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THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN EUGÈNE DELACROIX'S RELIGIOUS PAINTINGS: INTENTION AND DISTORTION

by

JOYCE C. POLISTENA

Volume I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1997

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19 September 1997
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Patricia Mainardi
Chair of Examining Committee

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. . . si nous avons tant aimé Delacroix, ce n'est pas seulement à cause de son génie; c'est parce qu'il parlait au nom de nos espérances, parce qu'il était l'expression même de nos lyrismes avoués ou latents, parce que nous reconnaisssions en lui le charmeur qui instruit et qui console.

...Paul Mantz, 1885[1]

---

[1] Paul Mantz, École nationale et spéciale des beaux-arts. Exposition Eugène Delacroix au profit de la souscription destinée à élever à Paris un monument à sa mémoire (Paris: Pillet et Doumoulin, 1885).

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Montauban, Cathedral of Notre-Dame

107. G. Assereto
Saint Sebastian Tended To By Saint Irene and Her Maid
Before 1649
New York, Priv. Coll.

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INTRODUCTION

A. Modernism and Delacroix.
1. Transvaluation of nineteenth-century religious painting has relegated faith to the realm of individual psychology, or has named power as the defining characteristic of religious painting.
2. The present interpretation of Delacroix's religious paintings revises the canonical characterization of him as a political radical and a hero of modern painting, an unbeliever who in the tradition of the Enlightenment finds religion irrational.

B. The masterpiece of Delacroix's religious oeuvre: The mural program in the Chapel of the Holy Angels, Saint-Sulpice, Paris. The current state of the scholarship.

C. The Modernists' near denial of a role for religion in cultural history: intentional falsehoods or distortions. Rahner's pluralistic theology defines transcendence without religion. A broadened definition of spirituality affirms Delacroix's contemplative nature beyond his traditionally cited melancholia.

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The divine...lends to the imagination its highest effectiveness. So art always represents the divine, and the relationship of men toward art is religion: What we obtain from art comes from God, is divine inspiration.

--L. van Beethoven[1]

This dissertation analyzes the role of religion in the religious paintings of Eugène Delacroix from 1827 through to his death in 1863.[2] This significant part of his oeuvre includes major works numbering eight paintings from the 1830s, eighteen from the 1840s, and thirty-two from the 1850s; including works in pastel or pen and ink, they total about 120 pictures with something over 220 drawings.

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[1] Beethoven's remarks were recorded by Bettina Brentano (1785-1859) in a letter to the writer Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832) shortly before June 6, 1810. The date of Brentano's letter is unspecified but Goethe replied on June 6, 1810. Ludwig van Beethoven, Beethoven: Letters, Journals and Conversations, trans. and ed. Michael Hamburger (London: Thames and Hudson, 1951), 86-90.

[2] I have omitted two earlier paintings (1819 and 1822), which are markedly immature works. In 1819 Delacroix painted Virgin of the Harvest for the Church of Orcement, clearly imitating Raphael's Belle Jardinière. In 1822 he executed a religious painting that had been commissioned from Géricault. The painting, originally titled "Virgin of the Sacred Heart," is in the Cathedral of Ajaccio, Corsica. Lee Johnson correctly identified the subject, an allegorical figure of Religion, and retitled the work The Triumph of Religion. Lee Johnson, catalogue entry in Eugène Delacroix: Paintings, Drawings, and Prints from North American Collections (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991): 84-85. Iconographic elements, such as the heart topped with a flame and held in Mary's right hand, closely follow a type of sixteenth-century Counter-Reformation style venerated in Spain and known as "The Virgin of the Light." See Michael S. Durham, Miracles of Mary: Apparitions, Legends, and Miraculous Works of the Blessed Virgin Mary (San Francisco: Harper-Collins, n.d.).

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Like most nineteenth-century religious paintings, these works by Delacroix have been discussed by scholars primarily as vehicles for literary and political themes and explored for significance beyond the domain of religion. At times, art historians have labeled religious paintings traditional representations or described them as "an ostensible religious class of images"[3](Ribner 1986) without reference to any vitality of their theological basis or themes.[4]

Paintings with Old Testament subjects often were interpreted as political expression: for example, scenes depicting Moses or exilic themes were read as motifs about post-revolutionary French emigrés.[5] Religious imagery was studied in terms of partisan power struggles (Driskel 1992).[6] Trapp (1971) described Delacroix's religious

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[3] Jonathan Ribner, "Le Peuple de Dieu: Old Testament Motifs of Legislation, Prophecy, and Exile in French Art between the Empires" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1986), 5-6, 55.

[4] Ibid.

[5] "The elite French aristocratic exiles saw themselves aligned with 'the chosen people' of God--the ancient Hebrews." Ibid., 10. "The Babylonian Captivity images indicate that their significance lay outside the domain of religion.... In the face of political unrest and political uncertainty accompanying the fall of the July Monarchy in 1848, these [classical and religious] subjects represent political upheavals...." Ibid., 137-138. See chap. 5 "Exile of the Chosen," 110-142. Ribner says the biblical theme of flight and exile paralleled the French post-revolutionary period between 1789 and 1850s. Ibid.

[6] Driskel mistakes Jansenist theology as derivative of ultramontane authoritarianism. Actually, Jansenist theology formed the root of the Gallican Church, based on unusual and severe interpretation of original sin. Michael Driskel,

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subjects as "those which most fitted his image of the struggle of heroic genius against a hostile and unenlightened society."[7] From the nineteenth-century onward, it became increasingly popular to view great artists as men of heroic genius. An artist's scientific orientation was considered superior to biblical revelation, and it allowed him to disavow religion. Delacroix's painting Jacob Wrestling with the Angel has been interpreted by Maurice Barrès as an evocation of the artist/genius who wrests the "secret" of inspiration from the angel. In this struggle the artist-hero challenged the "Philistines," a group which represented the critics, the bourgeois audience and the Academie.[8] The artist/hero is pitted against the prevailing powers, and he represents the "seekers of Truth," an

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Representing Belief: Religion, Art and Society in Nineteenth Century France (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 93.

[7] Frank Trapp, The Attainment of Delacroix (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), 233.

[8] Writing relatively soon after WWI, Barrès uncovered an "Aryan" theme in the O.T. story, which he presented as its pre-Christian meaning. Maurice Barrès, "Le Testament d'Eugène Delacroix," Revue hebdomadaire 6 (June 1921): 254. Lucien Rudrauf disagreed with l'explication barrésienne which he thought was something remote from Delacroix's thinking. Rudrauf perceived that Barrès's interpretation of the combat between Jacob and the angel belied Barrès's politicized view. "...le combat est défensif dans l'espirit de l'artiste, offensif dans celui de l'écrivain." Lucien Rudrauf, Delacroix et le problèm du romantisme artistique (Paris: Henry Laurens, 1942),179. In 1963 René Huyghe disagreed with Barrès's "too narrow interpretation." René Huyghe, Delacroix, trans. J. Griffin (New York: Abrams, 1963).

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enlightened elite.[9] Barrès set aside, however, a pivotal moment in Israel's Biblical history, which symbolizes continuation of the Covenant between God and his chosen people.

Strauber (1983)[10] framed her interpretation of Delacroix's religious easel paintings in a formal analysis that also included the history of Delacroix's collectors. Sérullaz (1986)[11] discussed the religious paintings, but did not look at the wider implications of the commissions, such as a revived interest in religion among the cultural elite.

Foucart's comprehensive effort (1987)[12] to interpret the revival of religious painting in the nineteenth century only touched upon the way in which religion affected iconography; he did not offer any explanation for an obvious and abrupt change of iconography and style after 1860.[13]

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[9] Ibid. Barrès's discussion rapidly turns from the mural program at Saint-Sulpice to a discussion of Jacob Wrestling with the Angel. Trapp includes Barrès's thesis in his discussion, 233.

[10] Susan Strauber, "The Religious Paintings of Eugène Delacroix" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1983).

[11] Maurice Sérullez in Delacroix: peintures et dessins d'inspiration religieuse, exh. cat., Musée national message biblique Marc Chagall, Nice (Paris: Éditions de la réunion des musées nationaux, 1986).

[12] Bruno Foucart, Le Renouveau de la peinture religieuse en France (1800-1860) (Paris: Arthena, 1987).

[13] Among the 14 chapters and 340 pages of text, Foucart devoted 7 pages to the general discussion of iconography. Foucart asserted that nineteenth-century religious iconography remained

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My objective is to bring Delacroix's religious paintings to the forefront in order to consider meaning that until now has remained vague and distorted. My thesis had to take into account both the Christian believer's conviction that pictorial representation conveys some aspect of revealed truth, and a radical unbeliever's reaction that this meaning deadens the image. My study follows established methodology that examines religious painting in terms of the theology of these subjects. Up to the modern period this approach was a standard art-historical method, and its absence highlights certain distortions in analyses of nineteenth-century religious painting.

The study is formulated by two basic considerations. First, the definition of religious painting is broadened using concepts developed by theologian Karl Rahner (d.1984).

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similar to art dating from the Council of Trent (sixteenth century); a statement that seems to contradict his thesis about the extraordinary variety of religious painting in the first half of the nineteenth century. Thomas Buser criticized the praiseworthy text for its arbitrary ending in 1860, a date that Foucart admitted demonstrated an obvious break in style (Foucart, 327). Buser writes: "Foucart never really makes clear why he ends his book with the year 1860. The reader tends to assume something happened around 1860 to justify terminating the discussion... Pictures no longer express ideas, morals, social problems." Thomas Buser, a review of "Le Renouveau de la peinture religieuse en France (1800-1860)" by Bruno Foucart, Art Journal (Winter 1988): 381-384.

In pointing out the absence of a contextual approach to iconographic analysis, I acknowledge the enormous contribution of Foucart's study of French nineteenth-century religious painting. My dissertation is partly an expansion of what was initiated by Foucart's work.

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Second, an effort is made to evaluate the influence of theologians and philosophers like Lamennais and Schelling, critics among the Church hierarchy such as the conservative Frayssinous, and the anti-Catholic philosopher Renan. The thesis integrates comparative critical reviews, literature on the "theology of the body," and Delacroix's thoughts on the transcendental creative spirit, viewed through the prism of Rahner's system of theology. Rahner's philosophy of transcendence--mystogogy--best articulates the religious zeitgeist (spirit) that emerged in the first-half of the nineteenth century.[14] Mystogogy is a system explaining the "experience through grace of the 'absent God.'"[15] Because elements of Rahner's system relate directly to nineteenth-century theologies formulated by Möller, Dollinger, and Blondel, I shall argue not only that Delacroix's religious paintings are expressions of his personal religious consciousness, but also that they suggest he shared in the cultural spirit of the times.

Delacroix's grasp of the cosmic and tragic possibilities anticipated "rahneresque" theology known as transcendental anthropology, a theology that defined an

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[14] Karl Rahner, A Rahner Reader, ed. Gerald McCool (New York: Crossroads, 1981), 196.

[15] Ibid.

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experience of "God present and known in a non-thematic way as man's consciousness of himself."[16] Rahner's theological method clearly broadens the definition of religious consciousness in a fundamental way that allows Delacroix's particular form of spirituality to be included boldly and congenially, bringing into sharper focus the religious nature of Delacroix's religious paintings. By revealing the religious content, this study challenges the canonical view of Delacroix as a radical and skeptic whose religious paintings could be dismissed as mere commissions.[17]

Delacroix admired classical values and Christian morality, characteristics that are clearly excised from a modernist ideology. Twentieth-century historians have shaped a model of him as the artist/hero armed with eighteenth-century Voltairean ideals (supra-rationalism) coupled with radical politics of an anti-establishment genius, an attitude that locked traditional images of Delacroix into an elitist pseudo-skepticism and virulent anticlericalism. This characterization of Delacroix now seems hardly credible, for as a mature artist, he could be sharply

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[16] Ibid.

[17] For example, Linda Nochlin's analysis of nineteenth-century religious paintings demonstrates this attitude toward Delacroix. She concluded that among artists, critics and supporters of Realism, "the question of successful religious painting is dismissed as irrelevant." Linda Nochlin, Realism (New York: Penguin Books, 1971), especially pages 81-84, 88-92.

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critical of the eighteenth-century thinker:[18]

> I have even dared to admit to myself that Voltaire seems to have his unpleasant side, very discouraging for one who loves his admirable wit--I mean the abuse that he makes of it. For indeed, this arbiter of taste, this exquisite critic sometimes descends to making petty effects; he has elegance, but all too often he is merely witty, and this epithet is a devastating criticism. [19]

Voltaire vehemently opposed the Roman Catholic Church and its hierarchical structure. Voltaire scholars agree that he repudiated dogma, creed and miracles and that he challenged the concept of the divinity of the Christian religion. But, according to Wade, "he did not conclude that God was a myth. Voltaire's belief in God was genuine, sincere, passionately naive . . . he never abandoned his belief . . . he regarded the existence of God as the one absolutely necessary thing in the universe."[20] Modernism, however, has transformed the whole notion of Voltairean scorn into a radical atheism. Although the philosopher/critic never made clear his beliefs concerning the

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[18] Journal, February 24, 1850, 111. Eugène Delacroix, Journal of Eugène Delacroix, ed. H. Wellington, trans. L. Norton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951). Hereafter cited as Journal. See also Le Journal de Eugène Delacroix, eds. Paul Flat and René Piot, 3 vols (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1893), and Journal de Eugène Delacroix, ed. André Joubin, 3 vols. (Paris: Plon, 1932).

[19] Journal, February 24, 1850, 111.

[20] Ira O. Wade, The Intellectual Development of Voltaire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), particularly 782-83.

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immortality of the soul, "he accepted the essential of all morality as 'love of God and love of one's fellowman.'"[21] Voltaire was educated by Jesuits at École Louis-le-Grand, Paris, where a century later Delacroix would be schooled by secularists. The artist's Journal and Correspondence clearly indicate that his lifelong admiration for Voltaire's wit presented no obstacle to a deep interest in Catholicism.

Much more recently, scholar René Huyghe, in trying to balance modernist bias, has described Delacroix as "a Voltairean with the soul of Pascal."[22] Huyghe overstated the matter somewhat, since Pascal, the most prominent spokesman for the Jansenists, had expressed a starkly Calvinistic form of Catholicism--certainly less appealing to Delacroix.[23] Voltaire reviled the Jansenists for their extreme doctrines about sin and sinfulness. Curiously, a

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[21] Ibid., 783.

[22] Huyghe agrees with nineteenth-century critics like Gautier, who discerned in France a heightened religious expression and compassion from about 1850; indeed, Delacroix seems to have grown increasingly introspective and spiritual with the passing decades as he worked on religious themes among others. René Huyghe, Delacroix ou le combat solitaire (Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1990), 476.

[23] Some scholars believe that if Pascal had not become a Jansenist, "the small band of ascetics...might have quietly perished." M. Waterman, Voltaire, Pascal and Human Destiny (New York: Kings Crown Press, 1942), 10. Voltaire's elder brother, Armand, was prominent in Jansenist circles and this fact added to their active dislike for one another. See O. Gazier, "Le Frère de Voltaire," Revue de deux mondes, n.s., 32 (April 1906): 615-645.

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nineteenth-century progressive like Sainte-Beuve found ideological partisans in the Jansenists, praising their oppositional tactics and disregard for authority (against king and Church), despite their notoriously austere approach to human love.[24]

Delacroix held strong convictions about the existence of true beauty and of perfection, and he held to standards that he believed were at times subject to severe criticism--even by the admirably witty and brilliant Voltaire. In maturity, Delacroix exhibited a vivid religious consciousness, not unlike that of many of his contemporaries.[25] D. G. Charlton has argued that all Romantics were keenly aware of the conflicts between Christian orthodoxy and unbelief, "and all of them experienced the torments of 'honest doubt.'" "But," he writes, "it was not a calm, optimistic or aggressive scepticism [sic]; they valued religion for both personal and

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[24] In addition to Saint-Beuve, Victor Cousin and Ernest Renan also were advocates for Jansenist ideas. William H. Williams, review article "Jansenism Revisited," Catholic Historical Review 63, no.4 (October 1977): 573-582. And, Albert N. Hamscher, "The Parlement of Paris and the Social Interpretation of Early French Jansenism," Catholic Historical Review 63, no. 3 (July 1977): 392-410.

[25] This group included the first generation after the Revolution, such as Madame de Staël, Ballanche, Chateaubriand, and the next generation of poets and writers such as Alfred de Musset, Alphonse de Lamartine, George Sand, and Alfred de Vigny.

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social reasons and their uncertainties became a mainspring of inner crisis."[26] Like his close friend, George Sand, the novelist and playwright, Delacroix reflected the contradictions of his era. Frank P. Bowman described Sand's ability to reconcile doubt and belief. "[Sand] believed that man was able, by his will, to make contact with the divine, but this contact remained an experience that could not be expressed in words and must have recourse to 'divine perfected language, music.'"[27] As Sand explained, the crisis was not without assurance of its ultimate value as one progressed toward faith. In the preface to the revised edition of her 1839 novel Lelia, she wrote:

> Mais, mon Dieu! Le doute et la désespoir sont de grandes maladies que la race humaine doit subir pour accomplir son progrès religieux . . . ce désespoir est une grande chose! Il est le plus ardent appel de l'âme vers vous, il est le plus irrécusable témoignage de votre existence en nous . . . ."[28]

Delacroix's ideas about Christianity had much in common with even those of Jules Simon, a student of Victor Cousin and a

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[26] D. G. Charlton, "Religious and Political Thought," in The French Romantics, ed. D. G. Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 1: 36.

[27] Frank P. Bowman, Le Christ des Barricades: 1789-1848 (Paris: Cerf, 1987), 266-267.

[28] George Sand, Lelia, (Paris: Garnier, 1960), 353. Cited also in Charlton, 1: 50.

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republican with a strong religious consciousness.[29] It could be said that Delacroix shared values consistent with his contemporaries among the bourgeoisie. Delacroix claimed:

> Christianity was a relatively advanced effort to explain the physical and moral worlds and had endowed humanity with the best of all moral codes . . . . Submission to the laws of nature . . . to the written law, whether divine or human is the very essence of reason.[30]

By mid-century there developed shades of Voltaireanism showing degrees of anticlericalism, not all of them opposed to Christianity. In the atmosphere of religious revival that began after 1801, the philosopher and universitaire Victor Cousin formulated the basis of an academic defense of secular reason vis-à-vis Catholicism.[31] Cousin, considered a

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[29] Delacroix and Simon shared ethical and moral positions that favored principles of Catholicism. Anticlerical Voltaireanism in republican circles ranged from aggressive anti-Catholic positions to more centrist views. Delacroix, through his writings, positioned himself on the side of philosophers like Victor Cousin and Jules Simon as against the antispiritualist, materialist positivism of Auguste Comte and Hippolyte Taine. Taine, a pupil of Simon, represented the next generation, which saw philosophical spiritualism as dated and too compromising with Christianity. See Philip Bertocci, Jules Simon: Republican Anticlericalism and Cultural Politics in France, 1848-1886 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1978).

[30] Journal, September 5, 1847, 81.

[31] "I have already made a profession of my faith, and I repeat it willingly. I believe that in Christianity all truths are contained; but these eternal truths may and ought to be approached, disengaged, and illustrated by philosophy. Truth has but one foundation; but truth assumes two forms, namely, mystery and scientific exposition; I revere the one, I am the organ and the interpreter of the other." Victor Cousin, The History of Philosophy trans. H.G. Linberg, (Boston: Hillard, Gray, Little

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heretic among conservative Christians, was a longtime friend of Delacroix.[32] Cousin's position was that "Teaching philosophy is neither anti-religious nor anti-Catholic . . . Philosophy shows respect for all religious faiths, and especially for Catholicism, the religion of the majority of Frenchmen."[33] Cousin taught that relations between Church and State should be mild cooperation and not confrontation, and argued that philosophy and religion were natural allies;[34] he preferred to balance interpretive histories between biblical sources and pagan mythologies. Cousin attempted to ameliorate the underlying conflict between religious and secular concepts of the world: "Religion also forms, according to Vico, a part of the State and of

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and Wilkins, 1832), 442. Bertocci argues that Cousin shrewdly assessed cultural forces and understood that intellectual autonomy was better served by avoiding an aggressive attack upon the Church. Bertocci, 27.

[32] Journal May [n.d.] 1823, 14; February 7, 1852, 148; October 4, 1855, 302.

[33] Cousin, Défense de l'université et de la philosophie (Paris, 1844), 61. In a journal article, Cousin insisted that Voltaire was not a philosopher at all but a "rebellious bel esprit" who, despite his immense contribution to Enlightenment thought, must be excluded from the philosophy of the nineteenth century." Victor Cousin, "Voltaire philosophe," Le Constitutionnel (16 February 1846). The article was based on lectures given in 1819 and published in his Cours de l'histoire de la philosophie moderne (Paris: Pichon & Didier, 1846), vol. 3.

[34] George Boas, French Philosophies of the Romantic Period (1925; reprint ed., New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), 217 (page citation is to the reprint edition).

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society; according to Bossuet, the State forms a part of religion."[35] In a series of speeches before the Chambre des Pairs (1844), Cousin lectured that "Philosophy teaches . . . the spirituality of the soul, the freedom of man, the law of duty, the distinction of virtue and vice, of merit and demerit, divine providence, and its immortal promises inscribed in our most intimate needs, in its justice and its goodness."[36]

Delacroix's vision of the majestic yet fearsome character of life reflected both contemporary spiritualism and tenets of Christianity. The controversy between religious and secular hierarchies, between the Church's understanding of the philosophy of Giambattista Vico (1668-1744), and the secular version of Vico's history would have direct bearing on Delacroix's conception for his religious

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[35] For Cousin's view on the relationship between philosophy and religion see Victor Cousin, Course of the History of Modern Philosophy, trans. O.W. Wight (New York, 1852), 1: 21-28. Cousin lectured on the Philosophy of History at the Sorbonne in 1828. Delacroix's admiration for Cousin's work remained intact over thirty-odd years. In his Journal Delacroix reminisced that as a youth he thought of "becoming a philosopher like Cousin." But, he tells us, he realized the inherent vanity in learning useless things of many would-be scholars. Writing at age 57, he says his love of learning is confined to his "own sphere" as a painter. Journal, October 4, 1855, 302.

[36] Cousin, Défense de l'université, 67. Cited also in Boas, 216.

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program at Saint-Sulpice.[37]

Modernists' theoretical claims upon Delacroix are based in part on the esteem they accorded to his sketches--a sign to them of the fragmentary and disjunctive and, ultimately, of the randomness of existence. On the other hand, some scholars have cautioned that the modernist label is too easily applied to Delacroix, relying as it does upon over-determined analyses of the relationship between his sketches and completed works. Formalism aimed to make the sketches representative of the "spontaneity of the Romantic style" with its formal values supposedly independent of cultural experience. This distorts the artist's methods and his goal. Delacroix relied on the sketch to work out color and compositional relationships, not to give emotional intensity the finished painting.[38]

I identify modernism with formalist aesthetic theory, a reductive method that determined that the work of art was devoid of any meaningful content outside its formal elements per se; the perception of the work is thus reduced to a purely optical experience, and emotion is considered

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[37] See my chap. IV.

[38] Stephanie Carroll, "Museum News: Delacroix," The Art Journal 46, no.4 (winter, 1987): 313-316.

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aesthetically irrelevant.[39] As a theoretical model, modernism's method is devoid of absolute values and ahistorical.

I will also consider modernist aesthetic theory in conjunction with Marxism. For my purposes, formalist and Marxist theories are dual aspects of a modernist approach to nineteenth-century religious painting; they are coupled only in the sense that each system eradicates religious meaning from consideration. Marxism embraces atheism, and Marxist art theory denies or distorts religious intention.

A second point for consideration in the misrepresentation of Delacroix's religious oeuvre is post-modernist theory. Post-modernism disavows Marxist political theory, opting at times for theoretical eclecticism, but it tries to erase the historical process altogether. These aesthetic attitudes are an outgrowth of a particular concept of human nature, a pessimistic view of life in general which depends on a bias that dismisses religion in relation to art. Delacroix's status in the modernist canon focused on his avant-garde style; nevertheless, he remained unwavering in adherence to narrative history, and he remained somewhat politically conservative.

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[39] "Greenbergian" formalism determined the meaning of art without admitting social history. Clement Greenberg, Art and Culture: critical essays 2n ed. (Boston: Beacon, 1965).

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Delacroix's Journal and his oeuvre reveal a Romantic sensibility and show that nineteenth-century ideals tempered his Voltairean skepticism. Romanticism affected his art in the expression of his subjective, experiential imagination; it encouraged a pictorial style based on literary sources, exoticism, and medieval historiography. Less directly, his religious paintings were influenced by a system of Romantic theology that joined reason and revelation. (The theological debate of the nineteenth century developed as a conflict over whether truth was known solely through reason or could be reasoned through faith). Indeed aesthetic tastes and Romantic theology (combined with an increasing interest in biblical materialism) influenced religious iconography in the first half of the nineteenth century. In addition, there was the developing idea of democratic nationalism among other Romantic forces. All these together saturated French thought, fueled Church debate, influenced the popular press, and affected relations between Church and State. Neither the artist's Journal nor his Correspondence nor the paintings themselves suggest either a condemnation of Christianity or an anticlerical stance.[40] Instead, Delacroix

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[40] Delacroix did not harbor anticlerical feelings, but he was repelled by a type of "clericalism" that emitted self-righteousness and that bordered on being brittle and trite. See his notes in the Journal May 4, 1853, and July 22, 1860. He discriminated between clerics who displayed a genuine joy in their vocation and those who cloaked themselves in pompous

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created dozens of religious paintings that express orthodox Christian belief, sometimes with a sublime sensitivity equal to the most acclaimed examples of Christian art: for examples, Crucifixion 1846 (Baltimore)[figure 49], Pietà circa 1850 (Oslo)[figure 38] and Lamentation 1848(Boston)[figure 37]. In the mural program at Saint-Sulpice, Delacroix gave pictorial form to a dogmatic eschatological message. A post-modern ideology that dismisses religious meaning as "merely poetic concepts and undemonstrable mythology"[41] skews any understanding of Delacroix. Studies from secular and polemical viewpoints assign the works a political significance as their true meaning.[42] Foremost among these assumptions are that a secular vision of history is truth; that religious history is unavailing myth; that absolute truth resides in a value-free and neutral science; that the heroic stature awarded to great men animates the history; that belief in a higher Being constrains one to live a passive, irrational

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severity. With characteristic openness, Delacroix wrote that he found himself during a trip to Flanders "...in the company of three remarkably cheerful priests. They seem quite at home in this country and look happy and self-assured, as we never see men of the cloth look in France." Journal August 8, 1850, 132.

41 Rahner, A Rahner Reader, 69-89.

42 Recent examples include Driskel (1992) and Ribner (1986). See also Jonathan Ribner, Broken Tablets: The Cult of The Law in French Art from David to Delacroix (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

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existence.

By focusing on power and ignoring religion, modernism sought to dismiss Christianity as a phase of world history that another phase could now displace.[43] Critical theory explains away religion as useless myth and as a system to be deconstructed. It dismissed religious painting as a moribund genre, far removed from contemporary meaning.[44] Appleby, Hunt and Jacob (Telling the Truth About History, 1993) have argued against revisionist history and have attempted to refocus the skewed vision. They point out first, that modernist ideology was based on a French model of history in which progressive science was made available to people who were willing to adopt a skeptical stance toward theology and revealed religion. According to Appleby et al., this slanted history introduced an idea of the hero/genius (i.e., the great artist) who must rise above the myth of biblical

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[43] Rahner argues the opposite: "Christianity is not a phase or epoch of a history of world civilizations...[but] a continuous happening of saving history has reached its never to be surpassed climax in Jesus Christ...." Rahner, 98.

[44] I am referring to semiotic and structuralist theories and Marxist art history in their approach to religious painting. See Julia Kristeva's "Motherhood According to Giovanni Bellini," Desire in Language (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 237-270 and, Roland Barthes, "The Struggle with the Angel" Image, Music, Text (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 155-164. Neil McWilliam commented on a modernist bias against religious art in his review of Bruno Foucart's book. McWilliam, review of "Le Rénouveau de la peinture religieuse en France (1800-1860)," by Bruno Foucart, The Burlington Magazine 129 (October 1987): 677.

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revelation by means of scientific and superior rationality.[45] This predetermined history depicted religion as a set of falsehoods created by an authoritarian Church. As the authors describe it, post-modernist ideology interprets Enlightenment history "as if in a cultural war against orthodox Christianity to be fought against the clergy."[46] Theorists who disregard historical fact create intentional falsehood, even suggesting in places that there was no religious revival in nineteenth-century France and no revival of religious art.[47] In contrast, Bruno Foucart has argued that the religious revival opened the way to a greater variety of styles in religious art than ever before, that until about 1860 religious paintings had a major part in teaching theology, in expressing widely held beliefs and religious sentiments, and in telling religious history.[48]

Delacroix admired Catholicism's system of enduring values and he associated Christianity with absolute truth.[49] He believed neither government nor political reformers could

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[45] Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt and Margaret Jacob, Telling the Truth About History (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994), 23.

[46] Ibid., 17.

[47] Ribner (1986) is one example of this point of view.

[48] Foucart, 1-10.

[49] Strauber, 61, 142.

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effect change in the "universal laws of nature." His Journal and Correspondence describe how he was moved by religious music, by sacred rituals, by people's faith in the power of prayer; he even dined occasionally with Archbishop Dupanloup and found him admirable and wise.[50] In 1854, while he was at Augerville with his cousin Berryer, Delacroix joined a confirmation ceremony in an attitude of sincere admiration and respect:

> Near ten o'clock, we find the bishop processing [into the Church]. The ceremony touched me deeply . . . . After the ceremony and the homily by Monsignor, we assisted at the blessing of the graves in the cemetery: it is very beautiful. The bishop, his head bare, dressed in his robes, the cross in one hand, the aspergillum in the other, walks a little and sprinkles holy water on the tombs to the right and the left. In the Church the prelate gave comfort and counsel to those simple people, sunburned by work in the fields and chained by hard necessities . . . he blessed the children presented to him by their mothers. [51]

Inwardly Delacroix seemed awed by the immediate experience of absolute mystery--as illustrated by his Journal entry for November 2, 1854:

> I was much impressed by the Requiem Mass. I thought of all religion has to offer the imagination, and at the same time its appeal to

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[50] Delacroix Journal, May 21, 1854, 230. The artist wrote of his meetings with Mgr. Dupanloup, Archbishop of Orléans. Félix-Antoine-Phillipe Dupanloup was a recently elected member of the Académie Française. Delacroix was favorably impressed, and found Dupanloup distinguished and intelligent: "I like the bishop immensely."

[51] Ibid.

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> man's deepest feelings . . . . "Beati mites, beati pacifici." What other religion has ever made gentleness, resignation and simple goodness the sole aim of man's existence.[52]

It is in the second part of his Journal (1847 to 1863), we learn of many instances where religious services clearly affected Delacroix's interpretation of religious subjects:

> After dinner, I went to Saint-Jacques where they were holding a service. The priest was thoughtfully reciting the Stations of the Cross from the pulpit. He was interrupted at regular intervals by the choir intoning a canticle which was repeated by the entire congregation. The priest, with the cross bearer and choir, then knelt to pray at each Station, and at the end of the service offered the Crucifix or Monstrance to be kissed by the people. There is a good subject for a picture in this final act, seen from behind the altar.[53]

In September of the same year he wrote:

> Happening to see the door open as I passed Saint-Rémy, I went inside and was rewarded by the most imposing sight imaginable--a dark and lofty church lit here and there by half a dozen smoking candles. I challenge the opponents of vagueness to produce an impression comparable to this with their clearly defined lines . . . . I left the church enchanted but much preoccupied by the problem of rendering, not so much the feeling as the complication of lines and perspective, the projection of shadow . . . which made a magnificent picture of what I had just seen.[54]

At times Delacroix criticized religious paintings he saw in churches, and he thought his own talent superior to artists

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52 Journal, November 2, 1854, 265.

53 Ibid. The church is in Dieppe.

54 Journal, September 12, 1854, 254.

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who did them. He knew he was capable of rendering religious themes with passion:

> Walked home, and went into Saint-Roch to hear the midnight mass. I do not know whether it was because of the crowd or the lights or the solemnity of it all, but the pictures seemed to me colder and more insipid than ever. How rare talent is! . . . and yet what finer opportunity could any man have than religious subjects such as these! I only wanted one touch, just one single spark of feeling and deep emotion from all these pictures . . . a touch which I feel I could have given almost unconsciously [emphasis mine]. They seemed worse than usual at that rather solemn moment, but on the other hand how something really fine would have thrilled me! I have had this experience before whenever I have looked at fine painting in a church while religious music was being played.[55]

He often stopped in churches; at times "to have a good long meditation:"[56]

- I went to hear the midnight mass . . . .[57]
- I stopped a long time at Saint-Eustache to hear Vespers . . . .[58]
- I remember my delight when I was painting in Saint-Denis-du-Saint-Sacrement . . . . Sunday was a feast day twice over . . . .[59]
- I remember seeing a copy of Prud'hon's Christ at Saint-Philippe-du-Roule . . . .[60]

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55 Ibid., December 24, 1853, 215-216.

56 Ibid., August 29, 1857, 368.

57 Ibid., December 24, 1853, 215-216.

58 Ibid., June 26, 1853, 192.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.

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- I wear my full dress for the Te Deum services . . . .[61]
- There was a special service at eight o'clock and the music put me into an exalted mood, very favorable for painting.[62]
- In the chapel of the convent I had the heavenly surprise of hearing the chanting of the nuns just as I was leaving; you could not find such a thing in all of France . . . .[63]
- I prefer the smallest village church, as time has made it, to Saint-Ouen, in Rouen, after its restoration.[64]

Delacroix knew the gospels, and how to present their religious meaning. Once he compared an engraving after Raphael with Rubens's painting of the same subject, the Feast in the House of Simon. He criticized a "highly esteemed" engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi, which he felt was "cold," and "possessed none of the unction that such a subject requires!"[65] Delacroix continued:

> Compare this dull rendering of the most moving subject in the gospel, so rich in tender and lofty feelings and picturesque contrasts . . . . Compare this, I say, to what the divine Raphael has done and with what Rubens has made . . . Christ, in the most conspicuous place, is befittingly serene . . . . We accept everything that tradition tells us is

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[61] Delacroix wrote in his Journal that he liked to sit quietly, and alone in churches to have a good long meditation. Ibid., August 29, 1857, 368. The Journal entry for August 15, 1855 describes his habit of dressing for the Te Deum services; the music, a form of doxology, was usually performed only at special liturgical functions, for example, a solemn profession.

[62] Ibid., August 30, 1855, 291.

[63] The chapel was located in the convent at Lichtenthal, outside of Baden, Germany. Ibid., September 28, 1855, 299.

[64] Ibid., August 29, 1857, 368.

[65] Ibid., November 19, 1853, 207-208.

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sacred, we see it through the eyes of others.[66]

Delacroix gave a new image to familiar religious themes. His artistic genius may have served to reignite the theological process--an experience of "revelation"--by bringing the religious meaning to the forefront. It is true that he sought important commissions and that he calculated what would enhance his artistic reputation and his career; it is true that his religious paintings, even the most gifted expressions of Christian images, correspond with the years when religious painting was at its peak in the Salons (1827, 1840, 1859). However, his subjects and his sentiments were not signs of "modern" life, nor were they symbols of heroic iconoclasm. Delacroix painted without irony; he captured an exciting contemporary theology that he interpreted as a form of difference from traditional iconographies; his compositions were classically conceived, Romantic in feeling, and executed with a grasp of the expressive quality of color that was genuinely avant-garde. The paintings emerge in an era of biblical criticism, as well as from a milieu rich in religious thought when religious art had been tied to developing theologies.

In the past, scholars have regarded his contemplative

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[66] Ibid.

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utterances as melancholia and "an identification with Christ's suffering and death as an example of submission and acceptance to fate."[67] More likely Delacroix was responding to a growing demand for religious subjects to express spiritual meaning amid strains of rapid industrialization. Artists understood that religious subjects were capable of relating to the modern age. For example, the nineteenth-century critic Théophile Gautier characterized Chassériau's painting of Christ in the Garden as expressive of "The tears of our times . . . our melancholy . . . the uneasy suffering of our age . . . ."[68]

In this interpretive study, I have included works commissioned by the Préfet de la Seine for the Churches of Paris in order to show the popularity of various religious iconography: e.g., Amaury-Duval's devotional imagery set against Ary Scheffer's Christian socialism, and Delacroix's scriptural narratives rendered in sensuously painted and spiritually impassioned images. Further, I have compared Delacroix's treatment of religious subjects with popular prints of religious themes. The governments of Louis Philippe and Napoleon III abetted the proliferation of

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[67] Strauber, 144-145. See also Walter Friedlander, David to Delacroix (1930; reprint ed., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952).

[68] Théophile Gautier, Critique d'art: Extraits des Salons (1832-1872), ed. Marie-Helene Girard (Paris: Seguier, 1994), 97.

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religious works by granting commissions and choosing artists. They exercised a degree of control over subject matter and set limits on ecclesiastical authority.

The study takes the wider view that includes the role of theology and religion in affecting religious iconography; Chapters I and II explain the history of conflicting ecclesiastical positions and how they influenced painting styles. Chapter II also considers opinions of art critics and the secular audience, and assesses the role of the government in granting religious commissions.

Chapter III presents a religious reading of Delacroix's works, such as the Pietà commissioned for the Church of Saint-Denis-du-Saint-Sacrement, versions of Christ's Agony in the Garden, Christ on the Cross, and his unique interpretation of The Good Samaritan, as well as analyses of the martyr theme in Saint Sebastian and Saint Stephen.

In Chapter IV Delacroix's mural program in the Chapel of Holy Angels at Saint-Sulpice, his most complex and most well-known religious work, is analyzed with a close reading of the religious mural program interpreting biblical, theological, socio-historical, and ecclesiastical motives.

Chapter V summarizes the significant new conclusions concerning Delacroix's status as an artist of religious subjects. The psychology of religion as theme, content,

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audience and technique comes into discussion under the topic of a nineteenth-century religious revival.

Finally, in the murals for the Chapelle des Saints-Anges at Saint-Sulpice, as nowhere else in his religious oeuvre, Delacroix defines the cultural moment in theology, ecclesiastical history, and secular politics. The government commission was undertaken at the time of ascendant neo-Thomist theology, and realized under three successive administrations. The mural program consists of three paintings: Jacob Wrestling with the Angel, Heliodorius Being Driven From the Temple, and Archangel Michael Vanquishing the Demon. Delacroix's insistence on inclusion of the subject of Michael Vanquishing the Demon has not been explained in the scholarship and remained "a mystery" to Robaut (1895), "unresolved" for Spector (1967) and "a useless theme" for Trapp (1969). I will demonstrate that the choice of subjects at Saint-Sulpice was deliberate and determined by the theology of salvation history that gives thematic unity to the program. In religious terms, it is a program of the first rank, categorized as direct theology.[69]

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[69] Theologian Rahner characterized revelation--that is God's word about Himself to humankind--as a word of saving grace. Accordingly, all of scripture essentially speaks this message of salvation. The mural program retells this most important dogma in the strongest terms possible by illustrating the chronological history of divine interaction with humankind leading to the final saving action. "Firstly, revelation is revelation of salvation and therefore theology is essentially salvation theology. What is

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As biblical historiography, the program illustrates the dogma of divine intervention as salvation history. Salvific history is defined as the history of God's dealing with men, not merely a sequence of human events, but a biblical history coextensive with secular history. The program is not an arbitrary selection of action-oriented angel subjects as Trapp has claimed,[70] but a highly developed angelology unified by correlations to the Book of Daniel.

Among literature on the murals at Saint-Sulpice: a major book by Jack Spector (1967) does not analyze the program's theme;[71] Eve Kliman (1981) examines the figural sources for the "Jacob" subject but does not identify the third Raphael source;[72] George Hersey (1963) develops a theory of Vichian interpretation for Delacroix's earlier mural program in the Palais Bourbon;[73] Anita Hopmans (1987)

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revealed and then pondered upon in theology is not an arbitrary matter...this does not entail a rationalistic and unhistorical reduction of man." Rahner, A Rahner Reader, 69.

[70] Trapp, 306-307.

[71] Jack J. Spector, The Murals of Eugène Delacroix at Saint-Sulpice (New York: The College Art Association of America, 1967).

[72] Eve Kliman, "The Figural Sources of Delacroix's Jacob Wrestling with the Angel," RACAR 10, no.2 (1983): 157-162.

[73] George Hersey, "Delacroix's Imagery in the Palais Bourbon Library," Journal of the Warburg and Cortauld Institute, 31 (1968): 383-403.

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challenges Hersey's findings, arguing for a reading of haphazard composition that rejects any programmatic consistency by the artist, and denies any familiarity with Giambattista Vico elsewhere in Delacroix's oeuvre.[74]

My conclusion is that Hersey is correct. Delacroix at Saint-Sulpice used Raphael figural models for all three of the mural subjects--previously two were known--underscoring the artist's emulation of authoritative high Renaissance models. Commissioned to decorate a religious mural program of significant size and importance, Delacroix turned to classical Renaissance conceptions for religious themes.[75] He looked at engravings of Raphael's biblical subjects, and he looked at Raphael's compositions for depicting dogmatic theology. Relying on theorists Rio and Montalembert, Delacroix sought to execute "true Christian painting," which they described as fresco painting by Raphael.[76]

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[74] Anita Hopmans, "Delacroix's Decorations in the Palais Bourbon Library: A Classic Example of an Unacademic Approach," Simiolus 17, no. 4 (1987): 240-269.

[75] In his compositions for religious paintings, Delacroix, turned to established religious art; in some instances he looked to Counter-Reformation iconography, e.g., certain pictorial elements in Saint Sebastian Helped By The Holy Women. In Saint-Sulpice he followed Renaissance models, but in the large number of paintings of N.T. subjects, he created paintings that expressed contemporary Catholic Romantic theologies. See the following chapters II-IV.

[76] In a paper presented on April 13, 1996, at the annual Frick Symposium in the History of Art, I demonstrated that Delacroix relied on Raphael models for all three of the mural subjects. The models revealed that the choice of subjects was deliberate

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It is my contention that the Saint-Sulpice commission reveals how theological systems and ecclesiastical politics interacted with a secular political authority. The theology in the program reflects an intention of the Sulpician hosts to counter secular philosophies that disputed the truth of biblical revelation. Secondarily, the selection of subjects was colored by Gallican interests and their ties to nationalist politics. Saint-Sulpice was the preeminent Gallican Church. Gallican bishops opposed ultramontane French bishops who were loyal to Roman spiritual authority--the term means literally "beyond the mountains," the Alps between France from Italy. The clergy at Saint-Sulpice seminary disputed ideas of prominent liberal Catholic clergymen like Lamennais and Lacordaire--Sulpicians rejected all the democratic movements within the Catholic Church of the 1830s and 1840s. In later decades the factions repositioned themselves which complicates the history of nineteenth-century theological systems and the relationship between Church and State. When the politics of a Gallican or ultramontane bishop shifted, so did the relationship

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and clarified the unity in the program's theme of salvific history. The religious reading of the program indicated how Delacroix pictorialized a complex theological message, one that incorporated ideas of philosopher Giambattista Vico and it also implied the power of the Gallican Church. (See Chapter I.) My analysis of the program's dogmatic theme confirmed Delacroix's use of traditional formulae for religious mural subjects. The murals at Saint-Sulpice are not "true" fresco, see my chapter IV.

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between episcopal and lower clergy. At the time of the commission, in 1848-52 the Gallican clergy at Saint-Sulpice came under pressure from French bishops who favored Vatican authority and were particularly vulnerable to censure for depictions contrary to orthodoxy. A papal encyclical, Inter-multiplices, was issued in March 1853 condemning Sulpicianism and Gallican "excesses."

Historians Gough (1986) and Gibson (1989) have written that this ultramontane/Gallican struggle is not at all well-known, with the exception of recent scholarship by theologians, and the subject needs further analysis of the "gold mine of Gallican . . . material"[77]; it certainly remains unexamined in art historical scholarship. For example, Driskel (1992) assigns a conservative authoritarian position exclusively to the ultramontanes. This ignores reactionary episcopal and liturgical formulas of the Gallicans, while emphasizing the ideology of a politically liberal nationalism.[78] Evidence suggests a variety of important systems of thought (Paul 1969, Fourcher 1955) beyond the simple division between Gallican and ultramontane

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[77] Austin Gough, Paris and Rome: The Gallican Church and the Ultramontane Campaign 1848-1853 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), vii. Ralph Gibson, Christianity and Society in the Modern World: A Social History of French Catholicism 1789-1914 (London: Routledge, 1989).

[78] Driskel, *infra*.

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movements.

Delacroix's religious paintings raise issues revolving around nineteenth-century views on the nature of a "God-ward life" and man's place within the world, a vision of man as an historical spirit, free to act in that history --an idea also voiced in the secular realm by Auguste Comte and by Jules Michelet.

Delacroix's vision of the awe-filled and awful character of the mystery of life[79] contributed a new image to French nineteenth-century religious typology. Delacroix's religious imagery is illuminated by several factors: by nineteenth-century scriptural tradition and its crisis in historical exegesis, by the theology of symbol, and by a theology that Rahner terms the "anonymous Christian."

Rahner's system is termed transcendental anthropology or theological anthropology.[80] Because Delacroix possessed a religious consciousness without adhering to an established religion, Rahnerian theology is particularly useful as a way to explain the religious nature of Delacroix's religious paintings. Rahner explained that "man's questioning of ideas

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[79] I am paraphrasing Rahner's description of modern 20th-century man and the "awful mystery of life."

[80] Karl Rahner, Theological Investigations (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1972), 6: 28-30, 33-42.

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beyond him/herself is the action of a self-communicating God acting freely in history. Man's seeking the Good, whether understood as God or not."[81]

It is a theological method related to fundamental human experience in the knowledge of divine life of grace, and primarily believing that all philosophy is theology.[82] Nineteenth-century French Catholicism--its theologies, its practices and its hierarchical power base--changed in stages; it started with a revived Gallicanism (rooted in Jansenism) and moved toward German Romantic idealism dominated by subjective interiority. Next, it navigated the theological waters; it moved from "Romanticism" to a philosophical theology that called for increased dialectic between the laity and the hierarchy and an openness to modernism. Movements in Germany paved the way for French theologians to take up the challenge of Catholic socialism. By mid-century, however, cultural forces impinged on the spirit of theological openness and the debate gave in to fear; the confidence of empirical science and relativism

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[81] Rahner, A Rahner Reader, 69-89.

[82] Rahner explained the transcendental aspect of the human spirit, as its "inner motive and the precondition of its existence...only by this can something like 'God' be understood at all." The system is not focused on, but not opposed to, theocentric or Christocentric theology, consequently it is more accessible to twentieth-century philosophical inquiry than to traditional scholasticism. Ibid.

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besieged the Church, and the hierarchy adopted a system of neo-Thomism. This defensive maneuver was imposed on the Roman Catholic Church at large.[83] Neo-Thomism is based on the thirteenth-century philosophy of Thomas Aquinas that is refined in the mid-nineteenth century. Thomism as "systematic theology" is a vast, intricately designed system to support logically all teachings of the faith based on reason.

My objective is to show a connection between changing systematic theologies and religious iconography which goes beyond parallelism to a cause-and-effect relationship. Religious paintings by Delacroix, Scheffer, Flandrin represented a synchronized theology and philosophy even as they were influenced by strains of modernism.

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[83] Neo-Thomism is the readoption of a system of theology based on the philosophy of Saint Thomas Aquinas (d.1274). Saint Thomas, professor at the University of Paris, produced a summa of theology in conformity with science and philosophy. From the sixteenth century Thomism had been the official philosophy of the Catholic Church, falling into obscurity until re-affirmed in the nineteenth century. He used Aristotelian logic and stressed the primacy of intellect to know God, professing a Faith by Reason. It is often referred to as classical theology or neo-scholasticism. Although technically neo-Thomism is not identical to neo-scholasticism, the terms are used interchangeably.

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Chapter I

The Culture of Belief in France

A. Restoration.
1. The Catholic Church in France and the religious revival. The influence of Chateaubriand. **2.** Roots of Gallican discord: Jesuit disfavor and subsequent Jansenism which led to Gallicanism.

B. The 1820s and the 1830s
1. Roman Catholicism is a Romantic religion. The impact of systematic theology and German idealism. German idealist philosophy and the shift to subjectivity: Sailer, Hermes, Möhler. **2.** The Gallican Church as the anti-establishment Church. French anticlericalism and the end of the elite clergy.

C. The 1830s and the 1840s
Democratic movements: theologian Félicité Lamennais and German philosophers Schelling and Schleiermacher. Frère Lacordaire. The paintings of Chenavard, Delacroix, Flandrin, and Scheffer as illustrations this modern movement.

D. The Aftermath of Democratic Movements
1. Opponents to liberalism: Gallican and ultramontane. The persistence of Gallican

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resistance; Gallicanism and nationalism. **2.** Reform of the liturgy and the Roman missal. **3.** Revival of neo-Thomism; the decline of German idealism, the Church's retrenchment from dialectic. **4.** Ultramontanes in France, and the influence of L'Univers and Veuillot. The Papacy versus liberalism: Lamennais, Montalembert and Lacordaire. Auguste Comte and "the religion of humanity." Renan and "the religion of science." The role of Archbishop Sibour of Paris, Dupanloup of Orléans. Talleyrand's role vis-à-vis Delacroix. **5.** The Thomist revival and its impact on Church decoration in France.

"Gentlemen, whether you like it or not, the feeling for religion has in the last six years regained a power which no one could have foreseen."

--Member of the Chamber of Deputies, 1837.[1]

The sharp increase in the number and variety of religious paintings in the first half of the nineteenth century reflected a powerful religious revival that encompassed new thinking in the Catholic Church. Brilliantly fresh religious symbols were influenced by three principal interests: newly developed theologies, ecclesiastical partisanship, and popular culture. Religious iconography evolved over the first half of the nineteenth century as Christian theologians in Germany and France pushed the

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[1] Quoted by Thureau-Dangin, L'Église et l'état sous la monarchie de juillet (Paris: E. Plon cie, 1880), 14-15.

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boundaries of traditional Catholic thinking. Between 1820 and 1860, there is ample evidence of wide acceptance for the new iconography, evinced by the large number of diverse religious images exhibited in the Salons, as well as the works created for churches. Contrary to the claim that there was "an erosion of traditional Christian iconography that had nothing to do with a religious revival,"[2] the variety of symbols quite obviously corresponded to the vitality of contemporary religious systems. Spurred by a national spiritual renewal, religious art played a critical role in the public debate.

Among the heralds of change in France at the start of the nineteenth century was François-Auguste-René de Chateaubriand, one of most influential writers of the Romantic epoch. In many ways, Chateaubriand epitomized the Romantic sensibility, and as a defender of the Catholic faith, his book Génie du christianisme ou beautés de la

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[2] Jonathan Ribner, "Le Peuple de Dieu: Old Testament Motifs of Legislation, Prophecy, and Exile in French Art Between the Empires" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1986), 143-144. "The vitality of three major groups of biblical imagery... was less a function of a religious revival than an expression of a quest for authority and a sense of loss which were characteristics of French culture during this period." Ibid. "Images of Moses and the Mosaic law in post-revolutionary art and literature...[were produced] with a frequency that can not be accounted for by the resurgence of Catholicism in France." 86.

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religion chrétienne caused a sensation.[3] As the persecution ended, Chateaubriand galvanized members of the Catholic Church to reconversion. His ideas about the beauty, the mystery, and the high moral and social value of Christianity refuted anti-Christian rhetoric.[4]

A similar story unfolded in Germany, where theologians and philosophers began rethinking religious traditions. An intellectual energy gripped the Catholic faith. There was a kind of re-engagement with religion, highlighted by conversions to Roman Catholicism among the intellectual elite, such as Fredrich von Schlegal.[5]

Chateaubriand believed that religion was a necessary part of human life, and that reason alone was not enough to comprehend the meaning of existence, nor to support one

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[3] F.-A.-R. de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), a Breton viscount, writer, and defender of Christianity, personified the Romantic movement. While he lived in exile at the Revolution, his brother and sister-in-law were executed; his mother, imprisoned at the Conciergerie, died soon after her release; his wife and sisters were imprisoned at Rennes. He was living in England in poverty when he wrote Génie du christianisme ou beautés de la religion chrétienne. The book was published in 1802. His ideas inspired a generation--e.g., Byron's poetry and Victor Hugo's writing. In many ways he heralded the religious revival, believing in royalist Catholicism but nevertheless appalled by the excess and insensitivity of attempts by Charles X to turn back the clock.

[4] Foucart noted that among educated Frenchmen the revival provided renewed confidence in the triumph of Catholic thought over the ideals of the eighteenth-century encyclopédistes. Foucart, 3.

[5] Similarly, there was a revived interest in religion and Roman Catholicism in Russia. See Paul Johnson, The Birth of the Modern (New York: Harper Collins, 1991).

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through life. Chateaubriand's very original ideas about the inherent beauty, mystery and morality of Catholicism had great appeal because, unlike earlier apologists, he reversed the Church's strategy: in the past, the Church had proclaimed itself the exclusive possessor of divine truth, whereas Chateaubriand asserted that "Catholicism is not a superior religion because it came from God, but it came from God because it is superior."[6] He described Catholicism as the motor of civilization and stressed the social value of its institutions and the high moral standards of its believers.

During the 1830s and 1840s, waves of religious renewal in the French Church reflected the national struggle with democratic ideas, and reformers challenged the Church to accommodate newly developed principles for social Catholicism. New Catholic thinking called for open dialogue between theology and philosophy, between Catholics and Protestants, and between liberals and clerics.

Historian Harry Paul has argued, "There was an astounding variety of Catholic systems of thought in the nineteenth century, rather than a stagnant pool of orthodoxy

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[6] F.-A.-R. Chateaubriand, Génie du christianisme, Introd. and ed. Pierre Reboul (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1966), 1: 57-58.

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in which some writers assume the Church was drowning."[7] Systems of theology are methods of authoritatively explicating each point of Catholic teaching on faith and reason, grace and nature.[8] A sketch is needed of these movements and developments in French religious culture.

First, I will give a brief history of theological systems prior to the nineteenth century, in order to clarify the intentions of Romantic theology.[9]

Second, I will outline a particular conflict in the French Church between Gallican (French nationalist) and ultramontane (Roman) rule. The conflict crested between 1848 and 1853, but its origins and developments were rooted in prior centuries.

Third, I will describe the conflict between les deux France--between the principles of Church authority and Revolutionary autonomy, Catholic apologists and French

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[7] Harry W. Paul "In Quest of Kerygma: Catholic Intellectual Life in Nineteenth-Century France," The American Historical Review 75 (December 1969): 387-423.

[8] Systematic theology defines the relationship between revelation and philosophy, between apologetics and positive, or speculative, theology in a theological method. Gerald A. McCool Nineteenth-Century Theology: Scholasticism and the Search for a Unitary Method (New York: Fordham University Press, 1989), 14.

[9] Some misunderstandings about Jansenist theology exist in the art historical literature.

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anticlericals--with its decisive impact on pictorial form.[10]

The Baroque period in theology, known as the Counter-Reformation, had evoked a resurgence of Catholic art, piety and theology in response to the Protestant Reformation; the dynamism that developed within and among these elements would have a lasting effect. Baroque theology would have a strong impact on the Romantic period (theologians argue that its influence re-emerged in late 20th century ecclesiology).[11] Theologically, the Baroque stood for an expansion into new spiritualities, an energizing concept of God that allowed for change in the Church. Its variety of thought systems "manifested a new interplay between grace and personality." Theologian O'Meara explained:

> The concept of "actual grace," a theme of the Baroque, moved from God to people, a transient force . . . . Grace was a power for life, a force to aid each

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[10] Anita R. May, "Is 'Les Deux France' a Valid Framework for Interpreting the Nineteenth-Century Church? The French Episcopate as a Case Study," French Historical Studies 73 (October 1987): 541-559. And, Anita R. May, "The Fourth Estate in the First Estate: Independence or Control, France 1841-1847," Societas IV (Autumn, 1974): 303-325.

[11] This general history is based in part on the texts by theologian Richard McBrien, Thomas O'Meara and Gerald McCool. "Baroque theology" is a somewhat antiquated term that resurfaced in the late 1990s with theologian Thomas O'Meara, O.P. O'Meara's use of the term makes it exceedingly appropriate for a dissertation in art history with its close parallels to art-historical stylistic and period terms. According to Dr. Loretta Devoy, O.P., its impact on Romantic theology refers to a return to the classics, to a changing world view after Galileo, and to the recovery of Patristic texts. I am indebted to Dr. Devoy for pointing this out to me.

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> individual in following God's will. The Baroque furthered systems of theology that encouraged its ideals in theater, buildings, spaces for liturgies, operas, frescoes . . . .[12]

As the century progressed, the Baroque came to rely more on its surface expression than its spiritual meaning. The theological dynamic dissolved into cultural layers so that the Baroque was confined to developments in art, music and painting. O'Meara believes that Baroque dynamism in theology did not end in 1750 but was forced underground during the Enlightenment and re-emerged in Romanticism. According to McBrien, the Jesuits led the sixteenth-century movement to replace the more obscure pre-Reformation, nominalist theology with Baroque scholasticism. The Spanish philosopher and theologian Francisco Suarez (d.1617) was influential and during this period theology became thoroughly systematized. Following Suarez, two prominent Spanish mystics adapted his ideas: the writings of Saints Theresa of Avila and John of the Cross became increasingly influential in France. Their Carmelite spirituality highlighted interiority and subjective experience.

Counter-Reformation zeal and Spanish mysticism would have a lasting appeal in France, resonating in the spirit of

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[12] Thomas O'Meara, O.P., "Leaving the Baroque: The Fallacy of Restoration in the Postconciliar Era," America, 3 February 1996: 1-28.

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the future Romantic period. The Church in the next three centuries continued to uphold theologies formulated at the Council of Trent (1563), systematizing "Tridentine" theology to refute Protestantism.[13] Several of the Council's tenets ultimately would prevent the Roman Curia from accepting forms of modernism in the nineteenth century.[14] Historians agree that the Tridentine Church emphasized certain practices that were specifically attacked by Protestantism: e.g., Marian devotions, eucharistic adoration, veneration of the saints. Despite the Enlightenment philosophy of skepticism, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were periods when widening networks of confraternities dedicated themselves to maintaining religious devotions among the lay Catholic populace. French historian Louis Chatellier

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[13] Tridentine theology was defined at the Council of Trent in 1545 to 1563 (with two periods of suspension). The Council defined the meaning and number of sacraments, especially the meaning of the Eucharist. It issued a decree on marriage--a priest and two witnesses were necessary. Marriages between Catholics and Protestants were invalid. The Council created the Index of Forbidden Books, which was not abolished until the 1970s. It established seminaries for the training of priests. McBrien writes that this last action had a detrimental effect that tended to sharpen the distinction between clergy and laity by isolating priests and educating them apart from the workaday world. Richard McBrien, Catholicism (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1980), 2: 636.

[14] Ibid., 635-636. McBrien argued that Tridentine practices were problematic to liberal theologians because either they diminished the role of Christ or the role of the laity, in favor of greater and longer-lasting control by the clergy.

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(1989)[15] rejects the idea of large-scale de-christianization, and still other historians have described the period as one of "marked religious fervor and holiness." At the time of Voltaire's anti-Catholic diatribes, there were well-known examples among the clergy of remarkable self-sacrifice, followers of St. Vincent de Paul (d. 1660) continued his work caring for the poor underclass. Vincent de Paul organized education of the clergy and established the major seminary at Saint-Sulpice.[16] The substantial contributions of Churchmen during this period have been ignored in secular histories that privileged skepticism, scientism, anticlericalism. According to historian O'Meara, in a similar vein, Baroque theology as history "has been marginalized or omitted altogether, because . . . it is not important to the English-speaking scholars of Protestant and Enlightenment studies. It represents an 'anti-period to Protestantism.'"[17]

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[15] Louis Chatellier, The Europe of the Devout: the Catholic Reformation and the Formation of a New Society, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Éditions de la maison des sciences de l'homme, 1989). See also American Historical Review (June 1991): 255-56.

[16] There were others like Bossuet (d.1704), Jacques Olier (d.1657), John Eudes (d.1680), and Francis de Sales (d.1622), bishop of Geneva--a progressive leader who advocated an increased role for the laity and exalted married life as a holy existence on par with monastic life.

[17] O'Meara, "Leaving the Baroque," 12.

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Although the papacy was strong in the seventeenth century, a doctrinal controversy erupted that was to have serious consequences. The Jansenist movement (Cornelius Jansen d. 1638) revolved around a theological dispute over what Jansenists saw as the "radically deforming" character of original sin. Jansenists believed that "sin had so corrupted human nature, everything purely natural was evil; grace was given to a few; reception of communion was to be a rare occasional reward."[18] Jansen defended his position by attacking Thomism and the theology of the Jesuits. O'Brien explains that Jansenism was based on a distortion of Augustinian ideas of grace, and it sought to refute Jesuit ideology. Jesuits taught that salvation was inclusive, that redemptive grace was for everyone, sinners as well as predestined holy ones. Not surprisingly, the Jansenists opposed the Jesuit encouragement of frequent reception of the sacrament. It was the Jesuits who established Marian devotions and congregations in the sixteenth century.

Jansenism was condemned by Rome but it persisted in France at Port Royal du Champs and later at Paris. The Church at Port Royal was supported by clergy who were absolutistes royales. Jansenism took hold among the French clergy, was taught in seminaries, and in 1682 formed the

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[18] McBrien, Catholicism, 2: 638-639.

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basis of a platform for French bishops to declare that the Pope had only spiritual authority and that all his pronouncements would need the approval of bishops. As McBrien has observed, "The theological nature of the controversy pleased Protestants . . . Jansenists promoted the theory of predestination and a morally rigorous Christian life--an obsessive concern with sexual morality."[19] In 1690 the Pope declared the Gallican Articles to be null and void. Because he expressed his opinion that they were "without theological censure," apparently a less severe decree, the articles survived and were taught, especially in France, right up to the 1789 revolution. Referred to as the "Four Articles,"[20] the Declaration of the Assembly of French Bishops lies at the root of the French Gallican Church. Ties among Jansenist clergy, the noblesse du robe, the parlements, and the Gallican Church make it impossible to categorize the Gallican Church as the liberal counterpart to an ultramontane faction.[21] As Gallicanism

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[19] Ibid., 637-638. As Driskel has deduced, Jansenism was decidedly anti-naturalist. Driskel, 93.

[20] The Declaration of the Assembly of the French Clergy 1682 expressed in four articles the restrictions on the primacy and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff in favor of local bishops. McCool, Nineteenth-Century Theology, 21.

[21] Driskel ignores the fact that at root, the Gallican Church was aligned with the political rightwing. By the nineteenth century, growing resistance to Gallicanism induced the Pope to issue a decree of Papal infallibility (1869). The papal decree

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evolved over two centuries--between the 1682 pronouncement and the nineteenth century--it remained nationalist but arch-conservative, and the Enlightenment compounded its difficulty in defending the faith among intellectuals, while attempting to maintain Roman approval.[22]

Jansenists created their own distinct liturgies and chafed under Roman authority, a controversy that would have enduring significance. In the nineteenth century the issue of regional and multisource liturgies would be intrinsic to the dispute between Gallican and ultramontane factions. Some rituals were identified with the French (Gallican) Church, some were characteristic remnants of folk religion, for example, in Brittany. Jules Breton's painting The Blessing of the Wheat (1857) illustrates one of the old rites trammeled by ultramontane pieties. In his book L'Art religieux contemporain, published in 1868, Abbé Hurel, vicar

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was used to reassert central Roman authority, and it positioned the Church against the forces of modernism. Driskel, Representing Belief, chap. "The Aesthetics of Ultramontanism."

[22] Dominican Mark Schoof argued that by the end of the eighteenth century, theology had lost its power to influence the wider culture, that the French Revolution had negatively affected Catholic intellectual life. He stated the real power lay not with theologians, but with "the jurists, the guardians of public order in the Church [both Catholic and Protestant] who practiced a sort of clerical politics or business economics." Mark Schoof, Breakthrough: Beginnings of New Catholic Theology, (Dublin: Gill & MacMillian, 1970), 21. McCool agreed with this analysis. McCool, Nineteenth-Century Theology, 23. According to McBrien, starting around 1803 in Germany, the traditional late-scholastic theology had collapsed as a result of Enlightenment ideas and was nearly completely forgotten in the Catholic Church.

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of the Church of La Madeliene, mentioned the religious inconsistencies apparent in Breton's painting which showed peasants carrying banners of both the Blessed Sacrament and the Virgin, an inadmissible sequence.[23]

In Germany during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, influential Catholic theologians steadily developed systems of modern biblical hermeneutics and exegetics.[24] Surprisingly, from 1800 these academics had been criticizing the traditional devotions, pilgrimages and indulgences practiced in the Church, the unintelligible and individualistic liturgy (worship service) and the obligatory celibacy of priests.[25] They demanded greater biblical

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[23] Veneration of the Blessed Sacrament in the form of the host (for believers the host is sacred--the real presence of the risen Lord Jesus) takes precedence over homage to the Virgin. See Abbé Alphonse Hurel, L'Art religieux contemporain (Paris: Didier et Cie, 1868), 74. Abbé Hurel was an art theorist, author, and a friend of Edouard Manet; he was the first prelate to praise Delacroix's mural program at Saint-Sulpice. See my chap. IV with Hurel's comments about Delacroix's program.

[24] McBrien cautions, "The fact that much theology was written after the Enlightenment does not mean it was all truly post-Enlightenment theology." McBrien, Catholicism, 2: 678.

[25] New Catholic Encyclopedia, s.v. "Hirscher," 1142. Theologian Jöhann Hirscher (1788-1865), professor at Tübingen University and at the University of Freiburg. Hirscher was a prolific writer, and according to the editors of the New Catholic Encyclopedia, "in an early work De genuina missae notione, he [Hirscher] proposed sweeping changes in the liturgy of the mass. He demanded the suppression of private Masses, the use of the vernacular, and communion under both species for the laity." Ibid. McCool and Reardon also described the same proposals for radical change within Church structures.

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devotion among the laity and open dialogue, even worship in common with other Christians.

According to McBrien, the vibrancy and openness of these movements in Baroque theology were suppressed in Church history. Schoof corroborated this analysis and found that liberal tenets were "usually dismissed nonchalantly."[26]

Among the Roman Catholic philosophers, exegetes, historians, scientists and artists demanding reform were theologians Jöhann Michael Sailer and J. B. Hirscher. Hirscher called for the end of priestly celibacy and for the liturgical reforms noted above, but his early work of the 1820s concerned social issues, in particular Church/State relations. His ideas toward conciliation were considered "excessive" and were suspected of aiming toward a German national Church.[27] Hirscher's liberal ideas met with hostility by the curia, and his books were placed on the Index of Forbidden Books. (This was a list of banned books

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[26] Schoof, 29.

[27] Hirscher and Sailer were accused of inciting a movement to create a German national Church. The movements were named Febronism and Josephism based on a theory developed by bishop of Trier, J. N. von Hontheim--pseudonym Justinus Febronius (1701-1790). Febronius authored an inflammatory text The State of the Church and the Legitimate Authority of the Roman Pontiff, A Book Composed for the Purpose of Uniting in Religion Dissident Christians. And, in part, because of Emperor Franz Joseph's role in the reform, the effect of Febronism and/or Josephism "would be the creation of a national German Church, subject to the prince." National Catholic Encyclopedia, s.v., "Febronism."

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compiled under the office of the Congregation of the Index at the Council of Trent in 1563.) Hirscher's precepts focused on moral theology while Sailer's theology concentrated on the subjective elements of faith.[28] In 1803, the time that Sailer met with Friedrich Schelling, liberal theology was prominent in Protestant thinking. Very generally, liberal theology was considered to have promulgated two themes--the reduction of doctrines of faith to religious and moral principles capable of being discovered and understood by human reason and the lessening of a distinction between natural and supernatural state. Catholic critics complained that this reduced dogma to a philosophy of religion.[29] Tübingen was the locus of creative Catholic thought that spawned a score of important theologians. A dominant figure of this early period was Jöhann Sebastian von Drey, who was more interested in strictly theological fields of activity compared to Sailer, et al.[30] Historians agree that the earliest works of the Tübingen school show beyond doubt that they were greatly

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[28] McCool explained that Sailer "had somewhat of a pietistic tendency; consequently he could only throw insufficient light on the objective, historical reality of the Church and revelation." Sailer died in 1832 as the Bishop of Ratisbon. The summary of Sailer's ideas is based on McBrien and Schoof.

[29] "Theological Liberalism," New Catholic Encyclopedia, 712.

[30] McCool, Nineteenth-Century Theology, 70-71.

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indebted to the Romantic movement, for example Schoof characterized this Romantic sensibility:

> The climate of their thought was conditioned by their use of such emotionally charged terms as Geist, Leben and mystischer Sinn and by a preference for dynamism, organic growth and a community inspired by the Volkgeist.[31]

Catholic theologians were most stimulated by the dominant Protestant voices at the theology centers in Tübingen: Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling and Friedrich Schleiermacher.[32] At the same time, a particular energy, tied to philosophical and academic circles, infused the Catholic faith, and there was a spate of conversions to Catholicism in the German intellectual community.[33] In addition to Tübingen, Roman Catholic systematic theology

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[31] Spirit (*Geist*), Life (*Leben*), and mystical sense (*mystischer Sinn*); a popular, widespread spirituality (*Volkgeist*). Schoof, 25.

[32] Reardon writes: "German esteem for philosophy in general goes a long way to explain that the Catholic revival in the early nineteenth century looked naturally to academia and philosophy." With regard to Tübingen's prominence, all but three Catholic universities had been suppressed. Bernard M. Reardon, Religion in the Age of Romanticism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 118. O'Meara explained that at Tübingen University, the departments of theology and philosophy were uniquely staffed with "double faculty" consisting of both Catholics and Protestants, whereas Catholics had been banned from teaching theology at other [Protestant] German universities. Thomas O'Meara, O.P., Romantic Idealism and Roman Catholicism: Schelling and the Theologians (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1982), 12.

[33] Reardon, 121-2. Around 1805 a group of prominent social thinkers converted to Catholicism: Frederick and Dorothea Schlegel, Adam Muller, Count Frederich zu Stolberg, Princess Gallitzin, Zacharias Werner, and Viennese intellectuals as well.

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continued in Munich, where, in the early nineteenth century, the city considered itself the center for artistic, scientific and religious renewal. "The idea was to make Munich a new Florence, classical in art, Catholic in faith. . . . to compete with the Protestant north."[34]

Modern historians distinguish three periods between 1798 and 1848 when Roman Catholicism interacted with German idealism.[35] In each period (circa 1798, 1806, and 1827), Catholic theology increasingly related to Schelling's philosophy, admitting more subjectivity, and progressively open and responsive to the wider culture. Essentially,

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[34] O'Meara, Romantic Idealism, 113. Schelling moved the university to Munich. When it opened in March 1827, "Goethe wrote his congratulations to Schelling on his professorship and to the king on such academic perspicacity." Ibid. In 1826 Schelling, Görres, and Franz von Baader were teaching in Munich, and Friedrich Schlegel in Vienna.

[35] According to O'Meara and McCool, Schelling's intellectual imprint is reflected in all three periods. The focus is on issues of subjectivity and revelation. The first period occurred in last years of the eighteenth century. In 1798, J. M. Sailer and the faculties of science became disciples of Schelling. Around 1806, the second period involved the founding of the Catholic school at Tübingen "with giants such as Franz von Baader and J. S. Drey." Ibid., 13.

O'Meara observed that in the third period, circa 1827, von Drey's disciples "Staudenmaier, Kuhn, and Möhler related to Schelling in different ways...building on Hegel and Schelling." Ibid. Nevertheless, by the 1830s Möhler and Kuhn moved away from Schelling; "critical of Hegel and neo-scholasticism, they preferred history to system.... Essentially, idealism meant a shift to subjectivity, and in that regard "the German intellectual community, without eschewing Church and doctrine (the defense of objectivity) but reacting against the Enlightenment's secularity, accepted the shift to subjectivity." Ibid., 13.

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German idealism meant a move toward subjectivity in contrast to the traditional Roman Catholic doctrine that defended objectivity. O'Meara characterized the Church's resistance to German idealist philosophy as it struggled toward Romantic theology: "Subjectivity implied excessive freedom, relativism, the absence of obedience to God's word and the Church's voice."[36] Nevertheless, by the 1830s Romantic theology proceeded to its organic matrix--its metaphor was "the body of Christ." At Munich from 1827 to 1841, Schelling lectured on religion and the philosophy of existence: he expanded constraints on certain tenets of Roman Catholic theology, in particular, freeing theology from the more rigid, medieval scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas. His ideas significantly influenced Catholic thought in France; the Dominican preacher Lacordaire was a follower, and art theorists Francisco Rio and Comte de Montalembert considered Schelling's philosophy the basis of their formulae for Christian art. Schelling's philosophy of religion had roots both in idealism and Romanticism because he believed that through philosophy the essentials of religion and revelation are found.[37] He linked art, religion, history and

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[36] Ibid.

[37] O'Meara summarizes: "Schelling's philosophy of religion had three parts, the first treated God in an idealist manner, as primal being and origin of the universe of Being (this first part included a history and critique of modern philosophy); the second

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philosophy; his task, he said, was "the philosophical explanation of systems of religion and myth."[38] Schelling continued: "The Absolute becomes fully itself through tension and process: the empirical record of that process is a history that prior to Christ we call 'myth' and after him we name revelation. The structure and history of the human spirit is such that it unfolds the life of God."[39] Therefore, for Schelling, history, religion and theogony (the mythical origins of the gods) are one. Because

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was a grandiose philosophy of mythology; the third continued this into a phenomenology of revelation. None of this material beyond the first three lectures was published in his lifetime although, as Schelling complained vigorously, it was widely circulated in student notes, and one version was to be published without permission in Berlin in 1843 by Schelling's enemy from Würzburg, Paulus." Schelling explained that the mythical origins of the divine were played out during the epochs of human history. Ibid., 115.

[38] This is O'Meara's translation of Schelling. He continued: "Every mythological system includes a story of concrete gods and this narrative is a telling of the race's social experience. So it is myth that forms peoples; nations emerge not from political pressures but from spiritual movement. 'Mythology does not determine but is that peoples's fate...its destiny from the beginning....' The lives of the gods and goddesses are creations that pictorialize forces active in our (and God's) minds and wills. 'Seen objectively, mythology is in fact what it claims to be: true theogony, a history of the gods. The ultimate history of the gods is the creation, the real genesis in consciousness, of God....' The world of gods arises in the human mind spontaneously, for God's way to himself and the path of human history are one, 'mythology comes into being through a process that is necessary; its origin is lost in a realm before history. Consciousness may resist the process in certain particulars but it cannot impede, much less reverse, the whole.'" Ibid., 116-117.

[39] O'Meara's translation of Schelling continued: "Mythical forms are the place, and the process where archetypes in human consciousness depict and realize the external development of God, theogony." Ibid., 115-116.

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Schelling gave theology a philosophical base, his ideas were capable of embracing a comprehensive concept of God and of the human condition.[40]

Part of the power of Tübingen's philosophers and theologians for the French Church lay in their innovative openness. Despite the fact that the majority of French teachers of theology remained steeped in traditionalism, two events opened the way for France's acceptance of new, German-generated, theologies during the first three decades of the nineteenth-century. The Revolution had effectively shattered French theology, which now needed to rebuild from the ground-up, and the suppression of the Jesuits meant that since the early nineteenth century, scholasticism had ceased to be a significant force in Catholic theology. The modern theologies allowed for greater emphasis on the incarnation, on Jesus's divine nature in his humanity, and equally stressed the Church as a community created with divine grace. As a corollary to this theology, the status of humankind was elevated in relation to God.[41] According to Schoof, the new dynamism was apparent in Catholic theologians who now exchanged views with Schelling and

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[40] O'Meara, 117.

[41] Editors of the fairly conservative publication The National Catholic Encyclopedia characterized this change as a negative result of theological liberalism; 712.

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Schleiermacher, Kant and Hegel, and who worked in a spirit of ecumenicism. Under the leadership of theologian J. E. Kuhn, who taught at Tübingen from 1837 to 1882, modern theology further infiltrated French seminary training. Kuhn was described as "a formidable theological polemicist, a practicing politician, and the greatest speculative spirit that the Tübingen school produced."[42] In France some of these ideas were taken up by Abbé Bautain, professor of theology at Strasbourg, who based his ideas on Augustine's "apologetics of the heart, and the theory of divine illumination."[43] Bautain accepted the Romantic organic model of society, and he believed society was an analogue of the organic, supernaturally-enlivened body of the Church.

The 1820s: Ecclesiastical History

Under Napoleon I, Talleyrand, France's foreign minister and the former bishop of Autun, negotiated for a year with Vatican Secretary of State Consalvi before the Concordat was reached July 15, 1801.[44] The treaty between

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[42] O'Meara, Romantic Idealism, 153-158.

[43] McCool, Nineteenth-Century Theology, 50-52; 54.

[44] The Concordat officially was a treaty between "His Holiness Pius VII and the French government." After a year of negotiation, the agreement was worked out between French Foreign Minister Talleyrand (former Constitutional Bishop of Autun and reputed father of Eugène Delacroix) and Vatican Secretary of State Consalvi. It was signed in July 1801. Catholicism was

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Napoleon I and the Vatican restored rights to the Catholic Church and allowed Catholics to practice their faith openly. Nevertheless, under the new conditions imposed by the treaty, financial power was in the hands of the State, and Rome was confronted with a fait accompli regarding limitations on ecclesiastical hegemony. After the Revolution, the Gallican Church intended to retain national power and it was to last several decades before it was officially defeated. Spencer determined that the lawyers of the parlement, who had always been the main strength of Gallicanism under the ancien régime, could no longer be

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acknowledged as "the religion of the great majority of the French people." E.E.Y. Hales, The Catholic Church in the Modern World (New York: Image Books, 1960), 58-63. Priests could say the mass and administer the sacraments, and people were now free to practice their religion. France, under First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte, restored the power of Catholic bishops if they were appointed by Napoleon. (He also had the power to depose them.) Church property was confiscated and clergy would continue to be paid by the State, although there was no provision for seminaries. Nevertheless, "émigré Gallican clergy resented the Pope's position and out of the ninety-six émigré bishops, no less than forty-five refused to grant the Pope their sees. They took the line that they had been appointed by the king...and without his consent they could not resign.... By their determination, they only helped create what came to be called the pétite église,... which continued." Ibid.

The émigré bishops (Gallican and royalist) condemned the Pope's negotiations with Napoleon altogether. Hales noted that the price for the Roman Church's liberty was the reinstitution of the "Organic Articles" also known as the "Four Articles." Ibid. See L.S. Greenbaum, Talleyrand Statesman Priest, The Agent General of the Clergy and the Church of France at the End of the Old Regime, (Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1970). See also Michel Despland, "La Religion au XIXe siècle: quelques particularités françaises," Religion in History: The Word, the Idea, the Reality: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion 13 (Ottawa, 1992): 58.

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relied upon: "the lawyers of the parlement, by inciting the bishops to claim their common rights, had been their main support but then dropped all interest in theology . . . now that the State had been secularized." [45] The Gallican Church had been so identified with the ancien régime that the lower clergy--curés and priests--saw it as a corrupted leadership, and clung to Papal moral and dogmatic authority. The post-revolutionary rupture provided an opportunity for younger Roman partisans in the French clergy to reassess their position vis-à-vis the Gallican bishops and to reform the worship service in favor of the Roman rite.[46] At the Restoration, the hierarchy continued to expect episcopal privilege and power--as late as 1830 a cardinal delivered a severe attack against papal infallibility, an attitude shared by many teachers in seminaries.[47]

Historians Spencer, and more recently Gough, unveiled an important subtheme of the conflict, the relation of social origins to ultramontane or Gallican beliefs, so that the revived pastoral structure divided along class lines. They explained why the lower clergy were overwhelmingly pro-

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[45] William Spencer, Politics of Belief in Nineteenth-Century France (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1954), 85. Despland says something similar; Despland, Ibid., 57-69.

[46] Gough, Paris and Rome, chap. 7 "The Campaign For The Roman Liturgy: The First Phase."

[47] Spencer, 84.

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Rome: predominantly from the minor nobility or from rural or working-class backgrounds, "they were men inclined to hold themselves aloof from the mechanism of secular power; men who put their trust in the idea of Petrine powers of the Pope, who based their confidence in the sacredness of his position."[48] Furthermore, historian Anita Rasi May described the lower clergy as "[Men] . . . who found no reason to treat Gallicanism as an ancient, unbreakable tradition. Many of them first heard the Gallican doctrine in the seminary . . . from men with a different background and outlook from their own."[49] May demonstrated that from about 1820, ultramontane sympathizers came from humble backgrounds: "The lower clergy trusted more in a sympathetic authority figure of the Pope than a French Gallican aristocrat archbishop or bishop--whom they were bound to obey."[50] Spencer concluded that by 1826 the Gallicanism of the lower clergy no longer could be counted on.[51] These data

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[48] Ibid.

[49] May, "'Les Deux France,'" 541-559.

[50] Art historian Driskel characterized their allegiance as an exaggerated need for authority. He judged, unfairly I believe, based on a political analysis of the sacerdotal relationship. Driskel, Representing Belief, 93. Spencer writes that "the majority questioned a doctrine [Gallicanism] that seemed to exalt a king who was not personally popular--over a pope," Spencer, 86.

[51] Ibid., 84.

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provide critical evidence to explain the deeply rooted conviction of the lower clergy toward social democracy and the popular resistance to a French national Church. When Louis-Philippe ascended the throne the ruling party relied on the anticlerical bourgeoisie for support, consequently the Church had fewer advocates in the government: Spencer argued that for the lower clergy the only two authorities still worthy of respect were the bishop and Pope.[52] The anti-Gallican lower clergy more easily aligned with liberal theologians who sought new expressions for ontological truths, a dynamic that encompassed serving God under the banner of liberté, egalité, fraternité.

> ***The mystical, the liturgical, the pantheistic, the heroic, the Gothic, the sacramental . . . Roman Catholicism breathes easy and flourishes when the times are Romantic.*** --O'Meara[53]

The 1830s

The swiftness of the Church's revival came as a surprise, and with its newly restored strength the hierarchy sought to restore religion to the center of national life.

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[52] Ibid., 86.

[53] O'Meara, Romantic Idealism and Roman Catholicism, 197.

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Nevertheless, by the 1830s the Roman Curia--the governing body of the Catholic Church--and the French bishops strongly disagreed about the conditions for State interference in Church matters. Rome resisted Gallican attempts to gain autonomous powers, predicting disastrous consequences: under The July Monarchy (1830-1848) the State retained the power to nominate bishops, to receive or refuse to receive missives or legates from Rome, and to grant or to refuse permission to religious orders to educate children.[54] With varying degrees of urgency, ultramontanes within and without France sought the separation of Church and State. The battle galvanized around a liturgical issue. During the Restoration, only eighteen of eighty Gallican dioceses adopted the Roman-rite missal and breviary (the selection and sequence of daily prayers prescribed throughout the Roman Catholic Church). Thirty-five Gallican dioceses formulated liturgies of their own, and the remaining twenty-seven agreed to copy the rite of some other more prominent diocese--most of them followed Paris, Lyons or Chartres.[55]

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[54] Hales, 92.

[55] Gough, Paris and Rome, 119-130. On this issue see also Bernard Reardon, Liberalism and Tradition: Aspects of Catholic Thought in Nineteenth-century France (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); R. Aubert Histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, vol. 21, Le Pontificat de Pie IX 1846-1878(Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1952).

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This situation remained unchanged until 1840 when ultramontane clergy forced the issue.

German thinkers had been moving from "Romantic theology"--an emphasis on interior and subjective experience--toward a more open and dynamic idea of the Church: from liberal theology toward modernist theology. Some called for unrestricted discussion, and for opening the debate to include non-Catholic theologians and philosphers. They called for a more democratic view, opening the dialectic among competing systems of theology, and an enthusiastic approach to an understanding of the "Kingdom of God"--as the Church's communal Spirit. In the 1830s two rival philosophical systems contested the validity of traditionalism. The first was based on the semi-rationalism or moderate traditionalism of Georg Hermes (d. 1835), a priest and professor of dogmatics at the University of Bonn. Hermes, an important representative of moderate traditionalism, developed a theological system committed to individual reason, which also had implications for challenging external authority. Reardon explained that Hermes's ideas were quickly accepted among younger academics and knowledge of his system was widespread in seminaries. Hermes's skepticism was deliberate and what he wanted to demonstrate was "the inherent reasonableness of Christianity

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. . . that man could only believe what he recognized as true by the light of reason . . . ."[56] In summarizing Hermes's ideas, it should be pointed out that his position was completely orthodox.[57]

> I have been scrupulous in maintaining my resolution to doubt everything . . . until I have been able to show the absolute rational necessity of admitting such determination . . . I have threaded my way through a great number of doubts, something which will appear only a waste of time and effort to one who has never in fact encountered a grave doubt.[58]

Even after Hermes's death in 1835, the ideas he voiced in Unity in the Church were a cause for concern to Rome. Through the 1840s, Church authorities noticed the political implications of Hermes's thinking. In France, these ideas

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[56] Reardon, 120. "He believed it was a moral obligation to use one's God-given reason as a guide, and not enough to accept Catholicism merely because one has been brought up in it. Hermes expressed individual reason in the Kantian form when the post-Kantian philosophy of Fichte and Schelling was already transcended." Ibid., 120-121.

[57] Hermes believed in distinguishing between practical and speculative reason. His position was completely orthodox because he taught that the sources of Catholic theology are scripture, tradition and the Church's *magisterium*, and "that reason accepts them as the channels through which divine truth is communicated." Hermes believed that natural reason alone is not the means to faith--volition is needed. My sources for a description of Hermes's theology are: Reardon, Religion in the Age of Romanticism (1985), chap. 5 "German Catholic Theology in the Romantic Era;" and by the same author Liberalism and Tradition: Aspects of Catholic Thought in Nineteenth-century France (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975). And, McCool, Nineteenth-Century Theology (1989), chap. 3 "Hermes, Drey and Renascent Scholasticism."

[58] Reardon, Religion in the Age of Romanticism, 120. See chap. 5 "German Catholic Theology in the Romantic Era," 117-145.

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were spearheaded by Lamennais and taken up by Lacordaire; McBrien called attention to the fact that "the Papal Curia . . . in its concern with the more political aspects of this move toward democratic processes, seemed for a time not to note or react to the significant democratic developments in theology."[59]

"No liberty without religion, no religion without liberty." --F. Lamennais [60]

In the wider culture, Frenchmen were conscious of the shift from an older generation's radical anticlericalism to a new social climate where atheism became not merely insensitive but out of date. In 1832 the popular philosopher Jouffroy remarked that contrary to the former disparagement of the Church and religion, "the general

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[59] McBrien, Catholicism, vol. 2 chap. 18: "The Church in History," especially 642-646.

[60] Lamennais's letter to a friend in Mexico, dated March 12, 1832. Hugues-Félicité Robert de Lamennais, Correspondance générale, ed. L. Le Guillou (Paris, 1971-1981), 5: 333.

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attitude has quite altered."[61] Jouffroy spoke about the void left by Voltairean skepticism and by its vague deism. Nevertheless, the more liberal régime of King Louis-Philippe affected indifference toward religion, and the anticlerical government continued its policy of merely tolerating the Church. In religious circles, French prelates were aware of a change from theological traditionalism to Catholic socialism, aware that it was a change dependent on the political events such as the Revolution of July 1830. McCool notes another shift during the 1830s, as Catholic scholars turned more and more from philosophy to history.

A newly emerged religious typology--which emphasized Jesus's humanity and stressed humanitarian goals--was consistent with secular thinking and yielded consequences for pictorial typology. Numerous examples of the new Christian approach reached pictorial form, such as Ary Scheffer's paintings from the 1830s and 1840s and Delacroix's religious pictures from 1844 onward. Essentially, the paintings privileged the humanity of Christ when they illustrated the creed of hypostatic union: God fully human, fully divine. In illustrating the doctrine, the artist distinguishes between an emphasis on Jesus (man), the

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[61] Quoted by Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1880), 345. Jouffroy's quotation is repeated by Spencer, Politics of Belief, 53.

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Christ (Messiah), and imaging God's only-begotten Son, Jesus; theologically, a distinction exists between Jesus whose own continuing and developing understanding of his mission ends on the cross, and the Tridentine-oriented image of Jesus, the Eternally Begotten Son.

In the 1830s, the most influential voice for a theology of social reform belonged to Père Félicité Lamennais (1782-1854). Lamennais's approach was both historical and social, and he epitomized religious Romanticism.[62] His career traced the humanitarian movement of the Catholic Church in France and a sketch is needed of his contribution.

Relatively soon after the enormous success of Chateaubriand's aesthetic elaboration of the mysteries and the morality of Christianity, a second influential text was published in France. In 1809 Père Lamennais published Réflections sur l'état de l'église en France pendant le XVIIIieme siècle, et son situation actuelle in which he extolled the Catholic revival and the merits of Christian socialism, and called for religion to reassert itself as part of the human experience. Many believe the book set the course of Mennaisism, in which Lamennais demanded the separation of Church and State. ("Mennaisism" was a term for

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[62] For a full discussion of Lamennais's philosophy, see L. Le Guillou, Lamennais (Paris: Desclee De Brouwer, 1969); and by the same author L'Évolution de la pensée religieuse de Félicité Lamennais, Paris, 1966), chap. 5.

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Lamennais's philosophy, derived from the period before the priest changed his name from de la Mennais to Lamennais.) Lamennais wanted the Church to create a truly Christian society, to defend the rights of humanity. Le Guillou characterized the priest as a Romantic who did not adopt the subjectivist approach but, almost to the last, adhered to orthodox Catholic philosophy.[63] He advocated the separation of bishops and priests from public affairs, and he called for an end to a State allowance for the clergy: "Since religion and faith would never be obliterated, the clergy should separate themselves from what could and would fail, the political aspects of society."[64]

In part, one can claim a pictorial correlation between the Romantic theologies of Schleiermacher and Lamennais with Delacroix's painting Christ in the Garden of 1827 [figure 1]. Delacroix's focus on interiority and subjectivity in his Romantic vision of Jesus Christ, rendered the messianic

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[63] Ibid., L'Évolution. See also Reardon, Liberalism and Tradition, chap. 4 and 5. Lamennais's orthodox theology was the underpinning of his liberal democratizing platform for modernizing the Church, it was also the basis for his acceptance among Catholic thinkers. By the 1840s his increasingly radical social Catholicism pushed theology outside the parameters of prevailing Catholic thought. From all accounts Lamennais was described as very intelligent, literate in six languages.

[64] Hugues-Félicité Robert de Lamennais, "Articles publiés dans l'Avenir," Oeuvres complètes (Paris: Minerva, 1836-1837); reprint ed. (1967), 10: 149. Similar ideas are found in vol. 7, chap. I "Avec l'order politique et civil."

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figure as a symbol of the solitary, sacrificial and heroic God/man.[65] More pointedly, Schleiermacher's theology and later Mennaisian idelology inspired the portrayal of the human Jesus who must decide to fulfill the Father's will.

Lamennais gained notoriety quickly with his next book, Tradition de l'église, which Reardon described as a "frontal attack on Gallicanism."[66] Lamennais followed with the book that propelled him into fame, Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion published in 1817. Having sold thirteen thousand copies within the year, it was translated into several other languages and its sensational message got him invited to Rome.[67]

Although a strong advocate of papal power, Lamennais never aligned with the monarchist ultras. Rather, ultramontanes such as Lamennais were furious with the politics of the ultra-Royalists and with the favor Charles X showed to returned émigré priests of the Petite Église..

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[65] Compare Delacroix's composition with, for example, Andrea Mantegna's Agony in the Garden, circa 1460. In the Renaissance work, Jesus remains dignified, dutiful and above merely human virtue. The subject was far less frequently represented in Renaissance paintings about Jesus's passion; in that period Christ's suffering focused on the scenes of the crucifixion, descent from the cross, or the Pietà. These subjects emphasize Jesus's sufferings at the hands of human beings--sinners--rather than illuminate Jesus's human personality or subjectivity.

[66] Reardon, Religion in The Age of Romanticism, 179.

[67] Spencer, 182.

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Hales recounted how Rome rankled over the Gallican attitude of Mgr. Quélen, Archbishop of Paris, and with Charles X's constant interference in Church affairs.[68]

Lamennais's next book, De la religion considérée dans ses rapports avec l'ordre politique et civile (1825), warned of the close alliance between throne and altar. The Gallican philosophy that Lamennais vehemently opposed is perfectly illustrated by Ingres's painting The Vow of Louis XIII [figure 106]. In Ingres's composition, nationalist and ecclesiastic ambitions are forged into a representation of power, an image that contained neither religious doctrine nor spiritual meaning.[69] Critics who applauded it as a religious painting were adherents of the monarchical "Ultra" party, and favorable reviews were primarily confined to the years of the Restoration government.[70] In contrast, by 1834,

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[68] Hales, 86.

[69] Carol Duncan has argued for the picture's political rather than religious content. Carol Duncan, "Ingres's Vow of Louis XIII and the Politics of Restoration," in Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics eds. H. Millon and L. Nochlin (Boston: 1978): 81-91.

[70] Ingres was praised as a religious painter by ultra-royalist critics, primarily in the 1820s. His important commission for the Cathedral of Montauban (1820-1824), The Vow of Louis XIII, is much more likely a political/history painting than a religious one (see C. Duncan, ibid.) Kenneth Clark judged that Ingres's problems with the painting were no doubt because it was a religious subject, and that "Ingres had not the faintest sympathy with the Christian religion." The Romantic Rebellion 1973. H. Honour echoed this evaluation, "Ingres didn't have a spark of Christian feeling." Romanticism 1979. Religious painting, I hope I have made clear, is more than subject matter. Ingres's vacuous

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under Louis-Philippe's government, Ingres's historico-religious painting the Martyrdom of Saint Symphorian was lambasted by critics representing a spectrum of political positions. Gustave Planche said of the work, "Ingres wanted to prove that his exclusive domain was not grace . . . the demonstration is complete."[71]

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religious sensibility typifies his misconception of Jesus's mission and person. In the painting Christ Giving the Keys to Saint Peter, Jesus seems not just wooden, but devoid of any of those traits underscored in the gospels, e.g., his goodness, humility, power, prayerfulness and willingness to sacrifice himself. Ingres chose the theme based on Raphael's picture of that subject. Virgin of the Host is an unprecedented subject, not an orthodox one, and a strange conception--Mary is interpreted with an astonishing lack of humility, the overarching virtue of the mother of God. See Rosenblum on Ingres's depiction of the Virgin Mary: "Facial expression...with a covert sensuality." "Saturated with sensuality... a strange amalgam of pretended innocence and voluptuousness." Robert Rosenblum, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres(New York: Abrams, 1970), 29. My essay will not analyze the religious imagery of Ingres who, for my dissertation, merely comes up as a stylistic counterpart to Delacroix, a topic about which much has already been written.

[71] Carol Ockman has gathered a number of contemporary reviews, in addition to Planche's article, that criticized Ingres's painting. "Thierry wrote that the artist does not capture living flesh and blood. Comte de Viel-Castel, one of the most well-disposed of Ingres's critics.... Although he considered the cult of the beautiful and elevated to be more pagan than Christian, he applauded the 'ravishing chastity' of the 'voluptuous feeling.' At the same time, he hastened to inform readers that the feeling of volupté is not the same as the expression of it." Carol Ockman, Ingres's Eroticized Bodies: Retracing the Serpentine Line (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995): 93-96.

The weight of critical opinion casts doubt on Ingres's talent as a painter of religious art. Both contemporary critics, and twentieth-century art historians challenged Ingres's religious sensibility. Rosenblum makes the interesting claim that Ingres' attraction to medievalized religious subjects was spurred by his pupils, and not the other way around. "Hippolyte and Paul Flandrin were responsible for extending Ingres's admiration for the Italian primitives and for earlier medieval

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Of course, the Gallican Church was an obstacle to Lamennais's hopes for a reinvigorated Catholicism. His primary opponent was the Sulpician prelate Mgr. Frayssinous, vicar-general of the archdiocese of Paris, who disapproved of priest's social Catholicism and his ultramontanism.[72] Lamennais's next book Des progrès de la revolution et de la guerre contre l'église appeared in 1829. The challenging brand of liberal Catholicism that Lamennais preached was based on his keen perception that the Restoration government, which had promised freedom to the Church, intended to practice only a reactionary royalism. As early as 1825 he demanded freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, freedom of education. His book was denounced immediately by Mgr. de Quélen, archbishop of Paris. Lamennais responded by publishing his immensely influential daily newspaper, L'Avenir, founded October 16, 1830. He began the liberal journal with his close friends Frère Lacordaire and comte du Montalembert. The paper's editorials demanded freedom of worship, universal suffrage, and an end to stipends for the clergy. It condemned Gallicanism as

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art into what amounted to an important chapter in that history of nineteenth-century Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood." Rosenblum, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, rev. ed. (New York: Abrams, 1990), 43 (page citation to the rev. edition).

[72] Frayssinous, a Sulpician, was grand master of the university and a government minister for public education.

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subservience to the State. Vidler (1954) commented: "it was fantastic in 1830-31 to call upon the French clergy as a whole to renounce their stipends from the State . . . . Not surprisingly, the episcopate turned hostile, and the newspaper was banned from all seminaries and several dioceses."[73] Lamennais was not criticized at first for his theological principles but when he applied them to political theory he incurred censure. His criticism of Gallicanism provoked bishops to take positions against him. McCool writes that Lamennais's disillusionment with the Restoration monarchy transformed him from an ultramontane into a ultramontane liberal. "His Des progrès de la revolution proposed that French Catholics withdraw their support from Charles X and rally behind the liberal democrats." [74]

It was not possible for L'Avenir to be a Catholic newspaper without the approval of the Church hierarchy, and the last issue was published November 15, 1831. In February 1832, Lamennais, Lacordaire and Montalembert went to Rome to defend their ideas against episcopal opponents and the attacks by the archconservative newspaper publisher Louis Veuillot. Historians agree that Lamennais was considered an

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[73] Alec Vidler, Prophecy and Papacy: A Study of Lamennais, The Church and The Revolution, The Birkbeck Lectures (London: SCM Press, 1954), 282.

[74] McCool, Nineteenth-Century Theology, 45.

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"extreme papalist" by fellow clerics, and consequently he was dejected by the pope's suspension of L'Avenir at the insistence of Gallican bishops.

One of Lamennais's followers and close associates was George Sand.[75] Bowman has pointed out that Lamennais's influence on her ideas about evangelical socialism, about Jesus's kingdom of justice, and about a religion of fraternal equality is evident in Consuelo, Le Compagnon du tour de France, and Lelia.[76] Sand, introduced to Lamennais in 1835 by Franz Liszt, had worked with the priest editing Le Monde in 1837. Delacroix's vision of Jesus in his pictures of The Agony in the Garden and Christ at the Column [figures 4,5,42,44-45,58], is much like Sand's conception of the man/God: Sand's most important point is that Jesus remains the sign of pain and suffering. Begining in the 1840s, Delacroix's images of the passion heighten Jesus's human condition and move from the Romantic concept that refered to Schliermacher's theology. Bowman found that Sand's characterizations took a narrow view of the gospels

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[75] Sand was passionate about the principles of religious socialism and the idea of art's utilitarian power to benefit society. Her close association with Père Lamennais was followed by an even closer relationship with utopian socialist Pierre Leroux. Leroux's philosophy was broadly characterized as communistic Christianity.

[76] Frank P. Bowman, Les Christ des barricades (Paris: Cerf, 1987), 265.

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and had eliminated all aspects of Jesus's life and ministry except his final passion. According to Bowman, Sand understood Jesus to be the solitary sufferer and the apostle of the revolution. "He [Jesus] figures as the suffering of the people, of the poet, of the characters in her novels . . . but Jesus passes beyond suffering to hope."[77] Sand insisted that the redemptive value of Christ's sacrifice must be situated in this life, in history; Jesus is not some legendary figure, but the continually metamorphosed suffering One.[78] "In her nonfiction writing the poet is imago Christi: (s)he speaks the truth, (s)he suffers, (s)he is scorned, but (s)he will be heard. The people too, by their suffering, become figura Christi."[79] Sand's truncated interpretation of the meaning of the gospel is, nevertheless representative of a religious typology of the era. The principles of social Catholicism and the identification of the cause of liberty with the cause of Christ were two indications of Mennaisian thinking. Radical thinkers such

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[77] Ibid.

[78] Sand did not see redemption effected by the unique sacrifice carried out by Jesus. Catholicism teaches that human suffering can be joined to the sufferings of Jesus already taken place to effect redemptive merit, but, does not equal or substitute for God's sacrifice. See Hebrews 10: 12-14.

[79] Bowman, Le Christ des Barricades, 266-67. "For Sand, Jesus has less to do with a mystical messianism than a theory of history."

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as the poet and critic Sainte-Beuve supported Lamennais, while academic painters such as Ary Scheffer absorbed Mennaisian ideas into their paintings [see figures 9,10].[80]

Liberal Catholicism didn't have universal appeal, of course, and Lamennais angered the powerful bourgeoisie with an attack on their insensitivity toward the mass of people "even in the most civilized countries."[81] Soon after the demise of L'Avenir, Lamennais published Paroles d'un croyant in 1834, writing that "the New Testament was capable of guiding and sustaining the masses . . . in their aspirations toward freedom and justice."[82] Reardon related that one of Les Paroles d'un croyant's forty-two chapters included a parable about worker exploitation. Supporters of the priest declaimed passages of the book to crowds in the Jardin du Luxembourg, and Lamennais was attacked as a republican. In England, Lamennais's radical Catholicism was further sensationalized by a colorful translation of the book's title: The Words of a Believer: and having spoken thus, was

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[80] Perhaps overstating his case, Carcopino asserted: "It would be difficult to find a man of letters or a thinker in the nineteenth century who did not at some point in his life submit to the intellectual domination of Lamennais." Claude Carcopino, Les Doctrines sociales de Lamennais (Paris, 1942), 199; the assessment was related by Vidler (1952), 271. Sainte-Beuve had overseen the publication of the priest's book, and in the years before 1850 he supported him.

[81] Vidler, 194.

[82] Reardon, Religion in the Age of Romanticism, 190.

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eternally condemned by the Pope of Rome.[83] The Times of London characterized Lamennais as one who flatters the lower classes " . . . with words that are calculated to excite envy . . . in those who suffer . . . over those who enjoy."[84] The Revue de Paris commented favorably on the book, as did the paper France catholique; Ami de la religion and Univers religieux criticized it. One Gallican bishop wrote: "If the devil came into the world he would have this book in his hands."[85] Anticlerical newspapers such as Populaire praised the author, while mocking Church authorities. Lamennais's plan for the social contract was criticized by some eminent theologians as well, such as the Abbé Bautain at the University of Strasbourg. Bautain described the plan as distorted and politically biased. Lamennais was hardly more popular among right-wing leaders. Metternich, the Austrian foreign minister, called Lamennais an abject being. Although never formally excommunicated, he broke with the Church in 1840. His next publication, Affaires de Rome (1841), discussed his rupture with Rome. One more book also came into print in 1841, his Discussions critiques et pensées diverses. In it, he wrote that the

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[83] Vidler, 195.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid., 194.

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Church had lost touch with the people, had ossified into a system of formal beliefs, and was more concerned with secular issues.

> ***"L'instinct des peuples . . . demande cette totale séparation de l'Église et de l'État, séparation voulue par la nouvelle Loi fundamentale . . . .***
>
> F. Lamennais [86]

Clearly Lamennais was anti-Gallican and he represented the clergy against an alliance of throne and altar. What he most feared was a nationalist Church that would abandon liberal principles. Lamennais abhorred the idea of a Church as the creature of the State, and he believed that the papacy was "one of the few safeguards to stifling patronage."[87] Lamennais's radical proposals to remedy injustice were not necessarily those of the revolutionary,

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[86] Lamennais, "Articles publiés dans l'Avenir," in Oeuvres complètes, 10: 152-153; "L'Instinct des peuples, dirigé peut-être par un obscur préssentiment de l'avenir que la Providence leur destine, demande cette totale séparation de l'Église et de l'État, séparation volvue par la nouvelle Loi fondamentale, et qu'implique le principe; consacré solennellement de la liberté de conscience; séparation enfin qui seule peut tirer l'église et l'état d'une position également violente également funeste pour l'une et pour l'autre." See also Essai sur l'indifference en matière de religion, 1: chap. 31 and 32, (1817), 121-177. Lamennais's ideas about the relationship between Church and State are summarized in Reardon, Religion in the Age of Romanticism, 190-200.

[87] Reardon, Religion in the Age of Romanticism, 190.

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and as a consequence Lamennais is often dismissed as a Romantic idealist. Historically, his voice has been muffled, apparently buried under the weight of atheist Marxist ideology. Lamennais believed that social renewal depended on Catholicism, and on this point Delacroix concurred, believing Christianity possessed a superior moral code, a safeguard to civilization.[88] Delacroix's appreciation for Mennaisian theology may have been enhanced by Cousin's philosophy, which was secular yet not irreligious, liberal yet not anti-Catholic. For a time, Cousin inhabited an interpretive role between German intellectuals (including theologians) and French littérateurs. Delacroix knew of Lamennais's ideas through his close friendship with George Sand, who was a good channel of information about L'Avenir, its history and ideology. Delacroix was in accord with certain aspects of Lamennais's philosophy, such as the professed importance of authority, the call to altruism, the transitoriness of life and the need for absolutes, but Delacroix would have rejected Lamennais's call for an egalitarian society.[89]

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[88] Journal, September 5, 1847, 81.

[89] Journal, September 7, 1854, 248-249, 251. Ibid., February 20, 1847, 165; Ibid., March 11, 1847, 71. Ibid., June 7, 1853, 191; Ibid., October 20, 1853, 200. Ibid., August 9, 1854, 241. July 19, 1854, 234. Ibid., September 21, 1854, 256-257. Ibid., March 23, 1854, 219-220; Ibid., April 23, 1849, 97-98.

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Although the artist believed society needed reforming,[90] he denounced humanitarian liberalism as a vague and false program for social progress. For Delacroix, humanitarianism meant democratizing attempts to challenge authority and to break down barriers between the social classes. Delacroix distrusted "professional humanitarians" and philanthropists:

> The welfare of humanity has become the sole passion of men who cannot live with their brothers, the men in whose veins their own blood runs . . . .
> These professional philanthropists are all fat and well fed: they live happily from the money that they are entrusted to spend. How happy, then, are all these benefactors and this century, thinking they have suppressed all evils because they can keep them out of sight . . . . [91]

Even after Lamennais left the Church in the late 1830s, he continued to write and to galvanize followers. In 1840 he published a pamphlet titled Le Pays et le gouvernement in which he attacked Louis-Philippe for having "betrayed France

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[90] For example, Delacroix wrote in his Journal, April 23, 1849, 97-98: "...a change in man's destiny must be foreshadowed by a change in his very nature...this curious belief, which has no justification in history--remains our only security for the future triumphs and revolutions...." He wrote with passion against the foibles of human pride, greed and arrogance: "I have no need to point out how harmful to morality, and even to health, many so-called improvements have been. Some...have diminished our patience to endure evils...by increasing luxury and an appearance of well-being, [they] have fatally affected the health of generations to come.... We borrow from nature such poisons as tobacco and opium and make them instruments of our gross pleasures.... Journal, September 21, 1854, 256-257.

[91] June 29, 1854. The Journal of Eugène Delacroix, trans. and ed. Walter Pach (New York: Covici-Friede Publishers, 1937), 393.

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internally and externally."[92] He was imprisoned for a year for this criticism, January 1841 to January 1842, and then published Voix de prison, and Du passé et de l'avenir du peuple. He believed the inequality of the classes was due to two evils: the selfishness of the rich and the ignorance of the masses. In 1848 he founded a journal Le Peuple constitutant (April 27, 1848) and was elected one of the thirty-four deputies for the département de la Seine (104,871 votes).[93]

It was during these years that Delacroix painted most of his Jesus subjects, responding to the wide interest in religion as social ethics, and in the Jesus of Romanticism. Lamennais is credited with being the first to envisage the secularization of the religious ideal; he identified Christianity with liberty and democracy, and tied social

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[92] Reardon, Religion in the Age of Romanticism, 202. Lamennais consistently warned the Gallican hierarchy against the consequences of a policy of "throne and altar." He believed Louis-Philippe would betray freedoms granted the Church and the people. The vocal priest repeated this warning time and again, for example: "Le peuple, le vrai peuple, qui n'est pas la canaille corrompue des grandes villes, forme la partie saine de notre race, si odieuse et si vile à ses deux extrémités qui se rejoignent dans une commune dégradation." Letter to Coriolis dated January 22, 1836. Lamennais, Correspondance générale, ed. L. le Guillou (Paris, 1971-81), 2: 455.

[93] Reardon, 203.

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justice issues to the Gospels.[94] The masthead of L'Avenir bore the motto: "God and Liberty."

The 1840s

Church aesthetics evolved as a primary Romantic motif and an issue for contention. Church ornamentation was to present the highest aesthetic levels for worship--architecture, sculpture, painting, and music. Liturgical symbols and style were vital to the aesthetic experience. In the Romantic period, the turn toward the Gothic style became a means of translating philosophy into art: "from intuition (idealism) to mystery (nature) and then to religion (mysticism)."[95] In Germany, Möhler had insisted on a theology of aesthetics: "The inner essence, the Spiritual unity of the Church is mirrored in nature, in art . . . liturgy is the presentation of religious ideas . . .

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[94] Lamennais, as an appointed member of the Constitutional Commission, voted for a reform program that included universal suffrage, abolition of the university's monopoly on education and suppression of the financing of Churches, progressive taxes and abolition of the death penalty. In 1849 he was elected for the second time on the Democratic Socialist slate (113,331 votes). He was editor of La Réforme. Napoleon's coup d'état meant he was ousted from politics. He published a volume on aesthetics in 1846, De l'art et du beau. Ibid.

[95] Cited in O'Meara, 151. Johann Möhler translated by O'Meara.

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through forms in space, through bodily symbols and symbolic actions."[96] In France, Cousin lectured at the Sorbonne that religious symbols enhanced the rite to direct our relationship to God: "Worship is to natural religion what art is to natural beauty . . . the rites of worship are the realization of the sentiment of religion, not its limitation.[97] Ultramontane clergy in France adopted German thinking on principles promoted by Schelling, Schleiermacher, Sailer and Möhler that the work of art was a place where one could see and "intuit the union of the real and the ideal, matter under spirit."[98]

By the 1830s, the Roman Curia regarded traditional art and music--medieval iconography and Gregorian chant--as essential to unifying Catholic thought. They sought liturgical homogeneity, but the essence of French Gallican style was regional diversity. Official use of Latin had unified the Roman Church since ancient times, now the Curia pushed similarly for the universal adoption of an ordered sequence of readings, prayers and music as essential. Some French dioceses were using prayers and music from the

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[96] O'Meara, 151.

[97] Victor Cousin, Introduction to the History of Philosophy, trans. Henning Gotfried Linberg (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1832), 16-17.

[98] Ibid.

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Carolingian age, others went as far back as the fourth century. Gough pointed out, "the redrawing of boundaries after the Concordat in 1801 meant that some dioceses inherited as many as six different liturgies--one diocese had nine."[99] Gough continued: It was Napoleon's view that France should have "only one liturgy and one catechism for the entire Church of France."[100] Reardon noted that although the Gallican clergy acknowledged the Parisian rite to be excellent, they refused to adopt it nationally. Gough elaborated this point: "Congregations were reluctant as well, to adopt the Roman rite if it meant changing a familiar liturgy and losing the feast days of popular local saints. Gallican bishops who refused to adopt the Roman rite were labeled neo-Jansenist and anti-Roman."[101]

A close friend of Père Lamennais, Dom Prosper-Louis-Pascal Guéranger (1805-1875), was considered the most formidable opponent of the old Gallican liturgies. Charged by Rome with the task of documenting Roman liturgy that

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[99] Gough, Paris and Rome, 119.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Gough, x. The provincials "greatly disliked having to listen to Gregorian chant or to learn it themselves; and there was considerable skepticism about the Pope, made embarrassingly obvious at the time of the Roman question in 1860 when rural parishioners could not be persuaded to contribute to a fund for the defense of the Papal States, and shouted down priests in the middle of sermons about temporal power.... 'le curé nous ennuie avec son pape'...." The pastor bores us with his pope. Ibid.

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survived since Apostolic times, Guéranger's preliminary report appeared in 1830, and his Institutions liturgiques in 1840.[102] Dom Guéranger complained that Gallican liturgies were tainted by:

> Jansenism, classicism and pagan influences, but worse still . . . in the eighteenth century, even the Parlements, as laymen, were allowed to supervise the amendment of sacred texts. The prayers and hymns in Gallican breviaries were humanistic rather than religious . . . .[103]

Ultramontane Abbé Haignere of Arras wrote that Guéranger's work was "a renovation of all things in the French Church; a great moment in the history of religious art."[104] On the other hand, one Gallican curé, resentful of attempts to change the liturgy, described him as "an arsonist."[105] The influential monk was attacked by Gallican bishops who criticized the Roman liturgy as "full of the most childish legends, absurdities, and indecencies . . . relapsing into

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[102] Gough explained this was "one of the monuments of Catholic Romanticism, embodying all the yearnings of Mennaisism and the revival of medieval Christendom." Gough, 122-123.

[103] Ibid., 123.

[104] When Guéranger re-established the Benedictine order in France at Solesmes, his preference for the hieratic style was based on his adherence to the apostolic tradition. Gough, 122; 164-166.

[105] The ardently Gallican curé of the Church of Saint-Martin-Église (Nord) was quoted by A. Houtin, Un dernier gallican, Henri Bernier (Paris, 1903), 451.

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paganism."[106] Attempting to rid the French Church of remnants of folk religion, part of Guéranger's liturgical reform declared true religious art was to be didactic and hieratic in style.[107] The neo-Catholic style developed a religious iconography that transformed classicized, neo-platonic forms into a Byzantine influenced, heraldic imagery. Subjects were based on Tridentine themes that ignored the baroque, organic elements of Möhler's modern theology.

Until the 1840s, Guéranger essentially supported Lamennais's principles for a renewed Catholicism. The close friendship of the two--along with laymen Rio and Montalembert--prospered due to a shared, unwavering allegiance to papal authority and their desire to reform the Gallican episcopate. Charles Forbes René de Tyron, comte du Montalembert and Alexis-François Rio had dedicated themselves to authenticate the historical and moral components of Christian art. They extolled the art of the

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[106] For example, Cardinal d'Astros criticized Guéranger's efforts in a pamphlet L'Eglise de France injustement fletrie (1843). Gough warned against generalizations commonly made about ultramontane sensitivity to the masses: "No doubt there were some aspects of the ultramontane style of piety that were welcomed, especially in rural areas, because they satisfied a popular taste for enthusiastic and sometimes exotic devotions, while the Gallican tradition had been cool toward miracle stories and toward what the older genre of clergy saw as excessive devotion to the Virgin Mary...." Gough, ix.

[107] Gough was first to point out that Guéranger's term for hieratic quality was literally "Trans-human." Ibid., 122.

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Middle Ages, and Guéranger shared their taste as well as their formula for neo-Catholic art. Guéranger is credited with setting the criteria for an "ultramontane aesthetic."[108] In contrast to Lamennais's support of the proletariat, Guéranger believed in hierarchy, order, and the separation of laity and clergy in Church affairs.

Because the Roman Curia decided to replace French hymns with Gregorian chant, music became an issue for conflict. Delacroix often described the refreshing effect of religious chant on his state of mind or his work:

> I have often had this experience before, whenever I have looked at a fine painting in a Church when religious music was being played; indeed, the music need not be particularly well chosen to produce the effect, perhaps because it appeals to a different part of the imagination, a part more easily captivated.[109]

On a visit to Dieppe in 1854, he wrote:

> I saw a poster announcing that the mountain singers would sing the Mass today; I came at exactly the right moment and was as much surprised as delighted. The men . . . with magnificent voices . . . I could not resist following them when we left the church and complimenting them on their performance. The children . . . their pure voices rising up to God out of bodies as yet scarcely developed, and from souls that have not been sullied, must carry straight to the steps of His throne and plead to His eternal goodness for our weaknesses and our sorry passions. It was a very moving scene for a simple fellow like myself to witness.[110]

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[108] Driskel, 93.

[109] Journal, December 24, 1853, 215.

[110] Ibid., September 7, 1854, 250.

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During his work in the Chapelle des Saint-Anges, he was inspired by chants he heard during Mass: "I had done a great deal of work at the Church, inspired by the music and the chanting . . . the music put me in an exalted mood, very favorable for painting."[111] He asked permission to work in the chapel on Sundays and, although his request was denied it is significant that Saint-Sulpice, the preeminent Gallican Church, was forced to use the Roman rite and Gregorian chant in the early 1850s.[112]

The Campaign against Sulpician Gallicanism 1848 to 1853

The ultramontane reform of the liturgy encountered opposition from three groups: first, theologians who questioned the dogmatic principles of this position; second, highly placed clergymen who did not want to give up their traditional privileges; third, influential laymen in their

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[111] Ibid., August 30, 1855, 291.

[112] Archbishop Sibour of Paris was the most influential and powerful Gallican prelate in France. He had authority over Saint-Sulpice, and his capitulation demonstrates his vulnerability to ultramontane pressure. At this time, conservative newspaper publisher and editor Louis Veuillot was attacking Sibour in print. The liberal Gallican archbishop was assassinated in 1857.

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respective national ecclesiastical arena who did not want to forfeit power to the supranational Church.[113] Nevertheless, polarization between Gallicans and ultramontanes cannot be defined solely on issues of nationalism, nor in strictly political terms between liberals and conservatives. May calculated the fundamental change in the French episcopate at mid-century. Relying on data relating to social class and seminary training (38 percent of the bishops attended Saint-Sulpice) she reported, "This institutional Church resembled the secular bureaucracy more than the episcopate of the old regime."[114] For example, in ecclesiastical appointments under the Bourbon Restoration 88 percent of bishops came from the nobility; by the Second Republic the total percentage of bishops from the noble class had dropped to 22, Louis-Napoleon appointed only 13 percent of clerics from the nobility. May characterized the new episcopate as nineteenth-century modern, filled with bright, zealous young men who were politically astute, aware of nuances within each succeeding regime, and not easily categorized as

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[113] The standard text for this period in Church history is Aubert, Historire de l'église: le pontificate de Pie IX; see chap. 9 "Les Progrés de l'ultramontanisme," 262-270.

[114] May, "Les Deux France," 547. She writes: "Under the July Monarchy, le juste millieu lived up to its name, for appointments came about equally from the three social classes." Ibid.

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liberal or conservative.[115] Before 1848 liberal and ultramontane thinkers were allied, but in the 1850s Gallican bishops like the brilliant ecclesiastic Dupanloup (illegitimate son of a lower middle-class mother and an aristocratic father) took liberal positions in disputes with Rome. At different times, Dupanloup befriended both Delacroix and Renan. Historians agree that the decisive blow to Gallican power was dealt by the arch-conservative newspaper, L'Univers, edited by Louis Veuillot. From 1848 to 1853, Veuillot attacked relentlessly: "He turned the liturgical question into a referendum in which bishops showed their allegiance to Papal rule."[116] One of the most interesting turns of history involved Pius IX who up to this time had been known as a patron of liberal ideas, believed by some to be the radical leader of liberal rebellion, but in 1848 Pius IX turned away from liberalism.[117] Frightened

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[115] May, 555.

[116] Gough, 124-125.

[117] For example, Pius IX, like other popes in the nineteenth century, had accepted local liturgies. Gough quoted from a papal letter to Guéranger that said, "while he [Pius IX] approved of the return of the French to the Roman liturgy he had 'no wish at all that the rites and prayers consecrated by long practice should be proscribed.'" Gough, 126. Another example cited: "In 1848, the following remarkable sentence occurred in the correspondence between two members of the Oxford Movement, S. Wilburforce and J. B. Mozley: 'A pretty state we are in altogether, with a radical pope teaching all Europe rebellion.'" Ibid., 152-153.

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by his forced exile at the hands of revolutionaries, his openness changed to caution, and his liberalism to conservatism in politics and theology.

By the late 1840s the ultramontane/Gallican debate moved into another sphere, theology. Neo-Thomist Jesuit philosophy had developed a strategy "against Protestantism, liberalism and democratic government," now, according to Gough, the Jesuit philosophers targeted Gallicanism as well.[118] The conflict became more complicated in the mid-1840s when previously reactionary Gallican positions were inverted. In the 1820s and 1830s, liberal and ultramontane priests such as Lamennais and Lacordaire had been opposed by the conservative Gallican episcopate such as Quélen and Frayssinous. Theologians were liberal and wanted to open the Church to modernism and democratic thinking, as opposed to the narrow, privilege-seeking Gallican clergy. By the late 1840s and into the 1850s, intelligent, sensitive archibishops emerged like Dupanloup of Orléans and even Sibour, Gallicans who saw that they must remain nationalist and liberal in order to successfully adapt Christianity to the modern quest for democratic government.[119]

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[118] Ibid., 135.

[119] Archbishop Dupanloup of Orléans befriended Talleyrand and in 1838 gave him the last rites of the Church. Talleyrand was a former bishop, and during the revolution had charge over the clergy in France. The brilliant and illustrious statesman was

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By 1850, as each diocese turned to the Roman missal, Sibour still held out for Gallican power. Gough explained that the Curia accused him of trying to establish a kind of Gallican papacy at Paris, probably because Sibour strongly opposed a centralized Italian papacy.[120] Sibour appointed the [Gallican] Abbé Maret to a chair in the faculty of theology at the Sorbonne.[121] Maret's liberal theology, so closely aligned with Lamennais's and Lacordaire's liberal Christianity, appeared threatening to archconservative newspaper publisher Veuillot.[122] Veuillot accused Sibour and

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known, too, as a profligate.

[120] Gough, 152.

[121] Maret's course included: L'Ordre nouveau de séparation legale et d'union morale dans la liberté, on intellectual and religious freedom provided in the Constitutions; also lectures on the writings of Bayle, Montesquieu and Voltaire.

[122] At the same time Sibour appointed Maret to a vicar-generalship of the archdiocese. Based in part on Maret's Théodice chrétienne. See Louis Foucher, La Philosophie catholique en France au XIXe siècle avant la renaissance thomiste et dans son rapport avec elle, 1800-1880 (Paris: Librairie Vrin, 1955),155. Maret's colleagues on la faculté des lettres during the years 1849-1851 included Cousin and Jules Simon, professors of philosophy; Guizot, professor of modern history; Ozanam, professor of world literature. Maret's 1850-51 course at the Sorbonne L'Église et l'état included a lecture on L'Ordre nouveau which highlighted the separation of Church and State. He lectured on the Church's struggle against absolute skepticism, as well as how modernism could be reconciled to the Catholic tradition. Assigned readings included Lamennais's De la religion considerée dans ses rapports avec l'ordre politique et civil and Des progrès de la revolution et de la guerre contre l'église; Lacordaire's De la puissance coercitive de l'église, as well as anticlerical historians Michelet and Quinet. Henri Maret, L'Église et l'état: cours de sorbonne inédit (1850-1851) (Paris: Beauchesne, 1979).

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Maret of being in league with the editors of Journal des débats and with the university. These ecclesiastical struggles were followed in the secular and Catholic press.[123]

Although Lamennais lived until 1854, his most influential work was accomplished in the 1830s and the early 1840s. It was one of his associates, the Dominican friar Lacordaire who later captivated the bourgeois Catholic populace.[124] Romantics like Hugo and Lamartine attended Lacordaire's conférences, the first taking place in 1834. Spencer writes that "it is hard for us to imagine the effect

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[123] Extremist publisher Veuillot attacked middle-class ideas, secular institutions and professors at the Sorbonne. "Veuillot's most scorching attacks were reserved for Gallican bishops whom he described as weak, 'mere préfets of the Holy See.'" Gough, 133; see also chap. 5 "Louis Veuillot and L'Univers," 80-102. Gough notes that, adding to Gallican difficulties, "Priests were encouraged to write directly to Roman Curia and obey instructions." Gough, 177. Historians agree that the secular press became angered by the Church's triumphal tone at the time of the coup d'état, and consequently was full of anticlericalism.

[124] At the time of Lacordaire's lectures, Michelet and Vigny rejected Christian dogma. "Michelet turned unequivocally anticlerical and anti-Jesuitical after 1840, opting for a kind of mystical deism...against the despair of unbelief." Spencer, 52. See Eugène Noel, "Variétés: opinion de Michelet sur Jesus en 1854," Revue politique et littéraire, ser. 4, 3:23 (June 8,1895): 731-732. Spencer argued that Lamennais never got more than toleration from the upper classes, while he characterized Lacordaire's audience as "a group that, although they believed in the need for religion as a moral code and as structure for civil order, did not think its dogmas worthy of belief." Pierre-Simon Ballanche initiated the reconciliation between Romantic faith and the new ideas of liberal Catholicism. Nearly a generation older than Jules Michelet and the close friend of Mme. Récamier and Chateaubriand, Ballanche is credited by many historians as the first to introduce Vico's philosophy of history in France. Unlike Michelet, Ballanche, in his Essais de palingenesie sociale of 1830, included Vico's ideas about immanent Providence.

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of Lacordaire's lectures, they aroused an admiration verging on stupor."[125] Over five thousand attended each of the eight lectures. From all accounts, Lacordaire was able to inject Catholicism with modernity by refuting the idea that the Catholic faith represented an obstacle to reason.[126] His lectures were stimulating enough to create a rapid increase in Catholic devotion, but Spencer pointed out that when the French Church abandoned liberalism, new converts evaporated. Historian Duroselle listed eighty-two periodicals published between 1830 and 1860 that were dedicated exclusively to Catholic socialism and liberal theologies. Most were initiated in 1848 and 1849.[127] Less well-known apologists published similar ideas.[128] As Gautier is reputed to have said, "bit by bit skepticism had gone out of fashion."[129]

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[125] Spencer, 56. At the same time, Frédéric Ozanam, founder of the Société de Saint-Vincent de Paul, headed a deputation of men pleading with Quélen to start a lecture series against modernist propaganda to be held at Notre Dame Cathedral. Quélen offered the series to Lacordaire!

[126] Ibid., 78.

[127] Duroselle, Les Débuts du catholicisme social, 1951.

[128] For example, Mgr. Parisis Les Impossibilités ou libres penseurs désavoués par le simple bon sens, 1857; Gorni, La Défenses de l'église, 1854. Mgr. Genoude published at least a dozen books in refutation of eighteenth-century rationalism, such as, La Raison du christianisme, 1841; La Divinité de Jesus Christ, 1842; Abbé Maupied defended the faith from attacks by science: Dieu, l'homme et le monde, cours de physique sacrée et cosmogonie mosaique, 1845-48.

[129] Boas, 100.

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Church and State after the Revolution of 1848

For the French Church in the nineteenth century, religion was inseparable from resonant political and social implications. Fearful of Parisian workers, property-owning Catholics threw their support to Louis-Napoleon in exchange for his assurances of social stability. Historian Gabbert concluded that the weakened position of moderate republicans after 1848 and the fear of a socialist victory in 1852 opened the way for a growing conservative ultramontanism. By Gabbert's account the heightened conservative climate in the early 1850s accounted for a shift of Catholic liberals toward Gallicanism; ironically, liberal Gallicans tied their interest to an imperial government.[130] According to Gough, by the middle of 1852 things were so desperate for the nationalist clergy that some leading Gallicans considered an alliance with the Gallicanisme parlementaire but realized that relying on the protection of government ministers might lead to greater problems.[131] Reardon, followed by Despland,

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[130] Mark Gabbert "Bishop *Avant Tout:* Mgr. Sibour's Betrayal of the Second Republic" Catholic Historical Review 64 (July 1978): 356. See also by the same author: "The Limits of French Catholic Liberalism: Mgr. Sibour and the Question of Ecclesiology" French Historical Studies 10, no.4, (Fall 1978): 641-663.

[131] This was particularly true of the Paris Archbishop Sibour. Gough wrote that: "Sibour was wholly in favor of Louis Napoleon and very impressed with Baron Contencin, ministre des cultes and tempted to throw in his lot with the government and rely on the Organic Articles. On the other hand, Gallicianisme parlementaire was showing a tendency toward hardened skepticism and anti-

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explained this turn of events from the Church's perspective, citing the previous fifty years (circa 1800-1850): "The Church had been severely damaged after the Revolution and without State support (in the form of a concordat) it might not have been able to reorganize. In 1852 the Gallican Church considered that its interest was survival, and tied its lot to the bourgeoisie."[132] The French Church had come full circle from the time of the ancien régime: accommodating Napoleon III's government meant severing alliances with the liberals and with the poor. A majority of middle-class Catholics believed that the official Gallican Church had to make arrangements with the government for the good of the social order. The revolution of 1848 clarified Church/State relations and political liberals were believed to be the Church's primary opponent.Historically, the majority of Catholics (except the nobility) had rejected the alliance of throne and altar of the 1820s and rallied behind Lacordaire and Montalembert. After 1852 bourgeois Catholics turned toward a regime that supported only their own class, so that, Brown writes: "Catholic and non-Catholic

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clericalism...as was the secular press." Gough, 189.

[132] Despland, 59.

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republicans alike became anticlerical and antireligion."[133]

The conservative climate engendered caution among theologians and contributed to the Church's adoption of Tridentine iconography. With the dawning of the Second Empire came a rampant materialism and an emphasis on conspicuous consumption. According to Moulin, capitalism reached new popularity among the bourgeoisie and aristocracy.[134] The Church was frightened by rapid modernization and attempted to counterbalance material consumption and greed by reminding its flock of their ultimate and otherworldly end. The coup of 1851 showed how the official Church would sacrifice liberalism for a secure relationship to the State, and the compromise tainted the integrity of the Church in France. The adjective "clerical"

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[133] Marvin Brown Jr., "Catholic-Legitimist Militancy in the Early Years of the Third Republic," in Catholic Historical Review 9, no.2 (1974): 233. During the revolt of 1848 republicans believed their enemy was the rich bourgeoisie, not the Church. By contrast, in 1853 republicans and the principles of Catholic liberalism were abandoned by the Church. "This is the time the atheists are entered in a party with the agnostics, the Protestants, the Jews and some others. In 1905 this party voted for separation of Church and State." Ibid.

[134] Jean-Marie Moulin makes this point about the two classes moving together toward bourgeois tastes in art. "The middle classes sought to move up beyond social insecurities and the upper class desired increased wealth no longer by land but by commerce and speculation. At this historic moment each class moved toward the other because both sought to enrich themselves by similar means;..." J.-M. Moulin, "The Second Empire: Art and Society," in The Second Empire 1852-1870: Art In France under Napoleon III, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, Detroit Institute of Arts, Grand Palais, Paris, 1978), 11-28.

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becomes an insult from 1860.[135]

The definitive option for neo-Thomism.
The theological argument reaches Delacroix.

During the first half of the nineteenth century a single theme captivated theologians, the tension between the natural and supernatural knowledge of God. The debate continued until neo-Thomism won, as defined in Leo XIII's 1869 encyclical Aeterni Patris.[136]

In the critical years around 1850, theological debate and ecclesiastical politics were further inflamed by developments in the secular sphere. Political upheavals in 1848 and 1852 roused the bourgeoisie to greater control, and

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[135] Brown noted that the term "anticlerical" seems to have been older than "clerical" in the pejorative sense. He found that police records and the secular press use the term "clerical" much more generally than "Catholic." Brown, "Catholic-Legitimist Militancy," 236, note 9. Brown's note refers to an earlier article by Moody. Joseph Moody S.J., was the first to publish in English on this point; he wrote that the word "'anticlerical' was first employed by a prefect in 1852 and came into general use by 1859. Previously the preferred term for clericalism had been 'le parti prêtre'" or "'le parti clérical.'" Joseph Moody, "French Anticlericalism: Image and Reality," Catholic Historical Review 56, no. 10 (January 1971): 630. Moody refers to an earlier work on this point: see Jean Maurain, La Politique ecclésiastique du second empire de 1852 à 1869 (Paris, 1930): 960.

[136] McCool described the theoretical basis for the option to neo-Thomism: it was based on "the conviction that the Thomisitic metaphysics of substance and accident could preserve the distinction between grace and nature which post-Kantian metaphysics had shown itself unable to preserve. McCool, Nineteenth-Century Theology, 12-13.

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the rising tide of conservatism meant that French and German theologians lost their chance to halt the move to neo-Thomism.

The ultramontane campaign between 1848 and 1853 culminated in the encyclical Inter multiplices of March 1853 condemning Sulpicianism and the entire concept of "the liberties of the Gallican Church".[137] Rome began its campaign against modern theologians in Germany as well as those Gallican theologians who were condemned through the Roman Index.[138] French dioceses were compelled to give up their local liturgies and adopt the Roman rite. Gough writes:

> The Roman Index had swept through French ecclesiastical libraries with devastating effect . . . the Roman Curia, suddenly stirred into life, had begun handing down judgments, opinions, and receipts, interfering, encouraging appeals, and generally undermining episcopal authority.[139]

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[137] Ibid., 130-131.

[138] "In 1847 the bishop of Nantes without holding a formal inquiry, had dismissed Abbé Domergue as curé of Vertou for drunkenness, dishonesty and flagrant immorality. The Abbé appealed to Rome in 1851, and the Curia ruled against the bishop--conceding overwhelming evidence--because it did not recognize dismissals by bishops *ex informata conscientia;* the Abbé was reinstated. The Ministère des cultes in Paris had to contend with actions perceived by Gallican laity and clerics as interference in domestic matters. The French ambassador met with Pius IX over the matter, but bishops were powerless to act while an appeal was in progress." Gough, 185.

[139] Gough, Paris and Rome, vi.

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The coup de grâce for any Gallican/Roman compromise came on December 7, 1852 when Pius IX condemned Bailly's Theologia dogmatica et moralis; because the text used in all the French seminaries contained strong Gallican arguments for the power of a general council to overrule a Pope.[140] As the embattled Sibour tenuously held the reins among Gallican clerics, the bishop of Viviers, a moderate, sent a [prophetic] warning, explaining the dangers conservatism would present to the Church.

> The cause of Christianity itself would inevitably suffer if the reckless ultramontane attacks on the traditions of the French Church convince the political class, with its strongly Gallican bias and its touchiness about national identity, that the Catholic religion was essentially foreign and unpatriotic . . . . [141]

After 1850, the centralization of ecclesiastical power under the ultramontanes was nearly complete.[142] Adding to the

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[140] Eight volumes first published in 1789, with a second edition in 1804. "It was popular among seminarians and their professors for its clarity and thoroughness.... When Pius IX heard that the Spanish bishops were just about to adopt it on the recommendation of the Sulpicians in Paris, he had it put on the Index." The "Index" was a list of banned books compiled under the office of the Congregation of the Index. In 1850, under the direction of Mgr. Fornari, Prefect of the Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, "it began to take a serious interest in the application of the Index to French textbooks." Gough, 131-162.

[141] Lettre circulaire de mgr. l'éveque de Viviers (Viviers, 1853). Gough, 206.

[142] Foucher, La Philosophe en France au XIXe siècle, 238. See also Hocedez, Histoire de la théologie au XIXe siècle, vol. 2 (1831-1870). This marked the end of the Gallican strength. The last bishop to go over to the Roman rite was Dupanloup of

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tension created by the publication of the notorious "Syllabus of Errors" in 1864, the doctrine claiming Papal infallibility was published in 1870.[143] The "Syllabus" published theses condemned by Rome and highlighted an obviously defensive and polemical attitude in theology, but the papal doctrine struck at the heart of the jurisdictional conflict. Historians agree there was an unprecedented rapid

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Orléans, friend of Delacroix. Reardon believed it was "Napoleon III's mistake to think that the government could court religion without taking sides between the Gallican and ultramontane factions." Archbishop Sibour didn't trust Napoleon III, and for a time he became a republican force in the new configuration of Church-State relations. In the subtleties of the conflict, Catholics found that the Bonapartists were fundamentally old Orléanists, *Gallicanisme parlementaire* [anticlerical nationalist legislators]. Historian H. Paul (1969) remarked that the Gallican seminary at Saint-Sulpice "scorned not only the obvious theology of Lamennais, and the Romantic theology of Lacordaire but the [Gallican-liberal] rhetoric of Dupanloup as well." Paul, "In Quest of Kerygma," 387.

[143] An illustration of papal infallibility was the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Hocedez outlined the process for a dogma that arose from a grass-roots movement. "Pius IX put the question before a panel of theologians (secular and regular). In 1849, in an encyclical Ubi primum, he interrogated all the bishops about their feelings and those of the laity on the doctrine. The response was unanimous. In 1849 he put the question to a pontifical commission of theologians and in 1853 a second and new commission, to consider the definability of dogma [forcing the theologians to examine all the documents of antiquity]. Other theologians without official mandate published favorably on the issue, i.e, Dom Guéranger.... Finally, in 1854 the papal bull ineffabilis defined solemnly Mary's exemption from original sin...a special privilege accorded in view of the future merits of Jesus Christ and to the Virgin...." Edgar Hocedez, Histoire de la théologie au XIXe siècle, t. II (1831-1870), (Bruxelles: l'Edition universelle, S.A. and Paris: Desclees de Brower, 1952), 342. Le Syllabus complectens praecipuos nostrae aetatis errores, qui notantur in allocutionibus consistorialibus, in encyclicis aliisque litteris S.S.D.N. Pii IX.

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move to suppress discussion about the relationship between faith and culture and between religion and modernism.[144] According to Gough, open dialogue with contemporary thinkers and with Protestant theology was viewed with suspicion in Catholic circles.[145] Gough judged that from 1853 to 1869 "the Gallican clergy published safe devotional works but, from fear of the Roman censorship, nothing at all substantial on ecclesiology of Church history."[146]

Historians concluded that the language of theology became extremely unimaginative and cautious as Catholic theologians confined themselves to interpreting traditional sources. The regressive tendency had a direct influence on religious art. From about 1850, the Church was no longer looking for images to give form to creative ideas, but "the reality of faith was regarded as a timeless, changeless

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[144] O'Meara writes that at first the papal document contained the following critical sentence: "The pope can and must try to achieve a reconciliation and a settlement with progress, liberalism and modern civilization." This sentence was expurgated.

[145] Gough, 135-136; 233-234; 243-247. See also McCool, From Unity to Pluralism: The Internal Evolution of Thomism (New York: Fordham University Press, 1989): 8-30. O'Meara makes reference to the increasing conservatism in art and politics at this time, see Romantic Idealism, 189. The author says something similar in his introduction to Church and Culture: German Catholic Theology: 1860-1914, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989.

[146] Ibid., 243.

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metaphysical 'system' which was therefore able to ignore all new discoveries and to keep the 'spirit of the times' safely outside."[147]

Neo-Scholastics viewed historical and biblical criticisms as a danger to a besieged Church, and the hierarchy determined that biblical criticism was incapable of being combined with Christian faith. Attacks by Comte and Renan, as well as challenges posed by biblical exegesis conditioned this attitude. At the end of 1850, secular philosophy was ruled by positivism; Comte regarded all metaphysical explanations as vain and outdated. He left a foundation of positivist "religion," the religion of humanity. His disciple, Hippolyte Taine, a professor of aesthetics at the École des Beaux-Arts, was called the metaphysician of positivism. Taine promoted a kind of ideal pantheism. Delacroix had little respect for Taine as an art historian, and thought he was a bad writer: "a thorough-going pedant, full of faults . . . ."[148] Taine wrote determinist history which held that meaning was found in the

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[147] Gough, 233-243. See also O'Meara, German Idealism, 188-189.

[148] Journal, July 27, 1858, 382. "The other day, in the Débats, I read an article on Rubens by a certain M. Taine. I had already decided, from other things he has written, that he was a thorough-going pedant and full of faults.... He, too [Dumas is cited], says everything, and he he says it all over again."

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laws of nature. He developed an aesthetic system based on national typologies that implied moral values; each man was the product of his race, his moment and his milieu.[149] Renan, a boyhood friend and later a colleague of Taine, abandoned Catholicism at twenty-five for a philosophy of scientific determination.[150] His 1863 book, Vie de Jesus: première partie de l'histoire des origines du christianisme sold tens of thousands of copies, and it caused a scandal among Catholics because his empiricist method challenged the divinity of Jesus Christ. Renan, who married Cornélie Scheffer, the niece of artist Ary Scheffer, had treated Christianity from a critical and philological stand point. Yet, Renan's interpretation of Jesus's human nature had little influence on religious iconography. By the later 1860s, experimentation with religious iconography was very limited, and subjects were treated traditionally.

Although Renan's critics generally argue that he ended in dilettantism, historians agree that his ideas were perceived as a genuine threat to the Church. Scholars

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[149] Hippolyte Taine, "Essais de critique et d'histoire...." in Philosophie de l'art (Paris: Hermann, 1964), 179-192.

[150] Reardon described Renan as a "qualified positivist at best," based on Renan's pointed criticisms of Comte's ideas. Reardon, 237. Renan's critics characterized his philosophy as a "gilded positivism with religiosity." His ideas were influenced by German idealism and subjectivism.

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believe that without the danger posed by Renan and Auguste Comte, neo-Thomism could not have dominated so completely, and so quickly. In its defense, the Church pitted the philosophy of Saint Thomas Aquinas against the ideas of the positivist philosophers.[151]

O'Meara characterized the neo-Thomist system as one where issues of faith no longer were thought of as subjective, personal dimensions, where synthesis of many aspects of the reality of faith was displaced; instead, the eternal and objective aspects were emphasized. He described a deteriorating situation where an increasingly centralized authority completely overshadowed individual conscience.[152] The result was that ultramontanism became identified as antiliberalism. In this repressive atmosphere, Dupanloup responded to the crisis of the "Syllabus of Errors" with a rejection of proposals for Papal infallibility.[153]

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[151] Saint Thomas believed "Sacred doctrine makes use of human reason, not to prove faith but to make clear whatever else is set forth in doctrine." Aquinas stated that reason alone doesn't explain the dogmatic truths, e.g., the incarnation, or the Trinity, but clarifies them. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, Book I, qu.I, art. 8, ad 2.

[152] O'Meara noted that the second half of the nineteenth century did not produce lay theologians, but the new type of theology remained in the hands of the clergy.

[153] Dupanloup wrote a letter to his clergy urging them to do the same; Observations sur la controversée soûlevée relativement à l'infallibilité au prochain concile was referring to the upcoming Vatican council in 1869-1870. (The next council would meet in 1960-1963.) The archbishop was joined in his efforts by almost

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Contemporary newspapers demonstrated that "the discussion [for or against Papal infallibility] spilled out onto the street, as bitter divisions went beyond theoretical issues of faith and reason to practical matters such as relations between Church and State." [154]

At first, the ecclesiastical battles would seem to hold little interest for an established artist such as Delacroix, but the work at Saint-Sulpice drew him into the center of the ecclesiastical storm. Delacroix's masterful mural program for the Chapel of the Holy Angels started in 1848 at the height of ultramontane advance on Gallicanism, it was completed in 1863 only a few years before the publication of the "Syllabus of Errors." Sibour, as archbishop of Paris and head of Saint-Sulpice, was under pressure to conform to

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two-fifths of the French episcopate.

[154] Gough's phrasing, 215. An example of the discussion about this, and other relevant topics, appeared in articles by Alphonse Peyrat in La Presse, 15-29 October, 1851. Peyrat wrote about the continued humiliation of French prelates at the hands of the Roman Curia; he outlined the workings of the "Index of Forbidden Books" whereby texts of Gallican clerics were condemned. In England a small group of liberal Catholics had spoken out against the ultramontanes, but in Germany the campaign against infallibility was violent: it was rejected at some German universities. Dupanloup was criticized by his fellow bishops as well as by Veuillot, but "at least twenty-five bishops aligned themselves with the outright opposition to papal infallibility, and a larger number, almost two-fifths of the French episcopate--among them some of the most formidable figures in the French Church--would oppose the schemata for papal jurisdiction which they recognized as a more serious and concrete problem than infallibility, and to raise fundamental arguments about the structure of the Church and the status of bishops...." Ibid., 218.

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ultramontane standards for liturgical and decorative programs.[155] Every Gallican effort was scrutinized by fervent French ultramontanes: for example, Sibour's writing was suppressed. French ultramontane clergy moved to censure the entire works of Bossuet. Priests whose books were condemned were purged from the circle of the archbishop. Others were dismissed from long-held posts. For centuries Saint-Sulpice had been the bastion of Gallicanism and Sulpician seminary training held suspect by Rome. From Delacroix's standpoint, there were several reasons why his sympathies should lie with the Gallican camp. Gallican archbishop Dupanloup was his favorite acquaintance among the clergy.[156] A Gallican church was the site for Delacroix's murals and the Gallican clergy directed, however discretely, the conceptual theological framework for his mural program at Saint-Sulpice. For example, one of Delacroix's murals in the chapel of the Holy Angels, portrayed the subject Heliodorus Being Driven from the Temple. This subject represented Gallican resistance to Roman authority. It was a kind of subversive emblem. Often compared with Raphael's image of the same subject created for the Vatican

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155 Gough, 216.

156 It was well-known that archbishop Dupanloup was confessor to upper-class familes in France.

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apartments, scholars supposed Delacroix's painting also represented Roman authority over the French national Church.[157] On the contrary, the educated Gallican clergy identified their own conflict with Rome with the Maccabbean struggles against the Seleucid King--the rulers who wanted to impose pagan rituals in Judaea.[158] Delacroix's contacts with the Gallican clergy may have disposed him to seriously consider the claims under debate and to take an interest in the ensuing doctrinal issues. In this sense, Delacroix would be following a long tradition of artists who involved themselves in reflecting upon the theologies that invested their subjects.

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[157] See chap. IV for a discussion of each subject for Delacroix's decorative scheme for the Chapel of the Holy Angels. In a note, Spector suggested that the subject of the Heliodorus painting at Saint-Sulpice related to an ultramontane show of power. From a study of eighteenth-century engravings, he observed that during the century before Delacroix the motif was scarcely seen outside Italy. "The theme is connected with the Pope and with Roman Catholicism--traditional since Raphael--(which) led the Gallican hierarchy to reject it. Hence, its re-emergence at Saint-Sulpice marks the wane of Gallican influence, on the decline ever since the Concordat of 1801." Spector, 108-09 note 7. It is certainly true that Gallican power was at its low point, but the subject of Heliodorus had another meaning for Gallican prelates; they identified with righteousness and wanted to rid the temple of Roman intruders.

[158] Reardon referred to a letter from Bishop Perraud to Archbishop Dupanloup, 22 February 1870. "This immense scandal will be regarded with contempt by civilized people and nations,' it will bring us all into complete disrepute.... You must fight on against the ineptitude and prejudice of the proceedings; it is the fight of Simon Maccabeus, and God will aid you!" Reardon, Religion, 251, note 31.

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Chapter II

Picturing Belief

Illustrations of works by Eugène Delacroix: Christ in the Garden of Olives (Saint-Paul-de-Saint-Louis) 1827; (Rotterdam)1845; (Amsterdam) 1850; and Christ in the Garden of Olives (whereabouts unknown).

Prolegomena: The 1820s and the 1830s
1. The revival of religious painting.
2. Awakening systematic theology.

A. The 1820s.
1. Imagery for a theology of Romantic idealism. Delacroix's Christ in the Garden of Olives 1827. **2.** Romantic religious painting versus traditional religious painting. Prud'hon's Christ on the Cross, 1823.

B. The 1830s
1. German liberal theology. Theological discourse in France: Lamennais and liberal Catholicism, Catholic socialism. Theological movements transforming iconography. Scheffer, Delacroix, Déveria, Heim. The religious feelings of the artist or collective religious beliefs?

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> ***The old sacred traditions are excellent, my dear friend, but the people know them by heart and don't pay any more attention [to them]; new saints are needed, new prodigies . . . Painting is a means, believe me.***
>
> *--Père Chonchon* [1]

The audience for religious pictures is often crucial to their intention and iconography, and this role explains in part the enthusiasm for those religious subjects which swept the Salons from the 1820s through the 1850s. In the first half of the nineteenth century, religious paintings encompassed a range of styles, subjects and iconography. To believers, the religious picture illustrates something of our knowledge about the nature of the divine being; similarly, aspects of God can be the subjects: Love, Oneness, Beauty, Goodness, Creator and Creation. In the nineteenth century, the religious picture was, more often than not, devoted to images of God's dealing with humankind or to images that describe the actions of a God embodied in the person of Jesus, as well as scenes taken from the Old Testament or New Testament literature. Religious pictures could retell elements of religious

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[1] The dialogue reported in Auguste Jal's Esquisse, croquis, pochades ou tout ce qu'on voudra sur le Salon de 1827 (Paris: Ambroise Dupont et Cie, 1828), 27-29. "Le Père Chonchon dialoguant avec la baillive du Coulommiers..." La baillive is the wife of a local official roughly equivalent to the Justice of the Peace. The position was a royal appointment.

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doctrine that were understood as theological truth, such as the mystery of the Trinity, or they illustrated a Christological event such as the Incarnation or the institution of the Eucharist. The religious picture could express dogma, traditions or practices relating to Christian virtues of faith, hope, charity, purity, courage. The religious picture might depict a particular devotion carried out by a specific saint or a nineteenth-century ritual.

The diversity of religious images created during the period 1820 through 1860 reflects a vigorous discourse among multiple and contending systems of theology--traditionalism, Romantic idealism, liberal or social Catholicism, and neo-Thomism. Religious iconography relied on theology and was less dependent on political regimes or stylistic rivalries such as the Ingristes versus the Romantiques.[2] Setting aside stylistic and regional differences, there was no single dogma-driven formula for representing belief. Art theorists such as the comte du Montalembert (De l'état actuel de l'art religieux en France, 1837) and Alexis-Francisco Rio (De l'art chrétien, 1836) prescribed the moral and historical components of "true Christian painting," but

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[2] Jal, Esquisses, 110. The idea continued; for example, in 1856 Abbé Jouve wrote that religious art remained outside the debate between classicists and romanticists. E.G. Jouve, Dictionnaire d'esthétique chrétienne (Paris, 1856), 580.

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few artists followed their directives. Foucart has asserted that the theoretical strictures imposed by Rio and Montalembert served, ultimately, to ossify Christian imagery. For example, Rio's schema aimed to reconstruct medieval Christian art, and his approach called artists to follow the "seraphic" quality of Raphael's early works.[3] Rio defined this quality as a transcendent state that conveyed to the beholder a sense of peace. Both Montalembert and Rio believed that only artists thoroughly familiar with the scriptures and lives of the saints could create true religious painting. Clearly, such constraints limited the number of artists during the first half of the nineteenth century who were capable of "true" religious painting. Yet, the stagnant state of religious iconography had still more to do with the adoption of neo-Thomist theology. Around 1853 many theological voices were suppressed: the religious liberalism of the 1830s had striven to understand Christianity as a dynamic, integrated synthesis of faith, but these tenets were now pushed to the periphery. The Roman hierarchy opted for neo-Thomism as the exclusive theological system for the worldwide Church. With revival of this neo-

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[3] Alexis-François Rio, The Poetry of Christian Art, trans. T. Bosworth (London: Bosworth, 1854), 196. Rio claimed that an intimate connection existed "between art and those mysterious and exalted sentiments, which impart a kind of celestial blessedness to the souls that experienced them." Ibid.

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scholastic system, the Church became defensive and more conservative. Instead of being thus freed from dogmatic constraints, O'Meara explained that the language of theology became extremely unimaginative and cautious.[4] Beginning around 1853, religious iconography became confined because it was generated by a single systematic theology. Furthermore, in the decades leading to the adoption of neo-Thomism, theological hermeneutics had become tainted with the factional debate, which addressed the problem of separation of Church and State. The Vatican feared a national Gallican Church that would mean the end of ecclesiastical autonomy, for example nominating the bishops. The fear was not unfounded as things turned out.[5] Since Napoleon I had supported the Gallican hierarchy, the State now could intervene in matters of Church discipline and even dogma. The first bishops appointed under Napoleon, the évêques concordataires, interpreted the First Consul's authority over them as a means to circumvent any drift toward supranational Vatican loyalties. They struggled to redesign theological politics apart from the earlier model

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[4] This occurred in 1850s. See O'Meara, Romantic Idealism.

[5] See my page 57-58, note 44.

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of monarchial religion.[6] The factional debate provoked an era of sociopolitical leadership when theologians, philosophers and civic leaders questioned the role of religion in the social order.[7]

It was under Napoleon I that the original "Four

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[6] At the time, the intellectual ability of the Gallican theologians was well-known because these prelates taught at the Sorbonne against Rousseauian natural religion. From at least the 1770s through 1820s, Gallican theologians were admired and feared by their Roman, ultramontane counterparts. Mgr. Duvoisin (1744-1813) contemporary of Joseph de Maistre and Louis de Bonald, "was a key figure in the intellectual wars of theological politics during the late eighteenth century." Gough, 21-23. A Gallican prelate, he taught at the Sorbonne and he published extensively: e.g., Défense de l'ordre social contre les principes de la révolution française, 1798. Duvoisin, a supporter of monarchial religion, also published L'Autorité des livres du nouveau testament établie et défendue contre les incrédules 1775, and L'Autorité des livres de Moise 1778. With Abbé Bergier, they were adversaries of J.J. Rousseau. Bergier's Traité de la vraie religion (1780), was not completed until 1830 so these ideas were part of Restoration religious politics. Historians consider Duvoisin's works worthy of political analysis because "they represented a religious philosophy that bridged the gaps between theology, philosophy and politics." Ibid. See B. Plongeron, "Vers un premier ralliement: Jean-Baptiste Duvoisin, théologien de la Sorbonne et premier évêque concordataire de Nantes," in Catholiques entre monarchie et république (1992):147-164.

[7] The concept of religion and the institutional Church as a formative force for social order was prominant in French culture since the early middleages. From 1789 through the nineteenth century, the task was to adjust the degree and parameters of the role of religion vis-à-vis democratic government. From a religious point of view, the radical nature of the theologies promoted by Möhler, von Drey, Dollinger et al. called for a dynamic that allowed for breaking down hierarchical structures. This means that the Church itself is headed toward redefinition. The concept of Church as "the People of God" suggests that the only purpose for the institutional Church to exist is to reveal God's redeeming love to each succeeding generation. The idea is based on Romans 5:1-11, paraphrased as: "God so loved the world--not merely the Church--that He gave his only begotten Son for their redemption...."

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Articles" of 1682 had received the force of law, essentially proclaiming the independence of French bishops from the Pope.[8] Then, around the mid-nineteenth century, ultramontane forces found themselves dominant over the French archbishops, and their successes included a unification of liturgical practices in France, retaining allegiance of the lower French clergy and gaining the loyalty of a majority of upper clergy. The old Gallican Church, remodeled under the Napoleonic concordat, represented an intransigent Catholicism that refused to belong to a modern concept of the supranational Church, that clung to reactionary liturgical styles and, according to French historian Boutry, was "welded into a conception of the Church as a mystical society, perfect and hieratic."[9]

Neither the Gallican (nationalist) hierarchy, nor the Roman Curia supported democracy.[10] In the struggle to adapt modernist movements to the Church, reactionary thinking held sway in each of the opposing camps at one time or another. Finally, although Jesuit theology was overwhelmingly more

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[8] Gough, 34. See also Reardon, Religion in the Age of Romanticism.

[9] Philippe Boutry "La Légitimité et l'église en France au XIXe siècle," in Catholiques entre monarchie et république (1995):65-176.

[10] It is simply not fact that the ultramontanes were pitted against a Gallican Church that was liberal and freedom supporting. These issues are discussed in Chapter I.

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liberal than Jansenist positions on natural grace (from about the sixteenth century through to the nineteenth century), after 1860 it was a Jesuit-led movement that smothered liberalism in the Church by adopting neo-Thomism. (Yet again, in the modern age, it has been a Jesuit theology that has overturned conservative, strict-neo-scholasticism for a open, inclusive system of theology, akin to Rahner's theological anthropology.)

> ***As soon as a man becomes enlightened, his first duty is to be honest and unswerving. It is useless for him to attempt to stifle the virtue within him that insists on being obeyed and satisfied.***
>
> --E. Delacroix, 1824 [11]

There is no question that, at the start of the nineteenth century, the revival of religious art depended on a return to officially sanctioned and openly acknowledged religious faith. Religious practice in France was re-established with the Concordat in 1801.[12] Among the bourgeoisie a fundamental change in attitude was largely launched by Chateaubriand's book, Le Génie du christianisme. His oft repeated phrase, "I wept, and I believed." ("J'ai

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[11] Journal, June 6, 1824, 44-45.

[12] See Chap. I.

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pleuré et j'ai cru.")[13] dramatized his personal odyssey to the faith and encapsulated his thesis that the Spirit, once received, was capable of reawakening love of God and religion. When Chateaubriand described Catholicism as a religion of incomparable beauty concerned with the common good, he argued that "beauty alone converts into virtue,"[14] that Christianity greatly inspired the arts. In this line of thinking he followed pre-Thomist Augustinianism, which defined the experience of God as more valid than a reasoned-out faith. (Augustine asserted the independence of the will from the intellect.) The powerful sway of Chateaubriand's message remained vivid for decades to come: in the 1860s, the art critic and friend of Edouard Manet, Abbé Alphonse Hurel characterized the book as a "revelation."

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[13] Chateaubriand, Génie du christianisme, ed. Reboul, 1966, 1: 13. In the Preface to "L'Genie" he wrote: "The memory of my behavior cast a great bitterness over my mother's last days. When she lay dying, she implored one of my sisters to remind me of the religion in which I had been raised. My sister passed on to me my mother's last wish, but when her letter reached me from across the seas, she also was dead, having succumbed to the effects of her imprisonment. These two voices from the tomb, one interpreting the other, struck home. I have become a Christian. I did not yield, I admit, to any great spiritual illumination. My conviction flowed from the heart. I wept, I believed."

[14] Ibid., 1: 393. The issue was between traditionalism and primitivism. "Chateaubriand said that the Romantic Rousseauian idea of primitive man came out of the political situation, and not the other way around, consequently it could be proved false--look at the disastrous results of the revolution." P.M. Masson, "Rousseau et la préparation du Génie du christianisme: la religion de J. J. Rousseau Paris, 1916, 3, chap. 6. Quoted in Fourcher. La Philosophie catholique en France au XIXe siècle, 18.

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Delacroix was a child when Chateaubriand's book was published, and he entered adulthood a skeptic even though his opinions about Christianity were influenced by Chateaubriand's ideas. By 1825, when Delacroix was 27 years old, Chateaubriand's monarchical Catholicism was countered by modern theologies spearheaded in France by the liberal priest Félicité Lamennais. Chateaubriand had detested Charles X's insensitive and oppressive rule, but Lamennais understood the present realities: he saw the king as a venerable emblem of the past and understood that royal absolute rule was outmoded for modern times. Not long after, in 1831, Lacordaire would proclaim Jesus Christ the liberator and the defender of liberté, egalité, fraternité; he claimed Jesus as a French citizen! The characterization became a rallying cry of democratic Catholicism. In the 1840s and 1850s Delacroix would occasionally ruminate on the substance of Catholicism in conversation with relatives with whom he attended Catholic services and with Archbishop Dupanloup of Orléans, when they dined together. It is equally likely he discussed some of these ideas with George Sand--who worked with the impassioned priest Père Lamennais. Delacroix was enthusiastic about reading Catholic devotional books based on mystical revelations, such as La Douloureuse

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Passion de notre seigneur by Sister Catherine Emmerich.[15]

By placing Delacroix's religious oeuvre in its context, the present study not only corroborates Foucart's assertion that the religious revival had an explicit influence on the religious imagery, but it goes much further. This dissertation explains the theology behind the iconography, it examines the generating forces of the religious revival, and demonstrates the effect of ecclesiastical partisanship on religious iconography.[16]

In order to evaluate Delacroix's religious paintings I intend to establish the orthodoxy of his themes and to show how contemporary critics agreed on the validity of the works' religious content. In this, and in subsequent chapters, I will situate Delacroix's religious oeuvre vis-à-vis developments in theological hermeneutics. Second, I will contrast Delacroix's religious iconography with

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[15] Delacroix wrote: "The exceedingly interesting book, translated by M. Cazalis, is by a German ecstatic, I must read it. It contains extraordinary details about the Passion that were revealed to this young girl." Journal, February 28, 1847,67. Anna Catherine Emmerich (1774-1824) was a German mystic devoted to the stigmata and the Passion. Her book was first published in France in 1835 and by 1850 there were at least thirty editions. Emmerich's book was popular in England as well; by 1892 there were fifteen English editions of her book The Dolorous Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ from the Meditations of Anne Catherine Emmerich (London, 1934).

[16] "La Peinture religieuse loin d'être un phénomène périphérique est bien au centre dans ce revivre spiritual." Foucart, 337.

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paintings that carried traditional Tridentine symbols. Third, I will compare Delacroix's religious paintings with those of his contemporaries who were accepted as "religious painters." I will establish that, apart from style, some critics found Delacroix's religious paintings equal to those of established religious artists, while others complained about their lack of Christian orthodoxy but these critics also complained about established religious artists.

My study will show that Delacroix's reputed skepticism proved to be no obstacle in getting religious commissions, and that his religious sensibility was sympathetic to Christian themes of Christ's suffering and compassion, compatible with Christian dogma. Finally, I will consider Delacroix's spirituality beyond the juridical view of religion with its orthodox practices attached to the institutional Church, to examine his paintings within the framework of a philosophy of religion.

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Painting as well as poetry is the humble servant of inviolable dogma which doesn't admit any more or any less nor anything else . . . the religious picture is theology. -Abbé Lecanu [17]

The 1820s

Delacroix first exhibited a major religious painting in the Salon of 1827, in which he showed The Death of Sardanapalus as well.[18] Christ in the Garden [figure 1] was commissioned under the regime of Charles X for the Church of Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis. In this large painting (11' 6.5" X 9'6.5"), the figure of Jesus is placed near the center of the composition, with Jesus's raised left hand marking the focal point on the canvas. The figure is situated in a rocky grotto with a scant number of trees in the far background. To the right of the figure of Jesus, and occupying nearly the entire right side of the painting, three angels hover on a cloud above his head. The angels are

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[17] Abbé Lecanu, "Peintures murales de Saint-Germain-des-Prés," Revue du monde catholique (June 1863): 549-561.

[18] Most of the contemporary criticism focused on the Sardanapalus. See L'Observateur des beaux-arts, journal des arts, des théatres, de la littérature, 9 (8 May 1828) and 5 (24 April 1828). The articles are signed "D" and "V" respectively and discuss both paintings in the 1827 Salon.

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Romantic innovations, a trio of classical beauties, sans halos, lachrymose and floating in a heavenly cloud. At the extreme left of the painting, the head, shoulders, and forearm of one of the sleeping disciples and the head and forearm of another lie on the ground, nearly indistinguishable in the shadows. At the left, in the distant middle-ground, an indeterminate number of torch-bearing figures rapidly approach the place where Jesus prays.

The figure of Jesus strikes an unusual reclining pose, a graceful, almost dancer-like position. Delacroix conceived of Jesus with idealized features; he is handsome, brown-haired and bearded, his elongated limbs only slightly alter a classically proportioned body. Delacroix used saturated colors in the gold nimbus around Jesus's head, in the vivid orange tunic, and in the robes of the sleeping disciples, as well as daubs of bright color glimpsed in the shapes of the approaching torches.

This 1826 painting is a vibrant and Romantic composition, where Jesus is portrayed as an emotionally restrained, almost regal figure compared with later versions from the 1850s--here, Christ looks resigned but somehow serene. Jesus is the solitary, strong, sacrificial figure nearer in appearance to the description of him in the Gospel

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of Saint John (Jh 18:4) than to the much more austere and vulnerable personality described in Saint Mark's gospel.[19] One indication of this more Johannine characterization is that Delacroix omits traditional iconographic details like the chalice or cup.[20] For example, see Rouget's 1824 painting and Chassériau's 1840 composition, [figures 2, 3]. Saint Mark's gospel recounts the scene where Jesus prays with great anguish: "Take this cup from me, yet, not as I will" (Mk 14: 36-37). By contrast, in Delacroix's imagination, Jesus is capable of refusing the Father's will so the drama is intensified into the very moments before Jesus's acceptance. This conceptualization points to the fully human nature of Christ, and it reiterates elements of Romantic theology. Unusual for this biblical scene, Jesus's raised left arm acts to ward off any consolation as if guarding against the temptation not to go through with the

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[19] The iconography, in many ways, parallels the *Andachsbilder* of the post-Gothic era. Panofsky showed how these images were "commonly associated with mysticism: e.g., the Pietà, St. John Resting on the Bosom of the Lord, The Man of Sorrows..." E. Panofsky, Gothic Art and Scholasticism (New York: New American Library), 19.

[20] In the Johannine account Jesus is fully aware of all that is to happen and in control of his destiny, his divinity more apparent. John 18:4. There is no mention of the Mount of Olives; but Jesus delivers his farewell discourse during the last supper.

While the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke describe Jesus's prayer at the Mount of Olives, or in Gethsemane, it is only in the Gospel of Luke that there is any mention of Jesus being consoled by an angel.

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impending ordeal of torture and death. In an ellipse of time and space, the commanding gesture signifies one state of consciousness, followed by a second that demonstrates a great inner resolve ready to endure what lies ahead as exemplified by Jesus's expression. Delacroix viewed Jesus making the fateful decision in a dramatic, Romantic idealization that incorporated a gesture reminiscent of the raised arm in Michelangelo's Christ in The Last Judgment (Sistine Chapel). The 1826 painting of Christ in the Garden of Olives contrasts with Delacroix's two later works of Christ in Agony (figure 4,now lost and figure 5, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), images that demonstrate progressive development in dramatic content. Delacroix's later works indicate he responded to increasingly humanistic strains of Romantic theology that stressed sacrifice and spiritual strength. In a striking parallel, the theme of "The Man of Sorrows" was developed in the late-Gothic period when scholasticism and Thomism were cast aside for more subjective understanding of religion. (Panofsky described these Andachtsbilder themes as "images for worship by empathy.")[21] In later decades, Delacroix's image of Jesus was transformed from physical strength to showing a stark and haunting vision of a suffering Jesus--a figure whose

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[21] Panofsky, 19-20.

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strength lay in his willingness to offer himself for the redemption of many.

Critics were struck by the artist's eloquent conception of the gospel story in the version exhibited in 1827: Louis Vitet called the angels "ossianiques." Vitet's reference was to the image of ethereal, feminine creatures, which were based on characters from the epic Ossianic poetry by James Macpherson.[22] Delacroix was among the first artists in this period to blatantly feminize the celestial beings; he noted in his Journal that he wanted to make his angels beautiful and mysterious figures of women, in reference to Zurbaran's conception of Saint Agatha.[23] Didron ("Icongraphie des anges," Annales archéologiques 1851) and Abbé van Drivel

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[22] Macpherson wrote the poems between 1762 and 1765. The poems evoked a primitive Nordic domain and were supposedly penned by "Ossian," whom critics declared was the equal of Homer. The poems were translated into French as early as 1777, and paintings relating to them were popular during the First Empire, circa 1806-1814. Visualization of these characters was well-known; subjects from Ossianic poetry were depicted in paintings by such artists as Guerin, Girodet and Gros.

[23] May 3, 1824, 1:106. Le Journal de Eugène Delacroix:1822-1863, ed. Paul Flat and René Piot (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1893), 1:106. "Penser, en faisant mes anges pour le préfet, à ces belle et mystiques figures de femmes, une, entre autres, qui porte ses tetons dans un plat." In the 1840s Auguste Comte published his philosophy named the "religion of humanity", wherein women were to be adored for their sympathy, love, devotion. He proclaimed woman as angel: "woman was man's guardian angel." Auguste Comte, Cours de philosphie positive, 4th ed. (Paris: Libraire J.-B. Baillière, 1877). Reardon included a chapter on Comte's ideas as romantic religion. Reardon, Religion in the Age of Romanticism, chap. 8.

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("L'Iconographie des anges," Revue de l'art chrétien, 1866) criticized painters for transgressing the dogma which held that angels are genderless.[24] Years after its Salon debut, Baudelaire wrote that the painting, Christ in the Garden of Olives, "shimmered with feminine tenderness and a poetic unction . . . Anguish and splendor, which ring forth so sublimely in religion, are never without an echo in his mind."[25]

Contrary to Vitet, Alphonse Germain believed Delacroix's vision was completely original. Germain described Delacroix as a loner and an artist without followers, who mirrored Jesus without his disciples, alone in his time of trial: "The artist identifies with Christ in his agony, as he too goes it alone." But Germaine criticized the absence of traditional religious iconography: "one is able to proclaim the religious value of 'l'agonie'[but] all Catholicism will regret that the angels there were tearful spectators, when they should come to be consolers, yet nothing can deny his tragic grandeur and his character in

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[24] Cited also in M. Caffort "Un Français 'nazaréen': Émile Signol," Revue de l'art, 74 (1986): 53 note 22.

[25] "Un de ses tableaux de jeunesse, le Christ aux oliviers ('Seigneur, détournez de moi ce calice'...ruisselle de tendresse féminine et d'onction poétique. La douleur et la pompe, qui éclatent si haut dans la religion, font toujours écho dans son esprit." Charles Baudelaire, Oeuvres complètes, "Salon de 1859," Pléiade ed. (Paris: Galimard, 1976), 2: 632.

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art."[26] Delacroix himself described the angels in a sentimental vein: "these angels of death, sad and severe, bring him [Christ] their melancholy regard.--Think of Raphael."[27] When Germain judged that Delacroix's paintings lacked "traditional religious feeling," he meant style as well as a certain lack of traditional iconography.[25]

One reason that Delacroix has been stigmatized as an irreligious Voltairean skeptic who did not paint "truly religious" pictures is that scholars cited critics like Germain. Another reason is the erroneous notion that the religious pictures were merely commissions. A few contemporary critics disparaged Delacroix's efforts for his lack of religious feeling, but the most negative appraisal was written in 1844 by an anonymous reviewer who accused Delacroix of sacrilegious painting. The critic described

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[26] Alphonse Germain "L'Art religieux au XIXe siècle en France" Le Correspondant, n.s. 193 (October 1907): 241-263.

[27] Le Journal de Eugène Delacroix, ed. Flat, April 30, 1824, 1: 105. "--Pour mon tableau du Christ, les anges de la mort tristes et sévères portent sur lui leurs regards mélancoliques.--Penser à Raphael." Ibid.

[28] Its name derives from its origin at the Council of Trent held at Trento, Italy in 1563. See Chapter I. Germain wrote a positive review of Delacroix's religious works, but he praised Delacroix's movement and colorism. In terms of religious quality, he described the emotional content of the paintings. For example, "La Pietà, La Lutte de Jacob avec l'ange, ... l'effect affectif des lines, l'attitude de la Sainte-Vierge, très mère de douleur; geste peut-être trop lyrique." Germain, 244-245.

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Delacroix's work as a "disconnected ensemble, devoid of any soulful feeling.... We don't say this man is a charlatan, but we do say he is the equivalent of a charlatan....[The painting depicts] a putrified, frightful body that he dares to present to us as the image of the Son of God."[29]

There are three points for consideration: first, critics voiced the same objections about particular paintings by Flandrin or Déveria; second, the criticism of Delacroix's religious feelings was often a subterfuge for criticism of his colorism and brush stroke. Third, there are reviews by well-known critics appearing in influential publications, which contain high praise for Delacroix as a painter of religious subjects.[30]

What irked some critics was an emphasis on Jesus's

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[29] Maurice Tourneux, Eugène Delacroix devant ses contemporains (Paris: Librairie de l'art Jules Rouam, 1886), 118-119. "La Pietà, par M. Delacroix" Journal des artistes, 2e ser., 1(October 20,1844), 349-352. The anonymous reviewer claimed Delacroix had created an incomprehensible assemblage of many artists' styles, e.g. Michelangelo, Le Brun...into a mélange. The critic condemned government officials who, he (she) surmised, schemed and forced the director of fine arts to choose an artist based on powerful patronage. "We waited five years for so lamentable a result! Whoever wanted M. Delacroix to execute a religious picture should go to contemplate this shameful picture; he should blush. If only it had been possible, to have torn [up] the administrative order for this commission." Delacroix's sacrilegious painting, in this beholder's eye, amounted to a depiction of a "putrefied, frightful body that he dares to present to us as the image of the Son of God." 118-119.

[30] See Tourneux, Eugène Delacroix devant ses contemporains. In particular, see Paul Mantz's reviews which praise Delacroix's talent as an artist of sublime religious painting.

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humanity, albeit a Romantic, heroic humanity. This characterization emanated from Romantic idealist theology, which by the 1820s was reflected in paintings by new religious iconography. Delacroix was one artist among many who envisioned it. For example, works by Rouget (1824) Chassériau (1840), and Delacroix (1826) share a conception of the human nature of Christ, as well as compositional elements, dramatic chiaroscuro effects and elaborate, stylized visions of angels [figures 1,2,3]. Delacroix's Romantic composition is fresher, more original and more complex than the others; nevertheless, it was clearly part of a larger body of religious painting influenced by Romantic theologies.

In the 1820s, in Germany, a theology of Romantic idealism was largely propelled by the faculties of theology and philosophy at Tübingen. Romantic religion paralleled the Romantic movement in culture and art, its most significant aspect being a re-emergence of "baroque theology." Concerned with the dynamism of grace, its basic idea was the God-life operating freely in pluralistic ways: "grace within the human personality stressed that validity of divine life in a variety of ways--expressive and individual."[31] Johann Michael Sailer, who was greatly admired as a priest by the

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[31] O'Meara, "Leaving the Baroque," 10-28.

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classical composer Ludwig van Beethoven, became one of the first to understand the phenomenon of Romanticism and how it applied to religion. Sailer promoted a subjective approach to faith which explained that man accepts as real and true only those elements of revelation that he has experienced by his intellect or feelings.[32] Another Romantic theologian was Johann Sebastian von Drey whose ideas owed a debt to the Romantic movement promoting dynamic, organic growth in the Church.[33] Among his innovations he called for dialogue with other Christian Churches, for biblical devotion,[34] and for the abolition of the priestly vow of celibacy. At the same time, the theologian Johann B. Hirscher demanded abolition of private masses, advocated communion under both species(bread and wine), and urged that mass be said in the vernacular--innovations that were suppressed before the turn of the nineteenth century.[35] Exploratory ideas for

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[32] See Paul Johnson, The Birth of the Modern (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), 120-121.

[33] I am relying on McCool, O'Meara and Reardon for my summary of theological movements in Germany. This material is discussed in chapter I.

[34] This point was fairly innovative in Catholic pastoral service, where previously Church leaders has seen familiarity with Holy Scripture as a refutation of Church Magisterium teaching, and therefore, closely aligned with Protestantism. See chapter I.

[35] These suggestions would be put into effect in the next century, in 1963. In Germany, philosophers including Schelling. were busy rethinking the traditions of the Church and

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reinterpreting tradition were widespread and even a limited survey of contemporary publications indicates the dense activity devoted to theological systems.[36] The leitmotif of Protestant Schleiermacher's theology was the heroic, solitary individual self of early Romanticism. Similarly, Schelling, another Protestant whose ideas were influential in France and in the Catholic Church at large, lectured that Christian theology was based in philosophy; that the life of God was vitally important to finite beings; that nature and spirit are brought into unity through art, religion and philosophy. Schelling's Christian philosophy could resolve the differences of Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox Churches. According to McCool, "It was a period when, strangely enough, strong ties to a central authority (a nobleman or a pope) were coupled with a genuine cosmopolitan openness in philosophy, theology and art and literature." [37]

Following Schelling's ideas, the Abbé Bautain, a

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investigating the writing of the Patristic Fathers, e.g., Saints Augustine, Clement, Jerome, et al., in combination with the latest biblical criticism.

[36] Schleiermacher published Addresses on Religion. In 1800 Schelling published System of Transcendental Philosophy; 1801, Hegel published The Difference Between Fichte and Schelling; 1804, Schelling's Philosophy and Religion and 1809 Essay on Freedom. In 1805 Hermes published The Inner Truth of Christianity and Sailer published Basic Teaching on Religion. In 1812 Von Drey published Revision of Theology.

[37] McCool, Nineteenth-Century Theology, 47.

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professor of theology at the University of Strasbourg, provoked an intense controversy among French theologians, arguing against scholastic traditionalism and its system of discursive reasoning to prove God's existence. Bautain was a philosopher who, according to McCool, had been "one of Cousin's most brilliant students."[38] Essentially the critical point in Bautain's thinking was that man could be made to discover God within himself from his own experience.[39] Remarkably, Delacroix expressed this same idea near the end of his life when he wrote "God is within us . . . ."[40] Bautain proposed that God's existence is shown by an immediate intuition of his own uncreated spiritual reality: "God was the object of immediate

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Louis-Eugène Bautain (1796-1867), philosopher and theologian who developed a system of rationalism. In 1833 he promoted the Augustinian thesis that "philosophy, which is the study of wisdom, is nothing else than religion." He was forced to recant this position in 1834. Two propositions were deemed erroneous: reason alone cannot demonstrate the existence of God; reason alone cannot establish the credibility of the Christian religion. From 1842-1846 Bautain gave many lectures to the Cercle philosophique de Paris and in 1849 he became vicar general to archbishop Sibour at Paris. He was Professor of moral theology at the Sorbonne from 1853 to 1863. Some of Bautain's ideas were taken up a century later in the writing of Jesuit theologian Karl Rahner.

[40] Journal, October 12, 1862, 411. This conclusion on Delacroix's part is discussed more fully in chapter V.

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intuition."[41] Yet Bautain's Christian philosophy alienated equally traditonalists, rationalists and liberal Mennaisians. Fourcher argued that traditionalists found that Bautain's ideas too closely resembled Cousin's sensualism, scepticism and idealism. Similar to the secular philosopher, Bautain believed truth could be obtained by love and by abandonment to the infinite in us--that our response to the divine inspiration is to be simply believing with confidence in the traditional Law, the inspired word of the Old Testament and New Testament.[42] On the other side of the debate, Fourcher demonstrated that Bautain strongly opposed Mennaisian humanism, that he rejected the primacy of individual reason in the Christian faith, rejected modern rationalism and opposed teaching of the Sulpician Gallicanism! Bautain was forced to recant his propositions in 1834; nevertheless,
historians explain that the weight of Bautain's contribution was felt beyond the boundary of theological hermenutics.

Innovations continued to percolate among French prelates, some of whom even criticized the traditional devotions and ancient pilgrimages in France. One fundamental

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[41] Paul Poupard, L'Abbé Louis Bautain: introduction et choix de textes (Paris: Desclée, 1961), 189-209. See also McCool, Nineteenth-Century Theology, 46-56.

[42] Fourcher, 96-97.

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issue for debate between the papal authorities and the Gallican Church remained the large number of regional, fragmented liturgies in France, each with its particular prayers, saints and local rituals. As late as 1892, the Directeur des Cultes, Dumay, was able to say that "there isn't any French Church, there are ninety dioceses . . . ."[43]

In France, the most influential herald of the modern theology was Père Félicité Lamennais. One of his radical ideas called for the abolition of government financial support for the clergy--it was not popular with Gallican hierarchy. In 1817 he published Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion, which explained his certitude that faith must be sought in the common conviction of people (raison générale or sense commun) and that the highest expression of truth comes from the Church.[44] Lamennais intended to provide a religious basis for a civil society,

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[43] Dumay made his remark before the State Council. Cited in J. Gadille, "Vers le ralliement 1848-1892," Catholiques entre monarchie et republique, in Actes du colloque national de l'universite catholique de l'ouest Angers 23-25 September, 1992, eds. B. Plongeron, I. Emeriau and J. Riaud (Angers: Letouzey et Ané, 1995), 177-188.

[44] "Lamennais," National Catholic Encyclopedia, 347-348. Lamennais's traditionalism was based on the idea that faith alone, not reason, revealed truth. According to his reasoning, the Church was the authority of truth which confused cause with effect. "...He concluded that certitude for the individual results from the 'common sense,' whereas the 'common sense' results from the totality of individual certitudes."

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his published writings and his attacks on the Gallican hierarchy brought him increasing notoriety.

In later decades, the battle between traditional iconography and Catholic humanitarian iconography mirrored the ecclesiastical division. Religious genre paintings pointed increasingly to humanitarian interpretation of theological tenets. In the years preceding Delacroix's Christ in the Garden of 1826, when fewer religious paintings were shown, a majority of them mirrored contemporary secular subjects with a high narrative content in a Davidian neo-classical style. [See Appendix "A."] Paintings such as Caminade's Marriage of the Virgin (1824) [figure 6], and Bouillon's Jesus Christ Revives the Son of the Widow of Nain (1819) [figure 7] shared pictorial elements with secular subjects: for example, classical architecture, a theatrical proscenium, wide-angle views, emphatic gesture, and multi-figured compositions. Caminade's painting is informed by contemporary interest in historical and orientalizing details.

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> ***I remember seeing . . . and with intense pleasure, a copy of Prud'hon's Christ at Saint-Philippe-du-Roule. The emotional part seemed to rise up from the picture and to reach me on the wings of the music.***
>
> --E. Delacroix[45]

During the Bourbon Restoration (1815-1830), State commissions included copies of well-known, and presumably well-loved, religious paintings. The practice continued with successive regimes. More copies were commissioned than original works; copies were less costly than originals and usually were carried out by the lesser-known artists. From 1815 through 1850 the most-copied painting was Murillo's Assumption, and in third place was Raphael's Holy Family. By comparison, Correggio's work ranked sixteenth, Velásquez forty-fourth. Between 1851 and 1860 the State commissioned or bought 319 original religious paintings and 579 copies with religious subjects [see Appendix "B"]. The copies usually were of pictures located in Paris and were sent to the provinces. But the second most-copied painting epitomized the emergent religious thinking, combining new iconography and a fully romantic style of painting. Executed in 1823 by the French artist Pierre-Joseph Prud'hon, Christ on the Cross [figure 8] depicted a hugely popular religious

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[45] Journal, December 24, 1853, 215.

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subject [see Appendix "C"].[46] Copies of Prud'hon's painting were sent to churches or to the hôtels de ville in dozens of cities in France; its conception is extremely significant. Research by Angrand and Foucart has shown that parishes had a choice in what pictures they received and that the curé could convey preferences to the government official.[47] Costs played a part in the selection process, but in the matter of copies, costs were the same for a Raphael or a Prud'hon.[48] Christ on the Cross had genuine appeal--no doubt sympathy toward the picture was aroused by the artist's suicide soon after he completed the painting.

Prud'hon stressed the human nature of Christ, Jesus's vulnerability and his endurance of pain. The face of Jesus is bathed in deep shadow so that the indistinct features convey the possible "portrait" of every man. Prud'hon's painting closely follows Murillo's Christ on the Cross ([c.1665] the Putnam Collection, San Diego), in the way the slim but muscular figure is sensuously painted, and the luminous torso highlighted starkly against the dark shadowed

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[46] Prud'hon's Christ on the Cross 1823 (Louvre), and his Assumption were given to thirty-two Churches in ten years.

[47] Pierre Angrand, "L'Etat mécène: période autoritaire du second empire (1850-1860)," Gazette des beaux-arts (June 1968): 303-348.

[48] Angrand has compiled the statistics for religious commissions under the Second Empire and deduced that artistic ability was of no importance to the bursar. Ibid.

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background.[49] Jesus faces rightward, gazes up toward the Unseen God, and appears to be straining to escape beyond the present. Prud'hon conceived a Jesus who does not easily (or confidently) offer himself for the redemption of sinners; nevertheless, the concept appealed to the modern taste for intense emotion and an individualized psychological pain settles over the scene. Years later, Delacroix recorded in his Journal that Prud'hon was known as a painter of materiality--but for Delacroix, the power and charm of the painting was "wholly a matter of feeling . . . he was the only painter of this period with execution to equal his conception."[50]

Although Prud'hon's Christ on the Cross deviates from a purely orthodox interpretation and the idea of God's voluntary act of sacrificial love, it is a prime example of innovative nineteenth-century iconography which until now

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[49] Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (c.1618-1682) represented the crucified Christ gazing upward in a transcendent image of the man-God. Murillo's figure of Jesus is frontal, but other details were copied by Prud'hon, such as the turn of the head, the parted lips in prayer, and the slim but well-proportioned torso. The nearly bloodless body is highly illuminated against a dark background. Prud'hon captured something of Spanish mysticism and piety in Counter-Reformation religious painting.

[50] Journal, January 25, 1857, 353. The statement about Prud'hon appeared as part of Delacroix's "Dictionary of Art" under the heading "On Execution and Its Importance." The dictionary was never completed.

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has been studied apart from its religious context.[51] Prud'hon's Christ on the Cross evolved from German idealist and Romantic theology based on individual, subjective experience of grace.[52] The painting, conceptually similar to Delacroix's 1827 religious commission, combined the religious icon with Romantic subjectivism; both artists avoided traditional iconography and each artist's conception showed the strong, if indirect, influence of theologian George Hermes (and the ideas of Johann Dollinger in his early years). In 1846 Delacroix published an article on Prud'hon in Revue des deux mondes[53] where he described Prud'hon's power to move him: "he always spoke to the eyes

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[51] Apart from stylistic analysis in contemporary scholarship, the picture has been restricted to a psychological reading probably because of the tragic circumstances surrounding the artist. An example of a similar conception of Christ on the cross in sculpture was executed by Antoine Préault in 1840, now located in Saint-Gervais-Protais, Paris. In a purely political reading of nineteenth-century religious sculpture, R. Butler described Préault's work as exclusive of religious meaning, and she relates that the work was refused twice by Parisian curés. "Preault's Christ does not die in humble resignation. Instead His mien is a rebellious one in a way that connects Him with the darker side of Romantic religious imagery." Ruth Butler, "Religious Sculpture in Post-Christian France," in The Romantics to Rodin: French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture from North American Collections, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980), 83-95.

[52] Nineteenth-century theologians such as Johann Joseph Ignaz Dollinger in Germany or Louis Bautain in France conceived of grace--divine life--as it exists within varied human experience. The concept could be explained in terms similar to many aspects of Romanticism.

[53] E. Delacroix, Revue des deux-mondes (November 1, 1846).

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through the soul." Some years later, in the Church of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule, Delacroix came upon a copy of Prud'hon's Christ and he was again struck by the emotional power of the picture.[54]

The late 1820s continued to see radical theological tracts published in Germany with the discourse moving toward a more dynamic, organic model of the Catholic Church. Open dialogue flourished for a time among theologians and the Church hierarchy. One example of the organic approach was George Hermes's Dogmatics. His theology was committed to individual reason as a way to belief in the existence of God, and his ideas had implications for challenging external authority.[55] Tridentine theology--continuing in France since the sixteenth century and revered as traditionalism, a kind of scholasticism--taught that truth can be attained through God's revelation alone and that reason by itself is

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[54] Journal, December 24, 1853, 215. Prud'hon did several portraits of statesman Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Perigord (1754-1838), Prince de Benevent. Napoleon I commissioned Prud'hon to paint Talleyrand's portrait in 1806 (Musée de Carnavalet) and in 1807 (Chateau de Valencay), and the minister commissioned Prud'hon for his portrait in 1817 (Metropolitan Museum of Art).

[55] Hermes's ideas would develop as Traditionalism in France in contrast to the scholasticism that emerged from theologians in Strasbourg by the 1850s. His ideas would be condemned after his death in 1835. According to O'Meara, the condemnation "was not... clear and many secondary motives played a part."

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incapable of reasoning truth[55](see Chapter I).

The 1830s

In the 1830s and beyond, liberal French clergy, primarily inspired by German academics, were publishing their ideas along with more traditional theologians. Lamennais's liberal Catholicism was influenced by German theologians like Johann Adam Möhler. At 29, Möhler published The Unity of the Church which proposed a theology of change, a Church that "pulses with growth and dialectic."[57] Möhler's ideas influenced French Catholicism because of the originality of his thesis, which saw the Catholic Church as an organic spiritual community, divinely created: [it] "took as the subject for its developmental system neither the human mind nor God but the Church."[58] The important controversy hinged on understanding that Catholic doctrine was the result of a process of organic development: the fundamental dogma of the "Kingdom of God."[59] One result of this theology was the conceptual

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[56] "Traditionalism," National Catholic Encyclopedia, 228.

[57] O'Meara, 148.

[58] Ibid., 149.

[59] See Reardon, Religion in the Age of Romanticism, 140-141. Belief in an organic nature of dogmatic principles rattled some hierarchical structures, and it meant deepening appreciation of history and traditions of the Church. Möhler's and von Drey's

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elevation of ordinary, human life.[60] As theologians, Johann Adam Möhler and Johann Joseph Dollinger did not promulgate political agendas, but their ideas formed a social platform that sought to restore civic life based on Catholic principles.[61]

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emphasis on historical circumstances did not threaten tenets of Revealed history, but did bring into question rationalist methods. The neo-Thomist theology was abstract and reductive. After 1860 the neo-Thomists quashed the Romantic theologies.

[60] This is O'Meara's translation of Möhler. O'Meara, 45.
In order to justly summarize a substantive theology argued by Hermes, Drey et al., some vital points must be included. According to McCool: "The basis of the argument that the Church was an organic spiritual community was formed by one fundamental idea, the 'Kingdom of God.' This idea existed in the Church community because it had been communicated to the human race by God through an act of divine revelation." (Drey based some of this on Schelling's philosophy.) "... Material creation could never bring man to a knowledge of God or of metaphysical reality. God must reveal himself...if he is to be known. Or failing that, if the idea of God must be received in man's intuitive intelligence through the spoken word of another man in whose mind the idea of God has already been received...God, however, as a free and provident creator, had his free purposes which he intends to achieve through historical development and the human race.... Part of that plan was communicated in primitive revelation...more communicated to the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Law by the divine inspiration...in turn to the members of their community....God's ultimate revelation...to the Word Incarnate....The overarching idea of God's ...for the human race,...is the idea of the Kingdom of God....The idea of the Kingdom of God therefore comes to conscious expression in the tradition of the Church,..." McCool, Nineteenth-Century, 72.

[61] Historians such as O'Meara, McCool and Reardon agree that Dollinger's ideas became increasingly important as theology turned to history during the nineteenth century. Dollinger insisted on a theology based less on philosophy than on history. Scholars believe he clearly was influenced by contemporary Romanticism during the 1820s, but later aimed his brand of liberalism toward an anti-Papal position. See Chapter I. Lamennais visited Dollinger, Gorres and Schelling in Munich during his trip to Germany in 1832. Lacordaire, Montalembert, and Rio visited Schelling et al. in Munich, 1832-33.

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In succeeding decades, tenets of liberal and traditional theologies were not rigidly espoused by either liberal or conservative French ecclesiastics, with a result that political categories--liberal or conservative, ultramontane or Gallican--became somewhat blurred. In 1832 Lamennais, Rio and Montalembert visited Dollinger and Gores in Munich. Alexis-François Rio (1797-1874) became the best known art historian and theorist of Christian art. He credited Abbé Dollinger with introducing him to Karl Friedrich Rohmur's book on Italian painting, and with encouraging in him the idea to write a history of Christian art.[62]

> ***The New Testament is capable of guiding the masses in their aspirations toward freedom and justice.***
>
> --F. Lamennais [63]

In 1830 Louis Philippe came to power riding the crest of a wave that condemned autocracy and clericalism. The anticlerical feeling spurred a new outbreak of

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[62] A. F. Rio, The Poetry of Christian Art, trans. T. Bosworth (London, 1834). Rio cites Karl Friedrich Rumohr's Italienische Forschungen.

[63] Félicité de Lamennais, Oeuvres complètes, vol.4, "Essai sur l'indifference en matière de religion," chap. 32, "De l'ecriture sainte," 121-177.

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Voltaireanism.[64] The Gallican Church [French nationalist hierarchy] was closely aligned with the Bourbon monarchy, and the anti-religious movement severely decreased the number of government commissions for Christian art. The Ultra-royalists [also known as the party of the "Ultras"] included the upper clergy reluctant to forgo their ancien régime privileges. The Ultras were either Gallican supporters or Gallican prelates and not, primarily, ultramontanes.[65] At the same moment, a new social Catholicism arose that permeated the religious culture, and in varying degrees it helped free religion from being identified with a repressive royal government. Père Lamennais preached Catholic socialism which protested

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[64] Hocedez, a conservative Church historian, says that Voltaireanism "impregnated the social liberal triumph." Hocedez, Histoire de la théologie au XIX[e] siècle, 130. Anticlericalism and abhorrence of reactionary King Charles X promoted a large number of anticlerical books, (Latrille cites 2,741,000 printed books in eight years). Re-editions by "impious" and libertine authors--e.g., Diderot, Voltaire--had been given twelve complete editions, and Rousseau thirteen; 50,000 copies of "Tartuffe" were printed. A. Latrielle and R. Remond, Histoire du catholicisme en France, 3 (Paris, 1962), 271.

[65] There were, of course, ultramontanes who were royalists as well. Among the devotees of throne and altar, an example was Ferdinand de Bertier. Because his father was lynched by a mob during the revolution, he hated the revolution and this moved him to become a militant royalist. He established a secret society, the Chevalerie de la Foi. in 1810 to resist Napoleon I and to prepare the return of Louis XVIII. After 1830, he joined the group that attempted to overthrow Louis-Philippe to restore Bourbon power; his interests were more political than religious and ultramontane. Ferdinand de Bertier, Souvenirs d'un ultra-royalist (1815-1832), ed. G. De Bertier de Sauvigny (Paris, 1993).

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injustice to the poor, complacency of the bourgeoisie and State control of the Church. France in general was arrayed in socialist ideas propagated by Saint-Simon, Fourier, Leroux, Proudhon, Buchez, Louis Blanc, and Victor Considerant. Beginning around 1830, liberal Catholic theology which privileged Christ's humanity developed a social theory led by Philippe-Joseph-Benjamin Buchez (1796-1832), that formed new religious iconography which critics termed the "eclectic style." Prime examples were Scheffer's Christ the Intercessor and Christ the Consoler [figures 9,10] In 1833, Buchez's thesis, published in Introduction à la science de l'histoire du développement de l'humanité, equated progressive development in the arts with progressive social development i.e., from Egyptian paganism to Christianity. In a review of the 1836 Salon, published in L'Européen, Buchez's theory clearly defined criteria for Christian art, and he had a direct influence on religious art and art critics.[66] Ironically, Buchez's formulae for liberal Catholic action became reversed and fashioned into conservative standards for religious art. The aim, he

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[66] P.-J.-B. Buchez, "Le Salon," L'Européen I, no.7 (May 1836). See also Foucart's chapter "La critique socialiste et humanitaire devant l'art religieux" that is very useful for this topic. Foucart, Le Renouveau de peinture religieuse, chap. 8, 123-139. Buchez's view of history meant a just and Christian society was a hierarchical one, with clerics holding the spiritual power.

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explained, was to make art that would distress bourgeois viewers; he addressed artists saying:

> . . . let their rest be troubled by your clamor and become unbearable; ridicule these elegant idlers who gallantly waste their time horse racing . . . charming women . . . you have in your hands a power which nothing can weaken . . . to attack that which is falling, to hasten the fall . . . there is the task of the fine arts . . . .[67]

Delacroix was lumped with a host of academic religious painters, all of whom the editors of the liberal Catholic journal L'Européen believed did not understand the significance of their subjects. The critic at L'Européen deplored Delacroix's painting Saint Sebastian Helped by the Holy Women (1835, Nantua): "the color is a failure, the general tone of the picture is heavy and powerless."[68] Editors of the liberal journal complained about exploitation of workers and criticized art for becoming little else but flattery; they held that Christian principles could regenerate society and that art was one of its means.[69] In

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[67] Buchez, R. Du Progrès I, 14 (1839). Cited in George Boas, French Philosophies of the Romantic Period (New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), 289.

[68] "La couleur dans le Saint-Sebastien de Delacroix est échec. Le ton général de son tableau est lourd et sans puissance." "Le Salon de 1836" L'Européen, May 1836, 218. The journal L'Européen, Journal de morale et de philosophie was launched in 1835 and published until 1837.

[69] The editors believed art should be used for moral and didactic purposes although the paper did not take sides between the colorists and the proponents of line. "L'art doit toujours

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his 1914 book Du romantisme au réalisme, Leon Rosenthal, a militant communist, was one of the first art historians to point out a connection between the intense interest in religious art and the social reform movement of the 1830s and 1840s.[70] Rosenthal quoted critics such as Auguste Barbier, whose 1837 Salon review described the notable increase in the number of religious subjects: "leur nombre dépasse même celui des tableaux de batailles."[71] Frédéric de Mercey, whose 1838 review appeared in the Revue des deux-mondes, said: "Il n'est guère d'artiste cette année, qui n'ait fait son tableau de sainteté."[72] Writers such as Buchez emphasized the social value of religious art to promote concern for the underclass and to effect social regeneration. Comte believed that art could improve the masses by reforming their hearts, that painting was a didactic tool to enhance harmony among the classes.

être social...l'art est l'expression la plus pénétrante que l'esprit de l'homme puisse atteindre...."

Foucart assessed that the weakness of artists who adhered to progressive Catholic tenets was to put the idea before form, ultimately unable to produce a satisfying religious picture.

[70] Léon Rosenthal, Du romantisme au réalisme: essai sur l'évolution de la peinture en France de 1830-1848, (Paris: Renouard, 1914; reprint, Paris: Éditions Macula, 1987), 83 (page citation to the reprint ed.).

[71] Auguste Barbier, "Salon de 1837," Revue des deux-mondes (April 1837): 146. Cited in Rosenthal, 87 (page citation to the reprint ed.).

[72] F. de Mercey, "Salon de 1838," Revue des deux-mondes (May 1838): 389. Cited in Rosenthal, ibid.

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Rosenthal noted that although these ideas were at first scoffed at and the reformers mocked, they gradually gained acceptance after 1840. Rosenthal believed liberal Catholicism and the tenets of secular, social humanitarianism reached their greatest strength around 1848. He argued that the rise in the number of religious subjects shown in the Salon was directly related to the humanitarian zeal.[73]

At the opposite end of the political spectrum, conservative Catholic critics often submerged consideration of form or style for art's more elevated, didactic purposes. And they were often indifferent to the battle between Ingristes or coloristes.

F.P. Bowman has shown how Christian theology likewise seeped into contemporary literature (George Sand is a good example).[74] "After the Revolution and continuing until 1848, writers didn't cease to suggest the historical consequences of the events of Nazareth and Golgotha."[75] Bowman demonstrated the presence of four specific themes: The incarnation of the Word assures the presence of God in us;

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[73] Rosenthal, 375-376.

[74] Frank P. Bowman, Le Christ des barricades (Paris: Cerf, 1987), 69, 343, 356.

[75] Ibid., 264-269. Bowman cites Sand's Consuleo et la Rudolstadt, Lettres à Marcie, and Lelia.

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Jesus was a master of Love and of fraternal charity; The sacrifice of the crucifixion led to redemption over all forms of evil; Christianity is a function of the Word in history. Recently, Michel Desplan summarized Bowman's evidence of the religious meaning, and particularly of the Christological themes, in nineteenth-century literature: "Thus Christology [the part of dogmatic theology that studies the redemptive nature of Christ's person and work] positions humanity in a Christian history and elaborates a Christian figure of hope."[76] Desplan found that, in the nineteenth century, religion and society were mutually supportive in French culture; the French embraced both the Catholic social philosophy of Lamennais, and secular social philosophies such as that of Auguste Comte.[77] According to Comte, religion was a matter of personal commitment to humane values, so that the humanity of Christ and his suffering evolved into a state of compassion beyond the artificial boundaries of a Church.

Among thinkers in the secular power structure,

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[76] Desplan, 59.

[77] Auguste Comte's "Religion of Humanity" can be characterized as a philosophy of "Catholicism without Christianity." Comte's 1822 essay Plan des travaux scientifiques nécessaires pour réoganiser la société is similar to Lamennais's ideas on the same subject. See chap. I. Auguste Comte, General View of Positivism, "The Religion of Humanity," trans. J. H. Bridges, Official Centenary ed. (New York: Speller & Sons, 1957).

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historian and Foreign Minister François Guizot (1787-1874) published his ideas about the reciprocal nature of religion and society in his 1828 book Histoire de la civilisation en Europe. Guizot acknowledged that the relationship was essential to progressive civilization and that religion formed the fabric of a healthy society; he asserted that religious beliefs and organized religion benefited not only the individual but governments.[78]

Although some religious writers asserted that the retrenchment of government commissions for religious art lasted until the Second Empire, Salon exhibition records prove them wrong. State commissions for religious painting did, in fact, recede for a number of years, but overall the 1830s and 1840s proved to be the greatest period of the nineteenth century for innovative religious iconography in France. More keenly than political or stylistic currents,

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[78] François Guizot, Histoire de la civilisation en Europe (Paris, 1828; reprint, Paris: Hachette, 1985), 113, 133-136 (page citations are to the reprint edition). "Puissant et fécond priciple d'association....Religion veut être considérée du point de vue de la civilisation. Elle n'est pas purement individuelle, mais entre dans le gouvernement des sociétés."

Modern historians such as Rosanvallon demonstrated how Guizot had finally to accept the facts of [French] history and "to admit that the Catholic component was a durable presence in the political equation." (Desplan cites Andre Biéler and Rosanvallon.) Desplan agreed that "all the socialist theoreticans, finally, want to correctly analyze the religious phenomenon." Michel Desplan, "La Religion au XIXe siècle: quelques particularités françaises," Religion in History/La religion dans l'histoire: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, 13(1992): 57-69. Pierre Rosanvallon, Le Moment Guizot (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), 238-40.

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the upswing in the number of religious pictures was hastened by a resurgence in religious feeling, itself stimulated by dynamic, new theological thinking. Despite the censorious attitude of a small number of neo-Catholic critics, even among the clergy personal piety was not considered a criterion for creating praiseworthy religious art. Delacroix received a major religious commission under a government that had the closest ties to conservative Church authorities since the regime of Louis XVI. Delacroix's 1827 commission came at the crest of restored Bourbon power, when the number of religious commissions was approaching a high point. Religious subjects averaged about eight percent of the works shown at the Salon from 1827 through the 1830s, then the figure rose to thirteen percent in the 1840s, followed by seven percent through the 1850s. This does not include copies or murals in situ commissioned by the government which made up about thirty-eight percent of all government commissions for the years 1851-1860[79] [see Appendix "A"]. Furthermore, Delacroix's reputation as a skeptic, a boulevardier and a radical--in 1830, he painted the famed Liberty Leading the People--was no obstacle to his being favored with government commissions. The statistical data reveal that his status gained him religious commissions when

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[79] Angrand, "L'État mècène," 303-348.

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those commissions were abundant. Reasons for this include an appreciation for his artistic genius, the partisan support of Talleyrand, Thiers, and Mme. François Cavé,[80] and his willingness to depict sanctioned Christian dogma. Private collectors sought out his religious paintings for similar reasons--artistic appreciation, the prestige of owning a work by Delacroix, and a taste for religious images. Delacroix received a major religious commission under the conservative Bourbon monarchy of the Restoration and another under the rule of Louis-Philippe (1830-1848). A third commission for Saint-Sulpice was granted under the July Monarchy and carried out in the reign of Napoleon III.

If Delacroix demonstrated, however loosely, a Mennaisian influence in his religious themes, for example, in The Good Samaritan and The Agony in the Garden, he had a well-known predecessor, Dutch painter Ary Scheffer. Scheffer, more than any other artist in the 1830s, illustrated the new Catholic humanism--an iconography that stressed Christ's compassion. Scheffer's pictures

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[80] Adolphe Thiers was the first supporter in print of Delacroix's work; he praised the early Salon picture Dante and Virgil in 1824, and urged the government to buy the artist's pictures and to offer him commissions. Scholars agree that Thiers's early and continued support for the young Delacroix was at the insistence of Talleyrand. Mme. Cavé (Élisa Boulanger) was Delacroix's mistress for a time. She was married to her second husband, M. François Cavé, the influential administrator of the fine arts. Talleyrand's relation to Delacroix is noted above.

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represented Menaissian liberal Catholicism which evolved from the philosophy of Schelling and Schleiermacher between 1800 and 1830.[81] Schleiermacher was called the "father of cultural Protestantism," but his ideas were embraced by the Catholic thinkers. For example, the powerful arch-conservative newspaper publisher, Louis Veuillot, included Scheffer's paintings as illustrations for his book, Jesus Christ: avec une étude sur l'art chrétien (1875).[82] Scheffer, a Protestant, played an active role in the politics of the July Monarchy,[83] and it is likely he received State commissions and critical praise because of his close association with the government. In the 1840s his work garnered qualified praise from Baudelaire but later, in the 1860s, he was ridiculed by the poet and by the

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[81] Schleiermacher (1768-1834) professor of theology at Halle and later Tübingen. See chap. I. There were other prominent Protestant theologians after Schleiermacher, Romantics like Anthanase Coquerel, Samuel Vincent, Alexandre Vinet.

[82] Veuillot was the editor of L'Univers and a powerful voice for ultramontanism. See E. Cartier and L. Veuillot, Jesus Christ: avec une étude sur l'art chrétien (Paris: Firmin-Didot frères, fils et Cie, 1875), in particular chap. 3.

Because Scheffer was a Dutch Protestant, some label him "the ecumenical painter", e.g., Foucart. But his work was valued by Catholic patrons.

[83] Scheffer's niece married philologist and historian Ernest Renan, famed author of La vie de Jesus. The book was published in 1861 and had little if any effect on religious painting. By the 1860s the humanity of Christ was not a subject for orthodox religious iconography. See chapter I.

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Goncourts.[84] Schleiermacher taught that Christian revelation was simultaneously supernatural and natural, that Christ had been truly man; ergo, human nature has to be capable of receiving divine life as Christ has received it. He was certain that human beings have the possibility of this union.[85] Contemporary critics complained that Scheffer's religious pictures were "too philosophical," or that they were "too German," which Foucart interpreted as meaning they were too intellectual. In 1859 Louis Viardot argued that Scheffer was caught up in the spirit of his times, a period that was more concerned with morality than faith. Viardot thought Scheffer's "metaphysical paintings"

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[84] Baudelaire, "Salon of 1846," Oeuvres complétes, Pléiade ed. (Paris: Gallimard, 1967), 2: 474-475. "M. Ary Scheffer est un homme d'un talent éminent, ou plutôt une heruesuse imagination, mais qui a trop varié sa manière pour en avoir une bonne; c'est un poetè sentimental qui salit des toiles." Ibid., "Le Musée du Bazar Bonne-Nouvelle," (1846), 413.

[85] Schleiermacher wrote: "La révélation chrétienne êst en même temps surnaturelle et naturelle: ce qui serait la nouveauté du Christianisme. L'affirmation la plus nette de la différence entre le Christ et tous les autres n'empêche pas d'admettre que son apparition comme incarnation du Fils de Dieu constitue quelque chose de natural. Puisque le Christ a été vraiment homme, la nature humaine doit être capable de récevoir le divin, comme le Christ, l'a recú. Certes, dans, la nature humaine ne réside que la possibilité de cette union...." See E. Brito "l'Apologique de Schleiermacher" Bulletin de littérature ecclesiastique, 93, no. 4 (1992): 381-82. Also quoted in Plongeron. In this sense Scheiermacher is nearer the Jesuit position about the nature of grace (efficacious grace, stressed man's free will) than the Jansenist notion (sufficient grace, predestination). Both St. Thomas and St. Augustine believed in the natural capability of the soul for divine life--grace, and that the soul was created for the purpose of participating in that grace.

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cast aside art's true role and he criticized subjects that practically required a written explanation, e.g., Christ the Consoler (1846), which he characterized as less like painting and more like a book.[86] In a more acerbic critique, Vitet wrote: "In this painter there is more philosophy than religion,"[87] suggesting that some viewers were aware of the ideological link to the German Protestant philosopher. Scheffer was never regarded as an "ecumenical artist" devising his own agenda for détente between Catholics and Protestants. Scheffer's high regard for humanity, and his vision of a God deeply concerned with human problems was evidently popular with Catholics. The humanist message was increasingly welcomed by believing peasants and working-class Parisians. Paintings such as

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[86] "Avec l'esprit de son temps, plus ouvert à la morale qu'à la foi, Scheffer devait nécessairement s'efforcer de rajeunir, ...et d'introduire la philosophie dans la religion...que faire la peinture metaphysicienne, c'etait l'oter à son vrai role,...qu'on tableau qui demande une explication écrite n'est plus un tableau, mais un livre.... Ils appartenaient plutôt à l'art allemand moderne, que nous voyons se consumer et se perdre dans des compositions nébuleuses, pleines sans doute de science et d'ingéniosité, mais antipittoresques, exigeant des volumes d'explications pour être à demi comprises même des inieités, où leurs auteurs enfin font avec le pinceau sur la toile, non de la peinture, mais de la littérature et de la métaphysique. Scheffer reconnut ou devait l'entraîner cette pente périlleuse, et, revenant aussitôt sur ses pas, il chercha un art religieux qui, pivant réunir la beauté et l'expression des italiens, la vie et le mouvement des hollandais, la clarté et la raison françaises, fût véritablement celui de notre époque." Louis Viardot, "Ary Scheffer," Gazette des beaux-arts (February 1859): 137-138.

[87] Ibid., 137; Ludovic Vitet, "Ary Scheffer," Revue des deux-mondes (October 1858): 124.

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Christ the Consoler and Christ the Intercessor [figures 9,10] translated theology into new religious iconography. The subject, based on Luke's Gospel (4:18), forgoes any narrative, but interprets Jesus's proclamation: "I have come to set captives free."

Scheffer modernized the message by including an African and a Pole in his painting. Scheffer depicted the poor as the mistreated and the economically enslaved. In this period, reformers like Frédéric Ozanam insistently brought the plight of the underclass to the notice of French society. The contemporary figures in Scheffer's painting reinforced Christian dogma[86] and lent immediacy to the encounter between the believer and eternal Truth. Generally speaking, the Revolution had co-opted gospel principles of justice, fraternal love and charity, and ever since the Napoleonic wars there was an awakened curiosity about cultural and racial differences--e.g., with Italian peasants, Native Americans, Africans, and an intense curiosity about the "Muselmans" in the Holy Land. Political struggles in Poland, Ireland and Greece fueled interest and provided examples for illustrating gospel values. By the early 1830s, Christ Liberator was fairly well accepted; a

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[86] The doctrinal aspect is underscored by including contemporary types; the aim of religious art is to effect this encounter--in the here and now--with eternal Truth.

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critic responded to Scheffer's 1836 painting Christ the Consoler writing: "It was Christ who was breaking the chains of the Poles, . . . it is a bloody reproach against those who have taken the part of the Czar against the Polish people."[89]

Bowman pointed out that Jesus was seen less and less as the realization of the prophets, and more and more as a revolutionary in the human condition.[90] Lamennais's ideas for Catholic socialism had spread far and deep in French society and became obvious in the revolution of 1848.

In 1819 for the fifth time, Bernard Picart's book on the world's religions, their ceremonies and costumes had been republished.[91] Three Salon paintings typify this popular mood: Laemelein's Charité, Salon of 1846 (Caen) shows the allegorical figure surrounded by a multiracial/multiethnic group of children [figure 20]; H.

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89 Piel, "Salon de 1837," L'Européen (July-August 1837).

90 Bowman, Christ des barricades, 190.

91 Its appeal was led, in part, by anticlericals who wished to undermine the supremacy of the Catholic Church in France. Picart (1673-1733) was French but established his career as an engraver in Holland. His book contained 266 engravings and was posthumously published in Dutch, English and French, in 1723, 1731, 1741, 1783,1810 and 1819. B. Picart Cérémonies et coutumes réligieuses de tous les peuples du monde, réprésentée par des figures déssinées de B.Picar, avec une explication historique, et quelques dissertations curieuses par Bruzen de la Martinere et autres redigées par, J.F. Bernard. Amsterdam, 1723-1743.

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Lenglet's picture of Saint-Philippe-de-Jesus, Martyr of Japan 1851, and Guichard's Les Saints Patrons de la ville de Nagasaki au Japon (Salon 1848).[92]

On the other hand, traditional iconography was sustained by such artists as Orsel, Roger, and Amaury-Duval [figures 11-13]. Tridentine elements included dogmatic, hieratic themes where events occur in the celestial realm and which focused on the supernatural life, for example God the Father, God the Holy Spirit and the Glorified Son. These Tridentine subjects were rendered in a simplified, almost severe style, Byzantine in feeling. The formula is illustrated by Victor Orsel's paintings for the Chapelle de la Vierge 1836-1850 (Notre-Dame-de-Lorette) [figure 11], or Eugène Amaury-Duval's Crowning of the Virgin 1844-1846 (Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois) [figure 13].

In contrast, Delacroix's Heliodorus Being Vanquished from the Temple and Déveria's David Singing the Psalms [figures 14,15] are Romantic paintings. Critics paired the Delacroix and Déveria because they shared high narrative content and stylistic mannerisms: strong diagonal construction, turbulent movement, and sometimes thrilling

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[92] Interest in these subjects probably reflected official Church recognition of Japanese catholicism around this time. The first Japanese to be canonized saints took place in Rome in 1862.

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gestures.[93] Said Charles Blanc of Déveria's fame: "for an instant, but only for an instant, he was the rival of Eugène Delacroix."[94] Growing interest in biblical historicism had a positive influence on the depiction of modern theologies at work in the Delacroix and Déveria paintings. Astutely, Abbé Hurel had praised Delacroix's paintings at Saint-Sulpice because they "were biblical history made modern." [95] It is true that modern biblical exegesis was part of the Sulpician praxis, yet this did not conflict with traditional belief in prayer of petition (in the Heliodorus painting) and in prayer of praise (in the King David subject). On the other hand, radical theology confronted the viewer with a reordered spiritual meaning that found holiness in everyday life.

Despite disparate painting styles, together Delacroix and Scheffer established the parameters of innovative iconography in such paintings as Delacroix's The Good

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[93] Elizabeth Kashey and Francis X. Flood, "Religious Art in Nineteenth-century France," Christian Imagery in French Nineteenth-Century Art: 1789-1906 (New York: Shepherd Gallery, Spring 1980), 70.

[94] Charles Blanc, "Eugène Delacroix," Gazette des beaux-arts, 16 (1864):118. Blanc probably was referring to critics such as Louis Vitet, who wrote for le Globe; Vitet made the Delacroix-Dèveria comparison in an 1826 review. Vitet's remark was repeated by M. Gauthier in La Vie et l'art romantiques: Achille et Eugène Dèveria (Paris: Floury, 1925), 26.

[95] Hurel, 56.

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Samaritan, The Disciples Helping Saint Stephen, and Scheffer's Christ the Intercessor [figure 10]. Social Catholicism emphasized the created being not the Creator, the depiction of earthly events not the heavenly realm, daily life and the prescription for a living sainthood. Modern theologies emphasized Jesus's suffering redemptive action rather than his judgment or his resurrected, glorified existence at the right hand of God. [96] Scheffer's Christ the Consoler, [figure 9] enjoyed prolonged success through wide circulation as an engraving by Dupont.[97] Scheffer's 1845 painting Saint Augustine and Saint Monica [figure 16] was bought by the State in 1859 for 20,000ff, the highest price paid that year for a religious work.[98] Dispensing with complicated backgrounds, the paintings uniformly convey a quiet harmony, and comforting images of faith for a society steeped in callous urban growth.[99] In a

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[96] Victor Fournel: "One could never truly appreciate the variety of feeling and emotions that Scheffer found in the human condition." Victor Fournel, Les Artistes français contemporains (Tours, 1884) 110-111.

[97] The engraving was made in 1840, it remained one of the most popular pious images for over fifty years and copies illustrated catechisms. Scheffer did approximately sixty religious works in his career.

[98] Louis Viardot, "M. Ary Scheffer," Gazette des beaux-arts, 1 (February 1859): 129-141.

[99] Worker insurrections were a continual fear in the face of economic crises of 1830, 1848, or 1870. See G. Cholvy and Y.-M. Hilaire, Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine, vol. 1

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similar style, Gérard's painting Sainte-Thérèse [figure 17] captured the taste for "here-and-now" sainthood which eschewed historicism.[100] (The 1828 picture conformed to "modern" religious painting that remained popular until the 1850s.) The sixteenth-century Spanish mystic is shown at eye-level, her intense and direct gaze impels communion with the viewer. Gérard positions the nun kneeling at the base of a stone column in a shadowed cathedral with a single shaft of light falling on the figure. The painter cleverly dismissed narrative details, apart from the religious garb and some decorative motifs in the stone floor, and composed a painting that rises above portraiture and speaks to intentionality. With her arms flexed and hands clasped in prayer, the intimacy and immediacy of the encounter enforces the notion that one might come on this scene in any near-by church or cloister. Deliberately absent are the traditional baroque elements of the ecstatic or ethereal realms, holiness is brought "down to our level;" the painter seems

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1800-1880 (Toulouse: Privat, 1985). See Adrien Dancette, Religious History of Modern France, trans. J. Dingle. 2 vols. (Freiburg: Herder; Edinburgh/London: Nelson, 1961), 252-260. Dancette concentrates on the struggles between Church and State, and on the failure of the Church to come to terms with modernity.

[100] An anonymous critic wrote in Gazette de France, on 22 March 1828, in praise of Gérard's Sainte-Thérèse, but complained vigorously about Delacroix's work Sardanapalus--not his religious subject.

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to be saying sanctity is within our grasp. Religious genre became an apposite vehicle for the theme "the holiness of everyday life". Von Drey and Möhler had insisted uniquely on the organic character of Catholicism. Their innovative method explained a philosophy of revelation as two interdependent actions of God's salvation, as incarnation and indwelling. "At the incarnation the miraculous event of God becoming human in Christ, and by virtue of the incarnation in history, God dwells in humanity . . . the religion of salvation which he imparted . . . must take the form of an abiding historical institution, the Catholic Church."[101] This doctrine imparted actual saving grace to the Church, the people of God. Drey and, then, Möhler's influence on nineteenth-century German Catholic thought was far-reaching, prompting Romantic theology to progress beyond conceptions of subjective experience of God, toward a more dynamic meaning of religion. Theology elevated human existence and assimilated ideas of other disciplines; it filtered into culture as entirely new religious iconography that claimed the divine presence within and among ordinary lives. Religious imagery that proposed new theologies (e.g., Scheffer, Delacroix) could be distinguished from depictions of mere religiosity as they were from Tridentine iconography

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[101] McCool, Nineteenth-Century Theology, 138-139.

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and from the "neo-Catholic" school of painting.

Apart from differences in style and the clear distinction between the immaterial and natural realm, religious genre paintings created before 1850 are subdivided into two groups. One group depicts subjects that elevate human endeavors such as acts of charity, compassion, piety, bravery; they affect compositional simplicity and authentic narrative. The others forfeit modern theologies by incorporating Tridentine symbols and taking the present "reality" into a material but unnatural sphere (e.g. Orsel, figure 11). Admittedly, in many cases among religious genre paintings the differences are too subtle to be consistently defined.

In addition to Delacroix, many artists received commissions to decorate Saint-Sulpice, among them was F. J. Heim. In 1845 his two paintings, Prayers for the Dead Obtain Deliverance of Souls Suffering in Purgatory and Religion Exhorts the Christian to Suffer in This Life in Order to Avoid the Pains of Purgatory [figures 18,19] offered a strained combination of humble humanity joined to a celestial realm. Heim's conception confronts two orders, the relationship between heaven filled with angels and earth filled with the faithful peasantry. It was supposed to teach the efficacy of prayer and remorse for sin. Heim

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combined traditional symbols with current ones; the two registers are read simultaneously. In one, the interior of a Gothic Church with its sculpture of Virgin and Child are depicted above the peasant's bed while a throng of praying monks hold candles and angels hover above. In the other, the dying peasant is surrounded by humble villagers who are uplifted by the example. The supernatural world overwhelms the story in the terrestrial realm. Iconographically, the painting moved away from more abstract traditional Thomist theology.[102] J. V. Schnetz's images showed faithful peasants who invoked prayer as a means to overcome feelings of helplessness, e.g., The Sick Imploring the Help of the Madonna [figure 21]; too often they simply portrayed a more superficial form of religiosity. Religious genre painting bore themes that expressed genuine piety and continued to be popular throughout the century.[103]

A statistical summary from 1810 through 1860 showed that there were fewer paintings of Old Testament subjects than New Testament stories although the proportion remained

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[102] Buser traced the origins of the term "supernatural" to explain the manifestation of the supernatural in religious art. See Thomas Buser "The Supernatural in Baroque Religious Art," Gazette des beaux-arts, 108 (July-August 1986): 38-41.

[103] Pious/piety from the Greek is translated as "the wisdom of the fear of God;" therefore, a pious image represented reverent worship. "The fear of God is the beginning of Wisdom." Proverbs 1:7.

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consistent.[104] There were more paintings of Old Testament subjects commissioned or purchased for those cities with prominent medieval cathedrals--whose facades or stained glass programs supported complex Old Testament scenes, for example at Soissons and Rouen. From about the 1820s through the 1840s there was a marked increase in the number of pictures about Saint Joseph, foster father of Jesus, such as the Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt and The Death of Saint Joseph which has no scriptural or traditional basis in the Catholic faith.[105] Recently, Savart's data have shown a surge in publication around 1850 of the livres des dévotions particulières, and prayer books directed to Saint Joseph were the most prolific among those dedicated to the saints.[106] Papety's Saint Joseph 1841 (Marseille, [figure

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[104] My summary classified religious subjects based on a compilation of all religious paintings commissioned for churches in Paris by the Préfecture de la Seine and church commissions for the provinces outside Paris, during the years 1810 to 1860. The lists were compiled by Foucart and categorized by location and by artist, and not by subject. The lists are reproduced in Foucart, 379-416. This is true for religious sculpture as well; Butler concluded there were no O.T. subjects shown in the Salons between 1822 and 1827. Butler, "Religious Sculpture in Post-Christian France," 83-96.

[105] Devotion to the saint occurred relatively late in the Church's history. It wasn't until the sixteenth century that a church was dedicated to Saint Joseph, owing to the influence of Spanish Carmelite mystic, Saint Theresa of Avila.

[106] Claude Savart, Les Catholiques en France au XIXe siècle: les temoignage du livre religieux (Paris: Beauchesne, 1985), 571.
There was an equal interest in images of the Virgin Mother. The archdiocesean confraternity Notre-Dame-des-Victoires founded in 1836 grew to 640,000 members by 1845. Cited in Bowman, Le

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22]) puts a hieratic patriarchal stamp on the image of the Nazarene carpenter, who looks down from his imposing position on a stone throne. This painting exemplifies St. Joseph's nineteenth-century iconic stature. On the other hand, Sannien Petit's picture The Childhood of Jesus, painted for the Saint Joseph Chapel in the Bordeaux Cathedral illustrates a more mundane characterization [figure 23]. One reason for the visualization of the human and earthly father of Jesus was probably that it reflected efforts to strengthen patriarchal powers in the increasingly industrialized society.[107] Saint Joseph was presented as the ideal father and worker, a representation of the bourgeois Church, which Yves-Jean Riou pointed out was concurrent with the laicization of the schools and feelings of anticlericalism.[108] Delacroix, too, decried the lessening of patriarchical authority, which he believed was one illustration of the general breakdown in society.

> What used to be called the family is today a vain word. In our present code, veneration, even fear of the father, has been abolished through the familiarity that

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Christ des barricades, 74.

[107] See Caroline Ford, "Private Lives and Public Order in Restoration France: The Seduction of Emily Loveday," American Historical Review (February 1994): 24-44. There was a sense of crisis arising from the loss of paternal, patriarchal authority.

[108] Yves-Jean Riou, "Iconographie et attitudes religieuses," Revue de l'art, 72 (1986): 39-49.

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> custom now permits; . . . The equal division of estates adds the last step to this process. The place of birth, of paternal habitation, thus falls easily into the hands of strangers after the death of the father.[109]

Prominent thinkers such as Auguste Comte expounded societal values that tended to support the authority of the father: "the family unites the happiest combination of authority and discipline [male] and altruistic devotion [female]."[110] In relation to the Church's position, Boas succinctly summed up Comte's thesis: "The authority which some placed in the Pope, Comte sees symbolized in the father, who is no more a tyrant than the monarchs . . . "[111] A second reason for the preponderance of Saint Joseph images was that it focused thinking about individual (and ordinary) life immersed in grace--part of the wider emphasis on the humanity of Christ; Savart suggested that it was part of "the invasion" of ultramontane piété. Utramontane spirituality commended devotional practices to the Virgin Mary and the saints.[112]

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[109] June 29, 1854. The Journal of Eugène Delacroix, trans. and ed. Walter Pach (New York: Covici-Friede Publishers, 1937), 393.

[110] Comte, Positivism, centenary ed. (1957), 260-261; 277.

[111] Boas, 292.

[112] The emphasis was derivative of its counter-Reformation roots and the seventeenth-century practices. Also, it was an anti-Jansenist maneuver because the French heretical movement [Jansenism] deplored Marian devotions. See Chapter I. The increased number of images of the ideal father may have been needed to counterbalance the dramatic increase in the numbers of women participating in public life. Educational opportunities

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Overall, the first decades of the nineteenth-century re-envisioned a Godhead with more earthly ties, a greater intimacy with the human condition and less firmly wrapped in abstract dogma. Church historian Hocedez corroborates this: "What is most characteristic of the nineteenth century are multiple studies on the life of Jesus. As if the the Church looked to uncover the 'Jesus of history,' less by a historic interest than to disengage the 'historic Christ' from the 'dogmatic Christ.' The New Testament research became an important point of liberal theology . . . ."[113] The period around 1840 would eventually be charted as the summit for dynamic Catholic theologies, for action motivated by tenets of social Catholicism and the theme Christ-liberator. Beginning shortly after 1800, and through 1850, religion was enlivened and modernized; the culture was conscious of an

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began to open up during this century and the local Church, of course, was a venue for women's participation as wives and mothers and as religious nuns. In 1848, Michelet's published his famous anticlerical tract; alarmed by the idea of women thinking independently of their husbands, he laid blame on the Jesuits. Even late in the century, historian McMillian has observed that"...the enfranchisement of women was opposed by the champions of 'universal' suffrage on the grounds that to allow women to vote was to benefit the 'clerical party' and to endanger the Republic itself." A "massive expansion" in the number of women joining religious orders, is sometimes referred to as "the feminization of the Catholic religion." See James F. McMillan "Religion and Gender in Modern France: Some Reflections," Religion, Society and Politics in France Since 1789, eds. F. Tallett and N. Aikin (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), 55-66. And, Jean Delumeau La Religion de ma mère. Le role des femmes dans la tranmission de la foi (Paris: Cerf, 1992).

[113] Hocedez, Histoire de la théologie au XIXe siècle, 2, 29-36.

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epochal Spirit. Theologians, political leaders, and artists were its heralds, its implementors, and supporters.[114] Theological diversity came to an end when the professional Churchmen failed to nurture the changes.

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[114] Bowman similarly identified participation by "theologians, poets and politicians." Bowman, Le Christ du barricades, 348.

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PART TWO: THE THEOLOGY OF THE BODY

CHAPTER III

Picturing Divine Physiology

Illustrations by Eugène Delacroix: Daniel in the Lion's Den (Montpellier, Zurich), Christ on Lake Genneseret (Baltimore, New York); The Good Samaritan (London, Paris); The Disciples Rescuing The Body of Saint Stephen (Arras, Birmingham); Pietà (Saint-Denis-du-Saint-Sacrement) 1844; Christ at the Column (Dijon, New York).

A. The 1840s: Stylistic Differences and Iconographic Sameness

1. Religious paintings by Delacroix, Scheffer, Flandrin. Delacroix's Pietà; Flandrin's Lamentation. **2.** Contemporary Criticism: the piety of Flandrin, and Delacroix's contested orthodoxy. **3.** Theory for traditional iconography: Montalembert and Rio; clerical art-theorists Jouve and Hurel.

B. The mid-1840s and The 1850s Iconography for a Theology of the Body

1. Delacroix's Saint Stephen and the Holy Women (Arras, Birmingham, Los Angeles, Paris, Zurich). The Good Samaritan (London, Paris). Saint Sebastian Helped by the Holy Women (Nantua, Zurich). Comparisons with Gardnier, Chassériau, Déveria. **2.** Theological meaning of the Body of Christ **3.** Crucifixion of the Body: The Lamentation (Boston, Paris, Oslo); The Entombment (Tokyo); Christ on the Cross (Baltimore, Bremen,

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Ottawa, Rotterdam). The Way to Calvary (Metz).
4. Gallican versus ultramontane factions.
5. Religious genre subjects; class distinctions for particular religious iconography.

C. After 1853
1. Interpreting the statistics for State commissions. **2.** Adoption of neo-Thomism as systematic theology. **3.** Eruption of popular devotional imagery; commodifying religious sentiment, its manufacture and distribution.

The 1840s

We see in our day that the only artists who obtained some success as Christian painters are those who began like the happy monk of Fiesole, in making the sign of the cross and in asking for inspiration from on high.
-- Père Felix, 1866.[1]

If, for the moment, we could separate Delacroix's artistic genius and his individual painterly style from the religious content, we could say that his themes and compositions were not original in terms of iconography or

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[1] The quote represents the view of the conservative eccesiastical faction, which remained active and vocal in the nineteenth-century. Père R. P. Felix, L'Art devant le christianisme, conférence de Notre-Dame (Paris: Joseph Albanel, 1867), 138. In the same chapter, entitled "L'Homme et l'artiste," Felix asserted: "Il faut que l'artiste soit un croyant; ce n'est pas assez qu'il soit un homme de religion, il faut qu'il soit un homme de foi. Il faut, du moins, qu'il ait la foi exigée par le sujet qu'il traite." Ibid., 106.

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religious meaning; rather, they shared a theology with artists like Scheffer and Déveria. Religious art was in flux, attempting to represent the diversity of theological thinking. Lay viewers and clerics, like Auguste Jal's fictive Jesuit Chonchon, sought new pictorial metaphors for the ideals of social Catholicism. They were aware too of the paucity of traditional iconography to give meaning to the emergent philosophy in Christianity, and to the politics of new religious tenets. Art critic Jal knew that scriptural histories or allegories rarely held contemporary motifs, yet this is what was needed.[3] His "Chonchon" perspicpaciously declared that the "edifying subjects" painted for many churches were not modern enough:

> The old sacred traditions are excellent, my dear friend, but the people know them by heart and don't pay any more attention [to them]; new saints are needed, new prodigies. Instead of Christ in the Garden of Olives, Deliverance of Saint-Peter, the Assumption of the Virgin . . . one ought to make Planting the Missionary Cross for the museums of our great cities, to represent Père Guyon Refuting Voltaire and Rousseau, to show the people the honorable préfets with the harvesters, the soldiers, carrying the holy cross of Calvary among us . . . painting is a means, believe me.[4]

Jal's character, Père Chonchon, insinuated that the

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[3] An assessment also made by Foucart.

[4] Jal, "Salon de 1827: les tableaux d'église et les portraits. Dialogue entre le Père Chonchon et la baillive du Coulommiers," Esquisses, croquis, pochades, 1828, 22-32.

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primary aim of religious images is to effect revelation of divine truth--here and now.[5] The goal of the religious theme in painting is to bring transcendence to the forefront of our awareness, to perceive the mystical and to make us forget time.[6] Chonchon voiced the desire for the image to be a fresh evocation of the encounter; "religious art not only lures us into participation with the religious dimension but interprets that dimension."[7] However, perceptions of the transcendent are problematic. Delacroix's skill may have been the coupling his dynamic Romantic style with a fresh rendition of scriptural narratives. Within a generation, Delacroix's evocation of religious meaning was recognized for its brilliant conception. His religious pictures were included in Charles Ponsonaille's tome Les Cents Chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art religieux: les peintres interpretant les evangiles. In this 1895 text, R. P. Didon

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[5] Foucart held that the skeptic, on the other hand, could appreciate the traditional religious subject as classicism, as the genre of history, or an imagery evocative of communion with his/her culture. "[Religious subjects] speak to all and are susceptible to diverse interpretations." Foucart, Le Renouveau de la peinture religieuse, 65.

[6] "Painting frees our perception from both time and temporality by accenting presentational immediacy...[it is] a unification with the here and now...." D.F. Martin, Art and the Religious Experience: The Language of the Sacred (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1972), 137.

[7] Ibid.

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noted that Delacroix's painting Jesus on Lake Gennesaret showed flashes of genius in the way he illuminated the human qualities of the disciples. He wrote: "Some display energy and competence, others fear and hopelessness in human frailty against the tempest . . . Delacroix's originality is equaled only by Rembrandt." [8]

In 1849 Delacroix had a number of meetings with the curé and priest of Saint-Sulpice to decide on subjects to decorate the Chapel of Holy Angels. Certainly, during those meetings he became aware of the theological underpinnings of his biblical program--where angelic agents rescue the faithful.[9] Soon after the meetings, in the early 1850s, he did two versions of Daniel in the Lion's Den [figures 24,25] where the calmed and faith-full prophet is protected from wild and ravenous beasts by angelic intervention.[10] A similar theme anchors his paintings of Christ on the Lake, where Jesus awakens from sleep to rebuke the wind and to

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[8] R. P. Didon, "E. Delacroix: 'Jesus dormant pendant la tempête, la tempête apaisée,'" in Les Cents Chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art religieux: les peintres interprétant les évangiles (Paris: Firmin, Didot et Cie., 1895), 260-263.

[9] See Chapter IV. The program presented the dogma of salvation history and the saving action of God--in this case, angels as agents of the divine.

[10] Lee Johnson remains the best source for complete catalogue descriptions about Delacroix's oeuvre. Lee Johnson, Eugène Delacroix: Oeuvres complètes, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

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challenge his disciples to greater faith in him (Mark 4:35-41).[11] In this story, the disciples's response to Jesus is a quiet acclamation of his power to save. For a decade, Delacroix, like his patrons, seemed to be preoccupied with the idea of divine protection advanced to those of faith. He painted up to ten versions of Christ on the Lake [figures 26, 27]

Delacroix's religious subjects, particularly those he did speculatively and for his own pleasure, clearly reveal his own spiritual needs. Themes are pointedly motivated by a

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[11] Delacroix presents the "Calming of the Tempest" story without the terrór and despairing note that often accompanies analyses of the "The Storm-Tossed Boat" theme. Mark's narrative portrays the divinity of Jesus. According to Dennis Kamm: "Mark's language for describing Jesus's actions is carefully chosen. He rebuked the sea. Rebuke is precisely what the Teacher did to the unclean spirit in the synagogue at Capernaum, and it is also the language of Ps. 106:9, which speaks of Yahweh rebuking the sea during The Exodus event...Jesus challenges their lack of faith, and they respond in words that acknowledge Jesus as far more than a sleepy teacher: Who then is this whom even wind and sea obey?" Dennis Kamm, "At Sea With Jesus," America, 7 July 1997, 31.

The subject of "The Storm Tossed Boat" was common from about 1800 through the 1820s. Delacroix's rendition of this theme from the 1840s and 1850s shows the disciples anxious but not desperate, actively engaged in trying to battle the stormy seas. Delacroix's conception draws parallels with the religious message of salvation that he found in subjects such as Daniel in the Lion's Den. Strauber, too, noticed the "more hopeful metaphor, which emphasized tranquility and salvation in the midst of tumult and fear." Strauber, 275. On the other hand, Eitner presented the Romantic interpretation of the theme without the theological or religious aspect. Lorenz Eitner, "The Open Window and the Storm-Tossed Boat: An Essay in the Iconography of Romanticism," The Art Bulletin 37 (December 1955): 281-90. See also René Huyghe, "Delacroix et la thème de le barque," La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France 13, no.2 (1963):65-72.

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desire to represent a message of hope in salvation and to experience the benevolent care from a higher power. He often depicted scenes of tender solicitude for one's fellow man. The Good Samaritan (1849, 1852) [figures 28, 29] and Saint-Sebastian (1835 through 1859) [figures 30-32] are among the most compassionate interpretations of the gospel stories. In 1853, he painted one of several versions of The Disciples and the Holy Women Piously Retrieving the Body of Saint Stephen (Arras) [figure 33] and Saint Sebastian Tended by the Holy Women (London) [figure 34]. In each of these scenes the saint's body is tenderly caressed, cared for and carried away, demonstrating the focus of Delacroix's understanding of Christian agapé.

In a departure from the popular Renaissance tradition, Delacroix rejected the composition of a standing male nude, sensuously and elegantly posed.[12] Instead, his composition for Saint Sebastian (1836, 1840) [figures 30, 32] clearly followed a baroque, counter-reformation motif; for example, a work by Gioacchino Assereto (d. 1649) Saint Sebastian

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[12] Departing also from popular tastes, Delacroix decided on the subject for personal reasons because among saint subjects exhibited in the Salons between 1800 and 1859, Saint Stephen was not in great demand. It placed twentieth of twenty-three in a list compiled by Père Chevé, 1856.

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Tended to by Saint Irene and her Maid (figure 107).[13] Delacroix followed Assereto's taut triangular composition of three figures, where the two women tend the wounds of the martyr. The monumentalized figures are set against a darkened background with the martyr's body strongly lit and painted in high-toned white, with yellow, green, and brownish-red tints, the exposed flesh imprinted with a mélange of colors. Assereto painted a number of arrows in Sebastian's Christ-like body with one arrow prominently placed in his side--reminiscent of Jesus's wound from the centurion's spear. The baroque artist added discreet daubs of red color to mark Sebastian's bloody wounds. Sebastian is posed in a half-seated, reclining position and leans leftward onto the figure of the aged maid. The strong diagonal line of the martyr's body is continued upward as Sebastian's left arm is violently twisted back over his head. Delacroix used a similar diagonal line and wrenched arm for his rendition of The Disciples and the Holy Women Claiming the Body of Saint Stephen (Arras, 1853 [figure 33]).

In Delacroix's work of 1836, Saint Sebastian is covered with a loin cloth, a classically proportioned figure slumped

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[13] The Assereto work was recently shown in a catalogue for a sale at Sotheby's Auction House, London. Sale date and catalogue date October 28, 1992. It is located in a private collection.

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on the ground against a tree, fallen, sprawled and wounded. Saint Sebastian lies dying, his eyes are closed and he wears a peaceful expression. The enervated body shows two bloody arrow wounds, but the 1840 version includes an arrow imbedded in the fleshy part of the thigh [figure 32]. This conspicuous detail duplicates Assereto's treatment of the subject, and it renders an appropriate touch of cruelty to the scene of martyrdom. Delacroix's 1840 canvas has altogether more pathos than the earlier version: the figure is less heroically proportioned and Sebastian's expression conveys great pain and feelings of helplessness. In both his paintings, Delacroix's focus is planted on the energizing solicitude given to the holy martyr by the saintly women--stylized monumental figures in the 1840 version as well. Delacroix conveyed the religious message underpinning the story. Legend describes how Sebastian, the Roman commander of the Imperial archers, refused to abandon Christianity and was condemned to die at the hands of his troops. After being the target of a barrage of arrows and left for dead, Sebastian was brought back to life by loving charity and tender care (only to be condemned to death again).[14] Another painting of this subject dates from 1847-1853, and

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[14] Herbert J. Thurston, S. J., and Donald Attwater, Butler's Lives of the Saints (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics Inc., 1956; reprint, 1981), 1: 128-130, page citation to the reprint ed.).

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it combines the monumentality of the figures and expression of pain and helplessness [figure 34]. In this version, the figures of the holy women are more carefully drawn, and the body of Sebastian is less heroic, though still muscular. The facial expressions differ slightly from earlier versions: the women's features are more distinct and they express tender concern apart from gesture. Sebastian's expression lies somewhere between peaceful exhaustion shown in the 1836 painting, and the tortured, helpless look in the 1840 canvas. In a more simplified 1859 version, Delacroix again paints the figure of the saint seated on the ground between two kneeling females figures. One supports the saint's slumped head and body in her arms, while the other devotedly, tenderly removes the arrows from his shoulder [figure 31]. Set in an indistinct landscape, a chasm among hills and nearly devoid of detail, the three figures are aligned along the foreground plane. The utter simplicity of the background dramatizes the religious sentiment as Delacroix captures an expression of helplessness and trustful abandon.

In his review of the 1859 Salon, published in the Gazette des beaux-arts, Paul Mantz extolled Delacroix's picture as a "triumph," and an engraving of the painting accompanied the article. He thought Delacroix a gifted

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religious artist. "By what superior gift, by which grace from on high, is Delacroix able to translate so well these sad poems which are, in the prayers of the centuries-old history of the Church, like a continued Gospel?" ("Par quel don supérieur, par quelle grâce d'en haut, M. Delacroix . . . parvient-il à traduire si bien ces poëmes douloureux qui sont, dans les priéres siècles de l'histoire de l'église, comme un évangelique continué?")[15] Mantz praised the "tender and austere scene of pious devotion, composed with simplicity . . . ."[16] The critique removes any further doubt that Delacroix's ability to create great religious painting was acknowledged, and that the review was read by a wide audience. Moreover, Delacroix was admired for his capacity to convey a transcendent moment, his spiritual integrity was never questioned.[17] Mantz continued:

Our readers have under their eyes the engraving of

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[15] Paul Mantz, "Salon de 1859," Gazette des beaux-arts, 2 (1859): 138. In the same review, Mantz praised Delacroix's painting of the Entombment.

[16] Ibid., 129-141.

[17] Anne Larue cited Marie-Madeleine Dujon's recent dissertation, where Dujon noted that "traditional art history and monographs on Delacroix maintain the myth which represents the critics as having been unfair or blind to him.... In fact he was supported as often as he was attacked." Marie-Madeleine Dujon, "A la recherche du regard sur l'oeuvre de Delacroix," MA thesis (Paris, 1979), 81, cited in Anne Larue, "Delacroix and his Critics: the Stakes and Strategies," in Art Criticism and Its Institutions in Nineteenth-Century France, ed. Michael R. Orwitz, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 73-74.

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> Saint Sebastian. Here again is one of the tender and austere subjects where the talent of Delacroix triumphs. The martyr has undergone his horrible torture; the executioners are gone; before evening stretches its shadow over the earth, when two women come to the rescue of the dying with maternal solicitude for his gaping wounds. Nothing is more simple, nothing is less violent than this group of three figures; the precision of their movements, the expression of the figures is so knowing and so ingeniously written in the least gesture, and in such a way against the clear evening light catching the eyes of the viewers, that this scene of pious devotion, by the melancholic expression which it brings out, this little picture is a hundred times more religious than most of the compositions printed in bloody pages of martyrology [emphasis mine]." [18]

In The Holy Women Tending the Body of Saint Stephen (Birmingham) [figure 35], the scene is taken from a well-known story that described the first Christian martyrdom. The martyr's corpse is carried from the murder scene by a group of disciples. Here again, Delacroix departs from a traditional retelling of the narrative of this important religious lesson. He takes up the story after Stephen's

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[18] Ibid., 138. "Nos lecteurs ont sous les yeux la gravure du Saint-Sebastien. C'est là encore un de ces sujets tendres et austères où triomphe le talent de M. Delacroix. Le martyr a subi son horrible supplice; les bourreaux se sont éloignés; déja le soir étend sur la terre son ombre propice, lorsque deux femmes viennent au secours du mourant, et après avoir une maternelle sollicitude ses plaies aux lévres béantes. Rien n'est plus simple, rien n'est moins violent que ce groupe de trois personnages; mais la justesse des mouvements est telle, l'expression des figures est si savamment et si naïvement écrite dans le moindre geste, les transparences du crépusule éclairent si bien, en la cachant aux yeux de la foule, cette scéne de pieux dévouement, que, par l'impression mélancolique qui s'en dégage, ce petit tableau est plus religieux cent fois que la plupart des compositions empruntées aux sanglants pages du martyrologe [emphasis mine].

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death, and from the point of view of the disciples.[19] Stoned to death for his belief in Jesus Christ, Stephen's response to his ordeal represented the behavior of a true disciple; his last words asked that this sin not be held against his attackers.[20] Biblical exegetes consider these Scriptural passages from Acts 7:59-8:2 a description of the second stage of the expansion of the Church. This motif, which describes a Spirit-filled community of believers, perfectly illustrates Möhler's theology.[21] Delacroix calls attention to the theme of fraternal care and Christian love, *agape*, with the gesture of the foreground figure who washes the martyr's blood from the steps. Begining with the first-and second-century persecutions, Christians worried passionately about the bodies of martyrs.[22] Burying the dead, especially martyrs, was considered an act of charity as it had been in

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[19] Acts, 8:1-3.

[20] Stephen, in imitation of Jesus at his death, says aloud: "Lord, do not hold this sin agains them." Acts 7:60.

[21] Acts 8, The New Jerusalem Bible, 1811 notes a-c. Möhler's theology had a very significant influence on the theological discourse during the nineteenth century. Although banned during his lifetime, Möhler's ideas were increasingly valued among theologians, and excerpts from his work were written into the Council documents for Vatican I in 1870. Nevertheless, enemies of open, organic theology held sway and Möhler's words were expurgated. It was not until the Second Vatican Council in 1963 that his ideas were formally disseminated. See my chapters I and II.

[22] See Carolyn Walker Bynam, The Theology of the Body (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 40-58.

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Israel. The story of Stephen's death and of the disciples's recovery of his body was a significant and memorable subject in the minds of Christians because the murder took place with the consent of the zealous Pharisee Saul. It was Saul who, after meeting the resurrected Jesus, converted to Christianity and became known as the great Christian apostle Saint Paul.

In Delacroix's painting, the diagonal thrust of Stephen's body is further elongated by figures at head and foot of the corpse--a twisted right arm and bent right knee lend drama to the episode of death by stoning. The diagonal line made by the high city wall, as well as lines of the female figures left and right in the foreground, pull the viewer back into the picture space. Stephen's body, painted in high-key tones set against dark shadows of the wall and background figures, is reminiscent of Delacroix's treatment of Christ's dead body in earlier Crucifixion and Lamentation subjects.

Among these three biblical stories of compassion, The Good Samaritan [1849-50, figure 29] is Delacroix's most dramatic. Simple compositional elements call attention to the intense expression on each face. In a grimace of pain and helplessness, the victim allows himself to be lifted into the arms of his rescuer, like the Saint Sebastian

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subject, in an emotional gesture of surrender. The Samaritan, showing the physical strain of his charitable action, takes the wounded man to himself with the gentleness of a lover, teaching that Christian love means something more than mere solicitude. The story is brilliantly conceived and made more moving by Delacroix's expression of sweet and tender trust between the two protagonists. Delacroix invents the posture and the pathetic expression, obviously influenced by his pictures of Arab themes. The picture exemplified the kind of image nineteenth-century ecclesiastics might have cautioned against, as some believed a danger of Lamennais's theology was the unjustified reduction of divine Christianity to the principle of fraternal love.[23]

In Delacroix's second major religious commission, the Pièta of 1844, a heightened drama and pathos aroused strong responses and invited criticism [figure 36]. The Virgin, with outstretched arms, appears as a model of excruciating maternal despair, joined by the silent anguish of the disciples. Rising above emotion and narrative, Delacroix's power lay in conveying spirituality and religious mysticism. From his choice of subjects, it appears that he was

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[23] W.G. Roe, Lamennais and England:The Reception of Lamennais's Religious Ideas in England in the Nineteenth Century (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 24-25.

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fascinated by his understanding of the Christian mystery of redemptive suffering and sacrifice, and he painted the body of Jesus as the locus of meaning: centered, highlighted, densely framed by the other figures. The brightest spot in the painting is a daub of white paint on Jesus' lower rib cage, Delacroix does something different
from his later pictures related to this theme, coupling the necessary focus on Jesus's body with the most exacting and expressionist bit of painting on the Virgin Mary's hands and face. Perhaps Delacroix emphasized the figure of Mary in response to the fact that, at various times, this vaulted space in Saint-Denis-du-Saint-Sacrement was called the Virgin's Chapel. In a classically-conceived pyramidal structure, a point on Mary's jaw marks the center of the canvas; only her delicate and expressive hands and her grief-stricken face are seen because Jesus's body is superimposed against her form. Attention is drawn from the surrounding seven figures (two are located in the far middle-ground) and from the viewer's gaze toward the mother and Son who are molded into a single human form. Michelangelo's Pietà was an obvious conceptual model for Delacroix, although I do not think the merged figures are completely successful.

At times, the heightened emotion blinded some reviewers

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from appreciating Delacroix's modern conceptions. In a religious reading of the 1844 Pietà, critic Grimouard de Saint-Laurent believed that Delacroix had gone too far, the sense of grief was too extreme and it diminished the spiritual nature of the story. Grimouard put iconography squarely in the realm of theology, commenting that the iconography ought not to strive beyond the pathetic, that ultimately Christians understood their religion as a message of joy in the resurrection, in salvation and the promise of eternal life.

> We consider the bursts of sadness in all the scenes of the Passion, and especially in this lamentation, as a defect; the defect had been growing since the 12th century . . . . [24]

Critic Clément de Ris believed the painting reflected the artist's physical suffering as he remembered seeing Delacroix: "On his scaffold, twisted, pale, his head wrapped in four or five scarves, trembling with fever and working with fury at one of his most impressive works." In his review, Clément de Ris discussed the 1844 painting in relation to Delacroix's Lamentation (1848, Boston [figure 37]) and described his emotional response to the subject:

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[24] Le Comte de Grimouard de Saint-Laurent, Guide de l'art chrétien, 4 (Paris, 1874), 343-345. Grimouard's comments applied just as easily to Lazerges's "excessively" mournful Virgin--a painting shown in the Salon of 1880 when the climate for religious subjects had changed completely; it exudes religiosity over narrative [figure 57].

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the "mournful sadness of the passage, the Virgin's flood of tears and the nobility which illumined the cadaver of her son, the piety of the disciples, all combined to agitate your soul, [it] thrilled to things divine."[25] Scholars agree that Delacroix generally de-emphasized the literary content of biblical stories in favor of painting his emotional responses inspired by the gospels.[26] Significantly, Clément de Ris touched on Delacroix's capacity to satisfy spiritual meaning beyond emotional content--painting that "agitated the soul and thrilled to things divine." Other nineteenth-century critics, like Jal's fictional Abbé Chonchon (1828) and the very real Abbé

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[25] "Sous ce rapport, la Pietà de Saint-Denis-du-Saint-Sacrement ...La tristesse morne du paysage, la douleur noyée de larmes de la Vierge, la noblesse qui illumine le cadavre de son fils, le recueillement pieux des disciples, tout concourt à vous agiter l'âme du frisson des choses divines." Comte Louis Clément de Ris, "Eugène Delacroix," L'Artiste (April 2, 1848), 59. See also by the same author "Artistes contemporains: Eugène Delacroix," Revue français, 8(May 1857): 414-424.

[26] Strauber may have been the first to say this explicitly. She makes a significant observation that "The religious paintings of the 1850s and 1860s assume the role and quality of paintings earlier inspired by legend, history and Romantic literature...." Strauber, 48-52. After alluding to an intangible quality, Strauber backs away from acknowledging a spiritual element in the religious paintings. "In the mature religious paintings, Delacroix's personal, psychological and emotional reactions were usually much less obviously manifested, only indirectly available, since they had been absorbed into the very process of creation... This more sophisticated approach represented an attempt to reorient the creative process so that the emotional content of the painting, while grounded in highly subjective feelings, could assume a more 'universal' meaning, and the painting as a whole function, like music, as a kind of symbolic language for communicating intangible feelings." Strauber, 59.

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Hurel (1868) understood that modern symbols could express deeply held religious beliefs.

Grimouard criticized the portrayal of Marie-Madeleine who, he thought, "crawls convulsively on the earth, a depiction of the school of the horrible."[27] Baudelaire, who was more perceptive, took a sophisticated approach; he thought Delacroix's depiction of mourners acted out the intensity of feeling: "Of the two holy women, one crawls convulsively on the ground . . . ; the other, . . . collapses like a heap under the enormous weight of her despair."[28] The critic of the Journal des artistes was indignant: "This Madeleine of the drunken eyes; . . . this Virgin [who is] crucified, inanimate, plastered, and disfigured . . . . "[29] Because the Christian message of the Pietà denied dejection, reviewers actually were right when they criticized the depiction of despair: "even at this the most somber moment in history . . . resignation hasn't any part . . . [Delacroix's] tearful Virgin raised her arms to

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[27] See Maurice Sérullaz, Mémorial de l'exposition Eugène Delacroix, (Paris: Éditions des Musées Nationaux, 1963), 327 note 244.

[28] Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846," Oeuvres complètes, Pléiade ed., 1976, 2: 435. "Des deux saintes femmes, la première rampe convulsivement à terre, encore rêvetue des bijoux et des insignes du luxe; l'autre, blonde et dorée, s'affaisse plus mollement sous le poids énorme de son désespoir."

[29] Sérullaz, Mémorial, 244, note 327.

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heaven not to offer sacrifice but to ask account of God for sacrifice that is imposed to them."[30]

Delacroix's 1848 Lamentation (Boston) [figure 37] and Pietà (Oslo) [figure 38] were not uniquely intense and emotional. A similar feeling was evident in contemporary pictures, such as Boissard de Boisdenier's Deposition from the Cross (Tours Cathedral) [figure 39] in the Salon of 1847.[31] There were other critics who perceived that religious subjects offered Delacroix free reign for his fertile imagination. Baudelaire's well-known description is typical: "The imagination of Delacroix never retreated from the heights of religion!"[32] Victor Fournel: "This is the part of his oeuvre that offered the widest possible interpretation and it is perhaps the most exalted by his admirers

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[30] Grimouard de Saint-Laurent, Guide de l'art chrétien (Paris, 1874), 345.

[31] G. Lacambre "Tableaux religieux de Boissard de Boisdenier," Revue de l'art, no. 27 (1975), 50-57. Interestingly, critics believed Boissard de Boisdenier's work was influenced by Gros, Delaroche and Delacroix without any thought of incongruity. Also cited by Foucart, 248. For a time during the 1820s Delacroix and Boisdenier were friends. Delacroix noted when they dined together in 1824. Journal, February 24, 1847.

In 1837 Delacroix had painted a portrait of the young Boissard de Boisdenier. Robaut, no. 376, 1832. Oil painting. Chesneau's commentary for this portrait: "Boissard de Boisdenier was a distinguished amateur painter, a mediocre poet and an excellent violinist. Son of a wealthy pharmacist from Tours. In Paris he was a friend of Baudelaire and Gautier." Alfred Robaut, with comments by Ernest Chesneau, L'Oeuvre complète d'Eugène Delacroix, catalogue raisonné (Paris: Charavay Frères, 1885).

[32] Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846," Oeuvres complètes, Pleiade ed., 475-477.

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. . . Eugène Delacroix was nothing less than a mystical spirit."[33] Fournel admired the artist's deft handling of religious themes, his ability to capture their spirituality: "Neither the genial spirit of his intelligence, nor the dominant character of his style turned back from truly reaching the Christian ideal which it realized, which forces or exaggerates it."[34]

By the spring of 1848 Gallican bishops were stymied by increasing pressure from the followers of Père Lamennais. At the same time, bourgeois Catholics viewed Lamennais's movement with trepidation and considered the priest's liberal and ultramontane position opposed to their own interests. After the demise of the Catholic liberal journal L'Européen (1835-1837), Mennaisians founded another, L'Ère nouvelle. The editors aimed toward social and eccesiatical reforms, but held to a belief in centralization of power at Rome. As liberal Catholics, Maret, Lacordaire, Montalembert (after 1840), Affre, Ozanam, Broglie, Charles de Coux and Canon Darboy were considered moderns, men who represented the democratic faction of the French Catholic Church.[35] In

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[33] Victor Fournel, Eugène Delacroix: les artistes français contemporains (Paris, 1884), 194

[34] Ibid.

[35] At this time the two officially prominent French neo-Thomists were Rome-based: Jesuit Cardinal Louis Billot and Dominican Thomas Peques.

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the political arena such Churchmen are overwhelmingly viewed as conservative thinkers and, as consequence of this mild bias, social-art-history has virtually eliminated any study of the nineteenth-century genre of liberal-Catholic religious art. The same difficulty arises in categorizing the directors of Saint-Sulpice. They were a very conservative Gallican force that cultivated the traditions of the ancient clergy of France, yet they were open to the latest currents in biblical and literary exegetics, history and philosophy.[36] The Church of Saint-Sulpice was a repository of nineteenth-century paintings executed in varied styles disposed to mix Tridentine and modern iconography. In summary, liberal theologians had supportive or opposing episcopal counterparts who exerted a certain influence on religious art. That influence could be diffuse or, as it was from the 1820s through the 1840s, more direct. While Delacroix's innovative pictorial style placed him solidly in the modernist movement, his religious paintings as well were part of a "modern" theological movement. He never painted subjects defined by theology of Traditionalism.

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[36] "Les directeurs de Saint-Sulpice qui en matiere politique, cultivaient les traditions de reserve de 'l'ancien clerge de France,' mais étaient ouverts aux courants nouveaux dans les domaines exegetique, historique et philosphique... . Jacques Gadille, Les Dioceses de Lyon sous la direction de Jacques Gadille (Paris: Beauchesne, 1983), 179.

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Est-ce la faute du talent de l'artiste
Ou celle de sa conviction?--B.Bouniol [37]

Prud'hon's Christ on the Cross served as a benchmark for religious images of the early nineteenth century. It characterized an evolving sensibility that symbolized an irreversible transformation of meaning in a transcendent image of the man-God. Although the majority of critics did not insist that brilliant religious painting be associated with feelings of deep piety, Prud'hon's picture seemed to project a sincere religious yearning. On the other hand, Hippolyte Flandrin, one of the most successful painters of religious subjects, openly practiced his faith and was embraced by the clergy as the ideal Christian artist. In the following decades, Flandrin would be characterized, somewhat pejoratively, as "an artist on his knees,"[38] his

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[37] Bathild Bouniol, "Nos impressions au Salon de 1861: la peinture religieuse," Revue du monde catholique (May 1861): 292-300.

[38] The characterization originated with Vasari's biography of Fra Angelico; the fifteenth-century monk exemplified the pious artist. Georgio Vasari, Lives of the Artists, trans. George Bull (New York: Viking Penguin books, 1987). Subsequent application of the remark to Flandrin was made in his lifetime, or at least by 1864, by critics such as Gautier who wrote that Flandrin was the most pure talent, the most chaste, most elevated that was put to the service of religious inspiration. "Il avait, dans sa nature, quelque chose...de cette immatérialité séraphique de Beato Angelico ... Chrétien d'une piété convaincue et pratique, il apportait à la peinture religieuse un élément bien rare aujuourd'hui, la foi. Il croyait sincèrement ce qu'il peignait...." Gautier, "Hippolyte Flandrin," Le Moniteur (July, 1864), reprinted in Portraits contemporains, rev. 3d ed. (Paris, 1874), 322 (page citation is to the 3d ed.). Delaborde wrote: "Puisse ce Fra Angelico de notre âge par la candeur de l'âme et

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hieratic style represented in important commissions at Saint-Germaine-des-Près [figure 40], and at Saint-Paul, Nîmes.[39] Other works, such as the Lamentation (Lyon) [figure 41], give some indication of his iconographic link with Delacroix. Conservative critic Père Chevé believed "the sine qua non of religious art is faith and a lively faith,"[40] while others, such as Fergius Boissard in Revue Chrétienne 1861, extolled Flandrin and Delacroix when

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des moeurs comme par le caractère des inspirations, apparaître dans sa force paisible, dans le doux rayonnement de ses vertus, et demeurer à l'avenir environné de la double auréole qui couronne dès à present pour nous les souvenirs d'une vie invariablement pure et d'un admirable talen." Henri Delaborde, Lettres et pensée d'Hippolyte Flandrin (Paris, 1865), 3. Fabre called him "nouvel Angelico." Abel Fabre Pages d'art chrétien, (Paris, 1910; new ed., 1926). Foucart cites additonal critics who repeated the phrase, e.g., "le talent...mieux incarner l'Angelico du XIXe siècle." Foucart, 206.

Mgr. Plantier, bishop of Nîmes, described Flandrin in the same way; he published a posthumous review that was often cited in subsequent histories of Chrisitan art. Mgr. H. Plantier, Lettre circulaire de Mgr. l'éveque de Nîmes invitant le clerge de son diocèse à prier pour l'âme d'Hippolyte Flandrin, le grand artiste, (Paris-Nimes, 1864). But Fabre had criticisms as well as praise: the severe piety was near sadness; the murals had a monastic austerity. In 1907, Germain wrote that personal piety is not sufficent to give figures religious feelings. From the turn-of-the-century, as the archaizing style decreased in popularity, Flandrin's art was devalued so that the remark was uttered with sarcasm in ensuing decades as religious art lost its audience.

[39] Gallican bishop Sibour was canon of the Cathedral of Nimes.

[40] Père C.F. Chevé, Dictionnaire des bienfaits et beautés du christianisme (Paris: Migne, 1867), 1201. "J'ose bien dire que la condition sine qua non de cet art est la foi et une foi vive...."

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discussion turned to religious mural painting.[41] Generally, Flandrin and Heim have been pitted against Delacroix, divided[42] into clearly defined and opposing stylistic camps: the "academic school" that promoted a linear style of painting with a high degree of finish, versus "the colorists" who used color expressively, and who generally composed their pictures with a looser brushwork. Further divisions were erected between Delacroix as a modernist, and Scheffer and Déveria as painters of traditional narratives. The art critic for the conservative journal L'Ami de la Religion thought Delacroix's Christ on Lake Genneseret a seascape composed in a "ragout of colors." Although the same critic responded favorably to five of the seven paintings shown by Delacroix, ("l'impression générale est grande et

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[41] Fergius Boissard, "De la peinture religieuse: M. Hippolyte Flandrin - M. Eugène Delacroix," Le Correspondant, recueil périodique: religion, philosophie, politique, sciences, beaux-arts, n.s. 19 (Paris: Douniol, 1862): 728-747.

[42] In studies of nineteenth-century art, these artists are uniformly divided along stylistic grounds.` Foucart (1987) was first to discuss the religious pictures by diverse artists uniting them by pictorial content and genre. Although Foucart admits that a "new humanism" obviously entered the pictorial arena, he does not investigate possible reasons for this new iconography. The ground-breaking study does not go beyond 1860, nor does it suggest circumstances beyond stylistic variables that may have had a serious impact on religious iconography. The author was criticized for his seemingly arbitrary end-date of 1860, but the facts surrounding the struggle between modern social theologies and a revived Thomism makes 1860 crucial with significant results for religious art of the century.

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saisissante; elle va droit au coeur"[43]) he concluded that the painter had little aptitude for religious art. However, the often repeated characterization bears scrutiny: praising the non-religious subjects such as Tasso in Prison, The Fanatics of Tangiers, the critic for L'Ami de la Religion complained of Delacroix's mixed color technique in the Christ on Lake Genneseret. He found the multicolored garb of the sailors, the waves, and the sea itself a "stew" of colors. Exasperated with the mis-titled painting "Christ on Lake of Nazareth [sic], he decided this "proves one more time that M. Delacroix has little aptitude for religious art." ("Mais le Christ sur le lac de Nazareth [le livret n'a-t-il pas voulu dire Gènesareth?] Il me prouve une fois de plus le peu d'aptitude de M. Delacroix pour l'art religieux.")[44] Alphonse Germain in Le Correspondant lamented the fact that Flandrin "knowing how to create painting of deep meaning, only rarely succeeds in impregnating piety into his figures."[45] In repositioning these artists I am not attempting to use the "exceptions to disprove the rule,"

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[43] L'Ami de la religion "Chronique des beaux-arts" May 6, 1860, page 1.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Germain, "L'Art religieux," 249. Le Correspondant was considered a liberal Catholic journal. The critical reception of Flandrin's religious painting was mixed, even among Catholics. For a brief account of this response to the Lyonnais painter, see Foucart, 210.

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to point up consistencies between incongruent styles, or to depoliticize religious commissions by revealing similar negative criticism dispersed across disparate works.[46]

Lingering evasion of the religious content in discussions of nineteenth-century religious painting has prevented a study of innovative religious iconography. Criticism contrary to expected prejudices, particularly in the period before 1860, demands that we revise received interpretations of the significance of religious painting.

Conservative critics accused both Delacroix and Flandrin of having breached tradition in religious art. In one example, Lenormant attacked Flandrin for picturing a heterogenous assembly in the murals at Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, Paris,[47] because Flandrin had painted king and slave, rich and poor entering Christ's kingdom without distinction. Flandrin had used this motif in 1848 for the apse decoration at l'Église Saint-Paul, Nîmes. (George Sand depicted similarly rehabilitated sinners and outcasts, "les parias" of society, joined with the others in her "doctrine of

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[46] The literature on the political climate for religious commissions is extensive; see Patricia Mainardi, Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1857 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

[47] Charles Lenormant, "Souvenirs du Salon. M. Picot et M. Flandrin à Saint-Vincent-de-Paul," Le Correspondant (August 25, 1853), 20.

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equality" described in her imagery of Jesus's coming kingdom.)[48] Second, Abbé Lescanu thought Flandrin's conceptualizations problematic; Lescanu found inadmissible the image of Saint Peter receiving the keys to the kingdom on his knees in the Mission of the Apostles.[49] On the other hand, conservative critics like Claudius Lavergne savaged Delacroix's religious pictures at Saint-Denis-du-Saint-Sacrement and Saint-Sulpice.[50] Lavergne and Lenormant praised artists like Orsel and Picot who represented the Tridentine hieratic dogma,[51] favoring the pre-Raphaelite

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[48] Bowman, "George Sand, le Christ et le Royaume," Cahiers de l'association internationale des études françaises, 28 (1976): 243-262. See also Bowman, Le Christ des barricades, 266.

[49] Abbé A. Lecanu, "Peintures murales de Saint-Germain-des-Prés," Revue du monde catholique, no.7 (November 10, 1863): 550. See also B. Horaist "Hippolyte Flandrin à Saint-Germain-des-Prés," Société de l'histoire art français (June 9, 1979): 211-223. Horaist cited Jesuit priest R.P. Cahier, the prelate who Louis Flandrin, Flandrin's nephew, believed had advised the painter on the theology of his mural program. Horaist makes no definitive claim for this intervention.

[50] Lavergne, from the traditionally Catholic city of Lyon, championed a particular style of painting, the Lyonnaise school or "l'école catholique". Loosely guided by Friar Lacordaire, it was part of the "Confrérie de Saint-Jean-l'Évangeliste."

[51] See Driskel, "Painting, Piety, and Politics in 1848: Hippolyte Flandrin's Emblem of Equality at Nimes," The Art Bulletin 66, no. 2 (June 1984): 270-284. Driskel tends to place causality at the throne of politics and does not look at religious developments that may have affected religious iconography.

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style based on traditional Thomism.[52] The style, labeled "neo-Catholic," shared nothing with modern Catholic theologies developed by Dollinger, Hermes, or von Drey. Neo-Catholic theorists Rio and Montalembert had published their formulae for true religious paintings: "To illustrate dogma, to symbolize the traditions of the Church set down by the magisterium--to have nothing in common with humanitarian philosophy" [emphasis mine].[53] Although compared unfavorably to Flandrin in terms of the sincerity of his religious feeling, Delacroix shared an interest in the implications of the human nature of Christ.

Flandrin's expressive ability, albeit in straitjacketed linear forms, is exemplified in some of the murals at Saint-Germain-des-Prés. It is unfortunate that these paintings, placed high on the nave wall, are far from the viewer's sight; it is equally regrettable that they reproduce badly so that the incredibly moving physiognomy of Jesus is

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[52] "If great thoughts come from the heart it is necessary for religious painting that the heart be Christian. It must be an artist with a lively faith, warmed and inflamed incessantly by the holy ardor of charity." Abbé Dauphin "Conférence de Saint-Eustache" (Paris, 1858), cited in Foucart chap. 3 "L'Artiste chrétien."

[53] The magisterium, or the teaching authority of the Church, is responsible for identifying beliefs or practices that are not necessarily dogma but represent accepted traditions of the faith community and usually date from the earliest foundations of the Church. Comte de Montalembert, "L'Art religieux en France," from De l'état actuel de l'art religieux en France (Paris, 1837), 163.

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usually lost to viewers and readers alike [see figure 40]. In Flandrin's portrayal, Jesus's sensitive features illustrate a complexity of thought and emotion: the man/God determined on his course, aware of all its costs for himself as well as for his followers, and at the same time looking regal and wearing a gentle expression.[54] Flandrin's image is equal in power to Delacroix's "Man of Sorrows" [figure 42]. About the time Delacroix received the commission to decorate the Chapel of the Holy Angels at Saint-Sulpice, Flandrin received the coveted commission to decorate Saint-Germain-des-Prés (the oldest church in Paris, parts of the building date from the eleventh-century). Delacroix thought little of Flandrin's neo-Catholic style, and described Flandrin's murals as "Gothic smears."[55]

Delacroix's studio was located on rue Furstenburg, just behind the Church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and he found it convenient to drop in and assess Flandrin's progress.[56] It appears that they were both advised by Victor Baltard,

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[54] Flandrin was following the gospel story which tells that Jesus "resolutely set his face toward Jerusalem;" foreknowledge of events meant the artist had to capture an image that expressed foreboding and dread in the gentle features of the Christ.

[55] The Journal of Eugène Delacroix, trans. and ed. Walter Pach (New York: Covici, Friede, 1937), 265-266. Entry dated April 5, 1852.

[56] Probably because it was near his studio, Delacroix's funeral mass was held in this church.

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architect for the city of Paris, who oversaw both projects. The architect advised Flandrin to study copies of Raphael's compositions for the Vatican Loggia for ideas on the nave decoration. The subjects joined Old Testament and New Testament scenes and were on view at the Panthéon (the Church of Sainte-Geneviève).[57] Delacroix had reservations about Baltard's ability; he thought him a mediocre bureaucrat who blocked men of talent.[58] Delacroix may have received similar advice when he imitated Raphael's figural models for his program at Saint-Sulpice, where he too combined Old Testament and New Testament stories.

Critics compared Delacroix to contemporaries like Chassériau (1819-1856) who painted two versions of Christ in the Garden of Olives [see figures 43,3] and garnered praise similar to Delacroix's. Baudelaire commented that Chassériau's religious pictures portrayed a new humanism, while Gautier wrote that Chassériau's Christ in the Garden represented "the tears of our times which flow from his eyes . . . our melancholy pours its heart out in this veil of

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[57] Baltard, winner of the Prix de Rome, had copied Raphael's decorations for the loggia over the course of several years spent studying in Rome. Horaist, "Hippolyte Flandrin à Saint-Germain-des-Prés," 222, note 5.

[58] Journal, September 28, 1853, 192-193. Delacroix thought Baltard's efforts at painting were mere "counterfeits." The Journal of Eugène Delacroix, ed. W. Pach, 266. Entry dated April 5, 1852.

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tears . . . this figure intelligent and tired . . . it is the suffering concern of our age".[59] In Chassériau's 1840 version of the picture, he included the cup, and Jesus, having accepted his impending sacrifice is overcome with contained dread.[60] On the other hand, Delacroix's compositions from the 1840s present a stark portrayal of a man in anguish [figures 44, and 45]. In Chassériau's 1844 painting, Jesus is collected and in control, he doesn't expect the disciples to stay awake, he understands human weakness[61] [figure 43]. For some, Delacroix was too expressionist and personal, "whereas Chassériau reassured the viewer by showing Jesus's dignity".[62] Comparing a number of paintings by Delacroix with those by Chassériau, or even Delaroche one can identify similar religious

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[59] Gautier, "Le Salon de 1844," La Presse, 1844. See Marc Sandoz, Théodore Chassériau, 1819-1856: Catalogue raisonné des peintures et estampes (Paris, 1974); all contemporary reviews of Chassériau's religious paintings on pages 79-82.

[60] The picture was reformatted somewhat when it was mass produced in later years, as an image of popular piety. See figure 66.

[61] Gautier preferred Chassériau's later picture (1844) of the same subject. The painter represented the moment in which Jesus, having prayed and wept, returns to find his disciples asleep. Gautier, La Presse, 23 July 1844.

[62] Gautier's preference lay, perhaps, in wanting a more reassuring image. Jesus is in control of his emotions, shown more dignified and empowered to carry out his ordeal. Foucart characterized Gautier's preference in stylistic terms: "he preferred the classical and the pre-Raphaelite feeling...in pictures such as Christ on the Cross and Communion of Saint Mary the Egyptian." Foucart, 249-250.

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content.[63]

Taken together, religious paintings by Delacroix, Chassériau, Flandrin, Scheffer and Schnetz exemplify the variety of pictorial styles that concentrated on Romantic theologies. By the 1840s L'Avenir, followed by Le Correspondant, L'Européen, and L'Ère nouvelle informed and shaped the public thinking about ecclesiastical maneuvering; more radical journals like Le Christ républicain proclaimed that Christ is the God of the poor, Satan the god of the rich, all riches are of Judas. In correspondence with their readers, the editors responded that "there is a struggle between the brothers of Christ and the supporters of Satan, between the plebeians and the aristocrats."[64] Influenced by reformers who published,

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[63] Contemporary critics like Nettement invited comparison with Delacroix: "The spectacle of sad humanity, then something more, the feeling of true sadness, have conducted Delaroche to the only true religion, to the religion of pain, to Christianity." A. Nettement, "Une visite à Paul Delaroche, Mai 1857," Poètes et artistes contemporains (Paris, 1862), 22. This is cited in Foucart, 275, note 80. Nettement's remarks are reminiscent of Baudelaire's criticism about Delacroix's religious works shown in the Salon of 1859. Regarding the wide variety of styles and iconography in religious art, Foucart concluded that the variety was "too obvious, too widespread, too accepted by the public or the audience...for either Rio or Montalembert to have a serious impact." Foucart, 7, 244,

[64] "Le Christ est le Dieu des pauvres, Satan le dieu des riches, que tous les riches sont des Judas... une lutte engagée entre les frères du Christ et les suppôts de Satan, entre les plébeiens et les aristocrates." Le Christ républicain, no.5 (June 1848).

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preached, debated, and lectured on Mennaisian liberation theology, artists without direct contact to theologians had access to these ideas.

> ***Mercey says a very good thing. . . 'the beautiful in the arts is truth idealized.'*** --E. Delacroix[65]

Although Delacroix detested the retrograde style of religious painting, labeled the neo-Catholic school,[66] he did not hesitate to follow published formulae for mural painting, and in this respect he adhered to prescriptions promoted by Alexis-François Rio and Comte de Montalembert. Evidently, for the Chapel of the Holy Angels in Saint-Sulpice, he looked to classic religious art for inspiration for his compositions and "fresco" technique, and to the Renaissance master Raphael for his subjects and figural

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[65] Journal, July 3, 1858, 381. Frédéric Bourgeois de Mercey [1805(08 -1860]. Landscape painter, writer, lithographer; member of the Institute, from 1853 he was Director of Fine-Arts. He wrote a three-volume work, Etudes sur les beaux-arts depuis leur origine jusqu'à nos jours (1855); and as commissioner general of the Universal Exposition of 1855, he wrote the catalogue for the important 1855 French exhibition. Delacroix was mindful of the phrase several times during his career: "The beautiful in the arts is truth idealized." See Journal, April 14, 1863, October 12, 1854. He copied substantial portions of de Mercey's thoughts into his Journal, see March 29, 1860.

[66] Journal, May 4, 1853, 179-180.

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models.[67] Rio and Montalembert are cited frequently in analyses of nineteenth-century religious art but two other voices are equally significant because they represent the ecclesiastical and religious schema for religious art.[68] The two clergymen are Abbé Jouve and Abbé Hurel. Esprit-Gustave Jouve's Dictionnaire d'esthétique chrétienne ou théorie du beau dans l'art chrétien appeared in 1856, and Abbé Alphonse Hurel's book L'Art contemporain appeared in 1868. Hurel was the first clergyman to praise Delacroix's mural program in print, and he disagreed with Rio and Montalembert's premise that Christian art declined after Raphael's mid-career paintings.[69] Jouve's thesis represented a more conservative point of view; nevertheless, it represented an eclectic combination of aesthetic theory: pagan, positivist and Christian. Dismissing the confines of

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[67] They are not true fresco, which was considered no longer suitable compared with more modern mixtures. The murals are painted in an oil and wax medium, a technique then popular. See Spector, The Murals of Eugène Delacroix at Saint-Sulpice, and my Chapter IV.

[68] Foucart noted that J.F. Schmit (1845), a member of the Comité historique des arts et des monuments, chief of the division of ministère des cultes under the July Monarchy, was the author of Nouveau manuel complet de l'architecture des monuments religieux, which appeared in 1845. Republished in 1859 in the collection of L'Encyclopédie Roret, it had been one of the best read works in this area. The commentary of Schmit was thought superior to all other books of this genre until Dictionnaire raisonné (1854) by Violet-le-Duc. Foucart, 56.

[69] Abbé Hurel, L'Art religieux contemporaine (Paris, 1868), 369.

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Rio or Montalembert, Jouve included Plato's discussion of ideal beauty, excerpts from Hegel, Kant, Winckelmann, Cousin, and Comte, in addition to Saint Augustine.[70] Although Jouve preferred the theses of Montalembert and Rio, and favored artist Flandrin, his theory indicates a certain intellectual openness ready to advance secular interpretations.[71] Jouve's thesis was based, in large part, on the ideas of Saint Augustine: God is the immutable source of all beauty. Beauty is the splendor of truth . . . what necessarily exists or God himself.[72] Augustine wrote that

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[70] E.G. Jouve, Dictionnaire d'esthétique chrétienne. (Paris, 1856); cited in no. 17 of the Troisième et dernière encyclopédie théologique ou...série des dictionnaires sur toutes les parties de la science religieuse, published by Abbé Migne.

[71] Foucart described Jouve's eclectic theory. Foucart, 15. Jouve had written that the long history of biblical or religious subjects in art, far from being inhibitive, left artists free to invent new interpretations of well-known subjects.

[72] "Visible creatures are the reflection of the beauty of God...man, the image most true, most sensible of divine beauty, finds in himself the ideal type of beauty and of good as God who is the author...the [One] unity and [the Many] variety in the unity are the two conditions of beauty that we find in God, a means that faith has revealed to us, in the trinity of persons, conditions that man believed the image of God is realized in himself. Beauty is ideal in the sense that man doesn't need to search in exterior things, as what he finds in himself is the most elevated...."

"All things which are beautiful to the senses, whether they are produced by nature or are worked out by the arts, have a spatial and temporal beauty.... But the equality and unity which are known only by the mind..., are not extended in space or unstable in time.... This standard of all the arts is absolutely unchangeable, but the human mind which is given the power to see the standard, can suffer the mutability of error. Clearly, then, the standard which is called truth is higher than are minds." Saint-Augustine, bishop of Hippo, Of True Religion, XXX, 54-58.

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man, created in the image of God, has intrinsically the ability to identify and create ideal beauty. "The [One] unity and [the Many] variety in the unity are the two conditions of beauty that we find in God." Augustine considered unity an element of ideal beauty and symmetry was one expression of it. He believed that the principal means of knowing ideal beauty is the natural order. "Ideal beauty explains easily why art is

more than a servile imitation of nature, . . . it is an embellished, perfected imitation, giving more than it is, [thus] it is elevated to a genre of beauty not supplied by the model."[73]

Delacroix was repeating Augustine's idea when he copied Mercey's phrase into his Journal: "the beautiful in the arts is truth idealized."[74] Delacroix believed in the analogical character of the idea of beauty, that the multiplicity of forms of the beautiful did not impair its objectivity:

> I have never said and nobody would dare to say that it can possibly vary in essence, for then it [beauty] would no longer be the beautiful but mere caprice or fancy. But its character can change; an aspect of beauty which once charmed a far-off civilization no longer surprises or pleases us as much as one in

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Jouve cites lengthy passages from Augustine's De la vraie religion.

[73] Saint Augustine, Of True Religion, XXX, nos. 54-58.

[74] Journal, July 3, 1858, 381.

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> accordance with our feelings or, if you like, our prejudices. *Nunquam in codem statu permanent*, said ancient Job of man. There is, in other words, a statement of the fundamentally analogical character of the idea of beauty.[75]

Although a small number of critics might find Delacroix's religious subjects burdened with exaggerated emotion (e.g., The Pietà 1844), his paintings adhered to orthodox Catholicism. This orthodoxy was evident in his ideas about essential beauty: for example, in July 1854 Delacroix published an essay titled "The Questions of Beauty" in the Parisian journal Revue des deux-mondes, and three years later he published "Variations on Beauty" in the same publication. In each essay he described his belief in absolutes, in the classical ideals of unity, perfection and the order of things, and in standards of beauty that are inherent in all men of "feeling":

> In the presence of true beauty a secret instinct within us informs us of its value and forces us to admire it in spite of our prejudices and antipathies . . . all men are moved equally in the presence of beauty, as all feel wounded by the view of the ugly--what we call imperfection . . . . Guided by naive inspiration, empowered in nature which surrounds it and in a profound feeling, the inspiration that learning cannot fake, passionate author of those people and cultivated men, expressing feelings which were in all souls: they have found naturally this priceless joy that useless

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[75] Eugène Delacroix, "Des variations du beau," Revue des deux-mondes (July 15, 1857); published in Delacroix: Écrits sur l'art, eds. F.M. Deyrolle and C. Denissel (Paris: Séguier, 1988), 39 (page citation is to this edition).

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> science asks in vain of experience and of perceptions.[76]

The point is not that Delacroix echoed Augustine's ideas, because those ideas were widely absorbed, but rather that Delacroix's religious themes were theologically sound.[77]

Delacroix believed that, setting aside different styles, true beauty possessed elements of perfection: "The harmony of lines, pure forms, nobility of ideas, and grace of invention which is as much a pleasure for the eyes as for the spirit."[78] There were no degrees of true beauty, just

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[76] Eugène Delacroix, "Questions sur le beau," Revue des deux-mondes (July 15, 1854); ibid., 21-22.
"En présence d'un objet véritablement beau, un instinct secret nous avertit de sa valeur et nous force à l'admirer en dépit de nos préjugés ou de nos antipathies...hommes sentent...ils sont émus également en presence de la beauté, comme aussi ils se sentent blessés par la vue du laid, c'est-à-dire de l'imperfection.... Guidés par une naïve inspiration, puisant, dans la nature qui les entoure et dans un sentiment profond, l'inspiration que l'erudition ne saurait contrefaire, ils passionnent autour d'eux le peuple et les hommes cultivés, ils ont trouvé naturellement ce joyau sans prix qu'une inutile science demande en vain à l'experience et à des préceptes."

[77] In the twentieth century, the Catholic humanist and neo-scholastic theologian, Jacques Maritain, singled out Delacroix as an example of valid Thomistic thinking on the question of art and beauty. Maritain wrote of Delacroix: "philosophizing on the question [of beauty] with more acumen than many professional philosophers, he [Delacroix] had realized that the multiplicity of the forms of the beautiful did not impair in the least its objectivity." Jacques Maritain, Art and Scholasticism, trans. J.F. Scanlan (London: Sheed and Ward, 1949), 132, n. 63.

[78] "Le beau est-il également dans ces deux ouvrages? Oui, sans doute,...on imitera certains procédés pour ajuster des draperies et balancer les lignes d'une composition, on cherchera les types les plus purs de la forme sans atteindre, en aucune façon, le charme et la noblesse d'idées.... Delacroix, "Questions sur le beau," Écrits sur l'art, 23.

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as there were no degrees of perfection, but only perfection itself. Delacroix allowed that although beauty is timeless, there were different signs of perfection based on aesthetic values in different epochs. He explained that true beauty is something explicit, it exists in Michelangelo as well as Beethoven, not only in Raphael and Rembrandt. "The images of beauty are in the spirit of all men and those born in a particular century recognize it by the same signs . . . [and] respond in an instant by a faculty of the soul, without doubt the most noble."[79] Delacroix believed that true beauty did not exist in the imitation of nature:

> Imitation is always colder than nature . . . . Even though each detail taken separately has a perfection which I call inimitable, collectively they rarely produce an effect equal to what a great artist obtains from his feeling for the whole scene and its composition . . . . In this process of idealization . . . whenever I make a tracing of a composition that comes out of my head, the second version is always corrected and brought closer to the ideal.[80]

According to Delacroix, the rules of composition were a

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[79] "Les images du beau sont dans l'ésprit de tous les hommes, et ceux qui naitront dans des siècles le reconnaîtront aux mêmes signes...respondent à l'instant à une faculté de l'âme, sans doute, à la plûs noble." In the article published in Revue des deux-mondes in 1857, Delacroix takes up the same theme from his earlier essay published in 1854.

[80] Journal, October 12, 1853, 195. Delacroix discusses the principle of ideal beauty and perfection, of harmony, of imitation of nature and the artist's 'hand" at many points in his artistic career, e.g., Journal, February 19, 1850, 110; October 12, 1853,195; October 20, 1853, 199-200, and October 28, 1853, 205; October 12, 1854, 263-264.

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means to express principles of truth:

> Absolute truth can give an impression contrary to truth, or at least contrary to that relative truth at which art must aim. I see that it is perfectly logical to exaggerate the important passages intended to create the chief impression, in order to make them suitably outstanding because it is to them that the mind of the beholder must be directed . . . . Your picture must already have been beautified, idealized, if you are not to seem inferior to the conception of nature formed by the ideal, which memory thrusts willy-nilly into all our recollections.[81]

Jouve did not hesitate to quote directly from the well-known skeptic Victor Cousin, whose essays were published under the title Du vrai, du beau, du bien (1816-1821). Cousin expounded his systematic philosophy which he called spiritualisme, and which was filled with idealist and theist implications. His aesthetic theory was based on his belief in the supernatural author of absolute beauty: "Within the spirit of man was a demand for morality that was tied to the feeling of beauty, and to the revealer of the idea of absolute beauty."[82] Cousin taught a philosophy that set forth eternal truths such as the spirituality of the soul,

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[81] Journal, October 12, 1854, 263.

[82] In the 1820s Victor Cousin's philosophy of eclecticism reigned at the Sorbonne. A trip to Germany in 1828 had put him under the influence of Kant and Hegel. His ideas were near to transcendental idealism, but by 1833 he disavowed pantheistic doctrines.

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free will, the law of duty, divine Providence[83]--ideas widely accepted among Romantics. And, of course, Cousin never promoted his philosophy as a substitute for Catholicism. Christian theorists found Cousin's philosophy corresponded to a theology justifying divine beauty; Delacroix, who never violated Christian doctrine in his art, was acceptable because his compositions (although not always his iconography) made reference to counter-Reformation baroque models. I have found that a parallel exists between the re-emergence of baroque theology in the Romantic period and the emergence of baroque style painting in some nineteenth-century Romantic religious art. Modalities of subjective spirituality instigated by aspects of German idealist philosophy meshed with Spanish mysticism. From the seventeenth century, the French had an attraction to introspective prayer and to Spanish baroque imagery, to paintings which were imbued with ascetic piety and deep pathos. Such compositions relied on elongated proportions, diagonal constructions, dramatic tenebrism, and heightened emotion as a means to transcribe the transcendent. In France, the taste in religious painting tended to combine

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[83] Cousin, Défense de l'université et de la philosophie (Paris, 1844), 53, 67. Cousin asserted that "great natural truths" were superior to truths promulgated by revealed religion because they were arrived at by common sense and human reason. Their very eclecticism resisted indoctrination. Ibid., 66.

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Spanish baroque feeling with Italian classicism. French painting harmonized Romantic religious themes with an underlying, insistent reliance on classical motifs and values. Elements such as clarity of expression, careful spatial construction and idealized humanity were in accord with mythological and religious art. French artists, including Delacroix, believed that pagan mythologies had a direct line to the essential truths of life, and in Romantic religious painting, these beliefs were subsumed under the sacramental mysteries of Roman Catholic faith.

Romantic-Classicists such as Delacroix and Beethoven responded to the transcendent nature of pictorial and musical form. Beethoven believed creative genius was divine life communicated to the artist, and he believed in the ethics of art: "All true [musical] invention is moral progress."[84] In one of Delacroix's last Journal entries he proposed, "God is within us. He is that spirit of genius that inspires."[85] Similarly, Beethoven described his experience of the transcendent in intimate terms:

> I know that God is nearer to me in my art than to others, I consort with him without fear, I have always recognized and understood him. Art always

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[84] Beethoven's comments recorded by Bettina Brentano in a letter to Goethe, dated sometime before June 6, 1810. (Goethe's reply to this letter is dated June 6, 1810.) Beethoven, Letters, Journals, and Conversations (1951; reprint ed., 1984), 89.

[85] Journal, October 12, 1862, 411.

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> represents the divine, and the relationship of men toward art is religion . . . .[86]

Cousin, as well, participated in Romantic conceptions of God and inherent beauty: "God is beauty par excellence, because what other thing satisfied best all our faculties, to reason, imagination, the heart?"[87] The combining of God and ideal beauty was a platonic idea that permitted Cousin's formula to fold easily into Christian aesthetics, thereby acknowledging the goal of aestheticians such as Jouve and Hurel to spiritualize and to renew the theory of ideal beauty.[88] From a different orientation, positivist philosopher Auguste Comte wrote that the true aim of art is to "charm and ameliorate humanity,"[89] that beauty is a tool for social reform. This is an idea similar to those of Catholic reformers such as Buchez, Lamennais and Lacordaire.

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[86] Beethoven, Letters, Journals, 89. A conversation recorded by Bettina Brentano, circa May/Jun., 1810.

[87] Cousin, Introduction to the History of Philosophy, (1832), 16.

[88] Abbé Jouve et al. were concerned with renewing interest in the history of Christian art, and with amplifying understanding of the Augustinian ideal and the didactic nature of Christian art and aesthetics.

[89] The nineteenth-century philosopher demanded that art take an exaggerated form--by any means necessary--to complete the ideal restructuring of society. The only way for art and beauty to effect change for social good was that "emotions aroused by moral and immoral types must be exaggerated. In this exaggeration the 'ideal' finds its place. 'The ideal' becomes...synonymous with 'consistent exaggeration.'" Boas, French Philosophers of the Romantic Period, 298.

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Comte believed that the action of the beautiful on human emotions strengthens the social order. Lamennais, too, published his theory of aesthetics in 1844 titled, De l'art et du beau. He believed that the true is the Infinite Being--God; the beautiful is an aspect of God as a means to express the true. The beautiful is therefore infinite, and art is the finite manifestation of the beautiful. Lamennais believed "The true is the source of finite beings, and the beautiful is the source of finite forms."[90] The French priest is credited with originating the distinction between the two elements of beauty, a concept repeated by Baudelaire in his Salon of 1846 and The Painter of Modern Life.[91] Roe asserted that for Lamennais "Art for Art's sake is an absurdity."[92] The main point for Lamennais was that art was just a step to truth, to unity with God. Roe explained that

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[90] F. Lamennais, De l'art et du beau (Paris, 1841; rev. ed., Paris: Garnier, 1909), 2;10; 344 (page citations are to the revised edition).

[91] "Le beau impliquant deux choses, le vrai et la forme qui le manifeste, l'art implique également deux choses, le modèle ideal et la forme extérieure dans laquelle il s'incarne, l'infini et le fini." Baudelaire, "Salon of 1859," Pléiade ed., 1976, 2:636. Claude Pichois, editor of Baudelaire: Oeuvres complètes, believes Lamennais is the source of this idea; Pichois cites him as one of the important intermediaries between German philosophy and French literary figures. Baudelaire, Oeuvres complètes, "Salon of 1859," Plieade ed. (1976), 2: 1397 note 4. Marcel Ruff, biographer and editor of Baudelaire's works, explained in the "Preface" to Part 7 that the poet read Schelling and Lamennais and took-up the idea from these sources. Ruff, Baudelaire: Oeuvres Complètes (Paris: Le Club du meilleur livre, 1955), 8-9.

[92] W.G. Roe Lamennais and England, 24-25.

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the priest tied these ideas to religious principles, with, of course, political ramifications that were too leftist for Jouve.[93]

ICONOGRAPHY FOR A THEOLOGY OF THE BODY

> ***Poussin was never able to paint the head of Christ, or the body either--that body which should express so much tenderness, and the head that must be eloquent with divine grace and pity for the sufferings of mankind . . . . [As for] the Virgin, he seems to have no conception of the holiness and mystery surrounding her personality.*** --E. Delacroix [87]

The raw power of Delacroix's Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane 1851 [figure 4], mesmerized critic Théophile Gautier, who described it as: "This Christ in agony, twisting on the ground like an animal bleeding to death . . ." [88] Among the bourgeoisie, Delacroix's image

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[93] Lamennais tied this idea to a section on De la société première et de ses lois, ou de la religion, book 2, chap. 4, 8 (Paris, 1848). "In religion nothing is fixed. As society progresses dogma and science converge: and [society] achieves greater unity with God. Therefore, there is no need to believe that God became man...because religion is only the finite expression of divine law. True religion is not only a link between man and God, but between man and man." Roe, 25.

[87] Journal, June 6, 1851, 142. Delacroix's remarks are cited in part by Lee Johnson. See L. Johnson, "Delacroix's 'Christ Healing the Blind Man of Jericho': Poussin reviewed," The Burlington Magazine, 128 (September 1986): 673.

[88] Théophile Gautier, "Delacroix," Le Moniteur (14 August 1863); by the same author: Portraits contemporains (Paris, 1874), 322.

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resonated with feelings of existential anxiety. Christ is no man/God hero, "but appears crushed under the weight of human suffering."[1] While Lamennais's protestations against the bourgeoisie demanded a living-out of gospel values and influenced a certain Jesus-liberator iconography, it contrasted with bourgeois preferences for images of the solitary, suffering Christ. Gautier believed that Jesus was always a tragic character, a figure captured only by "great artists like Rembrandt, Goya and Delacroix."[90] Although reviewers like Gautier did not always explain the basis for current iconography, it was the new theologies that allowed for pictorializing a deeper historical development of Christ's human consciousness.

In the 1840s, during the last years of the July Monarchy, there was a significant increase in the number of religious pictures in general.[91] Several forces had emerged

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1 Ibid.

90 Gautier, Portraits, 322.

91 In 1845, the Commission of Fine Arts aligned with the office of the prefect of the Seine and was composed of the following members: three architects, MM. Caristie, Lesueur, Baltard; three sculptors, MM. Duret, Gatteaux and the comte de Nieuwerkerke; Four painters, MM. H. Flandrin, Léon Cogniet, Picot and Henri Delaborde, and three members of the Municipal Commission, MM. Chaix d'Est-Ange, Eck and Fouche; M. Courmont, chief of the division of fine arts; M. Merimée, senator; and an ecclesiastic, M. Abbé Cocquand, curé of the Church of Saint-Eugène. The following is published material from the dossiers about the commission procedure: "The city dispensed a sum of 400,000ff which was dedicated to works of art in the monuments that

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which powerfully affected religious iconography. First among these were contemporary theologians who stressed the human nature of Christ beyond what scholastic theologians (traditional Thomists) had been willing to permit. This trend existed in conjunction with Lamennais's progressive ideas which were widely accepted among Catholics. His ideas were illustrated in iconography developed by Scheffer [figure 9] and Gérard [figure 17] and Delacroix's Good Samaritan [figure 28].

Second, conflicting ecclesiastical teaching stressed either Gallican traditionalism or neo-Christian imagery as illustrated by artists such as Amaury-Duval or Roger [figures 13,12], in opposition to images formulated by the newer theologies. Thirdly, exigencies of the bourgeois audience spurred artists to paint subjects from Jesus's passion and death. Paintings such as Delacroix's The Garden

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belonged to it. First the Commission of Fine Arts issued advice on the commissions which arrived to the Préfet.... And God knows how great the number is! The commission eliminates the lesser talents. Then, when the administration has made its choice, the artist enters in definite relationship with the city officials, who discuss his work with him, and impose on him the modifications which it judges necessary. The artist is to conform to these conditions, otherwise his work can be refused. These are serious guarantees, very much too late, alas! because it has had to preserve us from errors. I don't hesitate to honor the Commission of Fine Arts for [providing] the best work executed in the last six years in our churches." A. Gruyer, "Des Conditions de la peinture en France: peintures murales de M. Hippolyte Flandrin, dans la nef de Saint-Germain-des-Prés," Gazette des beaux-arts (March 1, 1861): 193-223.

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of Olives [figures 4-5], or his Christ at the Column (Dijon)[figure 45], Flandrin's Pietà (Lyon) [figure 41], Scheffer's Ecce Homo and Chassériau's Agony in the Garden [figure 43] are examples of this popular typology. Picturing Jesus Christ's doubt and suffering was exactly the right way to explain the theology of hypostatic union, which in no way compromised the divine nature. McCool summarized:

> Neither the perfection of Christ's human nature nor his possession of the Beatific Vision . . . excludes the possibility of ignorance and of progressive growth in his human knowledge . . . The ordinary human subject needs time and the experience of life in order to thematize this unobjective knowledge in objective concepts . . . . Christ's knowledge in objective concepts was a genuine growth in knowledge. As such, it required human experience of the world, and it was in no way incompatible with doubt or with suffering.[92]

Through the 1840s to the mid-1850s, among religious subjects, the themes of the life and passion of Christ predominated in the Salons. For example, between 1831 and 1848 Salon artists exhibited thirty-nine paintings of Christ in the Garden of Olives, thirty pictures of Christ on the Cross, thirty-three of The Head of Christ, twenty-nine images of Christ in the Tomb, twenty-four paintings of The Descent from the Cross, and fifteen of Christ Dying on the Cross, [see Appendix "D"].[93] This represented approximately

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[92] McCool, in A Rahner Reader, 160.

[93] The statistics were compiled and published by Père C-F. Chevé in 1856; reproduced in Foucart, 101. In 1914 Leon Rosenthal published figures for religious subjects compiled from

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a seventy-three percent increase over the earlier decades.

One possible reason for the large number of subjects of Christ's Passion was the widespread devotion to the Way of The Cross which the faithful were encouraged to meditate upon during the mass.[94] Bowman determined that "the image of Christ's despair in the Garden of Gethsemane now became the model for the 'crucifixion' of the just which continued into the present," underscoring, of course, the basic Christian belief in redemptive suffering.[95] Bowman examined

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nineteenth-century sources that vary only slightly from the data by Chevé. See Rosenthal, La Peinture romantiques, 137. Similar data for later years was published by Pierre Angrand, "L'État mécène:" 303-348.

[94] Practices dating from the twelfth century separated the clergy from the laity at the mass. Liturgical formulas were clergy-dominated and eventually divided (in practice) from lay spirituality. The faithful practiced more private prayer than communal prayer during mass. The mass itself, of course, was prayed in Latin, primarily by the priest with the laity apart and physically distanced from the rite taking place at the altar. Jansenist habits continued: For example, reception of communion at mass--the taking of the host--was infrequent, usually only several times per year. Devotional processions before the Blessed Sacrament and devotions to the Sacred Heart of Jesus were popular in France during this period. It is not surprising that contemplation of the Passion of Christ was the principal devotion left to the laity during the sacrifice of the mass. According to Bowman the "divorce between liturgy and spirituality reached its apogee in this period." Frank P. Bowman, French Romanticism: Intertextual and Interdisplinary Readings, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 76.

[95] The essential message of the Christian Gospels is Christ's redeeming sacrifice for the reconciliation of humankind with the Father. Colossians 1:24; Philippians 1:20. In the nineteenth century particular devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus was based on this idea. Devotional manuals (circa 1815-1845) often illustrated a realistic heart encircled with the crown of thorns and surmounted by a cross. Bowman concluded that the devotion is linked to Jesus's suffering: "The Heart is the figure of Jesus's

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the many instances where Jesus appears in the writing of George Sand, and he concluded that outside the Passion narratives, "she evoked very little of the Gospel material and the life of Jesus. The only moments she found interesting are those of the cenacle (the Last Supper), the Garden of Olives and the Passion."[96] Kselman has demonstrated that popular movements inspired by Jesus's suffering stressed a devotional life of poverty of spirit, humility, and compassion as a response to modernism; the audience sought respite from tensions between Gospel values and the conspicuous power of industrialization and the accumulation of wealth.[97]

Other interpreters of the phenomenon analyzed the period based on positions of power and argued that the focus on humility and poverty and compassion were ways for the Church to keep the poor from uprising. However, the audience

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redemptive suffering...he endures [suffering] because of his love for us." Ibid., 97-100.

[96] Bowman, Le Christ des barricades, 268-269.

[97] Thomas A. Kselman, Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 95. Kselman's analysis included a description of the process for gaining acceptance by the institutional church for miracle cures. He found that types of miracle cures are distinguished by social class. On the periodic economic crises, see also Gerard Cholvy and Y.-M. Hilaire, Religion et société au XIXe siècle: le diocèse de Montpellier, Paris I, Lille, 3 vols., 1973; and Gibson, A Social History of French Catholicism: 1789-1914, and Dancette, Religious History of Modern France.

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for devotional literature, art, and ritual was overwhelmingly the literate bourgeoisie. The growing number of images of Christ's passion and the religious events of 1830 and 1848, linked religious phenomena and supernatural appearances with the social unrest in those years of political revolution. In 1830 the Marian apparition to Catherine Labouré conveyed a message about the need for reparation for sins. Kselman noted that Mgr. Frayssinous believed the grain failures of the late 1840s were punishment for the irreligion at the 1789 Revolution; the prelate preached the need for repentance.[98] As Kselman described it, the enormous significance of the Marian apparitions was seen as a cause for national pride. The apparitions at Lourdes, and those at La Salette which occurred soon after, reinforced the idea that La France was still the "Eldest Daughter" of the Catholic Church. Accordingly, it propagated the idea that "Providence has always had great designs for France;" furthermore, the Virgin had reassured Catherine Labouré that "France had a special place in her affections."[99] Not surprisingly, in

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[98] See Kselman on Frayssinous's perception of events, Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France, 135-139. See also Abbé Denis Frayssinous (1765-1841), Défense du christianisme, ou conférences sur la religion (Paris, 1821; 3d ed. Imprimerie d'Adrien le Clerc et Cie., 1826), 140.

[99] Kselman, 76.

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that eighteen-to-twenty-year period, religious images in the Salons reached their highest number during the July Monarchy. Events such as the Marian apparitions which led to the adoption of the Miraculous Medal helped secure the idea of France's special role in world history, balancing the experience of economic crises and political unrest.[100]

In the catalogue raisonné of Delacroix's work by Alfred Robaut there appeared a remarkable observation about Delacroix's spirituality by the critic, scholar, and Inspector of Fine Arts, Ernest Chesneau (1880). Chesneau

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[100] The Miraculous Medal owes its origin to the Marian apparitions in the chapel in the rue du Bac, Paris in 1830. The apparitions of the Blessed Virgin to Catherine Labouré, a Daughter of Charity, culminated with the Virgin's request that a medal be struck commemorating the particular honor of her immaculate conception. Reportedly, the Virgin Mary gave specific instructions for the design of the medal. The Virgin promised blessings to those who recited a special prayer and who wore the medal. Belief in the efficacy of those prayers to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception proved to be a worldwide phenomenon. The archbishop of Paris, Mgr. de Quélen, ordered an inquiry and concluded that, "Heaven has confirmed the reality of the Apparitions, the veracity of the seer's account and the diffusion of the medal." [Anon., Chapel of the Miraculous Medal, by Permission of the Ordinary.] In 1846 Pope Gregory XVI ratified the archbishop's remarks, and in 1854 Pius IX defined as dogma the belief in the Immaculate Conception of Mary. The immense, unparalleled success of the power of the apparitions among believers privileged the French Church, and by inference the French nation. The apparitions in the rue du Bac were intimately tied to subsequent apparitions at Lourdes, France, and one result was that France and the French episcopate held a prominent place in the Church. The French people were buoyed by the renewed acceptance of their special status. The spiritual honors counterbalanced people's fears during the concurrent economic depression and political upheaval.

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wrote: "when one considers the religious subjects that Delacroix has treated in the course of his life of painting, one arrives at an enormous total; and when one thinks that these subjects he has chosen more often of his own inclination, without having to be amenable to the exigencies of commissions, one must conclude that, without being a mystic nor a devout, Delacroix had not only poetry but a religious soul."[101] Delacroix's stark rendition of The Way to Calvary [figure 46], which was shown in the 1859 Salon, was conceived as a "Station of the Cross" theme, but Delacroix compressed the usual assemblage of continual narrative (Christ falls; Christ meets his mother; Veronica wipes the holy face with her veil). Instead, Delacroix composed a tightly wound spiral shape made up of a twisting, rising landscape teeming with people. The energy released by this coil of moving forms, is juxtaposed against the stilled, fallen figure of Jesus who appears utterly alone and apart from the crowd. Because Delacroix conceived the figure of Christ farther from the picture plane, to include more foreground action (figures and landscape), Jesus's physical

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[101] "Quand on récapitule par la pensée les sujets religieux que Delacroix a traités dans le cours de sa vie de peintre, on arrive à un total enorme; et quand on songe que ses sujects, il les a choises le peintre souvent de son propre mouvement, sans y être amené par les exigences des commandes on en doit conclure que sans être un mystique ni un dévot, Delacroix avait, ne fût-ce qu-en poète, l'âme religieuse." Robaut, (1885) no. 1796, 450.

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isolation increases the sense of his vulnerability and suffering [figure 46]. The contrast between the center of stillness and the surrounding boisterous motion parallels the tension between silent suffering and uncomprehending evil. Delacroix's compression of the episodes absorbs the viewer, but Mgr. Barbier de Montault, the nineteenth-century historian of religious art, considered Delacroix's conception unorthodox because the temporal gradation was upset.[102] In a series of articles on "The Way of the Cross," Barbier de Montault explained that traditional iconography for this theme had recently been called into question. Tradition held that Jesus falls three times on the way to Golgotha, yet Catherine Emmerich, the acclaimed mystic, described a vision of the Passion where Jesus falls seven times. Barbier de Montault believed the discrepancy prompted irreligious critics to ridicule the truth of the episode. In France, Emmerich's book was published repeatedly between 1835 and 1850, and in 1847 Delacroix wrote enthusiastically

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[102] Mgr. Barbier de Montault, Traité d'iconographie chrétienne, new ed., vol.1 (Paris, 1900), 135-138. Barbier de Montault wrote a series of articles on the iconography of the "Chemin de la Croix" for Annals Achéologiques. He described and documented the iconographic history of each of the fourteen stations of Jesus's ascent to Golgotha, crucifixion and entombment. Barbier de Montault noted certain motifs or scenes that had Rome's approval and those that did not. See Annals Archéologiques (Paris: Didron, 1848-1864), 25 vols. Barbier de Montault, "Chemin de la Croix," v.21 through v. 25, 1862-1864; v. 26 is the Index for the series.

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about wanting to read it.[103] A Journal entry dated February 23, 1847 lists the subject among those he intended for a mural commission at Saint-Sulpice:

> Le Portement de Croix. Le Christ vers le milieu de la composition succombant sous la faix; sainte Véronique, etc.; en avant, les larrons montant, etc.; plus bas, la Vierge, ses amis, etc.; peuple et soldats.[104]

It may be that Emmerich's devotional, richly detailed narrative colored Delacroix's imagination and influenced his conception of the scene. As early as 1849, Delacroix did two pencil studies for The Climb to Calvary, sometimes titled Le Christ tombe pour la première fois. The fully developed sketches were closely followed in the finished painting.

In a Salon review of 1859 published in Gazette de France, M. de Lescure expressed an opposite opinion. Lescure praised Delacroix's conception because it conveyed an authentic and provocative religious message, "a true painterly image of Christ before which one cries: 'I am a Christian.'"[105] In his review of the 1859 Salon, Baudelaire decided this painting was a complicated, passion-filled and knowing composition. In a marvelous show of perspicacity,

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[103] Journal, February 28, 1847. See chap. II, 119, note 15.

[104] Journal, February 23, 1847, 66.

[105] M. de Lescure, "Salon de 1859," Gazette de France, 8 May , 1859.

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Baudelaire's appraisal associates, almost intuitively, Delacroix's religious pictures with modern theologies. When the poet/critic repeated Lamennais's phrase in his description of Delacroix's spirituality, he implied that he understood the modernity of Mennasian thought:

> I torture myself in order to come up with some formula that best expresses the 'speciality' of Eugène Delacroix . . . one could say that, gifted with such an imagination, he expresses above all the inmost mind, the astonishing aspect of things, so faithfully does his work preserve the mark and mood of his conception. It's the infinite in the finite [emphasis mine]. It's a dream! and by this word I don't mean the demons of night, but a vision that comes from an intense meditation, or, in less fertile minds, by artificial stimulants. In a word, Eugène Delacroix is above all the painter of the soul in its golden hours."
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> ("Je tourmente mon esprit pour en arracher quelque formule qui exprime bien la spécialité d'Eugène Delacroix . . . On pourrait dire que, doué d'une riche imagination, il exprime surtout l'intime du cerveau, l'aspect étonnant des choses, tant son ouvrage garde fidèlement la marque et l'humeur de sa conception. C'est l'infini dans le fini. [emphasis mine] C'est le rêve! et je n'entends pas par ce mot les capharnaüms de la nuit, mais la vision produite par une intense meditation, ou, dans les cerveaux moins fertiles, par un excitant artificiel. En un mot, Eugène Delacroix peint surtout l'âme dans ses belles heures.[106]

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[106] Baudelaire, Oeuvres complètes, Pléiade ed., 2: 635-636; 1397 note 4.

Lamennais's concept of beauty followed Schelling, who believed that "beauty is the manifestation of the divine in the terrestial, of the infinite in the finite." Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling, Ecrits philosophiques, trans. Charles Benard (Paris: Joubert et Ladrange, 1847), 358. Historians see Schelling's philosophical theology as a bridge between German philosophy and French literary movements; Marcel Ruff introduced the fact that Baudelaire read Schelling. Marcel Ruff, Oeuvres complètes de Charles Baudelaire, (Paris: Le Club du meillleur livre, 1955), 2: 8-9. See also Claude Pichois's notes to Baudelaire's

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Zacharie Astruc believed Delacroix's painting of The Way to Calvary had "the German Gothic feeling, touching and pious seen through a melodious Venetian note . . . More than the sweetness of Overbeck one is made to think of German expressionism."[107] Silvestre compared Delacroix's Crucifixion to Rubens's work: "There is in the coup de lance an implosion, a Homeric force that I am never able to forget."[108] Grimouard de Saint-Laurent thought Rubens's Descent from the Cross (Antwerp) too exaggerated to be spiritually uplifting; nevertheless, he admired Delacroix's emulation of the northern artist. In his review, he favorably compared Delacroix's non-commissioned religious paintings with religious subjects by well-known masters of this genre:

> Delacroix invoked the somber turbulence of Michelangelo. The delicate, soft and penetrating grace, this irritable attraction of Correggio, the profound expression and ardor of Rubens, the haze, the magic,

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Oeuvres complètes, Pléiade edition, 1397. Baudelaire, like Ballanche before him, was known to have read Catholic apologist Joseph De Maistre and the writing of transcendental mystic Emanuel Swedenborg.

[107] Zacharie Astruc, Les 14 stations du salon 1859: d'un récit douloureux (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 1859), 255-275.

[108] Théodore Silvestre, Histoire des artistes vivants, français et étrangers, études d'aprés nature (Paris: E. Blanchard, 1855-1856), 55-56.

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the expressive drawing of Rembrandt.[109]

Delacroix's startlingly moving composition for The Way to Calvary (1859) [figure 46] bears a strong similarity to Garnier's Jesus Christ on the Way To Calvary shown at the Salon of 1848 [figure 47]. Delacroix completed his painting in 1859, but he had made the preliminary sketches for the subject years earlier.[110] He exploited known evocations, closely following Garnier's translation of Rubens's composition, and he likely would have known through engravings Raphael's 1517 picture Carrying the Cross (Sta. Maria dello Spasimo [The Torment])[figure 48] which is notably similar.[111] Both compositions show Jesus centered and kneeling at the base of a pyramidal construction of figures and sloping landscape. The frontal figure of Jesus

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[109] Comte de Grimouard de Saint-Laurent, Guide de l'art chrétien, vol. 4 (Paris 1874), 311.

[110] Originally, he thought his commission at Saint-Sulpice was to decorate the Baptismal fonts. The Journal explains that he considered the subject for this project.

[111] The painting depicts the fallen Christ carrying his cross to Calvary. It was originally executed for the Church of Sta. Maria dello Spasimo (Saint Mary of the Agony) in Palermo, Italy. Later, the picture was bought by Philip IV of Spain, but the painting was forcefully taken from Spain and brought to Paris in 1813 where it remained on view until 1822. The composition was first engraved by Agostino Veneziano in 1517, and over time, many engravings of the subject were available. Raphael may have been following an earlier model for the placement of Christ's figure and the manner in which he carried his cross: Giacomo Jaquerio's Ascent to Calvary early fifteenth-century, sacristy of Saint' Antonio di Ranverso, Susa. See Jean-Pierre Cuzin, Raphael (Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1983), 211.

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has one arm raised as he tries to balance the weight of the wood. In Delacroix's painting the cross is turned rightward (following Raphael's composition) while Garnier's is turned leftward. Delacroix has conceived of Christ's figure isolated from the crowd to intensify Jesus's vulnerability and suffering. In the Raphael and Garnier compositions Jesus falls but makes eye contact with one of the figures amid the crowd, whereas in Delacroix's picture Christ wears a forlorn expression and looks beyond the picture frame in an expression of prayer to the unseen Father. Garnier relies on arousing feelings of pity, whereas Delacroix's conception reaches for empathy, and for emulation on the part of believers. As religious painting it summoned up strong responses. In one negative review from 1859, Maxime DuCamp singled out Delacroix's religious works, in particular the Way to Calvary and Christ Dying on Calvary:

> Has death also struck M. Delacroix? I hear this death was anticipated by a paralysis of the hand, closed eyes and removal of the spirit of the just and the true? What sort of paintings are these shown under his name? . . . M. Delacroix should go back to literary works which he loves.[112]

Delacroix's painting, The Way to Calvary, could be

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[112] M. DuCamp, Le Salon du 1859 (Paris, 1859), 32-34. Cited in Mémorial de l'exposition Eugène Delacroix, (Paris: Musée nationaux, 1963), no. 496.

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compared with Prud'hon's 1823 composition which Gautier said represented pain, the loneliness of death and despair.[113] [See figure 8.] However, the difference between the two conceptions are more subtle. Prud'hon's painting of Jesus straining on his cross is one of the Andachtsbilder a dramatic rendition of "worship by empathy," whereas Delacroix's rendition of the moments before the crucifixion penetrates the Gospel story and captures the theology. The call to discipleship is a call to imitate Jesus's sacrificial love in one's own life, and not merely sympathy for his suffering nor solely in identifying with his suffering. Delacroix delivers the religious meaning through an image of the fully human Christ; in our shared humanity the believer is led to ponder his/her individual actions in imitation of Jesus. Delacroix's vision strikes an empathic chord but more profoundly, it provokes the viewer to contemplation. Prud'hon's painting probably inspired

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[113] In 1851 Gautier wrote: "This melancholy and sweet genius, this talent which passes like an elegy, as the breath of the oboe, among the fanfares of the empire." Théophile Gautier, "Le galerie française au Musée du Louvre," L'Artiste 7 (August 1, 1851): 8. In 1846, at the Exposition du Bazar Bonne-Nouvelle, Baudelaire agreed: "This astonishing mixture of poet and painter, Prud'hon, who became David returned to color." Baudelaire paid tribute to Prud'hon, claiming the same passion that he found in Delacroix. Baudelaire, Oeuvres complètes, Plèiade ed., 412. In an essay published by the Shepherd Gallery, Kashey wrote: "A radical painting...unique for its time." Elizabeth Kashey, "Religious art in Nineteenth-Century France," Christian Imagery in French Nineteenth-Century Art (New York: Shepherd Gallery, 1980), 7.

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Delacroix's own version of Christ on the Cross (1846, Walters Art Gallery). In some preliminary pastels of Christ on the Cross (Ottawa, and Frankfort) [figures 50,53], Delacroix portrays a meditative, resigned Jesus hanging on the cross. Nevertheless, he was influenced by Prud'hon's original interpretation of the figure.[114]

Baudelaire found Delacroix's 1846 Christ on the Cross full of pathos, violently evocative of deep melancholy. Nevertheless, the religious meaning of the terrestrial Jesus, his humanity in divinity, might be equally applicable to artists Baudelaire excluded, like Scheffer and Delaroche. "The imagination of Delacroix! It has never feared to scale the heights of religion."[115] Delacroix's religious pictures from the late 1840s and the 1850s display a grandeur and depth of feeling, an attitude of reverence before mystery. Lee Johnson alluded to Delacroix's marked appreciation for the metaphysical in his article on Christ Healing the Blind Man of Jericho (circa 1862-63, left unfinished at his death; private collection)[figure 54]. Comparing Delacroix's looser

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[114] Delacroix's subjects of battling men and animals, victims of war, and murder were less numerous in the latter part of his career. Smaller versions of violent subjects from earlier works, e.g., The Death of Sardanapalus and Medea were painted in 1844, and 1859 respectively. See Spector's psychoanalytic reading of Delacroix's picture of Sardanapalus. Spector, The Death of Sardanapalus (New York: Viking Press, 1974).

[115] Baudelaire, "Salon of 1859," Oeuvres complètes, Pléiade ed., 628.

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brush work and the expressive landscape with Poussin's rendition of the same subject, he wrote: "Delacroix's landscape . . . is further charged, as are so many of his later works, with a disquieting nervosity, with an aura of foreboding despite the happy nature of the subject. It is as though the ultimate tragedy of Christ's passion overhung his [Jesus] dispensation of sweetness and light."[116] Spector, too, recognized Delacroix's repeated, earnest expressions of spiritual yearnings although Spector situated them solely in the psychological state: "Delacroix saw two paths to a desired tranquility or overcoming of loneliness, creative art and fervent religious faith . . . ."[117] Ignoring the possibility of transcendental action, Spector likened Delacroix to Michelangelo, whom, he believed was "trapped in his ambivalence between art and religion"[118] The paradox is a false one: Delacroix was not ambivalent about his sense of responsibility to the creative spirit within, he self-consciously pursued his creative ambitions in relation to a perceived, acknowledged, yet hidden reality.

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[116] L. Johnson, "Delacroix's 'Christ Healing the Blind Man of Jericho': Poussin reviewed," The Burlington Magazine 128 (September 1986), 674.

[117] Spector, "Towards a Deeper Understanding of Delacroix and His Art: An Interpretation of Delacroix's Michelangelo in His Studio," Gazette des beaux-arts 103 (January 1984): 19-28.

[118] Ibid.

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The Crucified Body

From the 1840s through 1859 nearly all Delacroix's paintings about Christ's passion, death and resurrection effectively create a synergism of form and theology. Delacroix lifted the human nature of Christ from the narrative level to the religious mystery of "the theology of the body." In these paintings the material body is the locus of meaning for subjective elements of the modern theologies. Jesus's body is caressed, carried, anointed, adored, lanced and probed, wrapped and mourned over. The painted body is cast in intense light, with high-key color, and surrounded by other figures as a body presented for adoration. The intense and heuristically applied white color draws the eye to the imagined flesh, which is symbolically coequal with his divinity. A quartet of pictures from 1847 and 1848, The Crucifixion, The Lamentation, The Entombment, and Jesus and Thomas (the Resurrection) illustrate this materiality [figures 37,49, 55,56].

Medieval scholastics believed that "the more perfect flesh is, the more it experiences."[119] In one of the most

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[119] St. Bonaventure (d. 1274) Breviloquium. See Etienne Gilson, The Philosophy of St. Bonaventure, trans. I. Trethowan and F. Sheed (Paterson, N.J., 1965), 251-252.

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beautiful of interpretive texts, St. Bonaventure (1221-1274) observed that the perfection of Christ meant "his every sense was perfectly acute on the cross, and in its acuity of experience lay our salvation."[120] The exemplary nature of his divine goodness activated incomparable suffering. Christological sensibility was communicated in two ways: first, Jesus, while dying on the cross, takes on the fullest measure of suffering for the redemption of the world.[121] Walker-Bynam interpreted the medieval text as meaning that "Christ's love taken to the ultimate degree for his friends is manifested itself in the body."[122] St. Bonaventure described the phenomenon more poetically, "Christ wept not only with his eyes, but with his whole body."[123] To the mystical lover of Christ the Body is Jesus's love for others and, conversely, the Body is the beloved.[124] Delacroix's

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[120] Ibid.

[121] The imagined words of Jesus to the mystic Julian of Norwich: "If I could have suffered more for you, I would have done it." Julian of Norwich (b. 1342), Revelations of Divine Love, trans. M.L. del Mastro (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1977).

[122] Carolyn Walker-Bynam, The Theology of the Body (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 332-333.

[123] Saint Bernard, Ancrene Riwle, pt.2, 49, Sermon 3 for Palm Sunday. Cited in Bynam-Walker, Ibid., 333.

[124] The power of this sacrifice and respect rests on a certain tension, the "disgrace of the Cross." "By calling God simultaneously 'Father' and 'Almighty,' the creed joins together...the concept of cosmic power...the tension between

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Christ-body-pictures are these spiritually passionate, metaphoric signs.

In a religious reading, the picture Christ on the Cross (Walters Art Gallery) represents the believes. experiential modality, the moment when the unbeliever believes. The gesturing hand at the left rises to meet the imagined gaze of the dead Christ--"at his last breath, he has begun the saving activity." In the nineteenth century the painting had sometimes been titled The Conversion of the Centurion, presumably because of the two mounted figures at the lower right, based on the story in Saint Luke's gospel (23:47). In each of the four examples, Delacroix shows a consistent deployment of the metaphysical qualities of light. The compositions are structured so the light source is far back from the central figure or figures, the mysterious atmosphere moves from light into dark: the one great exception is the supernatural spotlight across the sacred and tortured torso. In the Crucifixion scene, scripture states the earth "was covered over with darkness" at the moment Jesus gave up his spirit (Mt 27:45, Mk 15:33, Lk 23:44). In Delacroix's picture the body bears the wounds

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absolute power and absolute Love, between absolute distance and absolute proximity, between Being and a direct affinity with the most human side of humanity...." Joseph Ratzinger, Introduction to Christianity, trans. J.R. Foster (New York: Seabury Press, 1979), 104.

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of lance and nails, red blood spurts forth confirming his human nature--scripture says that "blood and water" poured forth from the side of Jesus (Jn 19:34-35).[125] In the nineteenth century, a surprising yet quite obvious appreciation for the theme "salvation through blood" exists in religion. Catherine Emmerich's book about the Passion, which Delacroix said he wanted very much to read, described the symbolism "Christ's body weeps blood; all his blood becomes as tears . . . ."[126] (According to Bowman, the phenomenon--a heightened, popular interest in metaphysical meaning of blood--coexisted in literature, eroticism and politics as well. He argues that redeeming blood had "a theological conviction and a political theory."[127]) The red mass of color at the left in Delacroix's painting represents

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[125] The Church believes this aspect of Jesus's sacrifice instituted the sacraments of Eucharist and Baptism.

[126] Delacroix wrote about this in his Journal: "The exceedingly interesting book, translated by M. Cazalis, is by a German ecstatic, I must read it. It contains extraordinary details about the Passion that were revealed to this young girl." Journal, February 28, 1847, 67. See my Chapter II, 119, note no. 15.

[127] Bowman, The Intertextual Flow of Romantic Discourse, 81-101. Bowman's fascinating study analyzes the literature, poetry, fiction, and erotic and medical literature about the imagery of Christ's blood, which flows, bursts forth, streams, jets, pushes, pulsates, circulates, and penetrates...." The image lent itself to revolutionary uses; he quotes a text from Le Christ républicain of 1848, "We poor workers are reds because Christ shed his blood in order to redeem us, his blood by which we hope to become regenerated...." 81-82. ("Nous, pauvres prolétaires, nous sommes rouges, parce que le Christ a versé son sang pour nous racheter, son sang par lequel nous voulons nous régénérer.")

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the blood fallen on the white linen wrap. Delacroix used the same red just above that blob of color to represent the blood still flowing out from the wound, and the same color is spurting from the wounds in his hands and feet as well as around his head where the crown of thorns is set. The dramatic and moving effect is enhanced against Christ's luminous body painted in a high-key white mixed with yellow, gray-blue and violet skin tones. Delacroix's genius penetrates the religious metaphors and achieves a synergistic effect, whereby symbolism and even narrative action in the lower and mid-registers are overwhelmed by an essential quiet that emanates from the power of that body, a body which controls the stillness of everything around it. The Walters Art Gallery picture is probably the most pronounced evocation of religious symbolism among his Crucifixion paintings. The magnificent, lusciously painted body gives it a power that the other pictures lack, not merely because the physiology of Christ is more powerful, but the painterliness is somehow more dedicated to incorporating religious meaning. The red hue is "saving blood," emphatically differentiated from the reds in the large banner at the right and on the cloak of the onlooker at the lower left, both of which are layered over with orange and crimson reds. Even the smoky orange-yellow-reds

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in the darkened sky are curtailed from resembling the hue of the redeeming blood. Delacroix understood well the religious signifiers he sought to represent, and he used his palette to create the effect.

On the second christological point, Jesus's perfectly pitched sensibility is a metaphor for God's incarnate love for humanity, a concept that stressed the Creator's respect for his creatures. Christ's power is that he accepts to the full his humanity, thereby both exalting human nature and showing his charity; he desired "never to abandon mankind."[128] According to Walker-Bynam, "There is a suggestion here of wonder that any soul--even God's--could bear to depart from such glorious flesh, unweakened and untainted by sin."[129] Clearly medieval texts that exalted the union of body and soul were closely followed and loved. Medieval mystics placed the love of the soul for the body among the four kinds of earthly loves: between friends, between man and woman, between mother and child.

> The soul and the body are but one person . . . the soul loving the body so tenderly that it lingers at death until all senses are lost. Bound together by tenderness, even passion . . ..[130]

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[128] Walker-Bynam, Theology of the Body, 333.

[129] Ibid., 333; 248-249; 328-329.

[130] Ibid., 332.

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If the theology aimed for a perfect union of body and soul between lovers, Delacroix imaged the hypostatic union of love by glorifying the flesh in a tour de force of painting where details are dissolved into a vibrating, rich surface. The coloristic patches alternate subtly with light, all the while working up a seemingly three-dimensional body/paint surface, as Delacroix signaled synthesis.[131] He makes the identification of theology and iconography, of body and soul, of Christ's desire to capture the last possible moment united to his human condition. Religious symbolism in two other paintings, The Entombment (1848-9) and Christ and Saint Thomas [figures 55,56], is situated, respectively, in the sagging weight of the crucified body carried in its shroud and in the imagined sensual response where the disciple's fingertips probe the resurrected flesh.[132] Christ's body first acquired profound meaning in the New Testament Pauline epistles, where it encompassed four modes of meaning. The first was as offering and sacrifice,[133] the

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[131] Strauber provided valuable formal analysis of some religious paintings. Strauber, "The Religious Paintings...," 125-128.

[132] Paul Mantz described the religious quality of the picture in a review in the Gazette des beaux-arts (1859): 129-141. On the second point, see The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 451-452.

[133] The Hebrews had no word for body, only flesh, but this word, according to McCasland, was a metonym for all living beings. The author explains that the word is first used in The Book of Daniel --a text crucial to the religious meaning of the Saint-Sulpice

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second, as the Church itself, to express unity--"we though many, are one body in Christ."[134] Third, the body was understood as the "temple of the Holy Spirit"--Christ resides in the body of the individual Christian. To express spiritual fellowship with Christ one "dies" to selfishness ("It is no longer I who live, but Christ lives in me." [Galatians 2:20]) Fourth, the body is immortal. Unity of body and soul was a distinct point in theology where the Hebrew idea of a resurrected body took precedence over the Greek system. The Greeks abhorred the idea of a corrupt body reunited at death to pure soul.[135]

Interestingly, in Lazerges's Christ's Descent from the Cross the extreme naturalism distracts us from the religious message. Both Lazerges (1843) and Flandrin (1842) painted Lamentation or Pietà themes that shared Delacroix's preoccupation with the body without, however, signifying its profound meaning [figures 57, 41]. In Lazerges's picture the highly descriptive, truncated body is awkwardly draped

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mural program. The metaphorical meaning of the sacrifice is enacted over and again in the sacrament of the Eucharist when the body of Christ is consumed (under the species of bread). The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, 571.

[134] The mystical Church is the people of God, not the magesterium, nor the hierarchy alone. Romans 12:5.

[135] The New Catholic Encyclopedia s.v. "Resurrection of the Body," by H. M. McElwain; see also The New International Dictionary of the New Testament Theology, 1978 ed., s.v. "Resurrection" by C. Brown.

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over the maternal knees, but the realism and the particularity fail. The dead Christ, head thrown back, eyes closed and mouth open, lies under the Madonna's doleful gaze; her plaintive gesture and vacant expression arouse the viewer to reflection, perhaps to feelings of guilt. Set against an indistinct background in an icon-like format, Lazerges used a number of pictorial devices in an attempt to impart religious meaning that merely weakened into religiosity. In Flandrin's stark image the abstract figures and background may have been inspired by Giottoesque forms and medieval sculpture, but Flandrin has pushed them much farther so his conception has more power. Critics had reservations about Delacroix as a great painter of religious subjects. L'Ami de religion wrote that Delacroix had little aptitude for religious art.[136] Baudelaire rebutted conservatives when he calculated that the Catholicism of his childhood was "a religion that left the artist completely free to conceive his compositions *if* he knew sadness, and he is a painter."[137] Delacroix's four pictures, Crucifixion (Baltimore, 1846), the Christ on the Cross (London, 1853-1856), Christ at the Column (New York, 1849) and Climb to

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[136] "Chronique des beaux-arts" L'Ami de la religion, May 6, 1860.

[137] Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846", Oeuvres complètes, Plèiade ed., 436.

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Calvary (Metz, 1859) [figures 49,59,58,46] defied traditional iconography yet remain among the strongest Passion images in the nineteenth century.[138] His imaginative renditions of Christ's Passion contrast with Scheffer's personification of liberal Catholicism. The two artists marked clearly different characteristics of contemporary theologies: the older artist focused on the compassionate and fraternal aspects of the Christ, whereas Delacroix imaged a heightened appreciation of the incarnate spirit. Although Flandrin and Lazerges are nearer Delacroix's religious meaning, neither captures the essential sublimity that Bonaventure described. The popularity of these pictures with the bourgeoisie demonstrated a new venue for religious art,[139] one that served a new function. By exploiting modern theologies the images effectively made worship an act apart from Church and clergy control and, therefore, appropriated

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[138] Much has been written about the iconography of Christ's body position on the cross. Delacroix painted Jesus's head and face turned upward to the right (1853, London); head, neck and face turned rightward (1853-56, Bremen); his head slung-down (Vannes, 1835), his face turned leftward (1846, Baltimore). Similarly, he was unconcerned about depicting two nails for the feet (1853, London), or one nail with feet overlapped (1847, wood panel).

[139] None of Scheffer's paintings were Church commissions; his Saint Augustine and Saint Monica was bought by Queen Marie Amelie, one replica from Scheffer's atelier went to his daughter, another to Poland and one to London. His religious pictures were first shown at the Paris Salon then bought by the State. Viardot, "Ary Scheffer," 129-141. Foucart writes that other paintings were "bought by the aristocracy for museums or palaces, or bourgeois homes in the form of replicas, reduced in size." Foucart, 126.

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greater power for the laity. Delacroix's considerable output of biblical subjects such as Daniel in the Lion's Den, Jesus on the Lake, Saint Stephen Helped by the Holy Women, The Crucifixion demonstrates that he painted religious pictures for himself, for private patrons and to fulfill State commissions. Furthermore, he chose religious subjects to paint as gifts to friends, and he showed them in nearly every Salon from 1845 through 1859.[140] It was an interest that continued until the end of his career; his last work was the (1863) painting of Tobias and the Angel (Tobit 4:2-6)[141] [figure 60]. Delacroix considered religious subjects a fecund source of inspiration for an artist, important in calling forth "the aspirations of the soul" into painting.[142] Moreover, ample material in the Journal testifies to his meditations on the spiritual values he found provocative and consoling.[143] His well-known

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[140] Rudrauf (1941), Serullaz (1986) and Strauber (1983) trace the increasing importance of religious paintings in Delacroix's oeuvre, from the 1820s through to 1863, and they concur that "his interest in these subjects seemed to ignite" in the 1840s,- evinced by the sharp increase in the number of religious subjects, and which continued until his death in 1863.

[141] See Régamey, Eugène Delacroix (Paris, 1931) for a valuable description of Daniel in the Lion's Den; see Huyghe for a good description of Tobias and the Angel, Delacroix's last painting.

[142] Delacroix, Ecrits, 44.

[143] He attended mass on numerous occasions and noted at different places--Dieppe, Plombières, Paris,-- that he was deeply

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meditation, "God is within us" sums up a fairly orthodox Christian idea.[144] He shared an interest in Christ's Passion with the wider audience.

Charles Blanc believed the suffering, tragic figure of Christ was a pervasive one.[145] However, records of the Salon pictures and Church commissions reveal that the iconography was more varied. Different audiences preferred the image of the non-suffering Christ. Popular iconography included Christ as the universal brother; Christ as shepherd to the outcasts, or Christ as preacher of the word of God--"the sower of the seed" [figure 61]. Others were attracted to the image of Jesus Christ as intercessor for the oppressed and the poor, e.g., Lazerges's Christ Praying for Humanity [figure 62]. If Charles Blanc is representative of an urban, educated, bourgeoisie that responded to the image of Jesus as "tragic hero," the projection is narrow theology. This iconography refused to signify Jesus's suffering as from from otherworldly imagery, to focus on individual human existence.

Additional subjects played out relevant themes of

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moved by the piety of the people (Journal, October 12, 1862).

144 Journal, October 12, 1862.

145 Charles Blanc, "Eugène Delacroix," Gazette des beaux-arts, 16, part 2 (1864): 97-120. By the same author, see "Eugène Delacroix," Les Artistes de mon temps (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1876); particularly pages 79-86.

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everyday holiness, e.g., Delacroix's paintings The Education of the Virgin from circa 1842 and 1850 (Paris, Tokyo [figures 63,64]), are stripped of Tridentine or traditional iconography. In some ways, themes resembled counter-Reformation paintings based on baroque theology, which emphasized God's presence in the humble activities of human life. Finally, in terms of religious genre painting, far from being "a low point" in religious art as is often claimed, religious genre pictures more correctly reflected a low point for Tridentine theology. The genre captivated a different contemporary audience whose members sought religious meaning in earthly scenes with people whose needs related to their own, e.g., a God concerned with their daily lives, a God present to them.[146] (In theological terms it meant God in them, as members of His mystical body.) A good example of this is Schnetz's painting, The Sick Imploring the Help of the Virgin [figure 21].

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[146] According to Elisabeth Kashey: "This development reached its lowest point in the epidemic of genre scenes that spread after mid-century." Kashey, "Religious Art in Nineteenth-century France," in Christian Imagery in French Nineteenth-Century Art, 9.

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. . . everything they do on Commissions is unfinished and disconnected.

--E. Delacroix [147]

Documents in the Archives Nationales indicate that the choice of subjects was usually left to the artist--a fact uncovered first by Foucart.[148] Dossiers, including those devoted exclusively to Delacroix, show that the directives of the administration were minimal; the majority named the artist, the location for the proposed work, and the fee.[149] If the work was a long-term project, a periodic report might be included, which described the artist's progress and the schedule for payment.[150]

Overall, dossiers show that most information was directed to costs and fees. Most artists were free to choose their subjects once the general category was established, such as a "Christ on the Cross," a "Chapel dedicated to the Holy Angels" or to one saint or another. Clearly artists had some contact with the government authorities, either the

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147 Journal, March 23, 1854, 219.

148 Foucart, Chapter VI "Les commandes publiques et la production de peinture religieuse," 75-106.

149 Archives Nationales, F21/56, AN F21 "Dossiers Delacroix."

150 Archives Nationales, F21/56, AN F21 "Dossiers Delacroix."

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Préfet de la Seine for city commissions or the Ministère de l'Intérieur for national directives, but communication was limited.[151] The artists also had meetings with clergy but the decision in the majority of cases belonged to the painters. The administration decided on the subject when the order was in any way vague. Foucart observed that the phrase "I have chosen" comes up regularly in the dossiers for mural commissions.[152] In Delacroix's Journal dated January 30, 1855, he wrote about his unplanned meeting with a former prefect of the Department of the Seine, le comte de Rambuteau. When the aging Rambuteau told how he always had admired Delacroix's work, the artist privately derided the préfet: "All the time he was préfet he never said a word to me except to warn me not to ruin his Church of Saint-Denis-du-Saint-Sacrement in 1844."[153] Delacroix got the commission for the thirteen-foot picture only after Joseph Robert-Fleury turned it down for 6000ff. Robert-Fleury suggested Delacroix for the job yet Delacroix knew the recommendation carried a proviso: "Of course with the approval of the

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[151] Foucart noted a number of exceptions, but they are relatively few, such as the correspondence between Amaury-Duval and his friend Edouard Bertin for Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois in July 1846. Ingres's commission for the Church at Montauban involved an extended correspondence.

[152] Foucart, 81.

[153] Journal, January 30, 1855, 268.

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directors." He continued: Varcollier "rather contemptuously consented to the exchange of artists,"[154] while the préfet, who didn't know Delacroix's work, was even more difficult to convince. Directives generally are terse and usually focus on consideration of the architectural constraints. The evidence shows that there was no evaluation of an artist's religious beliefs or fidelity in granting a commission for a religious picture. Foucart has determined that religious subjects did not have any special government category or supervision. During Flandrin's mural project at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Horaist found that, when necessary, the architect Baltard stepped in to make final decisions in the name of the State.

Initially, the choice of an artist for any commission was made from the widest pool of artists. Although the most-admired painters had an easier time getting major commissions, nevertheless, a commission was not decided by the artist's religiosity. Logically, the clergy played a role, although this can be proved only in specific cases. Flandrin had a close relationship with a Jesuit who advised him on the theology of the mural program at Saint-Germain-de-Prés. Delacroix, too, described his meetings with the

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[154] Ibid.

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curé and the priests at Saint-Sulpice but there is no way to know the extent of their participation. It is logical that clergy had some influence, at least on mural programs where a painter worked within their domain for an extended period.[155] The increase in the number of religious easel paintings made for churches after 1840 makes it implausible that the curé of a parish could act directly to contravene the administration. In the important mural paintings under auspices of a bishop, like those in Saint-Vincent-de-Paul at Nîmes, Driskel has shown that the clergy were able to offer strong suggestions for the subjects and eventually collaborated with the painters during the execution of the commissions.[156] However, the artists were never chosen by clergy because by law only the State had the right to choose.[157] Apart from celebrated artists, it appears that

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[155] Foucart found that clergy intervened in the major mural projects for their Churches, but if this was a more common practice the incidents were rarely recorded. Bishops had greater ecclesiastical powers and habitually intervened more than curés. Citing the example concerning the bishop of Limoges, Foucart described the extent of his intervention: "In 1829 the Bishop asked the Minister of the Interior to buy and send his cathedral a Flagellation of Christ by a certain Dupuis. The minister refused the request in order to give the commission to a better artist Guillemot [*Sic*] for double the price. The bishop decided to change his request on the subject Martyrdom of Saint Stephen, available for a lower price." Foucart, 88. Also, see Archives nationales, Paris F^{21} 3.

[156] Driskel, "Painting, Piety, and Politics in 1848," 270-284.

[157] Archives nationales, Paris F^{19} 7087: "Folio Budget 1841-1847." See also Spector, The Murals of Eugène Delacroix, 18 note 25. Legally, prelates had no voice in the choice of artists.

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the commission's operation was based on financial and practical considerations.[158]

After 1853, the kinds of religious works that dominated in the Salons began to change. As the debate among theologians was submerged under ecclesiastical partisanship (See Chapter I) the number of easel paintings was curtailed, favoring instead Church commissions in situ, and lithographs of popular pious images. At the same time, the taste for Realist paintings and landscape subjects, the dominant genre, helped push religious painting from the general market. After the revolt of 1848, the fearful bourgeoisie retreated from staunch anticlericalism; as a class they turned to the Catholic Church to help quash further democratic movements and now they increasingly preferred a Roman-ruled Catholic Church. Their political conservatism pressed for theological conservatism--as a class, they wanted <u>their</u> Catholic Church to maintain the political

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Foucart found in cases where the clergy might be a silent partner, the decisions about the subject and design of religious pictures were not much different than when they were known to be involved. Foucart, 88-89.

[158] "Of course, there are exceptional situations; commissions to decorate the great cathedrals headed by renowned episcopal personalities: e.g., at Bordeaux, Cardinal Bonnet, archbishop from 1836 to 1882; at Rouen Cardinal Bonnechose succeeded in 1858 by Mgr. Blanquart de Bailleul or at Rennes Mgr. Brossays-Saint-Marc. This was less true for the portable pictures." Foucart, 91.

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status quo, and they promoted Jesuit educators to counter socialist tendencies in the Church. "By 1859 the Papal encyclical Mirari vos sent the liberal clergy underground, and ecclesiastical debate had stiffened, theologians were being restrained."[159] While it is true that religious iconography stagnated after about 1853, the spasm of sincere religious feeling of the previous thirty years and its generous artistic output can hardly be termed "dormant" or even "predictable." Under the Second Empire religious commissions surpassed any other genre. Angrand deduced that "the commissions are less a show of Church's power than the recognition of a latent demand."[160] He calculated that of the 4,415,000ff paid in commissions for pictures and mural

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[159] Reardon, Religion in the Age of Romanticism, 186. In his political reading of the commissioned pictures, Pierre Angrand concluded that the religiosity of the epoch was "simplistic and mundane." The painters "agree to present the Christian legend in less austere images, less constrained, more sweet and agreeable. The mannered operatic types fit the tastes of the time, or rather the taste of the regime which had the air of spectacle." Angrand, "L'État mécène," 303-348.

[160] Angrand, "L'État mécène," 303-348. Angrand interpreted from the data that pious subjects were commissioned in proportion to the Catholic support for the 1848 coup d'état. Catholics supported the overthrow of Louis- Philippe's government, and among the bourgeoisie there was a more favorable attitude toward the Church compared with 1830. By 1852, Catholics like Montalembert, a layman who was considered a liberal, spoke out against the republican "jacquerie." Montalembert was one of the founding members along with Père Lamennais and Père Lacordaire of the radically liberal periodical, L'Avenir in 1830s. During his long and substantial political career, Montalembert tried to effect compromise between republican forces and Catholic interests. Gough determined that Church leaders were manipulated initially in favor of the prince president Napoleon III.

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decoration, fully 38 percent was spent for pictures of piety, 18 percent for pictures of history painting, 15 percent for royal portraits and 11 percent for landscape pictures. This distribution is in inverse proportion to the pictures in the Salon.[161]

> ***Ils peignent, à tant l'heure ou tant le metre, des Christs, des Saints, des Vierges.*** --B. Bouniol[162]

Under the Second Empire there was a virtual explosion in the production and circulation of inexpensive religious images.[163] To the embarrassment of some of the Church hierarchy, popular religion took hold of simplified themes for edification or moral uplift. These were produced by the major printing houses: Bouasse-Lebel, Braun, and L'Art

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[161] "The Imperial administration was not fond of master landscapists, nor had interest in that genre." It was not only a matter of mediocre tastes, but Angrand believed the "directors of Fine Arts from Vivant Denon to Chennevières...were dedicated to the grand [history] painting, and the Second Empire made religious painting take first place over history painting." Ibid.

[162] Bathild Bouniol, "Nos Impressions au Salon de 1861: la peinture religieuse," Revue du monde catholique no. 1(1861): 292-300, 730-31.

[163] Angrand, "L'État mécène," 189. Near the end of the century the heliogravure printing process was preferred because it was capable of greater nuance in the details.

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Catholique.[164] The publishers realized that the pious image could be put to a social as well as a religious use. It became customary and stylish to exchange "holy cards" to mark particular religious holidays or rites like First Communion. In 1855, the Vatican reeled back from democratic tendencies and opted for insular systems of theology. Neo-scholasticism was intentionally more intellectual and abstract than the earlier, humanitarian theology of Père Lamennais. As a consequence, there was little opening for visual expressions of more popular religious feeling. This stimulated the demand for simple pious images filled with sentiment, or didactic examples of moral virtue or the sacraments. Kselman suggested that the nineteenth-century Church actively embraced popular devotions to saints and shrines as an integral part of pastoral planning. The Church sought to establish a closer link between popular folk religious beliefs and the institutional Church, and the maneuver furthered ultramontane interests.[165] Constant realignment was necessary in order to maintain a balance between folklore and institutional religion.

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[164] Catherine Rosenbaum-Dondaine, M. Albaric and J-P. Seguin, L'Image de piété en France 1814-1914, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée-galerie-de-la-Sieta, April-June, 1984).
In the 1840s religious subjects by Nazarene painters were widely distributed through engravings.

[165] Kselman, Miracles and Prophecies, 17.

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In 1853, Abbé Sagette, author of Essai sur l'art chrétien, criticized the "bad taste and weak doctrine of these images," deploring the fact that the Church had no power to control the content. He faulted "certain workers and entrepreneurs [who] are getting rich painting these saintetés by the hour or by the meter."[166] Recent scholarship by Dom Albaric characterized these images as a "vulgarization of dense and difficult theologies, . . .produced with temerity."[167] The stereotyped, mass-produced images were now rapidly printed with lithographic techniques. They propagated themes of the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, "infant Jesus," or "child Jesus [figure 65, 68]," and Guardian Angel images.[168] Abbé Sagette thought that the pious image had abandoned Christian beliefs to "subaltern industries which traffic in ignorance or simplicity, sinking piety into perverse taste . . . .[169] In

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[166] Bouniol, 292-300. An illustration for a "Sainteté" was recomposed from representations of several saints. See Rosenbaum-Dondaine, L'Image de piété, 194.

[167] Rosenbaum-Dondaine, 9.

[168] Ibid.

[169] He wrote that "les saintétés" were sometimes insulting to dogmas and to the Christian sentiments. "Then, art is not a pious and profound communication of the mystical world with the material world, it is only an industry and a manufacture, a gross commercialization of objects of devotion where the spirit is not to be found..., the unction of the heart, the teaching of faith, the piety of tenderness." Rosenbaum-Dondaine, 83.

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1856, art critic Bouniol wrote that "the vast majority of these pious images were ridiculous, to the great jubilation of skeptics."[170] At first, images were based on copies of religious paintings by well-known Salon artists, for example, Chassériau's Christ in the Garden [figure 66 and figure 3], Lazerges's Mater Dolorosa [figure 67] or Signol's Good Shepherd. Circa 1860, "high religious art" found in Church mural decoration represented a remote, supernatural world, symbolizing sometimes incomprehensible truths. An indication of the continued split between "high religious subjects" and mass-produced devotional imagery was the 1856 republication of Alexis-François Rio's authoritative book L'Art chrétien that extolled Tridentine or neo-Gothic iconography.

The popular reproductions initially were produced to illustrate children's catechisms. Generally, the iconography had been preselected by a panel of priests and religious, and certain images soon became standard and commonplace. According to recent research by Rosenbaum-

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[170] A similar criticism was voiced about religious painting in the seventeenth century. Some believed that Counter-Reformation art was full of (the most grave) errors of piety when it tried to accommodate the "picturesque expression of religious feeling." Charles Dejob, De l'influence du concile de Trente sur la littérature et les beaux-arts chez les peuples catholiques (Paris, 1884).

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Dondaine,[171] existing documents from 1850 to 1860 show there was an enormous selection of images offered by the priest to the family at the time of first communion, first confession, or a fête. Editors gave a wholesale price to religious congregations. The most popular genre of these catechism holy pictures, "Les Tableaux de saintétés," was the child Jesus as divine love and childhood innocence. The sleeping infant at Bethlehem had prophetic meaning: "before sleeping in his crêche he dreamed of Calvary . . . . The image of the Christmas babe metaphysically reached toward his sacrifice, and he was often shown accompanied by his cross [figures 68-70]. Although pictured as a child, the theme accented his death and not the resurrection." The sleeping baby Jesus or a boy Jesus, daydreaming of his future sacrifice, prefigured the adult Jesus asleep among his disciples in the storm-tossed boat. Prelates like Abbé Sagette complained that these gratuitously sentimental images lacked religious meaning.[172] In 1868 Abbé Hurel, vicar of the Church of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine, denounced the excess of "little" pious images and the exploitation of a certain type of holy Virgin that promulgated fictive actions and words in a false

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[171] Rosenbaum-Dondaine, 80.

[172] Ibid. Rosenbaum-Dondaine described them as far less substantive than earlier religious images such as the seventeenth-century popular pictures inspired by the piety of Saint-Francis-de-Sales.

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piety. The debate maintained its partisan edge because the majority of clerics who disparaged these images were Gallicans who considered that the imagery pandered to ultramontane sentiment.

Angrand, in a political reading of Second Empire painting, concluded that "the closer we move in French history to the days when ugly reality bared its face during the commune of 1871, the more frequently we read the words douce, douceur in reviews of pictures with religious subjects."[173] While Angrand implies that the religious subjects were simplistic and promoted escapism, I have observed that the words douceur and douleur (sweetness and sorrow) proliferated in the religious literature for somewhat different reasons. Religious/devotional literature offered a crucial platform for the popular pious images, and almost without exception, the use of douceur and douleur was intended to provoke sympathetic emotion for the sufferings of Jesus in images of his ordinary childhood activities. Religious paintings became increasingly Tridentine-driven, no doubt filled with images of angelic sweetness but not directly influenced by political decisions.

My conclusion is indirectly supported by Bowman's

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[173] Angrand, "L'État mécène," 1968. Angrand's thesis revolved around government manipulation of commissions for a vast number of religious artworks.

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analysis of literary sources in this period. Based on a study of devotional literature, poetry and fiction, Bowman argued that the words sweetness and sorrow, or sweet and pitying were commonplace invocations to Christians to identify with Jesus's suffering. Popular religious imagery may have had more do with the defeat of modern Catholicism at the hands of neo-Thomism than with the defeat of Napoleon III's regime or with the barricade fighting of the Commune. Religious genre and contemporary views of Catholic dogma--Jesus liberator--had been snuffed out with reactionary theological iconography that appeared all the more static, hieratic and remote from people. L'image douce was a category of religious art, siphoned from the stream of symbols that brought God-life to the ordinary believer.

After the Franco-Prussian war, defeated and impoverished France reacted in complex ways. Starting from about 1860 these images had become progressively vulgarized, degraded in theological orthodoxy and complexity, but nevertheless not emptied of religious meaning. They were a way to help establish emotional intimacy between the viewer and God and his saints. They were expressions of belief and trust that continued providing sustenance to their audience. From the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the images are increasingly less subtle, more superficial and

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more sentimental. The popular pious image, a subset of religious art, filled the void created by a rupture in modern religious iconography.

The rise in popularly printed religious motifs came near the end of Delacroix's artistic career, certainly after he completed his major religious paintings, such as Christ On the Cross (1853), Saint Sebastian Helped By the Disciples (1859), the mural program for Saint-Sulpice (1847 to 1863). Delacroix's important religious works from the late 1840s through the late 1850s mark the close of an era when religious art captured people's imagination, when innovative and inspired motifs had been created for a revived and refocused religion. Increasingly after 1860, religious painting slipped as a genre capable of expressing religious feeling and, as the venue for modern religious art narrowed, its audience sought fulfillment through landscape subjects or sought satisfaction in trite religious scenes.

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Chapter IV.

The Saint-Sulpice Mural Program

Illustrations: Jacob Wrestling with the Angel, Heliodorus Being Driven from the Temple, Saint Michael Vanquishing the Demon, Preliminary drawings and oil sketches.

A. The meaning of the subjects.
1. Biblical exegesis of the subjects.
2. All three subjects based on Raphael figural models. Delacroix's adherence to classical traditions and formula mural painting.
3. A religious reading of the subjects: Michael Archangel is located in the Book of Daniel, Old Testament, and the Book of Revelation, New Testament. **4.** Theological meaning of the mural program: Salvific history joining Old Testament subjects with New Testament subjects in a dogma of God's saving intervention in history. The meaning of salvific will. **5.** Contemporary references to the religious meaning.

B. Philosophy of Giambattista Vico in the mural program. **1.** Vico's idea of immanent providentialism. Theology and biblical historiography combat positivism and historicism. Delacroix's earlier use of Vico's philosophy at the Palais Bourbon. Influence of Chenavard on Delacroix's religious painting. **2.** Systems of theology at the time of the mural program: Neo-Thomism. **3.** Gallican forces at Saint-Suplice. Biblical exegesis: Renan.

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Delacroix's decorative program for the chapel of the Holy Angels in Saint-Sulpice is regarded as the masterpiece of his late career.[1] The mural program consists of two paintings executed in an oil and wax medium, and appearing on two facing walls of equal size and shape (23½'X 15½'[figures 71,73]). A third painting, in oil on canvas and oval in shape, is glued to the ceiling (16½'X 12½' [figure 75]).[2]

Jacob Wrestling With The Angel is located on the left wall of the chapel. The story from Genesis (32:23-29) describes Jacob, third of the great Hebrew patriarchs, wrestling with "one like a man" until daybreak; ultimately he is struck at the hip socket by the angel. The injury symbolized Jacob's receiving "the mark of patriarchy," and his being renamed Israel.[3] In Delacroix's mural, two figures wrestle in a sumptuous landscape dominated by two massive

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[1] An earlier version of this chapter was presented on April 13, 1996 at the Frick Symposium on the History of Art entitled: "Delacroix and the Divine: Raphael and Religion in the Mural Program at Saint-Sulpice."

[2] Spector's monograph gives a thorough description of the size and placement of the paintings and Delacroix's execution of the murals. He also describes the evolution of the commission: "For him the project to decorate Saint-Sulpice began January 23, 1847 with a commission to paint the transepts. Subjects for this project were discussed with M. Cavé, then chief of the Division of Fine Arts, under the minister of the interior." Spector, The Murals of Eugène Delacroix at Saint-Sulpice, 18, note 25. See Archives Nationales, F^{19} 7087.

[3] The Interpreter's Bible, s.v. "Jacob."

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oak trees with a third, smaller tree behind. The two large oak trees, which are set on a mound, create a vertical axis that divides the composition. To the right of the trees, four lesser figures and a flock of sheep appear at the lower register of the composition. One figure is a turbaned rider on horseback, a second figure is a rider astride a camel, the third is a bare-backed sheep-herder, and finally there is the figure of a woman balancing a water jar on her head. The lesser figures appear on a different groundline from the protagonists, and by their position and their gaze, they are oblivious to the two wrestling figures on the rise above. The light source and their lowered position separate the secondary figures; they seem to exist in a different temporal realm from the protagonists, unaware of the momentous event taking place. To the left of the massive trees, the two main figures wrestle at the foot of a low sloping hill, but theirs is not a malevolent combat. A vibrantly-colored, luxuriously-decorated still life rests in the right foreground of the painting. The still life consists of a straw hat and assorted fabrics decorously piled atop a quiver of arrows. A javelin rests over the assortment of objects, its arrowhead pointed at the exposed heel of the half-clothed wrestler.

Delacroix's composition stands in marked contrast to a

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work by Titian Saint Peter, Martyr, with which it has often been compared [figure 72]. In Titian's composition, the Dominican friar, Saint Peter Martyr (1390-1445), is about to earn the martyr's palm which is held aloft by one of the pair of putti.[4] This murder scene takes place on a high bluff with a panoramic backdrop and a third figure, the saint's companion, is seen fleeing from the marauder's blows.

On the opposite wall is Delacroix's rendition of Heliodorus Being Driven from the Temple. In the Heliordorus painting, a massive column is located near the center of the composition [figure 73]. The column divides a flight of steps on the left from a balcony on the right, and the balcony separates the action between lower and upper registers. A majestic rider stands at the left of the foreground action and the hoof of his horse strikes the prone figure of Heliodorus. Two other supernatural figures float in space whipping Heliodorus with bands of reeds. The dramatically posed celestial beings who flank the richly costumed rider force the interloper into a posture of submission. One angel floats horizontally from the left frame of the painting, while the other figure floats downward, his golden locks spilling forward onto his brow.

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[4] Butler's Lives of the Saints, 2: 186-187

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The angel's beautiful, classically-proportioned body is fully extended in space, allowing Delacroix to demonstrate his deft handling of foreshortening technique. The ensuing action in the lower register is dense with extended arms and legs in a series of diagonal lines spun in a centrifugal movement. Figures witnessing the violent scene are grouped stagelike around the central action, all the while draperies billow, curtains part, and robes swirl in the air.[6] A second group of figures is positioned on a balcony, and consists of the high priest Onias, and the Jewish faithful. Onias's outstretched arms rise in diagonals that repeat those of the gesturing figures in the lower register. He is positioned at the top of a staircase in the sanctuary and appears to rush forward to the commotion below. Five lesser figures surround the high priest and their motions imply Onias's haste. Lips parted in prayerful exclamation, Onias wears a confident expression because his prayer has been heard by the saving angels. The Jewish faithful (although not faith-filled) look astonished while Heliodorus's bodyguard looks simply frightened.

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[6] Material about Raphael's models for Delacroix's compositions and the extent to which Delacroix drew inspiration from the older artist is documented in Sara Lichtenstein, Delacroix and Raphael (New York: Garland Series of Outstanding Dissertations, 1979). Spector briefly discusses Delacroix's affinities with Titian and Rubens in Delacroix's work. Spector, The Murals of Eugéne Delacroix, 119, 149-150.

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The oval painting on the chapel ceiling shows Saint Michael the Archangel Vanquishing the Demon. The mysterious background appears indistinct, a painted passage merging a rocky landscape with a smoky sea that recedes into infinity. Fallen bodies indicate the remnants of a battle [figure 75]. Archangel Michael, the victor for Good, stands over the fallen, twisted body of Satan. Traditional iconography is used in the angel's costume and spear. Similarly, the demon is portrayed with conventional bat-like wings, a pitch-fork and the mask-like grimace often found in Romanesque beast figures. Although the archangel and the demon form a vertical group, Delacroix emphasizes the horizontal line of the angel's wingspan.[7] Michael is backlit and the tilt of his pose, accompanied by a strong light, serves to raise the figure visually and morally. In Delacroix's composition, the victorious archangel has his spear over the defeated demon, his right heel on the archenemy's left shoulder. Satan is posed on his side in a three-quarter turn while the sprawled bodies of the unjust and rebellious are placed at the right and left of the central pair.

Despite the prominent place accorded the mural program

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[7] Lee Johnson agreed with Lichtenstein's observation that Delacroix needed to compensate for the vast space between the viewer and the ceiling painting. L. Johnson, The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix, 5: 174. S. Lichtenstein, Delacroix and Raphael, 230-231.

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in Delacroix's oeuvre, it nevertheless continues to be targeted for criticism for a presumed lack of stylistic and thematic unity. Although scholars long have held that two of the three works are inspired by Raphael's compositions of the same subjects--Archangel Michael Vanquishing the Demon (Louvre) and Heliodorus Being Driven From the Temple (Stanza de Segnatura, Vatican), the third, Jacob Wrestling with the Angel was thought to be modeled on Titian's composition Saint Peter Martyr (Venice, destroyed 1866)[figures 74,76,72]. Recent scholarship has linked the figural model of the Jacob with medieval imagery, with German and Flemish engravings of the same subject and, more obscurely, to a Romanesque bronze panel of the wrestling pair on the door of the Church of Monte Sant'Angelo in Gargano [figure 77].[8] In this chapter, I will argue that Delacroix used a Raphael figural model for each of his compositions at Saint-Sulpice.

A closer look reveals that the Jacob figure can be traced to Raphael's design in Solomon Building the Temple (Logge, Vatican)[see figures 78-79], and The Victory of Leo IV in the Battle of Ostia, (Stanza dell'Incendio, Vatican). Although Raphael dipicted several stories of the Hebrew patriarch Jacob, he did not create a major painting of the specific subject Jacob Wrestling with the Angel, nor were

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[8] Kliman, 157-162.

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other apposite figures by Raphael discovered as the source for Delacroix's mural. Furthermore, because Raphael's compositions for the Stanza dell'Incendio were probably executed by Giùlio Romano they have been overlooked as a possible source for Delacroix's figural models.[8] The attribution to Titian has often been repeated, although the earliest critic to note this, Théophile Gautier, devoted one sentence of his review to this antecedent, a reference solely to the treatment of the tree trunks and not to the composition as a whole nor to the figure of Jacob.[9]

Delacroix had easy access to models for the subjects at Saint-Sulpice in early nineteenth-century monographs on Raphael. He synthesized classical Renaissance traditions--perhaps, as Lee Johnson observed, "as though he wished

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[8] Lichtenstein noted a monochromatic painting of Jacob Wrestling with the Angel executed by Raphael's studio for one of the basamenti, in the Vatican Loggia (destroyed). Lichtenstein, Delacroix and Raphael, 227. Giulio Romano did a painting with a pair of wrestlers. Parting of the Hooves of Taurus shows a wrestling pair holding daggers and standing upright and apart with their upper arms entwined. Delacroix's image is nothing like the Romano model. Lichtenstein commented that Delacroix's Jacob Wrestling with the Angel "may also depend on Raphael..." but referred back to Titian. She further stated that the bulk of Delacroix's statements praise Raphael but "like the testimony of the copies and adaptations, has been almost systematically suppressed." Lichtenstein, 226, 266.

[9] "...tout ce paysage est d'une beauté merveilleuse, et il rappelle sans désavantage le grand fond d'arbres du Martyre de Saint-Pierre par Titien." (...the whole scene is one of marvelous beauty, and it recalls without disadvantage the great background of trees from Saint Peter Martyr by Titian.) Théophile Gautier, Le Moniteur universel, 3 August 1861. Cited also in L. Johnson, The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix, 5: 166,168.

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deliberately to be measured against the standard of Raphael."[10] On a second point, a cogent thematic interpretation was obscured by superficial discrepancies: two subjects from the Old Testament and one from the New Testament; two narratives relating to good vanquishing evil, one portraying good wrestling with greater good; two images depicting a pair of figures in which combative struggle has ceased.[11] This dissertation proposes that all three works show subjects where angels, in a theology of divine intervention, enact the covenant between Creator and man in a temporal chronology.

Although Delacroix insisted on the subject of Saint Michael Vanquishing the Demon from the start of the Saint-Sulpice project, critics questioned its inclusion and his choice remained problematic.[12] The solution emerges as the

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[10] Johnson, 5: 162. On Delacroix's competition with Raphael, see also Spector, The Murals of Eugène Delacroix, 109-111.

[11] Trapp, 306-307. This misalignment of images where the Old Testament figures were grouped with one image from the New Testament occurs in medieval sculpture and manuscripts. Irregularities that placed two corresponding images with a third misplaced narrative in the cycle are believed to occur with the change of format from three-sided choir stall decorations to the four scene compositions dictated by Psalter double-column format. Lucy F. Sandler, The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and Other Fenland Manuscripts (London: H. Miller, 1974), 110-115.

[12] Spector hypothesizes that its inclusion in the program at Saint-Sulpice was due to Delacroix's having made prior sketches for this subject for the concurrent work on the Apollo ceiling of the Louvre. "It was a theme that was prevalent in his thoughts at the time of the Saint-Sulpice commission." Spector, The Murals of Eugène Delacroix, 30. Trapp explains that the

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program's scriptural sources and theological tenets are revealed. The religious reading focused on the subject of the Archangel Michael, the guardian of the Israelites in the

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"Michael" painting symbolizes, in a general way, the victory of good over evil, "that struggle for good." He discusses the Saint Michael and the Heliodorus subjects as a pair but has difficulty interpreting the program as a whole. He tells us: "Jacob, on the other hand, presents a more complex moral... [because] Jacob has been blessed by his opponent, theirs can be no battle between good and evil." He hypothesizes that Delacroix's choice of the Saint-Michael subject may have been inspired by the construction of the monumental fountain dedicated to the same subject on the Boulevard St. Michel. Trapp, The Attainment of Delacroix, 297, 306. But work on the fountain was begun in 1858, well *after* the subject entered the Journal notes for possible subjects for Saint-Sulpice. Trapp's theory uses circumstantial data and draws a conclusion which is indistinct: "While there is no evidence of any specific relationship between the two, it seems plausible to suppose that some influential person had taken a special interest in the subject." Ibid., 297.

Spector says that the Heliodorus subject was one that would have appealed to the curé because "it could serve as a tribute to the Vatican." Spector, The Murals, 109, note 7. He described color and movement as unifying elements among the three paintings, although he had earlier observed that the ceiling painting suggests less coloristic qualities and more emphasis on contrasts between the light and shadows in muted hues. Commenting on the figures in the Saint-Michael painting he writes: "...They are lost in the shadows and all but invisible to the spectators...." The first impression of intense drama...leads the spectator to sense their unity." Ibid., 124.

Trapp cites earlier thematic interpretations, "Rudruaf sees Heliodorus as the aesthetic corollary of the moral message of the Jacob and the religious meaning of the Michael; he considers that the horseman implies the man of genius who purges the temple of Philistines, doubters and scoffers." Trapp, The Attainment of Delacroix, 306. Trapp questioned Barrès's interpretation: "Delacroix would not have erected a structure of conscious and deliberate poetic conceits...." Ibid. Barrès agreed that the compositions rested on "the struggle of justice, genius and effort against their opposites." Barrès, "Le Testament d'Eugène Delacroix," Revue hebdomadaire (1921), 254. Barrès deals mainly with one painting: "that for Delacroix, Jacob embodied the idea of the artist who seeks to wrest the secret from the angel." Ibid. In none of the earlier studies is a religious reading given to these religious subjects.

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Old Testament Book of Daniel and emblem of The Church Triumphant in the New Testament Book of Revelation. In each book, he is representative of a theology of salvation and resurrection[13]

--biblical scholarship long has acknowledged his dual appearance although it has gone unrecognized in the Delacroix literature.[14] The reference in the Old Testament Book of Daniel links Saint Michael to the others, as three Old Testament stories of divine intervention. Archangel Michael equally signified the figure of the New Testament Book of Revelation, read as dogmatic historiography joining Old Testament and New Testament in a continuous telling of salvific history. (In theological terms, this is a history of God's dealing with humankind, not merely the sequence of human events; as biblical history it is coextensive with profane history.) It is the only angel subject able to conclude chronologically the entire salvific cycle.

Not surprisingly, it was Delacroix's brilliant handling

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[13] Book of Daniel, The New Jerusalem Bible (1985), chap. 10-12, notes on pages 1489-1493.

[14] Popular literature, as well as biblical scholarship, connected the readings about the figure of Saint Michael in the Book of Daniel (O.T.) and The Book of Revelation (N.T.): "Saint-Michel est cité à différentes réprises de la Bible comme l'ange prédictor des Israelites, qu'il defend les armes à la main, par example au Livre de Daniel (chap. X, versets 13 et 21; chap. XII, verset 7), ainsi que l'Apocalypse (chap. 12, versets 7ss.), où il est célébré par sa victoire sur le prince de Mal." See W. Speiser Saint-Michel, (Bâle: Editions Amerbach-Bâle, 1947), 5.

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of the landscape that elicited the most favorable criticism by Gautier and later by Thoré-Burger (August 1861).[14] Critics were impressed by the overall importance given to the landscape, and this is, no doubt, what triggered the reference to Titian because there is little else in common with the Renaissance work.[15] Delacroix's portrayal of the massive oaks is unmatched elsewhere in his oeuvre. He created delicately sensuous passages of atmospheric light as it filtered through the trees, and combined this technique

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[14] W. Burger, (Théophile Thoré) Le Temps 9 August 1861. Cited in Tourneux, Delacroix Devant ses contemporains, 131; also in L. Johnson, Catalogue raisonné, 165-166. In one of the few negative reviews of the mural, Alphonse Germain criticized Delacroix for his depiction of noon light where the text describes the struggle as ending at dawn. Germain, "L'Art religieux en France au XIXe siecle," Le Correspondant, n.s. 193 (1907): 241-263.

[15] Delacroix was more influenced by the work of the Barbizon landscapists like Théodore Rousseau. The treatment of the tree bark, its gray brown tone overlaid with brush strokes of black for texture is very similar to Rousseau's treatment of the grand oak tree at the right of the composition The Edge of The Woods 1852, which was shown in the Salon of 1855. Rousseau's The Forest In Winter (Metropolitan Museum of Art), painted at Fontainebleau and shown in Paris in 1847, has twisted branches that terminate in the claw-like shapes that Delacroix used in the Jacob painting at Saint-Sulpice. Delacroix and Rousseau admired each other's work. On this point see Spector, The Murals of Eugène Delacroix, 137-138. After discussing the close connection with Rousseau, Spector concluded his analysis with the observation that the unique characteristics of Delacroix's stylistic technique "pointed beyond the chiaroscuro of the Barbizon master [Rousseau] toward Impressionism." See also Pierre Angrand "Théodore Rousseau et Eugène Delacroix," Gazette des beaux-arts 59 (October 1966): 215-221. See Lichtenstein, 227.

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with his complementary color synthesis, or flochetage,[16] which became more visible with the restoration of the murals in February 1995. The artist's color system and the sensual natural forms overwhelm what was probably his initial inspiration for the basic composition. From the seventeenth century, engravings of Jacob Wrestling with the Angel had shown figures set in a schematic landscape where either a single tree or, in some cases, a bifurcated tree dominates the figural group or is equal in size to the figural pair relative to the overall composition. The existence of a well-established motif means that Delacroix probably used engravings to establish the general composition, an approach that was part of his usual studio practice. Aided by the prints, Delacroix was free to focus his attention on creating an aggressive Jacob figure to set within that landscape.[17]

One of the earliest engravings of the subject by Jan de Tournes (1560) showed the wrestling pair in a landscape where two trees form a vertical axis bisecting the

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[16] Spector commented on Delacroix's rendition of the trees that seemed beyond Barbizon landscape techniques. Spector, Murals of Eugène Delacroix, 138.

[17] A good description of Delacroix's copy technique and his regular method of "disguising or transforming direct influences" is found in the catalogue essay by John K. Jespersen, "Delacroix and Rubens," in Rubenism (Providence: Brown University Department of Art and the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, January-February 1975): 242-252.

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composition, so that the pair wrestles to the right of the central axis with smaller figures on the left [figure 80]. Among plentiful examples, an engraving by Grow after Hort [figure 81] shows Jacob standing, almost staggering, his arm raised gripping the angel's neck and the ubiquitous tree on the right side of the composition. In general, most themes about the patriarch Jacob included the tree as an important element in the composition, examples include images of Jacob's Dream in the Bibliothèque Nationale [figures 82, 83]. In engravings of biblical stories by Vischer, both the stories of Jacob and Esau and Jacob wrestling with the angel show the figures facing each other and standing upright, their bodies pressed together [figures 84-85]. Delacroix's early sketch now in Bremen, Kunsthalle, is similar in terms of the upright figures awkwardly standing apart with outstretched arms, their hands positioned in almost balletic fashion [figure 86]. The image of this motionless pair completely lacks the drama of the story, and Delacroix was compelled to change the pose. The sketch that may be next in the process, the drawing in the C. Roger Marx collection [figure 87] shows Jacob with his shoulder and upper chest pressing against the angel while his abdomen and hips are free. His left knee is pulled upward but Delacroix seems unsure about placing it atop the knee of the angel; Jacob's

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right leg remains upright in contrast to later drawings where the diagonal thrust becomes increasingly emphatic. The sequence suggests that Delacroix looked first at the early engravings and, dissatisfied with Jacob's stance, then searched out further models with more dramatic action. In the engraving after de Vos, the archangel "Peliel" is centrally composed with the wrestling pair in the left background beneath the slope of a hill. (Figure 88 shows the pertinent detail.) Delacroix's sketch in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, [figure 89] is reminiscent of de Vos in his placement of the wrestlers at the base of the hillock. These examples show clearly that Delacroix consistently maintained his scheme for the landscape. And yet, to compose the figure of Jacob he worked through a sequence of drawings in order to capture the physical struggle.

Delacroix carefully searched an engraving after Raphael's mural The Battle of Ostia (Stanza dell'Incendio); there, he focused on the figure of the Christian victor in the center right of the composition. Based on Delacroix's final rendition of the subject, it seems that he had been attracted to the sharp diagonal line made by the right arm and shoulder that rises to a point at the flexed elbow and moves downward over the naked back to a point at the raised

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heel of the right foot. Another example available to him was an engraving by Francesco Aquila (1690-1740) which shows the figure turned in the same rightward slant as Raphael's original fresco [figure 92]. Delacroix adopted the design of the flexed right knee and raised heel in at least two preliminary drawings, among them, that of the Fogg Museum sketch (no.1934.3) and the sketch from the C. Roger Marx collection, Paris, [figures 90, 91] but he reverses the extended arm so that the diagonal line reaches from the point of the right knee to the raised left hand. He could have first seen the image of the Battle of Ostia engraved in reverse by Louis Dorigny (1654-1742),[18] because he made drawings following the leftward turn [figure 93], continuing to rework the pose so that the diagonal extends from the raised right hand to the grounded heel, seen in the sketch located in Grenoble [figure 94]. This configuration is based on Raphael's figural model of the Israelite carpenter in the fresco The Building of Solomon's Temple [figure 78].

Here, the pointed right elbow aligns with the opposite hand of the carpenter; naked to the waist, he bends his left leg at the knee in a sharp angle with the lower part of his

[18] The painter Louis Dorigny is credited with making this engraving after Raphael; he was the brother of Nicolas Dorigny (1657-1746) who made engravings of Raphael's cartoons at Hampton court. They were the sons of a renowned engraver, Michel Dorigny (1617-1666).

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leg under him. Balanced on the ankle of his left foot, the weight of his body rests on the right leg, his torso tilts forward as the swelled forms of leg and back show his straining muscles. To the left of this carpenter, a nearly nude figure of a workman holds a hammer in his raised right hand, tucks his left leg beneath his haunches, with his buttocks resting on the sole of his left foot. In drawings from the Albertina, Vienna and the C. Roger-Marx collection [figures 95, 96] we find that Delacroix synthesized the raised hand of the workman with the flexed knee and diagonal thrust of the carpenter. He used the bowed head, lowered gaze, and partly arched eyebrow to depict a determined Jacob, whose head and shoulder incline downward and press against the angel. The nearly nude figures also may be related to Delacroix's sketches from life.[19]

Delacroix's rendition is faithful to the text and shows the moment the angel touches Jacob's thigh, rendering him lame [see detail figure 79]. In contrast to Jacob's strenuous effort, the angel wears a calm expression. The

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[19] In an analogous situation, Lee Johnson found that Delacroix's drawings after Michelangelo's Adam were done in immediate preparation for the Barque of Dante. He judged that preliminary drawings were either based directly on those of the Renaissance artist or were copied via Géricault's drawings of Michelangelo's work, and that other drawings were based on Michelangelo via studies from life. "The Figural Sources of Delacroix's 'Barque of Dante,'" The Art Bulletin 100 (July 1958): 228-232.

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patriarch's pose exploits movement and shows the suppleness of gracefully rounded forms within the diagonal contour of the fully extended human body. This underscores Lichtenstein's observation that Delacroix's copies after Raphael "deal exclusively with the action and expression of the human figure . . . " [20] In 1847 Gustave Planche noted a parallel imitation of the Renaissance master in the energetic and varied poses of the figures for the fresco Heliodorus Being Driven from the Temple, Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican, where he said Raphael appears to flaunt his knowledge of anatomical drawing. The remarkable compositions at Saint-Sulpice emulate this emphasis on musculature and motion.[21] The important details in Delacroix's painting emulate Raphael's design for the Battle at Ostia; for example, the still life with weapons is prominently placed at the grounded heel of the soldier figure which Delacroix borrowed. It was Spector who noted that "no drawing prior to the Fogg Museum sketch (n. 1934.3) [figures 90, 97] contains weapons"[22]--and it may indicate that Delacroix looked to Raphael's design after earlier

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[20] Ibid., 594.

[21] "... en peignant toutes ces figures, dont les attitudes variées nous révélent avec ostentation les connaîssances anatomiques de l'auteur, Raphael sémble avoir fait violence aux habitudes de son génie." Gustave Planche, Portraits d'artistes (Paris: M. Levy, 1853), 43.

[22] Spector, The Murals of Eugène Delacroix, 56.

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attempts at drawing the Jacob figure.[23]

Delacroix published his essay on Raphael in 1830, and certainly by 1848, when he was thinking about subjects for the Chapel of the Holy Angels, he became reacquainted with Charles-Paul Landon's publication on Raphael.[24] Landon's engravings were published in Paris in seven books between 1805 and 1809 (later bound in two volumes). Book One held reproductions of Jacob's Dream, Jacob Meets Rachel at the Well, Jacob Asks Laban for the Hand of Rachel, Jacob Returns to His Homeland, and Heliodorus Being Driven from the Temple (Stanza della Segnatura), as well as Building the Temple of Solomon (Logge); Book Four held the Victory of Leo IV at the Battle of Ostia (Stanza dell' Incendio). Landon's engraving of the Christian soldier follows the rightward diagonal of the original fresco [figure 98]. Delacroix created more than a souvenir des grands artistes: without hesitation, he simply borrowed from Raphael as he had observed Raphael himself do when he borrowed from Masaccio. Delacroix

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[23] But, of course, he painted a similar still life for his 1846 composition The Abduction of Rebecca (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and may have repeated the passage without regard to Raphael.

[24] C. Landon, Raphael: vie et oeuvres des peintures plus célèbres, de toutes les écoles. Récueil classique (Paris: C.P. Landon, 1802). Documentation exists that Delacroix obtained a *carte de travail* in the Cabinet des Estampes, at the Bibliothèque Nationale where he could easily have seen a great number of engravings after Raphael.

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commented on Raphael's praxis in his Journal: "He took entire figures without changing them in the least."[25]

A second source could well have been an important book that was simultaneously published in French and English of The Logge Del Vaticano, Drawn and Etched on Steel by Reveil; from Raphael's frescoes, London:/ Les Loges du vatican: sujets peints à fresque, par Raphael et gravés à l'eau-forte, sur acier, par Reveil, Paris, 1833. If Delacroix studied the book for possible subjects for his murals, he would have found illustrated together in one volume Building Solomon's Temple, Heliodorus Being Driven from the Temple and the Battle at Ostia. Based on Delacroix's travels to London and his familarity with Sir Joshua Reynolds's principles of painting--some of Reynolds's phraseology appears in Delacroix's writing on Raphael--scholars agree

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[25] Delacroix noted in his Journal (August 10,1850) Rubens' "imitation" of Michelangelo: "Il était imbu d'ouvrages sublimes; on ne peut dire qu'il imitait. [il] a émprunté des figures entières sans en changer la moindre intention." Lee Johnson was first to note that Delacroix's observations on the works of other artists can often be applied to himself. See L. Johnson, "The Figural Sources of Delacroix's 'Barque of Dante.'" The Art Bulletin 100 (July 1958): 228-232.

On Raphael copying Masaccio: "Pour Michel-ange, cela va sans dire; mais, pour ce qui concerne Masaccio il est nécessaire d'insister sur cette rémarque, parce qu'il est moins généralement connu et moins apprecié. Raphael lui doit des inspirations charmantes. Dans sa fameux cartons d'Hampton Court, notamment, il lui a émprunté des figures entières sans en changer la moindre intention". E. Delacroix, "Essai sur les artistes célèbres. Raphael," Revue de Paris 11 (1830): 138-150.

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that Delacroix read English.[26] At the very least, he was curious to see the publication of Reveil's engravings available in either language. Eugène Muntz's Les Historiens et les critiques de Raphael lists over a hundred works in French alone that were published in the nineteenth century on the Renaissance master, his art, his relationship with Pope Leo X, and with "La Fornarina." Of course by 1830 Raphael's designs "more than any other foreign artist" were well-known in French artistic circles where Raphael was "a central, all-pervasive presence . . . ." [27] Copies of all fifty-two images from the Stanza were executed by Raymond and Paul Balze for a government commission and were kept on view at the Panthéon.[28] Delacroix particularly praised the

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[26] Also recorded in S. Lichtenstein (1979), F. Trapp, (1969), G. H. Hamilton (1943).

[27] Achille Jubinal in L'Artiste wrote a review of a holy week exhibition at the Church of Saint-Laurent, where Raphael's Stanza cartoons from Hampton Court were on view. Jubinal, "Raphael," (April 1837), 139-141. See also, M. Rosenberg, Raphael and France: The Artist as Paradigm and Symbol (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 170.

[28] "Le Scandale Balze" continued for years over the lawsuit against the government for non-payment. The original order October 22, 1839, was for sixty-three pieces for 50.000ff. As the work progressed that total was 69.113ff. Letters from Rome, dated January 24, 1850, declared the works were completely finished. During the uprising of 1848 the works had been placed in the Panthéon for safekeeping. A letter dated October 9, 1849, asks that the copies be placed in the Louvre, a request that was refused: "...Les copies des Stanzes de Raphael par M. Balze frère qui sont actuellement exposées au Panthéon en fussent promptement enlevées afin...." As late as July 26, 1876, a letter to M. le Ministère de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts describes a need to move the Raphael copies because they were in danger of being ruined, stating that they have been there many years.

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copies of Les loges, which included the subjects The Victory of Leo IV at Ostia and The Building of Solomons's Temple. Furthermore, a drawing attributed to Delacroix, titled "A Figure From 'The Building of the Temple' in the Vatican Loggia" was sold at the Hotel Drouot in 1924.[29]

The possibility exists that Delacroix searched out examples of particular engravers after Raphael; Landon's publication (1808) credits Francesco Aquila (1690-1740) with an engraving of Heliodorus Being Driven from the Temple and Building the Temple of Solomon.[30] As noted earlier, Delacroix made preliminary sketches where the figure of Jacob is turned to the right following the Aquila engraving [figure 92]. The least-defined sketches show the raised and flexed leg pose for Jacob, but two drawings in the Albertina Museum, Vienna (sketch numbers 45,874 and 45,875) [figures 100, 101], show Jacob's body in a different position. These views resemble another Raphael design, Hercules Strangling the Lion [figure 102]. Man and beast wrestle in a schematic wooded landscape that shows the hero's torso curved around

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Archives Nationales, $F^{21}5$.

[29] Sara Lichtenstein disputed the attribution, "Delacroix's Copies After Raphael, Part II," Burlington Magazine (October 1971): 593-603.

[30] Lichtenstein credited a print etched by Bartoli as a possible source. Lichtenstein, Delacroix and Raphael, 262, note 169.

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the lion; Hercules presses his head into the lion's upper body. Delacroix drew a similar curved line that folds Jacob's back in a concave shape in the drawing (Albertina number 24,515) [figure 99], where Jacob's bowed head and his profile are set against the shoulder of the angel and correspond to Hercules's motion. The Hercules subject may have inspired Delacroix to give Jacob a lion-skin cloak in the final version at Saint-Sulpice--Jacob's fortitude echoed the strength of the pagan hero.[31] Shearman explained that the Hercules figure should be read in the conventional way as exemplum virtutis. He also pointed to the lion skin itself which, from the sixteenth century, was interpreted as the symbol of vis humanae sapientiae.[32] Heroic virtue and wisdom in human life are characteristics applied to Jacob in biblical exegesis. The religious meaning of the Jacob figure complements the Renaissance interpretation of Hercules's attributes, marking another iconographic tie between Delacroix and Raphael. Lichtenstein (1979) and Johnson (1989) noted that the lion's claw of Jacob's garment, so

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[31] Rubens made several compositions for Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion: in one, he shows the hero wearing an animal-skin but the position of the figures is not approximated in Delacroix's picture.

[32] John Shearman, Raphael's Cartoons in the Royal Collection, Windsor (London, 1972), 89. Shearman's notes 254 and 256 on page 89 identify author Giraldi (1580) as the source for this interpretation of Herculis vita.

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prominent against the underbrush in the final mural, is echoed in the claw-like terminal branches of the oak tree at the right.[33] Preliminary drawings that detail the costume or the claw-like branches have not surfaced and it is possible that Delacroix wasn't reminded of the Hercules picture until after the composition was fully developed as an oil sketch.[34] Raphael's Hercules is located in the vault of the Stanza d'Eliodoro where the Heliodorus mural also exists, and Delacroix would have known the composition from widespread engravings.

There is evidence that Delacroix had a literary source as well for the wrestling pair. In 1848 Alphonse Lamartine, the Romantic poet credited with attempting to write modern biblical poetry, published his collection of poems Nouvelles méditations poétiques. Lamartine was considered avant-garde for breaking free from classical poetics, disregarding meter and rhyme, and turning to what was believed to be "the more sublime poetry of Scripture.[35]

In Delacroix's Journal he had written that there are

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[33] Johnson, The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix, 5:168; Lichtenstein, Delacroix and Raphael, 228-229.

[34] Spector's book includes Delacroix's drawings of trees near Champrosay but none of these include the dramatic terminal claw-like branches that appear in the painting.

[35] An earlier collection, Meditations poétiques, was published in the 1820s. Ina L. Buzard, "Romanticism and Biblical Poetics," (Ph.D. diss. Columbia University, 1991), 2.

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certain books that never fail to give inspiration to the artist; he listed: Dante, Lamartine, Byron and Michelangelo.[36] The 1848 collection of Larmartine's poems included Jacob Struggling with the Angel:

> Dans un formidable silence
> Ils se mesurent un moment;
> Soudain l'un sûr l'autre s'élance,
> Saisi d'un même emportement,
> Leurs bras menaçants se replient,
> Leurs flancs pressent leurs flancs pressés;
> Comme un chêne qu'on déracine,
> Leur tronc se balance et s'incline
> Sur leurs genoux entrelacés.[37]

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[36] Journal, April 11, 1824, 29-30.

[37] The poem reads:

Fuyant les bords qui l'ont vu naître,
de Laban l'antique berger,
Un jour, devant lui vit paraître
Un mystérieux étranger.
Dans l'ombre, ses larges prunelles
Lancaient de pâles étincelles;
Ses pas ebranlaient le vallon;
Le courroux gonflait sa poitrine,
Et le souffle de sa narine
Resonnait comme l'aquilon.

Dans un formidable silence
Ils se mesurent un moment;
Soudain l'un sur l'autre s'élance,
Saisi d'un même emportement,
Leurs bras menaçants se réplient,
Leurs fronts luttent, leurs membres crient,
Leurs flancs pressent leurs flancs pressés;
Comme en chêne qu'on déracine,
Leur tronc se balance et s'incline
Sur leurs genoux entrelacés.
Tous deux ils glissent dans la lutte,
Et Jacob, enfin terrassé,
chancelle, tombe, et dans sa chute
Entraine l'ange renverse.
Palpitant de crainte et de rage,
Soudain le pasteur se dégage
Des bras du combattant des cieux,

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In a formidable silence,
they measure the moment;
suddenly one rushes the other,
seized by the same anger,
their threatening arms enfold,
their legs press their legs pressed;
like an oak that one uproots.
Their trunks sway and tilt
Their knees entwined.

Delacroix's mural shows the wrestling pair with their sides pressing together and their knees entwined, and he captures Lamartine's phrase about the wrestlers arms enfolding like one uprooting an oak tree; he replicates the poem with the lunging posture and Herculean effort of Jacob, and finally, by the inclusion of oak trees. Spector noted a drawing that showed Delacroix had adjusted Jacob's arms "from the simple girdle-like grip," presumably either sketch number 45,874 or 45,875 in the Albertina, Vienna, [figure 101] where Jacob's left arm tries to encircle the angel's waist and which appears to approximate the poetic imagery, whereas the

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Et sur son sein gonfle de honte
Pose un genou victorieux!

Mais sur le lutteur qu'il domine
Jacob encore mal affermi
Sent à son tour sur sa poitrine
Le poids du céléste ennemi.
Enfin, depuis les heures sombres
Ou le soir lutte avec les ombres,
Tantôt vaincu, tantôt vainqueur,
Contre ce rival qu'il ignoré
Il combattit jusqu'à l'aurore...
Et c'était l'Esprit du Seigneur!

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finished painting shows a looser grip.[38] Delacroix admired Lamartine, at least within the early years of their meeting. In the Journal (February 14, 1850) he says that he read The Meditations and disliked them. Yet he seems to have maintained his esteem for the poet, since he wrote some years later that he had interrupted his painting in order to read Lamartine's Commentaries on the Iliad. He enthusiastically noted: "I mean to make some extracts of them"(September 3, 1858). However valuable the literary source may be, it is secondary to the many prints which Delacroix found easily and which in practice he often used to establish a composition.[39]

I have demonstrated that Delacroix relied on a unitive, figural source alone, in part to explain the meaning of the

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[38] Spector observed the evolution from a "girdle-like grip" in relation to sketch number 24.515 that has the word "acecinctus" (?) written at the left margin. Spector, The Murals of Eugène Delacroix, 51. (The script is not entirely clear.) Spector takes it as a misspelling of "accinctus," a word used in the ancient world to mean roman soldiers as differentiated from the roman civilians. Spector believed the artist jotted it down onto the sketch after he recently had learned it from a conversation with a former consul general at Tangiers. He argues that Delacroix's imagination was sparked by the military terminology and that he then changed the position of Jacob's grip. I believe the changed positions have to do with Delacroix's having looked at lithographs and engravings after Raphael's figures for the soldiers in The Battle at Ostia, and that later Delacroix augmented these with Raphael models for the Israelite carpenter in the fresco The Building of Solomon's Temple.

[39] Jespersen, "Delacroix and Rubens," 241-252.

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mural program. Clearly, thematic unity does not depend alone on the figural source; instead, the theme is uncovered by a religious reading, where tenets of dogmatic theology explicate and give meaning to a sequence of scriptural passages. There is a Renaissance tradition that developed a transcendent language to project complex theological ideas onto a pictorial program: for example, The Disputa describes the dogma of transubstantiation, picturing the upper and lower worlds, as does Raphael's painting of The Transfiguration. Delacroix was interested in this kind of challenge, and in his essay on Poussin he noted the difficulty in combining the temporal and spiritual realm. At Saint-Sulpice he had the opportunity to emulate Raphael, to master the conceptual and iconographic problems in rendering dogmatic religious art. Nineteenth-century art theorists Montalembert and Rio insisted that true religious painting meant mural painting and that the true model for religious painting was Raphael. Shrewdly, Delacroix measured the importance of his religious commission at Saint-Sulpice and the criteria posed by Roman Catholic art. Delacroix held Raphael in high esteem, but his reliance on the Renaissance master contrasts with Ingres's imitation of Raphael. For most of his artistic career, Ingres was nearly obsessed with the idea of equalling Raphael.

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The Saint-Sulpice program's unity is theological, illustrating the chronological narrative of salvific intervention where angels enter the scene as messengers of God or, as theologians such as Welker have argued, where God's angel can be identified with God.[40] Welker further explained that "angels do not appear on the scene to give private revelations . . . angels intervene through individual contacts in relations of superindividual life; intervention for a community, with a chosen representative for that community."[41] A further meaning of Jacob's struggle is made clear in The Book of Wisdom which describes Jacob's "s truggle with God" as a lesson in piety "that alone can constrain God and win his blessing," a story interpreted in the sense of a spiritual experience, and not won by physical strength.[42]

> But Wisdom delivered her servants from their ordeals.
> The upright man, fleeing from the anger of his brother,
> was led by her along straight paths.
> She showed him the kingdom of God
> and taught him knowledge of the holy ones.
> She brought him success in his labors
> and gave him full return for his efforts; . . .
> In an arduous struggle she awarded him the prize,

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[40] See M. Welker, "Angels in Biblical Traditions," Theology Today 51 (October 1994): 367-380.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Wisdom 10:9-12 describes the story of Jacob and his place in the saving history of Israel. See The New Jerusalem Bible, (New York: 1985), 1058-1059 with excellent footnotes.

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to teach him that piety is stronger than all.
(Wisdom 10:9-12)

The overall theme of the mural program is echoed by these verses from The Book of Wisdom. The book's author outlines a religious philosophy of history and writes to shore up "his fellow Jews whose faith is shaken by the cultural attractions of Alexandria."[43] This is consistent with the message in the Book of Daniel and in the Book of Revelation. Jacob's struggle results in the inauguration of the Israelites--Jacob is renamed Israel--and opens the mural decoration to an analysis of what theologian Karl Rahner calls "divine historicity in human historical space."

Lamartine's metaphor (see poem in note 37) of the mighty oak as man's prideful self-will is nearer the biblical message, and among Delacroix's contemporaries the subject was easily recast as emblematic of man's struggle to faith: "This beautiful image of Jacob struggling with the angel . . . was obviously an inspiration of God fighting against the blind and rebellious will of man . . . ."[44] The

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[43] Raymond Brown, S.S. and John Fitzmyer and Roland Murphy, eds., "Daniel," in The New Jerome Biblical Commentary (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968), 418. See Dn 10-11, The New Jerusalem Bible, 1488-91, notes a-k. The authors state that "the commentary is named for St. Jerome, the foremost Scripture scholar among the Church Fathers, a pioneer in biblical criticism."

[44] "Cette belle image de Jacob luttant avec l'Ange. C'était évidemment l'inspiration de Dieu combattant contre la volonté aveugle et rebelle de l'homme...." V. Merlhes, Paul

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religious theme of Jacob's story revolves around the drama that individual destiny hangs on the choice one makes to accept or reject God. The significance of the drama is best explained by *kairos*, a philosophical term defined as: "A period of crisis within a temporal experience at which the person is summoned to a historical decision."[45] This is a prevalent theme in the Old Testament which effectively "makes history always at stake, making it new by this choice."[46] The idea was not unlike contemporary secular interpretations of history proposed by Jules Michelet and Auguste Comte about the consequence of individual action (or inaction) to direct events. Influenced by his admiration for

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Gauguin et Vincent Van Gogh 1887-1888: Léttres retrouvées, sources ignorées (Taravao: Avant et Après, 1989), 90-91. A letter to Gauguin from his grandmother revealed that she greatly admired the Lamartine poem; she copied part of these verses in her letter.

Jean-Luc Stephant argued that Delacroix was motivated to choose the Jacob subject because of his charged fraternal feelings, in "Chili ou le frère 'oublié' d'Eugène Delacroix. Documents inédits." Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de l'art français (1990): 174-201.

[45] The Dictionary of Theology defines *kairos* as the term in Greek philosophy for that period of crisis... in Scripture, *kairos* "is the time of salvation which God has chosen and decreed (Mk 1:1-15), the fullness of time (Gal. 4:4), the final offer of God's grace in Jesus Christ to Israel (Lk 19:44) and to all men (2 Cor 6:2), and therefore simultaneously a final warning, the beginning of the Judgment (1 Pet 4:17; Col 4:5). *Kairos*, like the biblical *now*, expresses God's sovereign dominion even over time." 249. *Kairos* "a history of those experiences and embodiments of salvation...where one encounters the saving event tied to a choice for acceptance or denial...."

[46] Carlo Carretto, The God Who Comes (New York: Orbis Books, 1974), 50.

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Dante and the Divine Comedy whose allegorical reading possesses a theological structure about free will and the struggle to questions; Delacroix wrote, "The struggle [between Jacob and the Angel] is regarded by the holy books as a sign of the tests God sends to His elect."[47] Lucien Rudrauf, who has presented the fullest account of Delacroix's rapport with Christianity, wrote, "It is infinitely probable that the artist counted himself among the number of the faithful to whom God had accorded the privilege of great trials."[48] In his critique of Barrès's 1921 interpretation, René Huyghe decided: "The struggle that Jacob is waging is not of work and creation; nor is it now the struggle for glory: Delacroix was near his end, he was in search of something beyond celebrity and desired . . . to create works that take us a step forward, which make us greater and enrich us spiritually."[49]

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[47] This is Delacroix's description. He wrote the commentary for the carte d'invation to the unveiling of the chapel murals.

[48] Rudrauf, Eugène Delacroix et le problème du romantisme artistique, 179. Rudrauf disagrees with Barrès's interpretation published in 1921, which eliminated any religious meaning to the struggle. Barrès argued that the struggle illustrates the artist/genius versus the Philistine audience. Huyghe believed that the struggle between Jacob and the angel reflects Delacroix's struggle for a higher spirituality and not merely for glory. Huyghe, Delacroix (1963), 486. See also M. Sérullaz, Delacroix: peintures et dessins d'inspiration religieuse (Nice: Musée National Méssage Biblique Marc Chagall, 1986); Sérullaz tends to a religious reading of the painting's subject.

[49] Huyghe, Delacroix (1963), 486.

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Among art critics, Charles Baudelaire was perhaps the only one who clearly recognized the dual biblical ascription for the subject of Saint Michael. In an article he wrote for La Revue fantaïsiste, September 15, 1861, he knew the theme referred to a verse from the Old Testament although he could not remember the citation: "At the moment I can't recall which one." Next, he cited Isaiah, Jude, Revelations, "or it is simply a question of the contest that the archangel Michael had with the devil touching the corpse of Moses."[50] (This is a reference to the Epistle of Saint Jude: "Not even the archangel Michael, when he was engaged in argument with the devil about the corpse of Moses, dared to denounce him in the language of abuse; all he said was, 'May the Lord rebuke you.'"[51]) Finally, Baudelaire made the crucial link between verses in the Old Testament and the New Testament: "bien sur, de l'unique et célébre verset 7 du chapitre XII de l'Apocalypse."[52]

A favorable review appeared in Triboulet (1861) where

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[50] NJB, Jude, 9:13, 2023, note k. The same conflict is described in Dn. 10: 13-21, and Rev. 12:7-12. " . . . ou il est simplement question d'une contestation que l'archange Michel eut avec le diable touchant le corps de Moise." An apocryphal story of Moses Assumption in which Michael has an altercation with Satan as to who claims Moses's body after his death.

[51] Ibid., Epistle of Jude, 9:13.

[52] Baudelaire's article on Delacroix's murals at Saint-Sulpice is reproduced in an excellent translation in Jonathan Mayne, The Mirror of Art (New York: Anchor Books, 1956): 306-338.

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Pierre Denis praised the 'magnificent drama' of the works at Saint-Sulpice and attempted to explain the scriptural basis of the subjects. In an intriguing reference, Denis connected Delacroix's picture Heliodorus Being Driven from The Temple to the Book of Daniel. (The title is named not after its author but after its protagonist; the name Daniel, "my judge is God" or "God (or El) has judged" in Hebrew.) The review continued with Denis's explanation:

> In a book, that curiously enough I have in my hands at this moment--"Daniel," translated into French, with an explanation taken from the holy Fathers [of the Church] and ecclesiastical authors, Paris, 1691--I read about the literal and spiritual meaning of chapter III of the Second Book of Maccabees.[53]

Denis's interpretation of the Heliodorus painting described the plight of the oppressed Israelites as analogous to contemporary voices against tyranny: "le cri du peuple est le cri de Dieu"--that slogan appeared on a print by Courbet in 1848, one in which Courbet deliberately referred to Delacroix's picture of Liberty Leading the People (also known as Liberty on the Barricades). Denis's interpretation shared teleological notions with earlier scriptural analysts in the seventeenth and eighteenth

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[53] Pierre Denis, "Monsieur Delacroix et les peintures murales de Saint-Sulpice," Triboulet, 1 September 1861, 3-4. "Dans un livre assez curieux que j'ai en ce moment entre les mains, - Daniel, traduit en français, avec une explication tirée des Saints-Pères et des auteurs ecclésiastiques, Paris, M.DC.XCI,- je lis au sens littéral et spirituel qui suit le chapitre III de livre II des Machabees..."

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centuries, who read the prophetic books--specifically the Book of Daniel--as portents of contemporary situations.[54]

Scholars explain that the arguments "are overwhelming" for a date of 164BC for authorship of the Book of Daniel, adding that the historical figure Heliodorus, in his attempt to seize the throne, "is mentioned in the Book of Daniel 11:20."[55] The connection between the Old Testament stories in the murals at Saint-Sulpice and the Book of Daniel is key to understanding the thematic unity of the paintings; the archangel Michael, vanquisher of evil and deliverer of the Israelites, unites the three subjects in chronological sequence within Old Testament literature. He appears again in Revelation where the figure of the archangel Michael connects Old Testament and New Testament apocalyptic literature and theology. In Daniel (12:1) Michael frees Israel from oppression, and becomes the protector of the remnant of Israel, known as "the just." This saving action implies his role in the future events described in Revelation, according to authors of The New Jerome Biblical

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[54] The most famous is probably Sir Isaac Newton.

[55] The New Jerome Biblical Commentary. "The author living in the 6th century could hardly have written the late Hebrew used in Dan and its Aramaic is certainly later than the Aramaic of the Elephantine papyri, which date from the end of the 5th century;" they also offer as evidence the author's "theological outlook... especially his belief in the resurrection of the dead, which points unescapably to a period long after the Babylonian Exile...." JBC, 448, 482.

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Commentary:

> The significant role that Daniel gives to the angels as the ministers of God, who reveals through them his will to men, this Book goes considerably further than previous books and points the way to a highly developed angelology . . . . Likewise, a theological contribution of immense significance is the clear teaching on the resurrection of the body (12:2), which is something unique in the Hebrew O.T. . . . Finally, the messianism of Daniel brings Israel's hope of salvation to the final stage before its full realization in the N.T. .[56]

The action of the high priest Onias is critical, his faith and his leadership define the outcome. Subsequent to this scene, scripture explains how Heliodorus's life was spared due to Onias's prayer. Raphael placed Onias on the central axis of his composition, whereas Delacroix puts Heliodorus's figure at the foreground center of his mural.

The religious reading recognizes that the author of the Book of Daniel was, in fact, writing at the time Heliodorus was flogged, the period of the Seleucids and Ptolemies wars and a part of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. The author used "the device of presenting past events as if these were to happen. Thus, they instill confidence in the genuine prediction that the pagan kingdom now so hostile to Israel shall soon be overthrown . . .

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[56] Ibid., 449; the books are considered the standard commentary in biblical exegetics.

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as in the past."[57] Reassurance of victory over pagan forces comes into play in nineteenth-century religion as a prediction of the Church's victory over positivist materialist philosophy.[58]

The third subject, Saint Michael, was described as "the least successful" of the three, its implied inferiority ascribed to the artist's diminished energies and advanced age.[59] A sizable number of critics (including Thoré-Burger and Chesneau)[60] complained about the figure of Saint Michael and the lack of color in the ceiling painting. Émile Galichon, however, in his 1861 review in Gazette des beaux-arts, commented specifically on "the sparkling colors of the ceiling painting."[61] He continued:

> If, in this chapel, he has not satisfied believers, nor the laws of religious painting, nor the conditions of mural painting, he has displayed, on the other hand, all the richness of his imagination and shown the hardiness, the fire which characterized other works of his hand which were and remain justly famous . . . . His genius is not for all, . . . by violent expression

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[57] Commentary on the Book of Daniel. The New Jerome Biblical Commentary, 415.

[58] From the earliest part of the nineteenth century, Church apologists had warned against empiricism and new science that threatened to devalue the scriptural basis for moral teaching.

[59] Trapp, 297.

[60] Excerpts of important reviews are published in L. Johnson (1963), Sérullaz (1963), and Spector, (1967).

[61] Paul Émile Galichon, "Les Peintures de M. Eugène Delacroix à Saint-Sulpice," Gazette des beaux-arts (December 1861): 511-519.

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> of his figures, by certain modern lyricism, by intelligence of ensemble, and finally by a harmonious whole, fine and rare, Eugène Delacroix is a profoundly original master, a master who not only raised himself, but who presents assuredly one of the most interesting faces of nineteenth-century art.[62]

Although a positive review overall, Galichon faulted the lateral composition of the figure of Saint Michael,[63] and questioned the action-oriented angel subjects. The critic hailed Delacroix's audacious emulation of Raphael: "His passionate talent, which resolutely and perilously

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[62] "He has chosen for the decoration of his chapel biblical passages where triumphant struggles of angels are described. The master has rejected all the gracious subjects of legends or Holy Scripture offered him in great number. He has searched in sacred history for tumultuous scenes which permitted him to trace flamboyant lines, outrageous attitudes." Galichon, Ibid., 506-511.

[63] Lichtenstein explained that the strong lateral composition was necessary to counter the optical problem created by the distance between the viewer and the high ceiling decoration. New research of mine suggests that a model may be found among the hand-painted illustrations that accompany the mss. of The Order of Saint Michael. (The mss. were preserved in the eighteenth century in the Jesuit house in Paris.) It is possible that Delacroix, so long denied acceptance into the Académie française, may have been playing on the *L'Ordre de Saint-Michel* to honor himself. The Statutes are located in the Bibliothèque Nationale. I have not yet seen the original illustrations to judge if the Saint-Sulpice composition follows the honorary escutcheon. However, French scholars believe that Raphael's painting of Archangel Michael Vanquishing the Demon, the acknowledged source for Delacroix's picture, has certain iconographic elements that make a clear allusion to the design of the Order of Saint Michael. These elements are replicated in Delacroix's composition. The iconography and the order's motto were integrated to the highest degree. Some believe it formed a clear allusion to royal power. From the sixteenth century king and archangel were elided symbolically for a knowing French audience. There is a strong suggestion Delacroix intended the connection.

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grapples to enter into a comparison with the greatest of all painters, Raphael himself!"

Another critic, Paul de Saint-Victor, made a similar, but more pointed observation in his review in La Presse, February 4, 1862. Saint-Victor playfully paraphrases the verses from Genesis where Jacob, having received the blessing, realized that he had encountered God (or God's agent). And he says, "I have seen God face to face and lived."

> Jacob battles like a Homeric hero . . . semi-nude . . . tenacious, against an angel with superhuman serenity. Delacroix, like Jacob, battles face to face with an angel--Raphael . . . He is able to say 'I have seen Raphael, face to face, and nevertheless I am not dead. [64]

The problem for Delacroix's critics all along has been that the program's style and iconography as a whole could not be explained. Composition of the Saint Michael theme was criticized for its supposed lack of color and for faulty design. Delacroix's inclusion of the subject was questioned altogether. The subject became a lightning rod to critics who failed to grasp the religious meaning or the unity of the program.

Spector hypothesized that its inclusion was due to

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[64] Paul Bins, comte de Saint-Victor, "Eugène Delacroix, "La Chapelle des saints-anges à Saint-Sulpice," La Presse, 4 February 1862.

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Delacroix's having made prior sketches of this subject for a concurrent work on the Apollo ceiling of the Louvre. But, more likely, it related to another Raphael model. The Renaissance artist invented iconography that assimilated the figure of Saint Michael with the figure of Apollo vanquishing the serpent, Python. Raphael subsequently connected the Saint-Michel/Apollo iconography with Francis I, and created a tribute to the reigning grandmaster of the Order of Saint-Michel. Raphael's innovative iconography for this subject included a large passage of sea and mountains which extended to infinity. In Delacroix's composition, the background appears indistinct, a painted passage merging a rocky landscape with a smoky sea that recedes into infinity. It seems likely that Delacroix's heretofore unexplained "smoky sea/landscape" is related to the Renaissance painting but also related to the motto of the Order of Saint Michael: "Immense Tremor Oceani."[65] Delacroix may have had personal reasons for including the figure of Saint Michael. He may have recalled the emblem Saint Michael Vanquishing the Demon that was designed for the royal honor society as an award given to France's "greatest artists." L'Ordre de Saint-

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[65] The motto refers to the Church's prayers for the feast of Saint Michael Archangel. "The ocean lashed in storm and the earth trembled, when Michael the archangel came down from heaven." Antiphon prayer, Office of Readings, Feast of the Archangels September 29 in The Liturgy of the Hours (London: Collins, 1974), 393.

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Michel was chartered by Louis XI in 1469 and continued uninterrupted until the Revolution of 1789. The decoration of Saint Michael Vanquishing the Demon became, for the kings of France, a means to recompense with "a supreme honor" those artists and architects acknowledged as having the greatest talent. Suppressed at the time of the Revolution, the order was reinstated at the Restoration in 1815 until it was finally dissolved in 1830. Chevaliers de Saint-Michel included painters Gros, Regnault, Vernet, Gerard, and architects Mansart and Soufflot. Because Raphael's commission was painted as a gift for Francis I, who was the grandmaster of the Order of Saint-Michel, the motto and emblem were accepted by the French as a clear allusion to a connection between king and archangel. According to Sylvie Beguin, the assimilation was so widely understood that Renaissance commentators referred to it as "a perfect synthesis" of royal and heavenly powers. Beguin writes that "the large Saint Michael [Louvre] became in France a sort of emblem of royal power, thus, Raphael gives a triumphant image."[66] If Delacroix had this historic emblem in mind for his murals at Saint-Sulpice it was perfectly allied with Gallican Sulpician assumptions. The nineteenth-century

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[66] S. Beguin, Les Peintures de Raphael au Louvre (Paris, 1984), 42-46.

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French clergy may have wanted it included surreptitiously because by 1850 the Church of Saint-Sulpice had capitulated to pressures to adopt the Roman liturgical rite.

In a religious reading, the scene where Saint Michael vanquishes the demon refers also to the apocalyptic verses in the Book of Daniel. This accounts for the fact that the fallen bodies in this painting are not angels. The Book of Daniel (11:40-45,12:1-3) prophesies great battles among warring potentates, and the Archangel's saving victory of the just over human oppressors and the forces of evil. The site of the cataclysmic,'end of the world' battle is described in verse 45 as the place "between the sea and the mountains." It explains the background motif illustrated first by Raphael, then by Delacroix.

It was commonly accepted that prophetic chapters in the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation were closely linked, and for centuries it was customary among biblical interpreters to refer to them in tandem. From at least the seventeenth century onward, illustrious authors like Sir Isaac Newton communicated the prophetic meaning of both books. Newton's Observations Upon the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of Saint John was published in 1733; later it appeared in the same volume with his Propositions for Determining the Motion of a Body Urged by Two Central

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Forces. Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John," republished from 1779 to 1785; a new edition appeared in 1831. Authors in the early nineteenth century applied the prophetic book to the events of 1789 and the bloody Jacobin era[67] and were open to interpretations of political history.

A number of analogous features unique to the three texts emphasize that the ensemble of angel subjects was to signify a history of God's inviolable covenant with His faithful people.[68] Verses in the Book of Daniel describe

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[67] Jean-Baptiste de Boucquéau, Essai sur l'application du chaptire VII du prophète Daniel à la Révolution françoise, ou motif nouveau de crédibilité fourni par la Révolution françoise, sur la divinité de l'écriture sainte (Bruxelles, 1802).

[68] Then war broke out in heaven. Michael and his angels waged war upon the dragon. The dragon and his angels fought, but they had not the strength to win, and no foothold was left them in heaven. So the great dragon was thrown down, that serpent of old that led the whole world astray, whose name is Satan, or the Devil - thrown down to earth, and his angels with him. Rev. 12:7-9.

Compare this with the Book of Daniel :

> At that moment Michael shall appear,
> Michael the great captain,
> who stands guard over your fellow
> countrymen;
> and there will be a time of distress
> such as has never been since they
> became a nation till that moment.
> But at that moment your people will
> be delivered, everyone who is written
> in the book:
> many of those who sleep in the dust of
> the earth will wake,
> some to everlasting life and some to
> the reproach of eternal abhorrence.

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the angel's raiment and match the description of those angels who expelled Heliodorus from the temple; nothing like them is found elsewhere in either the Old or New Testament.[69]

Daniel 10:5:

> I looked up and saw a man clothed in linen with a belt of gold from Ophir round his waist. His body gleamed like topaz, his face shone like lightning, his eyes flamed like torches. . .

2 Maccabees 3:25-26:

> They saw a horse, splendidly caparisoned, with a rider of terrible aspect . . . . The rider was wearing a golden armour. There also appeared to Heliodorus two young men of surpassing strength and glorious beauty, splendidly dressed . . .

In another sequence, Jacob and Daniel in their respective encounters with messengers of God share the following details: each is on the bank of a river, alone without witnesses to an encounter with "one like a man;" each is struck then restored; each is made responsible for the message of salvation.

A third nineteenth-century reviewer discovered that the

> The wise leaders shall shine like the bright vault of heaven, and those who have guided the people in the true path shall be like the stars for ever and ever.
> Dn 12: 1-4.

[69] This message differs from stories of angels as mediators (the Book of Job, Galatians), as courtiers of God (Job., Psalms, Daniel chap.4, Hebrews), as representing God (Genesis 19, Micah 1), as interpreters (Ezekiel).

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mural program as a whole accented the Old Testament: Fergus Boissard in La Revue chrétienne believed Delacroix put aside the Gospel (the New Testament) when choosing his biblical subjects, intimating that the Saint Michael figure was taken from the Old Testament.[70] He wrote: "M. Delacroix in decorating the chapel called the Holy Angels, leaving aside the Gospels, he has taken a page from the Old Testament. There he was certain to find energetic scenes to interpret, and I am not surprised by what he has chosen: The choice of subject is more biblical than evangelist." [71]

When he met on October 2, 1849 with the curé to decide the subjects for the Chapelle des Saint-Anges, Delacroix noted in his Journal that it was feast day of the holy angels. Liturgical readings for the feast day, actually the feast of the Guardian Angels, include passages from the Old Testament (Exodus, Hebrews) and the Book of Revelation (chapter 8). An 1841 missal that was used at Saint-Sulpice for September 29 and October 2, 1849, contains passages from

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[70] Charles Baudelaire and Pierre Denis also made the connection.

[71] Fergius Boissard, "De la peinture religieuse: Flandrin et Delacroix," Le Correspondant n.s.19 (Paris: Chas. Douniol, 1862): 728-747. "Aussi, lorsqu'on a chargé M. Delacroix de décorer la chapelle dite des Saints-Anges, laissant de côte le livre des Evangiles, il a feuilleté l'Ancien Testament. Il était sûr d'y trouver des scenes énergiques à interpréter, et je ne m'etonne pas de celles qu'il à choisie.... Le choix du sujet est plus biblique qu'évangelique."

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the Book of Revelation and prayers to Saint Michael.[72] On September 29, three days before Delacroix's meeting, the Catholic Church celebrated the Feast of the Archangels and one reading for that day is taken from the Book of Revelation (chapter 12), while the sung verses between the readings are taken from the Book of Daniel (chapter 7) and the Book of Revelation (chapters 6 and 7) about the archangel Michael. We can expect logically that the curé, recently reminded of the subjects from his daily reading of the breviary and the celebration of the liturgy, would recall these when he met with Delacroix--evidence that supports the argument, previously unproved, that the clergy had more influence on the choice of subjects.[73] Although

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[72] Considering that there were so many different liturgies prayed in France in this period, the correspondence between the liturical prayers at Saint-Sulpice and Delacroix's mural program strengthens my argument concerning the religious reading of the program. The book is now located in the Bibliothèque de la compagnie de Saint-Sulpice, Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, Paris; in Latin. Père Renée Noye, Bibliothècaire, described it: "...le Missale parisienne publié en 1841 par l'archeveque Mgr. Affre, missel qui était certainement le seul en usage à l'église Saint-Sulpice dans les années suivantes...." Letter of January 22, 1995. See also, Fête solennelle de S. Michel-archange, et de tous les SS. Anges, en l'église de S. Nicolas-des-Champs,l'office comme un brévaire et au missale en ajoutant ce qui suit: prose à la messe et au salut, a booklet enclosed in the folder of Saint-Sulpice material dating from eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 8Z Le Senne 14484.

[73] In a letter, Père Noye, archivist and Sulpician priest at the Saint-Sulpice seminary, said that the episodes of Jacob and Heliodorus were well-known among artists, but even more so among priests. "Mais les épisodes de Jacob et d'Heliodore étaient assez connus des artistes et encore plus des prêtres...." Letter from the Bibliothècaire de la Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice,

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only a few of the contemporary art critics gave a religious interpretation of Delacroix's mural program, the ideas nevertheless were plainly available in the seminaries and priests might easily convey these ideas to the artist;[74] the clergy of Saint-Sulpice were regarded as the best-educated in France.

The emphasis on the history of the Hebrews and the Old Testament stories for the mural program also may have been influenced by contemporary interest in the philosophy of Giambattista Vico (1668-1744). Vico postulated a concept of cyclical history to explain the ascendancy and destruction of civilizations, including a belief that there must be a divine providence which rectified humankind's regressive tendencies. According to Vico, only the Hebrews never suffered from barbaric periods of collective forgetfulness: "They were the only ancient nation with a chronologically

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Paris, January 22, 1995.

Spector says that, at first, the curé and the artist did not agree on the subjects, to the irritation of the artist. "Despite strict government controls over all art commissions--a government notice of 1844 states: 'It is forbidden to ecclesiastic authorities and to the architects to execute on diocesan buildings any change in an approved project'--there is little doubt that the curé and the artist discussed possible subjects and came to an agreement." Spector, The Murals of Eugène Delacroix, 18, 97.

[74] For a history of the philosophical and theological movements that would inform a clerical point of view, see Louis Foucher, La Philosophie catholique en France (1955), especially chapter 9 "La Montée du thomisme: recherche d'unité intellectuelle."

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correct idea of its own past."[75] Vichian ideas about Providence, covenant, and chronology were central for theologians who describe history as a continuous line of events but not one conceived apart from a divine plan: "In the Judeo-Christian religions the process of divine revelation is temporal and in history, its content is eternal and transcends all history."[76] Vico's philosophy of history marked the special character of Jewish monotheism that revealed a rational history.[77] My thesis is further substantiated by the fact that much of Vico's philosophy of history followed the message in the Book of Daniel as explained by exegetical scholars:

> The Book of Daniel contains a message particularly concerned with demonstrating the superiority of the wisdom of Israel's God over the merely human wisdom of the pagans, and with showing his immense power, which can and will rescue his faithful from

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[75] The New Science of Giambattista Vico, trans. Max H. Fisch and Thomas G. Bergin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968). And see The Autobiography of Giambattissta Vico, trans. Max Fisch and Thomas Bergin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, reprint ed. 1983).

[76] R. Casserly, Toward a Theology of History (New York: 1965), 238.

[77] Therefore, "their history had been made rational by divine revelation in the scriptures." Isaiah Berlin, Vico and Herder: Two Studies in the History of Ideas (New York: Viking Press, 1976), 53. Hersey pointed out that only the fourth bay decoration at the Palais Bourbon library ceiling, the bay dedicated to theology, can be read in normal chronological order, and that this is the only group of subjects in normal chronology in Delacroix's 1848 list. The decorative emblems are not theologians but figures from the Old and New Testament.

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> their persecutors. God is the master of history who uses the rise and fall of nations as preparatory steps in the establishment of his universal reign over all men.[76]

Vico's interpretation of the cycle of civilizations was popular with secular and anticlerical intellectuals because his philosophy stressed the historic effect of individual action or inaction in determining events, where man was free to chart his own destiny.[79] Vico's ideas were known in France primarily through Michelet's translation--a translation that he selectively edited to suit his purposes. Michelet in effect reduced Vico's concept of immanent providence to something like fate or randomness. Vico's ideas caught the imagination of nineteenth-century thinkers in and out of the Church.[80] Via Michelet, Vico's ideas were

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[78] The New Jerome Biblical Commentary, 448.

[79] In France, Michelet and Ballanche translated Vico's work, but Michelet's interpretation of Vico also made Vico the antecedent to historical materialism for Marxists. "Vico enjoys high repute in...Russia as the progenitor of the theory of the class struggle; or that Trotsky quoted Vico...or that Edmund Wilson stated in his book, "'To the Finland Station,' from Michelet's discovery of Vico," Fisch and Bergin, 107.

[80] Historians report Vico's response to a review of his work the New Science published in The Leipzig Journal. "Vico complains that the review interprets his work as suited to the taste of the Roman Catholic Church, as if the conception of a Divine Providence were not basic to the Christian religion in all its forms, or indeed to all religions." The Autobiography of Giambatista Vico, 187. Vico's response is cited by Arthur McCalla, "Romantic Vicos: Vico and Providence in Michelet and Ballanche," Historical Reflections/Reflexions historiques 19, no. 3 (Fall 1993): 389-408. McCalla writes a valuable summary of the "radically divergent interpretations of Vico" by Ballanche and Michelet. For the Church's point of view, see M.C. D'Arcy, The Meaning and Matter of History (New York: Farrar, Strauss, Cudahy,

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used to see men as "molders of their own destiny--engaged in a struggle to achieve their own moral and social freedom"[81] --whereas for the Church they offered clear validation of the necessary action of Divine Providence. Delacroix owned a copy of Vico's Scienza Nuova and he discussed its theory principally with the artist Chenavard.[82] A Journal entry dated April 23, 1849 is laced with Vichian ideas about the negative progress of humankind and the cyclical nature of civilizations when we rely on mere political reformation and are bereft of the "wisdom of the ancients."[83] Sometime before Michelet popularized Vico's philosophy, Pierre-Simon Ballanche, a Catholic philosopher had translated and adapted Vico's ideas in his Social Palingenesis of 1823-1830.[84] And although Chenavard was characterized as a passionate admirer of Ballanche, the concept of a social palingenesis was older than Ballanche's thesis. The painter and amateur philosopher, Paul-Marc-Joseph Chenavard, was probably an

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1959), 133.

[81] Berlin, xx.

[82] George Hersey has determined that by the 1840s there were at least eighteen editions of Scienza Nuova including French, German and English translations.

[83] Journal, April 23, 1849, 97-98.

[84] Historians agree that Ballanche introduced Vico's writing in France. See Bowman, "Illuminism, Utopia and Mythology," The French Romantics, ed. D.G. Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 1: 85.

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incidental but noteworthy influence on Delacroix's choice of subjects. As Delacroix's lifelong friend, Chenavard gave him a source of intellectual stimulation. Delacroix's Journal explained their manner of carrying on long discussions about aesthetics, ethics and history.[85]

Théophile Silvestre in Les Artistes français reminded his readers that during the 1820s Chenavard was a fervent Catholic.[86] Chenavard, like Delacroix, gained commissions for religious subjects without being characterized "a religious painter": For example, in 1842 he painted a Resurrection for the Church at Bohal, Morbihan. A devotée of the new science of history, Chenavard discussed Vico's ideas at length.[87] As a proponent of the political idealism of social Palingenesis, Chenavard intended to paint this

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[85] "Had an endless conversation with Chenavard this evening as we walked along the beach...He told me about the difficulties which Michelangelo had.... This was the day when Chenavard talked to me again about his famous theory of decadence. He is far too dogmatic. And what is more, he fails to assess estimable qualities at their true value. Although he says that the men living two hundred years ago are not the same level as those living three hundred years ago, and that our own contemporaries are not the equals of the artists of the past fifty or a hundred years, I consider that Gros, David, Prud'hon, Géricault, and Charlet are admirable men of the caliber of Titian and Raphael...." Journal, August 12, 1854, 240.

[86] Silvestre, Les Artistes français (Paris, 1878), 302. "Enthousiasmé par la vie des saints et des pères du désert, il s'imposait en secret les plus dures mortifications: il jeûnait, passait des nuits couché sur le carreau de sa chambre."

[87] Joseph Sloane, Paul Marc Joseph Chenavard: Artist of 1848 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1962).

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subject for the Panthéon decoration.[88] But, his cartoons were rejected because the iconography was too radical, too far from Tridentine iconography. The commission was rescinded and the murals never executed.[89] Interestingly, Chenavard, like Delacroix, looked to Raphael as a model for his mural decorations: to defend himself against hostile critics, Chenavard said that he had done nothing more than follow Raphael.

> I will say in addition that the mixture of sacred and profane . . . which revolted them so violently will not be more strange and unsuitable for the Panthéon in Paris than it is in Rome in the Vatican where Raphael, treating history in like manner, put Jesus Christ and the Virgin in the sky opposite the Fathers of the Church arguing over the mysteries of the Eucharist, [emphasis mine].[90]

The Church propagandized with Vico's philosophy about Providential action in history, motivated by the need to defend traditional thinking against progressive

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[88] Among French thinkers, the subject of social palingenesis had been thought through for at least a century before Chenavard tackled it for the Pantheon. In the eighteenth century, Charles Bounet's "Palengenésie philosophique" was written with the idea of "uniting many phenomena under a few great principles...so men will gain a better understanding of their history and a deeper appreciation of the nature of their creator.'" M. Grober, Voltaire Studies (1993): 233-256.

[89] Foucart, 267. "By his own recollection, Archbishop Sibour visited Chenavard at the Panthéon and greeted him without the slightest pedantry, and full of warmth. Sibour interrupted Chenavard and reminded him that as a Catholic he could appreciate only Catholic art, especially in a Church." "Mgr. Sibour interrompt Chenavard et lui rapelle que, catholique, il ne peut apprécier l'art qu'en catholique, surtout dans une église."

[90] Sloane, 122-123.

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developments.[91] The Church sought to refute empiricist history that challenged doctrines of faith. In response to these assaults, traditional Christianity reaffirmed the story of God's dealing with humankind so as to counter claims for modernism.[92] In retelling the salvific history of faithful Israelites, Delacroix's chapel program set that history in high relief against the fate of the pagan barbarian nations, which according to Vico spiraled into destruction. The Sulpician clergy determined that the ancient pagans mirrored contemporary forces of secular and positivist ideologies, their message a refutation of rationalism and irreligion. The result was a mural program that stressed triumphal Providential action in history while giving assurance of the outcome.

One prelate praised Delacroix's paintings as biblical history, saying they were without sentiment nor even symbolism. The Abbé Hurel praised the Saint-Sulpice murals for their contemporary feeling which showed such energy and

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[91] "A Providence," according to twentieth-century theologian Rudolf Bultmann, "which acts independently but without infringing on man's freedom of choice...is the cornerstone of the doctrine of free will." Gordon Kaufman, Systematic Theology: A Historicist Perspective (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968), 10.

[92] The rise of neo-Thomism meant there were doctrinal rivalries and ecclesiastical factions, but there was consensus to refute positivist materialism.

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expression in pictures of bible history.[93] Hurel thought religious painting meant more than pious imagery, that the first duty of the artist was to give life to events from sacred history. He believed that Delacroix's paintings had broken with traditional nineteenth-century iconography and shaken the torpor from religious art: "after all, the feeling of piety does not belong exclusively to Christianity . . . . " ("aprés tout, le sentiment de piété ne regne pas exclusivement dans le christianisme . . . . ")[94]

Delacroix's meditations on man's place in the order of things and his ability to recover afresh the religious image may have served to re-ignite the theological process by bringing revelation to the forefront.[95] Any question about his ability or intention to paint such complex theology must take certain facts into account: the mural program followed a long established tradition in Catholic Church art; contemporaries such as Abbé Hurel reminded his audience of the rich heritage of theology in art, citing the Gothic era,

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[93] Abbé Alphonse Hurel, L'Art religieux contemporain. (Paris: Didier et Cie, 1868), 55-59.

[94] Hurel, 56.

[95] See G. Kaufman: revelation is defined as one's discovery of oneself in relation to the "ultimately real." Kaufman writes: "One can never understand revelation simply by studying others' reports...unless and until one perceives the ultimate significance of biblical writings for himself, it has not become revelation for him." Kaufman, Systematic Theology, 18.

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and explaining that among modern "superior talents" there was no need to sacrifice art for theology nor theology for art. Hurel believed modern painting was capable of producing:

> nothing less than the most difficult dogma . . . a history of theology in art, at times speculative, at others practical, mysterious or obscure dogmas of immense importance . . . the invisible manifests itself by what is sensible.[96]

Among the multiple layers of "difficult dogma" enlivened by the mural program, there is something further: Delacroix contrived a conspicuous detail in each painting as a sign that marked the first indication of saving history told in the Scriptures and the final proclamation of salvation--marking the first book of the bible (Genesis) with the last (Revelation). The heel functions as a sign with theological meaning, linking the Book of Genesis to the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation. In the Jacob painting it is a symbol of vulnerability and perseverance rewarded; in the Heliodorus painting it is a sign of the crushing power of good over evil, and in the Saint Michael subject it symbolizes the message of salvation transposed from the Old Testament to the New Testament Notably, Delacroix pictured the naked heel of Jacob as the target of the javelin, the heel of Archangel Michael emphatically to

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[96] Hurel, 55-59.

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crush the devil underfoot, and the hoof of the horse plainly to stomp Heliodorus [figures 71,73,75]. A preliminary drawing in the Pierpont Morgan Library (New York)[figure 89] and an oil sketch in the Karen B. Cohen collection (New York) [figure 103] show clearly that Delacroix repositioned the still life in the final painting to concentrate our focus on Jacob's naked and vulnerable heel. In the earlier compositions, the still life is positioned to the upper right of Jacob's grounded right foot, farther from the wrestling pair and below the sloping hill. In the Fogg Museum sketch (Cambridge) the wrestling pair are turned to the right and the still life--*sans* spear--is closer to its position in the final painting. Nevertheless, it illustrates how Delacroix decided finally to point the spear at Jacob's heel.

The story of humankind's fall into sin, at the provocation of the serpent, is interpreted by scholars as symbolic device for God's ultimate plan for salvation. Accordingly, "the fall" sets in motion the action of God's grace as "Wisdom at work in history." Thereafter, what was a sign of sin and loss in the opening chapters of Genesis becomes a symbol of the redemption in the Book of Revelation.

> The Lord God said to the serpent:
> Because you have done this,

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> Accursed are you
> of all animals wild and tame!
> On your belly you will go
> and on dust you will feed
> as long as you live.
> I shall put enmity between you and the woman,
> and between your offspring and hers;
> it will bruise your head
> and you will strike *its heel* [emphasis mine].[97]

In the next few verses of Genesis, the symbolism about the woman, the child and the dragon resonates with apocalyptic visions that are to appear in Revelation 12--the text describing archangel Michael vanquishing the demon. Biblical scholars explain the verses thus:

> Here the woman represents Israel from whom Jesus sprang (v5), the twelve stars equal the twelve tribes of Israel; Satan and the 'ten horns' compare with Daniel 7:7. The archangel Michael is representative of Israel's champion (Daniel 10:13,21; 12:1). Verse 9 "that serpent of old" is an allusion to Genesis 3:14-15.[98]

The heel of "the Godly one" (the christological figure) is the "instrument of promise," in order to crush the serpent underfoot. In the Book of Revelation, the woman signifies Israel and later the Church victorious over evil. The symbolism of the Fall of Adam and Eve is interpreted as <u>proto-evangelium</u>, the first glimmer of salvation--when the serpent will strike at their heel. The imagery culminates

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[97] For the interpretive material I am relying on the exegetical notes for the books of Gen. 3, Wis. 10, Dn. 7, and Rev. 12 in <u>The New Jerusalem Bible</u>.

[98] Book of Gen., <u>NJB</u>, 21 note 3c.

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in an apocalyptic vision at the "End Time," when the serpent is crushed by the heel of the Godly One [Saint Michael]. Lee Johnson noticed the recurrence of serpent imagery in Delacroix's religious paintings and identified the serpent as the representation of evil, and in the later works, such as the 1853-1856 Christ on the Cross, he interpreted the image to mean "certainly the symbol of original sin."[99] On the other hand, Strauber noticed the image of the serpent, but she saw it as "idiosyncratic and unexpected and suggestive of a personal psychology."[100] Delacroix included snakes in his paintings Christ on the Cross (Ottawa) [figure 50], The Death of John the Baptist, and The Tribute Money.

In summary, Delacroix's mural program for the Chapelle des Saint-Anges is a kind of doxology that recalls the narrative of the encounter between God, his angels, and his people, and their experience of being rescued by him. In this salvific theme, Jacob's struggle is the first event in the cycle and signifies his decision to believe.[101] It is followed by the Heliodorus story which describes a recorded

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[99] L. Johnson, Delacroix's Pastels (New York, 1995), 132.

[100] Strauber, 171.

[101] The Interpreter's Bible, 722-728. Jacob is described as a man of many faults, a liar and a coward, now returning home prosperous, confident and arrogant; he had to be humbled and chastened--forgiven. His encounter with the divine spirit and transforming experience is symbolized by his new name.

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event that tells of the saving action by God's messengers. The Saint Michael subject illuminates the dogma of ultimate victory of Good.

Ability, affinity and precedent led Delacroix to integrate philosophical and theological ideas within his artistic aims. For example, prior to his execution of the Saint-Sulpice program, he conceived Vichian-inspired themes in terms of subjects, order of placement and meaning in the program at the Palais Bourbon.[102] Furthermore, Delacroix's close ties with the Christian religion and his sympathy with tenets of Christian morality show that his skepticism was narrowly defined and did not impede his completion of a complex religious program. Delacroix's admiration for Dantesque principles and his vigorous intellect combined to create a major decorative cycle at Saint-Sulpice.

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[102] Geroge Hersey, "Delacroix's Imagery in The Palais Bourbon Library," 383-403. Hersey revealed that a copy of Vico was found among Delacroix's books.

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Chapter V

Conclusion: "Purging the Paradox"

Illustrations: Tobias and the Angel, (Zurich, Montpellier). Series of religious subjects in pen and ink drawings dated 1862: Peter's Denial, Mary Washing the Feet of Jesus.

A. The Journal writings. A philosophy sympathetic with Christian ethics and personal moral discernment. **1.** Delacroix's writing on religious painting, on man's finiteness and the call to respond to the human condition. The existential as Revelation. **2.** Beyond melancholia, an artist experienced in transcendence without religion.

B. Religion natural and inevitable.
1. Theology and anthropology; revelation as co-extensive with secular history.
2. Self-knowledge and philosophy.

C. Delacroix, Rahner's "Anonymous Christian?"
1. God affirmed unconsciously in the knowledge of finite realities. The artist's thinking consistent with Rahner's theology: pluralism, mystogogical, demythologizing and transcendental. Rahner's critics.

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2. Modern theology of philosophical pluralism. The broader historical context revises perception of Delacroix. His stylistic genius as a romantic classicist, and a man with religious sensibility.
3. Other voices for revision of Delacroix scholarship.

The post-modern notion that history is irrelevant to identity . . . condemns meta-narrative as myth . . . dismisses historiography. A subversion of historical time will in turn threaten . . . the possibility of representation in politics and art, and the informational functions of language. These are not small stakes!

--Appleby, Hunt, Jacob[1]

The concept of mystery in Catholicism was a magnet that attracted Delacroix to religious themes.[2] Subjects rich with metaphysical meaning matched his Romantic sensibility and religious conscience, and challenged his artistic talents. Through biblical narratives he synthesized plastic form with spirituality

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[1] Appleby, Hunt and Jacobs, Telling the Truth About History, 205.

[2] For example, Catholic doctrine describes the following concepts as mystery: the transubstantiation of bread and wine into the Real Presence of the body and blood of Christ; the mystery of redemptive suffering; the mystery of the Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit as three divine Persons in one God.

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--reverential awe and grace--and he created a mystical experience in paint. Contemporary critics recognized his specific ability; for example, in 1857 Clément de Ris reported that each time Delacroix touched on the themes of Christ's passion, he captured a singular combination of "mysterious terror and divine majesty . . . the viewer is thrilled to things divine."[3] In his 1857 article in Revue des deux-mondes, Delacroix made clear that he understood the effect of the richness of Christian symbols: "The power of the aesthetic ideals of Murillo's Virgin . . . lay in penetrating our skeptical milieu adorned with its puerile distractions, [so that] we can perceive the mortification of the senses, the power of sacrifice, and of contemplation."[4] Romantics like Delacroix understood well that sensory experience offered a language for transcendental meaning. He believed that art was the highest expression of his spiritual life: "The main source of interest [in a composition] comes from the soul of the artist and flows

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[3] L. Clément de Ris, "Artistes contemporains: Eugène Delacroix" Revue Français, 8 (1857): 414-424.

[4] Delacroix, "Questions sur le beau," Revue des deux-mondes Jul. 15, 1854. See Delacroix, Ecrits sur l'art, eds. François-Marie Deyrolle and Christophe Denissel (Paris: Librarie Séguier, 1988), 29.

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into the soul of the beholder in an irresistible way."[5] Did he intentionally recreate the mystical sense of the transcendent from his own experience?

Although the Journal indicates that by the 1850s Delacroix was increasingly introspective, relating a sense of his own relativity to a reality greater than himself, and repeatedly drawn by the mystery inherent in religious subjects, any suggestion of spiritual inspiration for his religious painting has been advanced hesitantly, for example by Clark, Johnson or Foucart.[6] Huyghe, Sérullaz and Rudrauf discuss these issues without drawing definite conclusions, and while Strauber was first to notice that the religious paintings represented the single, major thematic current in his later easel paintings, she discusses the religious subjects more generally, without probing contemporary theologies or the cultural-religious context.[7] Delacroix

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[5] Journal, January 25, 1857, 350.

[6] I am indebted to John V. Fleming for stimulating my thinking on this issue; he advanced the theme in connection with Renaissance painter Giovanni Bellini. Fleming, From Bonaventure to Bellini: An Essay in Franciscan Exegesis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

[7] Foucart admits that there is ample material in the Journal regarding evidence of religious feeling in Delacroix, but, he continues, the thoughts or sentiments of genuine spirituality should not be applied to Delacroix's religious paintings: "Le Journal donne bien sûr des éléments, mais qui sauraient parler pour l'oeuvre peinte." Foucart, 245-46. Foucart wrote:"...one searches in vain for evidence of religious feeling in Delacroix."

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studies often circumvented the artist's religious thoughts and feelings as a possible way to analyze his religious paintings; the lacunae demonstrated to me the need for a revision of our understanding of his religious oeuvre. Although the inadequacy of a one-dimensional approach is obvious, prevailing modernist ideology has denigrated altogether the role of religion in interpreting nineteenth-century religious painting, a position that virtually eliminated any possibility for a religious reading of Delacroix's religious subjects.[8] Polemical constructs of

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Ibid. He believed the Journal alone does not allow us to form such an opinion: "Chercher quelles ont pu être les sentiments religieux de Delacroix, est aussi vain que pour Ingres et même Hippolyte Flandrin." Ibid. But, Foucart does claim that Delacroix's religious oeuvre was representative of the wider religious revival in response to Huyghe's discussion of Delacroix's singular achievement. "Sans doute Delacroix est-il le plus intéressant des ces peintres du sentiment, mais en focalisant l'attention sur lui, on légitime en quelque sorte l'oubli de ce qui fut un grand mouvement de peinture religieuse, populaire, mal aimé des clercs mais sans doute majoritaire...." Ibid. Strauber discussed, in part, the significa some religious themes without delving into the theological meanings or religious interpretation. My conclusions are based on the historic religious revival, together with the paintings themselves and the artist's expressions and ideas.

[8] Ribner's recent thesis insists on a political reading of O.T. religious subjects. He even ascribed a political motive to a contemporary literary movement that focused interest on the bible. His focus is the Bourbon Restoration and government commissions, and he argued for an authoritarian, politically motivated iconography, one formed by a post-revolutionary transvaluation of religion. Ribner set out to demonstrate a separate typology for religious paintings. He avoided any discussion of the religious revival in terms of the revitalized Church activity, and he avoided a look at religious works in the Salons or those generated by private commissions.

Ribner writes: "The literary movement in favor of the Bible cannot be understood in isolation from post-revolutionary

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nineteenth-century history elevated a pantheon of individualists, "the artist as Independant,"[3] which vivified an antireligion model of the heroic artist based on a fictive neutral and objectified empiricism. Revisionist historians Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob explain that this was followed in the twentieth century by a post-modern dialectic that sought to excise narrative history as myth in favor of an elitist, anti-history. The misleading and distorted implication from this imperative is that there should not be any connection between Delacroix's sustained and sympathetic interest in Christianity and his making religious paintings. Notwithstanding Voltaire's deism, Delacroix had little in

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political sentiment. The resurgence of piety and the revival of official ecclesiastical patronage...do not adequately account for the artistic interest in the Bible...The unique significance of Hebrew scripture in the French Catholic tradition...was as a portentous record of sacred history, rather than as a focus of religious devotion." Ribner (1986), 5.

"The vitality of three major groups of Biblical imagery--Law, Prophecy and Exile--was less a function of religious revival than an expression of a quest for authority and a sense of loss which were characteristic of French culture during this period. The innovative uses of Biblical exile imagery depended on the capacity of these Biblical motifs to lend a providential gravity to themes of exclusion and defeat. The attraction of O.T. subjects coupled with the sense of an ongoing crisis of authority in politics and culture." Ibid., 12. Ribner's text does not consider any possible religious sensibility or spiritual feeling as a motive for religious commissions, nor does he attribute religious meaning to religious subjects chosen for commissions.

[9] Stephanie Carroll, in reviewing a retrospective exhibition of Delacroix's oeuvre, noted the paucity of new, fresh approaches in trying to unravel "the paradox of Delacroix...an artist in need of revision." Carroll, "Delacroix," Art Journal, 46 (Winter, 1987): 316.

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common with the eighteenth-century critic's anti-Christian feelings:

> I thought of all religion has to offer to the imagination, and at the same time of its appeal to man's deepest feelings. Blessed are the meek, blessed are the peacemakers: what other religion has ever made gentleness, resignation and simple goodness the sole aim of man's existence. Beati pauperes spiritu: Christ promised heaven to the poor in spirit, that is, to the simple-hearted; this is not so much intended to humble our pride in the human mind as to show us that a simple heart is better than a brilliant intellect.[10]

In his emotional and theoretical quest for artistic perfection Eugène Delacroix mirrored what Rahner termed the contemplative nature of the "anonymous Christian": "Man always lives within the open horizon of transcendence toward the God of the supernatural life, whether he does not 'know' it and does not believe it . . . ."[11] As Delacroix

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[10] Journal, November 2, 1854, 265-266.

[11] Rahner, A Rahner Reader, 182. "There are stirrings of grace which precede an act of acceptance; grace outside the Church and its sacraments. The offer of grace to a man who has reached in his spiritual development the immediate possibility of an existential decision is not intermittent, restricted to some very definite occasions and 'actual' in the momentary sense. There is no stringent theological reason.... 'Actual' means that grace is given prior to an existential decision, as an 'offer' and 'possibility' (of a free act). This does not mean he is justified, he may be a sinner and an unbeliever. But where and insofar as he has the concrete possibility of a morally good act, he is in fact constantly within the open horizon of transcendence toward the God of the supernatural life, whether his free act is in accord or in conflict with the prior state of his supernaturally emblemated spiritual existence. Even when he does not 'know' it and does not believe it, that is, even when he cannot make it an individual object of knowledge by merely inward reflection, man always lives consciously in the presence of the triune God of eternal life." Ibid., chap. X "Grace," 182.

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questioned his responsibility to creative genius, his response never avoided the relationship between mystery and truth. The integral spirituality of his religious painting was a response to existential questions he and many of his contemporaries struggled with.

> What becomes of the soul when paralysis or imbecility have driven it to its last refuge, and it is at length compelled by the final extinction of life and its eternal exile to separate itself from a body that is now no more than clay? . . . What becomes of it at that supreme moment when it is forced into complete separation from that body to which it gave, or from which it received, life? . . . For unless one were determined to consider the soul a particle or emanation of a supreme being, it must share the common destiny; be born--develop . . . and finally perish. [12]

In his grasp of the defects of human subjectivity, such as the legitimization of ambiguity, Delacroix exemplified "Rahneresque" theology. Delacroix's apprehension of human frailty mirrored what Rahner explained as an experience of God known in a non-thematic way "as man's consciousness of himself."[13] Delacroix understood that his identity as an artist related essentially to a reality beyond considerations of choice. Frédéric Leblond recounted Delacroix's deathbed conversation in a letter that was

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[12] Journal, January 31, 1860, 394-395.

[13] Donald Maloney, "Rahner and the 'Anonymous' Christian," America, 31 October 1970, 348-350.

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published in L'Artiste. Leblond's description of the intimate scene, impossible to corroborate, is touched with effusive religious feeling. It included an unusually specific reference to Delacroix's faith: "then his thoughts turning to God, he spoke of his religion; it was the Good, because it was that which finds its source in an honest heart, and what Jesus Christ had translated by these beautiful words: 'Love one another.'" ("Puis sa pensée se tournant vers Dieu, il parla de sa religion; c'était la bonne, car c'était celle qui prend sa source dans un coeur honnête, et que Jesus-Christ a traduite par cette belle parole: 'Aimez-vous les uns les autres.'")[14]

Events such as the political uprising in 1848 led Delacroix to philosophize that man's belief in his ability to control democratic movements and to direct industrial progress was merely an illusionary power. Human nature, he believed, often failed to submit to the human condition: "A change in man's destiny must be foreshadowed by a change in his very nature" (Journal, April 23, 1849). Feeling discouraged and wanting to escape harsh realities, he wrote to George Sand about the "insipidness of life," and how he

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[14] F. Leblond, "Les Derniers Moments d'Eugène Delacroix," L'Artiste (March 15, 1864). This was an extract of a letter sent to Riesner, dated August 19, 1863. The editors of L'Artiste described Leblond as "a very old friend of the master, who wrote with feeling and sincerity." Philippe Burty published this letter among the collected letters.

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admired her stoicism to endure compared to what he characterized as his spiritual lethargy. "Dear friend, . . . You want very justly that all men have their share of the common bread, what the earth wants to accord to their sweat: me, I would like some flowers from the market in order to content the other part of myself, which is very demanding."

> Chere amie, . . . Vous voulez très justement que tous les hommes aient leur part au pain commun que la terre veut bien accorder à leurs sueurs: moi je voudrais quelques fleurs par-dessus le marché pour contenter une autre partie de moi, qui est très exigeante.[15]

He knew feelings of emptiness, that he was in "an abyss," and he questioned the meaning of his life: "One has to drive out the demons as best one can in this devilish life which we have been given for no good reason that I can see, and it so easily becomes bitter . . . ."[16] Four years later, in 1858, he wrote to Charles Soulier:

> It is when the soul faces that cruel nothingness that all resources are powerless to bring one consolation; when you wake up at night, for instance. During sleeplessness or sickness, at certain moments of solitude, when the end of it all is clearly envisaged in all its nakedness, the man endowed with imagination needs a certain courage not to forestall the nightmare

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[15] Letter to George Sand at Nohant, September 12, 1846. Correspondance générale d'Eugène Delacroix, ed. Andre Joubin (Paris: Librarie Plon, 1935-1938), 2: 285.

[16] Journal, August 25, 1854, 246.

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and embrace the skeleton.[17]

Rahner's concept for transcendental anthropology claims that existential questions and reflections are prerequisites of the experience of the spirit: "This is already an experience of the supernatural" [italics Rahner].[18] Rahner defined "mystagogy" as "experiencing through grace the "absent God," although they cannot find him in the world with which they deal explicitly through their objective concepts."[19] Rahner's position was that philosophy was a quest toward knowledge of God:"man's most genuine human experiences, the strivings common to all are strivings of elevated nature . . . even the non-Christian, the atheist . . . in the love, the longings, the emptiness, the loneliness, which accompany genuine commitment to human values . . . despite discouragement and disillusionment,"[20] Rahner's system creatively shifts the discourse on Delacroix onto a metaphysical plane, Delacroix's speech appears now to

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[17] Letter to Charles Soulier, December 14, 1858. Eugène Delacroix, Selected Letters 1813-1863, ed. and trans. Jean Stewart (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1971), 348-349.

[18] Rahner, Theological Investigations, 10, 28-30; and A Rahner Reader, 66-75.

[19] McCool, in A Rahner Reader, 196.

[20] Ibid.

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borrow the theological vocabulary of Abbé Bautain. Because Rahner's theology recalls the theologians of the Tübingen school, his system effectively illustrates how ideas from nineteenth-century theological discourse infiltrated the wider culture and had meaning for a philosophically-minded layman such as Delacroix.[21] Rahner's method broadens the definition of religious consciousness in a fundamental way, allowing Delacroix's attentive reflection to be boldly and congenially included. It brings clarity to the religious nature of Delacroix's religious pictures.

Mystical experience inherent in nineteenth-century Romanticism espoused a credo of personal faith in which mystery always predominates over dogmas, Church rules and ritual symbols. It was simultaneously an epoch that embraced science as the ideal means to critically examine accepted truths, and yet a time receptive to experience of the supernatural by inward reflection, an epoch that defined Delacroix. What has been described so far may seem more or less obvious, but the crucial element is Rahner's elaboration of a spiritual method directed against neo-

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[21] Rahner admitted that his own foundation included theologian Maurice Blondel. Blondel was influenced by Lamennais, Heidegger, and the Catholic Tübingen writers such as Möhler.

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Thomism.[22] Like Rahner's system, Delacroix's religious subjects were opposed to neo-Thomist iconography. His paintings illustrated theology as it shifted from a static to an evolutionary understanding of human existence. Nineteenth-century progressive Catholicism implicitly defined human freedom as a way to participate in the transformation of society--to participate in the divine kingdom.[23] If, as Rahner asserted, every philosophy already engages inevitably and unthematically in theology, he also argued that "contrary to the assumptions of dogmatic positivism, biblicalism and Neo-Scholasticism, there must be philosophizing inside theology."[24]

By the sheer force of personal expression, the mural program at Saint-Sulpice and the paintings about the Passion of Christ mark distinctive examples of Delacroix's experience of transcendence as a spirit communicated from within the heart of the artist to the heart of the viewer.

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[22] A theology that Rahner explained as the latent Christianness in the history of human existence, of religion in general and of philosophy, whereas Scholasticism remains aloof from transcendental experience. His proviso is that "one cannot simply deduce strictly all theological statements from man's experience himself as if they were the latter's objectifying conceptualization and articulation." Rahner, A Rahner Reader, 74; 98.

[23] McBrien explained that there is a complementary choice, "the same freedom also allows rejection of God's self-communication." McBrien, vol. 1: 430.

[24] McCool, in A Rahner Reader, 80-81.

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Rahner explained that man's most significant characteristic is his transcendence. As Delacroix described it, the intense communication between artist and viewer essentially advanced awareness of an enlightening experience, not unlike what theologians define as revelation:

> A kind of instinct teaches the superior artist to find where the chief interest of his composition should lie . . . the art of ordering lighting appropriately, or of coloring brilliantly or soberly . . . a whole host of other qualities . . . . The main source of interest comes from the soul of the artist, and flows into the soul of the beholder in an irresistible way.[25]

In his mature years Delacroix was filled with yearnings for absolutes and his search described an awareness of the supernatural. It was a search for meaning that was at times directed toward Christian dogma; more often it took a form of questioning nearer to what Rahner described as a search for God known in a non-thematic way. Looking beyond Thomist systematic theology, Jesuit John Carmody, following Rahner's thinking, says the search for an Absolute makes man basically religious: "He is 'tied' (religatus) to ultimate mystery. Various doctrines, rituals, social forms . . .

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[25] Journal, January 25, 1857, 350. This excerpt is from Delacroix's project for a "Dictionary" for artists; it was never completed. These thoughts were composed under the heading, "Interest, interesting;" he writes nearly the same phrases under the entry "'Effect' on the imagination."

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[only] comprise the different religions.[26] This brings up Rahner's concept "religion natural and inevitable,"[27] an embracing theology that shed light on the spiritual quality of the religious paintings. (According to Rahner's system, the anonymous Christian is a person who has freely accepted his own transcendence without necessarily coming into contact with Christianity or who rejects Christianity and, perhaps any concept of a divine being. Obviously by its breadth Rahner's system has been charged with a kind of "theological imperialism."[28] Because his christology takes the incarnation as an integral part of historical evolution, critics disputed his concept of Jesus as a cosmic and historical figure; he has been accused of being too philosophical and too speculative.[29])

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[26] John T. Carmody, "Rahner's Spiritual Theology," America, 31 October 1970, 345. "According to Rahner's Christian theology: all theology today should be anthropological (i.e., should begin with human experience)." Ibid., 346.

[27] Therefore, Grace is not confined to the justified, nor to the sinless. "Grace is the self-communication of God." McBrien, vol. 1: 506-507.

[28] J. A. Columbo, "Rahner and his Critics: Lindbeck and Metz," The Thomist: A Speculative Quarterly, 56 (January 1992): 71-96. See also McBrien, Catholicism, vol.1: 506-507.

[29] Rahner made clear in his method of philosophical theology the unavoidable existence of a pluralism of theologies. "Nevertheless pluralism need not lead to relativism." Rahner asserted that philosophizing that must take place within theology. See Chapter 4-Part 3. "Philosophy and Theology," Rahner, Rahner Reader, 80-89. A crucial point in his radical Christian theology--his system of transcendental anthropology--is his explanation of the a priori character of the subject in

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Beginning in the 1840s, Delacroix frequently expressed admiration for Christian ritual and faith.[30] He described

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theology and the a posteriori quality of historical object in an exclusive relationship. "One could say quite rightly that the turning from a cosmocentric objective philosophy of the Greeks to the anthropocentric transcendental philosophy of the moderns is perfectly Christian in principle."

On the second point of the progressive historical and irrevocable transforming nature of the incarnation, he writes: "Christ is not merely external to the grace as the reason for its being conferred...the history of humanity has come in *Christ* to its own historical and eschatological apogee, irreversibly manifested. Grace is God himself not as a 'thing' but--as communicated...a conditioning of the spiritual and intellectual subject as such to a direct relationship with God. If what Grace is must not merely be expressed in mythological-sounding verbalism which communicates no experience, it can only be understood from the point of view of the subject, with his transcendental nature, experienced as being-in-reference-to the reality of absolute truth and free-ranging, infinite, absolutely valid love. It can only be understood in one's innermost regions as an immediacy before the absolute mystery of God, i.e., as the absolute realization of man's transcendental nature itself, made possible by God in his self-communication.... Philosophy today and hence theology too cannot and must not return to the stage before modern philosophy's transcendental anthropological change of direction since Descartes, Kant, German Idealism (including its opponents), up to modern Phenomenology, Existentialism and Fundamental Ontology. This whole philosophy is most profoundly un-Christian insofar as it pursues a transcendental philosophy of the autonomous subject... But, this same philosophy is also most profoundly Christian (more than traditional critics...have grasped), for according to a radically Christian understanding man is not ultimately one factor in a cosmos of things, subservient to a system of co-ordinate ontic concepts drawn from it, but the subject on whose freedom as subject hangs the fate of the whole cosmos: otherwise salvation history and profane history could have no cosmological significance, and Christological cosmology would be infantile concept-poetry. This inner dividedness is, however, not only a symptom of modern philosophy but of all man's works...we must not let it hinder us from seeing what is Christian in this significant epoch of modern culture." Ibid., 66-73.

[30] Unconcerned with wider theological issues, Lee Johnson believes that the increased interest in religious themes for easel paintings may have been partly engendered by his having received the commission for Saint-Sulpice. L. Johnson, The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix, 5: 43.

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his habit of sitting alone in churches to think and meditate:

> I love churches, I like to rest in them nearly alone, to sit on a pew, and remain there in calm reverie . . . It appears to me like a tapestry of all the prayers that suffering hearts have echoed there rising to heaven. Who can replace these inscriptions, these ex-votos, like paving stones, . . . used by the knees of generations who have suffered and in which the old church has measured their last prayers.[31]

Consistently after 1845, Delacroix expressed a growing awareness of the frailty of human effort and a corresponding acceptance of what Strauber characterized as "the importance of selflessness which he correlated with the stoicism of the ancients."[32] In a letter to his cousin and one-time mistress, Baronne de Forget, dated August 16, 1855, Delacroix's search for eternal verities acknowledged the need for self-acceptance and a continual detachment from objects and emotions. "You ask me where one can find happiness in this world . . . I have convinced myself that it rests entirely in feeling satisfied with oneself. The passions can never make us happy, we always want what is

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[31] Journal, August 29, 1857, 368-369.

[32] Strauber believed that Delacroix's emphasis on the definitions of Christianity and the contexts in which he made his remarks, his concern with Christian religion was "at least partly a direct response to contemporary political and social events, reflecting his distaste for and underlying fear of reformist values of progress...." Strauber, 180. René Huyghe and Strauber also point to Delacroix's increasingly meditative and spiritual state of mind.

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impossible and are never happy with what we have." [33] Later, in 1858, the existential search intensifies: "I do not believe in that small attribute called the soul, with which we are supposed to be blessed . . . . What shall we find beyond? Night, fearful night."[34] Of course, his philosophizing was summoned by anxieties over encroaching modernism and progressive politics, feelings that roused him against democratic movements. His admiration for Christianity was partly a response to these feelings. "Christianity is morality par excellence . . . it is the last word of reason." ("Christianisme c'est la morale par excellence . . . c'est le dernier mot de tout raison.")[35] Yet, his attraction to the principles of belief and to the visible faith of Church-goers was something more.

In 1862, he revealed his by now famous meditation: "God is within us . . . . The inward satisfaction of obeying divine inspiration is sufficient reward."[36] But often, he could be reflective and find life inexplicable: he wrote:

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[33] August 16, 1855, letter to Mme. De Forget at Pau. Eugène Delacroix: Selected Letters: 1813-1863, trans. J. Stewart (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode Ltd., 1971), 332. Also, Journal, August 15, 1855, 309-310.

[34] Journal, May 24, 1858, 380.

[35] Strauber, 172-73. René Huyghe and Rudrauf write of his increasing concern with religion after 1848.

[36] Journal, October 12, 1862,, 411.

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"Felt very morose and dissatisfied with myself. I turned over in my mind all kinds of unpleasant ideas and imagined myself having to face all the problems of existence . . . ."[37]

Rahner proposed that searching "the depth of the human abyss" is the theme of philosophy and it is already opened by God's grace.[38] His method demanded that philosophy always be a part of the structure of theology, and therefore be focused on the human subject. Thus, spirituality, apart from Christian dogma, is metaphysical knowledge borne out of interior struggle.[39] By that definition, Delacroix examined existential life, in effect had communicated with divine nature.[40] Further, he clearly explained this experience:

> God is within us. He is the inner presence that causes us to admire the beautiful, that makes us glad when we do right, and consoles us for having no share in the happiness of the wicked. It is he, no doubt, who breathes inspiration into men of genius, and warms their hearts at the sight of their own productions. Some men are virtuous as others are geniuses and both

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[37] Ibid., August 25, 1854, 246.

[38] Rahner, A Rahner Reader, 78.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Accordingly, revelation that is understood as something heard and believed is already theology: "salvation theology is not to be understood as mythological verbalism but an experience of grace, from the point of view of the subject--otherwise," he writes, "theology remains in a fixed pre-theological biblical picture-language. The merely poetic concepts and undemonstrable mythology cannot give evidence of a starting point for transcendental experience." Ibid., 77-78.

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are inspired and favored by God.[41]

Placing Delacroix's images within their religious context refocuses his artistic goals and clarifies his contribution to nineteenth-century art. Appleby, Hunt and Jacob outlined the consequences of a rigid ideology that preempted any possibility of a transcendental or a theological component to history.[42] Religion, as the authors state, is "the last frontier" for scholarship, demanding that we admit into the discourse on Delacroix the religious quality of his pictures and his ideas. The discussion goes beyond constraints of whether Delacroix's spirituality qua philosophy adhered to dogmatic religion. My analysis of nineteenth-century religious painting has meant taking the broader view of history that included vital, developing theological systems, expanding the dialectic and breaking down polemical judgments. Formalists have attempted to separate art from its social milieu, but more deliberately, post-modernist theories have made a parallel attempt to separate religion from the cultural milieu. Pushed to the periphery or openly attacked, religion and religious painting--value-laden and dangerous--are the target of theoretical hegemony. In such circumstances,

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[41] Journal, October 12, 1862, 411.

[42] Appleby, Hunt and Jacob, chap. 1,2, 6.

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religious meaning in Delacroix's religious pictures, such as the mural program at Saint-Sulpice and Christ on the Cross (1846) had to be ignored. The result is a disturbing gap in the Delacroix scholarship. A more balanced view us needed. This study outlines Delacroix's capacity for metaphysical reflection and for the transcendent experience, particularly after 1840. But it does not preclude an appreciation for his Romantic personality and his sexual nature. The violent passions often represented in painting from earlier decades are not erased by the present analysis. Delacroix's choice of subjects, such as the carnage of war (The Massacre of Scio 1824) and infanticide (Medea 1838), men battling on horseback, animals mauling bodies, and themes about abduction and murder (Death of Sardanapalus, 1827) were added to subjects from literary sources. Subjects from ancient histories and mythologies, from Dante, Shakespeare, and Milton, and themes based on contemporary political events such as Greece on the Ruins of Missolonghi (1827) and Liberty Leading the People (1830) augmented his religious oeuvre. Nevertheless, Delacroix's deepening interest in religious themes demands attention and his increasing output of religious paintings in successive decades is now

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recognized.[43]

The so-called paradox of Delacroix is not that his aesthetic perception and sexual passions were in conflict with his intensely contemplative nature but that authoritative Delacroix literature narrowly situated him in the modernist tradition. His artistic life was filled with contradictions: he held conservative political opinions as well as republican sympathies, he was contemptuous of bourgeois values[44] but esteemed sincere religious faith, he was an aristocrat who cherished humble home ties and boyhood

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[43] Delacroix's subject for the important ceiling murals for the Library in the Palais Bourbon (1838-1847) has been discussed primarily by George Hersey. But even this late work does not violate Christian ideas in retelling the achievements of humankind and the fall of pagan civilizations. Subjects such as Attila and the Barbarians Trampling Italy and the Arts, or The Death of Seneca (by suicide) were subjects that could be adequately explained by Christian thinkers as illustrations of Vico's philosophy of history. Vico included divine providence in Israel's history apart from pagan histories. Delacroix's choice of subjects for the mural program is a prime example of Rahner's theology of anthropological theology, and in no way inconsistent with an understanding of a transcendent and ultimately present God. Hersey, "Delacroix's Imagery," 383-404.

[44] "I told them that French society was entirely made up of shoemakers and grocers in these days and that they would do better not to examine it too closely." Delacroix, disenchanted with the bourgeois practices among committee members: "I made a stand against the rule of giving [tickets] only to personal friends. It is fascinating to see how all these grocers, bad painters, paper merchants, and the rest of these well-to-do people think themselves better bred and better company than some cobbler or tailor who might be let in by mistake, and whom they would dread to appear in the same room with." Journal, June 1, 1855, 277.

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friendships all his life. More disturbing was the fact that critical hegemony dictated that the contradictions remain understudied and unresolved, a bias which has muffled divergent analyses.

Steeped in classical literary and pictorial references, Delacroix was thoroughly familiar with the religious meanings in Dante's poetry. He showed himself well-read in the classical and modern thinkers, equally conversant with the bible in conjunction with developing ideas for religious paintings. If he read theology, it was minimal, his interests apparently countered by his untutored understanding of Christianity and the continual, general secularization of French culture. Because whole areas of the artist's character and ideas have been dismissed or neglected, the dissonance remained exaggerated. With the concept of religious consciousness broadened, Delacroix's place in nineteenth-century history appears less enigmatic, more integrated. René Huyghe argued that from 1845 to his death in 1863, Delacroix attached a new significance to the life of Christ:

> Delacroix was developing; he was raising his sights . . . and was beginning to see, through religion, a meaning other than the negative one he had hitherto attributed to death . . . . In fact, the spirit of the Gospel had awakened in Delacroix, who until then had preferred to turn to the Old Testament . . . . After 1850 . . . his new inclinations towards the spiritual life had made him discover . . . the beauty

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of the Gothic.[45]

Among his last works, he executed a series of pen and ink drawings of New Testament subjects, Mary Washing the Feet of Jesus and Peter's Denial, Christ Before Pilate, Kiss of Judas, The Miraculous Catch of Fishes and The Three Marys at the Tomb. These gospel scenes are boldly and rapidly drawn compositions that are classically balanced, yet highly moving because of their sense of intimacy. Using broad strokes of the pen that fold black ink into animated narrow or wide bands, Delacroix worked in abbreviated form; nevertheless he created motion where apparently once calm gestures pulsate across the white spaces. The sensational figure of Marie-Madeleine, executed with minimum form, reels backward in a pose enlivened by awe and reverence for the savior [figure 104]. In another drawing, titled Peter's Denial [figure 105], the long reach of the servant girl closes in on Jesus's disciple, the beloved, yet weak-willed Peter.

Rudrauf, Regamey, Sérullaz devoted a significant amount of discussion to Delacroix's religious sensibility yet their

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[45] René Huyghe, "The Secrets of the Self," Delacroix, chap. 9, 476; 482. Huyghe published a separate volume Le Combat solitaire, where he says something similar. Huyghe, Le Combat solitaire (Paris: Laffont, 1990), 257-258; 268-269. Rudrauf's chapters 3-5 involve Delacroix's moral temperament and his religious feeling; see Lucien Rudrauf, Delacroix et le problème du romantisme artistique (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1942).

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evaluations have been resisted and downplayed. The skewed portrayal of Delacroix as the avant-garde hero, a proponent of liberalism, remain incongruous with his known ideas, sentiments, and mature work. Delacroix emerges from this study still the singular artistic genius, but more reliant on classical models, less imaginatively independent, less skeptical, less ideological, not rejecting the official artistic establishment. A strength of social art history is its analogies made specific and overt;[46] in that vein, my study of Delacroix's religious oeuvre and the complex spectacle of its place and time was informed by detailed ecclesiastical histories, and not by well-troden political interpretations. Because religious commissions were not decided by an artist's religiosity or lack thereof, it is now apparent that Delacroix was more ambitious in gaining religious commissions than previously believed. My study has revealed that his subjects illuminated orthodox Catholic dogma within modern theologies and that he had a profound understanding of Christian mysteries of faith. Delacroix was conspicuously respectful toward religious faith and toward religious persons lay or clerical. Outside the

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[46] An observation by T. J. Clark, The Image of the People, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, reprint 1988), 11. Clark also said "what we need and what a study of any one period or problem suggests, is a multiplicity of perspectives." Ibid., 19.

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boundaries of dogma, and apart from purely aesthetic considerations, Delacroix openly accepted the reality of the spiritual nature of man. This awareness stands in marked contrast to contemporary artists such as Ingres, Corot, Courbet. Finally, Delacroix was an artist who deliberately nurtured the transcendent self in his search for artistic and personal fulfillment.

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APPENDIX A

Religious Subjects in the Salon
Compared with All Other Subjects.
Based on data published by Laverdant, 1864[1]

Date	Salon Entries	Number of Religious Subjects	Percent of Whole
1800	387	2	0.51
1801	384	6	1.56
1802	358	5	1.39
1804	544	18	3.30
1806	563	15	2.66
1808	628	22	3.50
1810	862	28	3.24
1812	1024	32	3.32
1814	970	55	5.67
1819 *	1206	125	10.36
1822	1348	92	6.82
1824	1761	124	7.04
1827 +	1052	135	12.83
1831	2168	94	4.33
1833	2448	54	2.20
1834	1956	57	2.91
1835 **	2174	82	3.77

[1] Laverdant, D. Appel aux artistes contre le sphinx et satan pour le christ, la madone et le paradis, bilan des salons français, 1699-1864. Paris: Hetzel, 1864. Foucart updated Laverdant's data in 1987.

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1836 **	1856	106	5.71
1837	1865	131	7.02
1838	1807	119	6.58
1839	2141	186	8.68
1840 **	1666	156	9.36
1841 **	2032	207	10.18
1842 **	1883	205	10.88
1843 **	1190	165	13.86
1844 +	1808	210	11.61
1845 **	1673	178	10.63
1846 **	1833	162	8.83
1847 +	1644	126	7.66
1848 **	4598	252	5.48
1849 +	2093	103	4.92
1850 **	3150	168	5.33
1852 **	1280	93	7.26
1853 **	1207	79	6.54
1855 **	1865	204	10.93
1857 **	2715	154	5.67
1859 **	3045	200	6.56

+ Indicates the year when Delacroix received or executed a major religious commission from the State.

** Delacroix executes important religious works.

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APPENDIX B

STATE COMMISSIONS FOR COPIES OF EXISTING PAINTINGS
BY YEAR, BY SUBJECT, 1851 TO 1860*

	Life of Christ	Virgin and the Holy Family	Saints, Biblical Scenes	Portrait of the Emperor	Misc.: History, Land-scape, Still life
1851	29	46	23	0	5
1852	42	50	20	2	5
1853	18	20	11	0	2
1854	8	5	3	37	0
1855	11	17	2	48	0
1856	20	26	11	82	2
1857	23	18	2	50	0
1858	32	34	7	35	2
1859	32	25	5	34	3
1860	13	24	2	79	3
TOTALS	228	265	86	367	20

* Based on data compiled by P. Angrand, see "L'État mécène: période autoritaire du second empire (1850-1860)." Gazette des beaux-arts (May-June 1968): 303-348.

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APPENDIX C

SELECTED LIST*
THE NUMBER OF STATE COMMISSIONS
FOR COPIES OF RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS
BY POPULARITY OF ARTIST 1815 to 1850

1.	Murillo	164
2.	Prud'hon	62
3.	Raphael	50
4.	Titien	46
5.	Lesueur	36
6.	Jouvenet	22
7.	Rubens	18
8.	Ribera	17
9.	Champaigne	16
10.	Veronese	16
11.	Cano	15
12.	Poussin	14
13.	Lebrun	13
14.	Reni	13
15.	Piombo	12
16.	Correggio	11
17.	Carracci	10
18.	Zurbaran	10
19.	Strozzi	8
20.	Domenichino	7
21.	Mignard	7
22.	Sarto	7
23.	Ingres	6
24.	Vasari	6
25.	"Leonardo (J)"	5
26.	Sassoferrato	5
27.	Delaroche	4
28.	Fra Bartolommeo	2
29.	Caravaggio	2
30.	Guercino	2
31.	Michelangelo	2
32.	Signol	2
33.	Rembrandt	1
34.	Schnetz	1

* I have eliminated some names of artists whose works were copied for one or two commissions. Data reproduced in B. Foucart, La Renouveau de la peinture religieuse en France, 1800-1860, (Paris: Arthena, 1987).

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APPENDIX D

RELIGIOUS PAINTINGS IN THE SALONS
BY THEMES IN CHRIST'S LIFE
Compiled by Père C-F. Chevé, 1856

Subject	1800 1813	1814 1826	1827 1847	1848 1859	TOTAL
Flight into Egypt	1	6	44	25	76
Christ in the Garden	0	5*	39*	17*	61
Christ on the Cross	1	9	30*	15*	55
Head of Christ	1	3	33	14	51
Entomb-ment	3	5	29*	8*	45
Descent from the Cross	2	7	24* (Pieta)	9	42
Dying Christ	1	1	15*	13*	30
Jesus Healing the Sick	0	6	14	8	28
Baptism of Christ	0	4	17	5	26
"Ecce Homo"	0	1	18	6	25

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Adoration of the Shepherd	0	3	18	3	24
Jesus and the Samaritain Woman	0	1	16	5	22
Jesus and the Children	0	1	13	7	21
Resurrection of Christ	1	2	11*	5*	19
Adoration of the Magi	0	1	11	5	17
Jesus Carries His Cross	0	2	12*	3*	17
Disciples at Emmaus	0	0	7	9*	16
Jesus Recuscitates Jarius's Daughter	1	4	9	2	16
Birth of Jesus	1	0	5	10	16
Jesus Quiets the Storm	0	1	9*	5*	15
Sleep of Jesus	0	0	10	5	15
Jesus Among the Doctors	0	1	10	3	14

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Crowning with Thorns	0	0	6	6	12
Flagel-lation	0	3	6	1*	10

*** Indicates subjects painted by Delacroix.**

Père C.F. Chevé, Dictionnaire des bieinfaits et beautés du christianisme. Paris, 1856.

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THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN EUGÈNE DELACROIX'S RELIGIOUS PAINTINGS: INTENTION AND DISTORTION

by

JOYCE C. POLISTENA

Volume 2

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1997

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Fig. 1 E. Delacroix
Christ in the Garden of Olives
Salon of 1827
Paris, Church of Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis

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Fig. 2

G. Rouget
Christ's Agony in the Garden of Olives
1824
Paris, Saint-Nicholas-des-Champs

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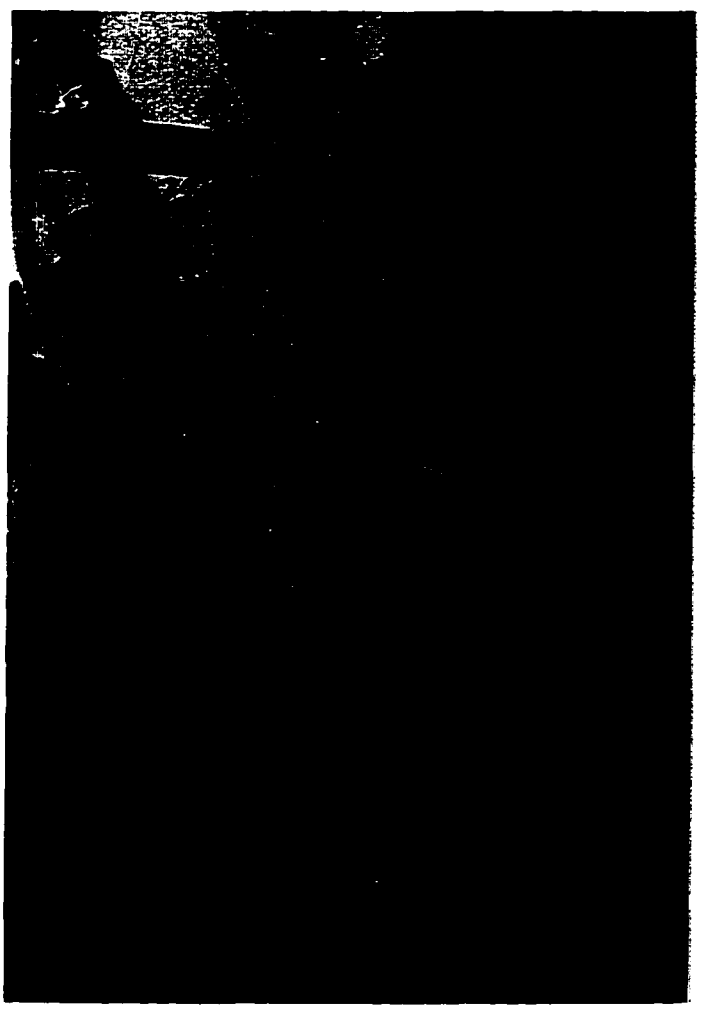


Fig. 3 T. Chassériau
Christ in the Garden of Olives
1840
Paris, Church of St. Jean-d'Angely

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Fig. 4 E. Delacroix Christ in the Garden of Olives circa 1851 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 5 E. Delacroix Christ in the Garden of Olives circa 1849 Location unknown

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Fig. 6 A.F. Caminade Marriage of the Virgin Salon of 1824 Paris, Church of Saint-Medard



Fig. 7 P. Bouillon Jesus Christ Revives the Son of the Widow of Nain Salon of 1819

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Fig. 8 P-J. Prud'hon
Christ on the Cross 1823 Paris, Musée du Louvre

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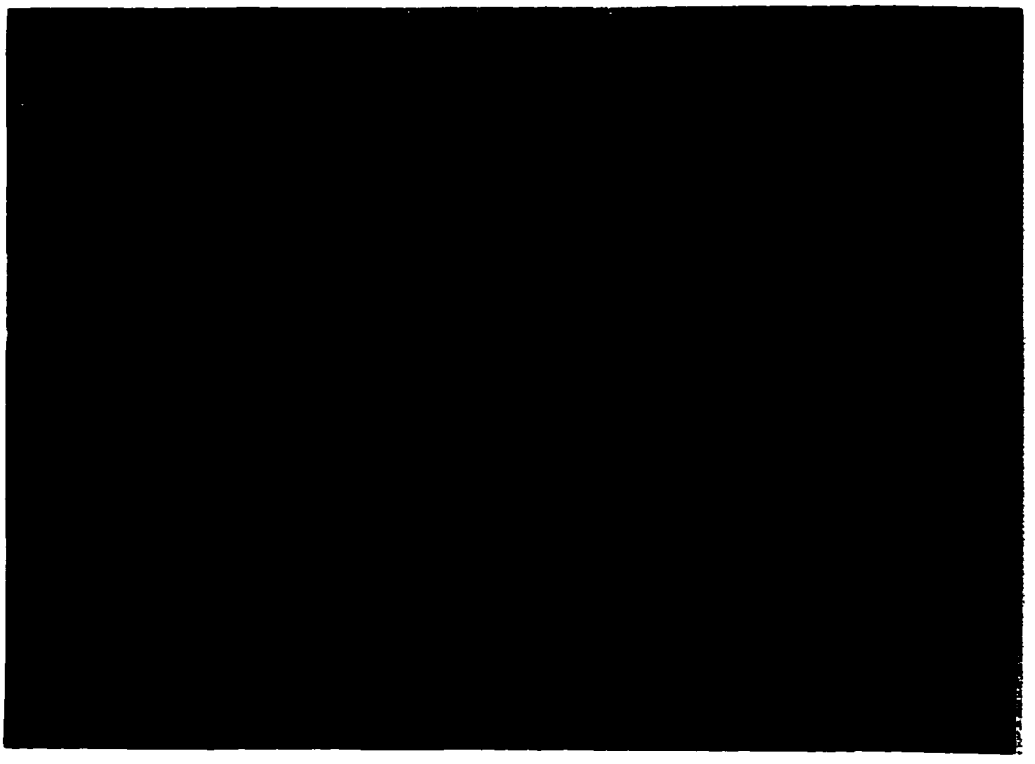


Fig. 9 A. Scheffer Christ the Consoler Salon of 1837 Utrecht, Centraal Museum

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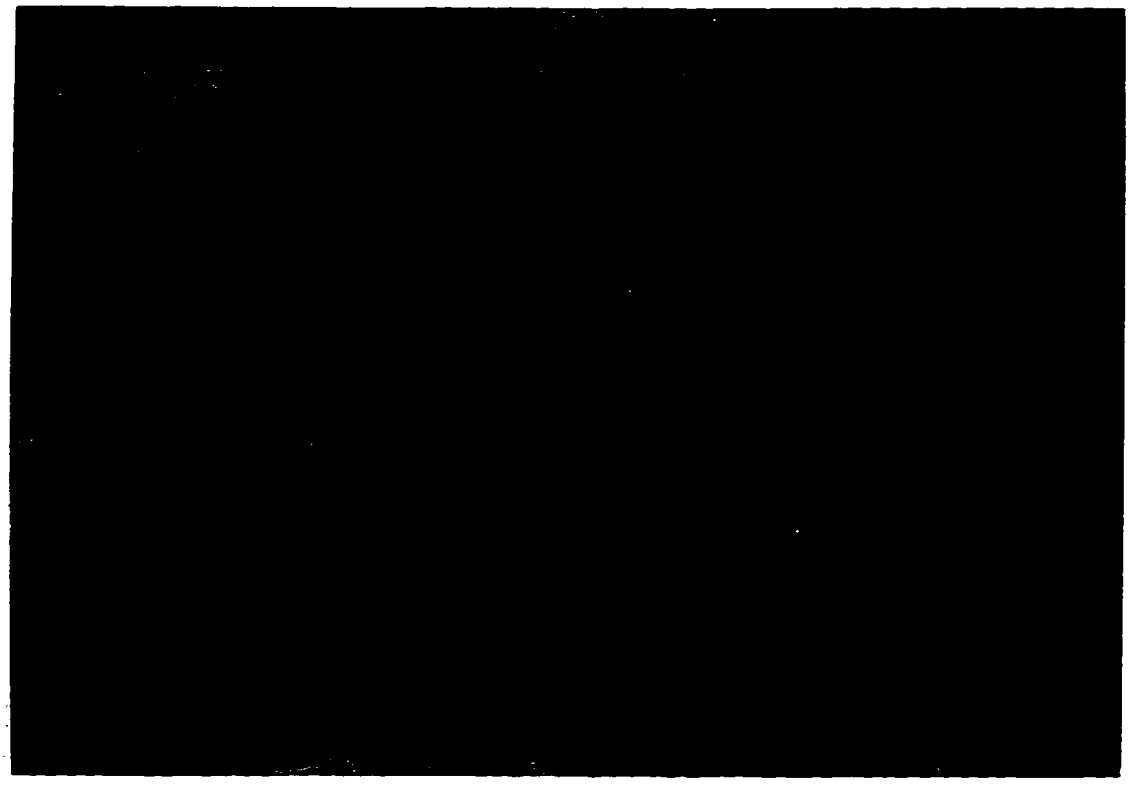


Fig. 10 A. Scheffer Christ the Intercessor 1846 Utrecht, Centraal Museum

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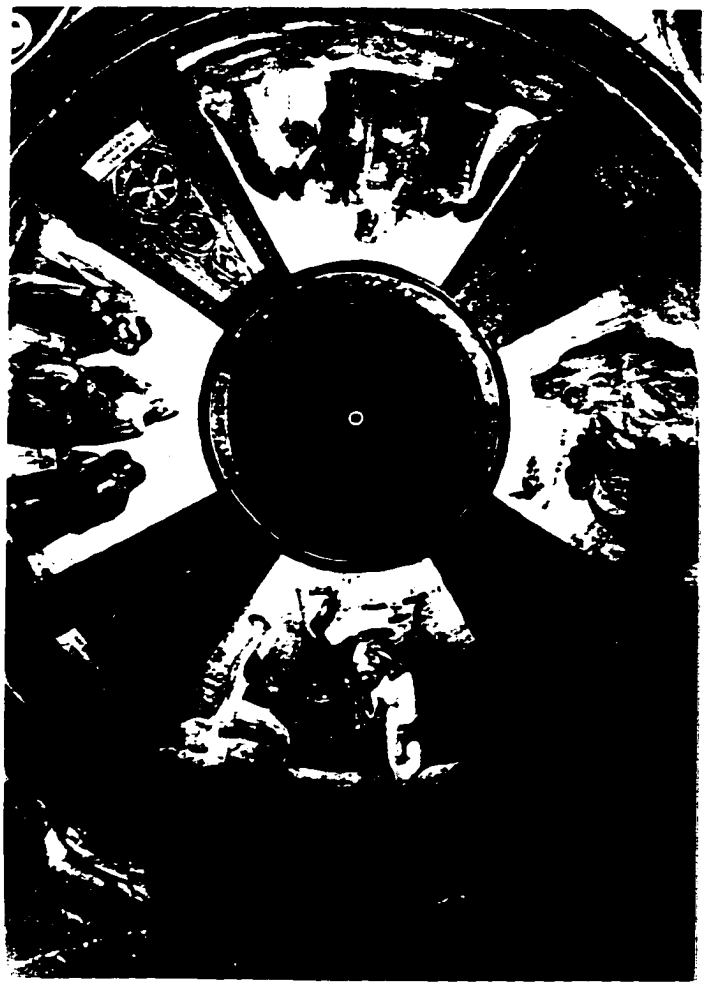


Fig. 11 A.-J.-V. Orsel Chapel of the Virgin (ceiling cupula)1836-1850
Paris, Notre-Dame-de-Lorette

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Fig. 12 A. Roger
The Babtism of Christ, The Crowning of the Virgin 1833-1840
Paris, Church of Notre-Dame-de-Loretto,
Chapel of Baptismal Font

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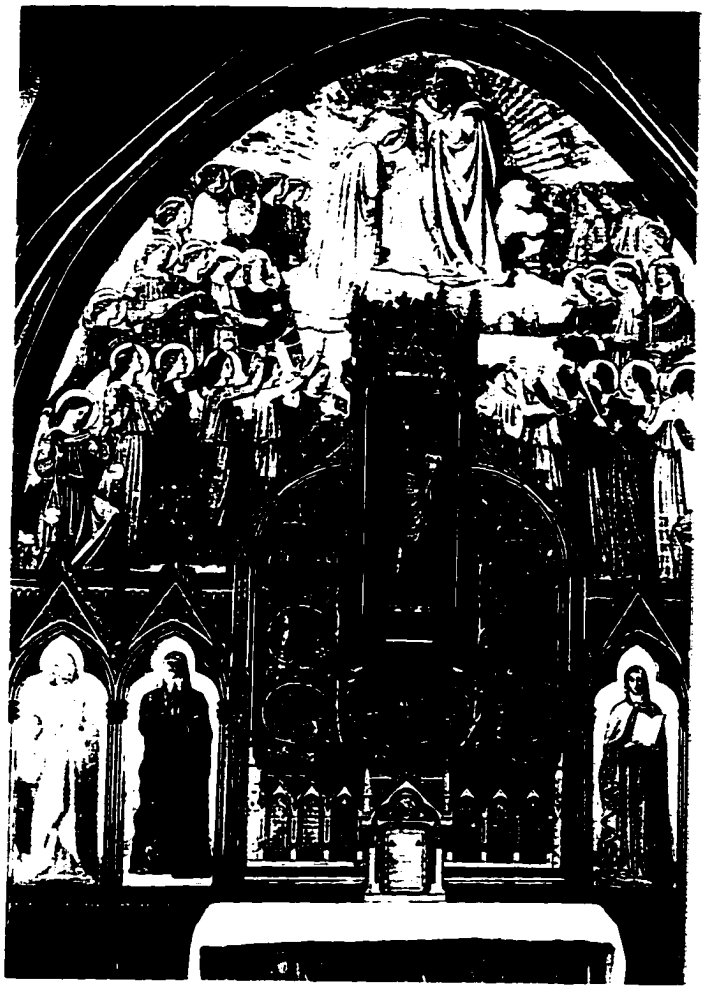


Fig. 13 E. Amaury-Duval The Crowning of The Virgin 1844-1846
Paris, Church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois,
Chapel of the Baptismal Fonts

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Fig. 14

E. Delacroix
Heliodorus Being Driven from the Temple
1847-1963
Paris, Saint-Sulpice, Chapel of The Holy Angels

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Fig. 15 E. Déveria
King David Playing the Harp (Two views)
1839
Avignon, Cathedral of Notre-Dame-des-Doms

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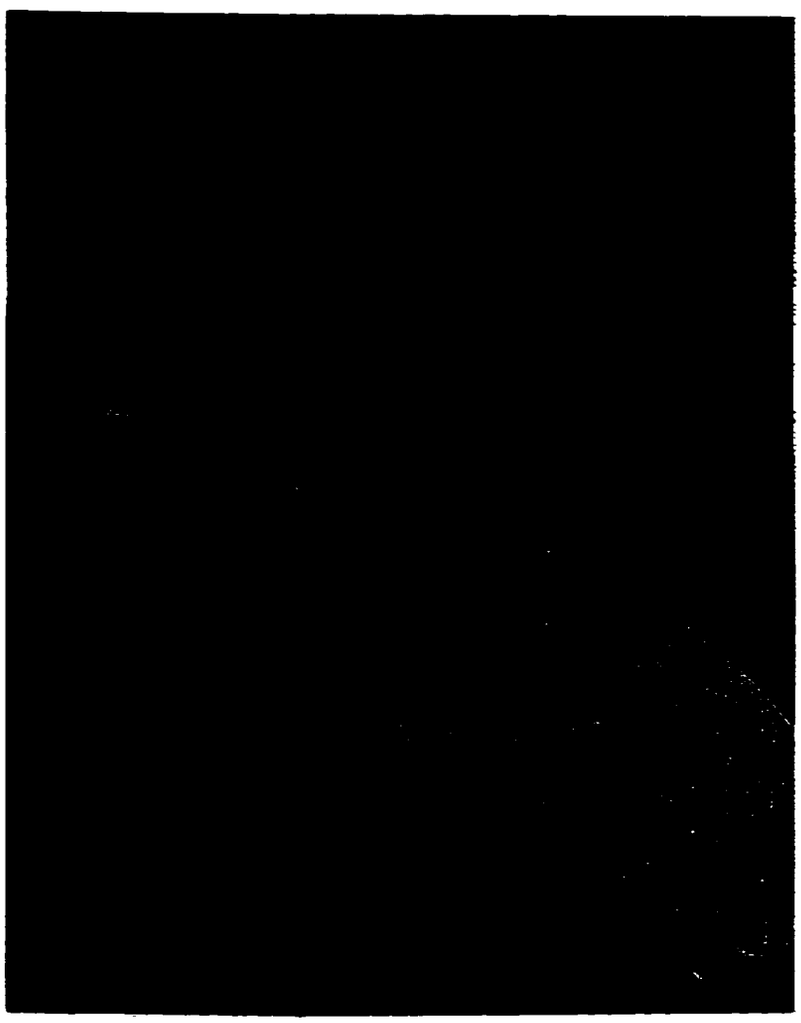


Fig. 16 A. Scheffer
Saint-Augustine and His Mother Saint-Monica
1855
Paris, Musée du Louvre

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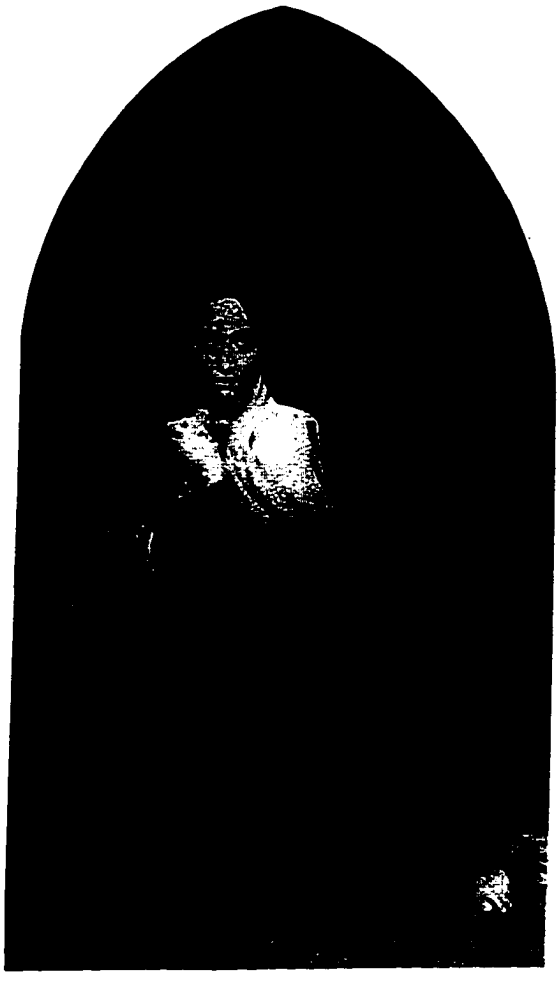


Fig. 17 F-P. Gérard Saint-Theresa 1828 Paris, Musée du Louvre

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Fig. 18 F.-J. Heim Prayer for the Dead Obtaining Deliverance of Souls Who Suffer in Purgatory Salon of 1845 Paris, Church of Saint-Sulpice

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Fig. 19

F.-J. Heim
Religion Exhorting the Christian to Suffer in This Life, to Alleviate the Pains of Purgatory
1845
Paris, Church of Saint-Sulpice

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Fig. 20 A. Laemlein Charity Salon of 1846 Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts

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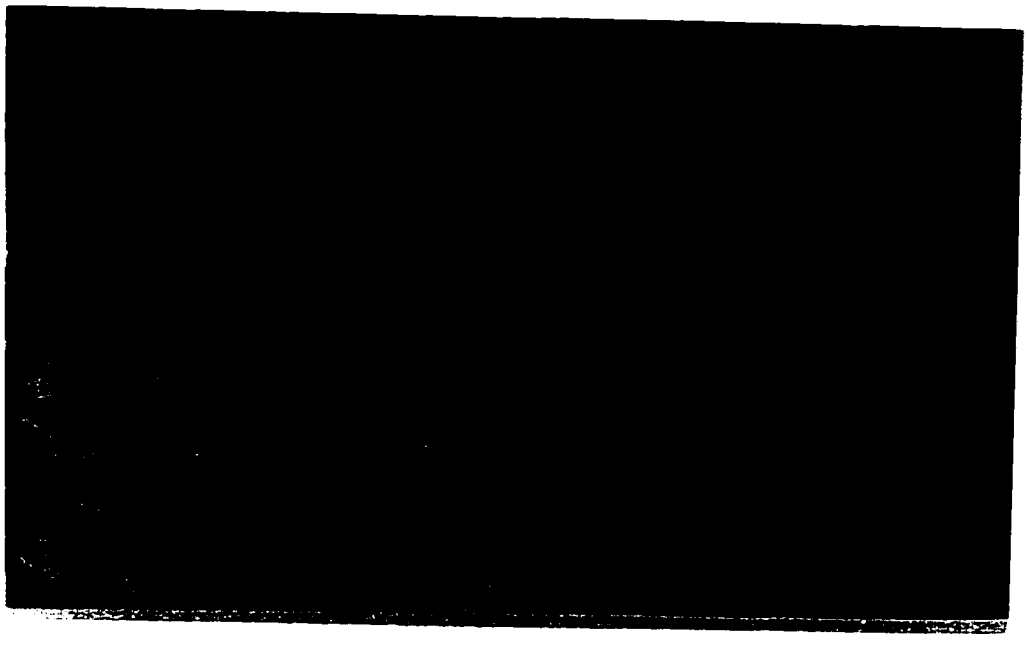


Fig. 21 J.-V. Schnetz The Sick Imploring the Help of the Virgin
Salon of 1831 Paris, Musée du Louvre

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Fig. 22 D.-L.-F. Papety
Saint-Joseph 1841
Marseille, Church of St. Victor

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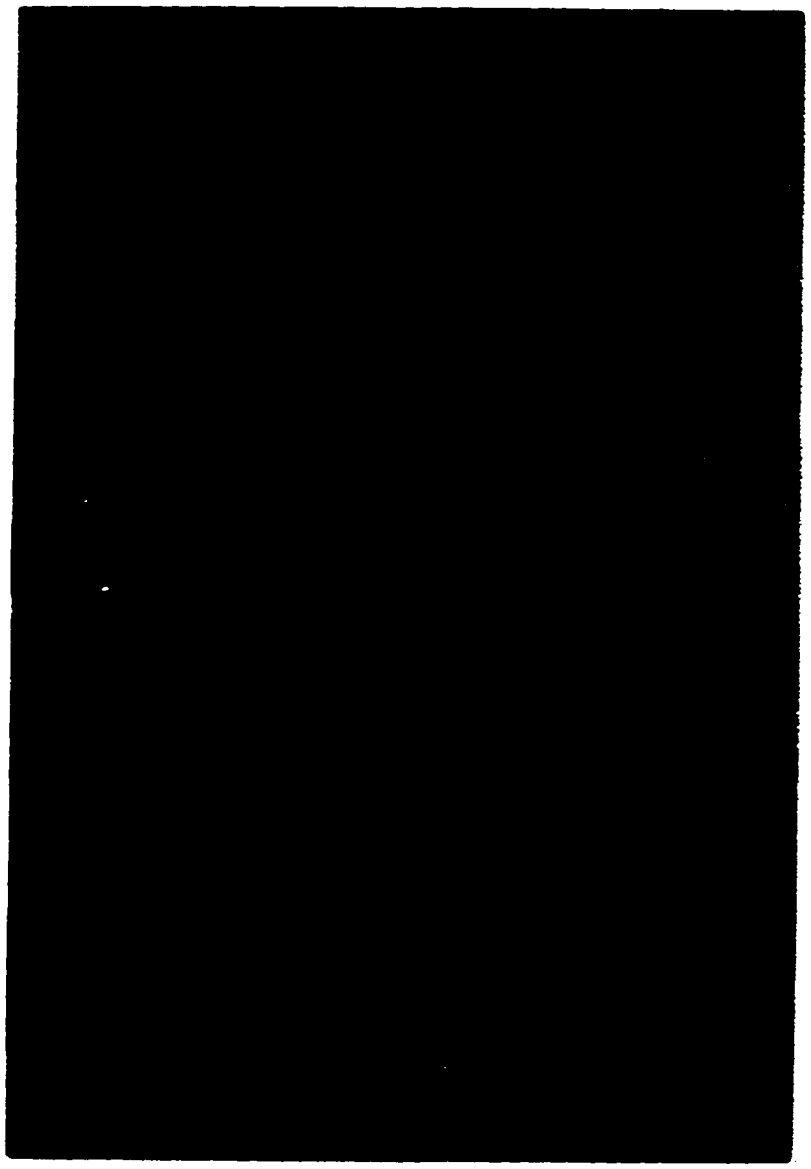


Fig. 23

S. Petit
The Infancy of Jesus at Nazareth (fresco) Nineteenth century
Bordeaux, Cathedral of Bordeaux, Chapel of Saint-Joseph

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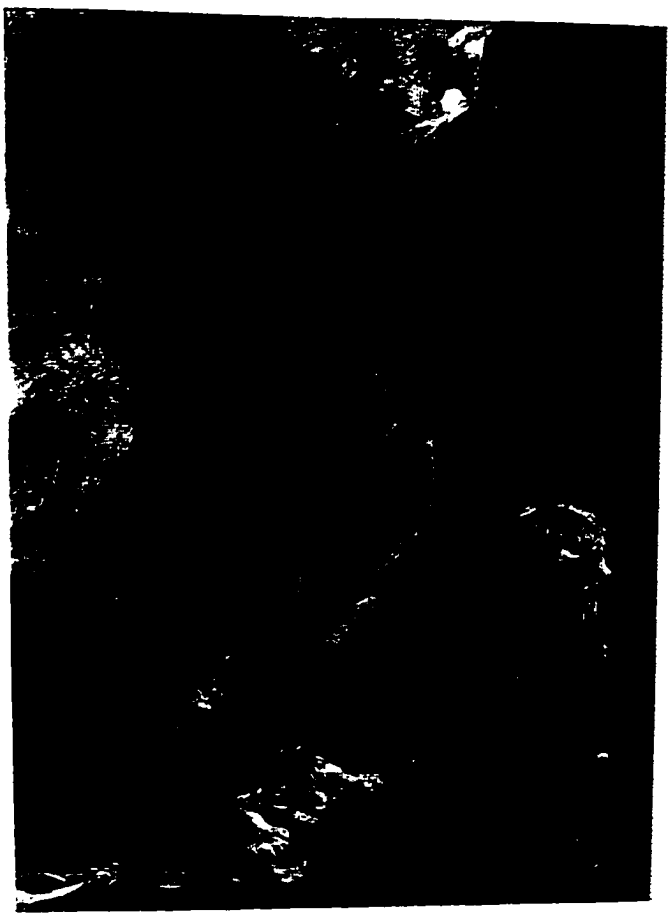


Fig. 24 E. Delacroix
Daniel in the Lion's Den 1850 Montpellier, Musée Fabre

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Fig 25 E. Delacroix Daniel in the Lion's Den 1853 Zurich, Buhrle Collection

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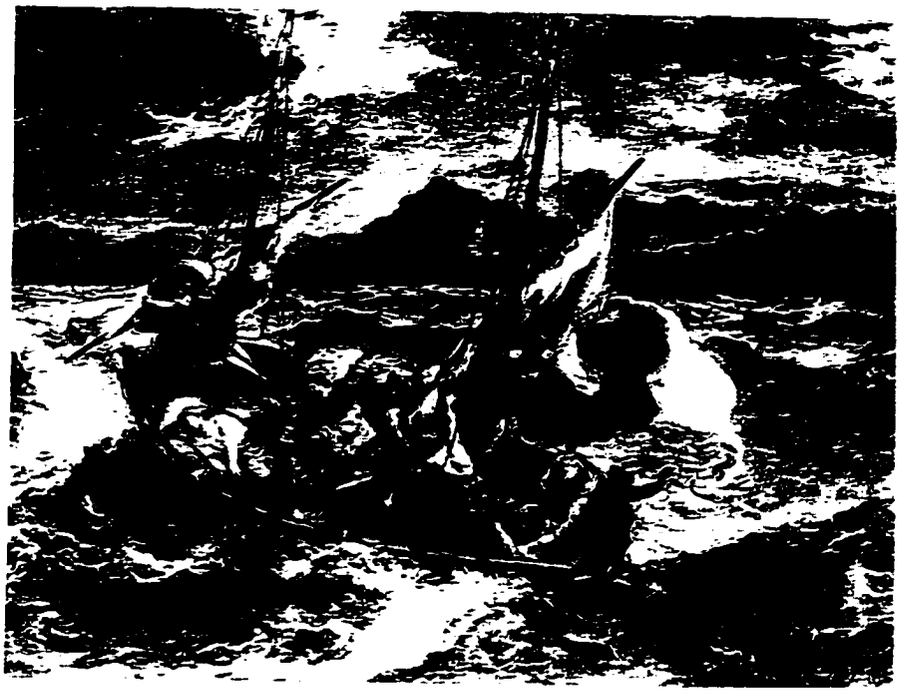


Fig. 26 E. Delacroix
Christ and His Disciples Crossing the Sea of Galilee
(Christ on the Lake Genneseret) 1854 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery



Fig. 27 E. Delacroix Christ on Lake Genneseret circa 1849, Salon of 1850
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

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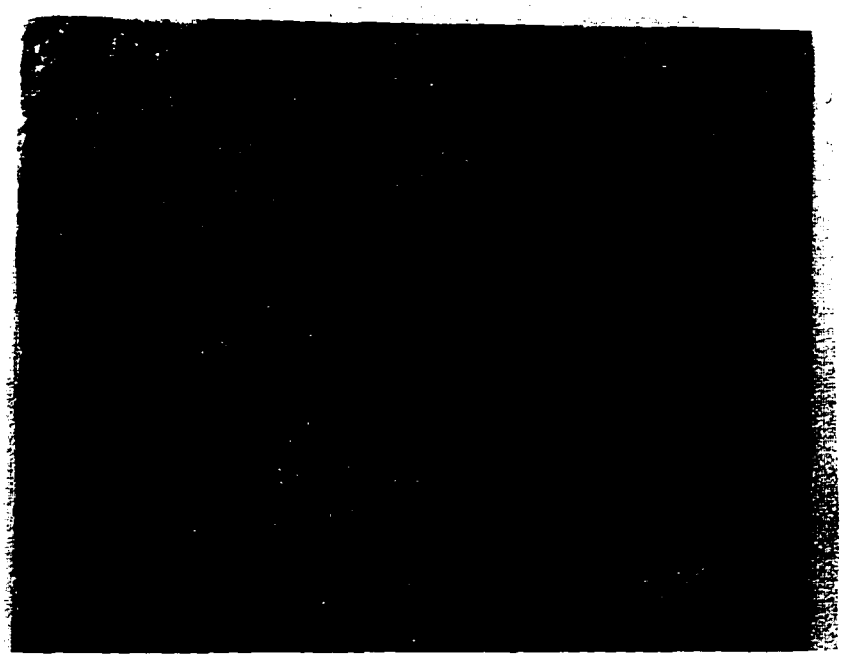


Fig. 28 E. Delacroix
The Good Samaritan 1852 London, Victoria and Albert Museum

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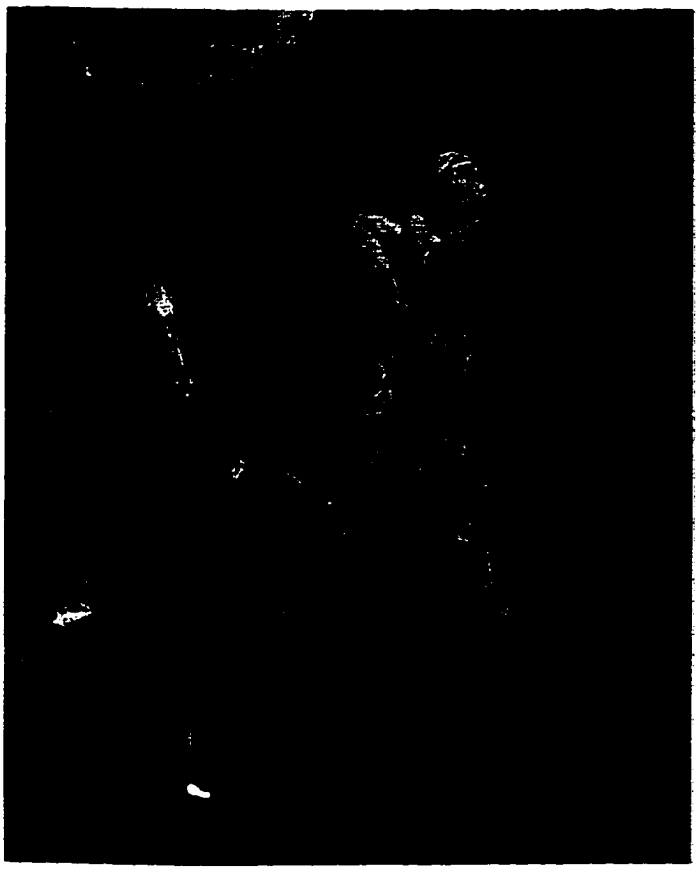


Fig. 29

E. Delacroix
The Good Samaritan
1849
Paris, Priv. Coll.

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Fig. 30 E. Delacroix Saint-Sebastian Helped By the Holy Women 1836 Nantua, Church of Saint Michael

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Fig. 31 E. Delacroix Saint-Sebastian Helped by the Disciples 1858-1859 Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art



Fig. 32 E. Delacroix Saint-Sebastian 1840 Zurich, Priv. Coll.

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Fig. 33

E. Delacroix
The Disciples and the Holy Women Piously Retrieving the Body of Saint Stephen
1853
Arras, Musée d'Arras

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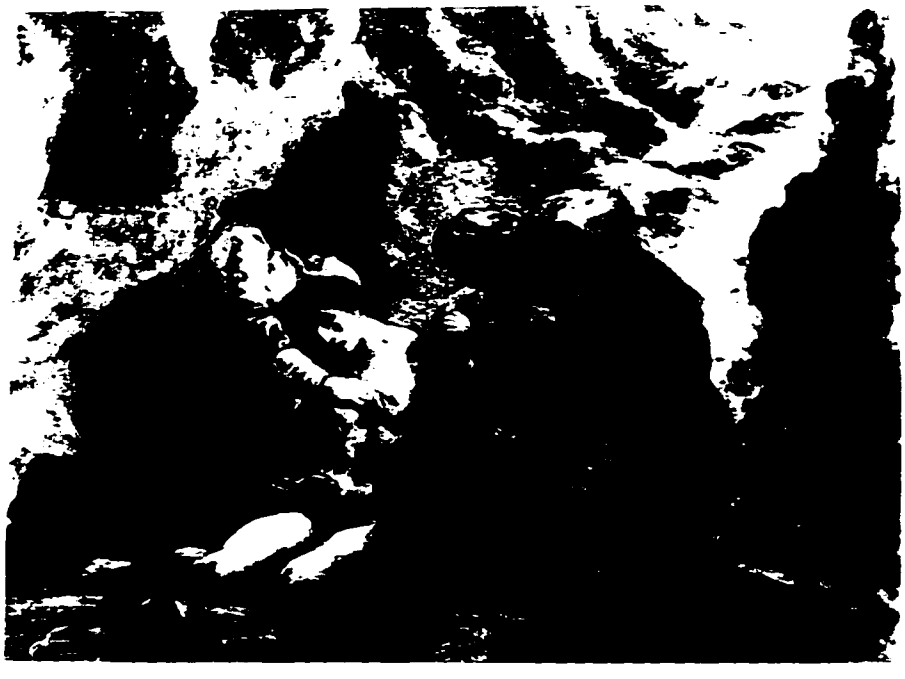


Fig. 34 E. Delacroix
Saint-Sebastian
1847-53
London, Priv. Coll.

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Fig. 35

E. Delacroix
The Holy Women Tending The Body of Saint-Stephen
1862
Birmingham, Trustees of the Barber Institute
of Fine Arts, The Bridgeman Coll.

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Fig. 36 E. Delacroix
Pietà
1844
Paris, Church of Saint-Denis-du-Saint-Sacrement

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Fig. 37 E. Delacroix
Lamentation
1848
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

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Fig. 38 E. Delacroix
Pietà
circa 1850
Oslo, Kunsthalle

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Fig. 39 J.-F. Boissard de Boisdenier
Christ's Descent from the Cross
Salon of 1847
Tours, Cathedral Saint-Gratien

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Fig. 40 H. Flandrin
Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (fresco)
1842-46, 1856-61
Paris, Church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés

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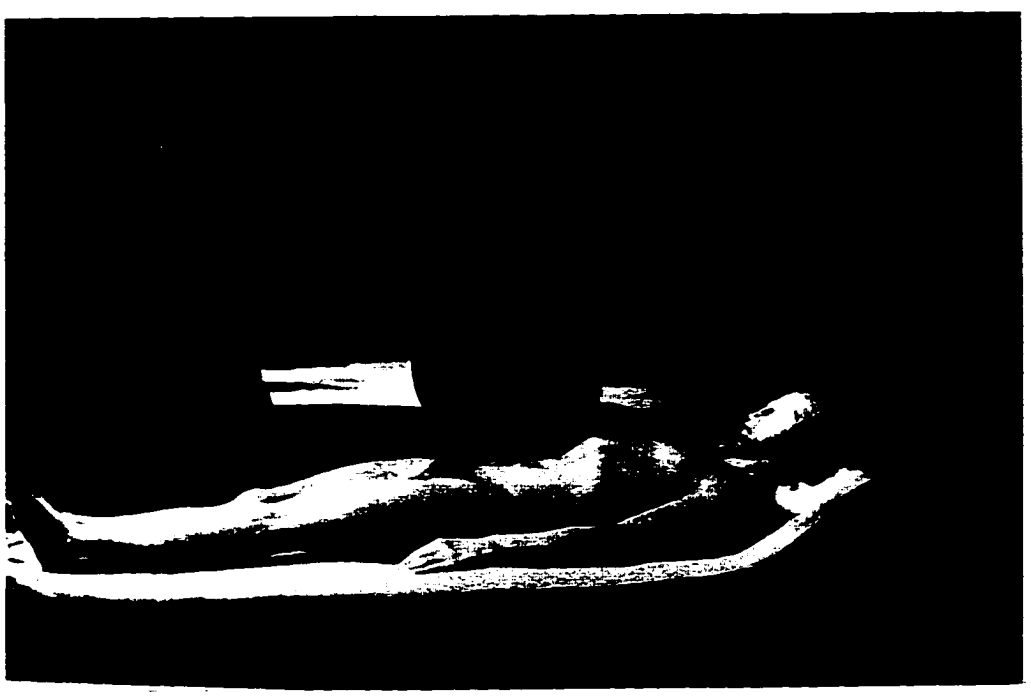


Fig. 41 H. Flandrin
Pietà
1842
Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts

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Fig. 42 E. Delacroix
The Agony in the Garden ("Man of Sorrows" sketch)
1847
Paris, Musée du Louvre

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Fig. 43 T. Chassériau Jesus in the Garden of Olives Salon 1844 Souillac

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Fig. 44 E. Delacroix The Agony in the Garden (pastel) 1852 Paris, Musée du Louvre

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Fig. 45 E. Delacroix
Christ at the Column
1852
Dijon, Musée de Dijon

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Fig. 46 E. Delalacroix
Christ on the Way to Calvary 1859
Metz, Musée de Metz

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Fig. 47 E. B. Garnier
Jesus Christ on the Way to Calvary, Falls Under the Cross. Salon of 1848

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Fig. 48 Raphael Sanzio Carrying the Cross (Sta. Maria dello Spasimo [The Torment) 1517 Madrid, Prado

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Fig. 49

E. Delacroix
Christ on the Cross
(The Conversion of the Centurion)
1846
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

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Fig. 50 E. Delacroix
Christ on the Cross
1853-1856
Ottawa, National Gallery of Art

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Fig. 51 E. Delacroix
Christ on the Cross
1845
Rotterdam, Musée Boymans-Van-Beuningen

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Fig. 52 52. E. Delacroix
Christ on the Cross
Signed and dated 1853
(Whereabouts unkown)

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Fig. 53 E. Delacroix
Christ on the Cross (pastel)
Circa 1847-1850
Frankfort, Priv. Coll.

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Fig. 54 E. Delacroix
Christ Healing the Blind Man of Jericho
(unfinished) circa 1862-63.
Priv. Coll.

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Fig. 55

E. Delacroix
The Entombment
1848
Tokyo, Museum of Western Art

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Fig. 56 E. Delacroix
Jesus Christ and Saint-Thomas
1853
Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum

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Fig. 57 H. Lazerges Christ's Descent from the Cross Salon of 1843
Villefranche-sur-Saone

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Fig. 58 E. Delacroix
Christ at the Column
Circa 1849
New York, Karen B. Cohen Coll.

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Fig. 59 E. Delacroix
Christ on the Cross
1853
London, National Gallery

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Fig. 60 E. Delacroix
Tobias and the Angel
1863
Winterhur, Oskar Reinhart Collection

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Fig. 61 E. Signol Christ the Laborer (lithograph) nineteenth century Paris, Lithographie Marchais

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Fig. 62 H. Lazerges Christ Praying for Humanity Salon of 1865. Location Unknown .

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Fig. 63 E. Delacroix The Education of the Virgin Tokyo, National Museum of Western Art



Fig. 64 E. Delacroix The Education of the Virgin 1842 Paris, Musée du Louvre

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Fig. 65 "Allez à Joseph" Père et Consolateur(lithograph)
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

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Fig. 66 Agony of Christ(lithograph) based on a painting by Chassériau) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

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67 H. Lazerges Stabat mater (lithograph) nineteenth century
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des estampes Rc mat 3B 4.

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Fig. 68 Noël (lithograph)
Nineteenth century
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
Cabinet des estampes, Rc mat 2B 2.

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Fig. 69

Le secret de la vie intérieure
Quaerebam te foris et eras intus
(lithograph)
nineteenth century
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
Cabinet des estampes, Rc, mat 2B 2.

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Fig. 70 Le Terrible Passage: Child Jesus
(lithograph)
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
Cabinet des estampes

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Fig. 71 E. Delacroix
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel (mural painting)
1849-1863

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Fig. 72

Titian
The Death of Saint-Peter Martyr
1530 - Destroyed 1866
Venice

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Fig. 73 E. Delacroix
Heliodorus Being Driven from the Temple
(mural painting)
1849-1863



Fig. 74 Raphael Sanzio Heliodorus Being Driven from the Temple 1512-1513
Rome, Vatican, Stanza del'Elidoro

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Fig. 75 E. Delacroix
Saint-Michael Vanquishing the Demon (ceiling mural painting)
1849-1863

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Fig. 76 Raphael Sanzio
Saint-Michel Archangel Vanquishing the Demon
(Le grand Saint-Michel)
1518
Paris, Musée du Louvre

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Fig. 77 Jacob Wrestling with the Angel
Bronze medallion (photo after H. Leisinger)
1076
Gargano, Italy, Church of Saint-Michel.

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Fig. 78 C.-P. Landon
The Building of Solomon's Temple (after Raphael)
Engraving
Circa 1803-1805

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Fig. 79

E. Delacroix
Jacob Wrestling With The Angel (detail)
Church of Saint-Sulpice
1863

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Fig. 80 Tournes Jacob Wrestling with the Angel Engraving 1560, Bibliothèque Nationale



Fig. 81 Grow (after Hort) Jacob Wrestling with the Angel Engraving, Sixteenth century Bibliothèque Nationale

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Fig. 82 Vischer, Jacob's Dream Engraving, Bibiliothèque Nationale



Fig. 83 Vischer Jacob's Dream, Engraving sixteenth century, Bibliothèque Nationale

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Fig. 84 Jacob and Esau Engraving Sixteenth century, Bibliothèque Nationale



Fig. 85 Vischer Jacob Wrestling with the Angel Engraving Sixteenth century, Bibliothèque Nationale

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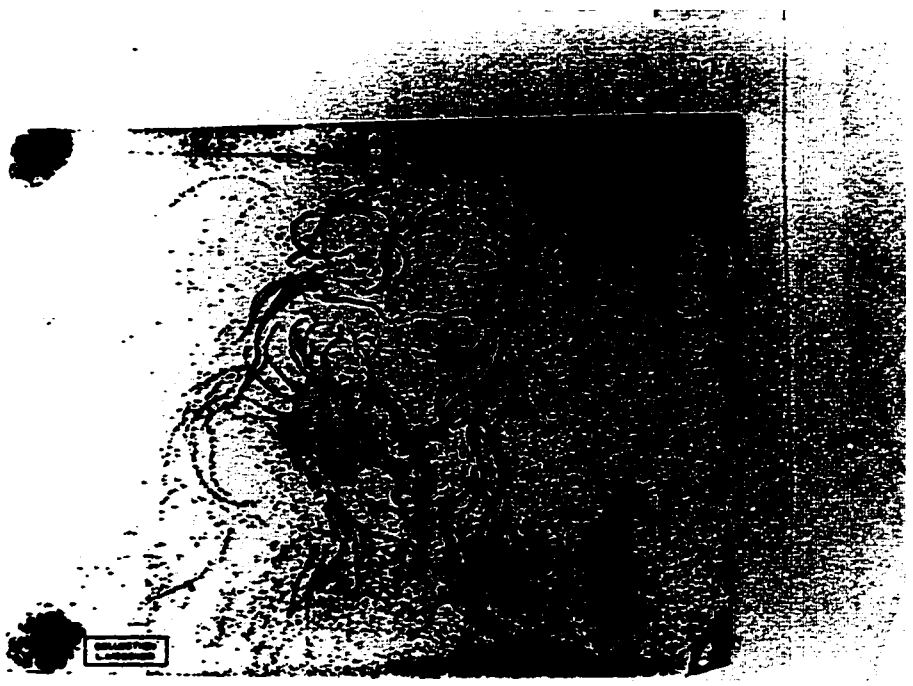


Fig. 86 E. Delacroix
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel
Preliminary drawing
Bremen, Kunsthalle

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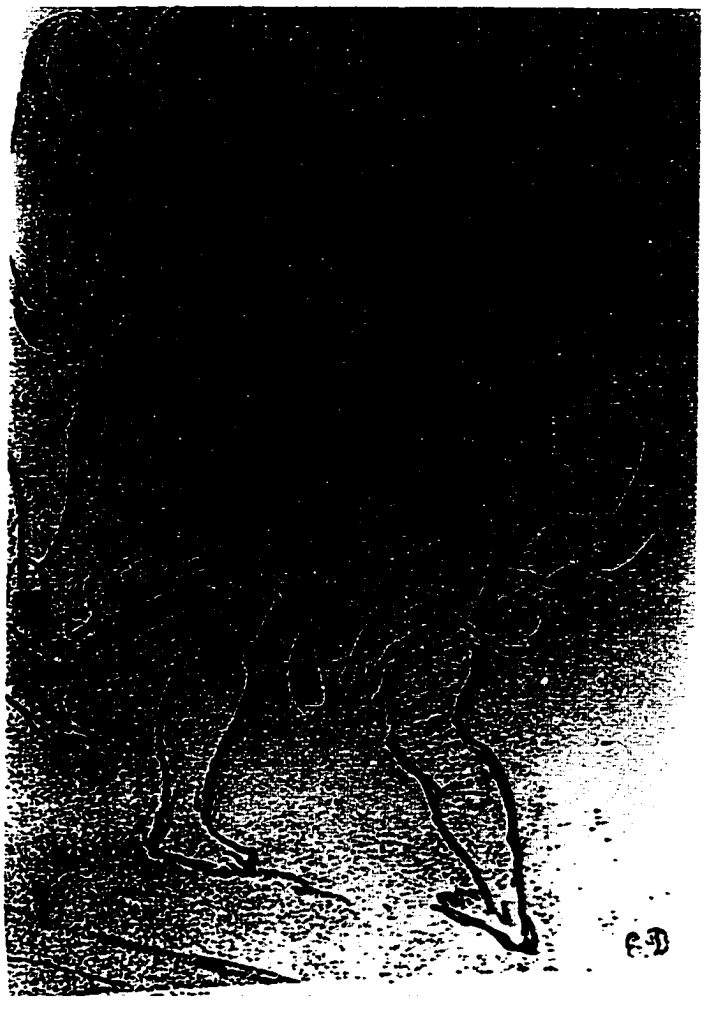


Fig. 87 E. Delacroix
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel
Preliminary drawing
C. Roger Marx Coll.

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Fig. 88 Peliel
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel (detail)
Engraving
Sixteenth century
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

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Fig. 89

E. Delacroix
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel
Preliminary drawing
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Coll.

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Fig. 90

E. Delacroix
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel
Preliminary drawing
Cambridge, Fogg Museum, Harvard University no. 1934.3

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Fig. 91
E. Delacroix
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel
Preliminary drawing
C. Roger-Marx Coll.



Fig. 92 F. Aquila Victory of Leo IV at the Battle of Ostia (after Raphael)
Circa 1710-1740

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Fig. 93 L. Dorigny The Victory of Leo IV at Ostia (after Raphael) 18th century

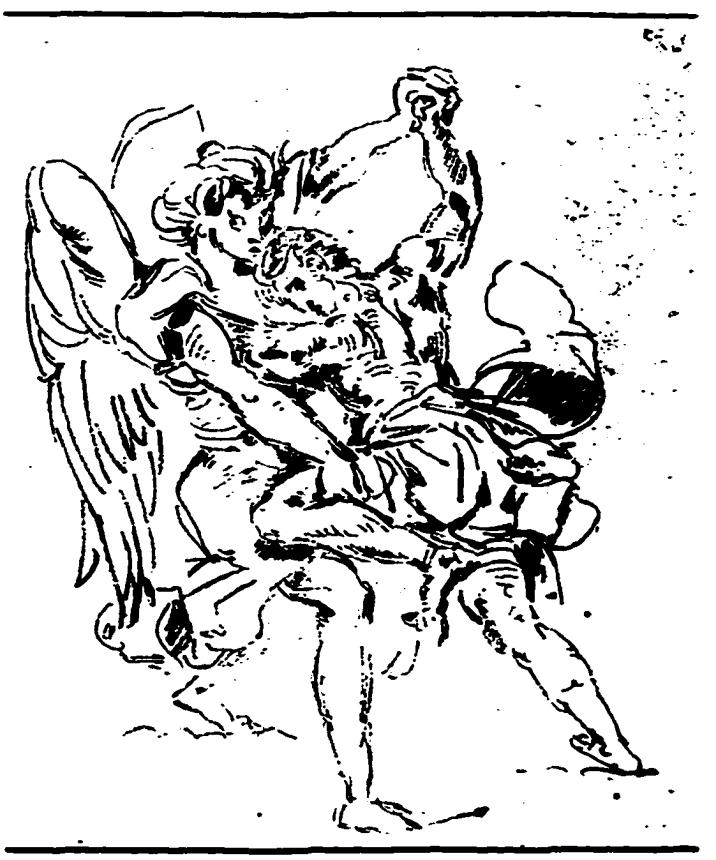


Fig. 94 E. Delacroix
Jacob Wrestling With The Angel
Sketch, Grenoble

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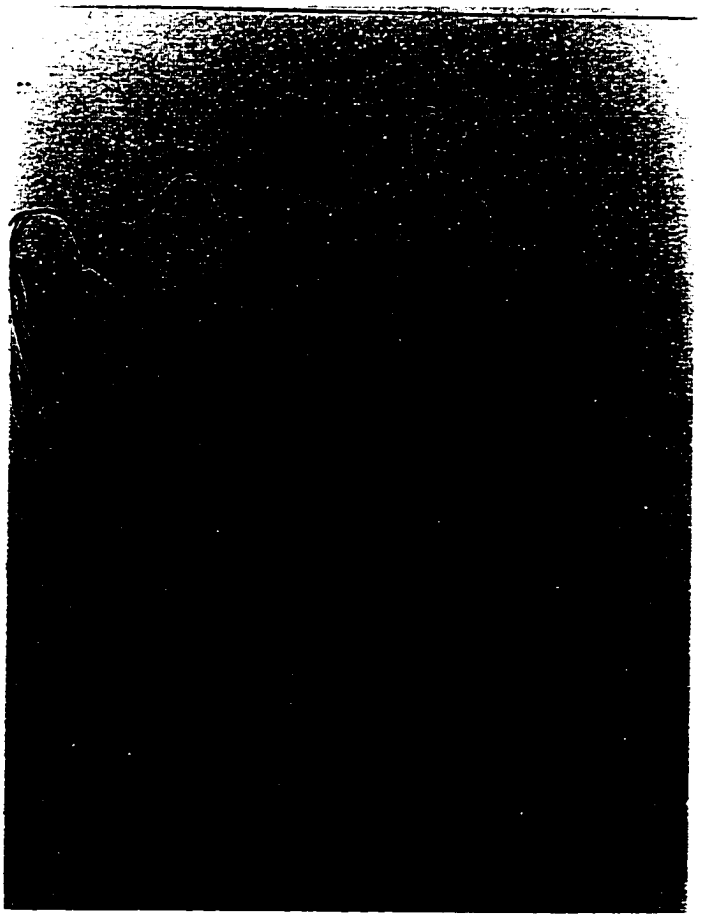


Fig. 95

E. Delacroix
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel
Preliminary Drawing
Vienna, The Albertina Coll.,no. 45.547

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Fig. 96 E. Delacroix
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel
Sketch
C. Roger-Marx Coll.

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Fig. 97 Raphael Sanzio The Victory of Leo IV at Ostia (with emphasis by author) 1514-1517 Rome, Vatican, Stanza del'Incendio



Fig. 98 Raphael Sanzio The Victory of Leo IV at Ostia 1514-1517 Rome, Vatican, Stanza del'Incendio

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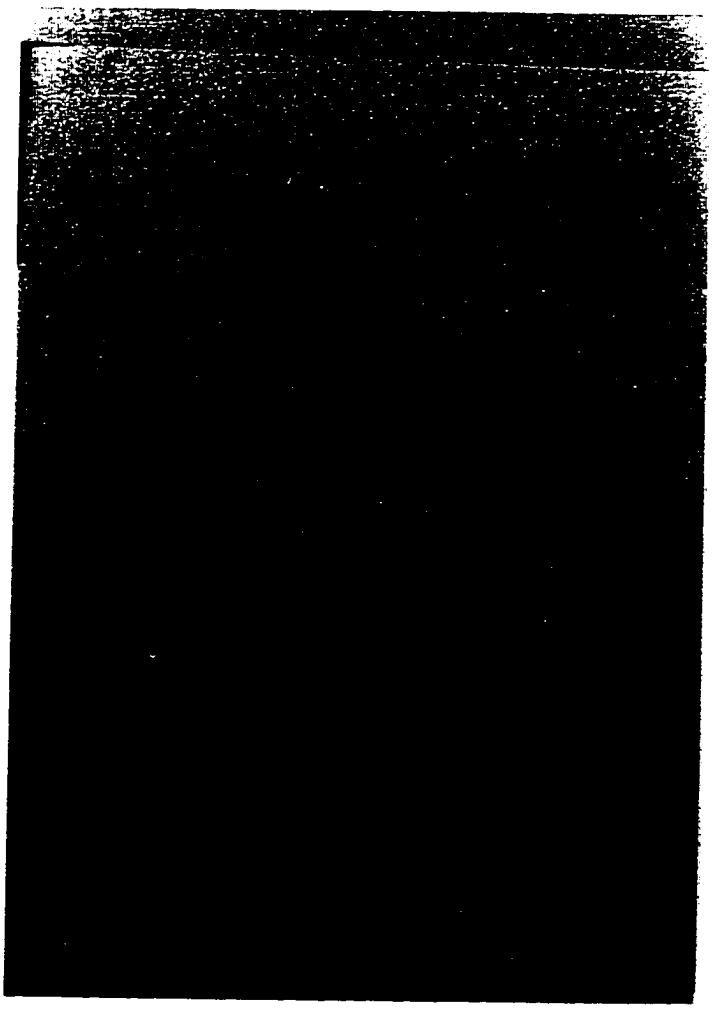


Fig. 99

E. Delacroix
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel
Preliminary Drawing
Vienna, The Albertina Coll., no. 24.515

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Fig. 100 E. Delacroix
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel
Preliminary Drawing
Vienna, The Albertina Coll., no. 45.874

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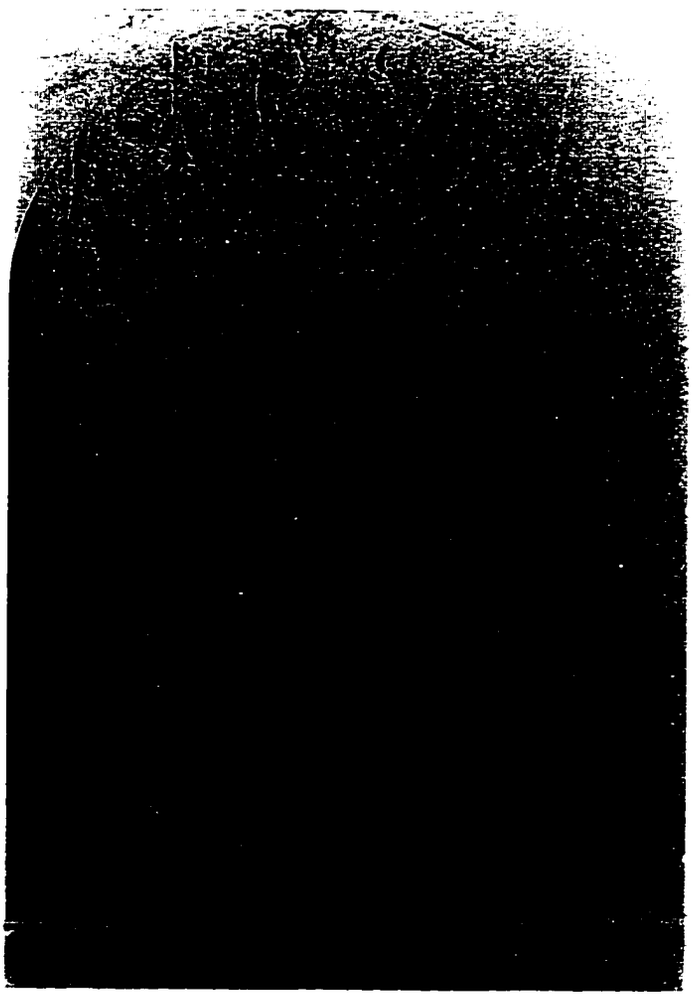


Fig. 101 E. Delacroix
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel
Preliminary Drawing
Vienna, The Albertina Coll., no. 45. 875

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Fig. 102 Raphael Sanzio
Hercules, Stanza d'Eliodoro
Engraving
Seventeenth century

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Fig. 103 E. Delacroix
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel (oil sketch)
Circa 1850
New York, Karen B. Cohen Coll.

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Fig. 104.
E. Delacroix
Mary Magdalene Washes
the Feet of Jesus
Pen and ink drawing
1862, Musée du Louvre

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Fig. 105 E. Delacroix Peter's Denial Pen and ink drawing 1862

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Fig. 106 J.-A.-D. Ingres
The Vow of Louis XIII 1824, Montauban, Cathedrale-de-Notre-Dame

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Fig. 107 G. Assereto
Saint Sebastian Tended To By Saint Irene and Her Maid
Before 1649 New York, Priv. Coll.

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