen soldiers. Their awkward positions recall those of the dead soldiers in battlefield photographs from the American Civil War, although relatively few French photographers made equivalent prints of the Franco-Prussian war dead.[51]

Coexisting with this accumulation of specific minutiae in Doré's picture are the two potent symbolic figures: the black eagle of Prussia and the female personification of France. Although by the mid-nineteenth century the rise of realism had compromised allegory as a pictorial mode, it was still a common strategy in public sculpture. In 1879 the city of Paris held a competition for a large sculpture to commemorate the siege of Paris, and many of the entries, including Doré's *La Défense Nationale*, paired a naturalistic soldier with an allegorical representation of Paris, recognizable by her turreted crown (fig. 198).[52]

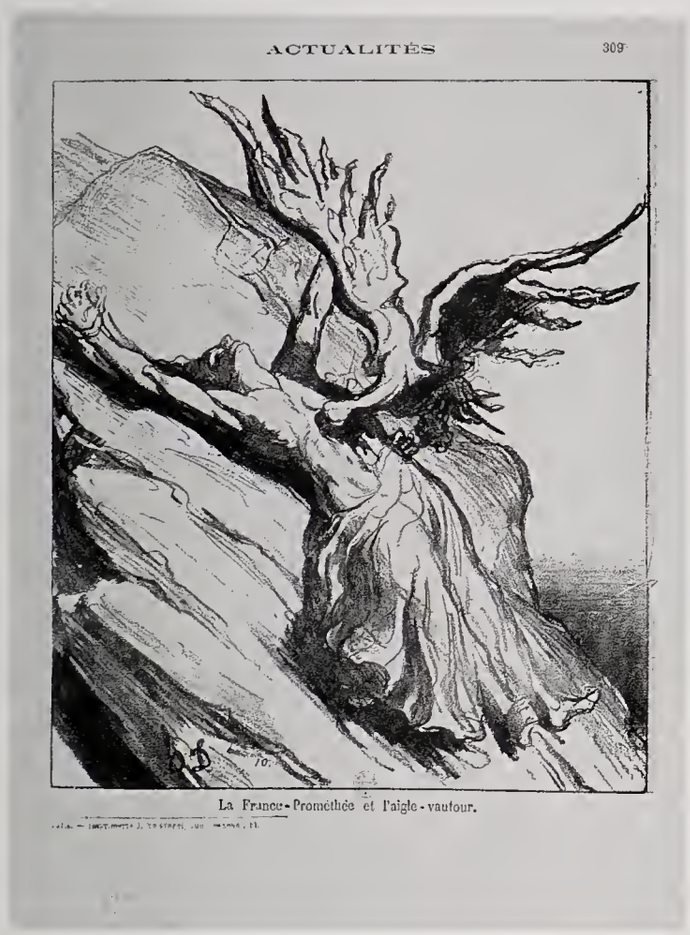
52. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *The Carrier Pigeon*, 1871, oil on canvas, 53 ¼ × 34 in. Musée d'Orsay, Paris

53. Alfred Grévin, *Jamais!! (Never!!)*, cover of *Petit Journal Pour Rire*, September 1870. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris

Many painters also felt that an amalgamation of the allegorical and the reportorial was a compelling way to articulate their response to the traumatic period of war and siege. Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, for example, remained in Paris during the siege and, like Doré, made many journalistic drawings of daily life there. He turned to allegory, however, in several oil studies and drawings from the period, like *Défense de Paris* or *le Rêve*, in which a winged female figure like Doré's leads a swarm of ethereal beings over the besieged city.[53]

The renowned military painter Ernest Meissonier also combined the languages of allegory and realism in his painting *The Siege of Paris*, which he began in 1870 (fig. 51). As an officer in the French army he had witnessed the horrors of combat first hand, and he filled the foreground of his painting with an array of dead and wounded civilians and soldiers under a black, smoky sky. Some of the soldiers are identifiable, like the painter Henri Regnault, a good friend of Meissonier who was killed in battle at Buzenval. Regnault has fallen to his knees and leans against an imposing woman swathed in a cape and wearing a lion skin on her head, with the tattered tricolor billowing behind her. A personification of Paris, she stands resolute against the skeletal female specter of Famine, who swoops down from the sky, carrying the ominous black Prussian eagle on her wrist like a falconer. Perhaps because of the difficulty Meissonier had reconciling reality and allegory, this picture remained unfinished.[54]

Pierre Puvis de Chavannes' *The Carrier Pigeon*, the second of what he called his two "real allegories," also commemorated the siege of Paris through a skillful fusion of journalism and symbolism (fig. 52). It too features a confrontation between Paris and Prussia, Paris in the form of a woman standing on a snow-covered rooftop with the city spread out behind her, clutching a



54. Honoré Daumier, *La France Prométhée et l'aigle-vautour* (*France Prometheus and the Eagle-Vulture*), from *Le Charivari*, February 13, 1871. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris

carrier pigeon to her breast, and Prussia in the familiar guise of the threatening black eagle she deflects.[55] The woman lacks the conventional symbolic attributes of the city of Paris, and she wears a garment that, if not truly contemporary, is at least reminiscent of the somber mourning clothes worn by real women widowed by the war and siege. Yet the caption Puvis inscribed on the picture's frame confirms the figure as a personification of the city during that difficult time: "Having escaped from the enemy claw the awaited message exalts the heart of the proud city."[56] The woman's defensive interaction with the avian predator is both metaphorical and historically specific, representing a clash between civic and national symbols, and simultaneously documenting the Prussian tactic of using hawks to intercept and kill the messenger pigeons Parisians relied on for communication during the siege. Even the picture's limited and muted palette serves both a literal and symbolic purpose; the lack of mimetic color distances the image from reality and makes it more emblematic, but it also recalls the tonality of photography and thus evokes the assumed veracity of that medium. Doré's nearly monochromatic palette in an allegorical painting like *The Black Eagle of Prussia* also magnifies the bleakness of the subject matter yet, as with his *Marseillaise* and other war-related compositions, he likely chose it in order to facilitate the image's transformation into a print.

A personification of France, the Republic, and/or the city of Paris being threatened or attacked by a fierce predatory bird, as seen in Doré's *The Black Eagle of Prussia*, was a motif that also appeared frequently in political caricatures of the post-war period. Alfred Grévin's drawing for a cover of the *Petit Journal Pour Rire* in September 1870, for example, presents the archetypal Phrygian-capped

Marianne, upright and sword in hand, facing down a black eagle wearing an enormous Prussian helmet, with the emphatic caption: "Jamais!!!" (fig. 53) Toward the end of the Second Empire the climate of strict press censorship relaxed and the production and dissemination of political caricature increased accordingly; when the Empire fell the censorship laws were largely abolished.[57] The humiliated Napoleon III and his regime quickly became the subjects of countless unflattering caricatures that flooded the market. Many portrayed the former Emperor himself as a winged predator, often an eagle, a polyvalent symbol long associated with the Napoleonic legend as well as with Prussia. Among the most powerful of these aggressive bird images was one of a series of prints about the Franco–Prussian war and its aftermath by Honoré Daumier called *La France-Prométhée et l'aigle-vautour*, which shows a large bird feasting on the entrails of France (fig. 54).[58] In this print, the eagle—now vulture-like—no longer only symbolized Prussia, but Napoleon III as well, whom the new government, and much of the public, blamed as much for France's dismemberment as it did the Prussian enemy.[59]

Other caricatures from the post-Sedan period were more explicit in their portrayal of Napoleon III in the guise of an eagle (or vulture) and in their play on the bird's identity. A print called *L'Aigle Déplumé* presented an avian Napoleon III wearing a helmet emblazoned with the Prussian eagle chained to a perch between the words "shame" and "infamy," stressing the slippage between perceptions of the Prussian and Napoleonic eagles. In a print from a series called *Souvenirs du Siége* (sic) *de Paris*, *L'Aigle Déplumé* is clearly visible on the left as one of several caricatures hanging in a print stall under the amused eye of a browsing National Guardsman, suggesting that the conflation of the two symbols enjoyed a high popular profile (fig. 55). More monstrous is the Napoleon III of Alfred Le Petit's *L'Aigle Imperial*, an enraged half-man, half-bird creature that mercilessly tears into its victim's head with sharp talons, the word "Prussia" inscribed in the background (fig. 56). The frontispiece of Paul Hadol's suite of prints *La Ménagerie Impériale* (fig. 57), which ridiculed the Emperor, his family, and his court, features the French Republic as sideshow barker, pulling aside the curtain of a tent containing "ruminants, amphibians, carnivores and other budgetivores that have devoured France for 20 years."[60] Hadol gave Napoleon III the shape of a bird, transforming him from noble Imperial eagle into its countertype, a vulture—"Le Grand Vautour de Sedan"—perched over the bloody entrails of fallen France (fig. 58).

Although Doré made the national identity of his eagle clear in the painting's title, *The Black Eagle of Prussia*, neither he nor his public could have been unaware of the popular caricatural trope of France being menaced by an interchangeable Emperor/Prussian eagle, knowledge that fosters some ambiguity in his composition, however slight.[61] Certain as he was of the black eagle's national character within his painting, however, Doré did not hesitate to play with his overall composition. In a drawing he made while staying in Versailles during the Commune (see below), he reused the female figure of France from *The Black Eagle of Prussia*, but substituted a flock of black-robed, toqued French lawyers for the Prussian eagle. They violently brandish papers at the fallen country, perhaps to illustrate the difficult legislative attempts to reshape France and its government in the post-war period (fig. 59).[62]

On January 18, 1871, Bismarck realized his ultimate goal when Kaiser Wilhelm was crowned Emperor of Germany in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, where the Prussians made their headquarters during the siege of Paris. This symbolic indignity, along with the very real hardships of the long, harsh winter and the impossibility of repelling the entrenched Prussian army, forced the new Republic to begin openly negotiating with Bismarck. He would not conclude a formal peace, however, until France had established a permanent government invested with the legal authority to end the war. In February 1871, during a twenty-one-day armistice granted by the Prussians, French

55. Draner (Jules Renard), *Gardien de la Paix Publique* (*Guardian of Public Peace*), ca. 1870. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris

56. Alfred Le Petit, *L'Aigle Impérial* (*The Imperial Eagle*), from the newspaper *La Charge*, ca. 1870–71. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris

57. Paul Hadol, Title Page, *La Ménagerie Impériale*, 1870. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris

58. Paul Hadol, *Le Vautour* (*The Vulture*), from *La Ménagerie Impériale*, 1870. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris

59. From *Versailles et Paris en 1871, d'après les dessins originaux de Gustave Doré*, (Paris, 1907), Dahesh Museum of Art, New York

60. Pilotell (Georges Labadie), *L'Exécutif*, from *La Caricature Politique*, March 11, 1871. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris

61. *The Avengers*, ca. 1871, crayon, pen, and black ink on paper, 19 ½ × 18 ¾ in. Musée d'Art moderne et contemporain, Strasbourg

62. *L'Alsace Meurtrie*, 1872, oil on canvas, 137 ¾ × 70 ¾ in. Colmar, Conseil Général du Haut-Rhin

voters elected a National Assembly comprised of a small percentage of republicans and a majority of monarchists, a composition that reflected the longstanding division between Republican Paris and the rest of conservative, rural France. The Assembly then elected Adolphe Thiers "Chief of the Executive Power of the French Republic," an unwieldy title that excluded the term "President," thus deliberately keeping open the option of a monarchist restoration. The significance of this linguistic maneuver was not lost on the revolutionary faction in Paris, who were as alarmed and angered at the prospect of a merely temporary Republic as the many right-wing Assembly members were hopeful. They were also furious with the decision to initially convene the new government in Bordeaux rather than Paris. When Bismarck and his troops decamped in early March, the French government left Bordeaux and took up residence at Versailles, a further slight to the capital city that would soon have violent reverberations. When the peace treaty was concluded on February 26, 1871 (it was formally signed as the Treaty of Frankfurt on May 10), the worst fears of those who had wanted to continue fighting were confirmed. Despite Jules Favre's famous vow made the previous September that he would yield to Germany "not an inch of our territory, not a stone of our fortress," the provinces of Alsace and much

of Lorraine were ceded, a staggering indemnity of 5 billion gold francs was imposed, and on March 1, 1871 Prussian troops marched in victory through Paris.

The loss of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany was considered by many to be no less than an act of treason. The government's complicity in this horrible outcome was the subject of numerous caricatures, many of which showed the familiar female allegorical figure—standing alternately for the Republic, France in its entirety, or Paris in particular—being subject to all manner of depredations. One of the most vehement of these images, by the left-wing caricaturist Pilotell, depicted France's right arm—marked "Alsace & Lorraine"—being callously sawed off by Thiers and Favre, her blood pouring out into a Prussian helmet. (fig. 60) For Doré, the loss of his home province, to which he would never again return, was a particularly bitter pill to swallow. He made several drawings with the winged figure, crowned with laurels and holding a sword, looking down sorrowfully at a group of Alsatian women and children, the spires of Strasbourg cathedral visible on the horizon (fig. 61). His most famous picture on this theme was *L'Alsace Meurtrie* (1872), in which an Alsatian peasant woman, wearing a widow's traditional black mourning clothes and casting her eyes down in sadness, stands against a wall clutching the tricolor flag of France to her breast (fig. 62). Blanche Roosevelt waxed poetic on this moving memorial image and its ubiquity:

63. *Batteries sur les buttes à Montmartre, 6 Mars, 1871 (Artilleries on the Hills of Montmartre, March 6, 1871)*, 1871, pen and ink on paper. Musée Carnavalet, Paris

> None can look at this picture without feeling a heart-throb of profound sorrow. One need not be a Frenchman to ejaculate with Doré, "Alas! poor Alsatia!" The Rhine shall flow on in its limpid course; young pines shall spring up midst the velvet of the Black Forest; mountain flowers shall bloom in all their luxuriant fragrance, and the voices of children wandering through the forest shall make the air resound with the accents of the unhallowed German tongue, which has superceded French in Imperial Alsace; but for many a year to come in every true Alsatian's house, be it palace or hovel, you will assuredly find one picture: it may be a painting, drawing, lithograph, photograph, or even the trusty little engraving of "Alsatia" which has been produced by well-nigh every illustrated journal in Europe. This you will look at with reverence, thinking not of the painter, but of the patriot who would have given his life-blood for his native province as freely as he devoted his talent to perpetuating her memory in the heart of France.[63]

Gossip in that year's *Art Journal*, however, suggested that not everyone wanted a reminder of the country's loss: "We can readily believe the statement (which had been positively made, although we do not assume the responsibility of verification) that the government of M. Thiers requested M. Doré to remove from the *Salon*, at Paris, the noble picture of 'Alsace,' which is now exhibiting at the Doré Gallery in New Bond Street. The heart of the man who does not feel as he looks at the picture that he *has* a heart, must be callous."[64]

The opinion that Thiers and his government were traitors grew tremendously when the National Assembly enacted a series of laws that had a negative financial impact on Parisians, including the cessation of payment to National Guardsmen. The mutual suspicions between an increasingly radicalized Paris and the new government at Versailles soon reached a critical point. Thiers' primary objectives in the wake of the war and siege were to restore order, quash popular uprisings, and consolidate state power. On March 17, 1871, he decided to retrieve the National Guard's remaining cannons and ammunition, which had been moved into working-class neighborhoods like Montmartre and Belleville to keep them away from the Prussians, as can be seen in several sketches Doré made during this period (fig. 63). When the well-organized Parisian National Guard refused to give them up, an alarmed Thiers sent his "Versailles Army" to take the cannons back by force, a mission that went terribly wrong when his regular troops fraternized with the National Guardsmen and refused to fire on them. Thiers then ordered all his troops to withdraw from Paris, leaving the National Guard's Central Committee as the city's only authoritative body.

On March 26 Parisians elected their own government, known as the Commune, whose representatives were drawn predominantly from the working classes. The city was now essentially autonomous, but it remained within the crosshairs of Versailles, from which Thiers planned what became a shockingly violent repression. *La semaine sanglante*, or the Week of Blood, began on May 21. This time Paris was bombarded not by a foreign enemy, but by French troops, commanded by a government whose anger at the Communards' revolt knew no bounds. There was fierce combat on the barricades in the streets, the Town Hall and the Tuileries Palace were reduced to rubble, and Paris blazed with fires ignited by Thiers' shells and by those of the Communards. Rather than remain in Paris as he had done during the Prussian siege, Doré took his mother to Versailles to stay with family friends. In a letter written when he returned to the city after the Commune, Doré assured his concerned friend Amelia Edwards of his own safety:

> I thank you a thousand times for this mark of interest, coming at the end of our most sinister and fatal crisis; and I hasten to tell you that, despite unnumbered menaces and miseries, and despite imminent danger of fire (many houses very near to us having been burnt down), we are safe. As for our belongings in the Rue St. Dominique, we have escaped with a few scratches to some pieces of furniture which were dragged out into the street to make part of a barricade close against our house. My eldest brother, who lives in the Ternes quarter, has been less fortunate. The whole first floor of his house was wrecked by shells thrown from the Asnières battery, and he had the furniture of two rooms shattered to pieces. Dear mademoiselle, the weight of so much pain and the infliction of so much damage will long oppress us. There is not at this moment a single Frenchman who has not suffered in some way or other, whether by the loss of friends, relations, or property, to say nothing of political hatreds not easily extinguished. As for our poor Paris, I hardly dare look about me. Paris has irretrievably lost all that beauty which was her ornament and crown; and in truth we have been very near to seeing this immense city reduced to a mere heap of stones, for it is said that a general and wholesale conflagration was planned by these nameless monsters.[65]

Although both sides committed atrocities, some observers theorized that the particularly brutal slaughter of Communards, including women and children, was fueled in part by the regular army's desire to purge the shame of its recent and ignominious defeat: what it had been incapable of doing to the Prussian invaders, it would do to the Parisian insurgents. By the end of the Commune on May 28, 1871, when a Versaillais firing squad shot remaining National Guard troops against a wall at the Père Lachaise cemetery, somewhere between 10,000 and 30,000 Parisians had been killed.

64–66. Caricatures of Communards, from *Versailles et Paris en 1871, d'après les dessins originaux de Gustave Doré*, (Paris, 1907), Dahesh Museum of Art, New York

67. *"à mort, à mort!" ("to death, to death!...")*, from *Versailles et Paris en 1871, d'après les dessins originaux de Gustave Doré*, (Paris, 1907), Dahesh Museum of Art, New York

While staying in Versailles during the Commune, Doré produced an extraordinary group of drawings depicting National Assembly members as well as Communards. Doré gave the drawings to his hostess in Versailles, Mme Bruyère, and it wasn't until 1907 that they were published. The book was called *Versailles et Paris en 1871* and its preface included Bruyère's reminiscences of the artist during that time:

> In the evening, among his friends, to the repeated sound of the cannon at Mont-Valérien and the heights of Montretout, thundering incessantly against Paris; at the striking memory of those long processions of Communard prisoners brought back from Paris to the avenues of Versailles, at the sight of those wretches, their brutish faces contracted with hatred, rage, and the suffering of a long march, under a burning sun he took pleasure ... in making these sketches.[66]

68. Caricature of the Republic, from *Versailles et Paris en 1871, d'après les dessins originaux de Gustave Doré*, (Paris, 1907), Dahesh Museum of Art, New York

69. Caricature of Adolphe Thiers, from *Versailles et Paris en 1871, d'après les dessins originaux de Gustave Doré*, (Paris, 1907), Dahesh Museum of Art, New York

70, 71. Caricatures of National Assembly members, from *Versailles et Paris en 1871, d'après les dessins originaux de Gustave Doré*, (Paris, 1907), Dahesh Museum of Art, New York

Doré portrayed the Communard prisoners as a scruffy, misshapen lot, drawing freely from his caricaturist's arsenal of snout-like noses, maniacal eyes, lumpy flesh, squinty eyes, and wild hair. Some seem defiant, others furtive or even imbecilic (figs. 64–66). Particularly striking is a chubby female Communard, who emerges from the page in Doré's characteristically sinuous and energetic lines (fig. 67). She charges forward like a grotesque Winged Victory, sword at her side, dress billowing, mouth stretched wide to shriek "to death! to death! shoot them! ..." Here is the "unruly" woman warrior of

the Commune, whose active, and sometimes violent, participation in the insurrection became legendary. Many admired them, but more often they were viciously denigrated as the horrifying and unnatural antitheses of nurturing, passive womanhood.[67] Doré's drawing provides an appropriate match for the numerous sensational descriptions of these women in contemporaneous accounts:

> In the midst of the atrocious scenes that shock Paris, the women are particularly distinguished by their cruelty and rage ... Madness seems to possess them.
>
> [The women's faces were] something unnatural, a compound of savagery, revengefulness, despair and ecstatic fervour ... Many of them were now sheer furies.[68]

Although Doré's own political sympathies seem to have been aligned more with Versailles, and against the "nameless monsters" of the Commune he decried in his letter to Edwards, he did not spare the new government his mockery. He watched the National Assembly members closely in their official sessions, and the resulting sketches—a gallery of buffoons, blowhards, and prigs—constitute a catalogue of affected poses, pretentious gestures, exaggerated facial expressions, and comical hairstyles. Doré inscribed each drawing with an imaginary excerpt from the subject's speech to complement the visual humor; thus a cadaverous speaker's announcement that he has spent his whole life devoted to mental health, or a corpulent speaker, whose deeply cross-hatched face suggests a florid complexion, leering over the lectern to state that one is not able to listen to horrible stories without growing pale (figs. 70, 71). Doré's drawing of Adolphe Thiers, the head of the government and architect of the Commune's suppression, presents a tiny figure with a hawk-like face and opaque glasses (fig. 69).

72. Honoré Daumier, *Épouvanté de l'Héritage* (*Horrified by the Inheritance*), from *Le Charivari*, January 11, 1871. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris

Doré also trained his satirical eye on the new Republic that sanctioned the bloody reprisal against the Communards, turning to the allegorical figure that appears regularly in his war-related imagery. Like her heroic counterparts in *The Marseillaise* or *The Black Eagle of Prussia*, she wears a vaguely classical garment, a Phrygian cap, and carries a weapon. But she is also grotesquely obese, with large, pendulous breasts and a distinctly porcine face (fig. 68). A halo hovers over her head, an ironic foil to her bayonet rifle and the knives hanging from her substantial waist.

On January 11, 1871, even before the horrors of the Commune had begun, *Charivari* published a chilling print by Daumier called *Horrified by the Inheritance*, in which a shrouded figure, face buried in hands, towers over the vast field of corpses that were the previous year's grim legacy (fig. 72). Doré, too, despondent over the events of *l'année terrible*, created a bleak image of the carnage and devastation left in the wake of the war and the Commune in his 1871 painting *The Enigma* (fig. 73). This large, monochrome canvas, a companion to *The Defense of Paris* and *The Black Eagle of Prussia*, also features the allegorical winged figure of France.[69] Crowned with laurels, France turns her grieving face beseechingly up towards a solemn Egyptian sphinx—a symbol that evokes memories of a more glorious episode in France's history. According to some iconographical traditions the Egyptian sphinx poses riddles like its Greek counterpart, yet in this image France appears to be seeking an answer from the creature, which rests one paw on her shoulder in a gesture of comfort. Soldiers, as well as a woman and child, lie dead in the foreground, the distant city is in flames and black smoke clouds the horizon.

73. *The Enigma*, 1871, oil on canvas, 49 ¼ × 76 ¾ in. Musée d'Orsay, Paris

74. After Doré, *The Enigma*, 1871, albumen silver print, 13 ¼ × 20 ⅛ in. Musée Goupil, Bordeaux

Émile Zola, who is likely to have known *The Enigma* through the photograph published by Goupil (fig. 74), included an emotional scene at the end of his novel *The Debacle* that recasts the symbolism of Doré's painting in naturalist terms, replacing a personification of France with a particular French woman searching for her brother, a soldier caught up in the insanity of the Commune. As she looks down from Saint-Denis at the burning city of Paris, her personal anguish becomes universal:

> As she took in the immensity of the disaster Henriette felt more and more sick at heart until the pain was unbearable. For a few minutes her own misfortunes vanished, carried away in this expiation of a whole nation. The thought of fire devouring human lives, the sight of this blazing city on the horizon, throwing up the hellish glare of cities accursed and destroyed, made her cry out in spite of herself. She clasped her hands together and asked: 'What have we done, oh God, to be punished like this?'[70]

Alternating and combining the real and the imaginary, the factual and the allegorical, Doré's drawings and paintings from *l'année terrible* reflect how profoundly he experienced the stunning political and social rupture triggered by the war and its aftermath, the misery of Paris and his country, and the uncertainty of its future:

> Our poor capital is in flames; its palaces destroyed—its finest streets, and all that make it beautiful. As I write, I have before me immense volumes of smoke, rising to the heavens. In the whole history of the world, I don't think there is a parallel instance of so sanguinary a drama, and of such ruin.[71]


G. Doré

Religious Subjects

DORÉ AND HIS BIBLE

Before producing his famous illustrations for the Bible in 1865–66, Doré had not revealed any special interest in religious subjects, although, according to Roosevelt, as a child he "delighted in Biblical and mythological stories told by his mother."[1] But in order to produce his nearly two hundred and fifty Biblical scenes, many of them rather obscure incidents, he clearly had to read the text quite closely. The Bible was a huge success, and Doré, who previously, although a professed Roman Catholic, had not been a Church communicant, now reportedly told friends that "God had been very good to me," and "I thank him every day of my life for my gifts."[2]

Whether due to their popularity or his fondness for the compositions, Doré on occasion produced alternate finished versions or larger scale treatments of some of the drawings that had been employed to prepare the printed edition of the Bible. There are, for example, the two drawings acquired by William Walters of Baltimore—*The Dream of Jacob* (fig. 212), and *The Kiss of Judas*. At the Salon of 1863, Doré had exhibited a large painting entitled *Episode du déluge*, and the critic Paul Mantz observed that it was "nothing but an enlarged sketch which would be sufficient for a 'jolie vignette' in which the spirit of the pencil and the caprice of the arabesque would replace the grandiosity of the canvas."[3] The artist essentially repeated the composition in a popular plate for his Bible[4] and even more effectively in the marvelous drawing now in Phoenix (fig. 75). He conceived the final moments of God's destruction of the earth (Genesis 7: 10–24), when the flood waters rose to cover even the highest peaks, in terms of two struggling mothers—a young woman with two children and a tigress with her cubs—who have both sought refuge on a high rock. The ominous clouds and the churning sea make clear what their fate will be. In the Bible engraving the woman does not sit so demurely on the rock but is in the water struggling to save the children and there are also additional tiger cubs. Doré returned to the theme in the 1870s when he contemplated doing a sculpture of the subject to be entitled *Les deux Mères*.[5]

Doré's most effective subjects were frequently those dealing with apocalyptic and horrific subjects. His preliminary drawing for *Daniel's Vision of the Four Beasts* (fig. 76) from the Book of Daniel (7: 1–4) is one of his most powerful, showing how much was lost in the process of transferring it to an engraving. The very indistinct watery quality of the

75. *The Deluge*, ca. 1862–5, pencil, black chalk, and wash with white heightening on white paper, 28 ½ × 24 in. Phoenix Art Museum

76. *The Vision of Daniel: The Four Beasts*, ca. 1865, wash, ink, and gouache, 14 3/16 × 19 ⅜ in. Kirk Edward Long Collection, Oakland, CA

77. *The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, ca. 1865–66, ink, watercolor and gouache, 39 × 30 in. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, CT. Gift of Harcourt F. Schutz

78. *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, ca. 1865, pen and ink wash and gouache on boxwood, 9 ½ × 7 ⅝ in. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, RI

79. *The Kiss of Judas*, ca. 1865, pen and ink wash and gouache on wood. 9 ½ × 7 ¾ in. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design

80. *Matatias*, ca. 1866, pencil, ink, gouache on joined uncut wood blocks, 9 ⅝ × 7 ¾ in. The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA

wash makes the vision all the more haunting. The figure of the prophet on the rocks is almost invisible, but the beasts rising out of the ocean have a ghostly presence.

One of the most magnificent examples of Doré taking a Bible subject and turning it into a grand independent drawing is the illustration for Revelations 12:1, St. John's vision of the crowned Virgin of the Immaculate Conception (fig. 77). This apocalyptic subject of the battle between good and evil produced a most dramatic composition. The divine host with the tiny Virgin and Child on the crescent moon serve to dispel the writhing mass of the sea monster.

Doré also seems to have discovered a market for his uncut drawings on woodblocks, and one suspects that many of these were not rejects, but had, in fact, been made strictly for sale and never intended for the engraver's use. An example is the uncut block in Providence (fig. 78) illustrating the

text of Judith 12:2–9, which is reversed from the published print in the Doré Bible. The most significant change is that the large blade is turned on its edge. The darkness of the tent in the print obscures some of the grisly details seen in the drawing such as Holofernes's arm clutching the pillow and the brilliance of the oil lamp in the foreground illuminating the scene.

Also in Providence is an uncut block with the *Kiss of Judas* (fig. 79). The design of this drawing is somewhat different from the published Bible illustration, and rather more like the drawing in the Walters Art Museum, where Christ is much closer to the foreground. A more obscure subject on an uncut woodblock at Williamstown is *Matatias* (fig. 80). This scene, taken from the apocryphal Book of Maccabees (2:22–24), delineates how Matathias, a Jewish priest at Moden and the father of Judas Maccabeus, refused to follow the Assyrian king's command to sacrifice to idols upon the pagan altar and when another Hebrew did so, he slew the offender on the spot. This uncut woodblock drawing differs in a number of details from the image printed in the Bible. There the priest's head is uncovered, he does not look and gesture upward, and there is no figure in the foreground. In both, however, Doré uses the same Near Eastern motifs to decorate the wall and the altar.

RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS FOR THE DORÉ GALLERY

With the Biblical stories firmly embedded in his mind, Doré began to paint religious subjects and submit them to the Salon. In 1865 there was *The Angel Appearing to Tobias*, which was bought by the French state,[6] and in 1867 he sent a *Moses in the Bulrushes*[7] as well as *Jephthah's Daughter*, which was soon dispatched to England and America. In 1869 came *Christ Leaving the Tomb* (La Rochelle, France) and a *Flight into Egypt* followed in 1870.[8] Doré does not seem to have begun to create his large-scale religious paintings out of any deep conviction, but rather for commercial considerations. The launch of the Doré Gallery in London in 1868 turned the tide. Its managers, Fairless and Beeforth, needed something special and so for 800 pounds they commissioned Doré to paint an enormous canvas representing the *Fall of Paganism* (fig. 81). Usually now known as *The Triumph of Christianity over Paganism* this work, ten feet high, with a multitude of all the ancient religions reeling before a triumphant Christ was a tremendous success in London.[9] The pattern was set and almost every year from then until his death in 1883, Doré would produce a new religious work—generally of an unfamiliar Biblical subject—of immense size, to be accompanied by reduced versions and reproductive prints all for sale in the Gallery. Sometimes he showed these in the Paris Salon and sometimes in his own studio before sending them to London, and adverse criticism, even by Zola,[10] had no impact, as one after the other, they were rapturously received by the pious Victorian public in London and also later when sent in bulk to the United States.

Both the scale and complexity of Doré's religious compositions owe a debt to the eccentric English painter John Martin as pointed out by Robert Rosenblum in his essay (p. 29),[11] but there are other possible prototypes that he might have seen in London. The painter Henry Hawkins for example exhibited a very Martin-like *Crucifixion* at the Royal Academy as early as 1835.[12]

As it happened one of Doré's closest friends in London was the Reverend Frederick Harford, a minor canon of Westminster Abbey, with whom he had many conversations on religious matters. It was to Harford, according to Jerrold, that Doré confided that his religious beliefs were found in St. Paul's lines in chapter thirteen of his Letter to the Corinthians, which the artist quoted from memory—calling it "his creed" and adding, "a man must be a good man to his fellows in thought and in deed." Jerrold further observed that Doré had faith, hope, and charity; but to him "the greatest of these is charity."[13] The canon suggested to Doré the previously unpainted theme of Christ leaving Herod's temple, the Praetorium, and he advised him on the proper mood for the work. Harford was

81. *The Triumph of Christianity over Paganism*, 1867–68, oil on canvas, 118 × 79 in. The Joey and Toby Tanenbaum Collection, 2002, Art Gallery of Hamilton, Ontario

82. *Christ Leaving the Tomb*, 1869, gouache and ink over black chalk on brown paper, 20 ⅞ × 34 ⅞ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Dodge Fund, 1960

with Doré at dinner one evening in 1869 when the artist was preoccupied with a new work on which he labored all night without sleeping. The next day, Doré showed the canon his magnificent black and white study of *The Resurrection*. The pedantic canon pointed out that the stone entrance to the sepulcher was absent, and Doré immediately took up his pencil and added the massive stone. He gave this original to the canon but not before making a second, even grander version, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 82).[14] It is one of Doré's finest drawings, displaying an evocative use of white highlighting to encompass the figure of Christ who seems to float along the ground, before the star-laden sky, unseen by the sleeping guards, but welcomed by a heavenly throng.

As related by his biographers, when Doré realized he would not be able to have his enormous canvas *Christ Leaving the Praetorium* (fig. 87) ready in time for the Salon of 1870, he supposedly rapidly painted *The Christian Martyrs in the Coliseum* (fig. 83) instead. But for some reason the work was not exhibited in Paris until 1874.[15] The version sent to the Doré Gallery in London and America was dated 1871 and had different dimensions from this earlier one, which is now in Ponce.[16] Sadly, as is true for many of Doré's religious paintings, the work has darkened considerably over the years, making it difficult to read the composition, but fortunately an old photograph (fig. 85), probably of the version in the Doré Gallery, survives to give a better sense of the intended look of the work. Although he executed the first painted version in 1870, Doré, as Jerrold relates, had already been pondering the subject, and there are several known preliminary drawings. One, formerly in the William O'Neal collection, is now in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C. (fig. 84).[17] Another sketch showing the broad horizontal layout of the composition is illustrated in Jerrold, and a drawing of Christians delivered to lions in ancient Rome was sold in Paris in 1986.[18] Doré's composition may have found a later echo in the scenes of lions and tigers with Christian martyrs in the Coliseum that were painted by Jean-Léon Gérôme.[19]

83. *Christian Martyrs in the Coliseum*, 1870, oil on canvas, 46 ½ × 88 ⅝ in. The Luis A. Ferré Foundation, Inc. Ponce, Puerto Rico, Museo de Arte de Ponce

84. *Sketch for Christian Martyrs*, graphite on paper, 24 × 19 ¾ in. National Gallery of Art, Washington. Gift of Professor William B. O'Neal

85. Photograph of *Christian Martyrs in the Coliseum*. Private collection

86. Doré at work on *Christ Leaving the Praetorium*, photograph in Dézé, "Bibliographie et catalogue complet de l'oeuvre de Doré," 1930. The *Ecce Homo* is in the background.

Doré's painting was described as being set in an amphitheater during the reign of the Roman emperor Diocletian in AD 303, after a great festival, in which Christian martyrs had been the victims.[20] Reviewing the Salon of 1874 Jules Claretie observed:

> In the *Christian Martyrs*, which to my mind is far from satisfying, I must confess that M. Doré shows a certain coloristic power (that no one has ever denied him) and a real inventive vigor. The Circus is deserted, the stands empty; the bloodthirsty populace sleeps, reflecting on the savage impressions it has received. In the reddened arena, only wild beasts and the dead remain. The tigers and lions still extend their rage on the piled up victims while from the depths of the sky angels slowly descend bringing to those who have succumbed the martyr's palm. This very dramatic composition, which would have been better painted in another color range, is completely drowned in a blue atmosphere of somewhat fantastic tone. It is very much an apotheosis, but an enchanted one. The stars shine in the deep azure as if produced by electric light. Their scintillation owes something to trompe-l'oeil. And despite this absolutely blue color, the "spot" of this canvas to speak the language of painters, is not really unpleasant. I repeat, it's a beautiful stage set. This theater epilogue will be a huge success in London where Doré's painting is much appreciated by the compatriots of Martin, who the painter of *Christian Martyrs* is clearly seeking to emulate.[21]

By his contractual agreement with the managers of the Doré gallery in London, one of the first works to be delivered for display there was to be *Christ Leaving the Praetorium*. Probably the most gigantic of all the artist's monumental paintings, he labored on it from 1869 to 1872, and a photograph of him at work on it, with the *Ecce Homo* in the background, conveys a sense of its scale (fig. 86). Following its years of exhibition in London, it was among the works sent on the American tour of the Doré Gallery. In more recent times it belonged to the Bob Jones University Museum's Collection. However, it was sold at auction and has now found an appropriate home with the extensive Doré collection at the Museum of Strasbourg.[22] Given the popularity of the original, Doré made several replicas. One painted between 1875 and 1880 for London was nearly as large as the original; it was sold in New York in 1984 to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes.[23] Of more modest dimensions is the reduced replica of ca. 1883 in the Bob Jones University Museum Collection (fig. 87). Another more sketchy oil study of the composition is in the Museo de Arte in Ponce (fig. 232).[24]

As previously mentioned, the subject of Christ leaving the Praetorium (Pilate's Judgment Hall where Christ was condemned) was suggested to Doré by his English friend the Rev. F. K. Harford one evening when they dined at the home of the Biblical scholar and musicologist, Sir George Grove. They pointed out to Doré that this moment had never before been depicted in art and Doré took on the challenge.[25] He made many preparatory studies for each figure, section, and for the overall composition.[26] He then stretched the enormous canvas, 20 × 30 feet, in 1867 and spent considerable time painting it, working from the top of a ladder or from his elevated platform. The goal was to exhibit it in the Salon of 1870. However, when Canon Harford saw the work in Doré's

87. *Christ Leaving the Praetorium*, ca.1880–83, oil on canvas, 54 ¼ × 88 in. Bob Jones University Museum, Greenville, SC

studio, he criticized it for being too bright and cheerful. He felt the sky should be overcast, so Doré immediately painted over the offending portions, and began the next day to make it a more somber composition.[27] The delay meant that it could not be sent to the Salon; then, due to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, it had to be rolled up and buried for safekeeping.[28] Finally it was unveiled at a special showing in the artist's studio, where it met with praise, and was sent off to London. The *Morning Post* called it a "magnificent painting" and the catalogue of the Doré Gallery described it in detail:

> Arrayed in a seamless garment of snowy white with the crown of thorns around his brows, the Saviour is walking down the steep stairs leading from the hall called the Praetorium to Golgotha. The scene is in the open air. Vast beyond computation as is the surrounding assemblage, he is alone—not one of his multitudinous enemies daring as yet to approach his august person. The solitude is eminently poetic in sentiment … This splendid work is at once a poem and a sermon, spoken in the language of colour with a splendour and melodiousness of eloquence not to be surpassed.[29]

88. *The Massacre of the Innocents*, ca.1872, pen, ink, and wash, heightened with white on paper. 22 × 33 in. Dahesh Museum of Art, New York

89. *Les Ténèbres (The Night of the Crucifixion)*, 1875, oil on canvas, 51 ¼ × 76 ¼ in. The Luis A. Ferré Foundation, Inc. Ponce, Puerto Rico, Museo de Arte de Ponce

Doré's submission to the 1872 Salon was the large *Massacre of the Innocents* (12 × 17 feet), which then went to the Doré Gallery.[30] For this subject the artist had his own engraving from the 1865 Bible to use as a source. It in turn was based upon a famous print by Marcantonio after Raphael. In preparation for the steel engraving, which would also be sold at the Gallery, Doré made the very detailed grisaille drawing now in the Dahesh Museum of Art (fig. 88).[31] The well-known subject was described in Matthew 2: 16–18 where King Herod, fearing the birth of a savior, orders the slaughter of all the Jewish male infants under two years of age in Bethlehem. Doré conceived the city as a great walled fortress. The violence of the attack is encapsulated in the overturned empty crib in the foreground. The soldiers in their Roman uniforms violently grab and murder the children. It is one of Doré's most dynamic compositions moving both horizontally across the sheet and also into the depth. *The Academy*, as quoted in the 1892 New York catalogue, described the composition thus:

> As usual he treats the Massacre of the Innocents with remarkable power of vivid conception and forceful realization. The principal group presents the desperate, frantic struggle of a noble-looking mother with three soldiers, one of whom holds her infant aloft prepared to slaughter it... The general posing of this group, in slanting and sidelong attitudes, enhances the sense of effort and confused struggle. Another group, less salient to the eye, has greater strength of dramatic meaning. Here a mother entices a soldier to allow her to smuggle away into concealment the cot wherein her baby lies ensconced. The slaughterer understands the meaning of her fiercely caressing eyes and convulsively leering lips, and seems more than half minded to hear the proffered remuneration for a moment of mercy, and spare one victim out of the many doomed by King Herod.[32]

For the Salon of the next year (1873), Doré painted *Les Ténèbres (The Night of the Crucifixion)*. The large original version (4ft. 3in. × 6ft. 4in.) was then added to the Doré Gallery;[33] a reduced version, dated 1875, is now in Ponce (fig. 89). While the subject of the Crucifixion was frequently depicted in Western art, the moment of Christ's death and its impact on Jerusalem and its population as interpreted by Doré was, as the contemporary descriptions make clear, most unusual. Jules Claretie reviewing the Salon wrote:

> M. Doré treats painting in the same manner as wood engraving, broadly with an unrestrained impetuosity and a *furia* that is truly incredible. The English are mad about that sort of painting. As for me, I don't care at all for this phantasmagoria that M. Doré calls *Les Ténèbres*. Under pretence of painting the moment of the Passion when the earth shook and the veil of the Temple was rent, he shows us a veritable panorama of Jerusalem. One is reminded of the striking perspectives of Martin when one looks at this striking composition that clashes, that screams, that seems strident and yet is not vulgar and remains extremely personal. It's Doré and nothing but Doré, but its definitely something. Furthermore I prefer this strange canvas, a kind of model for an opera set (an enchanted apotheosis if you like), I very much prefer it to the Souvenir of the Alps that M. Doré exhibits nearby.[34]

The flattering description in the catalogue of the Doré Gallery provided even more detail:

> The subject of this imaginative historic picture is the coming on of the mysterious darkness which the Evangelist [St. Luke 23:44] describes as accompanying the Crucifixion. The scene is laid in Jerusalem. The streets of the city are full of a terrified and excited crowd; and the fickle mob are already passing from the cry, "His blood be on us and our children!" to mutual accusations as to the great crime. The stalwart forms of the Roman guard alone

90. *The Dream of Pilate's Wife, Claudia Procula*, 1874, oil on canvas, 77 × 115 in. The Joey and Toby Tanenbaum Collection, 2002, Art Gallery of Hamilton, Ontario

91. *The House of Caiaphas*, 1875, oil on canvas, 42 × 69 in. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Lawrence H. Favrot Bequest Fund

control the terror and the fury of the people, and the glare of the lighting as reflected from the burnished arms of the soldiers. The subdued coloring of the dresses of the mob, under the gloom of the angry sky, adds to the somber tone of the picture. On the distant horizon is seen Calvary, with the three crosses standing out against the gleaming sky. The awe, trouble and terror of the scene are wrought out with the imagination of a poet.[35]

The Standard in its review made a contemporary allusion by noting, "it might have been that Doré, trusting to his experience of the frenzied crowds of revolution it was his lot to witness in Paris, was thus enabled to give expression to the commotion of a people in despair."[36]

One of Doré's most individual subjects was the 1874 painting for the Doré Gallery, *The Dream of Pilate's Wife, Claudia Procula*. He produced at least two versions. The original large-scale one (10 × 13 feet) was for a time in America and the somewhat smaller version is now in Hamilton (fig. 90).[37] In addition, Doré produced a highly finished color drawing.[38] The inspiration for this subject was, as Roosevelt pointed out,[39] the following passage in Matthew 27:19:

When Pilate was set down on the judgment seat, his wife sent unto him saying, "Have thou nothing to do with that just Man, for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him."

Doré seems to have been the first artist to give visual form to this dream vision of Pilate's wife, and, according to Jerrold, Doré revealed that it was on the advice of his English friend Canon Harford that, "I have drawn around her a kind of court of Roman women, which makes a very good effect."[40] The description of the subject as given in the 1892 Carnegie Hall catalogue of the Doré Gallery still serves to explicate the subject:

The dreamer is shown descending a flight of stairs from her chamber, guided by an angel. The whisper of the angel calls up to her eyes the vision at which we are able to glance, instructed by the history of 18 centuries. The august Sufferer is the central figure of the vision, and the brutality and cruelty of his guards, accusers and murderers are softened under the magic of a dream into sorrow and repentance... The remarkable peculiarity of the three lights, one from the sleeping chamber, one emanating from the figure of Christ, and a third indicating the hope of the future, cannot fail to strike the observer.[41]

A more moderately sized painting *The House of Caiaphas* (fig. 91) was shown by the artist at the Salon of 1875 before being sent on to the Doré Gallery in London. The Salon *livret* quoted the following text of St. Luke, 22:1–4:

Now the Feast of Unleavened Bread drew near, which is called Passover. And the chief priests and the scribes were seeking how to put Him to death, for they feared the people.

Then Satan entered into Judas called Iscariot, who was of the number of the twelve; he went away and conferred with the chief priests and captains how he might betray Him to them.[42]

Conder's description for the London Doré Gallery made it more explicit that this was "the covenanting of Judas with the priests for thirty pieces of silver, an imaginative scene, *full of power and of character*, in which M. Doré has followed the example of the great Flemish painters in the splendor of his costumes."[43] In fact the way in which Doré contrasts the dark scene of Judas and the High Priest in the foreground with the brilliantly illuminated scene of Christ preaching in the background is reminiscent of Rembrandt, whose prints Doré collected.

92. *The Battle of Ascalon*, 1875, oil on canvas, 48 × 77 in. Concordia Seminary, St. Louis

93. *Entry of Christ into Jerusalem*, 1876, watercolor and gouache, 23 ½ × 31 ½ in. Stephen Mazoh & Co., Inc., Rhinebeck, New York

Also added to the Doré Gallery in 1875 although not specifically a Biblical scene was *The Battle of Ascalon* (fig. 92). It was the pendant to the *Soldiers of the Cross* of the previous year. Both were celebrations of the triumph of Christianity during the era of the Crusades, a subject to which Doré had earlier devoted a whole book of illustrations. In each of these works an enormous cross is the center of the crowded composition, indicating the victory of the outnumbered Christian knights over the Saracen hordes amidst the mountainous valleys of the Near East. In fact the Battle of Ascalon occurred on August 12, 1099 and was the final battle of the First Crusade in which Godfrey de Bouillon defeated the greater force assembled by the Egyptian vizier al-Afdal thus assuring the Christian occupation of Jerusalem. As Lucy Hooper observed on seeing the work displayed at Doré's semi-private show at the Cercle des Mirlitons in 1877:

> This large canvas showed Doré's power of representing the whirl and confusion of a hand-to-hand fight. The combatants with locked lances, struggle in serried lines amid the dusky shadows of a ravine in the foreground. The luster of sunset shines full upon the cross, which has been planted on the summit of a declivity in the background, while at its base are priests engaged in prayer. The hurly-burly of the strife is wonderfully represented.[44]

Thinking of his paintings as pairs Doré in 1876 completed *The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem* to serve in the Gallery as a pendant to the earlier *Praetorium* scene. It was of equal enormous size and shown at the Paris Salon of that year where both Henry James and Émile Zola were extremely critical of it.[45] In this case Doré sought to achieve a brighter effect than was typical of his previous religious subjects. He wrote to Canon Harford in November 1875 that his new picture was "bursting with light."[46] This is evident in both the large, detailed watercolor version (fig. 93) and even more so in an unfinished large oil sketch (fig. 94) which is so vivid as to remind one of Delacroix. For the backdrop of Jerusalem, Doré actually copied the architectural setting of Veronese's famous *Supper in the House of Simon the Pharasee* at the Louvre. The resulting discord between the color and the heavy architecture in the work was commented on by one contemporary reviewer.[47]

94. *The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem*, 1876, oil on canvas, 38 ¼ × 51 in. Anna Held Audette collection on deposit at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA

As described in the Chicago catalogue of the Doré Gallery:

> The Savior, draped in a blue robe, is represented riding on an ass, and as having just passed under one of those gateways built by Herod the Great in the Corinthian style. Two boys are leading the animal. The group that immediately follows consists of the Apostles, the Virgin, and the seventy who were collected on the occasion…The city stretches out behind the procession, full of the thronging crowds, who fill the streets, cover the roofs, and hang on every available projecting point, rapturously welcoming Him, and strewing his path with the green branches. A group of Roman ladies occupy a sort of tribune to the right, while on the left the Jewish women may be distinguished by their veils … Altogether the great canvas contains about two hundred figures of every rank of society in old Judea … In the blue transparent firmament on high appears a double glory of white robed angels grouped in a celestial choir, who mingle their hosannas with those of the earthly throng.[48]

95. *Sketch for Prostrate Jews*, watercolor, ink, and white heightening, 18 $^{13}/_{16}$ × 29 ¼ in. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. Lent by Richard S. Davis

96. *Prostrate Jews*, 1878, charcoal, pen and ink wash, on paper, 30 ¼ × 41 ¼ in. Dahesh Museum of Art, New York

The large (17ft 6in. × 26ft 6in.) religious painting exhibited by Doré at the Paris Salon of 1878 before it was sent to the Doré Gallery in London later that year was for a change an Old Testament subject, *Prostrate Jews*, showing the aftermath of the tenth plague (Exodus 11, 12). It joined the paintings sent to America and was eventually sold in New York in 1947. A rather free preliminary drawing is in the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard (fig. 95), but there is in the Dahesh Museum of Art a highly finished copy drawing (fig. 96) with an inscription indicating it has been approved in preparation for making the steel engraving also to be sold in the Gallery.[49]

The composition, set on steps reminiscent of Raphael's famous Vatican fresco, *The School of Athens*, is stringently divided into three tiers with the prostrate Jews surrounding the standing figures of Moses and Aaron in the foreground. Massed above them is Pharaoh with his extensive court of

97. *The Ascension*, 1883, oil on canvas, 129 × 78 in. Bob Jones University Collection, Greenville, SC

98. *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, black chalk, 29 ¼ × 25 ¼ in. Courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Collection of Jeffrey E. Horvitz, Boston

99. *Christ Carrying the Cross*, black chalk and charcoal, 33 ½ × 25 ¼ in. Courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Collection of Jeffrey E. Horvitz, Boston

100. *Christ with the Crown of Thorns*, ca. 1880, oil on canvas, 25 × 23 in. Private collection, Cleveland

priests and advisors. The backdrop is a meticulously rendered set of Egyptian architecture, suitable for a production of *Aida*. As observed in *The Magazine of Art*, at the time of its first presentation in London: "The character of the cruel and despotic Pharaoh has been well caught, and the attitude of Moses, who is accompanied by Aaron is full of the dignity of meekness."[50]

The Daily Telegraph of London, as quoted in the New York exhibition catalogue of 1892 stated:

> The composition, as is usual with this artist, is plain and direct. Nothing about it is obscure or involved ... Technically, the arrangement and execution of the entire work are superb ... The dramatic cunning of the artist has centred the interest of the work in Pharaoh [who] commands just that intense but momentary interest which always attaches itself to a great criminal.[51]

One of the last major religious works painted by Doré for his London Gallery was the *Ascension* of 1879. In this case the arched-top painting was a pendant to the 1877 *Ecce Homo*, so that a haloed Christ appeared dramatically in the center of each composition. Doré completed smaller replicas of them shortly before his death in 1883 and that of the *Ascension* is now in the Bob Jones University Museum Collection (fig. 97). According to the catalogue of the Doré Gallery, the painter grouped the two works together as "representative of the Humanity and the Divinity" of Christ—"one depicting His Humiliation on Earth—the other the Supernatural Glory which sealed the termination of His mission to mankind."[52] Describing the "colossal" original (20 feet high), *The Daily Telegraph* noted:

> It is to all intents and purposes an altar piece ... and in planning it Doré had to contend with avoiding the lines of Raphael's 'Transfiguration' and to disassociate his design from the mean and timid conventionalities of Raphael's followers ...Doré has thus boldly struck out a new and original line for himself. The Apostles are eliminated from the foreground and relegated to a subordinate position in the extreme distance. Earthly objects are almost altogether discarded; and the attention of the spectator, who is assumed to be in midair, is absorbed by the supernatural side of the incident. We gaze straight into a radiant mass of angels. Above them, just touching a billow of fleecy clouds, softly soars heavenward the Central Figure; while, highest of all, in a blaze of light, the legions of the Heavenly Host await Him.[53]

CHRIST THE SAVIOR: TORMENT AND SALVATION

After the Franco–Prussian War, Doré, according to Roosevelt, began almost obsessively producing drawings of the head of Christ.[54] His contemporaries noted that the features of Doré's Christ often resembled those of his own brother Ernest.[55] Two of these are now in the Horvitz collection (figs. 98, 99) and both intensely reveal the tragic countenance of Christ as the Man of Sorrows and on his way to Crucifixion.[56]

The figure of the suffering Christ during his Passion was also to appear in late paintings by Doré. One of the first was *The Mocking of Christ* in The Toledo Museum of Art (fig. 102). Doré here presents the traditional subject as conceived by so many earlier European masters from Bosch to Rubens without any distracting background and contrives to render Christ's tormentors as particularly grotesque.

Much more unusual and personal is the roughly painted oil on canvas from a private Cleveland collection of *Christ with the Crown of Thorns* (fig. 100).[57] The profile of the consoling Virgin can just be discerned at the upper left. Another haunting devotional work of even smaller scale is the *Christ on the Cross* (fig. 101) in a private Toronto collection.[58] This is successful perhaps because it is so tightly focused and devoid of the mass of distracting details often found in the painter's more narrative religious works. Viewed as if floating above the earth, Christ on the wooden cross has translucent white skin offset with rivulets of blood. He has no halo but the gleaming stars in the sky serve to suggest his divinity.

101. *Christ on the Cross*, oil on canvas, 26 ½ × 21 ¾ in. Private collection, Toronto

102. *The Mocking of Christ (The Man of Sorrows)*, late 1870s – early 1880s, oil on canvas, 48 ¾ × 38 ⅝ in. Toledo Museum of Art. Gift of René Gimpel, 1926

103. *Frère Angel,* lithograph, 1855. Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, Stanford, CA

104. A. Legros, *Le Lutrin (The Lectern)*, 1865, etching. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

ANECDOTAL RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS

Among Doré's most original creations were a pair of paintings, which brought the category of anecdotal religious narrative subjects to monumental proportions.[59] For contemporary viewers they seemed to convey a meaningful moral or spiritual message. These were first *The Neophyte* and then later *The Day Dream.* The first was described by Alexandre Dumas as "a triumph of nature and art."[60] Doré's ever-effusive biographer, Blanche Roosevelt, called it both "his greatest painting" and "one of the most remarkable inspirations of this century."[61]

The genesis of *The Neophyte* lay in a print Doré made in 1855 to illustrate *Spiridion*, George Sand's 1838 novel about monastic life (fig. 103).[62] In the book the troubled young novice Frère Angel or Brother Angel recalls his isolated life in the monastery thus:

> The weeks and months passed by with the kind of tacit reprobation that weighed on me without lessening ... I saw each day that solitude was enlarging its circle around me ... All my friends had left me ... I had too much faith in my calling to consider any idea of rebellion or flight ... I would live and die misunderstood.[63]

Doré's lithograph of *Frère Angel* shows a row of four seated monks. The pensive, young hero with his breviary on his lap is silent while the three rather gross older monks are depicted half asleep chanting their verses by rote.

Already in his illustrations for Rabelais, Doré had taken the opportunity to caricature monks in a monastery, and in one case even produced a row of figures prescient of *The Neophyte*'s composition.[64] As observed by Victor Koshkin-Yourtzin, Doré, possibly following the example of the earlier illustrator J. J. Grandville, often created images composed of rows of figures.[65] But perhaps in this case his inspiration also came from another source, an etching by Alphonse Legros entitled

105. *The Neophyte*, ca. 1868–9, pen, ink and pencil, 7 ¼ × 4 ½ in. Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, VA

106. *Heads of Seven Monks*, ca. 1868, brown ink with white highlights, 5 ⅛ × 8 ¹¹⁄₁₆ in. Private collection, Norman, OK

107. Cham, Caricature of *The Neophyte* at the 1868 Salon

108. *The Neophyte,* etching, fourth state. S.P. Avery Collection, The New York Public Library

109. *The Neophyte,* 1876, etching, ninth and final state. The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA. Gift of J. Thomas Wilson

110. *The Neophyte (First Experience of the Monastery)*, ca. 1866–8, oil on canvas, 57 ⅜ × 107 ½ in. Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, VA. Gift of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.

111. *La Rêve du Moine (The Day Dream)*, 1880, oil on canvas, 96 × 120 in. The Joey and Toby Tanenbaum Collection, 2002, Art Gallery of Hamilton, Ontario

112. *The Neophyte*, 188?, oil on canvas, 96 × 121 ⅝ in. City of Los Angeles, CA

Chantres éspagnols (*The Spanish Choristers*) also known as *Le Lutrin* (*The Lectern*) (fig. 104), first exhibited at the Salon of 1861; set in a church, it presents a seated row of monks with rather horrific faces.[66]

Whatever the source, the theme of the alienated neophyte seems to have fascinated Doré, and he produced a number of almost Leonardoesque drawings (fig. 106)[67] as he developed his vision of the subject. About 1868 these led to a painting of a single row of monks (fig. 110),[68] and then in both drawings (fig. 105)[69] and paintings (fig. 112),[70] he further elaborated the theme into a double row of monks. It was the latter version, as evidenced by Cham's cartoon (fig. 107) lampooning the composition, that was exhibited at the Salon of 1868. According to Blanche Roosevelt both paintings—the single row version (5 ft. × 8 ft. 6in.) and the two rows (8 ft. × 10 ft. 6 in.) were then added to

the Doré Gallery.[71] Finally the double row composition was transformed by Doré into a large-scale etching that went through nine states before reaching completion (figs. 108, 109).[72]

The subject of *The Neophyte* was fully described in the catalogue of the Doré Gallery from 1892:

> This fine picture presents a wonderful physiognomical study and is full of tragic power. It represents a neophyte, or newly admitted monk, seated in the choir during the service of the Church. His look of trouble and disquiet betrays the dawning apprehension that he has taken a step as fatal as it is irrevocable. The effect of the restriction of convent life on the elder monks is powerfully exhibited, as well as most naturally varied. The old bald monk is intent only on spelling out the words of his breviary. The white bearded man has allowed his imagination to carry him far back into the scenes of youth. The scowl on the square brow of the man formed for vigorous activity denotes a rumination on scenes of the world from which he is now shut out. On the left of the principal figure a grizzled monk is intoning the chant ... In the Neophyte himself may be seen the ideal of a Luther or a Savonarola.[73]

Doré himself is said to have remarked on the subject of the young monk, "He will be over the cloister wall tonight."[74] More recently Michael Gibson has tellingly observed:

> This poor young neophyte is clearly meant to stand for youthful fervor and dawning intelligence trapped in a world where hearts and minds are worn and debased. That the artist worked on the subject off and on for ten years and produced so many variants on it suggests that the theme may have been something of an allegory of his own experience.[75]

In August of 1880 a London periodical reported:

> The most recent addition to the Doré Gallery in Bond Street, the work which the artist calls *The Day Dream* is intended as a companion picture to his well-known *Neophyte*. The scene presented to us is that of a young monk with finely drawn features and intellectual cast of countenance, seated in the organ loft of his monastery, who as he lightly touches the notes of the instrument—to the solemn sounds of which his brethren in procession, and with lighted tapers, are seen quitting the precincts of the chapel below—is by some re-awakened memory, suggested in the idea of the spirit-like looking form of a bright and beautiful girl faintly discernable in the gleam of light from the window, alive to the possibility that he may have been mistaken in the life of selfish asceticism to which he has doomed himself. This we take to be the meaning of M. Doré's design, as the scene presents a suggestion of a life of penance and self-mortification in the long procession of shaven monks wending their way in the semi-gloom, in opposition to the idea of the measure of ordered happiness permitted by the Almighty to those accepting the ordinance giving woman as a help-mate to man. The latter idea is forcibly expressed in the questioning look of doubt and hesitation in the face of the young monk, and in the purely beautiful female figure appearing to him momentarily as in a vision, conveying the notion of domestic happiness he has voluntarily and perhaps needlessly forfeited.[76]

When the Doré Gallery came to New York in 1892, the newspaper of record was not so complimentary about the work:

> One of the weakest in composition and painting is *The Day Dream*—a youngish monk at the keys of an organ, whose immaterial vision is enough materialzed for us in the background to see that it is about a nude girl lavish in her charms. Yet this picture is said to be the most popular of all when reproduced by steel engraving.[77]

Just as there were precedents for *The Neophyte*, so too for this subject Doré may have found inspiration in earlier works. A print of ca. 1850 by Johannes Bosboom depicts a Carmelite playing the organ and a work by Alphonse Legros—an 1868 oil painting of *A May Service for Young Women* showing a young monk at the organ as a congregation of young women is absorbed in their own thoughts.[78] A possible preliminary drawing of a somewhat different-looking monk at the organ with a despairing figure of a woman at his side is in a private collection.[79]

As with *The Neophyte* Doré did several versions of *The Day Dream*. The one exhibited in the Doré Gallery and sold in New York in 1947 was reported to have measurements of 11 ft. × 5 ft. 6 in.,[80] somewhat larger than the work now at Hamilton (fig. 111). There are also two vertical versions focusing primarily on the monk and his vision which are in the museum at Ponce.[81]

The inspiration for the female apparition in *The Day Dream* may be based on Doré's idealized vision of one of his closest friends, the famed soprano Adelina Patti.[82] Nadine Lehni has suggested that the meaning of this subject may have been deeper and more personal than expected for Doré, as he found in it "a metaphor for his own disillusionment and for the alienation which he experienced as a result of public indifference to his paintings."[83]

Conclusion

Doré is supposed to have confided to the author Mlle. Bader, "Of all I have ever done, nothing has ever affected me so deeply as have my religious works. I consider that my greatest and truest inspirations were derived from my most sacred subjects, and I have never felt such fervor with respect to any other task. It did my soul good to labor at them." And she added, "he always said he did not believe a heretic could properly portray any sacred subject."[84] If Doré was indeed religious himself, it was certainly not in a traditional manner. He could find great humor in the religious calling, mocking the clergy in many of his illustrated books, and making the neophyte's predicament the subject of his two popular scenes of religious genre (figs. 110–12). His most heartfelt Christian feeling emerges in his many scenes of the unfortunate—the poor and homeless beggars—who he observed with great attention and sympathy in both Spain and particularly in London. These subjects, unlike his grandiose religious machines, that in the nineteenth century led to his being dubbed "the preacher painter,"[85] still have the power to move us and touch our hearts.

Caricatures and Prints

Within a very short time of arriving in Paris, the youthful Doré was producing astounding numbers of images for the city's popular publications dealing with political, cultural, and social issues in a humorous manner that brought him great acclaim. His earliest published cartoons and caricatures appeared in *Le Journal pour Rire* between 1848 and 1855 (fig. 114). The publisher Philipon reissued many of these separately as *Petits Albums pour Rire*. Then in 1854 Doré moved on to the next level to produce two lithographic suites *Les différents Publics de Paris* and *La Ménagerie Parisienne* (figs. 9–11) presenting in a satirical manner all the different aspects of Parisian society—at the theater, the zoo, on the boulevards, etc., in a manner somewhat reminiscent of Daumier's contemporary work.[1]

Doré also produced hundreds of individual prints as both independent art works on religious (fig. 115), social, historical, and literary themes and for commercial use in magazines and as advertising for his own and other projects (figs. 116–21). By far his most impressive print is the 1855 lithograph *Rue de la Vieille Lanterne (Death of Gérard de Nerval)* (fig. 113). It was inspired by the suicide of the poet Gérard de Nerval at the age of forty-seven on the evening of January 26, 1855 by hanging himself from the grill of the shop of a locksmith in the rue de la vieille Lanterne near the Place du Châtelet. The poet's sad end was a profound shock to his many friends including the young Doré. Having been judged insane, de Nerval was, however, allowed a Christian burial. His death was commemorated by several artists, including Jules de Goncourt and Célestin Nanteuil,[2] whose depictions of the squalid setting—a flight of steps and gates are nearly identical to that in Doré's print. However, Doré is both much more graphic and imaginative, depicting not only the pathetic frail body of the poet, but also the trumpet-blowing skeleton symbolic of death bearing his spirit upward as an angelic host awaits him. At the center, on top of the steps is a black bird of doom, a motif that the artist would still be using at the end of his own career in *The Raven* (fig. 148). To personalize the subject he also inscribed the print with the following verses from de Nerval's *Cydalises*:

> L'éternité profonde
> Souriait dans vos yeux...
> Flambeaux éteints du monde
> Rallumez-vous aux cieux.
>
> The depths of eternity
> were smiling in your eyes...
> Flames extinguished in the world,
> light yourself again in heaven.

113. *Rue de la Vieille Lanterne (Death of Gérard de Nerval)*, ca. 1855, lithograph, 20 1/16 × 13 3/4 in. The Baltimore Museum of Art, The George A. Lucas Collection


JOURNAL POUR RIRE
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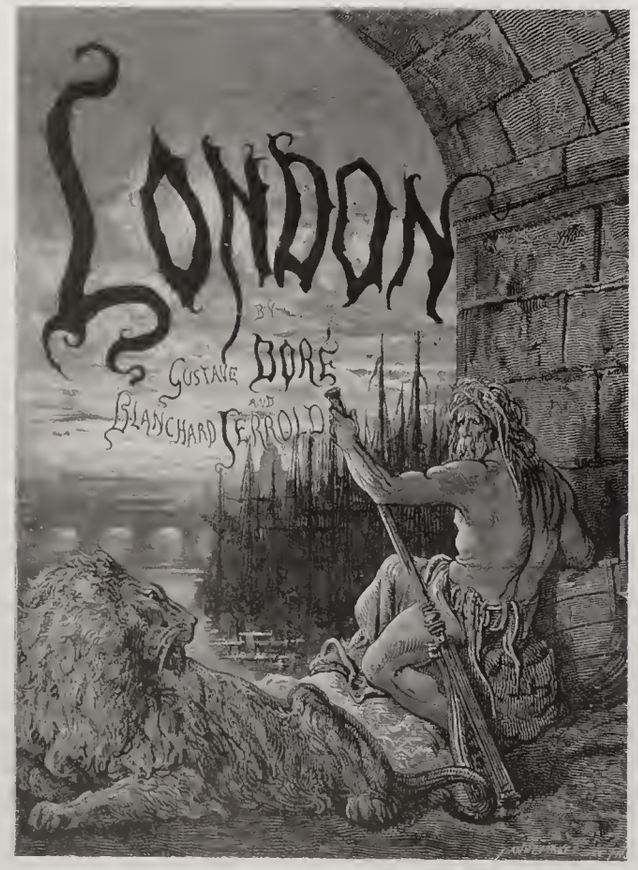
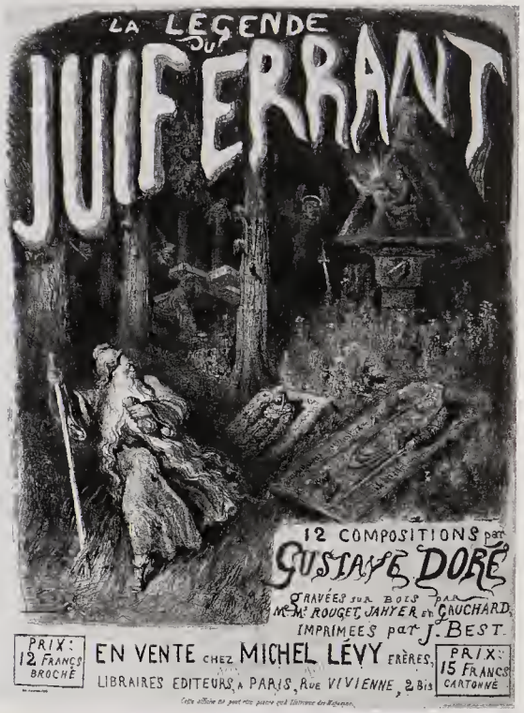
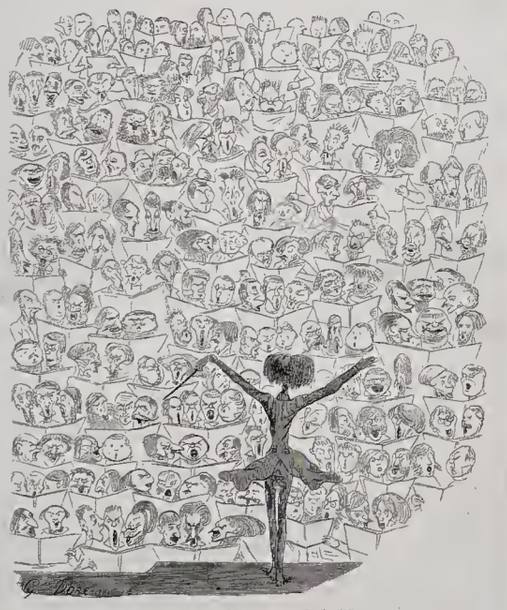

LONDON
BY
GUSTAVE DORÉ
AND
BLANCHARD JERROLD



Dessin de GUSTAVE DORÉ,
Gravé par DUMONT.



Un concert de la Société philharmonique au Jardin-d'Hiver.

FACING PAGE

114. *L'Homme aux cent mille écus,* lithograph for the *Journal pour Rire*, January 12, 1850. Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

115. *Calvary,* lithograph, 15 ¼ × 11 in. Private collection

116. Title page engraving from *London: A Pilgrimage*, by Blanchard Jerrold (London, 1872). Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

117. *The Skaters,* lithograph for the *Musée Français Anglais*, 1856–7, 11 ½ × 15 ¼ in. Private collection

THIS PAGE

118. *Knight Errantry in the 12th Century*, from *Historical Cartoons*, ca. 1868. Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

119. *Poster for La Légende du juif errant*, 1856, lithograph, 24 ½ × 17 ¾ in. Private collection

120. *Un Concert de la Société philharmonique au Jardin-d'hiver* lithograph for the *Journal pour Rire*. Private collection

121. *Monsieur Dupont,* hand colored lithograph. Iris B. and Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, Stanford, CA, Mortimer C. Leventritt Fund

Literary Subjects

INTRODUCTION

It can be argued that Doré's greatest and most long-lasting fame came as a result of his prodigious output of illustrations for classic and popular literature. But it was not just the sheer number of images, rather it was his ability to give memorable form to the characters, creatures, and events in these texts and to find the right overall tone or mood with which to invest them. Thus for example *Don Quixote* is a riot of movement and action, which summons up the color and chaos of Cervantes's picaresque novel, while the poems of Tennyson evoke a quieter more elegiac atmosphere.

At the beginning of his career Doré drew his designs directly on the wood blocks for the engravers to cut and ink. In some cases he discarded blocks or drew works that were not used in the printed editions, and thus there are a good many cases of blocks with the drawing still upon their surfaces. By the later part of Doré's career a new process had been developed enabling the drawn images to be transferred to the plates mechanically or photographically, so that for the books of Tennyson and Poe, for example, many more of the original drawings survived. In some cases, particularly those of Rabelais and Ariosto, Doré continued to be inspired by the texts long after the production of the book.

FRANÇOIS RABELAIS: GARGANTUA AND PANTAGRUEL, 1854 AND 1873

In retrospect it seems natural for Doré to have moved from his early cartoons and caricatures made for Parisian journals to the more rewarding task of illustrating literary classics, beginning with humorous works by Rabelais and Balzac. Doré himself admitted that it was Rabelais's text, which allowed him "to escape from the continuation of comic work which had begun to annoy me excessively... I begged my publisher's permission to execute an illustrated Rabelais to appear serially in the same form as the comic periodical. This was the first thing of mine which made a sensation."[1] The first edition of the sixteenth-century triumph of the grotesque and erudition, Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagruel* appeared in 1854 with 104 drawings, most of small scale. Its success and that of subsequent books led Doré to produce a new edition in 1873 with many more full-page illustrations. The Boston Museum's drawing (fig. 122) nicely contrasting the character of two of Rabelais's leading characters, the inebriated Friar John and the foppish Panurge, is a preparatory study for the wood engraving in the 1854 edition. The watercolor at Vassar showing Panurge addressing the sleeping Pantagruel and the uncut block at Harvard[2] of an enthroned Pantagruel or Gargantua are both elaborate scenes not published in but relating to the 1873 edition (figs. 123, 124).

LA LÉGENDE DU JUIF ERRANT (THE WANDERING JEW), 1856

The publication of *La Légende du juif errant* in 1856 marked a turning point in Doré's career. This time it was the illustrations rather than the text that were the purpose of the publication. The artist

122. *Friar John and Panurge*, 1854, graphite on paper, 12 × 9 13/16 in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, John Wheelock Elliot Fund

123. *Scene from Rabelais*, ca. 1873, graphite, pen and ink, wash, and white highlighting, on uncut woodblock, 9 ½ × 7 ½ in. Houghton Library, Harvard College Library, Cambridge, MA

124. *Scene from Rabelais*, 1875, watercolor over pencil on paper, 13 1/16 × 19 ½ in., Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY, Gift of Mrs. R. Kirk Askew, Jr.

125. *Study for Plate 2 of The Wandering Jew*, 1859, watercolor and chalk with white highlighting, 22 ⅜ × 16 ¾ in., Ball State University Museum of Art, Muncie, IN. Elizabeth Ball Collection

126. *Don Quixote and Sancho Panza Entertained by Basil and Quiteria,* oil on canvas, 36 ¼ × 28 ¼ in., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Mrs. William A. McFadden and Mrs. Giles Whiting, 1928

127. *The Wolf Turned Shepherd*, 1867, engraving from *The Fables*, by Jean de la Fontaine. Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

128. Sketch for *The Wolf Turned Shepherd*, ca. 1866–7, pencil on gray paper, 11 ⅞ × 8 ⅞ in., Birmingham Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. Otto Mosler Marx

129. Sketch for *The Wolf Turned Shepherd*, ca. 1868, graphite, 11 ⅛ × 8 ¼ in. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Gift of Leo Weidenthal

sought to rival old master print-makers such as Dürer, and thus Doré worked on a grand scale to produce the twelve folio-size illustrations for a short poem, which Béranger derived from the famous four-volume novel of Eugène Sue of 1845 that had been illustrated with a plethora of tiny images by Gavarni. The tale told of a Jewish cobbler who mocked Christ and was thus condemned to wander forever throughout the world until he became convinced of Christ's divinity. The subject gave Doré an opportunity to produce a suite of great scenes with tremendous sweep and remarkable Romantic flair. The powerful alternative study for plate 2 of *The Wandering Jew* (fig. 125) is in many ways more striking than the familiar printed image. The use of color is especially effective with the white highlights for the Christ on the cross, the retreating figure, and the dramatic flash of lightening being particularly vivid. But most of all the drawing takes on a haunting aspect in that Doré as he worked up his composition sketched in a second larger ghostlike image of the Wandering Jew.

MIGUEL DE CERVANTES: DON QUIXOTE, 1863

Doré, like Daumier, was fascinated by Cervantes's great novel, *Don Quixote*. While the older artist independently painted and drew many of its picturesque scenes, Doré was actually commissioned in 1862 to provide illustrations for a new edition of a French translation by Louis Viardot. He went to Spain that year and returned again the next to absorb the authentic flavor. The result was a massive publication with 120 plates and many vignettes published first by Hachette in 1863. The artist provided enduring images of the eccentric Don and his many adventures. For the charming painting now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Doré enlarged one of the incidents he had illustrated (fig. 126).[3] This was the visit of the Don and Sancho to the home of Basil and Quiteria. Having succeeded in outwitting Quiteria's father who wished to marry her to an elderly suitor, Don Quixote was able to assure her marriage to her true beloved Basil. Thus the Don is warmly received by the couple, while Sancho contents himself with gorging at the table. The scene is full of colorful Spanish details. A small pen and ink drawing of the composition is also known.[4]

JEAN DE LA FONTAINE: FABLES (THE FABLES), 1868

The French poet Jean de La Fontaine's *Fables* based on those of Aesop first appeared in 1668. Previous to Doré both Grandville and Tenniel had produced noted nineteenth-century editions. Doré's illustrations were first published in part form during 1866–67, before appearing as a bound volume in 1868. There were eighty-four full-page illustrations. These tales proved convivial subjects for him not only for their whimsical humor, but also because of his love for seeing things from unusual viewpoints, in this case usually an animal's perspective. Doré described this project as one of his most difficult tasks,[5] but it was nevertheless a huge success going through many editions and providing what has become the definitive form for a number of the fables, such as the "Wolf Turned Shepherd" (fig. 127).[6] A number of preparatory drawings for the image of the wolf disguised as a shepherd exist,[7] including those in Birmingham and Cleveland (figs. 128, 129). So well-known was this illustration for La Fontaine that Daumier used it as the basis for one of his own caricatures in 1867, turning the wolf into the German Emperor baring his teeth as he guards the sheep labeled as the different German provinces.[8]

Through the various animals, Doré, following La Fontaine, was able to limn a variety of human foibles. For example in the fable "The Lion in Love," which La Fontaine dedicated to "Mademoiselle de Sévigné," the vanity of the handsome lion in love with a shepherdess leads to his undoing when her crafty father prevails on the beast to have his claws and teeth removed before the wedding, so that now defenseless, he is easily turned away, proving that love makes us forget common sense. In Doré's

130. *The Lion in Love*, pencil on gray paper, 11 ⅞ × 8 ⅞ in., Birmingham Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. Otto Mosler Marx

131. *The Sick Stag*, watercolor over graphite, 12 × 9 ⅛ in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Lucy Dalbiac Luard Fund

132. *The Grasshopper and the Ant*, Brown and grey wash over black chalk, heightened with white, 25 ⅜ × 19 ⅜ in. Dr. and Mrs. Michael Schlossberg, Atlanta, GA

rendering (fig. 130) the elegantly dressed young shepherdess sits comfortably on the lion's back as one man cuts the lion's claws and another in front brandishes scissors.

In the watercolor *The Sick Stag* Doré illustrates one of La Fontaine's fables aimed at the medical profession. It tells of a stag that became ill and his fellow stags gathered to provide consolation. Although the ailing animal asked them to end their weeping and just go away and let him die, these consolers stayed on and ate all the grass in the dell, so that the sick beast finally did die of starvation. The moral is that it is better to pay those who serve as doctors, for those who play the role will all get their fee one way or another. The Boston drawing (fig. 131) differs from the printed image in focusing intently on the sick stag whose expression convincingly conveys that he is unwell.

On occasion Doré produced highly finished drawings as well as preliminary studies for his prints, and this is most likely the case with the elaborate treatment of *La Cigale et la Fourmi* (*The Grasshopper and the Ant*) (fig. 132), which was the very first in the book. Here, unlike his predecessor

Grandville, Doré surprisingly portrays the story of the hard-working ant and the frivolous grasshopper in fully human rather than animal terms. In a snowy setting the famished grasshopper in the guise of one of his Spanish singers holding her violin appears at the doorway of the proud, hard-working ant, a woman in Alsatian garb who is so industrious she can't stop knitting for a moment. Are the sad children those of the grasshopper who have been left in the grasshopper's keeping? That is not clear, but the harsh rebuke administered is, and in La Fontaine's original French it is "Vous chantiez? J'en suis fort aise. Eh bien: dansez maintenant."

ALFRED TENNYSON: THE IDYLLS OF THE KING, 1867–68

Alfred Lord Tennyson (1809–92) is considered the leading Victorian poet, and he was appointed poet laureate by Queen Victoria in 1850. He published his *Idylls of the King*, inspired by the legends of King Arthur and his court, in 1859, and he continued to revise it over the next twenty-five years. Doré's illustrations for four sections of the extended poem were commissioned by the English firm of Moxon and appeared as separate folios each with nine plates between 1867 and 1868, when the full edition was also published in London; it was followed by an American edition the following year. Moxon issued the illustrations derived from Doré's drawings as both photogravures and steel engravings and also marketed a set of proof impressions signed by Doré, Tennyson, and the engraver.[9] An example is the *King Arthur Discovering the Skeletons of the Brothers.*[10] Tennyson met Doré and seems to have given grudging approval to the illustrations.[11] However, critics in both England and America found fault with them. The American journal *The Atheneum* went so far as to proclaim: "We suspect, indeed, that M. Doré has never read Tennyson, and never thought of Tennyson while engaged upon his work."[12] Ironically, the French critic Jules Claretie praised these illustrations, writing:

> It is for the London audience that he illustrated the poems of Alfred Tennyson. And there you have one of Doré's best works. His imagination and sense of fantasy were at ease in this dream world. With a powerful poetry he evoked the depths of the avenues of druidic oaks, the dark forest of Broceliande, the enchanted lakes, the exploits of Lancelot, the heroics of the Knights of the Round Table, the pale visions of the enchanted past... Gustave Doré brought to life again these phantoms, these riverbanks, these mysterious woods, these epic processions, these mysterious moonlit nights.[13]

The two significant preliminary drawings for Tennyson in American private collections both focus on a dramatic moment of interaction between the leading male and female characters. From *Vivien*, the second folio of the *Idylls of the King* published with Doré's illustrations in 1867, comes the incident illustrating the poet's line: "At Merlin's feet the wily Vivien lay" (fig. 133). Merlin, the great magician of Arthur's court who, now an old man, has left Camelot, but is pursued by the enchantress Vivien, who, although pretending to love him, really seeks to learn the secret of his power and bring about his ruin. The full text is:

> A storm was coming but the winds were still
> And in the wild woods of Broceliande
> Before an oak, so hollow huge and old
> It look'd a tower of ruin'd masonwork,
> At Merlin's feet the wily Vivien lay...
> As if in deepest reverence and in love.
> A twist of gold was round her hair...

133. *At Merlin's feet the wily Vivien lay,* pen and crayon with wash, 14 × 10 ¼. Collection of Roberta Olsen and Alexander Johnson, New York

134. *Arthur Forgives Guinevere*, pen and ink, with wash, 17 ¼ × 13 ⁹⁄₁₆ in., signed by both Doré and Tennyson. Collection of Frances Beatty Adler and Allen Adler

Doré does incorporate all the proper details and presents the two figures encompassed by the gloomy roots and trunk of the great oak tree. This and the dark forest in the background suggest the evil, which is afoot, as the lovely Vivien in a seductive pose bids the stoic Merlin reveal his secrets.[14]

The last book of *The Idylls* is "Guinevere," and it tells how the love between the Queen and Lancelot was discovered by the King and how they fled from him. Lancelot returned to his own country and only he knew that the Queen traveled alone to a nunnery at Almesbury to seek refuge and perform penance. Unfortunately while Arthur pursued them, his kingdom was invaded and his power usurped. This is the final illustration of the cycle (fig. 134) in which Arthur has finally found his repentant wife at the nunnery. As he approaches, she falls to the ground with her face hidden and remains so as he movingly forgives her:

> I did not come to curse thee, Guinevere,
> I, whose vast pity almost makes me die
> To see thee, laying there thy golden head,
> My pride in happier summers, at my feet …
> And all is past, the sin is sinn'd, and I,
> Lo! I forgive thee, as Eternal God
> Forgives …
> And while she grovell'd at his feet,
> She felt the King's breath wander o'er her neck,
> And in the darkness o'er her fallen head,
> Perceived the waving of his hands that blest.

Doré's aged, bearded Arthur looks strangely similar to his Merlin and thus the illustration serves as a counterbalance to that of the sorcerer with the evil Vivien.

BLANCHARD JERROLD: LONDON: A PILGRIMAGE, 1872

The idea of devoting a book to Doré's impressions of London was suggested to the artist by the English journalist Blanchard Jerrold, who had been the Paris correspondent for *Punch* and became the artist's guide to London in 1869. Jerrold himself would write the accompanying text. It was originally conceived as an even greater project than what was eventually published, but it was still a rather comprehensive work, embracing almost every phase of life in the giant city and being as John Coolidge has observed "one of the most dramatic visual records yet produced of life in a great city."[15] As Jerrold related he and Doré spent many days and nights visiting London settings—often accompanied by the police—so that they could view in safety some of the more dangerous locations. He summarizes their peregrinations as follows:

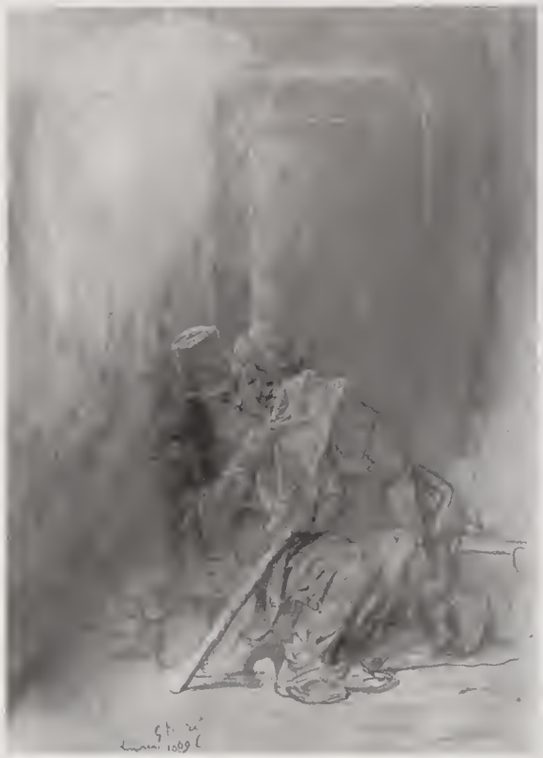
> Whitechapel, the docks, the night refuges, up and down the river, traversed Westminster, a morning or two in Drury Lane, saw the sunrise over Billingsgate, and were betimes at the opening of Covent Garden market; we spent a morning at Newgate; we attended the boat race, and went in a char-à-banc to the Derby, and made acquaintance with all the riotous incidents of a day on a race course; we dined with the Oxford and Cambridge crews; we spent an afternoon at one of the Primate's gatherings at Lambeth Palace; we entered thieves' public-houses; in short, I led Doré through the shadows and the sunlight of the great world of London.[16]

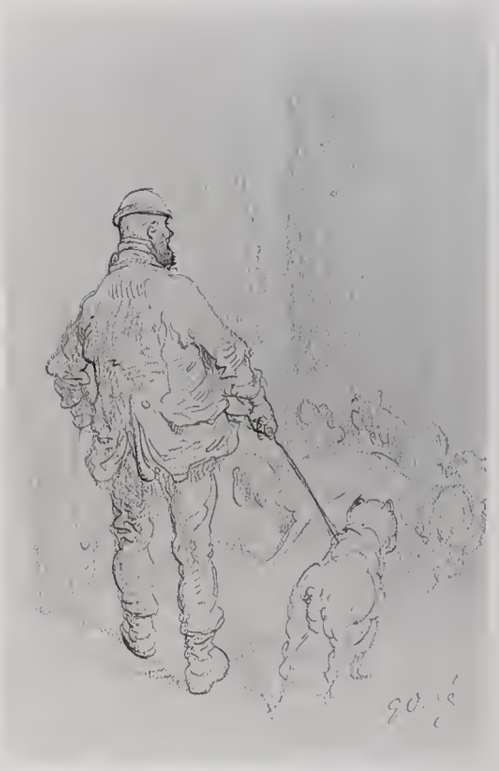
According to Jerrold, Doré's constant remark was that "London was not ugly; that there were grand and solemn scenes by the score in it."[17] It was especially as Jerrold observed "the abiding places of the poor that riveted Doré's attention—touched his charitable heart and are the most picturesque."[18] Sketches of sad flower sellers, waif-like children in ragged clothing, and homeless beggars enveloped in the fog (figs. 135, 136, and 139) abound among Doré's London output.

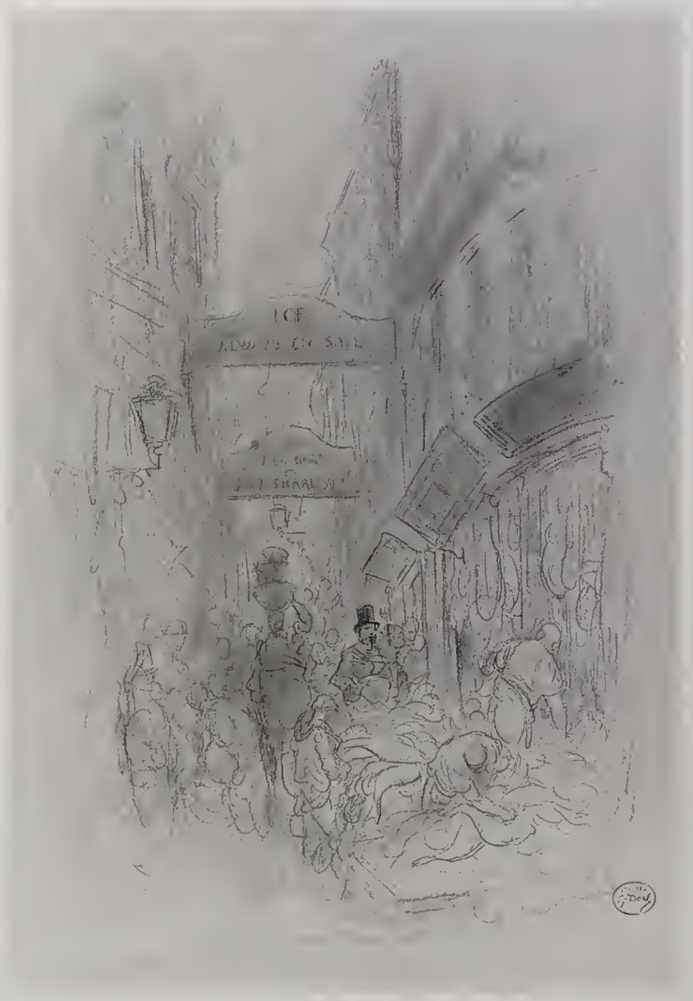
On one occasion the artist and the writer went at midnight to London Bridge, and Doré, as related by Jerrold, "was touched by some forlorn creatures huddled together, asleep, on the stone seats. He has reproduced it again and again, with pencil and with brush. He never appeared to tire of it."[19] A very good example is a silverpoint drawing of 1871 on joined woodblocks (fig. 138). It was not engraved and was once in the collection of the artist's good friend Sarah Bernhardt; it is now in Denver.[20]

On another occasion, as related by Jerrold, they spent a night in the poverty-stricken area of Whitechapel where they "entered a crowded public-house—thieves, to a boy—and pushed through to a door at the back where a young hard-featured woman was stationed, taking money... The entire audience turned towards us, faces—the combined effect of which I shall never forget."[21] This could well be the moment captured in the powerful drawing at the Rhode Island School of Design Museum (fig. 141).

Doré was far from being the first artist or visitor to respond to the crushing social concerns of nineteenth-century London. Dostoyevsky commented on the horrible conditions,[22] and Doré must have seen publications like *The Graphic* with illustrations by Luke Fildes, whose *Homeless and Hungry* of 1869 movingly depicted the plight of the poor.[23] It was in that same year that Doré first prepared a group of drawings in London, which seem to be primarily wash with white highlighting, but due to the interruption of the war in 1870, they were not carved, and publication was delayed. When he returned to London in 1871, Doré made a new series of drawings now in graphite as well as pen and ink and continued to do so on later visits, so that there are many more London drawings than actually were published. It was decided to shorten the book to one third of its original length,







135. *Night Scene with Two Beggars*, 1869, brown ink, colored wash, with white highlighting, 13 × 9 ½ in. Collection Mary Jane Harris, New York

136. *Beggar Girl with Two Babies*, 1869, pencil and charcoal, 14 ⅝ × 11 ⅛ in. Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio, Mrs. F. F. Prentiss Fund, 1968

137. *Man with a Bulldog*, pen and black ink, graphite, and black chalk on gray paper, 6 ⅞ × 4 ⅞ in. Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence, RI

138. *Couple and Two Children Sleeping on a London Bridge*, 1871, silverpoint and watercolor on wood block, 7 ½ × 9 ¾ in. The Berger Collection, Denver Art Museum

139. *Flower Girl, Drury Lane*, 1880, pen and ink, 6 ⁵⁄₁₆ × 4 ½ in. S.P. Avery Collection, The New York Public Library

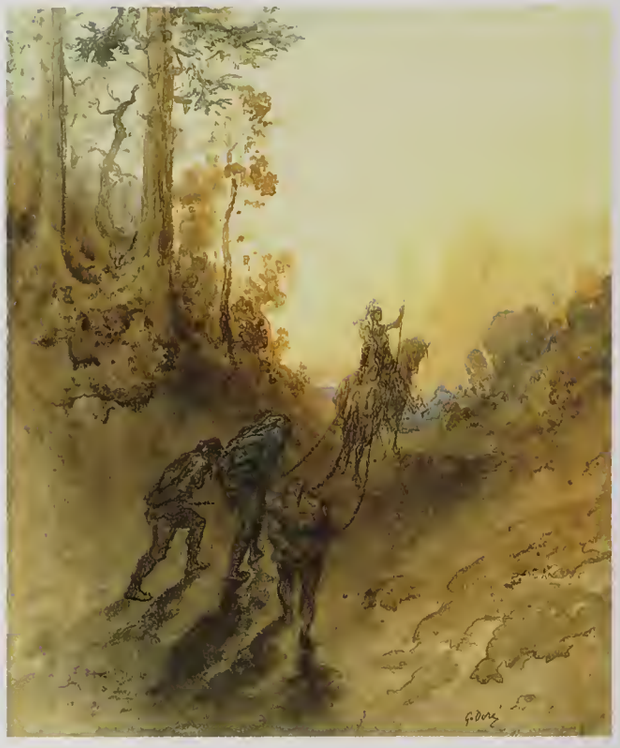
140. *London Street Scene*, pencil on paper, 11 ½ × 8 ⅜ in. Birmingham Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. Otto Mosler Marx

141. *Tavern in Whitechapel*, 1870, ink and watercolor gouache, 14 ⅛ × 10 ⅛ in. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, RI. Gift of Mrs. Herbert N. Straus

142. *The Lord Mayor's Show,* pencil, black chalk, black ink, gray wash and Chinese white on heavy wove paper, 17 × 13 ¼ in. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, CT. Paul Mellon collection

143. *Going to the Derby*, 1873, graphite, pen and ink, wash with white gouache highlights, 39 ⅜ × 28 ¾ in. Houghton Library, Harvard, MA

144. *Watching the Boat Race at Putney*, 1873, graphite, pen and ink, wash with white gouache highlights, 38 ⅜ × 28 ¾ in. Houghton Library, Harvard, MA



145. *The Princess Held Captive by Three Giants*, ca. 1879, watercolor, gouache, pen and black ink over graphite on cream wove paper, 17 ½ × 14 ⅜ in. The Art Institute of Chicago, Olivia Shaler Swan Fund

146. *The Three Giants Captured by a Knight*, ca. 1879, watercolor brush and brown ink over graphite on cream wove board, 17 ½ × 14 ⅜ in. The Art Institute of Chicago, Olivia Shaler Swan Fund

and it was published first in thirteen parts for five shillings each and then as a complete book in 1872. Doré's illustrations rather than Jerrold's leaden text have survived to rival Dickens's prose in evoking the atmosphere of nineteenth-century London. As pointed out by Alan Wood, despite their reliance on visual clichés and a Gothic vocabulary, Doré's images of London life still retain their immediacy.[24]

Many smaller drawings, like the *Man with a Bull Dog* (fig. 137) were used as vignettes sprinkled throughout the *London* text. This one occurs at the end of the section devoted to "The Busy River-Side" where the author observes, "You can easily distinguish the British from the foreign salt,"[25] and this quintessentially English type walking his dog is Doré's virtuosic take on John Bull. Another one in the same chapter is *London Street Scene* now in Birmingham (fig. 140). It shows a narrow street with both sides lined with fish stalls through the middle of which shoppers jostle to make their way, as the fishmongers heap up the fish, and above is a sign proclaiming "Ice Always on Sale." As Jerrold described it: "only fish everywhere … pyramids of fish-baskets and walls of oozy tubs; men in the most outlandish dress, all toned to one greasy neutral tint – vociferating, swearing, and haggling – but hurrying every one!"[26]

Perhaps no subjects excited Doré more than the spectacle of the big, unruly English crowds on various festive occasions. The cross-section of social types and their varied reactions, so different from comparable French gatherings, inspired him to great heights of creativity, and thus we have his scenes of the Lord Mayor's Day, Derby Day, and the Putney Boat Races (figs. 142–44, 225, and 228). The two enormous examples at the Houghton Library formerly in the Hofer collection[27] are probably from the series of large-scale finished drawings that, according to Jerrold, were done to promote their joint book. He relates that they were "bound in a colossal album, that would give a broad outline of our conception." This "colossal" London album, however, became something of a white elephant. The artist was stuck with it, and at one point it was "carried to America but unsold returned." So Doré in the end "dismounted the more important drawings and gave them to friends."[28]

In all of these festive London scenes, the artist devoted great care to capturing the fervid excitement of the crowd, which as these two drawings demonstrate ranged from the poor folks in a cart to the most elegantly attired ladies and gentlemen, as well as some decidedly odd-looking figures of Doré's imagination.[29] As Coolidge wrote, "The Oxford–Cambridge boat race and the Derby were particularly British phenomena. The days on which they took place were national holidays."[30] The boat race began in Putney, and in the published edition of *London*, there was also a scene of the crowd on the Putney Bridge.[31] Both the boat race and the Derby created tremendous confusion and Doré captured so well what Jerrold observed: "The pedestrian has to thread his path through a seething multitude, all pushing for one outlet; horses, carriages, men and women, massed and confused together!"[32]

LUDOVICO ARIOSTO: ORLANDO FURIOSO, 1879

The sprawling poetic epic by Ariosto relating the intricate tales of Christian and pagan knights and various sorceresses and temptresses was first published in 1516. Doré's illustrated version published in 1879 was to be his last French folio. He no longer drew on wood blocks but made original drawings that were then transferred to print via zinc plates. Unencumbered by practical constraints, he produced over six hundred illustrations. An independent group of watercolors (figs. 145, 146, and frontispiece) depicting fantastic creatures; the exploits of heroes and the travails of heroines while not exactly studies for specific plates in *Orlando* are, however, very close to it in spirit. Their freedom of execution and Doré's mastery of the medium show him at his creative best.

EDGAR ALLAN POE: THE RAVEN, 1883

Doré's last complete project, published in December of 1883, shortly after his death, was a handsome edition of Edgar Allen Poe's morbid but famous poem *The Raven*. This had been translated into French by Mallarmé and already served as inspiration for other artists, most notably Manet's set of four illustrations that appeared in 1875.[33] Doré provided a more cinematic treatment of the poem with twenty-six plates. This work had been commissioned by the American firm of Harper's, so Doré's original drawings were sent to this country for the production of the book, and therefore a good many of them are now to be found in North American collections.

The *New York Times* in December of 1883 alerted its readers that the new Poe–Doré *Raven,* "in ornamental cloth, gilt edges and in a neat box," was now available in an edition of ten thousand for $10 each.[34] This publication had an introduction by Edmund C. Stedman, who wrote appropriately: "Doré proffers a series of variations upon the theme as he conceived it: 'the enigma of death and the hallucination of an inconsolable soul…' Plainly there was something in common between the working moods of Poe and Doré (fig. 147). Both resorted often to the elf-land of fantasy and romance."[35] Doré was not present to oversee the work of the engravers, and as a result the published plates are rather dry transcriptions of his inventive and appropriately moody drawings.

Doré immediately sets the theatrical tone with his own fantastic introductory image (fig. 148). It abstracts elements from the poem, showing the unnamed and barefoot narrator plunging despairingly into the curtains as a skeleton unfurls a banner upon which is inscribed the poem's key word "Nevermore" and the raven makes a hasty exit. For the stanzas dealing with the lost love, Lenore, Doré works in a lighter, more delicate fashion most notably in his depiction of the line "For the rare and radiant maiden whom the angels name Lenore," which he imagines in the fashion of one of his religious images as a procession of angels bearing her soul to heaven (fig. 231).

In the drawing for plate 12 (fig. 149), the ominous raven makes its melodramatic entrance on a great gust of wind, which blows aside the curtains, serving to illustrate Poe's words:

Open here I flung the shutter, when with many a flirt and flutter
In there stepped a stately Raven of the saintly days of yore.
Not the least obeisance made he; not a minute stopped or stayed he.

By plate 19 the frenzied protagonist is wildly interrogating the bird:

"Prophet!" said I, "thing of evil! —prophet still, if bird or devil! —
Whether Tempter sent, or whether tempest tossed thee here ashore,
Desolate yet all undaunted on this desert land enchanted—
On this home by Horror haunted—tell me truly I implore—
Is there—*is* there balm in Gilead? —tell me—tell me, I implore!"

Doré shows the distraught man, his book tossed aside, plagued by the vision of Lenore, and the "Horror" haunting the home is chillingly conveyed by the gruesome skeletal sphinx on top of the bookcase. Plate 24 (fig. 150) serves Doré to encapsulate the entire final stanzas of the poem:

And the Raven, never flitting, still is sitting, still is sitting
On the pallid bust of Pallas just above my chamber door;
And his eyes have all the seeming of a demon's that is dreaming,
And the lamplight o'er him streaming throws his shadow on the floor;
And my soul from out that shadow that lies floating on the floor
Shall be lifted – nevermore!

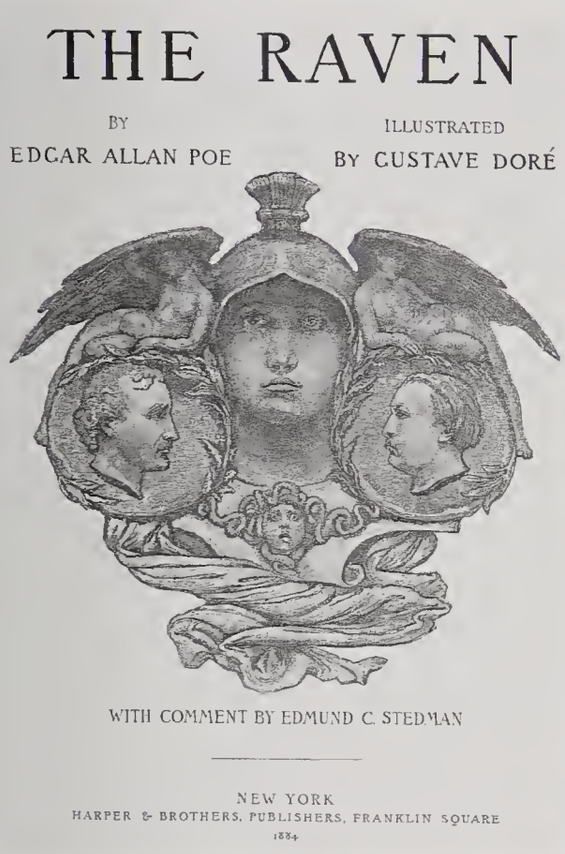
The shadow emanating from the raven perched on the bust of Athena eerily descends the wall and envelops the prostrate speaker-hero in a deathly pool of darkness.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

The great, unfulfilled project of Doré's last decade was an illustrated edition of Shakespeare. Already in March of 1866 the artist wrote to his publisher Cassell that the rumor he had entered into a contract with another house to do a Shakespeare edition was false. He insisted that he would consult them first and stated:

> As I have already mentioned to you, the works of Shakespeare form so great an undertaking, that I have as yet been unable to definitely determine how long a time it would occupy me... My intention is that the Shakespeare—which I mean to make my masterpiece – should contain a large number of plates; that to the large plates separate from the text should be added many small illustrations embodied in the text... In fine, my idea would be to announce the work with 1000 drawings—not too many for so vast a theme—moreover the number 1000 is round and sonorous, and would produce a fine effect... I feel convinced and have sincere faith that I shall in these illustrations out-distance by far all my previous efforts. The wealth and variety of my subject inspire me with this certainty.[36]

Unlike other English writers, whose works he could not read translated into his own language, Shakespeare was readily available to Doré in French, and, like his Italian musical counterpart Verdi, he loved the Bard's plays. He was of course particularly inspired by those that had a macabre or fantastic aspect such as *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* and in this way followed in the French Romantic tradition of Delacroix and Chassériau. Ultimately Doré did determine to publish the Shakespeare edition himself,[37] intending it to be, as Jerrold wrote, "the crown of his labors as an illustrator."[38] But although he produced over two hundred drawings for a number of the plays, including *The Tempest*,



147. Elihu Vedder, Frontispiece for Poe's *The Raven*, wood engraving, 1884. Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

148. *Nevermore*, study for plate 1 of Poe's *The Raven*, pen and ink and wash, 20 × 13 ½ in., signed. Courtesy of the trustees of the Library of the City of Boston/Print Department

149. *A stately Raven of the saintly days of Yore*, study for plate 12 of Poe's *The Raven*, pen, ink, and wash, 20 × 13 ½ in. Collection of Roberta Olsen and Alexander Johnson, New York

150. *And my soul from out that shadow that lies floating on the floor? Shall be lifted—nevermore!*, study for plate 24 of Poe's *The Raven*, charcoal with pencil and wash, 26 ½ × 18 ½ in. Art Collection, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin

151. *Macbeth and the Witches*, watercolor and graphite, CT, 18 ⅝ × 14 ⅞ in. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, CT. Gift of Mrs. Walter L. Goodwin

152. *The Death of Romeo*, pencil on board, 23 ⅞ × 19 ½ in. Birmingham Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. Otto Mosler Marx

153. *Cleopatra in her Palace*, pen, ink and pencil on buff board, 18 ¹¹⁄₁₆ × 14 ½ in. Birmingham Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. Otto Mosler Marx

Romeo and Juliet, *Richard III*, *Timon of Athens*, *King Lear*, *Cleopatra*, *A Midsummer's Night Dream*, and *Julius Ceasar*, it remained incomplete.[39] Only a small number of scenes from *Macbeth* were actually engraved during his life,[40] and on his deathbed, Doré is supposed to have cried, "My Shakespeare! O My Shakespeare! I must get up to finish it."[41] In the 1885 sale of Doré's estate, there were included a great many of these Shakespeare sketches.[42]

Doré may have produced more depictions of the witches from Macbeth than any other Shakesperian theme.[43] The one in Hartford (fig. 151), set in an amorphous landscape produced by runny watercolor of brownish tonality, shows a seemingly defiant Macbeth at the beginning of the drama with his hand on hip accompanied by Banquo facing outward to confront the three witches, who are seen from the back. One holds a torch but with the three hands extended and pointing at Macbeth, the composition certainly recalls Fuseli's famous image of the three crones.[44] Doré here creates an eerie twilight effect with the use of the red watercolor wash.

The large group of drawings at Birmingham purchased at the Doré estate sale by the artist Otto Mosler includes a good number of Shakespearean themes. Among these are a very rapidly sketched scene of Romeo's death by swallowing poison on Juliet's bier (fig. 152), and a lovely pen study (fig. 153) which seems to evoke the sumptuous and exotic palace replete with tame peacocks of the Egyptian Queen Cleopatra.[45]

154. *Self-Portrait*, early 1870s, watercolor over black chalk, 18 7/16 × 13 3/4 in. Private collection, New York

Portraits

Doré did not generally paint portraits except of those people who were very close to him, and on rare occasions of individuals he came across who had particularly interesting features. He was sufficiently vain, however, to produce a good number of self-portraits, both drawings and paintings.[1] A number of the watercolor self-portraits passed through his family[2] and are known today. The one in a New York private collection (fig. 154) and another, which is signed, in the Museum of Strasbourg[3] have a free casual quality, showing him in an open collar looking out intently. The rapidity of execution connotes his great creative intensity.

Doré was a music-lover and amateur singer, and thus he became a devoted friend of the famed composer Giacomo Rossini and his wife Olympe. The creator of such major operas as *William Tell*, *Semiramide*, and *The Barber of Seville* had permanently settled into retirement in Paris in 1855. Rossini soon became recognized there as a host and gourmand who gave famed *samedi soirs*, at which Doré often performed as part of the entertainment. Doré attended the dinner party held to mark the seventy-sixth birthday of the Swan of Pesaro, as Rossini was known, in February 1868. Doré presented Olympe a fan he had painted.[4] With his health failing Rossini hosted that September his last *samedi soir*, and once again Doré and his brother Ernest, also a composer, were in attendance.

Rossini died on November 13, 1868, and the next day Doré was called in to record the composer on his deathbed. He made several sketches at the time (fig. 4),[5] and from these he prepared a small medallion on parchment, an etching, and two paintings.[6] As seen in the example at the Smith College Museum of Art (fig. 155), the deceased composer holding a cross becomes a study in white with the pillows, sheets, and nightshirt serving to frame the peaceful face. As Jerrold relates, Doré was able to "render the hue of recent death with marvelous fidelity," and one of the paintings made a strong impression, both in Paris and London. However, the artist was loathe to exhibit it, and it took some time to overrule his reluctance. Once it was shown, Doré wrote to a London friend, Miss Edwards, in 1869: "I am made very happy by hearing that the London public are attracted by, and interested in, this my profoundly affectionate souvenir of the great man whose friend I had the honor to be, and whom I saw almost in his last moments."[7] For her part Blanche Roosevelt, who was also a professional singer, writes that Doré captured "the deeply-lined face, the massive aquiline nose, the heavy closed eye-lids, the mobile scornful mouth that set in death, [and then said] 'I can do no more'."[8]

Doré was close to a number of successful, well-known women of his era including Adelina Patti, Cora Pearl, and Sarah Bernhardt, and their likenesses, often disguised, appeared occasionally in his paintings.[9] When displayed in the Huntington Hartford collection, the large painting of a *Lady with Two Pug Dogs* (fig. 156) was mistakenly identified as a portrait of Sarah Bernhardt.[10] Lehni has suggested that it is more likely to be the Englishwoman with whom, according to Jerrold, Doré became

155. *Rossini on his Deathbed*, 1869, oil on canvas, 43 ¼ × 35 ¼ in. Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, MA. Gift of Mrs. J. Fuller Feder

156. *Lady with Two Pug Dogs*, ca. 1870, oil on canvas, 85 ¼ × 57 ¼ in. Private collection, New York

157. *Young Lady with a White Shawl*, oil on canvas, 50 ⅜ × 37 ⅜ in. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

infatuated during his visits to England.[11] The same wasp-waisted lady also features in a bust-length painting in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 157), and another variant appears in an old photograph at the Bibliothèque nationale.[12] While the pensively posed lady in all her finery seems more like a generic type of beauty rather than an actual person, it is her two dogs, directly regarding the viewer, who make the picture come alive. It is no surprise to learn that Doré himself had pet pugs.[13]

Genre Subjects

Doré was continually fascinated by the world around him and found inspiration for his art in everyday subjects and situations. For example in the summer of 1862, he spent his holiday at Baden-Baden. There he could confer with Louis Viardot, the translator of the forthcoming *Don Quixote*, and also enjoy the company of his friend's family, including the great opera singer Pauline Viardot. As Roosevelt recounts, it was at this time that "roulette was then in all its glory, and the gambling-tables represented a spectacle," and Doré even won at the game.[1] He chose to memorialize the pleasurable evening in an immense canvas (14ft. 3 in. × 31ft. 3 in.) entitled *Le Tapis vert* (fig. 158)[2] and made preliminary studies of his composition showing the elegantly attired company gathered around a table where the seated gentleman seems to turn to a lady friend for encouragement or inspiration (fig. 159).[3] The painter was still at work on this during 1866–7 and finally exhibited it at the Salon of 1867. As Roosevelt again informs us, "most of the figures are likenesses of real people: the lady to the right with the fine expressive face and questioning dark eyes is Madme Pauline Viardot."[4] Others have been identified as Doré himself, Alexandre Dumas, and Charles Gounod. For one contemporary reviewer the work's "vigor of dramatic expression occasionally approaches that of Hogarth in intensity."[5]

Doré's dedication to his native region of Alsace-Lorraine also resulted in affectionate portrayals of its population and customs. In 1869 with war looming and the imminent annexation of this region of France by Germany, he was inspired to paint a large pair of paintings commemorating the memories of his childhood realm. The pairing of different images or types to represent Alsace and Lorraine was an established tradition, as exemplified by a pair of late nineteenth-century photographs (figs. 160, 161). In Doré's conception, *Alsace*, a painting now in the museum in Strasbourg,[6] shows the women in their Alsatian costumes posed under a window full of men, whose noisy chatter is echoed by the procession of fat Strasbourg geese (fig. 163). The more ominous *Lorraine* (fig. 162) is set in the forest, as a young woman looks longingly back towards her beloved. The contrast seems to be between city and country life, and Nadine Lehni's suggestion that these two works are not so much paired genre scenes as illustrations of a literary text seems most plausible.[7]

Like so many nineteenth-century Frenchmen, from Merimée to Hugo, Doré was intrigued by the romance of Spain, and he made his first trip there in 1855 accompanied by the writers Théophile Gautier and Paul Dalloz. To obtain inspiration for his *Don Quixote*, he returned again in 1861–62 with Charles Davilliers, who wrote the preface to Doré's illustrated book *L'Espagne*, published in 1874. Doré was especially fascinated by the colorful costumes and poses of the Spanish gypsies and devoted many prints, drawings (fig. 164), and paintings to depicting them.[8] There are large-scale paintings of Spanish subjects in the collections at both Ponce and Hamilton. The former set at twilight on the outskirts of a fortified town shows a group of gypsy musicians serenading several well-

158. *Le Tapis Vert (Gaming Table at Baden-Baden)*, oil on canvas, 14 ft. 3 in. × 31 ft. 3 in. Museum of Fine Arts, Florida State University, Tallahassee

159. *Le Tapis Vert (Gaming Table at Baden-Baden)*, ca. 1862, graphite, pen and ink, gray wash and watercolor, 8 ½ × 11 in. Private collection, New York

160, 161. *Alsace and Lorraine*, nineteenth-century albumen photographs. Private collection, New York

162. *Lorraine*, 1869, oil on canvas, 75 ½ × 50 in. Collection of JPMorgan-Chase, Houston

163. *Alsace*, 1869, oil on canvas, 75 ½ × 50 in. Musée d'Art moderne et contemporain, Strasbourg

164. *Two Men in Spanish Costume,* pen and ink on grey paper, 9 ⅛ × 11 ⅞ in. Anna Held Audette collection, The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA

165. *Two Spanish Children*, oil on canvas, 40 ⅛ × 22 in. Private collection, Santa Ana, CA

166. *Beggars at Burgos*, gouache, watercolor, ink, chalk, 10 ¼ × 19 ⅛ in. The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston

dressed ladies. Similar women with flowers in their hair and wearing mantillas appear in the center of the Hamilton *Street Scene* where they are surrounded by poor beggars and gypsies. The same collection has an oil sketch for this subject and it is similar also to a drawing in Houston dated "1871" and inscribed "Burgos" (fig. 166). Since we do not know of Doré making any return trip to Spain in the 1870s, it is most likely that he reworked earlier studies to produce new ones while he was preparing the publication of his book on the country. As was also the case in London, the artist was most taken with the plight of the poor and the picturesque quality of the beggars fascinated him. In this drawing, as in one in his book on Spain entitled *An Adventure at Sacro-Monte*, and also an etching of the subject, he makes great use of the distinctive Spanish garments to enliven the row of beggars receiving aid from the rich ladies in their mantillas and lace.[9]

More pathetic and also reminiscent of a number of London scenes is the painting of poor Spanish children and families as in the painting now in a private collection (fig. 165).[10] Here the older child with long hair and a shawl has to play surrogate mother, holding aloft her younger brother who dangles a puppet doll from his hand. There is clearly no joy in their lives, and the artist conveys through their expressions and pallor a sense of suffering and illness engendered by their poverty. Although often criticized for his weak use of color,[11] in this work Doré effectively contrasts the older child in blue with the younger in red.

167. *Les Titans* (*The Fall of the Titans*), 1866, ink wash reworked with white, on blue paper. 38½ × 28 ⅛ in. Private collection, Minneapolis

Mythology

Only occasionally did Doré create works based on mythological subjects. From his youth when he did some humorous interpretations of classical themes,[1] he was familiar with them, and, as might be expected, he later depicted some of the grand female characters, such as Andromeda (fig. 224), Diana, and Ariadne.[2] Otherwise, the few works in this category are of somewhat obscure and rather bleak themes. One of the most powerful is the highly finished drawing *The Fall of the Titans* of 1866 (fig. 167). Although Blanche Roosevelt reproduced and mistakenly identified it as a Biblical subject,[3] it is actually closely related to the text of Milton's *Paradise Lost* for which Doré published his illustrated version also in 1866. This drawing is in fact one of a pair that depict violent, cataclysmic scenes in powerful black and white. The mate is *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* now in the Museum of Strasbourg.[4] They were shown as a pair at the Salon of 1866, and one critic spoke of their "flamboyant and picturesque effect."[5] *The Fall of the Titans*, although not specifically described by Milton, did make a fine pendant to his central episode but was a mythological incident that clearly inspired Doré. It shows Zeus expelling the Titans (or Giants) from Tartarus. Later in his career Doré would paint the grandiose subject of Christ expelling Zeus and other pagan deities from heaven (fig. 81), but while that work is of garish colors, this sheet limited to black and white is one of the artist's most successful in melding imagination and technique. The single lightning bolt rends the sky and illuminates the struggle of the Michelangelo-like giants, striving valiantly to fend off the enormous boulders, which rain down upon them.

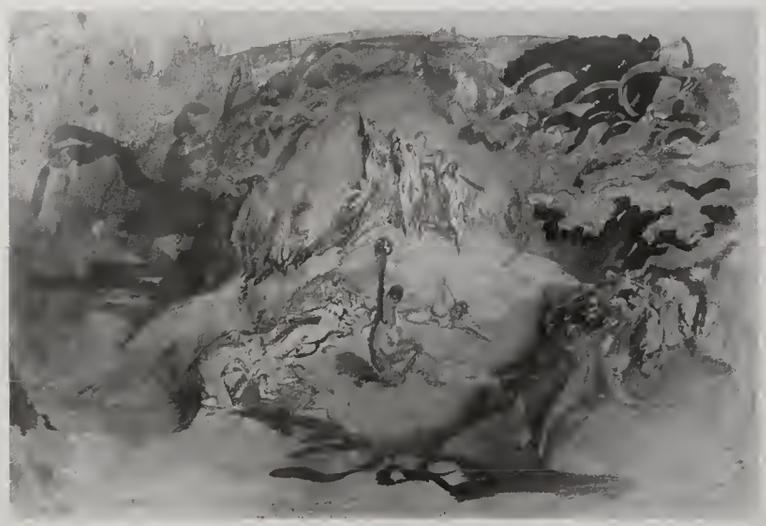
One of Doré's strangest paintings is devoted to the seductive mythological ocean nymphs known as *Les Océanides* (fig. 168),[6] which is described in the essay by Robert Rosenblum (p. 24). A variety of possible influences spring to mind for a subject like this, although it has no real prototypes. One thinks for example of Rubens's early painting *Hero and Leander* in Dresden, which likewise has large nudes swimming in the water.[7] Doré might also have known more recent works such as the various water nymphs or mermaids of Arnold Boecklin or the seals of the American painter Albert Bierstadt.[8]

The counterparts of the *Océanides* on land were the Maenads, and they play a prominent role in the tragic myth concerning the death of Orpheus, which clearly intrigued Doré. In addition to the classical literary sources, the painter of course would have been familiar with the story of Orpheus as presented in the well-known opera by Gluck, in which his friend Pauline Viardot was a famed protagonist.[9] That work ends sadly, although not with the violent death that befell the hero—torn apart by the maddened Maenads. It was a subject he painted for the Salon of 1879 (fig. 169)[10] and then he also turned it into a large plaster relief, now in Boston (fig. 222).[11] Those works are rather too literal, but his several preparatory drawings,[12] of which one is in Bloomington (fig. 170) are disturbing variations upon the theme. The much greater effect results from the rapid, almost abstract rendering of the flickering light and the grotesque writhing of the nude figures. One of the kneeling central Maenads seems to be holding the head of Orpheus, and his abandoned lyre is summarily indicated on the ground to her right, making it clear that his divine tones will never again be heard.

168. *Les Océanides (Naiades de la Mer)*, ca. 1878, oil on canvas, 50 × 73 in. Collection of Dorothea Tanning, New York

169. Detail of *The Death of Orpheus*, ca. 1879, oil on canvas. Location unknown, after Delorme

170. *The Death of Orpheus (Les Danaides)*, ca. 1879, ink wash and gouache, 15 ¼ × 19 1⅞₆ in. Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington, Indiana



Landscapes

From a very young age Doré was intrigued by the natural world and spent much time with his father exploring the forests and mountains of the Vosges, sketching scenes, especially of the wild and rugged aspects of nature. As Blanche Roosevelt rightly observed, "Those days spent in the Vosges laid the foundation for a future of free and fertile imagery."[1]

Soon after settling in Paris, Doré was commissioned by his patron Charles Philipon to paint a series of landscape views of the Alps. These works of 1849–51 now mainly in the museum of Strasbourg, already show the artist focusing on towering mountain peaks, tall, thin trees, a few deer and an occasional ruined building.[2] After completing his illustrations for an edition of Byron in 1853, Doré went on vacation with his brother and mother to Switzerland for nearly two months and there, according to Roosevelt, excursions on the glaciers further enhanced his love of mountainous vistas.[3]

Doré made it a practice to send examples of his landscape painting to the Salon. In 1852 his one submission was *Le lendemain de l'orage (montagnes des Alpes)*,[4] and in 1857 he sent six Alpine and Alsatian views.[5] In 1861 he was represented by *Un vallon des Vosges effet de matin*.[6]

Doré was at his best in responding directly to nature in his free flowing watercolors and a seeming early example is the *River Valley in the Vosges* now in Ann Arbor (fig. 171). However, it was in his illustrations that he found a more original use for such subjects as backdrops to his inventive narrative imagery. His first trip to Spain in 1855 resulted in illustrations for Taine's *Tour in the Pyrenees*, which as Jerrold remarked were "some of Doré's most delicate and finished pencil studies of scenery."[7] Then in 1856 his designs for the *Legend of the Wandering Jew*, as noted by Roosevelt, provided "some astonishing interpretations of Nature—mountains, valleys, oceans; a whole world encompassed in one eagle-like glance."[8] A few years later the 1863 illustrations for Chateaubriand's *Atala* (fig. 172) revealed Doré's inventive imagination in creating lush, tropical New World settings.

Dore's early landscape paintings such as the *Alpine Scene* of 1865 (fig. 173) in Chicago have a dark, brooding quality. The forest seen here exemplifies Doré's image of the ominous region where the roots of the trees take on a threatening anthropomorphic quality. The tightly grouped rows of trees was a motif he repeated often,[9] and it recurs for example in a similarly vertical watercolor of 1879 (private collection, Chicago). In the painting, however, a bright patch of sky in the distance serves to dispel the usual gloom as well as to highlight the single isolated figure.

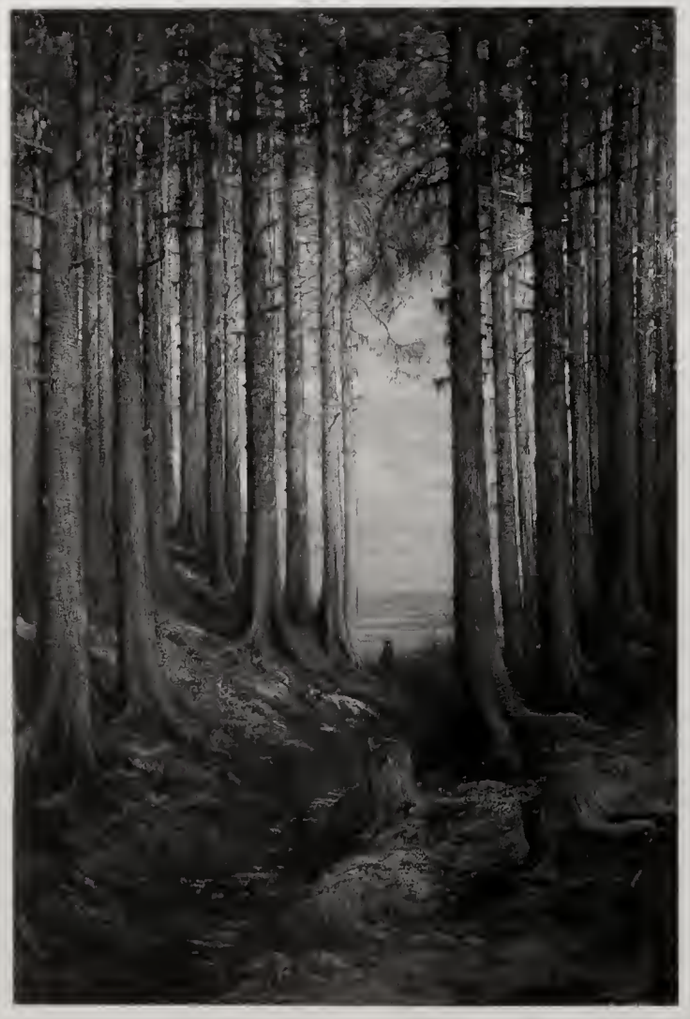
Late in the 1860s or in early 1870 Doré painted one of his most unusual landscapes, the large canvas titled *Summer*, now in Boston (fig. 174).[10] It depicts just a small section of untrammeled landscape with a scythe abandoned among plants and insects. In this it is similar to descriptions of Doré's early painting *The Prairie*, so possibly it is a fragment or replica of that untraced work. The painting's allegorical intentions seem clear, with the rusting, discarded scythe a symbol of time and

171. *River Valley in the Vosges,* ca. 1850s, watercolor on white paper, 13 ⅞ × 20 ⁵⁄₁₆ in. University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor

172. "We remarked a religious sound, similar to the half-supressed murmurs of an organ beneath the roof of a church," Chateaubriand, illustration from *Atala*, 1863. Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

173. *Alpine Scene*, 1865, oil on canvas, 77 × 51 ⅛ in. Art Institute of Chicago. Gift of Julius H. Weitzner, Inc.

174. *Summer*, ca. 1860–70, oil on canvas, 105 ½ × 79 ¾ in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Richard Baker



175. *Mountain Peaks with Goats at Sunset*, ca. 1870s, oil on canvas, 21 ¼ × 49 ⅜ in. Richard L. Feigen & Co., New York City

176. *Cattle Driven by Shepherds on a Starlit Night*, oil on canvas, 21 ¼ × 49 ⅜ in. Richard L. Feigen & Co., New York City

177. *Landscape*, ca. 1870s, watercolor, 3 ¼ × 6 ⅛ in. Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Michael Schlossberg, Atlanta, GA

178. *Mountainous Landscape*, 1876, watercolor and pencil, 14 ½ × 21 ⅜ in. Private collection, New York City

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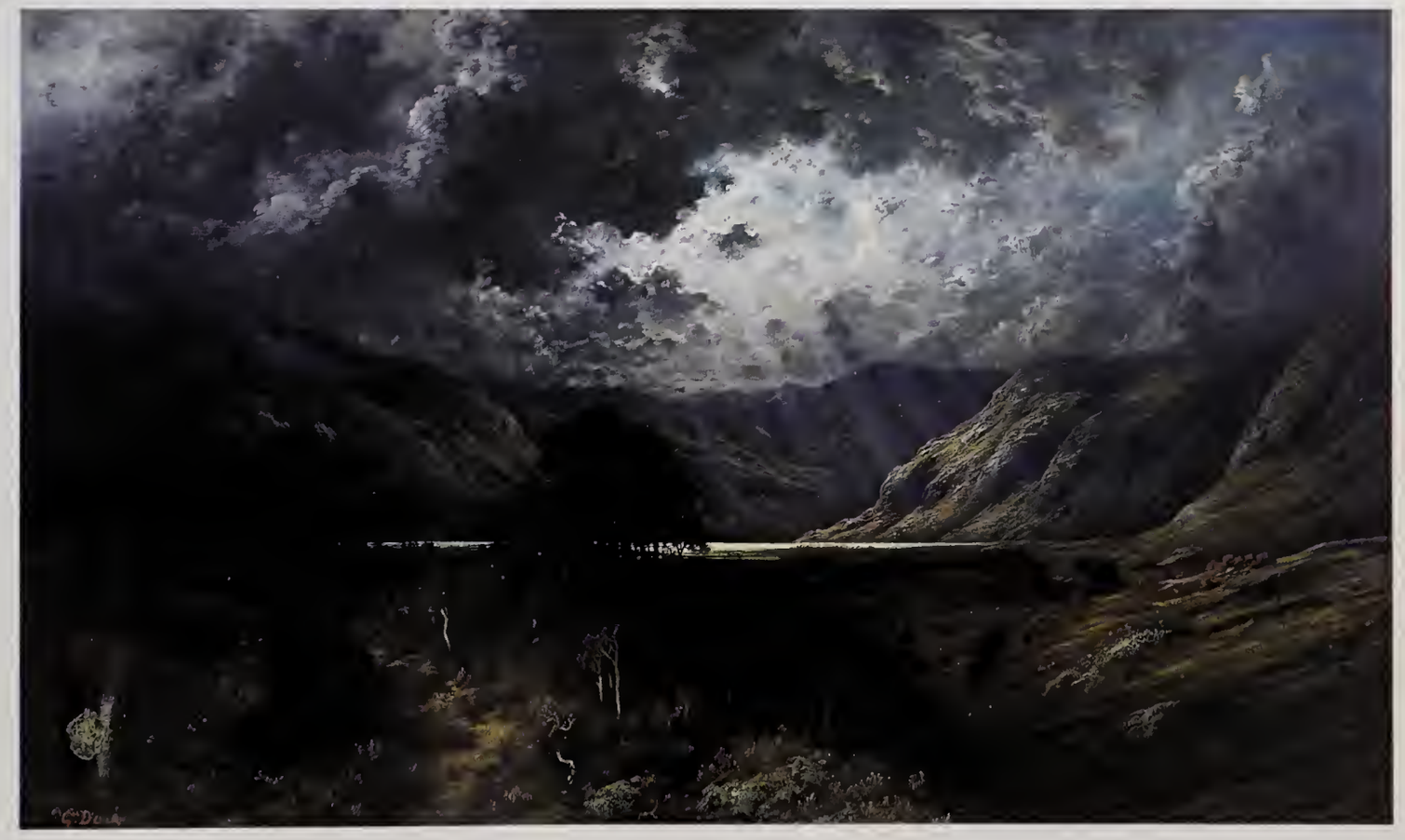
179. *The Scottish Highlands*, 1875, oil on canvas, 42 ¾ × 72 ⅛ in. Toledo Museum of Art. Gift of Arthur J. Secor

180. *Loch Lomond*, 1875, oil on canvas, 48 × 75 in. St. Louis Art Museum

fate, and the pitcher in the foreground and crumbling building in the background also serving as symbols of the ephemeral nature of manmade things, while nature is continually rejuvenated as represented by the thick cluster of plants, including morning glories, hollyhocks, dandelions, thistles, and daisies all springing up and scattering their pollen to the delight of the many butterflies and dragonflies.

In the 1870s Doré continued his characteristic glimmering mountain scenes as in the *Landscape* at Omaha (fig. 230) and the pair of contrasting night and day subjects with animals and shepherds (figs. 175, 176). His fluid watercolors in this decade could range from tiny, ghostly evocations of nature (fig. 177) to breathtaking views as in the *Mountainous Landscape at Montreuse* of 1876.[11] (fig. 178). However, what was to alter his vision of nature permanently, leading in the last decade of his life to a new and thrilling type of expansive vista, was his visit to the Scottish Highlands in 1873. It was the Equerry to the Prince of Wales, Colonel Christopher Teesdale,[12] who invited Doré to go salmon fishing in Scotland. They departed by steamer for Aberdeen in April 1873 and after a stormy



181. *Loch Lomond*, oil on canvas, 51 × 77 in. French and Co., New York

crossing went west along the River Dee. Fishing proved uninteresting to the artist, but as Teesdale noted, he busily filled his sketchbook with ink studies and also experimented with watercolors. By this means the painter obtained quantities of impressions later to be turned into large-scale finished works.[13]

Doré wrote to his mother from Scotland:

> People are wrong to say that I am visiting Scotland at an unfavorable time of year. True, it is cold; but one discovers so many landscape effects in this season amongst these grand transparent forests variegated with a somber green, certainly as fine as any pines in summer time. One of the most beautiful and curious things that we see at this moment is a herd of stags which has descended from the hills to the valleys. As this is not a stalking season, they are not very timid. I shall have my memory pretty well filled with an ample number of landscapes, which seem to me more suitable to my London Exhibition than Swiss Alpine scenes.[14]

As Blanche Roosevelt rightly commented, "Always at his best in mountain scenery, he has never surpassed some of his delineations of the lochs, crags, moorlands, and wild heather of Scotland. A delicious air of freshness breathes over every inch of the ground he has depicted."[15]

It is most likely that Doré was influenced not only by the actual Scottish vistas but also by the tradition of British landscape painting, which he had the opportunity to study. In addition to Turner, John Martin, John Brett, Daniel Alexander Williamson, and John William Inchbold,[16] he undoubtedly also saw paintings of untamed broad mountain landscapes with clouds and water by painters such as Sidney Richard Percy and Richard Ansdell.[17]

After his return to Paris, Doré wrote, "Henceforth, when I paint landscapes, I believe that five out of every six will be reminiscences of the Highlands ... I hope to go back there again and again."[18] In fact, he only returned once in 1874, but he did indeed go on painting from his Scottish sketches, exhibiting both watercolors and paintings of these "magnificent landscapes" at the Salons and Watercolor Society showings of the 1870s and 80s.[19]

The vast canvases of stormy Scottish lochs painted in the late 1870s and early 1880s are splendidly

182. *The Scottish Eagle*, 1882, oil on canvas, 43 ½ × 72 ⅞ in. Private collection, New York

represented in the American museum collections of Toledo, St. Louis, Indianapolis, and Baltimore (figs. 179, 180, 223, and 227) as well as the magnificent example with French and Co. and *The Scottish Eagle* [20] (figs. 181, 182). His method for constructing these was to focus on a foreground element such as deer, a ruined castle, or a clump of trees, and then to overwhelm that with a balanced view down a valley, or stream, or across a mountain range. Figures, if any, are miniscule. The major action was placed within the sky, a seething panorama of shifting clouds, thus creating a hugely theatrical presentation of Nature's sublimity. Often, as pointed out by John House, these works depict a storm or flood or the aftermath of some such disaster and thus parallel Jules Michelet's meditation on mountains as presenting apocalyptic visions of destruction, which in turn serve as a metaphor for the decadence of the human condition.[21] Likewise, Michael Gibson observed that:

> In these breathtaking Romantic landscapes, one senses an underlying world of myth, although the realism is painstaking. Doré's treatment of space is unusual because he delights in conveying a feeling of immensity. In his vision, space itself is drama. It is "ominous"; one has the feeling of imminent transfiguration or destruction. These canvases have the scope of Doré's best illustrations, but they also convey in properly Romantic terms the beauty, mystery, and loneliness of unpopulated nature.[22]

183. *Sketch of a Rebus,* ca. 1845–50, pen and brown ink, 11 ¼ × 8 ⅞ in. The Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, IN. On extended loan as a promised gift of John D. Reilly.

Drawings

Gustave Doré's multifaceted compulsive creativity found no better outlet than in his thousands of drawings and watercolors. Many were preparatory studies and variations for his paintings and illustrations and some have thus been included in the appropriate sections of this survey, but many others were also independent works of art. It was his remarkable visual memory that allowed him to capture in almost photographic precision the details of a subject or scene that caught his fancy, or as he told his English friend Jerrold, "I have plenty of collodion in my head."[1] Doré's best drawings have a vivacity and directness that is captivating, as well as often a complexity and inventiveness which requires a great deal of concentration to fully comprehend. Supposedly Doré began to draw when he was four years of age,[2] and according to Blanche Roosevelt by the time he was eleven "his taste for drawing was so strongly developed that he made sketches of the peasants whom he met on his way to and from school," as well as the villagers and his fellow students.[3] He always produced these at a high speed, and in his first year for the *Journal pour Rire* he made more than four hundred studies.[4]

Doré developed a novel way of creating his illustrated books by drawing his designs directly upon the wood blocks and then sending them to the wood engravers to cut the image that was to be printed. As Roosevelt reports, he was very hard to please in the matter of blocks, and could never work on inferior material. His wood had to be of the finest and whitest kind of box, and it cost him a great deal of money.[5] His friend, the artist Bordelin, elaborated on his method:

> He would have from fifteen to twenty blocks before him, and would pass from one to the another with a rapidity and sureness of touch that were amazing. He rarely finished any drawing at a single sitting, but kept up a continual hither and thither, backwards and forwards, between them. One morning he made no fewer than twenty-one splendid designs, finishing the last on the stroke of twelve.[6]

In many cases, as is evident from those works which survive, Doré would not have all the blocks cut for engraving, but reserved some, and perhaps even drew them for sale as specialty items for collectors.

Doré sent his drawings to the Salon as early as 1848[7] and also made them an integral part of the displays of the Doré Gallery in London.[8] He also developed considerable skill as a watercolorist, able to capture fleeting landscapes, realistic figures, or fantasy subjects, and he was a charter member of the Society of French Watercolorists participating in all of its exhibitions in Paris until the time of his death.

The earliest artistic drawings grew out of Doré's humorous sense of invention and taste for caricature. The *Sketch of a Rebus* (fig. 183), recalling works by Grandville, gives the illusion of a man holding a very large sheet of paper containing a myriad of drawings with scenes reminiscent of

184. *The Gourmand's Table (Laboratoire: manipulations chimiques, diaboliques, et anti-gastronomiques)*, ca. 1860s, pen and ink, graphite and wash, 18 ¼ × 23 ½ in. S. P. Avery Collection, New York Public Library

185. *The Retreat from Moscow*, 1865, gouache in black and white on gray paper, 28 ¼ × 37 ¾ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Catharine Lorillard Wolfe, 1887

Doré's own illustrations of Spain, as well as diverse Romantic novels, and fanciful subjects. The elaborate drawing in the New York Public Library inscribed *Laboratoire...anti-gastronomiques* (fig. 184) is a grotesque satire of gourmandise or gluttony. In it Doré, who was himself a great cook and food lover, depicts a giant head being fed from a multitude of sources. He combines it with many tiny anecdotal vignettes related to food, among which are Chinese figures; Napoleon at Austerlitz with a giant nut; a beef steak at a *maison close*; and amateurs at the café of the cardinal. He may have been inspired by the occasional images found in French art of a gourmand at the table surrounded by food and drink.[9]

As is evident in Lisa Small's essay on *L'année terrible*, historical and patriotic subjects were of great interest to the artist, and one of Doré's grandest independent drawings not related to the conflict of 1870–71 was his 1865 depiction of *The Retreat from Moscow* (fig. 185). It is a gripping recreation of a scene of defeat and despair, as Napoleon's beleaguered army of a few stalwart soldiers on horseback is seen retreating in the distance under an ominous flock of birds, and in the foreground a squad of Russian cavalry enter to complete the carnage of warfare.

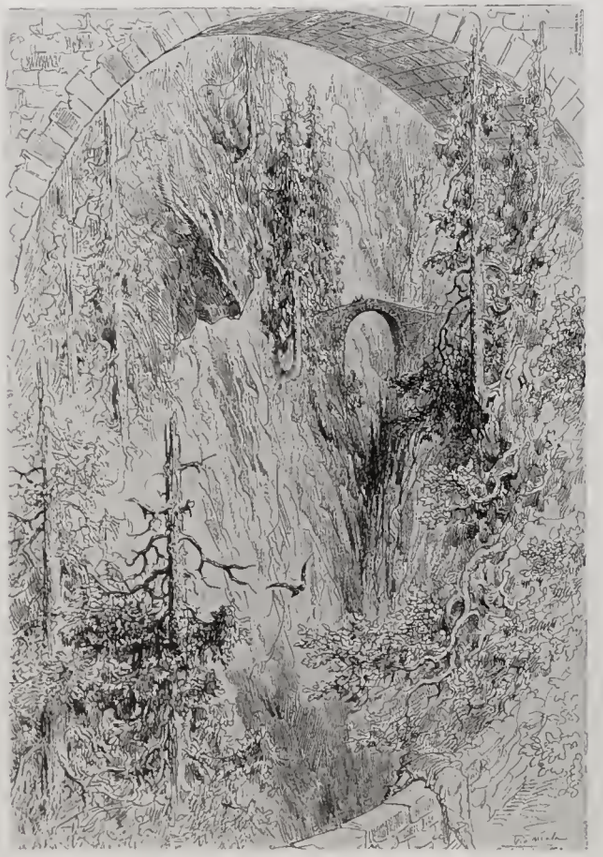
Nature and landscapes were of course constant elements in Doré's oeuvre. He had a special fondness, as evidenced in his early works, for exotic birds and later he even kept pet owls which he also sketched.[10] But it was during his visits to London in either 1868–69 or 1871 that he spent time at the zoological garden and for his book on that city drew a scene of the famed Parrot Walk. The birds out in the open are shown both upright and upside down.[11] In addition he also painted a decorative

186. *Parrots*, ca. 1869–71, watercolor, 17 × 11 ¾ in. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MI

187. *View of Saint Malo*, 1874, watercolor, pen, and black ink heightened with white, 15 ½ × 24 ⅝ in. Collection of John D. Reilly, Washington, D.C.

188. *Via Mala*, 1881, pen and India ink over graphite on paper mounted on board. 21 ½ × 14 ⅞ in. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Gift of the Henfield Foundation

189. *Cavalier Talking with Father Time*, 1860s, ink and gouache on paper, 9 ½ × 7 ¼ in. Des Moines Art Center. Gift of Carl Weeks



190. *Le Pays des Fées (Fairy Land)*, 1881, watercolor with gouache over graphite, on cream wove paper, 25 ½ × 35 ¼ in. The Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection

191. *Love Triumphs over Death*, late 1870s, pen and ink, 10 ½ × 7 ½ in. Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Michael Schlossberg, Atlanta, GA

set of four large scale watercolors of tropical birds, mostly parrots and cockatoos.[12] It was undoubtedly in preparation for these lively works that he made several other vivid direct studies of parrots (fig. 186).[13]

Among the many picturesque views that caught the artist's fancy, one he repeated several times was the fortified north Breton port town of Saint-Malo (fig. 187), which he visited with his mother in September of 1874.[14] They record his fascination with the scenic walled town abutting the sea. Two drawings now in Strasbourg depict the city seen from a great distance at low tide with the rocky shore in the foreground. In this more dramatic one, the scene is set right in the midst of the town's castle turret with the waves breaking against the wall causing visitors to look on in awe or scurry for shelter.

One of the most impressive views Doré ever recorded was that of the Via Mala, the narrow gorge on the Hinter-Rhein not far from St. Moritz. It was the subject of a now lost painting of 1862,[15] but he must have returned to the location or simply repeated his composition in two drawings dated 1881, of which one is in the Minneapolis Art Institute (fig. 188).[16] In this detailed pen study he shows the deep chasm from a precipitous angle with a single bird circling around it. Looking carefully, one can also see that he has included a human presence in the form of a young man leaning over the stone wall in the foreground and two tiny figures on the distant bridge. Thus Doré created an image encapsulating the diminutive nature of humankind in the face of sublimely terrifying Nature.

Finally the themes of fantasy and whimsy, often of a surprising complexity and beauty, are continually evident among the artist's drawings throughout his career. The 1860s work in Des Moines identified as a *Cavalier Talking with Father Time* (fig. 189) was in fact made for Doré's edition of Perrault. The illustration rarely appears in the text, but it is in the original French volume.

Doré was always concerned with mortality and the passing of time and one of his most striking embodiments of this was in drawings of Love or Cupid triumphing over Death (fig. 191).[17] The winged youth representing Love, like Liberty or France in other images by Doré, holds aloft a flaming taper as Death in the form of a skeleton makes a last desperate attempt to destroy him by placing a bony hand on the boy's thigh. This subject was apparently intended by Doré to be transformed into a sculpture,[18] and its theme is certainly similar to that found in other of his sculptures, such as *Love Triumphing over Death* and *Le Parque et l'Amour* (figs. 192–95). A humorous variant of the subject was also sketched by Doré in a letter to his friend Georges Michel with the title "L'amitié terrassant la rancune."[19]

One of Doré's greatest and most elaborate watercolors was *Le Pays des Fées (Fairy Land)* of 1881, now in Chicago (fig. 190). He clearly took special care with it since it was to be exhibited in Paris that same year by the Society of French Watercolor Artists, and he even made a preliminary study in pen and ink.[20] The subject seems to meld several different sources. The solitary knight passing in the distance through the land of the fairies recalls Don Quixote, but the cavorting fairy folk in the foreground are reminiscent of the beings found in other of Doré's drawings for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*.[21] In any case it is his masterly control of the watercolor medium that creates the evanescent effect of a shimmering, otherworldly realm where fantasy reigns supreme.

Sculpture

Like many other late nineteenth-century painters and illustrators as diverse as Daumier, Meissonier, Gauguin, and Degas, Doré decided to attempt sculpture. He may have begun his foray into this new field, as Jerrold relates, as early as 1871 when after a discussion at the home of his English friend Canon Harford, he tried to produce in clay a head of Christ, which was left to crumble in the back garden.[1] Following this, Doré returned to Paris and closed off a part of his studio to work in private on developing his mastery of sculpture. But it was only in 1877, perhaps encouraged by his friend Sarah Bernhardt, who was also an amateur sculptor, that Doré turned to this new medium seriously and sent to the Salon his impressive plaster *La Parque et l'Amour*. Its generally positive reception (unlike the harsh criticisms given to his paintings) inspired him to continue, and in 1878 Doré exhibited three pieces in different exhibitions. At the Salon was the group entitled *Glory*; at the Cercle de l'union artistique was the *Allegory of Night*; and at the Exposition Universelle was his huge plaster vase *The Poem of the Vine* (fig. 219). In 1880 Doré's *Madonna* won a Third Class medal at the Salon, and he continued to produce sculptures, both large and small, for the remainder of his career. With Bernhardt he had a joint commission for figures to go in front of the theater in Monte Carlo—his group was *Dance* and hers *Music*. His last project was the bronze monument to honor Alexander Dumas père. It was dedicated posthumously in the Place Malesherbes.[2]

Thinking in the round for sculpture seemed, as Jerrold noted, to inspire Doré to flights of fancy, which the writer asserts were "the toys of his idle moments, representing playful rest from the severer work always in progress."[3] Certainly from the very first Dore's sculpture has a remarkable freedom and originality attempting challenges that a trained sculptor might not have undertaken. Once he had devised a successful form in plaster, he tended to produce it in differing sizes in bronze. With his first sculpture, *La Parque et l'Amour*, Doré sent the original large plaster version to the Salon of 1877 and the Exposition Universelle in 1878. Like a good number of Doré's works the underlying theme is mortality or death. Here, perhaps in a reminiscence of Wagner's *Götterdämmerung,* the aged allegorical figures of Atropos, one of the three Fates, has a giant pair of shears with which to cut the string of the bow (representing the thread of life) held by Eros, the youthful embodiment of Love.

Charles Timbal, the reviewer for the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, observed:

> To what extremes are mortals driven by "fame, sacred fame." Monsieur Doré is not content to be a just a draughtsman, or even just a painter. Like others, he wishes to be a sculptor; and actually for a beginner he has not done badly. *L'Amour et la parque* contains several good parts, almost sufficiently developed, where one discovers with great precision – a necessity of sculpture – the facility of the celebrated improviser. The whole thing is presented with the modesty of a first study and the secret hope of being accepted as a finished work; but it lacks that "je ne sais quoi" without which the most beautiful sketch is returned to the atelier and

192, 193. *La Parque et l'Amour (Fate and Love)*, 1877

Bronze, 39 ½ in. h. Private collection, Minneapolis, MN

Terracotta, 23 in. h. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Bernard C. Solomon, Los Angeles, CA

194. *Love Triumphs over Death,* ca. 1876–80, terracotta, 7 × 6 × 9 ¼ in. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, RI. Gift of Uforia Inc.

195. *Chronos With Scythe*, 1879, bronze, 23 ½ × 14 ½ × 10 ½ in. Private collection, New York

> requires again the sculptor's tool ... However, the figure of Amour, insouciant and cruel, is well done; the hands of Parque are heavy with a *maestria*, very Florentine.[4]

In his review of 1877 Henri Houssaye described "the svelte and gracious figure of Love as modeled with a delicate precision, very surprising for a first sculpture." But he goes on to say that the Fate is not as successful "with hands and feet like a flayed model and a sad physiognomy out of keeping with tradition. The chief fault is that the group does not seem to be seen in the round but rather that the back of Fate ought to be encased in a wall. So it seems rather a high relief than a statuary group."[5]

According to the artist's correspondence a bronze was made with his permission by Causssinus. A bronze version was included in the 1885 Doré sale and another was part of the Doré Gallery from 1879 to 1892.[6] In recent times one has entered a private collection in America (fig. 192). The size and patina give it a forebidding presence quite different from the many small versions of the plaster or terracotta (fig. 193), which are known.[7] In his caricature of the composition, the cartoonist Cham shows the painter's palette at the base and gives Fate a bucket, so that as the caption says, "Love of art relating all that Gustave Doré has done for him, demands a just recompense for this great artist."[8]

Subsequent sculptures also dealt with death and time. The terracotta *Love Triumphing over Death* (fig. 194), showing Cupid resting on a bed of skulls derived from Doré's tailpiece illustration for his 1879 edition of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. As if love was exhausted after all the convolutions of the book's plot and the multitude of deaths along the way, the naked, little winged god has collapsed with a rather distressed expression on a floor strewn with skeletons. His now useless quiver of arrows and his bow lie on either side of him.

Two versions of the sculpture are known—the one in Providence, which Doré rather tellingly gave to his first serious beloved, the actress and courtesan, Alice Ozy and another with fewer skulls.[9] Neither of these include the bow and arrow and both raise the cupid higher on the pile of skulls to further confront the viewer. Peter Fusco has observed that Cupid's pose, suggests "love is equally precarious and must end with death."[10]

Also for Alice Ozy Doré created an elaborate clock (fig. 196), which he exhibited in 1879 at the Cercle de l'union artistique. It is now in the Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris.[11] This is surmounted by the figure of father time or Chronos atop a globe. Doré cast as a separate sculpture Chronos sweeping his scythe above a group of putti (fig. 195),[12] so it too serves as an allegory of time triumphing over love.

One other sculptural work by Doré also relates to Alice Ozy. This is his *Madonna* of which a large white marble version was executed in

196. *Time Slaying Love*, 1879, bronze and enamel, 51 ⅛ in. h. Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris

197. *The Madonna*, ca. 1880, bronze, 19 ⅛ in. h. Collection of Edward T. Wilson, Fund for Fine Arts, Bethesda, MD

198. *La Défense Nationale* or *La Défense de Paris*, bronze. 57 in. h., with base 89 in. h. Private collection, Philadelphia

1893 for her tomb in Père-Lachaise. Doré had exhibited a half-life size plaster version of this *Madonna* at the Salon of 1880 where it received the Third Class medal.[13] As one reviewer noted, "Only Doré with his brilliant imagination could find a new sentiment to express in this oft treated subject ... He gives a prophetic spirit to the Virgin and represents her holding the child with his arms extended as if awaiting the cross or the nails of Caiphas and Pilate."[14] And another critic also praised Doré for having brought originality to this traditional theme, "capturing the loving regard between the mother looking down at her child," and showing "Jesus, stretching out his arms, like an

unruly child, evoking the image of the last scene of his Passion drama."[15] The artist himself explained in a letter of April 3, 1880 to the managers of the Doré Gallery: "The Virgin while playing with her child moves his arms in a gesture exactly resembling that of his last breath on the cross. This mystical meaning ... expresses the correspondence of the end with the beginning of his divine career."[16] As Peter Fusco has observed, this composition may in fact have been inspired by Carrier-Belleuse's *Messiah*.[17] In any case this was to be by far his most popular sculpture as is evidenced by the number of bronze versions in various sizes which are known today (fig. 197)[18] These differ from the plaster in lacking the star halo around the head of the Virgin.

Just as with his painting, Doré in sculpture indulged his patriotic as well as his religious sentiments. To commemorate the recent defense of Paris, the city's Préfecture de la Seine organized a competition in 1879 for a major allegorical monument consisting of two figures. Doré responded, along with many other sculptors including Rodin. He submitted a plaster model of the work he called *La Défense Nationale*. It presents a soldier with drawn sword and banner directed by the allegorical figure of Paris wearing a crown of ramparts. Barrias won the competition so Doré's work was not placed in a prominent location as he might have wished. In his estate sale the plaster was sold with the right of reproduction, and bronze casts were made in various sizes.[19] A life size version is in the Musée du Petit Palais,[20] and the example formerly in the Tannenbaum collection and now in Philadelphia (fig. 198),[21] which may have been the one shown at the Exposition Universelle of 1889 in Paris, although half-life size, is still an impressive and moving work.

In his last years Doré created some truly bizarre sculptural compositions. There was of course the immense *Vase of the Vine* (fig. 219), which found a permanent home in San Francisco. On a smaller scale one of the most striking is *L'Effroi* (fig. 199) depicting a moment of terror as a snake seems to be seeking out the child held aloft by its mother. The original plaster version was shown in the Salon of 1879.[22] It elicited a positive review from Delorme, who described it as showing a Nubian woman and her child attacked by a snake. He wrote: "it would be difficult to find a more eloquent symbol of love and maternal devotion."[23] However, a negative review in *L'illustration* condemned it as "a sort of illustration in plaster."[24] Nevertheless, Doré chose to have it cast in bronze and several versions are known.[25] Peter Fusco has made the insightful suggestion that Doré may have been inspired by the Biblical story of the outcast Hagar, protecting her child Ishmael, traditionally thought of as the first black man. Fusco also posits that in this composition, as in his *Madonna*, Doré could have been alluding to the famous Carrier-Belleuse sculpture the *Messiah* of 1867 in which the child Christ is held aloft.[26] Another possible influence may have been a sculpture by Adrien Gaudez

199. *L'Effroi (The Terror)*, ca. 1878, bronze, 23 ⅜ in. h. Collection of Edward T. Wilson, Fund for Fine Arts, Bethesda, MD

shown in the 1878 Salon, *L'Enfance de Jupiter*, which shows a nude woman holding aloft the young god to protect him from a rambunctious goat.[27]

Snakes were one of those obsessive elements of horror in Doré's art. In the series of the *Wandering Jew* one scene set in the wilderness shows, as Jerrold describes it, how "an anaconda hangs from a tree overhead and dangles its fangs close to the Wanderer's ear, as he steps between the coils of a boa."[28]

From the early 1880s dates what was described as a work "of strange originality, recalling Clodion in its grace and Carpeaux in its movement."[29] It combines two of Doré's interests—circus entertainers and gymnastics. In his younger days the artist was known for his lively acrobatic displays and even had a trapeze installed in his studio. The inspiration for the sculpture may have come from knowledge of the elaborate balancing acts in the sculptures of the eighteenth-century Italian master Bertos.[30] Or, as has been suggested by Clapp, Doré may have been remembering an 1849 cartoon by his friend Nadar also titled *La Pyramide Humaine*, which showed ten Second Empire politicians balancing one upon the other with President Thiers at the top (fig. 201).[31] Doré exhibited a bronze cast of the subject at the Cercle de l'union artistique in 1881 and three different size models of the composition with casting rights were sold in his estate sale of 1885. One was 129 cm; one was 90 cm; and the smallest was 58 cm. The largest one was acquired by a Monsieur Coolidge and a cast of it was done by the firm of Auguste Sichel and sold recently at Christie's.[32] The cast in the Ringling Museum (fig. 200) is of the same size but not marked by any foundry and in addition has added to it a small mat under the very bottom figure.[33]

Finally, for sheer élan there are few sculptures of the nineteenth century as humorous as the medieval evocation *A saute-mouton (Leap-frog)* in which a knight in armor is shown jumping over the back of a monk. Several casts of this extraordinary sculpture are known, and one has entered the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 202).[34] As pointed out by Clapp, Doré had previously used the image of a leap-frogging knight in his 1863 *Don Quixote* where the figure leaps over a large book.[35] It has also been observed that the subjects of monks and knights were familiar elements in Doré's Rabelais illustrations, and that he combined the

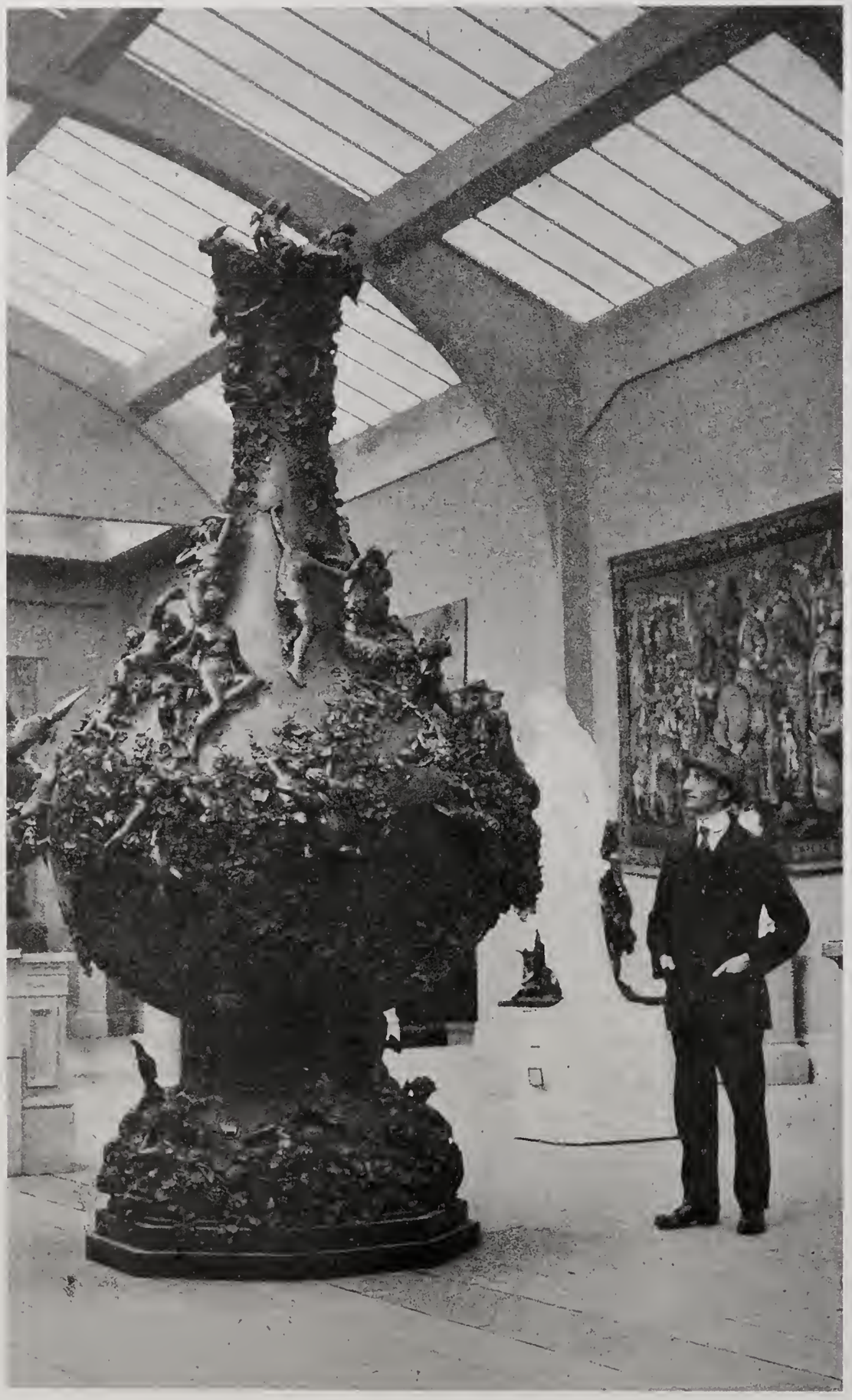
200. *La Pyramide Humaine (The Human Pyramid)*, or *The Acrobats*, ca. 1881, bronze, 50 ¾ × 9 ¾ in. Before restoration of the missing head. Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, The State Art Museum of Florida, Sarasota, Bequest of John Ringling

two figures in a watercolor of 1880 entitled *Les Joyeux Ivrognes*, where they appear among the drunken revelers.[36] A marked element in Doré's originality as a sculptor was his attempt to defy gravity and create works in which figures seem to fly or be frozen in air. This is true of the *Human Pyramid* and also in his *Perseus and Andromeda*,[37] and most decidedly in the *Leap-frog*.

201. Nadar, *La Pyramide Humaine*, published in *La Revue Comique*, February 1849

202. *A Saute-mouton (Leap-frog)* or *Joyeuseté*, 1881, bronze, 14 1/16 × 10 in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. In memory of John F. Paramino, Boston sculptor

203. Doré's *Vase of the Vine*, ca. 1919, on view in the Statuary Hall of the original De Young Museum, San Francisco, CA



"A Strange Genius:" Appreciating Gustave Doré in America

ERIC ZAFRAN

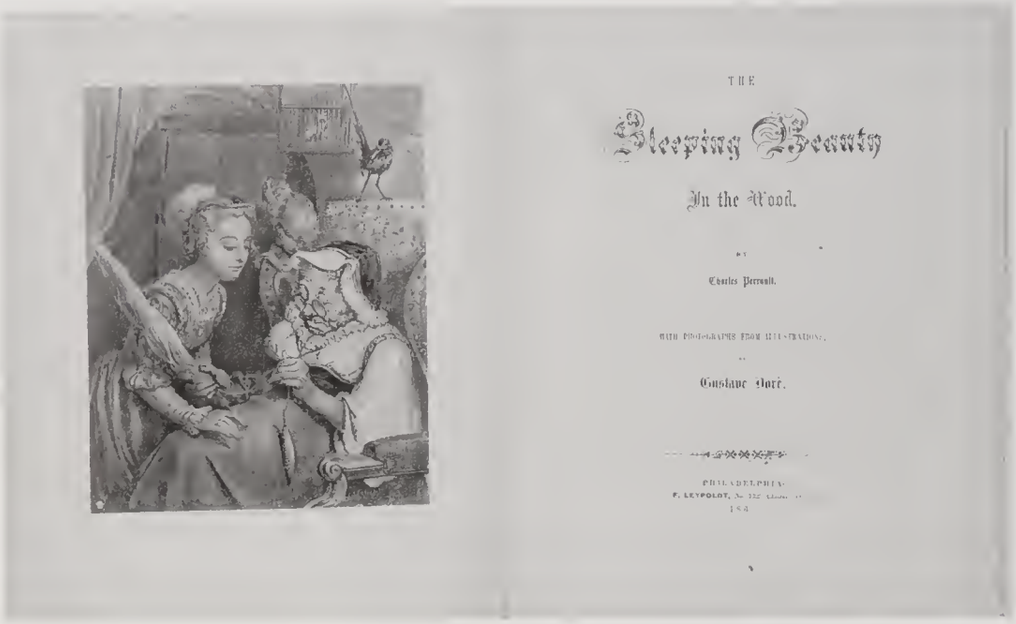
THE RECEPTION OF DORÉ IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA

America's attitude towards the French artist Gustave Doré is perhaps best encapsulated in the ambivalent approach taken by the author and critic Henry James. The young James was hugely influenced by Doré's illustrations for Perrault's *Fairy Tales* or *Contes*, finding inspiration there for his historical novella *Gabriella de Bergerac* of 1869. The impact of Doré's depictions of the fairy tales, as well as his illustrations for *Don Quixote*, continued as Tintner has shown, to have a powerful hold on James's imagination for the rest of his career.[1] However, as an art critic, James was forced to admit in his review of Doré's enormous painting *Christ Entering Jerusalem* (fig. 93) shown at the Paris Salon of 1876:

> I do not see what old memories of admiration for Gustave Doré's genius in the days when he treated it with common humanity should avail to make an even very amiable critic hesitate to speak of this as a rather shameless performance. M. Doré treats his genius now as you wouldn't treat a tough and patient old cab horse; I know of few spectacles more painful in the annals of art. Imagine a colored print from the supplement of an illustrated paper magnified a thousandfold and made to cover almost a whole side of a great hall, and you have M. Doré's sacred picture … There is no color – or worse than none – no drawing, no expression, no feeling, no remotest hint of detail; nothing but an immense mechanical facility, from which every vestige of charm and imagination has departed.[2]

It was this admiration of Doré's book illustrations but disdain for his paintings that was to be the leitmotif of most American criticism of the artist for the next century, although the general public and even many educated collectors were to disagree. Doré first became known in America in the decade before James published his novella. His particular strengths and weaknesses were already acknowledged in some of the earliest mentions of him to be published in America. For example in *The Crayon* of 1856, a letter headed "Art News from England" written by William Rossetti reported on the recent publication there of *Jaufry the Knight and Fair Brunissende*, "a tale of the times of King Arthur, translated from the French and illustrated with twenty engravings by Gustave Doré." The author found the translation "execrable," but he related that the illustrations were

> woodcuts by a French designer, from whose hand I have seen an effective battle-piece, and various cuts in the pictorial newspapers. The designs are amply chargeable with bad drawing, and with overdoing, which tends to vulgarize; but they are animated by a very



204. Title spread of Perrault's *Sleeping Beauty*, Philadelphia, 1863. Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

205. "What Big Eyes You Have, Grandma," from Perrault's *Little Red Riding Hood*, published in *Peterson's Magazine*, 1863. Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

> uncommon – perhaps an unique – spirit of medievalism. Mailed knights, frightful encounters, loathsome witches and wizards, soaring battlements, forests of banners, the black, oppressive terror of ancient woods, are worked up with immense life and gusto.[3]

Indeed it was Doré's fecund grotesque imagination, in painting as well as illustrations, that was already remarked upon in the 1860s. In its account of the 1861 Paris "Exhibition of Fine Arts", the *New York Times* described Doré's large painting of Dante and Vergil meeting in Hell "as more horrible and more fantastic than was ever conceived in the delirium or enthusiasm of a poet." It went on to conclude, "The whole picture is such only as the feverish and apocalyptic imagination of Gustave Doré could have conceived or put upon canvas."[4] And the following year an article in *Harper's Monthly Magazine* by Richard Grant White, entitled "Caricature and Caricaturists", characterized

Doré as "not only one of France's greatest caricaturists, but one of the most gifted artists of the age." It proclaimed, "Doré is the Rembrandt of caricature." The uniqueness of Doré is that he "does not choose his subjects from nowadays political or social life, but goes back into the times of chivalry and superstition." While noting the humorous depictions of monks and judges, White also made mention of "the grotesque quality of the artist's old towns, narrow streets, and winding staircases," and in the landscapes he found "the effects of gloom, with portentous trees and ominous shadows." In short Doré "shows us the awful reduced to an absurdity; and yet makes us feel that awe can not be entirely made absurd and that even ridicule can not quite free us from its power." Among Doré's illustrations White singled out the *Contes Drolatiques* as the "best," but also praised those for *The Wandering Jew* as "marvelous combinations of the awful and the grotesque." He noted that "just published" were the illustrations to Dante's *Inferno* "which teems with subjects congenial to his pencil."[5]

It is certain that some French editions of various works illustrated by Doré, and some of their English translations that were published in London, must have made their way to the New World. However, the first books with his illustrations to be published in America seem to be *Lion Hunting* by Jules Gerard, and Mary Lafon's *Jaufry the Knight*, appearing in New York in 1856 and 1857 respectively.[6] Individual illustrations in periodicals soon followed with perhaps the very first being his *Battle of Malegnano* in *Harper's Weekly* of 1859.[7] In 1863 the Philadelphia publisher Frederick Leypoldt produced both an album of Doré's Dante and an edition of Perrault's *The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood* with six of what the title page stated were "photographs from illustrations by Gustave Doré" (fig. 204).[8] Also in 1863 *Peterson's Magazine* reproduced two steel engravings after Doré's classic illustrations for Perrault's *Little Red Riding Hood* (fig. 205).[9] Then in 1864 Leypoldt published both Doré's *The Wandering Jew* and an album with his striking illustrations for Chauteaubriand's *Atala* (fig. 172), a tale actually set in America.[10]

However, it was the year 1865 that marked a major change in the reputation of Doré, for it was then that his monumental work, *La Sainte Bible* (*The Holy Bible*) was published in France, and it was this work, which would make the greatest impact on the world, and especially America. It forever altered the public attitude toward the French artist, who became inextricably tied to his immense religious work, and he would only enhance this by devoting so much of his later painterly activity to monumental religious canvases. Doré's two-volume version of the Bible with over 230 illustrations took him four years to produce, but by 1866 it was already available in parts. Editions in English were published in both London and New York. The fully bound English version appeared in 1867.[11] The *New York Times* reported:

> The first intimations that Gustave Doré was preparing designs for an illustrated edition of the Bible were not favorably received by the public. Doré was known chiefly as an artist of wonderful and wild extravagance, of weird imagination, gifted with a peculiar sense of the grotesque and the humorous but wanting in true sublimity and serious dignity ... To some extent, but to a limited extent only, these apprehensions have been verified by the appearance of the work. The vast range of subjects offered by the sacred books afforded the artist ample scope for the display of his remarkable powers of imagination ... Equally at home in the humorous, the graceful, the grotesque, occasionally pathetic, and now and then rising to the sublime heights of imagination, he has given us every shade of his genius ... There is scarcely a picture among the whole number which will fail to delight and interest.

The reviewer then went on to give detailed descriptions of the plates, illustrating the section on the Deluge that was judged among the best. Doré's "morbid love of gloom" was to be found in the "horribly grotesque" scene of *Ezekial's Vision of the Valley of Dry Bones*. Some fault was also found with Doré's "attempting to represent the Supreme Being," but in the end the review related: "With all its drawbacks, Doré's Bible is by far the most superb work which has been brought into this country this year."[12]

The Bible illustrations gave a remarkable boost to Doré's reputation in America. Biographical notices and appreciations of him began to receive frequent publication. Typical of them was the 1866 article in *The Eclectic Magazine*. Doré, whose engraved portrait is reproduced, was described as "the most popular artist in modern France," his most remarkable achievement being that "his illustrations of the Bible should have induced so many persons to read the Word of God for the sake of understanding the force and beauty of these illustrations, who, but for these, might never have become Bible readers at all."[13]

Even longer was the article on Doré by Stillman S. Conant that appeared the same year in *The Galaxy*. Its stated purpose was to "place American readers in possession of such facts as will enable them to form a tolerably correct estimate of Doré as an artist." The writer had a decidedly positive view. He began by describing Doré as "the popular idol of the day, in the world of art the most prolific, but at the same time one of the most unequal artists of modern France." He then went on to observe that:

> The versatility of Doré's genius is without parallel in modern times ... That he is greatest in the grotesque and horrible is probably true. Some of his illustrations to the Bible and the Fairy Tales exhibit a delicate eye for beauty, and a tenderness and occasional pathos, that form a wonderful contrast to some of his designs for the Wandering Jew and the Inferno; but the variety of these, and the constant occurrence of illustrations that make the blood run cold with horror, or excite unsympathetic laughter, or command mere admiration at the amount of power developed, show the ruling tendency of his genius. He delights in horrors. Dante's Hell has more attractions for him than the Garden of Eden.

The writer, however, then proceeded to give a long description of what he considered to be Doré's "greatest achievement" – his Bible illustrations, finding great originality in the Old Testament subjects, but admitting, "the illustrations of the New Testament show a great falling off of power and interest. Doré's genius is not Christian; it is essentially fantastic and profane. He cannot draw an apostle or a saint, and his Christ is an utter failure." Nevertheless, Conant reported: "Several artist clubs have been formed for the purchase of the book [The Bible], for reference and critical study. It is not to be expected, nor would it be desirable, that the planting of this seed should result in a large crop of Dorés, but the influence of his style in the art of wood-engraving in this country will undoubtedly be extensive and beneficial."[14]

From the late 1860s onward Doré's fame was enhanced in America by the publication, primarily by the New York branch of Cassell and Co., of a flood of part editions of his major works. These were inexpensive part works of Doré's editions of Milton, Dante, Don Quixote, La Fontaine, and of course The Bible.[15] In 1872–3 *Harper's Magazine* published many of Doré's London illustrations in serialization. The same publication also included Doré in one of its short appreciations devoted to "A Few French Celebrities," noting that he was "a marvel of industry and production," and "his reputation is world-wide; he has ten times as many orders as he can fill." However, it was observed that,

"Of late years his manner has become almost if not quite mannerism, which while it may add to the individuality of his sketches, renders them unpleasantly monotonous."[16] The following year *The Galaxy* presented another article on Doré, written by one Justin McCarthy, an Englishman, who had visited the artist in his Paris studio. At the time, Doré was in the midst of painting his *Dream of Pilate's Wife* (fig. 90), which the writer believed "ought to be a triumph." He described Doré as "a short, stout man with a large head, a fine brown *chevelure*, a broad forehead, a handsome face, very bright, beaming eyes, and a peculiarly frank and winning smile. There is something indescribably animated about his friendly and cordial manner. He is rather more than forty years of age, but he looks much younger ... A man at once more simple, genial, and modest than Doré is not easily to be met."

McCarthy provided an outline of Doré's "precocious" career as illustrator and painter and "the success that descended upon Doré like the oft quoted shower upon Danae." In discussing the illustrated books, which brought Doré fame, he noted astutely that the French artist never seems to have quite understood Tennyson "in illustrating our laureate," for "often as Doré has visited London, he speaks no English."[17] This according to other sources was not quite true. Apparently it was the American artist from Boston, J. Foxcroft Cole, who provided Doré with an intensive study of the language, so that "in an incredibly short time he spoke English quite fluently."[18]

Meeting Gustave Doré, the famous artist, was clearly one of the delights for foreign art lovers visiting the French capital, and a series of accounts and publications by traveling Americans helped keep the home audience informed about his personality, way of life, and continuing achievements. The leading American illustrator, Felix O. C. Darley, known for his western scenes, met Doré in late 1867 at the home of the American ambassador, and observed that he was "a remarkably mild looking man of thirty, or thereabout, his face exhibiting no indication of the vigorous genius for which his works are so remarkable."[19]

One American who encountered Doré in Paris was that most effusive commentator on contemporary French art, Earl Shinn, who wrote under the pseudonym Edward Strahan. He believed that as a painter Doré "succeeds best on a smaller scale and in a more active style of production, where a degree of exaggeration and emphasis is suitable to the impression desired." Strahan recounted that Doré's method of work was to "make hasty pencil sketches in a tiny book carried in his waistcoat-pocket. These memoranda were for him the all sufficient preparations for a grand picture."

Then Strahan gave the following account:

> Our personal reminiscences of Doré go back to a hasty presentation of the prodigy at one of the receptions which the late General Dix used to hold as American Minister. Miss Gardiner, at this present writing the affianced of Bouguereau, made the introduction. Moving through the gay and over-dressed circles with a dullness, rather German than French – constrained in conversation and animated only when an allusion was made to the extent of his fame in America – evidently insecure in mixed company and anything but hilarious until he found a chance to bustle up to the side board ...
>
> Beside his house in the Rue St. Dominique where many of his boxwood drawings are made, it was our fortune to visit his painting-atelier, built expressly for his purposes at the extremity of the Rue Bayard – a strange house resembling a chapel whose two gables looking on the street were nearly filled with yawning windows. The interior has an enormous stove in the center. The tables around it were covered with large palettes; spreading on every level surface with the aspect of lily-pads in a pond, while great sheaves of brushes amounting to half a cord were set to dry by the fire. The canvases, on which were

spread the figure of Nebuchadnezer, or of Paolo and Francesca, were supported on legs and feet, piles, shoes, and scatlings. In front of them were machines furnished with windlasses and ratchets, whereon the painter could be sunk or raised or made to fly along the corniche like a spiritual medium.

When Doré emerges from behind some scenic-looking flat, at a great height and then races along the scaffolding under the ceiling, leaving traces of black charcoal from the brands which he bears in his hand he looks very small, but dangerously powerful and elfish.[20]

Another American who visited Doré in his great studio on the rue Bayard was Lucy Hooper, the frequent contributor of articles on the Parisian art scene to *The Art Journal*. Following their meeting in 1875, she enumerated for her readers the early, unsold works crowding the vast space, including the huge picture of Dante's *Inferno* "representing the Hell of Liars" and "the almost equally gigantic one of *The Gambling-Table at Baden-Baden*" (fig. 158). Also present was his painting of street entertainers (fig. 19), which he intended to call "The Victim," since the dying child is "the victim of his parents' greed of gain." She remarked, "he has also recently completed several landscapes, mostly of Scottish scenery, for whose wild, bare, rugged desolation he seems to have a special predilection." Demonstrating her nationalistic pride, Hooper could not help but add, "the landscape of all landscapes for him to paint exists, however, on our side of the Atlantic – the canyon of the Yellowstone."[21]

Also published in 1875 was one of the most serious books on art written by an American during the nineteenth century. This was *Art Thoughts: The Experiences and Observations of an American Amateur in Europe* by James Jackson Jarves, one of the country's most avid collectors of older European art. His essay "The Genius of Doré: A Study in Aesthetics" appeared first in the *Atlantic* during 1869, but in the book version it placed Doré in the distinguished company of Courbet and Corot. Jarves referred to "the versatile, erratic Doré" and made an interesting comparison between the Japanese Ukiyo-e master Hokusai, and the French illustrator, noting that they "exhibit a similarity of motive and treatment ... that one might infer the latter had taken effective hints from the former." In his detailed analysis of the artist, he showed an ambivalent attitude:

Doré is an original genius, of a quality and caliber widely differing from all the preceding ones. He represents in their intensest degree the chief fundamental characteristics of his race. Indeed we must view him as a modern outbreak of the old fecund Gothic invention, which in medieval times delighted so hugely in the grotesque, especially in sculpture, reckless of purity of thought or fitness of application. The ancient spirit was a serious one in one sense. It did these odd things because it delighted in them. But Doré does them from levity, scorn, and contempt. He likes them too, but in another way. His is a strange genius. Medieval idiosyncrasies of thought and belief are mingled with modern infidelity and jest. In all, however, Doré is thoroughly French. No other nation would have produced him. ... In one respect he is antagonistic to his origin. There is no sympathy in him for the pretty. The beautiful he wholly ignores, and with it academic order and rule. His aesthetic sense runs in a dark direction.

By instinct he is a profound colorist, because his nature is profound, but he has not yet won that mastery over materials which belongs only to long and steady practice. His *Spanish Gypsies* exemplifies his system. We all remember Murillo's lousy boys with their dirt-ingrained skins, rags, and filthy occupations. But Murillo made the life-giving sun-

> light fall full upon his beggars. It is their saving grace. But Doré's proclivities are so intense that his art must run to extremes. His wretched "Gypsy" has no beauty except a dusky olive complexion and that harsh in tone. Her rags are loathsomely gathered about her. The quality of coloring is literally filthy, as is the subject: coarse beyond description, and intensified by an emphatic crimson spot on her bosom; a bit of red drapery is showing, but signifying the lust of sense or crime at heart. No good comes of such art. ... He transforms all nature into demoniacal forces in keeping with weird scenery evoked by his imagination.

Jarves concluded his study of the artist thus:

> Doré's art is great. Is it good? It need not be Christian in a nice sense to be this, but it must be natural, truthful, and humane. It should have also the instinct of the beautiful. Doré's art has almost none of these qualities. Much of it is heartless, sensual, and perverse. It refuses to elevate, or instruct, or even amuse, except the mind, like the art, be prone to obscene, cruel or mocking levity; preferring to excite emotions which have in them little that is pleasurable or improving. The general tendency is to deepen and strengthen those proclivities of the French school which most require pruning and reforming. If the devil as ever created such an office as Designer-in-chief to Hell, it is now filled by Doré.[22]

What Jarves did not know was that Doré, not content with having mastered illustration and painting, was next to attempt sculpture. News of this development was reported by *The New York Times* in 1877: "M. Gustave Doré, who has turned sculptor in emulation of Michael Angelo and Da Vinci, produces a large group, representing 'Fate and Love' [fig. 192] ... M. Doré's temperament fits him to combat with the sterner difficulties of sculpture; and if he had studied it seriously he would probably have excelled more than in the delicate art of painting. Just now his execution is coarse and, and full of inexperience; but his delineation of character is admirable."[23] But Doré had certainly not given up painting and when Lucy Hooper provided her report of another visit to the artist's studio in 1879, she noted "the original bronze of 'Love and Fate,' that most weird and wondrous production of modern sculpture." She also observed the "just-completed figure of 'Terpsichore,' which is destined for the theater of Monte-Carlo," the work she called "Maternal Devotion" (*L'Effroi*, fig. 199), and the "splendid vase [fig. 219], lifting in air its myriad, graceful forms of nymphs and sportive elves." Of the paintings then in progress, Hooper singled out the *Ascension*, (fig. 97), which was "singularly bold and felicitous in composition," and an unfinished work representing "'The Death of Orpheus' [fig. 169] [in which] the Maenads, nude and of life-size are grouped upon a high green bank in the center, seeming to have paused for a moment in their frenzied gambols to contemplate their victim, whose body lies at the foot of the bank."[24] When this latter painting was shown that year at the Paris Salon, the *New York Times* correspondent, however, had difficulty taking it seriously, opining: "I must look at it a good many times more and get somebody to explain it to me, before I venture to pass judgment on a work which has all its author's usual faults and qualities, but the impression made generally is that the groups resemble gingerbread women who have got wildly drunk in a field of spinach."[25]

This frivolous attitude towards Doré's works was to be contradicted by an unprecedented development in the presentation and marketing of an artist; the establishment in London of a gallery devoted solely to his art. The first attempt was made in 1867 when a Parisian friend of Doré's, a Monsieur Arymer, took over the Egyptian Gallery in Piccadilly to display three of the French artist's

206. Interior of the Doré Gallery in London, reproduced in Blanchard Jerrold, *Life of Gustave Doré* (London, 1891)

largest paintings. This lasted just a few months and was superseded by another display of Doré at the German Gallery opened in time for Doré's first visit to London in 1868. The enterprising Londoners, James Fairless and George Lord Beeforth, assembled landscape paintings, the two nude subjects *Paolo and Francesca* and *Andromeda* (fig. 224), as well as the more recently completed *Neophyte* (figs. 110 and 112). Then they commissioned Doré for £800 to paint his large *Triumph of Christianity over Paganism* (fig. 81).[26] There were precedents for this kind of single artist or theme exhibition in London set by Fuseli's Milton Gallery and the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery, and earlier French painters, like Jacques Louis David and De Loutherbourg, had presented single large pictures to the city's populus,[27] but there had never been anything as popular and long lasting as the Doré Gallery. The initial success of this venture led to the establishment in 1869 of The Doré Gallery at a new location, 35 New Bond Street (later home to Sotheby's), and its proprietors would from then until Doré's death in 1883 add almost every year another immense religious work by the painter, resulting in detailed reviews in both London and New York.[28]

The Doré Gallery quickly became an established tourist destination, and some very distinguished Americans were among those who entered its well-upholstered precincts (fig. 206). The writer Mark Twain, who had earlier purchased an edition of Doré's *Paradise Lost* for his future wife,[29] visited the Doré Gallery in 1872 and recorded his reaction at length in his journal. Not known for his discriminating judgment on art, he found that it "fascinated me more than anything I have seen in London yet." He was overwhelmed by the recently unveiled, enormous *Christ Leaving the Praetorium* (see fig. 87), declaring it a "marvelous creation" and "the greatest work of art that ever I have seen." He went on to praise the moving figure of Christ, the naturalism of the conception, and in good Yankee fashion to be amazed that Doré was paid only "a beggarly $31,500."[30] Although in a humorous unpub-

lished article about the Doré Gallery Twain mocked the hardsell approach of the gallery attendants,[31] he himself admitted to buying one of the engraved artist's proofs of the *Praetorium*. In addition to that work he also singled out for mention the *Christian Martyrs* and the pure landscape titled *The Prairie* in which amongst the "luxuriant grasses" one sees a scythe symbolizing the transience of all life.[32]

Coincidently another American writer also impressed by Doré's "grasses" on view in London was Julia Ward Howe. She had the opportunity to tell this to the artist himself when she visited his Paris studio in 1879. Howe was certain despite the criticism Doré received, "that he has produced some paintings that deserve to live in public esteem." Of those on view at the Doré Gallery she singled out *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* (figs. 93, 94) "for the contrast therein shown between the popular enthusiasm and the indifference of a group of richly dressed women seated in a balcony, and according no attention whatever to the procession passing in the street just below."[33]

DORÉ'S DEATH AND CONTINUING FAME

Doré died suddenly in early 1883, at the age of fifty-one. This event found "the world," as the *New York Times* reported on 24 January "unprepared." The newspaper pondered the question, "Was he as old as that?" and responded, "A short mental calculation of the length of years during which he was before the public and the prodigious number of works of which he was the maker changes the wonder the other way. To do so much in fifty years seems hardly enough."[34] Three days later the *Times* informed its readers that Doré's body had been interred at Père Lachaise and the graveside oration delivered by Alexandre Dumas fils.[35] Doré's last work, a large bronze monument to Dumas père, including the figure of d'Artagnan, was unveiled in November 1883 "in the presence of a host of literary and artistic notabilities," and it was noted how appropriate it was that "the novelist of such amazing fecundity should be commemorated by an artist of equal fecundity."[36]

Doré's untimely death occasioned a number of articles in American journals. *Harper's Weekly* for example devoted a full page to memorializing the artist:

> The sudden and unexpected death of this eminent artist sent a thrill of sorrow and regret through two continents. His popularity was not confined to his own country. He was as well known in England and America as he was in France; and his own countrymen can not grieve more sincerely over his untimely decease than do the people on this side of the world, who have admired him and his work ever since he became known here through the publication of his illustrations to the legend of the Wandering Jew.
>
> ... Here his imagination had full play, and he gave it loose reign. No other of his works approaches it in grotesque, grim horror ... His Bible illustrations were no less popular, and his Milton and Tennyson went through many editions ... None of Doré's recent works had had a more extended sale in this country than his *Ancient Mariner*. Coleridge's weird and fantastic poem presented a magnificent field for the display of Doré's best qualities. Here was everything to excite and nothing to trammel his imagination. The excellence and beauty of his illustrations were at once acknowledged. They took a strong hold on the public, and the volume, which was brought out in this country by Harper & Brothers, became at once one of the most popular gift-books of the season – a popularity which it still retains.
>
> The success of this remarkable work suggested to Harper & Brothers the idea of engaging Doré to illustrate a volume for their house; and in the course of the correspondence which ensued it transpired that the artist was already meditating a series of illus-

> trations to Poe's *Raven* ... The designs, twenty-six in number, were executed in about sixty days, and sent to this city to be engraved ... [They] are among the most remarkable of the long series of illustrations which have come from Doré's hand, and they will be published in a form and style worthy of the master's work.[37]

Writing both about Doré's death and the posthumous publication of his illustrated version of Poe's *The Raven* was the American author Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904), who was then living in New Orleans, but would eventually earn fame for his stories set in Japan where he settled in 1890. These tales revealed a taste for the macabre and grotesque that explains his innate sympathy for the works of Doré. He wrote:

> If not the greatest, the most original certainly of nineteenth-century artists has passed away, – fortunately not without bequeathing to us all the ripeness of his genius in a mighty series of more than forty-five thousand designs. Among modern artists, there has been no genius comparable to Doré's, except perhaps that of [John] Martin ... The supernatural aspect of Doré's conceptions bears a certain likeness to Martin's, – especially in the characteristic of prodigious height. But in breadth and depth the Englishman's genius was far more wonderful. However, in Doré's work the actors are not always so completely subordinated to scenic effect ... The intensity of Doré's method has called into existence a new artistic word. We style *Dorésque* a conception characterized by light foreground, shadowing off into grotesque darkness beyond ... The *Rembrandtesque* style offers strong contrasts; but the chiaruscuro of Doré's pictures is unearthly to a degree beyond comparison. The *Dorésque* quality lies in this very ghastliness.
>
> Doré was a consummate master of grotesqueness. He idealized the oddities of nature to the point of terrifying; – the roots of his trees writhe, their branches grasp like goblin arms; all those primitive impressions which give birth to fetish-ideas would seem to have been felt by him. His monstrous treatment of clouds, his fantastic animation of crags and rocks, recall the impressions of nightmares. It needed such a pencil to teach us the spirit of the Middle Ages; and Doré taught it with a wizard's power ...
>
> O those gothic cities, tearing a livid sky with fantastic spires and pinnacles; – those turrets 'thronging into the moon,' – those gigantic monasteries which possessed their hundreds of thousands of serfs, and were battlemented like castles, – those cathedrals whose ribbed and vertebrated interiors create fancies of awful skeletons petrified, – those high lines of gibbets, each overshadowed by spiral flights of carrion birds, – those hideous assaults in which steel and stone and flesh are all brayed together as within a giant's mortar; ... no one that has beheld these designs can ever forget their effect. The ghost of mediaevilism rises again in them to make us feel grateful that we are of the nineteenth century. You cannot laugh at Doré's designs of the fantastic and terrible epoch any more than you could laugh at a skull.[39]

The publication by Harper Brothers of Doré's *The Raven* led Hearn to observe "it is both an artistic and a literary event." He then proceeded to note that the artist "solved the difficulty of translating the stanzas into pictures by treating *The Raven* as an inconsolable mourner's revery upon the vast and eternal Enigma of Death." Commenting upon many of the individual illustrations, Hearn concluded by stating:

> On the whole, it may be said that Doré has interpreted Poe in an unexpected manner, – yet with such force that however reluctantly we may first receive his version of The

> Raven, we shall never be able to dissociate the pictures of the great artist from the stanzas of the great poet ... If Doré has intensified the horror of the poem, he has also ennobled and dignified its theme. If he transfigured the idea of the poem, he also expanded it. He comprehended the weirdness of his American brother's half-expressed thought, and completed it for him most wondrously – as the Mysterious Stranger is said to have completed that design which the first architect of Cologne Cathedral could never finish.[40]

For the title page of the volume, the American painter Elihu Vedder, who admitted to passing through a "Doré period,"[42] created what Edmund Stedman in his introductory text to the volume called "a symbolic crayon" (fig. 147) which "aptly sets face to face Poe and Doré, but enfolds them with the mantle of immortal wisdom and power"[43] represented by the helmeted goddess Athena triumphing over the Medusa's head.

Perhaps the greatest monument to Doré's life and achievements to originate in America was the massive five hundred page biography of the artist written by Blanche Roosevelt and published in New York in 1885. She was a fascinating figure who had a brief career as an opera singer. According to her own account she first met Doré in 1873 and quickly became friends with the artist, his family, and circle, who she claimed supplied her with much of the information that made up the very flattering picture she provided of his very full life.[44]

Emblematic of Doré's continuing fame was his inclusion in two general books dealing with nineteenth-century art, both published in New York in 1888. C. H. Stranahan devoted twelve pages to him in *A History of French Painting*,[45] while the writer Clarence Cook, in his *Art and Artists of Our Time,* gave three full-page illustrations to the French artist, whom he described as looking at his subjects "with one realistic and one romantic eye." For Cook Doré's talent was most clearly shown in the woodcut illustrations to Balzac's *Les Contes Drolatiques*, for in these early books when he "was in the full flow of youthful spirits" he revealed "a remarkable power of sympathy with certain aspects of the medieval spirit." Cook found that Doré's later books, including his Tennyson, Dante, Don Quixote, and even the Bible, produced for publishers and for "a public he cared nothing for", reflect a certain indifference. "These books had an immense vogue, and brought him fame and fortune, but in reality, and in the long run, they belittled his reputation ... [The publishers] drove him without mercy, setting him at work on subjects that were to catch the English and American public, but for which the French public cared very little or not at all. Whoever wants to know where Doré's real forte as a designer lay, must seek it in his *Wandering Jew*, and in his *Contes Drolatiques*, in which latter book the spirit and diablerie of the cuts may be enjoyed without the necessity of wading through the muck-yard of the text."[46]

Other serious books on art published in America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries maintained the long-established ambivalent attitude towards Doré. Philip Gilbert Hamerton's *Painting In France, After the Decline of Classicism*, which was first published in London in 1869, was reprinted in Boston in 1895. In it the author felt compelled to include Doré, even as he acknowledged that "his reputation is chiefly founded upon his woodcuts." He pointed out that Doré "has injured himself by working too much in order to make a fortune, and some thousands of his late designs contain little that is new to us." But he acknowledged Doré's productivity, commenting that in fact he had "more ideas than Meissonier, more than Gérôme, more than some other popular favorites." With regards to Doré's painting, Hamerton found it "doubtful" he would ever succeed and observed, "If, when in his youth he had just finished the remarkable picture of *The Family of the Saltimbanques*, he had made painting his first object and studied seriously, he might have done some-

207. Sunrays Sunday School Lesson Card, *John, Chapter 4:14*, chromolithograph. Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

208. David C. Cook Sunday School Lesson Card, *Genesis, 3:1-15*, chromolithograph. Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

209. Tiffany Workshop, *Christ Leaving the Praetorium*, 1888. Stained glass window, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Milwaukee

thing remarkable by this time." The author singled out *The Neophyte* (fig. 110) as Doré's best painting, for its strikingly vivid conception and vigorous execution. He also found that Doré had a true landscape gift and that "many of his landscapes are finely conceived, but these are never executed with sufficient delicacy to be satisfactory."[47]

In 1899 Elbert Hubbard published his book *Little Journeys to the Homes of Eminent Painters*, and although Doré was long dead, Hubbard devoted a chapter to him, which commenced with the following anecdote:

> At the Café de l'Horloge in Paris, Mr. Whistler sat leaning on his cane, looking off into space, dreamily and wearily. He aroused enough to answer a question: "Doré—Gustave Doré—an artist? Why the name sounds familiar! Oh, yes an illustrator. There is a difference between an artist and an illustrator, you know, my boy. Doré—yes I knew him—he had bats in his belfry!" And Mr. Whistler dismissed the subject by calling for a match and then smoked his cigarette in grim silence.

The author had to conclude from this that "In the realm of art, genius does not recognize genius," and he went on to characterize a number of painters including Reynolds, Landseer, and Meissonier whom he felt lacked genius but made up for it with their dedication and energy. "But," he admonished, "you cannot count Gustave Doré in any such category. He stands alone. He had no predecessors, and he left no successors ... Gustave Doré drew pictures because he could do nothing else."[48]

BIBLICAL DORÉ

The aspect of Doré's art that was to have the greatest impact on the American public, despite the continuing popularity of his illustrated fairy tales and medieval stories, was his religious works, most especially the Bible illustrations.[49] So widely known was the Doré Bible that Mark Twain could refer to it without explanation in *Tom Sawyer*.[50] If people could not afford the full two-volume set, they could easily have one of the countless versions printed in America of the so-called "Doré Bible Gallery," a publication with a selection of the hundred most popular images.[51] In addition Doré's religious images were disseminated in a variety of forms. There were innumerable unauthorized editions of the Doré illustrations used in family Bibles, and religious books of all sorts copied, reduced, and rearranged the originals. Typical of these was *The First Mortgage*, a book-length poem published in Chicago by E. U. Cook that retold the Fall of Man and other "Bible stories, history and gospel truth, fully and handsomely illustrated by the world renowned artist Gustave Doré."[52] Of course the French artist never received any royalties from the publication, which reproduced his originals in rather crude reduced format.

Doré's Bible illustrations saturated the Christian religious experience in America. On the smallest scale there were chromolithographic lesson cards for teaching the Bible stories in Sunday schools (figs. 207, 208), and there were also sets of magic lantern slides dating from as early as 1875.[53] At the other end of the spectrum, the grandest transferences of Doré's religious images were to be found in stained glass windows. The firm of Louis C. Tiffany & Co. produced several after Doré's paintings, including Tiffany's largest, *Christ Leaving the Praetorium* of 1888, for St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Milwaukee (fig. 209).[54] That very same year the *New York Times* described the presentation of what it called a "Biblical Scenorama" that was based on the Doré Bible, and that took place in a theater previously best known for its minstrel shows.

> A small gathering was present yesterday at Dockstader's, where was produced for the first time in this country a scenorama from the Bible illustrations by Gustave Doré, copies of whose paintings in black and white have been made by Antoine Berger, which with the aid of mechanical effects are presented in a very pleasing manner. A descriptive lecture of the paintings as given by Prof. Dandelo, supplying the spectator with an idea of Doré's peculiar methods and the impression they were designed to make.[55]

The greatest assemblage of Doré's religious paintings, including the enormous original of *Christ Leaving the Praetorium*, was to be found in the London Doré Gallery, which had become "as popular as Madame Tussaud's Wax Works."[56] According to Stranahan, Doré sold twenty-eight works from the Gallery to "private collectors in England, Scotland, America, and Australia," and one of the buyers was even Queen Victoria.[57] The idea of sending the Doré Gallery to America began as early as 1881, and it was not the first time large religious works by a popular European artist were to be sent to this country.[58] The great showman P. T. Barnum had supposedly offered the owners of the Doré Gallery twice what they paid in order to move it to America, but his offer was rejected.[59] Only in 1892 did an article appearing in *The Collector* make it seem a real possibility.

> From time to time, the exhibition in this country has been talked of, the Doré Gallery for so many years a popular art show of Bond street in London. The singular popularity of the exhibition kept up, however, and while it continued to pay, the removal was deferred. Latterly however, it has commenced to fall off in its returns, and the American project comes up for more serious discussions than ever. In all likelihood, the gallery will be transferred to our shores by the opening of the next winter season.[60]

Later in the year the same journal reported:

> The company which controls the Doré Gallery and its agent has leased part of the Carnegie Music Hall. The lease is for six months with an option of six more ... Twenty years have worn the show out in London. Here, it is good for perhaps a couple of years. There are some forty pictures in the collection, but the big "Christ Leaving the Praetorium" could be counted as twenty-five more – in dimensions at least.[61]

The *New York Times* added that it was "Mr. Henry Hayman acting on behalf of the syndicate owning the famous Doré collection who completed the arrangements with the managers of Carnegie Music Hall for the transfer of the collection in its entirety ... Mr. Heyman, who sailed for Europe today to fetch the pictures has secured a six months' lease of the Recital Hall ... The exhibition will probably open in October. The collection consists of thirty-eight canvases."[62]

The published announcement of the exhibition of the Doré Gallery at the Carnegie Music Hall, 57th Street and Seventh Avenue, was addressed "To the American People" and billed the attraction, without any modesty, as "The Greatest Artistic Event of the Century." It went on to state:

> No artist for many centuries has so strongly appealed to the finest feelings of the great Christian communities as Gustave Doré, the puissant French painter, poet, sculptor, illustrator, musician, and original thinker. And the reason is plain to all. Doré's pictures, forcible and sublime as they are, are grand in their simplicity. One understands them at first glance; and though each great canvas will repay hours of study and will bear visiting again and again, no one with the most superficial knowledge of the glorious truths conveyed by them can fail to be in unison with the artist at once. The fact that this collection has commanded an unbroken record of twenty-one years' unflagging success speaks more for the hold Doré has obtained over the admiration and love of the world of culture and art than could be conveyed by volumes of letter-press or acres of printing.[63]

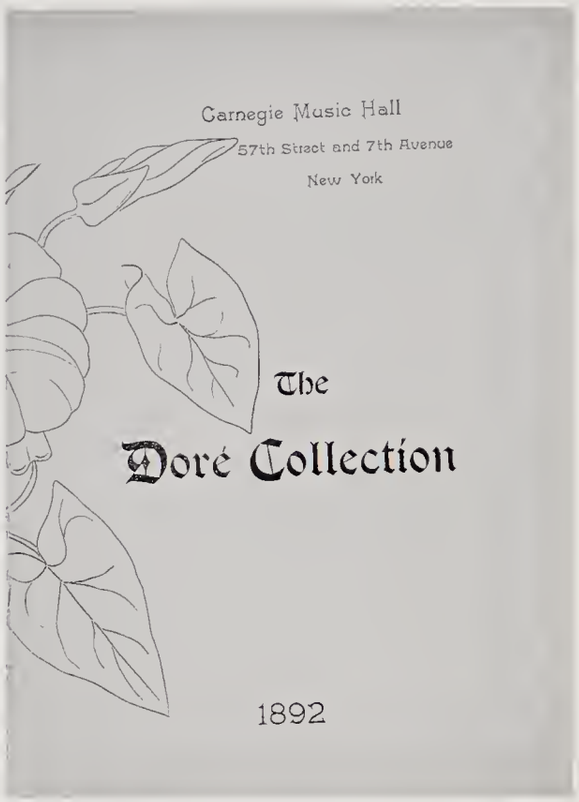
Admission to the exhibition in the windowless basement of Carnegie Hall was fifty cents on Fridays to Wednesdays from 10 AM to 10 PM, and on Thursday from 11 AM to 5 PM it was one dollar. The exhibition catalogue, with its morning glory cover (fig. 210), cost thirty cents and listed the thirty-eight "chefs d'oeuvres." These included not only the enormous religious canvases, but also the two scenes of religious genre – *The Neophyte* and *The Day Dream*; and scenes of ordinary genre and travel subjects – *Le Tapis Vert*, *Spanish Mendicants*, *The Flower Girl*, and *Tyrolese Singers*. Of literary and mythological themes there were *Paolo and Francesca* and *Andromeda*; and of the historical, *The Death of Rizzio* (sic). There were also a good many landscapes – *The Enchanted Forest*, *Afterglow in the Engadine*, *Souvenir of Loch Leven*, *View of Mount Blanc*, *Torrent of the Grimsell*, and *River Scene in Normandy*.

As the "Preface" made clear, however, this "magnificent and unique collection of the works of Gustave Doré has justly been described as 'the greatest collection of religious pictures in the world.' No artist of modern times has appealed so strongly to the religious sentiment of the Christian race as the renowned Alsatian ... The poetic beauty of his sublime genius reached its climax in those mas-

terpieces which illustrate the passion and triumph of the Saviour and the progress of Christianity."[64] It is no surprise that, as the *New York Times* reported, "the managers of the Doré Gallery announced that they are prepared to make arrangements with clergymen, who have Sunday schools attached to their churches, to admit a number of their young folks at greatly reduced prices ... A visit to this gallery will have a highly educational and moral value to the children."[65] On another occasion the management invited the Yale and Princeton football teams to come and view the paintings. A continuing series of advertisements and news notes promoted the collection of "sublime masterpieces by the greatest of modern artists."[66]

There were precedents, both in London and New York, for the paying public to see special exhibitions of large landscape masterpieces or exciting cycloramas depicting historic sites and incidents.[67] And just as in England, the public did turn out in great numbers, at least at first, to see the Doré Gallery. Over fifty years later the famed American illustrator Howard Chandler Christy, having grown up in Ohio loving Doré's books, remembered the experience of hurrying to see the exhibition of the French artist's paintings when he first got to New York:

> I can never forget my feelings as I viewed them. The entire gallery was permeated with the sense of something so wonderful that it was almost impossible to believe that one mind could be so great, or one man accomplish so much.[68]



210. Carnegie Music Hall, New York, *The Doré Collection*, 1892. Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

However, the New York art establishment, as reflected in the contemporary reviews, deplored the Doré Gallery as being of dubious artistic merit. *The Quarterly Illustrator* observed:

> The exhibition of the Doré scriptural pictures at the Carnegie Music Hall has been successful as far as attendance is concerned. These pictures are not to be considered as great works of art in any sense, but yet people of intelligence will speak of them with bated breath; they are of the sort which are to be shown with crimson hangings and all the trappings of the theater ... Literary quality of a certain sort there is in the pictures; but this does not compensate for the bad drawing and poor color.[69]

Alfred Trumble, the editor of *The Collector*, who elsewhere actually made use of Doré's illustrations for his own publication,[70] gave his assessment in the issue of November 1892:

> The exhibition of the Doré Gallery in this city has, I regret to say, been so far an absolute failure. I regret this the more as I believe that the pictures themselves would have made a popular hit had they been properly shown. They have in them a pictorial element of the greatest interest, and while they do not satisfy the pundits on the ground of technique, for as a technician Doré was below the dexterity of many a student in an American painting school, they have ideas in them which ordinary people can grasp ... At any rate the Doré exhibition has been as complete a fizzle as our great Columbian torchlight procession, but only because it has been mismanaged. The pictures are wretchedly shown and in a part of town far off the line of public travel. Poor Doré, dead with the one ambition of his life to be a great painter, unfructified, is at least happy in being spared the humiliation of witnessing the base use to which his art has dwindled down.[71]

211. *The Doré Gallery Catalogue*, 1896. The Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago

The Art Amateur observed:

> The collection of Gustave Doré's huge paintings, which used to delight the Philistines of London, has found a home in New York at the Carnegie Hall Music Hall. They are of scriptural scenes, and while they have not attracted much notice from the press, much of what has been said of them, in our opinion, conveys a wrong impression as to the abilities of that energetic Frenchman. Doré had really no conception how to fill a canvas of the size that he took for his *Christ Leaving the Praetorium* or his *Entry into Jerusalem.* He merely enlarged compositions which were very well on the scale of book illustrations.
>
> ... On the other hand, he was by no means such a very bad painter as some critics would lead one to suppose ... But it is a mistake to treat him as a great religious painter, or in any true sense a religious painter at all. Those only whose imaginations are rather dull and sluggish are likely to derive either pleasure or profit from his big canvases. They are in a theatrical sort of way, effective, and are certainly much better than the average Sunday-school magic-lantern exhibition; but, like these, they appeal simply to curiosity, not to any deep or worthy emotion.[72]

The presentation of the Doré Gallery at Carnegie Music Hall lasted from October 1892 until March 1893, and then the collection was transferred to larger, day-lit quarters in the old armory at 810–814 Seventh Avenue (between 52nd and 53rd streets), where it remained into 1894 with the admission charge still at fifty cents. The ongoing newspaper mentions especially stressed the appropriate pleasure of a Sunday afternoon visit.[73]

Then in January of 1896 the Doré Gallery moved west to be shown at the Art Institute of Chicago. This prompted *The Collector* to the following observation:

> It is probably because Chicago has a natural predilection for big things that she has taken up the Doré exhibition with an enthusiasm it did not encounter here. There is even some talk according to a Chicago paper of a possible purchase of the collection, for no less fabulous a sum than $1,000,000 for presentation to the Art Institute ... It would be a pity if what Paris and London would not have Chicago should accept as virgin gold ... Chicago can do much better with $1,000,000 or $500,000 than sink it in the Doré collection.[74]

However, it was precisely in the American mid-west with its innumerable small, but vital Christian communities that the Doré Gallery with its immense canvases of pious subjects was to have its greatest success. The presence of the large gambling scene *Le Tapis Vert* was largely ignored, and the catalogue cover was redesigned to highlight one of Doré's sorrowful heads of Christ (fig. 211). Opened on 21 January, in the Institute's south wing, the exhibition in its first nine weeks was visited by more than 236,000 people. On one day alone 16,000 were admitted, and thus the museum's administration wisely decided that the Doré Gallery, originally scheduled to close towards the end of March, would be extended. The local newspapers published encomiums on the artist and the "spiritual lessons" imparted by his famous works. As one proclaimed with evangelical fervor, "No one should miss the Doré exhibition. It is worth coming many miles to see. It would be worth coming to see if there was only one picture in it and that 'Christ Entering Jerusalem' ... When you see it you will never forget it, but will carry with you always the face of the man who, riding upon an ass, entered the city of his doom."[75]

Although there had been rumors that the Art Institute would buy the collection for a million dollars, the Doré Gallery finally closed there on 4 October 1896 after a total run of nine months and attended by a staggering 1.5 million visitors. More than 8,000 people came on each of the last two days. In the newspapers it was reported:

> The majority of the visitors on the last Sunday [when entry was free] were working people, who came as soon as the doors were opened at 1 o'clock and stayed in many cases all the afternoon. Those who never had heard of Doré before bought the Doré catalogues and read from them aloud to their friends ... Several ministers who saw the collection made the subjects the topics for impromptu sermons which they proceeded to preach right in the gallery.[76]

From Chicago the Doré Gallery then moved back east to Boston, where the *Evening Transcript* alerted its readers on 24 October 1896:

> The famous collection of paintings by Gustave Doré which for more than twenty years has been a permanent attraction in London and which has more recently drawn immense numbers of visitors in New York and Chicago is coming to Boston, and will be placed on exhibition at Copley Hall in the first week in November. The pictures are among the largest painted canvases in the world, and their career in London is certainly without precedent in the history of art. There are about forty pictures in the collection, and not all of them can be hung at once in Copley Hall ... The collection will probably remain in Boston all winter.

A few days later another article followed noting that "Doré's paintings no less than his drawings manifest his marvelously fecund imagination. In power of dramatic expression there are but a handful of modern artists who can be compared with Doré. No modern artist so much reminds us of Rembrandt ... The managers of the Doré Gallery are preparing for a very large attendance." [77]

Again Alfred Trumble in *The Collector* took a less sanguine view:

> Boston, which enjoys the distinction of having invented the worship of Robert Browning and Sandro Botticelli for the United States, is now to have the chance of laying her oblations at the shrine of Gustave Doré. The peripatetic Doré gallery, after having wandered from New York to Chicago, and even further westward, as far as I know, without finding a buyer is now on show at Copley Hall. It will be interesting to note how our American Athens takes to these products of modern Lutetia.[78]

Once the exhibition opened in Boston, the *Evening Transcript* published a combination report and review:

> Copley Hall is now filled with the collection of immense paintings by Gustave Doré ... The enormous canvas *Christ Entering the Praetorium* twenty feet high by thirty feet wide occupies the stage end of the hall and virtually fills the proscenium opening ... It illustrates his strengths and his weaknesses as a painter ... Not only was Doré not a colorist, for that would be putting it mildly, but he employed a palette which has in about twenty years been the ruin of what little color quality there was in his works. His pictures have blackened to such an extent that in many of them the figures in shadow have disappeared in an eternal night. Fortunately we have the cartoons and engravings to show their former glory.[79]

After the Doré Gallery closed in Boston, it returned to New York City where by April 1897 it was being exhibited free on the fourth and seventh floors of the Siegel-Cooper Department Store. Known as "The Big Store," this occupied the entire block on Sixth Avenue between 18th and 19th Streets.[80] The following April the Doré Gallery moved to Philadelphia for presentation at Gimbel Brothers department store. It was on view from at least 9–15 April and possibly through Easter Sunday on 17 April. The catalogue was reprinted with advertisements promoting items on sale in the store to be noted "as you pass from picture to picture," and in the newspapers it was advertised as "on its way back to London, but secured for the behoof and enjoyment of Philadelphians, no charge – free to all."[81] After that, apparently with the hope of resurrecting the exhibition at a future date, only sixteen works were sent back to London for continued showing there.[82] The remainder of the gallery, more than half of the paintings and prints, as well as the bust of Doré by Carrier-Belleuse, were placed in a New York storeroom, from which they would only emerge nearly fifty years later.

213. *Moses Floating in the Bull Rushes*, 1865, gouache heightened with white, 13 ⅜ × 18 ½ in. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

COLLECTING AND EXHIBITING DORÉ IN AMERICA

That particular "genius" of Doré praised by the native writers on art, led American collectors, especially those interested in academic, sentimental, and religious subjects, to begin acquiring works by the French artist already in the early 1860s. Leading the pack was the well-known art agent George A. Lucas. In 1863, as he reports in his telegraphically written diary, he took one of his leading collector clients, William Walters of Baltimore, to visit Doré. The following year he returned to the artist and selected for Walters a drawing on wood representing *Christ Preaching on the Mount* and costing 500 francs. Then in 1865, again for Walters, he ordered two drawings priced also at 500 francs and one large drawing of Moses in the bulrushes at the same price.[83] The two drawings are undoubtedly the Biblical subjects still in the Walters collection (fig. 212), and the *Moses* may be the work which in recent times has entered the Morgan Library's collection (fig. 213).[84] Later in the year Lucas also got from Doré a *Roi des Motagnes*.[85] It is most likely that Lucas also got directly from Doré his superb impression of the artist's greatest print, *Rue de la Vieille Lanterne* (fig. 113) which is now in the Baltimore Museum of Art. Given their close connections, it is not surprising that Lucas was one of those who attended Doré's funeral on Thursday, January 25, 1883, and in December of that year he acquired from Carrier-Belleuse one of the terracotta busts of Doré.[86]

212. *Jacob's Dream*, 1865, brown ink and wash, heightened with white, 9 ¾ × 7 ½ in. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

In 1864 Henry Clay Frick of Pittsburgh, then in the early stages of creating a collection, wrote to Lucas inquiring about the price of Doré's works, but does not seem to have purchased any.[87] However, another major American client of Lucas's was Samuel P. Avery whom he took to visit Doré

in 1867, at which time Avery bought one landscape, one drawing, and two other drawings on wood for a total of 3500 francs.[88] Avery also had a group of ink drawings on woodblocks for an unpublished edition of Doré's *Fables* of La Fontaine.[89] In 1874 Avery lent a drawing of *London by Night (St. Giles)* to the American Society of Painters in Water-Colors.[90] Also part of Avery's collection which formed the basis of the print room at the New York Public Library were two drawings, a *London Flower Seller* (fig. 139) with a personalized inscription from the artist, and the bizarre image of gluttony (fig. 184) sold in the artist's estate sale. Avery was not only a collector but was himself also active as an art dealer, and like Lucas he kept a diary recording his visits and transactions in Paris and London where he saw the Doré Gallery in 1878. His diary is very spare in details, so that of the various Doré drawings, books, and paintings he purchased for clients, the only one he identifies is "a Scotch landscape" bought in 1878 for 3000 francs.[91]

Doré supposedly remarked that he had no trouble selling his paintings of Biblical subjects as "the Americans buy them."[92] This was certainly true of his highly finished religious drawings. At a sale of contemporary nineteenth-century masters in March 1866 at New York's Old Dusseldorf Gallery for example, a "distemper sketch" by Doré of the *Angels watching over Moses* was sold for $300.[93] This may have been the one purchased by William Walters. Works by Doré entitled *Flowers*, *The Pine Trees* (possibly fig. 216), and *The Mountebanks* were also shown that year in New York and other cities by the French Etching Club, a loose association of living French painters, including the fledgling Impressionists, organized by the dealer Alfred Cadart,[94] who in the next year (1867) sold an untitled Doré painting at the Fifth Avenue Gallery.[95] A review of the New York showing of the French Etching Club at the Fine Arts Gallery on Broadway noted:

> Gustave Doré was a very young man when he painted the singular picture entitled "The Mountebanks." It is dated 1853, which would make the artist about twenty at the time when he painted it. In this group there is a touch of the *bizarre* element which has since pervaded the black and white by which the name of Doré has come to be famous. A besotted and squalid old mountebank, with a hautboy in his dirty hands, is the principal figure. Beside him there sits a small mountebank, the tear dropping from whose eye gives the tragic sentiment to the scene. The woman standing up behind is a terrible creation – a living and livid corpse, prepared to amuse outer vulgarians at so much a head. In drawing, as well as in color, the picture is the work of a tyro – but of a tyro of some promise, as it has turned out.[96]

In 1869 perhaps responding to the success of the London Doré Gallery, there were at least two showings of paintings by Doré in New York. The first was in January and as the *New York Times* reported:

> Through the liberality of one of our citizens, Mr. John Bonner [a Canadian who had lived in France for a time and became a writer and stock broker, went bankrupt in a scandal in 1878 and fled to California], New Yorkers may now study Doré as a painter in one of the latest and most celebrated of his works – *The Spanish Beggars* – now on exhibition at the rooms of Messrs. Leavitt Stredeigh & Co., Clinton Hall on Astor Place.

Curiously what followed was not a very flattering account of Doré's talent or the paintings on view:

> Doré reproduces in his paintings the characteristics observable in his illustrations. His style is large, masculine, and even coarse, and evinces an impetuous facility and impa-

tience of minute finish. He never condescends to elaboration of fine details, but dashes in the general effect with the boldness of a man working always in a heat and hurry. Very often his drawing is singularly defective. He never draws the human figure correctly, and his perspective is often at fault. Looking closely at any of his paintings, little can be seen but heavy blotches of paint thickly laid on, and apparently without regard to form, and it is only by retiring some distance that the proper effect can be made out.

The subject of the *Spanish Beggars* is intensely disagreeable. The principal figure is that of a hideous old woman, bundled up in a cloak, squatting on the ground against an old wooden gate. Her clumsy crutches propped one against each shoulder, nearly meet over her head as she stoops wearily forward, bent with age and decrepitude. Her hands, worn and wasted and shriveled, the bones almost showing through the tight-drawn skin, feebly grasp a rosary, and her eyes are bleared and watery. On each knee leans a little barefooted girl, dressed in filthy rags. There are evidently no passers-by to toss them pennies, as the little one with the cup lets it hang idly down, while she looks into the old crone's lap. The whole impression of the picture is that of utter despair, squalor, want, and ugliness. There is scarcely a trace of beauty even in the children, who are evidently destined to become as wretched and ugly as the old woman against whose knees they lean.[97]

Then in April of 1869 it was reported that "pictures painted by Gustave Doré . . . among them the 'Gambling Saloon at Baden-Baden,' the largest picture Doré ever painted . . . are lying in the New York Custom House waiting the decision of the authorities which will either allow our public to see these much talked-of works or will send the boxes that contain them back to France unopened."[98] As there is no further word on these, it may be that the unnamed importer decided not to pay the duty, and they were indeed sent home. But by September of that year, a mini Doré show did appear on the scene. The *Times* seemed to have forgotten its extensive report of *The Spanish Beggars*, and described two large oil paintings *Dante and Virgil Crossing the Frozen Reaches of Hell* and *Jephtha's Daughter* as "the first specimens of Doré's pencil ever brought to this country". Owned by Mr. H. Carlton Arymar (who had previously exhibited the works in London), they were now on view for 50 cents at the Somerville Art Gallery on the corner of 14th Street and Fifth Avenue, which earlier in the year had presented special showings of single paintings by such famed Americans as Bierstadt and Bradford.

The *Times* critiqued the paintings as follows:

> In neither picture is much color used, and the treatment is of the broadest character. By a few sweeps of the pencil a whole figure has been placed on the canvas. In some cases the drawing may be accused of exaggeration, but at the same time both pictures place the scenes intended to be represented before the spectators with a terrible earnestness and power which few who look on them will ever forget. The pictures are valued at $10,000 each.

It was further noted that, as the catalogue of the exhibition made clear, there were actually four works by Doré on view, as two "pastilles" were also included. One was Biblical – *Jonas Announcing the Fall of Nineveh*; and the other was from the *Inferno* showing *Dante and Vergil in the Maleboge Circle*. For good measure there were also photographs of the *Tapis Vert*, the gambling scene at Baden, the original of which Doré was wrongly said to have destroyed.[99]

Unfortunately Mr. Arymar was not able to turn any profit on his Dorés, and by October of the next year, they were being sold by the Sheriff. The paintings brought only $1000 each and the draw-

214, 215. *War* and *Peace*, after Doré, woodblock prints published by Goupil & Co., Paris. Collection of Dan Malan, St. Louis

ings went for $100 each.[100] The two paintings, however, later entered the collection of the well-known politician William Marcy "Boss" Tweed, who, himself accused of corruption, wound up in jail and had to sell all his possessions.[101]

One of the most important of Doré's paintings to come to America in this era was the picture now called *Summer* (fig. 174). In many ways it resembles the vivid description provided by Mark Twain of the painting he saw on his 1872 visit to the London Doré Gallery, but it must be a variant on the same theme, as the dimensions are quite different. Imported from Paris, with the title *Fleurs de Champs (Un Coin de Jardin) Midsummer*, it was shown at the De Vries Art Gallery in Boston from 1867 to 1869. Then Richard Barker of that city bought it and lent it to the annual exhibitions at the Boston Atheneum from 1871 to 1873.[102] The following year he gave it to the Museum of Fine Arts. In William Downes's 1888 history of paintings in Boston collections, this "huge upright painting of wild-flowers and weeds in rank profusion" was judged "a strangely insignificant work, considering its author's genius in graphic expression."[103]

Further Dorés continued to appear around the United States. What was described as "a drawing on wood," *The Wolf in Shepherd's Clothes*, was shown in Utica, New York in 1871.[104] On the other coast a "sketch" entitled *Moonlight*, owned by J. L. Bardwell, was exhibited in San Francisco between 1871 and 1873.[105] In 1876 at the Chicago Industrial Exposition a Scottish view, *Loch Katrine*, belonging to S. M. Nickerson, and a painting, *The Monarchs of the Mountain* (possibly the picture originally acquired from the artist by George A. Lucas), both appeared. The catalogue noted, "Very few of this artist's paintings have ever been seen in America. It is unnecessary to speak of his reputation; it is worldwide."[106]

Back in New York, several public exhibitions presented works by Doré. In March 1873 the

American Society of Painters in Watercolors curiously displayed Doré's two drawings made to illustrate scenes in Victor Hugo's *Toilers of the Sea – The Wreck* and *The Octopus* (fig. 6).[107] Also that year Knoedler, the New York branch of Goupil & Co., recorded selling a good number of Doré's popular pair of prints *War* and *Peace* (figs. 214, 215), and the same gallery in 1881 sold a *Scottish Landscape* to the American collector Charles Senff.[108] In 1876 the American Society of Water-Colors in New York included Doré's *The Bridge of Sighs* and *The Gourmand's Dream.*[109] The latter, although described as "on wood," may be the drawing that Samuel Avery gave to the New York Public Library (fig. 184). A watercolor of the *Transfiguration* was also sold in New York in 1876, and the Snider-Pellegrini collection shown at about the same time contained a painting by Doré of an Italian woman.[110] In 1878 the National Academy of Design in New York exhibited two works by Doré – a drawing from the *Idylls of the King* and *Among the Hartz Mountains*, both lent by Caroline May.[111]

During the later part of the nineteenth century, other works by Doré continued to find their way to America. In 1881 in St. Louis a Loan Exhibition at the city's museum included *Landscape — Loch Est* owned by Benjamin O'Fallon, which was most likely the great landscape the museum purchased in 1913 (fig. 180).[112] The early Doré landscape, *Pins Sauvages* (fig. 216), first shown at the Salon of 1850, was acquired by a collector from Providence, Rhode Island and then sold in New York in 1886.[113] According to that indefatigable cataloguer of the conservative Amercian taste of the era, Edward Strahan, Beriah Wall of Providence also owned a *Gipsy Girl* by Doré.[114] Strahan's invaluable volumes also provided information on other Dorés in American collections, although the author definitely did not admit this artist to the pantheon of the great contemporary French masters. Mr. John Wolfe of New York had the oil painting *Don Quixote Entertained by the Student and his Wife,* of which Strahan could not help remarking, "Doré's utter inability to paint like a painter finds a dismal exemplification in the attempt, but there is strong graphic ingenuity to redeem the misadventure."[115] It would enter the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 126), as would the large "sepia drawing" *The Retreat from Moscow* (fig. 185) owned by Wolfe's cousin, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe.[116]

216. *Pins Sauvages* (*The Pines*), 1850, oil on canvas. Private collection

Strahan also noted several other Dorés. Mr. Henry Hilton in New York owned a pair of works entitled *Reconciliation* and *Restitution*; T. Donaldson of Philadelphia "in his select little gallery" displayed *Killing the Goose with Golden Eggs.* Also in Philadelphia Mrs. J. Gillingham Fell had a life-size painting of four *Spanish Beggars* described by Strahan as "a fine bit of character and philosophy by Gustave Doré."[117] This is undoubtedly the painting (fig. 217) that was presented to the

217. *The Spanish Beggars*, oil on canvas, 78 × 38 in. Formerly in the collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. Present whereabouts unknown

Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1924 (only to be deaccessioned at a later date).[118] But Strahan saved his greatest enthusiasm for the landscape *Twilight in Scotland* that was housed in the luxurious Fifth Avenue mansion of William H. Vanderbilt, for whom he prepared the multi-volume elephantine catalogues in 1883–4:

> The magical draughtsman sometimes laid down his crayon, and refreshed himself by painting a landscape – always on its site, never invented in the studio. It was then that the melodramatic, pre-arranged character of his work most completely disappeared, and gave place to a dutiful study of nature, entirely humble and conscientious. His efforts in this line were comparatively unappreciated in France, because they followed no French fashion. He never tried to "see" nature as a fresco or as a tapestry. He painted the crags and peaks that seemed to him most interesting, instead of the nooks or corners to which the Paris landscape-painters, very bad travelers, confined themselves. His compatriots, therefore, hardly did justice to these frank, sincerely reported views of travel. To them it seemed like a return to the opera … But Doré has left no such truthful statements as his impression of scenery, and the choice of his sites fills a distinct blank in European landscape art.[119]

Two years after Doré's death in 1883, his estate sale was held in Paris, and there the collector from Elmira, New York, John Arnot, Jr., purchased the small painting *The Soldier's Farewell*, which, having passed to his heirs, then returned to the house museum that bears his name (fig. 46; see also fig. 218).[120] Also at this 1885 sale the American painter Henry Mosler (1841–1920), who had reportedly studied with Doré, acquired a number of the master's works. One was an oil version of *Rossini on his Deathbed* (fig. 155), which was inherited by Mosler's daughter and given by her to the Smith College Museum.[121] Mosler also bought a group of thirty-two drawings (see figs. 128, 130, 140, 152, and 153), which on his death passed to his sister, who in turn gave them to the Birmingham Museum of Art in 1954.[122]

With regard to other works by Doré arriving in the United States during the late nineteenth century, *The Collector* related that in 1894 at the Delmonico Gallery in New York there were two large landscapes by the artist to be seen. It particularly praised as "the closest approach to a great painting ever seen by the great illustrator" a scene in the Highlands of Scotland "with mountains and a rainstorm that has just passed away and a vast rainbow arches across the sky."[123] One of the paintings, *Souvenir of Loch Carron*, had earlier been described for an American audience when shown in the Salon of 1883. Professor Charles Carroll of New York University had observed:

> Gustave Doré is the one Parisian to whom it is given to know by personal experience the real facts about the much-vaunted Scotch hospitality. It gives one a shudder to think of

218. *A Father's Farewell*, graphite on paper, 24 × 18 ¾ in. Collection of Mr. Edward Wilson, Fund for Fine Arts

> the mountain heights he had to climb in order to paint this. Nothing of the sort can be found at less than two thousand feet above sea-level – such silver showers of waterfalls, such tangible rainbows, such herds of cattle dotting the moss-grown rocks, such bottomless ravines with blue lakes gleaming through, such cairns and caverns and snow-peaks as go to make up M. Doré's picture. Perhaps his imagination a little runs away with him ... but even with his taste for exaggeration, it is pretty sure that M. Gustave Doré is the only modern painter who can "tackle" a glacier without getting the worst of it.[124]

The other canvas was *A Torrent in the Engadine*, and *The Collector* noted that "it is in movement a more dramatic work, calculated upon the painter's more popular lines."[125] Both of these dramatic landscapes seemed to have been acquired out of the London Doré Gallery by General Charles Whittier of Boston in 1881 and then passed to the New York dealer William Schauss.[126]

THE VASE OF THE VINE

The Doré Gallery represented the triumph of Doré's Christian subjects in America, and it had its greatest success in Chicago. In 1893 that city also exhibited the single largest secular work by Doré, the enormous bronze cast of the vase-shaped *Poem of the Vine* (fig. 219). This was the gigantic sculpture seen by Lucy Hopper in the artist's studio. At its first exhibition in Paris in 1878, the work had not yet been cast in bronze and Doré exhibited the plaster cast tinted green.[127] At that time Strahan described it as "a gigantic flask, with swelling body and slender neck, which expresses the artist's idea of [Rabelais'] 'La dive bouteille.' The patina of old green bronze covers the surface and harmonizes

219. *The Poem of the Vine*, bronze, 11 ft h. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. Gift of M.H. de Young

with the notion of verdure amidst which disport so many children of the sculptor's fancy."[128] But in Chicago the bronze version cast by the Thiebault Brothers foundry was sent for inclusion in the Fine Arts Building of the great Columbian Exhibition. The bronze casters had been left with the ownership of the gigantic work after Doré's death and were hoping to sell it for 60,000 francs.[129] The "famous vase", some ten feet in height and weighing about 6000 pounds, was described as Doré's "most original work in sculpture, displaying some of the qualities which gave him a unique rank as a designer ... It shows the nymphs, fauns, and bacchantes, who roll themselves in wanton groups among the vine leaves and the strange little animals which the vine attracts have a liberty of attitude which does not exclude a certain grace and elegance, a disorder very ingeniously arranged."[130]

Despite this the Vase did not sell, but it was one of the items at the Chicago Fair that caught the eye of Michael de Young, the editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, who was charged with organizing a Mid-Winter Exposition in his hometown. The Vase was shipped to San Francisco, and visitors

had to pay an extra admission charge to see what was described in the *Official History* of the Exposition as "a truly great work of art ... masterful and marvelous. The general effect is irresistible. Its artistic value is inestimable." The enthusiastic reception given to the piece at the San Francisco Fair led de Young to contemplate its purchase for the planned city museum that was later to bear his name. Although the Thiebault Brothers now wanted 80,000 francs ($20,000), de Young boldly offered them only 50,000 francs in cash as a take it or leave it deal. Considering the large cost of shipping the work back to France, they had no choice but to take it. Thus for many years the vase stood as a San Francisco landmark in front of the Egyptian Revival art building. In 1918 it was moved indoors to The Hall of Statuary (fig. 203), and it remained there until 1976 when it was transferred to the central hall of the California Palace of the Legion of Honor.[131] Following the earthquake of 1989, it went into storage but has now emerged again flanked by palm trees outside the new de Young Museum (fig. 219).

THE RECENT REPUTATION AND REDISCOVERY OF DORÉ

During the early part of the twentieth century, a number of important works by Doré entered into the collections of American museums and private individuals. St. Louis bought its great Scottish landscape (fig. 180) in 1913;[132] the two paintings *The Mocking of Christ* and *Scottish Landscape* (figs. 102 and 179) were given to the Toledo Museum of Art;[133] and those two paintings, *Dante and Virgil in the Ninth Circle of the Inferno* and *Jepthah's Daughter*, which had come so early to this country, went from the possession of Boss Tweed to Jeremiah Millbank of Connecticut. Then through family inheritance they moved to the West Coast where in the 1920s they were put on deposit at the Doheny Library of the University of Southern California. They remained there until sold at Christie's in New York in 1982.[134] The Metropolitan Museum of Art was given the painted version of a scene from *Don Quixote* (fig. 126) in 1928.[135] That same year Charles W. Martin of Omaha, who made a fine small collection of nineteenth-century works, purchased *A Mountain Landscape*, (fig. 230) at the Senff auction. This passed to his nephew who in turn gave it to the city's Joslyn Art Museum.[136] The omnivorous collector John Ringling acquired a striking Doré sculpture (fig. 200), and it became part of his bequest to the state of Florida.[137] During the 1920s and 30s the Art Institute of Chicago received a number of especially fine Doré drawings. In 1922 it was given both a charcoal *Head of Christ* by Mr. and Mrs. Potter Palmer and a brush drawing of *The Calling of Samuel*. In 1927 *Sir Lancelot Approaching the Castle of Astolat* came from the Charles Deering collection; and in 1938 the grandest of all watercolors in this country, *Fairy Land* (fig. 190), was received with the Clarence Buckingham collection.[138]

Just as in the previous century the memory of Doré's images had inspired Henry James, in this new age they served to stoke the fires of imagination in film makers like Cecil B. DeMille, Walt Disney, and Merian C. Cooper (creator of *King Kong*).[139] There was, however, no significant new book devoted to Doré produced in America until *The Terrible Gustave Doré* written by the German émigré author Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt was published in 1946. The title refers to the impression of "agreeable terror" made by Doré's illustrated books upon the author as a child growing up in Germany.[140]

What may have led to the reassessment of Doré in the post-war period was the surprising rediscovery of the long lost works that had comprised the Doré Gallery. These were found in 1947 in the vaults of the Manhattan Storage Warehouse where they had been placed by the U.S. Import Company, which had ceased paying storage fees in 1927. The value of the collection was wildly estimated to be $100,000 and with great fanfare the story of the lost paintings, their rediscovery, and

220, 221. Press cuttings from "The Doré Riddle", by Stephanie Lieber, *New York Herald Tribune*, May 18, 1947

MOUNTED, Doré's "Triumph of Christianity Over Paganism" displays a favorite theme — religion

UNPACKING crates required ingenuity. All shapes and sizes, some were more than 10 yards long

preparation for sale (figs. 220, 221) was widely reported in newspapers and magazines.[141] The public auction to be held in the Warehouse was set for 9 September and included in the fifty-one lots were drawings, prints (including engravings for the *Idylls of the King* signed by both Tennyson and Doré, see fig. 3), paintings, photographs, and parts of frames. Among the paintings the key works were the *Soldiers of the Cross, Battle of Ascalon, The House of Caiaphas, Paolo and Francesca, Andromeda, The Triumph of Christianity, The Dream of Pilate's Wife, Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, and *Le Tapis Vert.*[142]

In a curious turn of events, since the bidding at the auction was slow, John M. Holsworth, a fifty-nine year old lawyer, explorer, author, and, as it turned out, charlatan, made an offer of $12,500 for the entire collection, and the auctioneer cancelled all previous bids and accepted this.[143] But the very next day Mr. Holsworth was arrested at the Waldorf Astoria for having passed bad checks. In court he protested that his arrest prevented him from visiting the Warehouse to pay for the art works in cash.[144] Then having gone to Washington, D.C., he was arrested again by the FBI and defaulted on his purchase.[145] Thus the Warehouse had to offer the whole Doré collection again on 28 October. This time it was sold to a variety of bidders for a total of $12,917. The chief buyer was Albert Holler, an architect from San Francisco, who according to differing newspaper accounts purchased either seven or nine paintings "for a total of $4,000 and wrote a check for that amount immediately." Among these paintings were the *Triumph of Christianity* and *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*. Pat F. Beigel, a manufacturer of fountain pens, bought ten items. The dealer Maurice Sloog acquired two of the drawings for the actor Charles Boyer, and a drawing of the *Head of Christ* was purchased for the movie director Cecil B. DeMille. The enormous painting *Le Tapis Vert* went to a Mr. Seidietz.[146] Eight of the works from this group were then offered again in New York in 1952.[147]

It was only in 1964 that the remaining works of the Doré Gallery stored in London also saw the light of day again when they were sold at Christie's.[148] Many of the paintings from both sales wound

up in the hands of the astute New York dealer Oscar Klein, and from his Central Picture Galleries they were sold not only to museums but also to a new breed of American collector. Powerful men of means, they included Huntington Hartford, Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., Armand Hammer, Louis Ferré, Joseph Tanenbaum, and Dr. Bob Jones. These collectors, who were not unexpectedly also fond of the Italian Baroque, were looking for large scale, extravagant works of art that were considered unfashionable and were also inexpensive, which is not to say they did not respond on a deeply personal level to the exuberance and richness of the compositions.[149] Chrysler, who acquired the famous *Neophyte* (fig. 110) and Ferré, who bought several canvases and a large drawing (figs. 83, 89, 232), both incorporated these works into their own museums, in Norfolk and Ponce, Puerto Rico respectively. So too did Dr. Jones with a collection of religious art housed in great splendor on the campus of the university named for his father in Greenville, South Carolina. He was able to acquire both a reduced version of *Christ Leaving the Praetorium* (fig. 87) from Julius Weitzner in 1965 and the *Ascension* (fig. 97) from Central Picture Galleries in 1975. Another evangelical collector, Dr. T. L. Osborn, created The World Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma where he had on view the large-scale versions of the *Ascension*, the *Ecce Homo*, and the *Vale of Tears*, before having to sell them at auction in 1981.[150] Huntington Hartford, who owned a *Scottish Landscape*, *Castle on the Isle of Skye*, *A Highland Landscape with Deer, Landscape with Boat by the Shore*, and the *Lady with Pug Dogs* (fig. 156), also briefly had his own museum in New York. However, he was eventually forced to sell all the holdings from the perversely titled Museum of Modern Art in the fondly remembered building by Edward Durell Stone at Columbus Circle.[151] While Armand Hammer likewise created a museum with his name, he gave his large version of the *Neophyte* (fig. 112) to the city of Los Angeles, where, recently restored, it is currently on view in the city's new Cathedral. Mr. Tanenbaum of Toronto, whose daring (both in terms of aesthetic and religious concerns) in buying so much nineteenth-century art was well documented in the 1978 exhibition catalogue *The Other Nineteenth Century* owned not only the two pieces included there – *Spanish Street Scene* and *Scotch Landscape*, but also *The Dream of Pilate's Wife* (fig. 90), *The Triumph of Christianity* (fig. 81), and *The Day-Dream* (fig. 111), plus other paintings and sculptures by Doré, most of which have now been donated to the Art Gallery of Hamilton.[152] Several other Doré works from the Tanenbaum collection were also sold off over the years including the elaborate drawing *The Fall of the Titans* (fig. 167) and the large bronze *The National Defense* (fig. 198).[153]

Of the other former Doré Gallery paintings, the large version of *The Christian Martyrs* (fig. 83) was acquired by the proprietor of New York's famed Argosy Book Store and eventually sold to the museum in Strasbourg.[154] The *Death of Riccio* (fig. 2), which was in very poor condition, was given by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney C. Norris to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1964, but then sold in 1992.[155] Following restoration, it was donated to the San Diego Museum of Art in 2005. The *Tapis Vert* (fig. 158) went to Mr. and Mrs. Jack Gorta of New York who donated it to Florida State University in Tallahassee.[156] The large *Christ at Calvary* (fig. 233), which had passed from Doré's estate sale to the Doré Gallery, was sold at the 1964 London sale to the dealer Julius Weitzner, who handled a good many Dorés including the *Alpine Scene* (fig. 173), which he gave to the Art Institute of Chicago in 1967. He sold the *Christ* to Dr. and Mrs. A. K. Solomon who in turn donated it in 1977 to the Davis Museum at Wellesley College.[157] In 1971 the Houston Museum wisely purchased one of the finest works from the Doré sale that was with Central Picture Galleries, *Christ in the House of Caiaphas* (fig. 91).[158] It became a sign of Doré's resuscitation when in 1982, the Houston canvas was lent to the exhibition of *French Salon Painting* organized by the High Museum in Atlanta, and one could actually appraise the work in the context of nineteenth-century academic art.[159]

222. *The Death of Orpheus (The Maeneds)*, 1879, plaster, 47 ¼ × 77 ⅛ in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John L. Gardner

A serious reappraisal of the artist's reputation as a book illustrator was also made evident in New York City, first in the 1977 exhibition of examples of these works at the Metropolitan Museum of Art,[160] and then through Doré's presence as one of the leading figures in the important exhibition and publication *The Art of the French Illustrated Book, 1700 to 1914*, prepared by the eminent bibliophile Gordon N. Ray for The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City. Ray wrote: "Looking at Doré's total accomplishment, one can hardly deny that he is not merely one of the most popular but also one of the greatest of all illustrators."[161]

The enthusiasm of several New York dealers,[162] the dedication of the American Doré researchers Sam Clapp and Dan Malan,[163] and the ongoing publication of Doré reprints[164] have further helped fuel the reappraisal of the artist. Symptomatic of this new regard for Doré has been the appearance of more scholarly references to the artist, the increase in museum and private acquisitions, and the attendant rise in prices for works sold at auction. Doré's sculpture was given serious consideration in the eye-opening 1980 exhibition organized by H. W. Janson and Peter Fusco, *The Romantics to Rodin*.[165] The Boston Museum of Fine Art's curator of European Sculpture, Anne Poulet, was inspired to acquire both a bronze (fig. 202) and a major plaster (fig. 222) to complement the museum's marvelous painting.[166] In 1986 the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore purchased one of

223. *Landscape in Scotland*, oil on canvas, 51 ⅝ × 77 ⅛ in. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

Doré's most magnificent Scottish landscapes (fig. 223), and its *Journal* subsequently published an enlightening article on the subject.[167] A Doré landscape painting was also included in the exhibition *Impressions of France* shown in Boston in 1995.[168] An insightful study of Doré and his place within the world of Victorian taste appropriately appeared in the American journal *Victorian Studies* in 1982,[169] More recently books by Hollis Clayson and John Milner have shown how Doré created significant original images in response to the Franco-Prussian War and the bombardment and siege of Paris in 1870–1.[170]

In 1989 Doré's fame soared to new heights when his paintings *Andromeda* (fig. 224) and *Paolo and Francesca*, which had sold for so little in 1947, brought record prices at auction.[171] The following year the youthful Dahesh Museum of Art, founded in New York in 1987 and opened in 1995 with the intent to collect and exhibit nineteenth-century academic art, purchased two of Doré's highly finished drawings of Biblical subjects, *Moses before Pharaoh* and *The Massacre of the Innocents* (figs. 88 and 96).[172]

Significant Dorés continued to appear on the American art market during the last years of the twentieth century and into very recent times. A great Scottish landscape of 1875 (fig. 181) has remained with French and Company in New York. A highlight of the May 2001 International Fine

224. *Andromeda*, 1868, oil on canvas. Present location unknown

Arts Fair in that city was the unusual representation of nudes under a mythological guise – *Les Océanides* (fig. 168). It was purchased appropriately enough by the famed Surrealist artist and poet Dorothea Tanning.

Then in 2002 when a small group of works from Doré's descendants were sent to auction in France,[173] there was great interest in this country. The dealer Richard Feigen acquired both the fine landscape of *The Scottish Eagle* (fig. 182) and the drawing *The Shades of French Soldiers* (fig. 28), selling the former to a private collector and the latter to the National Gallery in Washington, D.C. At the same sale the Dahesh Museum of Art purchased that great iconic image, *The Black Eagle of Prussia* (cover and fig. 48). This has inspired the present publication, which it is hoped will in turn inspire a fresh generation to assess both the strengths and faults of this protean "genius" of the nineteenth century.

Doré Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture in North American Collections

Albuquerque, NM
University of New Mexico Art Museum
The Madonna, 1880
Bronze
22 in. h.

Ann Arbor, MI
University of Michigan Museum of Art
River Valley in the Vosges, 1850s
Watercolor
13 ⅞ × 20 15/16 in.
1972/1.159
Fig. 171

Atlanta, GA
Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University
Portrait of a Woman (Possibly George Sand)
Watercolor, 8 × 10 in.
1992.7.2
Dr. and Mrs. Michael Schlossberg
Landscape with Sunset
Watecolor
3 ¾ × 6 ⅛ in.
Fig. 177
Love Triumphs over Death
Pen and ink
10 ½ × 7 ½ in.
Fig. 191
Portrait of a Woman
Black crayon and wash
16 ½ × 12 in.
La Cigale et la Fourmi (The Grasshopper and the Ant)
Brown and gray wash over black chalk with white heightening
25 ⅝ × 19 ⅝ in.
Signed
Fig. 132

Austin, TX
Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas
And my soul from out of that shadow…
For Poe's *The Raven*
Charcoal and pencil with wash
26 ½ × 18 ½ in.
66. 39.31
Fig. 150
Letter with Portrait of Alexander Dumas and Sketches of other figures
Pencil, 66.62.53

Baltimore, MD
The Walters Art Museum
Landscape in Scotland
Oil on canvas
Signed
51 ⅝ × 77 ⅛ in.
37.2625
Fig. 223
Jacob's Dream
Wash drawing with white heightening
9 ¾ × 7 ½ in.
37.1319
Fig. 212
The Kiss of Judas (Christ Taken Prisoner)
Pen and ink wash and gouache
9 ½ × 7 ¼ in.
37.1387

Bethesda, MD
Mr. Edward Wilson
Fund for Fine Arts
Madonna and Child
Bronze
19 ¼ in. h.
Fig. 197

The Terror (L'Effroi)
Bronze
22 ¼ × 5 in.
Fig. 199
A Father's Farewell
Graphite
24 × 18 ¾ in.
Signed
Fig. 218

BIRMINGHAM, AL
MUSEUM OF ART
Mountain Landscape, 1868
Oil on canvas
20 × 42 ½ in.
1998.51
Cleopatra in her Palace, ca. 1880–83
Pen and ink and pencil
Plus 31 other Doré drawings, studies for Shakespeare, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner,* La Fontaine, etc., 1954.38-69
All gifts of Mrs. Otto Marx
Figs. 128, 130, 140, 152, 153

BLOOMINGTON, IN
INDIANA UNIVERSITY ART MUSEUM
The Death of Orpheus, ca. 1879
Ink, wash, and gouache
15 ¼ × 19 13/16 in.
82.11
Fig. 170

BOSTON, MA
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
Summer
Oil on canvas, ca. 1870
105 ½ × 78 ¾ in.
Signed
Fig. 174
A Saute-Mouton (Leap-frog), 1881
Bronze
14 1/16 × 10 in.
1992.487
Fig. 202
The Death of Orpheus (The Maeneds)
Plaster
47 ¼ × 77 3/16 × 9 ⅞ in.
1994.192
Fig. 222
The Sick Stag
Watercolor over graphite
12 ⅝ × 10 ¼ in.
1985.102
Fig. 131
Friar John and Panurge
Black crayon
12 9/16 × 14 15/16 in.
54.177
Fig. 122
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
Nevermore
Study for plate 1 of Poe's *The Raven*
Graphite, watercolor, ink, and gouache
20 ⅜ × 13 ⅞ in.
Signed
Study for plate 5 of Poe's *The Raven*
Graphite, watercolor, and gouache
20 ⅞ × 13 ⅞ in.
Signed
THE JEFFREY HORVITZ COLLECTION
Christ as the Man of Sorrows, late 1870s
Black chalk
29 ¾ × 25 ¼ in.
Fig. 147
Christ Carrying the Cross
Charcoal and black chalk
33 ½ × 25 ¾ in.
Fig. 99
Path in a Mountain Landscape
Watercolor
24 × 15 ⅜ in.

BRUNSWICK, MA
BOWDOIN COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART
Witch Riding in Storm
Watercolor
4 × 5 ½ in.
1956.024.211
Battle Scene
Graphite
14 ⅛ × 10 ¼ in.
1969.065

CAMBRIDGE, MA
HARVARD UNIVERSITY COLLECTIONS
FOGG ART MUSEUM
Sunset in Alsace, 1873
Oil on canvas
29 ½ × 50 ¼ in.
Signed and dated
1963.68
Knife Vendor
Pencil and ink
11 × 7 ⅝ in.
Signed
1963.118
Prostrate Jews
Watercolor, ink, and white heightening,
18 13/16 × 29 ¾ in.
1963.158
Fig. 95

Last Judgement
Watercolor and gouache on brown paper
39 ⅞ × 29 in.
Signed
1973.89
Christ Nailed to the Cross
Brown ink
5 × 8 in.
1979.32
Roman Holiday
Grey wash and pencil
19 ⅝ × 15 ¾ in.
1943.818
A London Dray Driver
Pencil, wash, and watercolor,
17 ½ × 12 ¼ in.
1943.355
Fig. 225
Interior Scene
Watercolor and ink on uncut woodblock
9 ½ × 7 ⅝ in.
1932.33
Four cut woodblocks for *"The Rime of the Ancient Mariner"*
12 × 9 ¼ in.
1943-335a-d
Shepherd with Dogs and Sheep
Cut woodblock for *Spain*
9 ⅛ × 6 ¼ in.
1943-335e
HOUGHTON LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY
Drawing for *Les oeuvres de Rabelais*, 1873
Graphite, pen and ink wash over Chinese white on a woodblock
9 ½ × 7 ½ in.
Bequest of Philip Hofer, *2003H-27
Fig. 123
Going to the Derby, 1873
Graphite, pen and ink, wash with gouache highlights
39 ⅜ × 28 ¾ in.
Signed
Typ Dr815.D334.73g
Fig. 143
Watching the Boat Race at Putney, 1873
Graphite, pen and ink wash with white gouache highlights
38 ⅝ × 28 ¾ in.
Signed
Typ Dr815.D334.733g
Fig. 144
6 proofs on china paper for La Fontaine
3 illustrated letters

225. *A London Dray Driver*. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge

CHAPEL HILL, NC
ACKLAND ART MUSEUM
Medieval Scene
Charcoal, red and white chalk
15 ¾ × 25 ½ in.
64.2.1

CHICAGO, IL
THE ART INSTITUTE
Forest in the Alps, 1865
Oil on canvas
77 × 51 in.
Signed
1967.588
Fig. 173
Head of Christ
Charcoal
1922.2188
Calling of Samuel
Ink, gouache, and wash
14 ½ × 11 ½ in.
1922.243
Sir Lancelot Approaching the Castle of Astolat
Gouache with ink and lead white
16 ½ × 12 ½ in.
1927.2751

226. *Stream in Mountains at Dusk*, photograph, ca. 2001, The Detroit Institute of Arts. Gift of Shirley A. Mopper in memory of Dr. Coleman Mopper

Scottish Landscape
Black crayon, wash, ink
11 ⅛ × 17 ⅛ in.
1970.593
The Princess Held Captive
Watercolor, gouache, ink, graphite,
17 ½ × 14 ⅛ in.
1963.31
Fig. 145
The Giants Captured by a Knight
Watercolor, ink, graphite
17 ½ × 14 ⅜ in.
1963.32
Fig. 146
Fairy Land
Watercolor over pencil with gouache highlights
25 ½ × 35 ¼ in.
1938.1959
Fig. 190
Soldiers under a Tree
Ink and wash
19 ¾ × 15 ⅜ in.
1969. 4

Ursula and R. Stanley Johnson Family Collection
Alpine Forest, 1879
Watercolor
19 ½ × 12 ⅜ in.
Signed
Fairy Figures for "A Midsummer Night's Dream"
Watercolor
18 15⁄16 × 15 in.

Cincinnatti, OH
Cincinnatti Museum of Art
Children of Edward IV in the Tower
Pencil
15 5⁄16 × 10 ¾ in.

Cleveland, OH
Museum of Art
The Wolf Turned Shepherd, 1868
For the *Fables of La Fontaine*
Graphite and black chalk
12 ⅛ × 8 ¾ in.
56.37
Fig. 129
Mrs. Muriel Butkin Collection
Liberty Triumphing over Tyranny, 1885
Black chalk, brown ink and wash, with white gouache
18 × 13 in.
Fig. 35
Private Collection
Head of Christ, ca. 1880
Oil on canvas
25 × 23 in.
Fig. 100

Dallas, TX
Valley House Gallery
Spanish Landscape, ca. 1860
Watercolor and crayon on woodblock
6 ¼ × 9 ½ in.
Scene from "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner"
Carved woodblock
12 ⅛ × 9 ⅜ in.

Darien, CT
Private Collection
Paysage maritime
Watercolor
11 × 15 ⅜ in.

Denver, CO
Museum of Art
Berger Collection
Family Sleeping on London Bridge
Silverpoint, pen and ink on wood block
7 ½ × 9 ¾ in.
Fig. 138

Des Moines, IA
Des Moins Art Center
Cavalier Talking with Father Time
Pen and ink and gouache
9 ½ × 7 ¼ in.
Signed

1954.155
Fig. 189

Detroit, MI
Institute of Art
Stream in Mountains at Dusk
Oil on canvas
51 ⅛ × 77 ¼ in.
2000.139
Fig. 226
The Duel
Black crayon
9 ¾ × 7 1⁄16in.
74.33
Episode from the Franco Prussian War
Graphite, pencil, wash, and white heightening,
23 ⅛ × 29 ⅝ in.
74.32

Elmira, NY
Arnot Art Museum
The Soldier's Farewell
Oil on canvas
29 ⅞ × 21 ¼ in.
Signed
Fig. 46

Essex Fells, NJ
Collection Fred and Sherry Ross
On this home by horror haunted...
For Poe's *The Raven*
Pen and ink and wash
20 ½ × 13 ½ in.

Freeport, NY
Private Collection
Cavalier abreuvant son cheval, 1879
Watercolor and crayon
9 ¼ × 13 ⅛ in.
Signed and dated

Gloucester, VA
Edwin and Adrianne Joseph
Nymph, 1879
Plaster relief
22 ⅜ × 15 ¼ × 6 ¾ in.

Greenville, SC
Bob Jones University Museum
The Ascension, 1883
Oil on canvas
129 × 78 in.
Fig. 97
Christ Leaving the Praetorium, ca. 1883
Oil on canvas
54 ½ × 88 in.
Fig. 87

227. *Torrent in the Highlands*, 1881, oil on canvas, 20 × 35 ½ in. Indianapolis Museum of Art. Gift of the Shaw-Burckhart-Brenner Foundation, Inc.

Hamilton, ON
Art Gallery of Hamilton
Tanenbaum Collection
The Triumph of Christianity over Paganism, 1867–68
Oil on canvas
118 × 79 in.
Signed
Fig. 81
Spanish Street Scene
Oil on canvas
52 × 76 in.
Signed
Study for Spanish Street Scene
Oil on canvas
11 ¼ × 23 ¾ in.
The Dream of Pilate's Wife, Claudia Procula, 1874
Oil on canvas
77 × 115 in.
Signed
Fig. 90
The Monk's Dream, 1880
Oil on canvas
96 × 120 in.
Signed
Fig. 111
Effoi
Bronze
23 in. h.

Hartford, CT
Wadsworth Atheneum
Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, ca. 1865–66
Gouache and ink
39 × 20 in.
1949.83
Fig. 77

228. *Derby Day*, 1873, black, gray and white ink over black crayon, 38 ½ × 28 in. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Price

Macbeth and the Witches
Watercolor and graphite
18 ⅝ × 14 ⅞ in.
1957.450
Fig. 151

HOUSTON, TX
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
The House of Caiaphas, 1875
Oil on canvas
42 × 69 in.
Signed
71.22
Fig. 91
Beggars at Burgos, 1875
Gouache and watercolor
10 ¼ × 19 ⅜ in.
Signed
77.32
Fig. 166
Attributed to Doré:
Crucifixion
Oil on panel
10 × 5 in.
94.1072
J. P. MORGAN-CHASE BANK COLLECTION
Lorraine, 1869
Oil on canvas
75 ½ × 50 in.
Signed
Fig. 162

INDIANAPOLIS, IN
MUSEUM OF ART
Torrent in the Highlands, 1881
Oil on canvas
20 × 35 ½ in.
Signed
72.17
Fig. 227
Study for Don Quixote
Oil on canvas
7 ½ × 5 ¾ in.
1991.346
Study for Don Quixote
Oil on canvas
7 ½ × 5 ¾ in.
1991.347

KANSAS CITY, KS
NELSON-ATKINS MUSEUM
Study of Parrots, ca. 1896–71
Watercolor
17 × 11 ¾ in.
32.193/6
Fig. 186

LEXINGTON, KY
WENNECKER COLLECTION
Cockney Girl and Boy, 1872
Graphite and chalk on paper
13 ½ × 8 ¼ in.
Signed

LOS ANGELES, CA
LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART
Derby Day, 1873
Ink over crayon
38 ½ × 28 ½ in.
86.285
Fig. 228
UCLA HAMMER MUSEUM
Landscape with Ruined Castle
Pencil and black crayon
10 ⅞ × 8 ¼ in.
1958.7.39
CITY OF LOS ANGELES ART COLLECTION
The Neophyte, 188?
Oil on canvas
96 × 121 in.
Gift of Dr. Armand Hammer
Fig. 112

Mr. and Mrs. Bernard C. Solomon
Love and Fate
Terracotta
23 in. h.
Fig. 193

Minneapolis, MN
Institute of Art
Via Mala
Pen and ink over graphite
21 ¼ × 14 7/16 in.
67.39
Fig. 188
Attributed to Doré
Mark Antony's Funeral Oration for Julius Caesar
Pen and brown and black ink highlighted with body color
8 ⅝ × 13 ⅝ in.
Gift of Dr. Alfred Bader, 70.19.4
Private Collection
Battle of the Titans, 1866
India ink and wash, heightened with white
38 ½ × 28 ⅜ in.
Fig. 167
La Parque et L'Amour (Fate and Love), 1877
Bronze
39 ½ in. h.
Fig. 192

Montreal, CA
Museum of Fine Arts
Oriental Battle
Ink and wash
10 × 16 ⅞ in.

Morristown, NJ
Morristown-Berad School
La Danse, 1879
Bronze
48 × 17 × 12 ⅝ in.

Muncie, IN
Ball State University Museum of Art
Study for the Wandering Jew
Watercolor and chalk
22 ⅜ × 16 ¾ in.
Signed twice
1983.033.28
Fig. 125

New Haven, CT
Yale Center for British Art
The Lord Mayor's Show, 1877
Pen, black chalk, brown and gray wash heightened with white
17 × 13 ¼ in.

229. *Fantastic Gorge with Animals and Figures*, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Everitt V. Meeks, B.A. 1906 Fund

Signed G. Doré
Gift of Paul Mellon
B 1977.14.5426
Fig. 142
Yale University Art Gallery
Fantastic Gorge with Animals and Figures
Black chalk, watercolor, and body color on light brown paper
17 × 12 ½ in.
1967.9.14
Fig. 229
Study for an Illustration Framing a Text
Brush and dark gray ink and gray wash with graphite black chalk and white heightening
10 ¾ × 9 ⅛ in.
1964.9.61
Roman Soldiers
Black chalk
17 5/16 × 14 ⅛ in.
2000.64.10

New York City, NY
Dahesh Museum
The Black Eagle of Prussia, 1871
Oil on canvas
51 × 76 ¾ in.
Signed and dated
2002.60
Fig. 48

Massacre of the Innocents
Ink and gouache
22 × 33 in.
Signed twice
1997.40
Fig. 88
Prostrate Jews
Charcoal
21 ¾ × 33 in.
1996.16
Fig. 96
Metropolitan Museum of Art
Don Quixote and Sancho Panza Entertained by Basil and Quiteria
Oil on canvas
36 ¼ × 27 ¾ in.
Signed
28.113
Fig. 126
Christ Leaving the Tomb, 1869
Gray, black, and white gouache with brown ink on brown paper
20 ⅜ × 34 ⅜ in.
Signed and dated at lower left: *Gv Doré/1869*
60.147
Fig. 82
The Retreat from Moscow
Gouache in black and white on gray paper
28 ¼ × 37 ¾ in.
87.15.12
Fig. 185
Male Figure in Classical Costume
Graphite
9 ¼ × 9 ⅜ in.
66.189.1
The Apparition
Brush and gray wash over black chalk
18 ⁵⁄₁₆ × 14 ¹⁄₁₆ in.
62.60
A Draper's Shop
Pencil
6 ⅜ × 8 ¼ in.
54.523.2
Actor in Front of the Curtain
Pen and black ink with white highlights
7 ⅜ × 5 ½ in.
59.600.266
Attributed to Doré:
Dead Horse and Rider in Landscape
Drawing on a woodblock
9 ⅜ × 7 ⅜ in.
1977.543
The J. Pierpont Morgan Library
Moses in the Bull Rushes
Gouache
13 ⅜ × 18 ½ in.
1992-28
Fig. 213
London Bookmaker
Watercolor and pencil
13 ⅛ × 10 ⅞ in.
1983.92
Eleven Drawings for Don Quixote
Pen and ink
1974.21: 1-11
New York Public Library, Print Department, Samuel P. Avery Collection
Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations
The Gourmand's Table
Pen and ink with wash and graphite
18 ¼ × 23 ½ in.
Fig. 184
Flower Girl, Drury Lane, 1880
Pen and ink with wash
6 ¹⁵⁄₁₆ × 4 ½ in.
Signed: *Doré in London*
Inscribed: *Drury Lane London 1880*
Fig. 139
Collection of woodblocks for Doré's Illustrations of Balzac's *Contes Drolatiques*
Frances Beatty Adler and Allen Adler
Arthur Forgives Guinevere, 1867
For Tennyson's *Guinevere*
Pen and ink with wash and white heightening
17 ⅞ × 13 ⅝ in.
Signed
Fig. 134
Eric Carlson
Study for L'Aigle noir
Pen and ink
13 ⅝ × 9 ½ in.
Richard Feigen
Cattle Driven by Shepherd on a Starlit Night
Oil on canvas
21 ¾ × 49 ¼ in.
Signed
Fig. 176
Mountain Peaks with Goats at Sunset
Oil on canvas
21 ¾ × 49 ⅜ in.
Signed
Fig. 175
French and Company
Loch Lomond
Oil on canvas
51 × 77 in.
Signed
Fig. 181
Mary Jane Harris
Night Scene with Beggars

Ink and wash
13 × 9 ½ in.
Fig. 135

ROBERTA OLSEN AND ALEXANDER JOHNSON
At Merlin's feet the wily Vivien lay...
For Tennyson's *Vivien*
Pen and crayon with wash
14 × 10 ⅞ in.
Fig. 133

In there stepped a stately raven...
For Poe's *The Raven*
Pen ink and wash
20 ½ × 13 ⅞ in.
Signed
Fig. 149

Landscape of Glion
Watercolor
2 ¾ × 4 ¹³⁄₁₆ in.
Signed and dated 1879

STUART PIVAR
L'Effroi
bronze

DOROTHEA TANNING
Les Océanides
Oil on canvas
Signed
50 × 73 in.
Fig. 168

PRIVATE COLLECTION
Study for Le Tapis Vert, ca. 1862
Pencil, pen and ink, gray and brown wash, with watercolor
8 ½ × 11 in.
Signed at lower right: *G. Doré*
Fig. 159

Sketch for L'Aigle Noir, 1871
Black crayon, pen and brown ink
8 × 12 ½ in.
Signed at lower left: *G. Doré*
Fig. 49

PRIVATE COLLECTION
Mountain Torrent in the Highlands
Oil on canvas
20 ¾ × 30 ¾ in.

PRIVATE COLLECTION
Two Scenes from "Midsummer Night's Dream"
Watercolor
24 ¾ × 31 ¼ in.

PRIVATE COLLECTION
Self Portrait
Watercolor over black chalk
18 ⁹⁄₁₆ × 13 ¾ in.
Fig. 154

PRIVATE COLLECTION
Chronos with Scythe, 1879
Bronze
23 ½ × 14 ½ × 10 ½ in.
Fig. 195

PRIVATE COLLECTION
Lady with Two Pug Dogs
Oil on canvas
85 ¾ × 57 ¾ in.
Signed
Fig. 156

PRIVATE COLLECTION
The Scottish Eagle, 1882
Oil on canvas
43 ½ × 72 ⅞ in.
Fig. 182

PRIVATE COLLECTION
Mountainous Landscape at Montreuse, 1876
Pencil and watercolor
14 ½ × 21 ⅜ in.
Signed and dated
Fig. 179

NORFOLK, VA
CHRYSLER MUSEUM OF ART
The Neophyte, ca. 1868
Oil on canvas
57 ⅜ × 107 ½ in.
Signed
71.2061
Fig. 110

The Neophyte, ca. 1868–69
Pen and brown ink and pencil
7 ¼ × 4 ½ in.
Signed
83.358
Fig. 105

PRIVATE COLLECTION
Ruins in Alsace, 1852
Oil on canvas
51 × 77 in.

NORMAN, OK
PRIVATE COLLECTION
Heads of Seven Monks
Brown ink and white highlighting
5 ⁷⁄₃₂ × 8 ⁹⁄₁₆ in.
Fig. 106

NORTHAMPTON, MA
SMITH COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART
Rossini on his Deathbed
Oil on canvas
43 ¾ × 35 ¼ in.
1954.43
Fig. 155

230. *Mountain Landscape*, 1877, oil on canvas, 30 × 60 ½ in. Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha. Gift of Mrs Lily Javits

231. *"For the rare and radiant maiden whom the angels name Lenore—Nameless here for evermore"*, illustration for Poe's *The Raven*, pen and brown ink with gray wash over graphite on wove paper, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

Notre Dame, IN
Snite Museum of Art, Notre Dame University
Madonna, ca. 1880
Bronze
31 ⅝ × 12 × 9 ⅝ in.

Gypsy Woman with Child, 1861
Black chalk, graphite, and brown wash
10 × 7 ½ in.
87.24
Sketch for a Rebus
Pen and brown ink
11 ⅜ × 8 ⅞ in.
L88.60.5
Fig. 183
Elegant Figures
Graphite and brown ink
6 ½ × 10 ½ in.
L2000.79.3

Oakland, CA
Kirk Edward Long Collection
The Vision of Daniel: The Four Beasts, ca. 1865
Wash, ink, and gouache
14 ⅜ × 19 ⅜ in.
Signed
Fig. 76

Oberlin, OH
Allen Memorial Art Museum
Young London Beggars, 1869
Pencil and charcoal on paper
14 ⅝ × 11 ¼
Fig. 136

Omaha, NE
Joslyn Art Museum
Classical Landscape
Oil on panel
15 × 22 ½
Mountain Landscape, 1872
Oil on canvas
30 × 60 ½
Signed
1948.23
Fig. 230

Ottawa, Canada
National Gallery of Canada
Soul Carried to Heaven, 1883
For Poe's *The Raven*
Pen and ink with wash
20 ¼ × 13 ½ in.
Signed
Fig. 231

Philadelphia, PA
Philadelphia Museum of Art
Sheet of Sketches
Pen and brown ink, graphite and watercolor
18 ⅞ × 24 ¾ in.
1974-179-711

ROSENBACH MUSEUM AND LIBRARY
Study for Don Quixote
Pencil
5 ½ × 4 ⅛ in.
Signed
69.5
PRIVATE COLLECTION
La Défense nationale
Bronze
57 in. h.; with base 89 in. h.
Fig. 198

PHOENIX, AR:
PHOENIX ART MUSEUM
The Deluge, 1862–5
Pencil and black chalk with wash
28 ¼ × 21 ¾ in.
Signed
1964.205
Fig. 75
Group of Figures
Pencil
8 ¾ × 11 ¾ in.
Signed
1971.86

PITTSBURGH, PA
PITTSBURGH MUSEUM OF ART, CARNEGIE INSTITUTE
Forest at Twighlight, ca. 1865
Oil on canvas
76 ⅞ × 51 ⅜ in.
Signed
80.9

PONCE, PR
MUSEO DE ARTE
Daydream
Oil on canvas
118 ¼ × 77 ¾ in.
64.0522
Daydream
Oil on canvas
61 ¼ × 40 ⅜ in.
64.0523
Christ Leaving the Praetorium (sketch)
Oil on canvas
50 ⅜ × 71 ⅝ in.
64.0524
Fig. 232
Interior of a Wood
Oil on canvas
50 ⅜ × 30 ½ in.
64.0525
The Night of the Crucifixion (Le Tenèbres),1875
Oil on canvas

232. *Sketch for Christ Leaving the Praetorium*, The Luis A. Ferré Foundation, Inc. Ponce, Puerto Rico, Museo de Arte de Ponce

51 ¾ × 76 ¾ in.
66.0581
Fig. 89
Miracle of Christ
Oil on canvas
47 ½ × 66 ½ in.
67.0644
Christian Martyrs, 1870
Oil on canvas
88 ⅝ × 46 ½ in.
69.0732
Fig. 83
The Serenade
Oil on canvas
57 ¼ × 78 in.
70.0746
Landscape, 1876
Oil on canvas
43 ⅜ × 74 ¼ in.
73.0791
Knight Carrying a Lady from the Valley of Monsters
Gouache and grisaille on brown paper
31 ¼ × 23 ¾ in.
59.0123
Frontispiece

POUGHKEEPSIE, NY
THE FRANCES LEHMAN LOEB ART CENTER, VASSAR COLLEGE
The Defense of Paris, 1871

Oil on canvas
76 ½ × 51 in.
1972.2
Fig. 40

Scene from Rabelais, 1875
Watercolor and ink over graphite
13 ½ × 19 ½ in.
Signed
1983.40.1
Fig. 124

PRINCETON, NJ
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY ART MUSEUM
Study for "Paradise Lost"
Pen and brown ink, wash, heightened with white
8 × 7 ¼ in.
1967-106

PROVIDENCE, RI
RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN MUSEUM
Love Triumphing over Death
Terracotta
7 × 5 15/16 × 9 11/16 in.
73.148
Fig. 194

Man and Bulldog
Pen and ink with black chalk
6 ⅞ × 4 ⅞ in.
56.132
Fig. 137

Tavern in Whitechapel, 1870
Watercolor and gouache
14 ⅛ × 10 ⅛ in.
51.082
Fig. 141

Kiss of Judas
Gouache and pen on woodblock
9 ½ × 7 ¾ in.
66.026
Fig. 79

Judith with the Head of Holofernes
Gouache and pen on woodblock
9 ½ × 7 ⅝ in.
66.027
Fig. 78

RHINEBECK, NY
STEPHEN MAZOH & COMPANY
Christ's Entry into Jerusalem
Watercolor and gouache over pencil
23 ½ × 31 ½ in.
Signed
Fig. 93

SAN FRANCISCO, CA
THE FINE ARTS MUSEUMS
The Poem of the Vine, 1877–78
Bronze
11 feet h.
Acc. no. 5396
Figs. 203, 219a

Victims of Love
Terracotta
7 × 5 ⅞ × 9 ½ in.
Acc. no. 3965

ST LOUIS, MI
ART MUSEUM
Loch Lomond, 1875
Oil on canvas
48 × 75 in.
88.13
Signed
Fig. 180

The Remorse of Lancelot
Pen and ink with gray wash
16 ¾ × 12 ⅝ in.
142.1989

Two Musicians
Pen and colored ink and pencil
8 ⅜ × 6 ¾ in.
14.68

CONCORDIA SEMINARY, LIBRARY
Battle of Ascalon, 1875
Oil on canvas
48 × 77 in.
Fig. 92

SAN ANTONIO, TX
SAN ANTONIO MUSEUM OF ART
Ruined Castle on the Rhone, ca. 1878
Oil on canvas
39 ⅜ × 28 ⅞ in.
Gift of Gilbert Denman

SAN DIEGO, CA
MUSEUM OF ART
The Murder of Riccio, 1855
Oil on canvas
103 ¾ × 123 ¾ in.
Gift of Mark Gabrych
2005:140
Fig. 2

SANTA ANA, CA
PRIVATE COLLECTION
Two Spanish Children
Oil on canvas
40 ¼ × 22 in.
Fig. 165

Sarasota, FL
The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art
The Human Pyramid or *The Acrobats*
Bronze
50 ¾ × 9 ¾ in.
SN 5338
Fig. 200

Seattle, WA
Seattle Art Museum
Attributed to Doré:
Landsape with Pool
Oil on canvas
20 ½ × 39 in.
44.96

Stanford, CA
Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts
Sarah Bernhardt in the play "Le Passant"
Ink and wash
9 ⅝ × 6 ¾ in.
Signed
1984.453

Tallahassee, FL
Florida State University
Le Tapis vert, 1867
Oil on canvas
14 ft. 3 in. × 31 ft. 3 in.
Fig. 158

Toledo, OH
Museum of Art
The Scottish Highlands, 1875
Oil on canvas
42 ¾ × 72 ⅛ in.
Signed
1922.108
Fig. 179
The Mocking of Christ
Oil on canvas
48 ¾ × 38 ⅝ in.
Signed
1926.146
Fig. 102

Toronto, Canada
Art Gallery of Ontario
L'Année terrible
Graphite and ink
15 ½ × 14 in.
62/41
Fig. 27
Private Collection
Christ on the Cross
Oil on canvas

233. *Christ at Calvary*, Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA

26 ½ × 21 ¾ in.
Fig. 101

Tuxedo Park, NY
Private Collection
But she to Almesburg fled...
For Tennyson's *Guinevere*
Pen and ink with gouache
15 ¾ × 11 ¾ in.

Vancouver, BC
Vancouver Art Gallery
Landscape with Mounted Figures
Brush and wash on cardboard,
7 ½ × 10 ¾ in.
Signed
55.7

Washington, DC
National Gallery of Art
Christian Martyrs
Black chalk, brush and brown wash with white heightening
24 × 19 ¾ in.
1991.150.19
Fig. 84
Cleopatra
Graphite
17 ½ × 12 in.
1991.150
Le Rhin Allemand, ca. 1863
Wash and gouache
25 ⁹⁄₁₆ × 35 ¹³⁄₁₆ in.
Signed and inscribed: *à mon ami Bourdelin*
Fig. 28

Collection of John D. Reilly
View of St. Malo from the Fort Royal, 1874
Watercolor, pen and black ink heightened with white
15 ½ × 24 5/16 in.
Signed
Fig. 187

Wellesley, MA
Davis Museum, Wellesley College
Christ at Calvary, 1877
Oil on canvas
52 × 76 in.
1977.58
Gift of Dr. and Mrs. A. K. Solomon
Fig. 233
La Defense national de Paris
bronze

Williamstown, MA
The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute
Matatias, ca. 1866
Gouache on woodblock
9 5/8 × 7 3/4 in.
1994.9
Fig. 80
Man, Woman, and Dog, 1868–72
Black chalk and brown ink with white heightening
11 7/8 × 8 3/8 in.
Signed
1987.51
On deposit from the collection of Anna Held Audette
Christ's Entry into Jerusalem
Oil on canvas
38 1/4 × 51 in.
Fig. 94
Study Head of the Virgin, ca. 1870
Graphite
12 ½ × 9 ½ in.
Two Men in Spanish Costume
pen and ink on grey paper
9 1/8 × 11 3/4 in.
Fig. 164
L'Abbé Saolle
pen and ink on beige paper
4 × 5 1/4 in.
Two Soldiers Falling
pen and ink with wash and white heightening
5 × 6 3/4 in.
Military Scene
gray and brown wash over pencil
12 × 6 3/4 in.
Study for a Multi-Figure Composition
pencil on gray-green paper
6 × 8 1/4 in.

Winchester, MA
Private Collection
Medieval Scene
Oil on canvas
35 5/8 × 28 ½ in.
Signed

Worcester, MA
Museum of Art
Study of a Man
Brown ink over graphite
5 1/4 × 3 ½ in.
1989.48

This checklist is not necessarily exhaustive.
It includes all those works identified during the preparation of this book.

Notes

Resurrecting Gustave Doré

1 On the next to the last page of H.P. Lovecraft, *The Whisperers in Darkness*, 1930; reprinted in *The Call of Cthulhu and Other Weird Stories*, Penguin Books, New York and London, 1999, p. 266.
2 Julian Treuherz, *Hard Times: Social Realism in Victorian Art*, London: Lund Humphries, 1987.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 66.
4 See Jonathan Ribner, "The Poetics of Pollution," in Katharine Lochnan, *Turner Whistler Monet: Impressionist Visions*, Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2004, pp. 51–63.
5 For documentation on the astonishing international proliferation of Doré's illustrated books, see Dan Malan, *Gustave Doré Adrift on Dreams of Splendor (A Comprehensive Biography & Bibliography)*, St. Louis: Malan Classical Enterprises, 1995.
6 For these critical responses and an overview of Doré as a painter, see Nadine Lehni, "Gustave Doré, peintre," in *Gustave Doré, 1832–1883*, Strasbourg: Musée d'Art Moderne, 1983, pp. 51–8.
7 For the fullest account of this popular genre, see Eric M. Zafran, *Cavaliers and Cardinals: Nineteenth-Century French Anecdotal Paintings*, Cincinnati, OH: Taft Museum, 1992.
8 For the fullest account of this Hispanophilia, see the exhibition catalogue, *Manet, Velázquez: la manière espagnole au XIXe siècle*, Paris: Musée d'Orsay, 2002–3.
9 For more on this painting (and the theme in general), see Gérard Régnier, *The Great Parade: Portrait of the Artist as Clown*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004.
10 See *Gustave Doré, 1832–1883, op. cit.*, no. 175.
11 For the only serious study of this important theme, see Barbara C. Matilsky, *Sublime Landscape Painting in Nineteenth-Century France: Alpine and Arctic Iconography and Their Relationship to Natural History*, Doctoral Dissertation, New York University: Institute of Fine Arts, 1983.
12 On West's later public exhibitions, see Helmut von Erffa and Allen Staley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986, pp. 144ff.
13 See Jean Seznec, *John Martin en France*, London: Faber and Faber, 1964.
14 Not the Salon of 1834, as stated *ibid.*, p. 46.
15 See *Gustave Doré, 1832–1883, op. cit.*, no. 150.

L'Année Terrible and Political Imagery

1 See Philippe Kaenel, *Doré, réaliste et visionnaire: 1832–1883*, Bevaix: Pierre-Yves Gabus, 1985.
2 Concise accounts of this period can be found in William H.C. Smith, *Second Empire and Commune: France 1848–1871*, London & New York: Longman, 1985; William Fortescue, *The Third Republic in France, 1870-1940: Conflicts and Continuities*, London & New York: Routledge, 2000; and Charles Sowerwine, *France Since 1870: Culture, Politics & Society*, Palgrave, 2001. Another good source is John Milner, *Art, War and Revolution in France, 1870-1871: Myth, Reportage and Reality*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.
3 Émile Zola, *The Debacle*, trans. by L.W. Tancock, New York: Penguin Books, 1972, p. 68.
4 July 27, 1870, quoted in Blanchard Jerrold, *Life of Gustave Doré*, London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1891, pp. 285–86. As there is no evidence that Doré spoke or wrote in English, the original letter was certainly in French, although Jerrold only provides this English translation. Doré's journey to London was no doubt related to his highly successful Doré Gallery in London, which had opened in 1868.
5 Jerrold, p. 291.
6 Blanche Roosevelt, *The Life and Reminiscences of Gustave Doré*, New York: Cassell & Company, 1885, pp. 362–3. Like Jerrold, Roosevelt quotes Doré in English, and does not provide much in the way of detailed sources for these quotes. Her biography, however, is considered one of the most important sources of information on the artist's life. For additional information on Roosevelt, see Eric Zafran's essay.
7 Roosevelt, p. 357.
8 *La Tribune*, November 22, 1868. Quoted in F.W.J. Hemmings, *Culture and Society in France, 1848–98: Dissidents and Philistines*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971, p. 147. Novelist and journalist Edmond About was Doré's good friend. Urbain LeVerrier was a mathematician. Émile Littré was a lexicographer. Zola appreciated Doré's talents as an illustrator, but was highly critical of his paintings. See Antoinette Ehrard, "Émile Zola et Gustave Doré," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, March, 1972, pp. 185–92.
9 Roosevelt, p. 358.
10 Quoted in Roosevelt, p. 358–9. In his indispensable volume on the artist, *Gustave Doré Adrift on Dreams of*

Splendor (A Comprehensive Biography & Bibliography), St. Louis: Malan Classical Enterprises, 1995, Dan Malan suggests that Doré's feelings toward the Emperor and Empress may have been compromised by their facilitating role in the marriage between an impoverished aristocratic friend of theirs, the Marquis de Caux, and Adelina Patti, a successful opera singer with whom Doré had had a serious romantic relationship.

11 Émile Bourdelin, a friend of Doré, quoted in Roosevelt, p. 362.

12 *The Art Journal*, September 1870, p. 289. This brief notice also mentions that a photograph of this work was currently to be seen in The Doré Gallery in London.

13 Justin McCarthy, "Gustave Dore," *The Galaxy*, vol. 17, issue 3, March 1874, pp. 344–55, p. 352.

14 "...Où le père a passé, passera bien l'enfant!" This stanza was included on the print of this image published by Goupil.

15 Louis Dézé, *Gustave Doré: bibliographie et catalogue complet de l'oeuvre*, Paris: M. Seheur, 1930, p. 86. Several of these drawings are reproduced in Saint-Juirs (pseudonym of René Delorme), *Gustave Doré, peintre, sculpteur, dessinateur et graveur*, Paris: L. Baschet, 1879.

16 Roosevelt, p. 364. The Marseillaise was officially reinstated as the French national anthem in 1879.

17 The cover of *L'Eclipse*, August 28, 1870, is a drawing by André Gill of the famous actress Mlle Agar singing the Marseillaise.

18 See *Mémoires du XVIIIe siècle*, Bordeaux: Musée Goupil, 1998, pp. 65–7. I would like to thank Pierre-Lin Rénie for bringing this citation to my attention. Prints were made of Léon Cogniet's painting *1792 (La garde national de Paris part pour l'armée)* of 1834, and Auguste Vinchon's painting *Enrôlements volontaires. La Patrie déclarée en danger (11 juillet 1792)* of 1850.

19 Jerrold, pp. 291–2. Mixing English and French titles, the specific works Jerrold mentioned in this context include most of Doré's major war images: *The Black Eagle of Prussia*, *Song of Departure*, *The Marseillaise*, *L'Année Terrible*, *The Country in Danger*, *The Shades of French Soldiers*, *The Enigma*, and *Alsace*, all of which were made into prints.

20 Edmond Duranty, "La Caricature et L'Imagerie en Europe pendant la Guerre de 1870–1871," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 40ième année, 2ième période, tome 5, 1872, pp. 323–4. "Gustave Doré, grand usinier de dessins, s'empresse de répandre dans le commerce une Marseillaise symbolique de sa fabrication. Elle est curieuse en ce qu'elle montre bien les idées romantiques de mise en scène tumultueuse et pittoresque sur lesquelles nous vivions depuis 1792. Cela concorde avec la croyance qu'il suffirait de batons, de couteaux, de pierres et d'une grande foule chantant des hymnes patriotiques pour exterminer l'ennemi. On ne prévoit nullement le caractère mécanique, serré, aligné de la guerre qui s'engage. Nous sommes en plein cirque. Les Frances casquées et triomphantes à la tête de bandes en désordre pullulent sous le crayon des symbolistes du départ. L'imagerie naive barbouille ses serments des braves et ses Volontaires de 1870 qui guide la Victoire du bas-relief de Rude."

21 *The Art Journal*, October 1, 1870, pp. 321–2.

22 Roosevelt, p. 365. For detailed information on the iconography of Victory, see Marina Warner, *Monuments & Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985.

23 See Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981, pp. 333–5.

24 In another drawing from 1873 called *France, Mounted on a Hippogriff, Leads Her Children to the Aid of Paris* (Musée d'Art Moderne et Contemporain de Strasbourg), it is not the robed, standard-bearing figure leading the French soldiers who has wings, but the mythical creature she rides.

25 Amelia Edwards refers to the female figure as his "Angel of War" in "Gustave Doré: Personal Recollections of the Artist and His Works," *The Art Journal*, 1883, pp. 361–5, pp. 389–94; p. 393.

26 See Gunnar Berefelt, *A Study on the Winged Angel: The Origin of a Motif*, Stockholm: Almquist & Wikell, 1968.

27 Roosevelt refers to the figure as an "angel of the Republic," p. 364.

28 See Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery & Symbolism in France, 1789–1880*, trans. Janet Lloyd, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

29 France was not the only nation to be personified by a female figure. Germania and Britannia, among others, took the form of a woman.

30 See Albert Boime, "The Second Republic's Contest for the Figure of the Republic," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 53, no. 1, March 1971, pp. 68–83. See also T. J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848–1851*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

31 Agulhon discusses at length the polarizing issue of the Phrygian cap.

32 Roosevelt, p. 362–3. Doré probably made at least several versions of this composition: one is included in this catalogue, another, more finished version is in the collection of the Musées de la ville de Strasbourg (*Le Rhin allemand*, 1870). The drawing pictured here is inscribed "à mon ami Bourdelin/G. Doré" and is likely the same drawing to which Roosevelt refers. There is also another drawing of approximately the same size as the one pictured here called *Passage du Rhin* listed in *Georges Duplessis, Catalogue des dessins, aquarelles et estampes de Gustave Doré exposés dans les Salons du Cercle de la Librarie* (Paris, 1885), but its inscription is given as "A mon ami et au bon patriote E. Bourdelin, G. Doré, 14 août 1870."

33 Letter to Canon Harford dated September 13, 1870. Roosevelt, p. 361.

34 Zola, *The Debacle*, p. 403.

35 "Paul Gustave Doré," *The Art Journal*, 1871, p. 119. Among the other artists who served in the National Guard were Edouard Manet, Auguste Rodin, Ernest Meissonier, James Tissot, Jules Dalou, and Pierre Puvis de Chavannes.

36 Letter dated February 17, 1871, quoted in Edwards, p. 393.

37 Jerrold, pp. 286–7.

38 *Vente des tableaux, etudes et esquisses, aquarelles, dessins et sculptures laisées dans son atelier par feu Gustave Doré*, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 10–15, 1885. The other two paintings in this group of three were *The Enigma* (Musée d'Orsay, Paris) and *The Black Eagle of Prussia* (see fig. 48)

39 In *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870–71)*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002, Hollis Clayson discusses the circumstances sur-

rounding the "need" to eat unsavory animals like rats, pointing out that the well-to-do were never affected by the food shortage, and that the number of citizens who actually ate rats or mice was much smaller than the popular legend suggests.

40 Zola, *The Debacle*, p. 464.

41 Jerrold, pp. 291–3.

42 McCarthy, p. 353.

43 Émile Bourdelin, quoted in Roosevelt, p. 364.

44 Clayson points out that the elephant sacrificed to feed the starving people of Paris was a fiction that "disguised and enabled a daring and profitable commerce in slaughtered-to-order exotic animals." See pp. 175–6.

45 Letter dated February 17, 1871, quoted in Edwards, pp. 393–4.

46 Edwards, p. 393.

47 "À Olympio," in Victor Hugo, *Les Voix Intérieures*, 1837. "Avec des cris de joie ils ont compté tes plaies/Et compté tes douleurs,/Comme sur une pierre on compte des monnaies/Dans l'antre des voleurs." Goupil published this plate very quickly after Doré made the painting, either in 1871 or 1872. I would like to thank Pierre-Lin Rénie for this information.

48 On the relationship between France and Germany in the nineteenth century, see *Marianne et Germania, 1789–1889: Un Siècle de Passions Franco-Allemandes*, Paris: Musée du Petir Palais, 1997.

49 See Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning and Recovery*, trans. Jefferson Chase, New York: Henry Holt & Co, 2003, p. 121. Interestingly, the prevailing symbol for Germany, especially after 1871, was female figure very similar to Marianne, the armed and armored Germania.

50 This description of the battlefield of Douzy after the capitulation is by Alfred de la Chapelle, *The War of 1870: Events and Incidents of the Battlefields*, London: Chapman & Hall, 1870, pp. 124–5.

51 In the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian war, French photographers focused more on collapsed bridges and ravaged buildings than battlefield casualties; the ruined architecture of Paris serving as a metaphor for the war's human toll. See Alisa Luxenberg, "Creating Désastres: Andrieu's Photographs of Urban Ruins in the Paris of 1871," *The Art Bulletin*, March 1998, pp. 113–37.

52 Other entrants included Auguste Rodin and Ernest Barrias, whose sculpture, *Defense of Paris*, was the winner. See Karine Varley, "Memorializing the Defence of Paris: The Commemoration of the Franco-Prussian War in the Capital," in Nigel Harkness et al., eds, *Visions/Revisions: Essays on Nineteenth-Century French Culture*, Bern 2003, pp. 193–207; and Peter Fusco and H. W. Janson, *The Romantics to Rodin: French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture from North American Collections*, Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980.

53 Another of Carpeaux's allegorical scenes is called *Wounded France*; which portrays a chaotic mass of soldiers and civilians surmounted by a single figure, whose pose brandishing the tricolor echoes that of Delacroix's *Liberty*. In the center of the picture, atop a cannon, is the robed figure of France with her arm in a sling, still holding her broken sword. See *Carpeaux: peinture*, Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1999, pp. 124–9.

54 On Meissonier and this painting, see Constance Cain Hungerford, *Ernest Meissonier and Art for the French Bourgeoisie: Master in His Genre*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999; and *Ernest Meissonier: Rétrospective*, Lyon: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon, 1993, pp. 171–6, p. 102.

55 See Aimée Brown Price, "L'Allegorie Réele chez Pierre Puvis de Chavannes," in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, January 1977, pp. 27–40; Aimée Brown Price, *Pierre Puvis de Chavannes*, New York: Rizzoli, 1994; also Clayson, pp. 144–62.

56 "Echappé à la Serre Ennemie, le Message Attendu Exalte le Coeur de la Fière Cité."

57 Political caricatures had been largely suppressed in France since Napoleon III's decree of February 1852 mandating that all journal and newspaper illustrations be submitted to the prefect of police for approval before the blocks were made. At that time Doré was already established as a sharp political and social caricaturist and was working regularly for the *Journal pour rire*. An anecdote recounted in Hemmings (p. 75) recounts how Doré apparently inserted a note into one of the issues offering his own sarcastic response to the decree: "Messiers the illustrators have the honor to announce the sad loss that they have experienced in the person of Lady Caricature, recently deceased." ("MM. les dessinateurs ont l'honneur de vous faire part de la perte douloureuse qu'ils viennent de faire en la personne de dame Caricature, récemment décédée.") For more information on caricature and censorship during the period, see Robert Justin Goldstein, *Censorship of Political Caricature in Nineteenth-Century France*, Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1989; and Susan Lambert, *The Franco-Prussian War and The Commune in Caricature, 1870–71*, London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1971.

58 It appeared in *Le Charivari* on February 13, 1871. A similar composition, *Autre candidats*, showing France lying on a field with a flock of black birds beginning to descend upon her, appeared several days earlier, on February 3. Plates from Goya's Disasters of War series and lithographs by J. J. Grandville and Félicien Rops that depict birds devouring a prostrate figure influenced Daumier's composition. See "Dernière planches politiques et allégories (1869–1871)" by Ségolène Le Men, in *Daumier: 1808–1879*, Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1999, pp. 494–503.

59 In another print Daumier emphasized this point by depicting the ragged eagle being crushed beneath a copy of *Les Chatiments*, Victor Hugo's 1853 collection of poems that satirized and condemned the ruler he had called "Napoleon the Small."

60 "ruminants, amphibies, carnivores, et autres budgetivores qui ont devoré la France pendant 20 ans."

61 A similar, but arguably more complex interpretive instability is apparent in Rosa Bonheur's painting of the war period, *The Wounded Eagle*. It has been construed as simultaneously representing the downfall of Napoleon III, whom Bonheur supported, and the Prussian state, the reputation of which she believed had been injured by its aggressive leader Kaiser Wilhelm, whom she detested. See Clayson's discussion of Bonheur's response the war and this painting, pp. 284–302.

62 The caption beneath the drawing provides the dialogue between France and the lawyers. "France: Help! Help!

My son; let me live, I am your mother! Lawyer: No, no! It is necessary that you die! It has been two hundred years that you have assinated me with your *res, non verba*! [action, not words]... I'll give you some *res, non verba*! ... Take that ... take that. France: My son, my son!" (La France: Grâce! grace! mon fils; laisse-moi vivre, je suis ta mère! ... L'avocat: Non, non! il faut que tu meures! voilà deux cent ans que tu m'assassines avec ton *res, non verba*! ... Je t'en donnerai du *res, non verba*! ... tiens ... tiens ... La France: Mon fils! mon fils!)

63 Roosevelt, pp. 365–6.

64 *The Art Journal*, October 1872, p. 289.

65 Letter dated June 13, 1871, quoted by Amelia Edwards.

66 Quoted in *Versailles et Paris en 1871 d'après les dessins originaux de Gustave Doré*, Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1907.

67 See Gay L. Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris: Images of the Commune*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.

68 Quoted in Gullickson, pp. 174–5.

69 Like *The Black Eagle of Prussia, The Enigma* was reproduced by Goupil as a photogravure, accompanied by lines from another poem by Victor Hugo, "To the Arc de Triomphe," a meditation on a shepherd coming across the remains of Paris hundreds of years after its destruction: "O spectacle, thus dies what people have made. Such history is a deep pit for the soul." From "À l'Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile," in *Les Voix Intérieures*. "O spectacle! Ainsi meurt ce que les peuples font! Qu'un tel passé l'âme est un gouffre profond." These lines were also printed in the entry for *The Enigma* in the catalogue to Doré's posthumous sale.

70 Zola, *The Debacle*, p. 485.

71 Letter to James Liddle Fairless and George Lord Beeforth of the Doré Gallery in London, quoted in Jerrold, p. 159.

Religion

1 Roosevelt, 1885, p. 13.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 304.

3 See Paul Mantz, "Salon de 1863," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1863, pp. 489–90. Doré's composition was also parodied in a caricature by Cham as a tiger devours its young rather than touch the bourgeois that has been recommended to him. See Kanael, 1985, p. 80, fig. 14.

4 Lehmann-Haupt, 1943, pp. 38–9 observed, "Can anyone, who has ever leafed through a Doré Bible, forget the thrilling terror of the waves of the deluge?"

5 A sketch for this is now in the Museum of Strasbourg, inv. no. XXVII 17. See Strasbourg, 1983, no. 158. But he never made the sculpture.

6 See Strasbourg, 1983, no. 49.

7 A painting of this subject was with Jane Roberts, London, in 1989; see her advertisement in *Apollo*, January 1989, p. 6; it was subsequently in a Japanese collection by 2002 and then sold at Sotheby's, London, November 16, 2004, no. 306.

8 *A Flight into Egypt* was sold at Sotheby's, New York, October 24, 1996, no. 346; *Jephthath's Daughter* sold Sotheby's, London, November 22, 1983, no. 45; and *Jesus Preaching on the Mountain* was sold at Sotheby's, New York, February 24, 1988, no. 155. Another undated religious painting, *Christ Blessing the Children*, was sold at Christie's, London, November 17, 2005, no. 103.

9 See Jerrold, 1891, pp. 268–71.

10 See A. Ehrard, "Émile Zola et Gustave Doré," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, March 1972, pp. 185–92; and for translations of Zola's critiques into English, see Richardson, 1980, pp. 123, 129–30, and 144.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 155.

12 Formerly in the Forbes collection. Sold Christie's, London, February 19–20, 2003, no. 218.

13 Jerrold, 1891, pp. 273–4; and also see Roosevelt, 1885, p. 306.

14 Exhibited in *Doré dessins*, Paris, 1885, no. 19. See D*ézé* 1930, p. 111, no. 19; Leblanc, 1931, p. 484, no. 19; Strasbourg, 1983, no. 72.

15 Jerrold, 1891, p. 283. Salon of 1874, no. 625; the Doré Gallery, London, no. 16.

16 Jerrold, 1891, p. 281. The other version belonged to the Argosy Bookstore in New York and was offered at Christies, New York, May 25, 1984, no. 63 , but was bought in and then later sold to the Musée d'Art moderne et contemporain in Strasbourg. Its measurements are 35 ½ × 84 ¼ in. See Marie-Jean Geyer, "Acquisitions – Strasbourg," in *Revue du Louvre*, 2, April 1998, p. 96, no. 47.

17 Acquisition no. 1991.150.19. The drawing is inscribed "in cielo anima in terra sanguis."

18 Jerrold, 1891, p. 280; and sale at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 3, 1986, no. 118.

19 See Gerald M. Ackerman, *Jean-Léon Gérôme, Monographie et catalogue raisonné*, Paris, 1992, p. 252, nos 313 and 314; p. 286, no. 469.

20 Jerrold, 1891, p. 282.

21 Claretie, 1876, pp. 264–5.

22 Sale Sotheby's, New York, May 28, 1981, no. 113A (192 × 312 in.). The buyer originally placed it on loan to the Votivkirche in Vienna before selling it to Strasbourg in 1988 where it underwent considerable restoration.See *La Resatauration du Christ quittant le prétoire*, Musée d'Art moderne et contemporain de Strashourg, nd, 4 pages.

23 See Nadine Lehni, "Gustave Doré: Récentes acquisitions," *La Revue du Louvre*, 4, 1987, pp. 284–6.

24 See Held, *Ponce,* 1984, pp. 92 and 95.

25 Roosevelt, 1885, p. 307 and Jerrold, 1891, pp. 273, 275, 276.

26 Jerrold, 1891, pp. 272, 278, and 284. The study for the head of the Virgin was in the Held collection; see *Master Drawings from the Collection of Ingrid and Julius S. Held*, Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, 1979, no. 46; and it is now on deposit from their daughter, Anna Held Audette, at the Clark.

27 Jerrold, 1891, p. 280.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 284.

29 New York, 1892, pp. 9–11.

30 Conder, 1876, no. 3; New York, 1892 no. 15; and sold Warehouse, New York, 1947 no. 39.

31 Lisa Small, *Highlights from the Dahesh Museum Collection*, New York, 1999, p. 26, no. 5.

32 New York, 1892, pp. 37–8.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

34 Claretie, 1876, p. 152.

35 New York, 1892, p. 34.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

37 This large version of the subject was sent to America as part of the Doré Gallery in 1892 and included in the

New York sale of 1947 where it was purchased by Albert F. Roller of San Francisco and then passed to George Whitney also of San Francisco. It then went to the Central Picture Galleries in New York who sold it to The World Museum in Tulsa, who in turn sold it through Christie's on September 21–24, 1981, no. 513; it appeared again at Christie's, New York, February 24, 1987, no. 53A.

38 Sold Sotheby's, New York, May 26, 1994, no. 59.

39 Roosevelt, 1885, p. 341.

40 Jerrold, 1891, p. 317.

41 New York, 1892, pp. 17–18.

42 Salon, Paris, 1875, no. 68.

43 Conder, 1877, p. 14.

44 See New York, 1892, p. 37 and Malan, 1995, p. 156. Lucy Hooper, "Art in Paris," in *The Art Journal*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1877, p. 59.

45 For James's comments see the introduction and for Zola's scathing comments see "Salon de 1876," in *Émile Zola Salons*, Paris, 1959, pp.178–9. The location of the original painting sold in New York in the 1947 Warehouse sale, no. 32 is not known. Also sold then as no. 33 (without measurements) was a watercolor version, which may be fig. 93. A much more highly finished drawing for all the figures probably done as a *réplique* for the purposes of engraving was recently on the New York art market. Another preliminary drawing is also in the Musée Paul Valéry, Sète. See Strasbourg, 1983, no. 139.

46 See Strasbourg, 1983, p. 150.

47 See Charles Yriarte, "Le Salon de 1876," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1876, p. 720.

48 *Doré Gallery Catalogue*, Gimpel Brothers, Philadelphia, April 1898, p. 9.

49 Warehouse sale, New York, 1947, no. 35. See Lisa Small, *Telling Tales II, Religious Images in 19th-Century Academic Art*, New York: The Dahesh Museum of Art, 2001, pp. 28–9, fig. 20.

50 "Pictures of the Year," *The Magazine of Art*, 1880, vol. 3, p. 480.

51 New York, 1892, pp. 16–17.

52 An enormous pair of the *Ascension* and the *Ecce Homo* were sold from The World Museum in Tulsa by Christie's, September 21–4, 1981. New York, 1892, p. 20.

53 *Ibid.*, pp. 21–2

54 See Roosevelt, 1885, p. 423 and illustration p. 344. In the 1947 New York Warehouse sale of works from the Doré Gallery there were four lots simply called "Study for the Head of Christ" (nos. 1–4) without any indication of medium or size. There were also a painted *Head of Christ* (2ft 1in. × 1ft 9in.); and a signed pen and ink drawing of *1881*, (25 × 19 in.).

55 See Richardson, 1980, p. 120.

56 One similar head of Christ crowned with thorns and turned toward the right and dated 1874 is in the Musée Tavet, Pontoise. See *Dessins du Musée de Pontoise*, 1971, no. 32, pl. 41 and Strasbourg, 1983, no. 135. It or the present drawing served as the basis for an engraving by Eugène Collier for the Doré Gallery. Other of the tragic heads of Christ by Doré in various media are reproduced in Farner, 1975, II, figs 292, 295–8; and several are now in the Musée d'art moderne et contemporain, Strasbourg. Two drawings of Christ carrying the Cross are listed in Dézé, 1930, p. 111.

57 Sold at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 19, 1985, no. 34. See Sylvain Bellenger, "Curator's Choice," *Paintings and Drawings Society Newsletter*, Cleveland Museum of Art, vol. 3, no. 1, January 2002, p. 2.

58 This may be the work listed in the Doré estate sale, Paris, April 1885, no. 16. A preliminary drawing for this downcast head of Christ is in the collection of the Glynn Vivian Art Gallery, Swansea.

59 On the subject of nineteeth-century French anecdotal paintings mocking the clergy, see Eric Zafran, *Cavaliers and Cardinals: Nineteenth-Century French Anecdotal Paintings*, Cincinnati, 1992, p. 6.

60 In Roosevelt, 1885, p. 326.

61 *Ibid.*, pp. 255 and 326.

62 Beraldi, 1887, VI no. 79; Leblanc, 1931, pp. 519 and 327; Strasbourg, 1983, p. 77, no. 21.

63 George Sand, *Spiridion*, 1842, Slatkine Reprints, Geneva, 2000, pp. 67 and 71.

64 Especially in the scenes of the Humming Friars. See *Doré's Illustrations for Rabelais*, New York: Dover Publications, 1978, p. 141.

65 Victor Koshikin-Youritsin in *Oklahoma Treasures: Paintings, Drawings and Watercolors from Public and Private Collections*, Tulsa, OK: The Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, 1986, p. 45.

66 See the exhib. cat. *Alphonse Legros*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, 1987–8, no. 21. Another relevant print by Legros is of monks seated around a refectory table. An impression is in the British Museum (1907-4-24-14). It is after a painting in the Musée Girodet, Montargis. See the Dijon exhib. cat., 1987–8, no. 44

67 The original drawing was in the print department of the National Library, Paris according to Jerrold, 1891, p. 218. One drawing of the subject was sold in Paris, May 22, 1875, no. 4; and a pen and ink drawing was sold in the New York City sale of 1947, no. 44, with no measurements given. A detailed drawing for *The Neophyte* is at the Museum of the Château of Nemours (see Strasbourg, 1983, no. 66) and Doré also made a drawing with the composition reversed ostensibly in preparation for the print (see Hazlitt, London, 1983, no. 23 and Strasbourg, 1983, no. 65, inv. no. 55.992.13.15). Doré also used the composition for a music sheet cover done as a homage to Rossini (see Strasbourg, 1983, no. 67).

68 This may be the painting first exhibited with Doré's works at the German Gallery, London, 1868, no. 32, but since the present measurements do not quite match those given for the painting in the Doré Gallery, it is difficult to know if this is indeed Doré's first painted version of the subject or a later replica. It does have a vitality and immediacy that suggest an early date.

69 As the drawing in the Chrysler Museum (fig. 105) was a gift from the artist to Amy Maclachlan in 1876, it may well be a souvenir *réplique* of a portion of the painting, rather than a preliminary study for it.

70 The former Dr. Hammer canvas, which was sold at Christie's, London, July 31, 1964, no. 274, then belonged to the Central Picture Galleries in New York, 1966, and is now owned by the city of Los Angeles, is nearly identical to the image reproduced by Delorme, 1879, opp. p. 64 that had been exhibited at the Salon of 1868 (no. 817) and then at the Doré Gallery from 1869

to 1892. However, the measurements are not quite the same and the legible part of the date on this work is clearly 188?, suggesting that this is a version that Doré had begun before his death in 1883. The recent restoration of the painting has revealed at the upper left the stained glass window through which refracted light passes to add a note of color and illuminate the faces of the monks.

71 For the Cham see his *Salon de 1868: Album de 60 caricatures*, Paris, 1868, no. 817; Roosevelt, 1885, p. 345.
72 See Beraldi, 1887, pp. 25–7, nos 26–34; and Leblanc, 1931, pp. 511–12, nos 26–34.
73 New York, 1892, p. 24.
74 Jerrold, 1891, p. 264.
75 Michael Gibson, "The Unknown Gustave Doré," *Art News*, February 1984, ill. p. 91.
76 *The Queen*, August 14, 1880, as quoted in New York, 1892, pp. 30–1.
77 *New York Times*, October 3, 1892, p. 4.
78 For the Bosboom see Amsterdam, 2003, pl. 22; the Legros is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.
79 See Strasbourg, 1983, no. 68 and Forberg, 1975, II, p. 1438. This may date as early as 1866; see Malan, 1995, p. 151.
80 See Conder, 1882, pp. 42–4, no. 18; and Roosevelt, 1885, pp. 343 and 345.
81 See Held, 1984, pp. 92–3 (64.0522 and 64.0523).
82 As suggested by Malan, 1995, p. 116 based upon his discovery of Patti's 1893 book about Doré.
83 In Strasbourg, 1983, p. 104.
84 Roosevelt, 1885, p. 411.
85 Jerrold, 1891, p. 305, and Roosevelt, 1885, p. 320.

Caricatures and Prints

1 See Lorenz Eitner, *French Paintings of the Nineteenth Century*, New York and Oxford, 2000, pp. 167–8.
2 See the exhib. cats. *Gérard de Nerval*, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 1955, nos 331–5; and *Exposition Gérard de Nerval*, Mairie de Paris, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, 1966, nos 511, 512, 513.

Literary Subjects

1 Roosevelt, 1885, p. 130.
2 In the Doré estate sale of 1885 two uncut blocks for *Gargantua* were recorded, but their measurements of 18 × 13 cm. are smaller than this work. See Dézé, 1930, p. 104, and ill. opp. p. 53.
3 *Don Quixote*, 1863 ed., vol. 2, opp. p. 148.
4 Sold at Christie's, London, June 20, 1985, no. 33.
5 Strasbourg, 1983, p. 255.
6 *Fables de la Fontaine*, Paris, 1868, p. 141.
7 One is reproduced in the photography file of New York Public Library.
8 L. Delteil, *Daumier*, vol. IX, Paris, 1926, no. 3599.
9 Malan, 1995, pp. 97–103.
10 These signed prints were on sale at the Doré Gallery and impressions were also included in the 1947 New York Manhattan Warehouse sale.
11 See Peter Levi, *Tennyson*, London, 1993, pp. 6 and 249.
12 *The Atheneum*, December 21, 1867, pp. 844–5.
13 Claretie, 1884, pp. 118–19.
14 A second more elaborate version of this drawing with white highlighting was in the Clapp collection and sold to the Strasbourg Museum. See Strasbourg, 1983, p. 28 and Bilbao, 2004, p. 103.
15 See John Coolidge, *Doré's London*, Dublin, NH, 1994, p. 19.
16 Jerrold, 1891, pp. 151–2.
17 *Ibid.*, p. 153.
18 *Ibid.*, p. 184.
19 *Ibid.*, pp. 151–3.
20 Sold Christie's, New York, January 30, 1998, no. 201 and now in The Berger Collection of The Denver Art Museum.
21 Jerrold, London, 1872, p.148.
22 Coolidge, 1994, p.18.
23 See Julian Treuherz, *Victorian Painting*, London, 1993, p. 180; and Alan Wood, "Doré's London: Art and Evidence," *Art History*, vol. 1 no. 3, September 1978, p. 353; and also Hannover, 1983, vol. 1, p. 162, fig. 66.
24 Wood, 1978, pp. 341–59.
25 London, 1872, p. 26.
26 *Ibid.*, pp. 24–5.
27 The Philip Hofer Bequest, Houghton Library, Cambridge, MA, 1988, p. 146.
28 Jerrold, 1891, pp. 151 and 204. Some large scale London drawings were included in both the 1875 and 1885 sales and exhibitions of Doré's work and one of ladies watching the race at Epsom was also exhibited at Strasbourg in 1983, no. 113 (39 × 28 ¼ in.). See the sale of May 22, 1875; in the atelier sale of 1885 were no. 200 *Ladies au bord de la Tamise* (94 ½ × 104 ½ in.) and no. 289 *Hyde Park* (croquis au crayon, 29 ½ × 39 ½ in.). In addition Doré was also to execute large-scale paintings and watercolors of his London subjects. One of the paintings *Myladies at Hyde Park* (84 ⅛ × 40 ½ in.) was sold at Philippe Sadde, Dijon, October 21, 2001.
29 The curious long-nosed figure in a top hat also appears in a *London* illustration on p. 79.
30 Coolidge, 1994, p. 31.
31 *London*, 1872, opp. p. 60.
32 *Ibid.*, p. 61.
33 See Libby Tannenbaum, "The Raven Abroad," *Magazine of Art*, April 1944, pp. 123–5; Ségolène Le Men, "Manet et Doré: l'illustration du Corbeau de Poe," *Nouvelles de l'Estampe*, December 1989, no. 78, pp. 4–21; and Juliet Wilson-Bareau and Breon Mitchell, "Tales of a Raven," *Print Quarterly*, September 1989, pp. 258–307.
34 *New York Times*, December 11, 1883, p. 5.
35 E. C. Stedman, "Comment on the Poem, *The Raven*," New York, 1883, p. 14.
36 Roosevelt, 1885, pp. 259–60.
37 *Ibid.*, p. 419.
38 Jerrold, 1891, pp. 223–4.
39 See Dézé, 1930, pp. 105–7; Renonciat, 1983, pp. 287–9; A scene of *Hamlet trying to Pursue the Ghost of his Father* was at the Galerie de Bayser, Paris, October–November, 1993, no. 33.
40 See Forberg, 1975, II, pp.1009–10; and Dézé, 1930, p. 86.
41 Claretie, 1884, p. 112 and Jerrold, 1891, p. 224.
42 In lot 159 were 38 Shakespeare sketches and in lot 286 another 55. In addition no. 642 was a *Witches* from *Macbeth*; no. 643 a drawing for *Measure for Measure*; and there were more in lot nos 650–52.
43 For some of the printed *Macbeth* images see Renounciat,

1983, p. 188 and Forberg, 1975, II, p. 1049. Drawings of Macbeth and/or the witches were in the Doré estate sale of 1885, no. 285. One other drawing showing Macbeth visiting rhe three witches with a cauldron at their cave is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, for which see Renounciat, 1983, p. 189. Another in a horizontal format is at the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Copenhagen. See "Chronique des arts, 1981," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, March 1982, p. 35, no. 179.

44 Fuseli's famous painting is at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre Picture Gallery and Museum, Stratford upon Avon; see *Henry Fuseli*, London: Tate Gallery, 1975, no. 19.

45 There are two similar drawings of interiors also identified as related to Cleopatra, one in Birmingham (1954.50) and another one in National Gallery, Washington, D.C. (1991.150.18).

Portraits

1 An oil *Self-Portrait* was included in the exhib. cat. *Orientalism*, Nagoya, 1989, no. 98.

2 One watercolor *Self-Portrait* was in the collection of his niece Madame Michel-Doré and another belonged to his grandniece. See Dézé, 1930, pp. 159 and 160. The one in the Musée d'art moderne et contemporain, Strasbourg, is inv. no. 733.

3 See Renonciat, 1983, p. 159, dated to 1872. In another example, he faces to the right, his hair is disheveled but he wears a tie. Sold by Francis Briest at Richelieu-Drouot, Paris, December 13, 1996, no. 281.

4 See Jerrold, 1891, opp. p. 161; Roosevelt, 1885, p. 160; and Richardson, 1980, p. 88.

5 On the drawings see Strasbourg, 1983, no. 70; Gosling, 1973, p. 22; and Richardson, 1980, p. 88. One drawing with an inscription is reproduced in Forberg, 1975, II, p. 1442. Another drawing dated November 1968 and inscribed shows Rossini facing right and is in the Civico Museo of Bologna. See *Viaggio a Rossini*, Bologna, 1992, fig. 1.8. An image either of a drawing or a print facing right is reproduced in Riccardo Baccheli, "Civilta di Rossini," *Civilta*, April 1942, vol. 3, no. 9, p. 8.

6 For the medallion in the Bibliothèque of the Musée de l'Opéra, see *Le Dernier Portrait*, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, 2002, no. 122. The etching is reproduced in Forberg, 1975, vol. 2, p. 1311. On the paintings see Dézé, 1930, p. 126, nos 203 and 204. The second one is now in the Conservatorio Rossini at Pesaro. See Herbert Weinstock, *Rossini*, New York, 1968, following p. 280.

7 Jerrold, 1891, pp. 262–3.

8 Roosevelt, 1885, p. 310.

9 See Malan, 1995, pp. 105–25. A drawing by Doré of Sarah Bernhardt is at the Musée d'art moderne et contemporain, Strasbourg, inv. no. 55.992.13.109; another showing her in the short play *Le Passant* by François Coppée for which she designed her own costume is at The Cantor Arts Center, Stanford, CA. A painting of the actress is reproduced in Valmy-Bayesse, 1930, p. 329 and Gosling, 1973, p. 25; another painting of her possibly by Doré was sold at Christie's, South Kensington, March 25, 2004, no. 64. An oil portrait of Adelina Patti was sold at Christie's, London, November 25, 1988, no. 92.

10 See Stuart Preston, "Letter from New York: More Space for Modern Art," *Apollo*, March 1964, p. 245.

11 In Strasbourg, 1983, pp. 117–18.

12 *Ibid.*

13 Jerrold, 1891, p. 165.

Genre Subjects

1 Roosevelt, 1885, pp. 246 and 250.

2 The huge painting was among those works of Doré initially shown in London during 1868 at the Egyptian Hall, and it eventually joined the selection in the Doré Gallery, traveling with it to America, and it now rests in the storage of the museum at the University of Florida in Tallahassee. See Valmy-Baysse, 1930, p. 125 and Kaenal, 1985, p. 49, ill. 68.

3 In addition to the one in a New York private collection (fig. 159) there is another larger study at the Musée de la ville de Poitiers. See Strasbourg, 1983, no. 42.

4 Roosevelt, 1885, p. 250.

5 *Daily Telegraph* quoted in New York, 1892, p. 41.

6 Strasbourg, 1983, p. 108, no. 73.

7 *Ibid.*

8 See the exhib. cat. *Les Peintres français et l'Espagne*, Musée Goya, Castres, 1997, nos 38 and 44.

9 This or a very similar drawing was exhibited with the French Society of Water Colorists in Paris in 1883 and then served as the basis for an etching *La Charité (Scène Espagnol)*, which has a few more figures placed on the ground and at the sides. See Beraldi, 1887, no. 22 and Castres, 1997, no. 47. There is also a similar small painting inscribed "Burgos 1876" showing the row of beggars against a decaying wall, which has appeared in sales at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 8, 1987, no. 74; and Sotheby's, New York, October 12, 1994, no. 58A.

10 There is also an etching of this composition. See Beraldi, 1887, no. 13 or 18. For comparable London images see for example the painting sold at Christie's, New York, March 18, 1983 no. 64; and Sotheby's, London, November 16, 2004, nos 235, and 307; variations on the theme in several of the *Flower Sellers* most notably the painting now at Liverpool.

11 See Eudel, 1886, p. 319.

Mythology

1 See Jerrold, 1891, pp. 23, 33, 45–7; and Edith A. Wright, "'La Mythologie' of Gustave Doré," *Boston Public Library Quarterly*, October 1959, pp. 200–9; Malan, 1995, pp. 19 and 21.

2 The Andromeda painting sold at Christie's, New York, May 22, 1996, no. 83. For the *Diana* see Leblanc, 1935, p. 533.

3 Roosevelt, 1885, following p. 380.

4 Inv. no. LXV 31, see Strasbourg, 1983, no. 54, and Bilbao, 2004, p. 149.

5 Paris, Salon of 1866, no. 2189; see Felix Jahyer, *Deuxième Etude sur les Beaux-Arts, Salon de 1866*, Paris, 1866, p. 238.

6 The painting was first in the collection of (and possibly painted for) Doré's good friend, the famous demimondaine La marquise Landolfo Carcano. It was then sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 30 – June 1, 1912, no. 33. See Valmy-Baysse and Dézé, 1930, ill. pp. 161 and 335; Leblanc, 1935, pp. 65 and 424.

7 See *Masterpieces from Dresden*, The Royal Academy, London, 2003, no. 42.

8 See the exhib. cat. *A. Böcklin, 1827–1890*, Darmstadt, 1977, pp. 172–3, 178–9, no. 78 of 1877. Also a Boecklin *Triton and Nereide* of 1873 was reproduced in a print by Wilhelm Hecht. See *An Arnold Boecklin*, Florence, 2001, p. 27, no. 14. And for a typical Bierstadt of *Seal Rock*, see New Britain Museum of American Art, *Highlights of the Collection*, Vol. I, New Britain, CT, 1999, pp. 34–5.
9 See Roosevelt, 1885, p. 247.
10 The painting *La Mort d'Orphée* was no. 1027 in the Salon of 1879. See Eudel, 1886, p. 324 and Dézé, 1930, facing p. 276. An oil sketch is reproduced in Kaenel, 1985, p. 79, fig. 113.
11 See Clapp and Lehni, 1992, no. 9.
12 The drawings appear in the Doré estate sale, nos 274–81. The French somewhat mistakenly refer to the Maenads as Danaides. Two of these are now in the Strasbourg Museum (inv. nos 1103 and 55.992.13.26). See Strasbourg, 1983, nos 163 and 164 and Bilbao, 2004, pp. 152–3. One was also offered at Kornfeld and Klipstein, Bern, June 1965, no. 231 and again on June 18, 1980, no. 265, and June 1986, no. 207, and at Sotheby's, New York, October 29, 1987, no. 26. Yet another was shown in the centennial loan exhibition *Gustave Doré* at Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, London, April 1983, no. 53. The Bloomington drawing has in the past been mistakenly identified as a witches' sabbath from *Macbeth*.

Landscape

1 Roosevelt, 1885, pp. 46–8.
2 See Strasbourg, 1983, nos 13 and 19.
3 Roosevelt, 1885, p. 142.
4 Salon of 1852, no. 368.
5 *Un torrent: souvenir des Alpes*; *L'orage; Souvenir des Vosges*; *Un sommet de montagne dans les Alpes*; *Vue en Alsace*, and *Effet de soleil Alpes* (nos 788, 789, 790, 792, 793 and 795).
6 Salon of 1861, no. 905.
7 Jerrold, 1891, p. 105.
8 Roosevelt, 1885, p. 208.
9 See for example the *Paysage de Westbridge*, an 1879 watercolor reproduced in Strasbourg, 1983, p. 173, no. 177, and also in a *Nocturnal Forest with Elves* at the Musée Thomas-Henry at Cherbourg.
10 It was exhibited in 1871 at the Boston Atheneum, no. 138 and entered the museum in 1873. See Philadelphia Museum of Art, exhib. cat., *The Second Empire: Art in France under Napoleon III*, 1978, pp. 297–8, no. VI-49.
11 Sold Christie's, London, February 23, 1983, no. 46. Another drawing also dated 1876 and inscribed *Montreux* was in the exhibition *Nineteenth-Century French Drawings*, Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, London, June 1977, no. 61.
12 For Doré's *Portrait of Teesdale*, see Phillips sale, November 20, 2001, no. 118.
13 See Jerrold, 1891, pp. 313, 335, and 339.
14 Quoted in Roosevelt, 1885, p. 388.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 389.
16 See Germaine Viatte, "Gustave Doré peintre,"*Art de France*, IV, 1964, p. 350; and Julian Treuherz, *Victorian Painting*, London, 1993, figs. 59 and 64.
17 For Percy see his 1868 *View of Moel Siabod, North Wales,* sold Phillips, November 20, 2001, no. 31; and for Ansdell his 1856 *Isle of Skye* sold at Sotheby's, London, November 27, 2003, no. 22.
18 Jerrold, 1891, p. 313.
19 *Ibid.*, p. 316.
20 This is most likely the painting listed as "L'aigle" in the artist's estate sale, Paris, 1885, no. 27.
21 See John House in *Landscapes of France*, London and Boston, 1995–6, no. 33.
22 M. Gibson, "The Unknown Gustave Doré," *Art News*, vol. 83, no. 2, February 1984, p. 90.

Drawings

1 Jerrold, 1891, p. 39.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
3 Roosevelt, 1885, pp. 44–5.
4 Jerrold, 1891, p. 40.
5 Roosevelt, 1885, p. 180.
6 *Ibid.*, pp. 238–9.
7 Salon of 1848, nos 1305 and 1306.
8 Jerrold, 1891, pp. 4–7.
9 For example a painting, *Le Gourmand* by Louis-Léopold Boilly formerly with Brame, Paris and sold at Sotheby's, New York, January 27, 2006, no. 339 and an engraving after it. See Paul Marmottan, *Le Peintre Louis Boilly*, Paris, 1913, pp. 157–8.
10 See, for example, his illustrations to de Girardin's *Contes d'une vieille fille* ..., 1856, in Forberg, 1975, p. 183; and Strasbourg, 1983, pp. 183–4, no. 195.
11 Doré and Jerrold, *London*, 1872, p. 109.
12 The set of watercolors was sold in the 1885 Doré atelier sale and were later in the collection of Herbert Ward in London and sold there at Sotheby's, December 19, 1968, nos 33–5 and 65. See Strasbourg, 1983, nos 197–8. A painting by Doré of a single cockatoo was also sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 22, 1996, no. 61.
13 The Kansas City watercolor is nearly identical in size to two parrot studies (17 ⅛ × 12 ½ in.) that belonged to G. Michel and were sold in his sale. At the 1885 Paris exhibition of *Doré dessins*, no. 144 was a *Perroquets* belonging to Joseph Michel but it was 19 ⅞ × 9 ⅝ cm. A similar watercolor study of parrots is in the museum of Strasbourg's Cabinet des Estampes, inv. 1301, 18 ⅛ × 11 ¼ in.: see Strasbourg, 1983, no. 196. A more modest pencil study of parrots on board, 18 1⅛ x 12 ½ in. is at the Birmingham Museum of Art, one of the group of drawings purchased at the artist's estate sale in 1885 by Otto Mosler, 1954.51(verso).
14 Doré noted the visit in correspondence with the directors of the London Doré Gallery on September 15, 1874. Three watercolor studies of the subject were included in the posthumous exhibition of his drawings. See *Doré dessins*, Paris, 1885, nos 151–3. The two others are now in the Museum of Strasbourg, Inv. nos LXXI. 17 and 55.992.13.38. See Bilbao, 2004, pp. 160 and 161.
15 See Dézé, 1930, p. 126.
16 See C.P.H., "A Drawing by Gustave Doré," *Minneapolis Institute of Art Bulletin*, LVI, 1967, pp. 42–3. Another watercolor also dated 1881 was shown at Stoppenbach & Delestre, Summer Exhibition, London, 1990, no. 3.
17 A variant drawing of the subject is in the Museum of Strasbourg, inv. no. 1083. See Strasbourg, 1983, no. 159 and p. 57, and it was this composition that was used appropriately as the cover of the catalogue of the Doré estate sale in 1885. See Dézé, 1930, p. 143.
18 See Roosevelt, 1885, p. 317 and also Eudel, 1886, p.

326.
19 Sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, October 12, 1999.
20 Societé d'Aquarellistes français, Paris, 1881, no. 1. See Strasbourg, 1983, p. 101, no. 63.
21 See for example Renonciat, 1983, p. 289; Bilbao, 2004, p. 142, and one entitled *Les Fées* which sold at Sotheby's, New York, February 12, 1997, no. 70.

Sculpture

1 Jerrold, 1891, p. 349.
2 See Roosevelt, 1885, pp. 443–6.
3 Jerrold, 1891, p. 355.
4 Charles Timbal, "La Sculpture au Salon," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 15, 1877, p. 544. The large plaster is illustrated in Dézé, 1930, opp. p. 309.
5 Conder, 1879, no. 41; Leblanc, 1931, p. 543, no. 163.
6 See Strasbourg, 1983, p. 159; and Clapp and Lehni, 1992, p. 239, no. 1.
7 A small plaster version sold at Sotheby's, London, April 16, 2002, no. 96. Another is in the Museum of Strasbourg; see Strasbourg, 1983, no. 152 and Bilbao, 2004, p. 59.
8 See Clapp and Lehni, 1992, p. 220, fig. 2.
9 See Clapp and Lehni, 1992, p. 233, fig. 25, p. 251, no. 28; and for the other version sold in the Doré estate sale, 1885 no. 178, see Strasbourg, 1983, no. 154. For Ozy see Richardson, 1980, pp. 66–8.
10 Los Angeles, 1980, p. 240, no. 115.
11 See Clapp and Lehni, 1992, no. 13.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 244, no. 14.
13 Reproduced in *Le Monde Illustré, Salon de 1880*, no. 1206, May 8, 1881, p 285.
14 Henri Olleris, *Memento du Salon de 1880*, Paris, 1880, p. 62.
15 Philippe Burty, "Le Salon de 1880: La Sculpture," *L'Art*, vol. 21, 1880, p. 276.
16 Quoted in Strasbourg, 1983, p. 190.
17 Fusco in Los Angeles, 1980, pp. 239–40.
18 See Clapp and Lehni, 1992, pp. 246–7, no. 18. Small bronze versions sold in recent times have been two casts in the Tannenbaum sale Sotheby's, New York, May 26, 1994, nos 52 and 53; the same or others at Christie's, New York, October 25, 1996, no. 118; Sotheby's London Sept 24, 1997, no. 261; and Sotheby's, London, Nov. 20, 1997, no. 48. For another example of the bronze in an American collection, see Jacques de Caso, "A Little-Known Sculpture by Gustave Doré: The Madonna," *Bulletin of the University of New Mexico University Art Museum*, no. 7, 1973, pp. 5–7; see also Eudel, 1886, p. 326.
19 See Strasbourg, 1983, no. 189.
20 See the exhibition *Quand Paris dansait avec Marianne, 1879–89*, Musée du Petit Palais, Paris, 1989, p. 91, fig. 70.
21 Offered at Sotheby's, New York, May 26, 1994, no. 36, but bought in; sold Sotheby's, New York, March 8, 2000, no. 61. See Butler in Los Angeles, 1980, pp. 331–2; Clapp and Lehni, 1992, p. 243, no. 16.
22 See Strasbourg, 1983, no. 166.
23 Delorme, 1879, pp. 89–90.
24 The reviewer, Lucien Pate, was equally negative about Doré's painting submission, *The Death of Orpheus*, noting that the artist had "two great enemies, first painting and second sculpture." See "Salon de 1879," *L'Illustration*, May 17, 1879, p. 315 and June 7, 1979, p. 367.
25 See Strasbourg, 1983, no. 167 and Clapp and Lehni, 1992, p. 245–6, no. 17. One was in the Tanenbaum collection and is now in Hamilton, and one was formerly on anonymous loan to the Smart Museum in Chicago; see Los Angeles, 1980, p. 238, no. 113. Another was in the collection of Fred Jouaust, Paris; see Rheims, 1977, no. 17. Yet another owned by M. Schweitzer of New York City was shown at Shepherd Gallery, *Western European Bronzes of the Nineteenth Century, A Survey*, New York, 1973, no. 67; the same or orhers were sold at Christie's, New York, May 19, 1987, no. 219, and again on February 15, 1995, no. 167, and at Sotheby's, New York, October 24, 1996, no. 280.
26 Fusco in Los Angeles, 1980, pp. 238–9.
27 See Mario Proth, *Voyage au Pays des Peintres, Salon Universale de 1878*, Paris, 1879, pp. 160–1.
28 Jerrold, 1891, p. 81. In one of his prints, Doré shows a snake attacking a bird's nest, and threatening snakes also appear in an American setring in the illustrations to *Le Capitaine Mayne-Reid* of 1856. See Forberg, 1975, II, 1299 and p. 193. Likewise in Doré's Thomas Hood, London, 1870, the poem "The Death of Eugene Aram" is illustrated by a scene with snakes.
29 See Eudel, 1886, p. 323; Rheims, 1977, p. 392, no. 15; Los Angeles, 1980, p. 241; Renonciat, 1983, p. 277; Strasbourg, 1983, p. 161, under no. 157; and Clapp and Lehni, 1992, p. 248, no. 21.
30 For Bertos see W. Hildburgh, "Some Bronze Groups by Francesco Bertos," *Apollo*, XXVII, 1938, pp. 81–5.
31 The Nadar appeared in *La Revue Comique*, February 1849, p. 227. See Clapp and Lehni, 1992, p. 231.
32 See Christie's sale catalogue *The 19th-Century Interior*, London, October 29, 1998, under no. 200.
33 The Ringling's cast has unfortunately suffered some damages, most notably the head of the bearded strongman on the bottom was lost.
34 See Clapp and Lehni, 1992, p. 248, no. 20. Another cast was in the collection of Fred Jouaust, Paris; see Rheims, 1977, p. 391, no. 4, and possibly the same one is illustrated in Renounciat, 1983, p. 277.
35 Clapp and Lehni, 1992, p. 230, fig. 20.
36 See Strasbourg, 1983, under nos 155 and 204.
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"A Strange Genius:" Appreciating Gustave Doré in America

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Sartain.

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12 "Gustave Doré's Illustrations to the Bible," *New York times*, December 25, 1865, p. 4.

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17 Justin McCarthy, "Gustave Doré," *The Galaxy*, vol. XVII, no. 3, March 1874, pp. 344–53.

18 See Frank T. Robinson, *Living New England Artists: Biographical Sketches*, Boston, 1888, p. 48.

19 F.O.C. Darley, *Sketches Abroad with Pen and Pencil*, New York, 1868, pp. 97–8.

20 Edward Strahan, *The Chefs-d'oeuvre d'art of the International Exhibition*, Philadelphia, 1878, pp. 67–8.

21 Lucy Hooper, "Among the Studios of Paris," *The Art Journal*, 1875, vol. I, no. 3, pp. 89–90.

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28 Roosevelt, 1885, pp. 341–8. See for example "Doré's Religious Pictures," *The New York Times*, July 8, 1879, p. 2.

29 *Mark Twain's Letters*, vol. IV, Berkeley, 1995, pp. 1–2 and 19.

30 *Ibid.*, vol. V, Berkeley, 1997, pp. 614–17.

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37 "Paul Gustave Doré," *Harper's Weekly*, February 3, 1883, p. 68.

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42 E. Vedder, *The Digressions of V.*, Boston and New York, 1910, p. 195.

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44 See Roosevelt, 1885. Blanche Roosevelt Tucker (1858–98) grew up in Sudosky, Ohio and then went to Europe to study voice in Paris and Milan. As Mlle. Rosavella she debuted at Covent Garden in 1876 and in 1879 she debuted both at the Opéra Comique and in the D'Oyly Carte production of *H.M.S. Pinafore*, taking the latter work to New York where she also performed Mabel in *The Pirates of Penzance*. After unsuccessfully forming her own opera company, she retired from the stage at the behest of her Italian husband, Signor Macchetta, who inherited the title Marquis d'Alligri. She devoted herself then to journalism and literature. For her biography of Doré, she was honored by the Academie française. The Marchessa d'Alligri suffered serious injuries in a carriage accident at Monte Carlo in 1897; she returned to her home in London and died the following year. Her impressive grave can be found in Brompton Cemetery.

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50 See Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, in the 1996 Oxford University reprint of the original 1876 edition, ch. 4, p. 46.

51 *The Doré Bible Gallery, Containing One Hundred Superb Illustrations*, Chicago and New York, 1886.

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55 "Biblical Scenorama," *New York Times*, June 4, 1888, p. 8.

56 "The Doré Gallery from London," *New York Times*, October 3, 1892, p. 4.

57 Stranahan, 1888, p. 421. Queen Victoria purchased *The Psalterion*, "a young man playing on a lute," which was at

Windsor Castle and is still in the royal collection.

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91 Louisa Wood Ruby, "S. P. Avery as a Collector of Drawings," *Biblion: The Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. IX, no. 1/2, Fall 2000/Spring 2001, pp. 107–8; Avery, 1979, pp. 101, 210, 288, 339–40, 463, 513, and 594.

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101 See the sale catalogues for Christie's, New York, October 27, 1982 no. 59 and Sotheby's, London, November 22, 1983, no. 45.

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104 Utica Art Association, Association Hall, 1871, no. 80.

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108 According to the Knoedler & Goupil Stock Book, I, 1873, eighty-three sets of prints were sold. For the painting the Knoedler & Co. Stock Book, 1875–83, records the sale of November 3, 1881, no. 2839. This is undoubtedly the painting sold in the Senff estate sale, The Anderson Galleries, New York, April 11–12, 1928, no. 4. It had come to Knoedler's from Goupil in Paris in 1880 according to the Goupil Stock Book, X, p. 127 in the Getty Library Special Collections. The same source (vol. XI, p. 57) records that in 1882 a "Loch Corcow" was sold to a Philadelphia collector.

109 American Society of Painters in Water Colors, New York, February 1876, nos 367 and 368.

110 For the *Transfiguration* see Dézé, 1930, p. 162. It may be the same work that was in the collection of S. A. Coale of St. Louis, see Edward Strahan, *The Art Treasures of America*, Philadelphia, 1879–82, vol. III, pp. 54 and 60; Private Gallery of M. A. Snider-Pellegrini, New York, ca. 1876, no. 73.

111 *The National Academy of Design Exhibition Records, 1861–1900*, New York, 1973, vol. I, p. 245.

112 *Catalogue: Loan Exhibition*, St. Louis Museum of Fine Art, May 11–June 1, 1881, no. 27.

113 Sale of the collections of Beriah Wall and John A. Brown of Providence at the American Art Galleries, New York, April 2, 1886, no. 204.

114 *Ibid.*, no. 18; Strahan, 1879–82, vol. III, p. 94.

115 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 62.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 134. See Charles Sterling and Margaretta M. Salinger, *French Painting II, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1966, pp. 185–6; the drawing is acquisition no. 87.15.12.

117 Strahan, 1879–82, vol. II, p. 28; vol. III, p. 35.

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124 *The Salon: A Collection of the Choicest Paintings Recently Executed by Distinguished European Artists*, ed. Prof. Charles Carroll, New York, 1881, p. 269.

125 "Springtime Sundries," *The Collector*, April 1, 1894, p. 167.

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127 See Arthur Chandler, *The Doré Vase*, San Francisco, 1983, p. 3.

128 Edward Strahan, *The Chefs-d'oeuvre d'Art of the International Exhibition*, Philadelphia, 1878, p. 64.

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130 William Walton, *World's Columbian Exposition, Art and Architecture, The Art*, Philadelphia, 1893, text for the etching by Champollion after Doré, np.

131 *The M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, Golden Gate Park*, San Francisco, nd., p. 75; See also *Triptych*, Art Museums of San Francisco, March 1994, pp. 12–17; and Chandler, 1983, pp. 8–10.

132 City Art Museum, *Catalogue of Paintings*, St. Louis, 1924, p. 29.

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137 M. Merling, *Ringling, The Art Museum*, Sarasota, 2002, p. 166.

138 The accession numbers of these works are: 1922.2188; 1922.243; 1927.2751; and 1938.1959.

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140 Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *The Terrible Gustave Doré*, New York, 1943.

141 See *The New York Times*, September 7, 1947; *Time*, September 22, 1947, p. 63; and *Architectural Forum*, December 1947, pp. 124, 126, 128 and 130.

142 Sale The Manhattan Storage & Warehouse Co., 52nd St. and Seventh Avenue, New York, September 9, 1947.

143 *New York Herald Tribune*, September 10, 1947.

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145 *Ibid.*, September 12, 1947.

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147 *Important Painting Collection*, Stack's Galleries, New York, May 8, 1952, nos 48–55.

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153 See the sale at Sotheby's, New York, May 26, 1994.

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156 Acq. no. 60.11. See *Florida Flambeau*, Tallahassee, August 17, 1987, p. 24.

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159 *French Salon Paintings from Southern Collections*, Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 1982, no.26.

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162 Among the New York dealers of note were Germain Seligman, Mac Schweitzer, Herman Shickman, and most notably Robert Kashey and Martin Lawrence of Shepherd Gallery.

163 Sam Clapp, born in America and now living in London, exhibited a portion of his extensive Doré collection there and then sold many works to the museum of Strasbourg. He is co-author of the catalogue raisonné of Doré sculpture.

Dan Malan lives in St. Louis and has amassed a remarkable collection of Doréana and also privately has published several notable books on the artist, which like him are goldmines of information.

164 Dover Books has now published most of the popular Doré illustrations.

165 See *The Romantics to Rodin, French Nineteenth Century Sculpture from North American Collections*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980, pp. 238–41.

166 The bronze *A Sauté-Mouton* was acquired in 1992 and the plaster *La Mort d'Orphée* in 1994.

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170 See Hollis Clayson, *Paris in Despair*, Chicago, 2002, pp. 66–9; and John Milner, *Art War & Revolution in France 1870–1*, New Haven, 2000, pp. 31, 76, 78–9.

171 Christie's, New York, May 22, 1966, nos 82 and 83.

172 See Lisa Small, *Telling Tales, II, Religious Images in 19th Century Academic Art*, New York: The Dahesh Museum of Art, 2001, pp. 24 and 28, figs 15 and 20.

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Il parle beaucoup d'*ordre*, de *modération*, d'*abnégation*, il *pose* pour la croix.

En voici un qui *pose* en homme dégoûté, blasé, revenu de tout...

Ce monsieur tourne le feuillet et *pose* comme musicien.

Une ganache qui *pose* comme ennemi de la presse.

Un autre qui *pose* en homme modeste et sérieux... C'est qu'il ne sait pas danser.

Un monsieur qui *pose* comme connaisseur en peinture.

Celui-ci *pose* comme homme distrait

Ces demoiselles *posent* avec raison comme des personnes d'une grande simplicité.

Ce

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