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'A better way to read great works': lithographs by Delacroix, Roqueplan, Boulanger, and the Devéria brothers in Gaugain's suite of Scott subjects (1829–1830)

BETH S. WRIGHT

A better way to read great works

'I should like to contribute to the teaching of a better way to read great works,' Delacroix wrote in his journal on February 4, 1857, less than a month after his election to the Académie on January 10, 1857.¹ Delacroix recognized that great art works were intellectual as well as aesthetic creations. Great art works based on literature presented a particular challenge, if the full significance of the textual inspiration was to be evident in the visual work inspired by it. Modern spectators, he feared, would be unable to comprehend great art unless they were able to read texts as actively and insightfully as he did. His preference was for writers who could stimulate what he called 'the work of the reader':

... who, having opened the book for his recreation, finds himself insensibly caught, almost as a matter of honor, by the task of deciphering, comprehending, and of retaining ... so that at the end of his enterprise, he may profitably have followed all the roads which it has pleased the author to make him travel.²

Delacroix himself had experimented with writing novels, drama, and poetry, as well as writing essays on art history and aesthetics throughout his career.³ He was particularly alert to fiction's narrative arc and the difficulty of maintaining narrative 'ensemble' while describing individual elements or incidents.⁴ His description of reading stressed the unification of that arc, whose episodes could not be understood in isolation from one another. Using the analogy of rivers as 'moving roads,' books could be described as:

... portions of moving pictures following one after the other, so that it is impossible to take them all in at once. To grasp the thread that binds them together the reader needs almost as much knowledge as the author.⁵

This 'labor,' this active imaginative and intellectual collaboration with the author, could 'become a pleasure.'

Delacroix disagreed with Lessing's view that narrative's temporal mutability made it unsuited to the visual arts, tethered as they were to representing a particular moment and place. For Delacroix, the visual work shared with narrative its flexible appeal to the imagination; art works, he wrote, were bridges between the imagination of the artist and that of the spectator.⁶

Such an appeal to a more flexible, 'literary' temporality placed new demands upon visual works.⁷ Delacroix's pictorial compositions, for example, dispersed interest throughout the canvas rather than concentrating it in the center, and fractured tones and contours so that they became dynamic. This required the spectator's additive and associative participation: intellectually, sensually, and emotionally.

Audience engagement was of particular interest during this period to the many Romantic artists and authors who were seeking to make it possible for a mass, newly literate, audience to engage more deeply with the written word.⁸ Graphic works could carry not only the text's title and the subject matter but chapter, volume, and page number to facilitate the spectators' comprehension of artists' sensitive interpretation of literary subjects.⁹ But even as artists sought to ensure the audience's understanding of the original text, they insisted that their visual works were not repetitions but independent works. In 1829, while reviewing an illustrated edition of Béranger's *Chansons* in which Romantic artists (including Delacroix) had participated, Ludovic Vitet took the opportunity to consider broader issues relating to literary art and textual illustration.¹⁰ Summarizing the history of illustration from its origins in medieval manuscript 'caprices' to seventeenth-century theatrical frontispieces, Vitet insisted that the latter — transparent re-presentations of one moment from the play — were a 'false' as well as 'literal' approach.¹¹ In his view, literary illustration should be a visualization of meaning, not a repetition of action.

Thus, Romantic artists, particularly those engaging directly with textual illustration, sought to find ways in which their audience could engage more effectively with literary content as they engaged with visual presentation through impasto, compositional orientation, and so on. They realized that literary representation presented a significant challenge to visual art: to create imagery capable of not only representing the material aspects described in texts (architecture, landscape, costume) but evoking the subjective experience of reading itself, and comprehending temporality, characterization, and the narrative arc. Would it be possible to create art works inspired by literature which could reproduce in visual terms the 'pleasant labor' which Delacroix praised and 'grasp the thread' that bound together more than one episode of a narrative?

This essay will study in-depth a suite of literary lithographs ca. 1829–1830 in which Delacroix and his Romantic colleagues succeeded in engaging ‘the work of the reader’ in a visual format. Fulfilling the publisher’s promise, their lithographs of Scott’s subjects became the ‘reproductions of his thoughts,’¹² Since Scott’s thoughts were richly contextualized, offering references to parallel subjects in history and literature, these artists not only described episodic actions but evoked the subjective motivations for those actions, prefigurations, parallels, revealing the narrative arc across different moments from the text. They invited their audience to consider two places in the narrative when they viewed a single lithograph, and to compare several lithographs in the suite by virtue of their thematic parallels or inversions, their gestures, and their compositional quotations. In this way, artists, readers, and viewers could participate in an enriched engagement with the novels and poetry, recalling Roland Barthes’s opposition of a linear ‘articulation of the anecdote’ with an associative layering of ‘abrasions,’ where ‘the excitement comes not from a processive haste but from a kind of vertical din.’¹³ The Romantic artists who used these strategies rose to Vitet’s challenge: they created visual images which, while based on literature, resisted a ‘false,’ ‘literal’ re-presentation of an action in isolation.

My intentions in this essay are both documentary and analytic. I shall begin by explaining why Scott’s works required ‘abrasive’ reading, and then examine how two of Delacroix’s lithographs for Gauguin’s 1829 suite demonstrate his visual and textual citation, allusion, and ‘abrasion’ in the reading of ‘great works’ by Walter Scott. But we cannot examine these lithographs in isolation from the other works in the suite. The significance of Delacroix’s approach to literary art, and its influence on his colleagues, comes into clearer focus when the individual prints are considered as they were originally intended to be: as contributions to one work in which there are common themes and a common method of extraordinary sophistication and resonance. To accomplish this we must reintegrate the entire suite of more than 20 works by five Romantic artists: Delacroix, Louis Boulanger, Camille Roqueplan, and the brothers Achille and Eugène Devéria.¹⁴ A documentary section establishes the parameters of the Gauguin suite, and the Appendix to this essay lists information for 19 of the 20 lithographs announced by the publishers (as well as a signed and dated #21; as many as 32 works were possibly intended for eventual publication). In addition to identifying the artist and theme for several lithographs, I propose additional links to this suite in drawings and watercolors by Delacroix, Roqueplan, and Achille Devéria by virtue of their similar methodology as well as their subject matter. Having defined the suite’s components, I analyze the suite’s common methods and repeated themes, and the ‘abrasive reading’ through which these Romantic artists addressed the challenge of visualizing narrative.

Scott’s ‘great works’

In Walter Scott, a lawyer’s knowledge of precedent and practice, an antiquarian’s knowledge of archival and concrete remains,

and a poet’s and a novelist’s power of invention all united in the service of historical insight. He became one of the first modern ‘best-sellers’: in Britain and in France print runs of thousands of copies sold out in days.¹⁵ In 1830, editions of Scott’s works accounted for three-quarters of the British novels, and more than one-third of all the novels published in France.¹⁶

Even as a mass audience devoured his poetry and historical fiction, members of the intellectual elite praised and applied his groundbreaking approach to historical representation in historiography, historical fiction and drama, and the visual arts. In France, where Scott’s conception of history as a clash of cultures, religious sects, or social classes was well suited to their nation’s recent experience of revolution, empire, and restoration, leading historians proclaimed their debt. Augustin Thierry, author of *Histoire de la Conquête de l’Angleterre par les Normands* (1825), considered Scott as ‘the greatest master that there has ever been when it came to historical insight.’¹⁷ For Thierry, who reviewed *Ivanhoe* in 1820 not as fiction but as historiography, Scott had been able to ‘reveal the truth of the Norman conquest’s persisting impact ‘for the first time’ because he had recognized that history was not dynastic succession but cultural dynamic: a ‘conflict of mores.’¹⁸

This is where we must consider how Scott’s works were read and how they could be rendered in visual terms.¹⁹ For — paradoxically — the very factor that drew Romantic artists to depict Scott’s subjects was one which resisted traditional visualization. Scott’s sense of history, rather than being centered in the material (actions, gestures, costumes, artifacts), was rooted in the invisible and the subjective: the clash of cultures, religious sects, and social classes, characterized not only through figural actions, but mores, dialects, and insights. Scott’s characters in *Ivanhoe* were, in Thierry’s words, the ‘personifications of an age’s opinions’: Norman and Saxon, Templar and Jew, demonstrated the Norman conquest’s persisting impact several centuries later, with two cultures and languages existing side by side.²⁰ Furthermore, Scott utilized an associative, ‘abrasive’ way of writing his works: he made references to other moments in the narrative, other historical episodes, other literary subjects, often making these explicit by his quotations in chapter headings. For all these reasons, Scott’s works posed a significant challenge to visual artists.

Given Delacroix’s interest in visualizing the subjective, it is not surprising that Scott’s novels and poems inspired him throughout his life, from his *Self-Portrait as Ravenswood* (1821), the hero of Scott’s *Bride of Lammermoor*, to his listing 24 subjects from *Ivanhoe* in 1860 for potential works.²¹ During the 1820s, Delacroix drew, painted, and lithographed scenes from *Ivanhoe*, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, *Kenilworth*, *Waverley*, *Quentin Durward*, *Woodstock*, and *The Talisman*. In 1823 Delacroix’s interest in Scott’s approach led him to depict a scene from *Ivanhoe* in which subjective aspects are described while action is invisible: the wounded hero, recumbent, asks his nurse Rebecca to describe the battle raging outside the castle.²² The same subject, as we shall see, would be described by Achille Devéria in the

suite of Scott lithographs published by Gaugain in 1829. Let us now consider Delacroix's own contributions to the Gaugain suite.

Delacroix's contributions to Gaugain's Scott suite

Delacroix's lithograph *Front-de-Bœuf et le juif* (figure 1) appeared in 1829 as illustration #11 in Gaugain's suite of lithographs *Illustrations de Walter Scott*.²³ This scene occurs in the nine-chapter central section of the novel *Ivanhoe* which includes the siege of Torquilstone. In Chapter 22, Front-de-Bœuf threatens the imprisoned Jew Isaac of York: unless he pays a ransom of 1000 pounds of silver he will die under torture. As Isaac is being told to pay his ransom in silver, his daughter Rebecca is being ordered by the Templar Bois-Guilbert to pay her ransom 'in love and beauty': that is, in sexual service to him.²⁴ Once Isaac learns this, he refuses to abide by the choice set for him. He prizes his daughter's safety above both his money and his life.

Given Isaac's resolution, it is surprising that Scott heads Chapter 22 with the quotation from Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*:

My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter! . . . O my Christian ducats! Justice — the Law — my ducats and my daughter!

We must remember, however, that Shylock's passionate grief when he learns of his daughter's abduction by those to whom he had lent money is not expressed directly by him but by the prejudiced Solanio (II.7), and Solanio discounts both Shylock's phraseology and sentiments:

I never heard a passion so confused,
So strange, outrageous and so variable
As the dog Jew did utter in the streets.

Figure 1. Delacroix, *Front-de-Bœuf et le juif*, 1829, lithograph. Gaugain illustration #11 *Ivanhoe*, Chapter XXII. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Shakespeare does not fully empathize with Shylock who, though tragic, is flawed in his insistence on obtaining his 'pound of flesh.'

In contrast, Scott recalls Shakespeare's precedent in order to question it. Isaac is (like Shylock) a humiliated social outcast, but he is also a person who refuses to trade flesh for money. The Jews Isaac and Rebecca expose the hypocrisy of knights and Knights Templar who speak of Christianity and chivalry, yet threaten their prisoners with torture and concubinage. Scott argues that there is a higher justice than the law of the land, with its anti-semitic prejudice.

Delacroix follows Scott's characterization of Isaac. The humble hero crouches under the hanging chains like a medieval Damocles, an angular, almost two-dimensional figure. Front-de-Bœuf and his two Moorish torturers stand at their ease, their vertical lines curving downward. Visual tension, in line and tonal contrast, balances material weight. Empathy is directed toward the small tense figure who pleads with three impassive men. As in Scott's novel, the initial caricature of an outsider is overturned, indicting callous hypocrites who bully the meek.

In his similarly insightful *La Fiancée de Lammermoor* (figure 2), lithograph #17 for the Gaugain suite, Delacroix went even further in extending the narrative ideas, once again following Scott's lead.²⁵ His print cites Chapter 29, but its action and textual quotation actually derive from Chapter 20. Edgar Ravenswood and Lucy Ashton realize that their love is doomed, but they cannot avoid their destiny. In Chapter 20 Ravenswood takes the path to the Mermaiden's fountain, a 'fatal spot' to his family since it is the site of an earlier doomed love between the nymph of the fountain and his ancestor, Lord Raymond of Ravenswood, who committed suicide there, initiating the family's decline.²⁶ Edgar intends to bid Lucy farewell forever; instead their passion leads them to plight their troth. Suddenly an evil portent occurs: the death of a raven, whose blood stains Lucy's dress when it drops at her feet, shot by her brother Henry's arrow.²⁷

The disaster hinted at in Chapter 20 becomes imminent in Chapter 29, when Lucy is forced by her mother to break her vow and pledge to marry Bucklaw. After Lucy's anguished recognition that she will soon need 'to sign and seal — to do and die,' her brother Henry speaks of his new falcon who is useless as a hunting bird:

'she just wets her singles in the blood of the partridge, and then breaks away . . . and what good can the poor bird do after that, you know, except pine and die . . .?'

'Right, Henry — right, very right,' said Lucy, mournfully . . . 'but there are . . . more wounded birds that seek but to die in quiet . . .'²⁸

By the novel's end Lucy, driven to insanity, will mourn and, bloodstained, die, having stabbed her bridegroom Bucklaw on their wedding night.²⁹ Ravenswood, responding to Henry's dare, rides to his death over the quicksand at Kelpie's Flow. Delacroix's dual citation of Chapter 29 (above the image) and

Figure 2. Delacroix, *La Fiancée de Lammermoor*, 1830, lithograph. Gaugain/Ardit illustration #17 *La Fiancée de Lammermoor*, Chapter XXIX [sic] Paris, E. Ardit January 1830, London: London: Engelman, Graff, Coindet. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Chapter 20 (in the caption and the action described in the image) unites two of the many incidents which foreshadow the lovers' doom.

Lee Johnson, Martin Kemp, and Paul Joannides have noted the disjunction between the visual image and its textual quotation and the chapter citation above them. Johnson simply provided the correct chapter citation. Kemp ascribed what he termed a 'lack of narrative precision' to Delacroix's 'casual attitude to narrative detail; for him mood was ultimately more important than minutiae.'³⁰ This is unsatisfying for two reasons. First, Delacroix was one of the most insightful readers of his century, and an artist who had experience himself in constructing narratives. Second, dual citation occurs in 6 of the 15 completed lithographs for the Gaugain suite, in works by Achille Devéria and Camille Roqueplan as well as by Delacroix. In these lithographs image and quotation refer to an anecdote from another, completely different textual location.³¹ I shall argue that these artists were participating in a strategy by which the 'work of the reader' was solicited by means of chapter

notations as a referent rather than a placement. In this strategy, which I shall call 'double citation', a secondary reference in the chapter notations is used to make the moment seen in the image take on additional meaning by its foreshadowing of later plot developments, as Lucy's bloodstained dress from a dying bird predicts her death and that of her lover, Edgar Ravenswood. Let us now consider the suite as a unified work from its initial publications.

The Gaugain-Ardit suite: parameters and new identifications

Documenting the suite would seem to be a simple task, given the copious information on the plates: the novel's title, chapter, and quotation, the artist's name, the publisher's name and address in Paris and in London, and the month and year of publication. On the contrary, it has been exceptionally difficult to identify the component works of the suite, due to a paucity of information in the archival records and the printed *Bibliographie de la France*, as well as a complex and protracted history of publication.³²

Gaugain himself provided misleading and incomplete information at the onset. Although he titled the suite *Illustrations de Walter Scott. Sujets tirés de ses romans par A. Devéria et C. Roqueplan*, along with Achille Devéria and Camille Roqueplan, the artists who provided works for it included (as we have already seen) Eugène Delacroix, as well as Louis Boulanger and Achille's brother Eugène. Gaugain provided plate numbers (out of sequence, but as high as 25), for only half of his entries. Nor did Gaugain provide titles, subjects, thematic sources, or chapter locations for the plates he published. *Le Mentor's* enthusiastic review in August 1829 predicted eight livraisons: an enormous suite of 32 lithographs if it had been published in its entirety.³³ In sum the task of identifying lithographs published in or intended for this suite appeared to be impossible: identifying an unknown number of works on unknown subjects by unknown artists.

Financial difficulties in 1829–1830 further complicated the suite's publication.³⁴ Ardit, Gaugain's assistant, had been awarded his own *brevet d'imprimeur* in 1828. He became Gaugain's successor by December 1829.³⁵ Unfortunately, Ardit's promotion meant sharing his supervisor's financially precarious situation, since Gaugain was bankrupted by a lawsuit against him in August 1830. Ardit's own bankruptcy followed in 1831. Thus prints were issued under the names of both Gaugain (between June 1829 and September 1829) and Ardit (1830) and it is possible, as we shall see, that stones produced for Gaugain's Scott suite were published years later by a third publisher.³⁶ Completed prints with text and artists' names are listed in the Appendix as Gaugain 1–10, Ardit 11–13, Ardit 17–19, and Ardit 21. The unknown works, therefore, included at least numbers 14–16, 20, and at least numbers 22–25.

Happily, additional information was provided in other sources by both Gaugain and Ardit. Gaugain publicized graphic works through his gallery's exhibitions. The painting for illustration #13 by Eugène Devéria (figure 16; published in

September 1829) was exhibited in Gauguin's Musée Colbert in November 1829 with a *livret* description which closely follows the caption on the print.³⁷ Although no Ardit submissions relevant to the suite can be traced in the archival records or the *Bibliographie de la France*, I discovered recently the 1830 brochure of Ardit's stock, which has not, to my knowledge, been noted heretofore.³⁸ Ardit's list of 20 plates in his brochure provides both title and chapter or canto (but not the artists' names) for illustrations 1–12 and the novel's title and subject (but not chapter location) for illustrations 13–20, suggesting that the brochure was produced after the first 12 lithographs had been published while numbers 13–20 were in preparation.³⁹ Ardit's brochure made it possible to search far more effectively for the remaining plates 14–16 and 19–20, since specific themes could justify inclusion of new works. Discovery of completed works, and the Ardit brochure's description of narrative subjects, has made it possible to identify plates 14–16, 19, and 21 as being works by Delacroix (14), Boulanger (15, 18, 19, 21), and Roqueplan (16). Ardit's description of plate 20 repeats Gauguin-Ardit 3.

We should keep in mind that these lithographs of Scott subjects appeared after Henri Gauguin's publication of several extensive literary lithographic suites with many of the same artists, during a period (1827–1830) in which Delacroix, the Devéria brothers, Boulanger, and Madame Amable Tastu were in close contact with one another, with authors (particularly Victor Hugo), and with the publishers Gauguin, Ardit, and Tastu (who published the catalogs of Gauguin's exhibitions at the Musée Colbert and Ardit's brochure of his stock in 1830), as well as Charles Motte, Achille Devéria's father-in-law. Several suites demonstrate a similar format with extensive textual quotation. *Souvenirs du théâtre anglais à Paris, dessinés par MM. Devéria et Boulanger avec un texte par M. Moreau* (15 lithographs published by Gauguin, Lambert, and Tastu in 1827) was unusual for its textual explicitness in portraying theatre; its reenactments of moments from the plays (rather than individual actors in costume) identified the characters and cited act and scene. *Chroniques de France* presented poems by Madame Amable Tastu (Gauguin, 1829) in 10 lithographs by Devéria, Roqueplan, Boulanger, and Delacroix, including quotations of several lines below each image.⁴⁰ These repeated collaborations between artists, authors, and publishers and experimentation with a larger role of textual quotation and narrative engagement provide a helpful context as we consider their lithographs of Scott subjects for Gauguin.

The Gauguin-Ardit suite: a new Delacroix identification and further hypotheses

Recently Barthélémy Jobert and Claude Bouret identified as Delacroix's *Richard et Wamba* (Deltail 84) an anonymous print inscribed 'Sancho' (figure 3), and suggested that it had originally been prepared for the Gauguin suite.⁴¹ This was one of three 'Sancho'; since they described scenes which appeared to relate to Cervantes' novel (we see here a man on horseback accompanied by a foolish, younger rider; ostensibly Don Quixote and

Figure 3. Delacroix, *Richard et Wamba*, ca. 1829, lithograph. Ardit illustration #14 *Ivanhoe* ('le roi Richard'). Paris, Chardot/Derebergue, 1835. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

his squire Sancho Panza), they had, understandably, been placed in the Bibliothèque Nationale's Cabinet des Estampes Tb. Matières file for *Don Quixote*. Jobert's hypothesis was that the lithographic stone was sold by Delacroix to Gauguin, who in turn sold the stone (with two others) to the publisher Chardot, who employed the lithographer Derebergue to complete these three prints before publishing them in February 1835 as a set of three plates titled *Sancho*.⁴²

Evidence in the Ardit catalog supports the hypothesis that Delacroix's *Richard et Wamba* was prepared for the Gauguin Scott suite. Ardit #14 is described as *Ivanhoe* 'le roi Richard', an appropriate description for Delacroix's *Richard et Wamba*, which describes an episode in Chapter 40 of *Ivanhoe*. Wamba and the Black Knight (Richard the Lionheart in disguise) are ambushed by a group of men led by a mysterious Blue Knight. Wamba blows his horn for aid, Robin Hood's band leap out of the glade and assist their victory.

This episode was of lasting interest to Delacroix, who included it in his list of 24 possible subjects from *Ivanhoe* in his journal entry for December 31, 1860: 'Wamba escortant Richard. Ils arrêtent leurs chevaux. Il lui signale l'embuscade. — Le cor.'⁴³ The tense mood, hesitating between advance and retreat, would have interested Delacroix, as would the challenge of visualizing the unseen: the horn's signal and the men in ambush, partially hidden in the thicket. The episode reveals hidden identities as well as physical bodies. Scott heads the chapter with the quotation 'Shadows avant! — Richard's himself again. (Shakespeare, *Richard III*).'⁴⁴ The battle between these three groups will be followed by the revelation of the true

Figure 4. Delacroix, *Front-de-Boeuf et la sorcière*, ca. 1829 lithograph. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

identity of their leaders: the Blue Knight (the traitor Waldemar Fitzurse), Locksley (Robin Hood), and the Black Knight (Richard the Lionheart), who will become the leader of a nation-state: 'Richard of England.'

Both Joannides and Jobert suggested that Delacroix's *Front de Boeuf et la sorcière* (Delteil 86; figure 4), another theme from *Ivanhoe*, was originally intended for the Gaugain suite.⁴⁵ This suggestion has much merit because of the narrative and character references which we have seen developing across the suite. Delacroix's *Front de Boeuf et le juif* (Gaugain #11; figure 1) from *Ivanhoe*'s Chapter 22 had presented a visually humble crouching outcast who faces torture with courage to spare his daughter Rebecca. Delacroix's *Front de Boeuf et la sorcière* (from *Ivanhoe*'s Chapter 30) shows us another despised outcast: Ulrica. Daughter of the Saxon nobleman Torquil Wolfgang, slave and paramour of Front-de-Boeuf, Ulrica has endured rape by her conquerors, her relatives' murders, the erasure of her ethnic heritage, and the loss of her own name (replaced by the Frankish 'Urfried'). Her response is the antithesis of Isaac's courageous willingness to suffer. Seizing control, she exerts revenge by arson and murder, setting the castle of Torquilstone aflame as she signals Locksley's band to press their siege. In Chapter 30 she enters Front-de-Boeuf's room and tells him that the smoke he sees is the first sign that he will burn to death in punishment for

the sins which he and his father have committed: rebellion, rape, murder, parricide. Scott emphasizes his physical betrayal of fear and pain:

Grind not thy teeth, Front-de-Boeuf — roll not thine eyes — clench not thy hand, nor shake it at me with that gesture of menace!⁴⁶

She locks him into his room to await his death; Scott draws the veil over his final moments. Like *Richard et Wamba* (Gaugain #14, figure 3), this was one of 24 possible subjects from *Ivanhoe* which Delacroix noted in his journal entry for December 31, 1860.⁴⁷

Placing Delacroix's *Front de Boeuf et la sorcière* into the context of the Gaugain suite makes eminent sense. The Saxon Ulrica takes revenge for having suffered precisely the same fate that threatens the Jews Isaac (visible in Gaugain #11) and Rebecca. The siege which the ferocious Ulrica has supported is the same siege witnessed (through the window) by the gentle Rebecca in Devéria's illustration #5. And Front-de-Boeuf, as we shall see, is not the only villain in this lithographic suite who snarls and gnashes his teeth as he dies.

Joannides also proposed that Delacroix's *Steenie* (Delteil 88; figure 5) from Scott's *Redgauntlet* had been prepared for the Gaugain suite, although never completed.⁴⁸ This episode is from a folk tale ('Wandering Willie's Tale') which is contained

Figure 5. Delacroix, *Redgauntlet poursuivie par le diable (Steenie)*, ca. 1829, pen and ink wash (private collection). Photo: Giraudon / the Bridgeman Art Library.

within the novel's narrative. Willie, a blind fiddler, meets Darsie Latimer on the road at night and warns him not to trust every stranger he meets in his travels; he himself, he reminds Darsie, might be the devil in disguise.⁴⁹ He tells a tale in dialect about his grandfather 'Steenie Steenson' (Stephen Stevenson), who, having paid his year's rent to his Laird, Sir Robert Redgauntlet, is unable to receive his receipt for payment when both the Laird and his butler suddenly die. Steenie is distraught; to lose his good name, to be thought a thief and a cheat, is worse than his financial ruin. Steenie tells the new Laird, Sir John Redgauntlet, that the Laird's father took the payment with him to hell when he died. Riding home through the dark fir woods of Pitmurkie, Steenie stops at an inn and, drinking brandy, makes two toasts: that the ghost of the dead Laird should only find peace after his tenant's case is righted, and that the devil should help him regain his payment or find what had become of it.

When Steenie resumes his ride through the dark woods a horseman suddenly rides up beside him, frightening Steenie's horse, who rears and attempts to run away. The mysterious horseman tells Steenie that the dead Laird is willing to give Steenie his receipt in person. Desperate (and inebriated), Steenie finds the courage to visit the haunted castle. He returns with a receipt from the ghost of Sir Robert Redgauntlet which is dated that same day: proof that he has been to Hell and back in pursuit of his rights.

This eerie story has several aspects in common with other episodes in the Gaugain suite. As we shall see, Roqueplan will also juxtapose a human being, a malign spirit, and an animal who shows his fright at the sudden incursion of the uncanny by rearing and attempting to flee.⁵⁰ Achille Devéria's and Louis Boulanger's presentation of the supernatural tale 'The Fortunes of Martin Waldeck' (encapsulated within *The Antiquary*; Gaugain #10) presents another human being who confronts a demonic apparition to get his due. Boulanger's *Rob Roy* (Gaugain #18) describes how loss of mercantile honor as well as financial disaster is averted through a hero's bravery. As Steenie rides to the haunted castle to fetch the receipt from the dead Laird which will repair his honor, Frank Osbaldistone will ride to redress Rashleigh's theft of documents and funds and so avert his father's loss of honor.

The Gaugain-Ardit suite: three new Boulanger identifications and a hypothesis

As we have seen, Delacroix's lithograph, originally assumed to be a scene from *Don Quixote*, actually portrayed *Richard et Wamba* from *Ivanhoe*. If one of the three 'Sancho' plates was originally prepared for the Scott suite, could the same have been true for the other two 'Sancho' plates published in 1835? In one of them, a seated grimacing man who appears to be in his death throes is viewed by several impassive figures. In the other, a young woman bends forward toward a man who has taken off his armor. Once again, evidence in the Ardit brochure permits us to identify both 'Sancho' plates as having been prepared for the Gaugain-Ardit

Scott suite. One of them, by Louis Boulanger, is a subject from *Rob Roy* (Ardit #18); the second is certainly a subject from *The Fair Maid of Perth* and accompanies two signed and dated works by Louis Boulanger from *The Fair Maid of Perth*: one of Harry escorting the glee-maiden Louise (Chapter 12, Ardit #21) and the other of Catherine at the prince's dungeon, surprised by Ramorny (Chapter 32, Ardit #19). Arguments can be made for the artist being Delacroix or Boulanger, as we shall see.

One 'Sancho' plate (Ardit #18, figure 6), a subject from *Rob Roy*, must be considered in conjunction with a completed signed work by Louis Boulanger of another scene from *Rob Roy*: Gaugain #18 of Chapter 17 (figure 7), one of the two works on themes from *Rob Roy* described by Marie.⁵¹ Both scenes describe challenges to honor. In Chapter 17 a heated conversation takes place between Diana Vernon (whose father is engaged in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715) and Francis (Frank) Osbaldistone (whose father is a merchant for whom 'mercantile credit is as honor').⁵² Frank learns that Rashleigh has threatened the solvency of the firm of Osbaldistone and Tresham, stealing documents and funds and endangering the financial security of clients in Scotland to whom the money is owed. Diana Vernon urges Frank to hasten to Glasgow and replace the funds taken by

Figure 6. 'Sancho'; here identified as Boulanger, *Rob Roy*, lithograph. Ardit illustration #18 *Rob Roy* ('mort de Rahleigh' (sic)). Paris, Chardot/Derebergue, 1835. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Figure 7. Boulanger, *Rob Roy*, ca. 1829, lithograph. Gauguain illustration #18 *Rob Roy*, Chapter XVII. Paris, H. Gauguain; London: Engelmann, Graff, Coindet. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Rashleigh before the date payment is due. Rashleigh's destruction of William Osbaldistone's mercantile honor is contrasted with Diana's trust in Frank Osbaldistone's honor not to open the packet of paper which she gives him (one which could supply the needed credit) until all other means have failed.

Ardit's brochure describes two subjects from *Rob Roy*: Ardit #15 ('la dispute') and Ardit #18 ('mort de Rashleigh'). Since Rashleigh's death occurs in Chapter 39 of *Rob Roy*, Ardit #18 (figure 6) cannot be illustration #18, which presents Chapter 17's heated interview between Diana and Frank, cited in the caption. Reversing the descriptions of Ardit #15 and Ardit #18 solves the problem, since this heated discussion is easily understood as 'la dispute.' The Ardit illustration of Rashleigh's death, which we see here as the second of the three 'Sancho' plates (figure 6), has costumes which are virtually identical to in Boulanger's signed illustration #18, especially Frank's costume, which includes the same broad white collar and cuffs, slashed sleeves displaying the white shirt underneath, and tassels at the neck.

Chapter 39 of *Rob Roy* also centers on imperiled honor, and punishment for disgrace, this time of Rashleigh and of his attorney Jobson, who had enabled Rashleigh to assume ownership of Osbaldistone Hall through a fraudulent affidavit permitting the arrest of Frank, Diana Vernon, and Diana's father Sir Frederick Vernon for treason. Although Jobson, Rashleigh, and their party of men accomplish the arrest, while the prisoners are being driven away Andrew Fairservice (Frank's servant) has Rob Roy MacGregor and his Highlanders, who are driving their cattle to market, barricade the road and rescue the prisoners. During the scuffle Rashleigh is mortally wounded; Frank and Andrew carry him back to the house, where his death scene is both physically sordid and morally repugnant. The coach transporting him is sodden with his blood, still dripping on the floor as he is carried to a chair. His dying words are curses to his cousin Frank for having blighted his ambition and caused him to disgrace their family, and even after death:

... he fell back in the chair; his eyes became glazed, his limbs stiffened, but the grin and glare of mortal hatred survived even the last gasp of life.⁵³

The third of the three 'Sancho' plates (figure 8) presents a young woman bending over a sleeping man who has set aside his weapons. The subject, which could seem to be a sleeping Don Quixote, actually comes from Chapter 5 of Scott's *The Fair Maid of Perth*. Catherine, the eponymous heroine, is preparing to give a Saint Valentine's Day kiss to Harry Gow (the armorer Henry Smith).⁵⁴ We know that Louis Boulanger produced two signed and dated lithographs for the Gauguain-Ardit suite on subjects from *The Fair Maid of Perth* (see Appendix, Ardit #19 and #21). Boulanger exhibited a painting in the Musée Colbert on a subject from this novel in 1832; since the subject was not described in the *livret*, it could apply to any of these three lithographs.⁵⁵ On visual terms the work resembles examples by both Boulanger and Delacroix. The bearded Harry, sleeping with his sword near his hand, resembles the executioner clutching a sword in *Les enfants de Clodomir*, a signed lithograph by Boulanger in *Chroniques de France* (Gauguin, 1829). Harry's splayed feet also resemble those of Henbane Dwining, the sinister apothecary who meets Harry and Louise in Ardit #21, a signed and dated work by Boulanger on the subject from Chapter 12 of *The Fair Maid of Perth*. But the female figures in Boulanger's lithographs in this series (particularly Catherine in Boulanger's signed and dated Ardit #19) are softer and more rounded than this Catherine in 'Sancho.' It is clear, however, that this is a subject from Chapter 5 of *The Fair Maid of Perth*. Understanding how this subject functions in the larger narrative context, and with the other subjects in the suite from the same novel, requires contextualized understanding of both narrative and illustrative methodology.

Sir John Ramorny is master of horse to the married, dissolute Prince of Scotland: David, Duke of Rothsay. Catharine's hand is sought by both the smith Harry Gow and the disguised Prince who, rebuffed by her, vows that she will regret her refusal. He

Figure 8. 'Sancho'; here identified as subject from *La Jolie Fille de Perth*, lithograph. Paris, Chardot/Derebergue, 1835. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

orders Ramorny to arrange for Catherine's abduction by a party of the Prince's supporters. Chapters 4 and 5 of *The Fair Maid of Perth* are linked through the motif of hands: reckless and bloody hands, amputated hands, gloved hands, hands sought in marriage.⁵⁶ In Chapter 4 on the eve before Valentine's day Harry Gow sees a party of men placing a ladder against Catherine's window. Recognizing that they intend her abduction and rape, he engages them in a fight, severs the hand of one of them (Ramorny), and alerts the townsfolk.⁵⁷ Catharine's grateful father, Simon Glover, wishes his daughter to reward her faithful swain with a Valentine's kiss and her hand in marriage. But Harry prefers a bride who chooses him freely and, recognizing that Catharine is repulsed by violence, he would even be willing to chop off his own hand to persuade Catharine of his pacific nature, and win her hand in marriage.

Catherine's decision is seen in the third 'Sancho' print (figure 8): though she does not love Harry Gow, 'sentiments of the most sincere gratitude' as she remembers 'the services of Henry during the course of the eventful night' induce her to seek him out before being ordered to do so by her father, and bestow upon him her Valentine's day kiss.⁵⁸ Scott makes it plain that Catherine's kiss of Harry in Chapter 5 expresses her gratitude for his protection of

her from Ramorny's men in Chapter 4. As she bends to kiss her sleeping swain, so will the licentious prince lift up Louise, the glee maiden, to receive his kiss in Chapter 12 (Achille Devéria's Gaugain #8). This exposes Louise to danger; the chivalrous Harry agrees to escort Louise to his own house (Louis Boulanger's signed and dated lithograph, Ardit #21), though he fears that Catherine will doubt his constancy if he shows interest in another woman after swearing to be her own Valentine. By the end of the novel Catherine and Louise will attempt to keep alive the starving prince, imprisoned by order of Ramorny (Gaugain #3). But their efforts will be in vain: when Catherine returns to his dungeon window, Ramorny informs her that (Ardit #21) the prince is dead: murdered by him. His justification for this act is that his loss of his own hand in serving him (during the *melée* in Chapter 4) had resulted in his having lost his place of power at court, being mocked and cast off by his callous master. As we shall see, violence against masters occurs in several subjects in this suite, as do severed hands.

The Gaugain-Ardit suite: a new Roqueplan identification and a hypothesis

Ardit's brochure has enabled us to identify missing plates 14 (Delacroix's *Richard et Wamba*, figure 3) and 15 (Boulanger's death of Rashleigh from *Rob Roy*, figure 6). It also makes it possible for a work by Camille Roqueplan (figure 9) to have its subject identified. Ardit #16 lists the 'bain du sacristain,' a subject from Chapter 5 of *The Monastery*. In this nocturnal adventure beauty, malignity, spiritual concerns, and animal nature interact. The sacristan Father Philip rides back to the Abbey of Saint Mary's on his mule after visiting Lady Mary of Avenel, carrying the Avenel family's 'Black Book' (a Bible written in the Vulgate). He offers a ride across the river Tweed to a mysterious female figure who is the White Lady of Avenel: a beneficent spirit for the Protestant Avenel family described by one scholar as 'a mingling of Ondine, a family banshee, and a mischievous fusion of Puck and Ariel.'⁵⁹ She torments Father Philip so that she may reclaim the Black Book, bounding onto the mule, which bolts, races into the river, and begins to swim with the two riders still on its back. The White Lady sings:

Merrily swim we, the moon shines bright,
Both current and ripple are dancing in light . . .
Downward we drift through shadow and light.⁶⁰

The 'merry' swim referred to in the lyrics are belied by the actions we see. As moonlight plays on moving water, we see a floundering mule and a terrified monk who struggles to stay in the saddle, while being 'soused' by a beautiful and malign pixie who holds him by the collar like a disobedient puppy.⁶¹ Like Delacroix's *Steenie* from *Redgauntlet* (figure 5), the episode presents an unlikely trio of human rider, menacing spirit, and terrified animal. Like that subject, the mood is compounded of humor and fear.⁶²

Figure 9. Roqueplan, here identified as *Le Monastère*, lithograph. Ardit illustration #16 *Le Monastère* ('le bain du Sacristain'). Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Hypotheses for further inclusions in the Gaugain suite by Roqueplan, Delacroix, and Devéria

In this same period Roqueplan produced a watercolor known as 'The Pardon Refused' (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, ca. 1826–1829; figure 10) of a scene from Chapter 35 of *Kenilworth*.⁶³ Amy Robsart, wife of Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, throws herself at her husband's feet to obtain his pardon for disobeying his order to stay in isolation in Cumnor Place. She has sought him out at Kenilworth, where he is endeavoring to advance in Elizabeth I's favor; if the Queen knew of his marriage, he would be accused of treason.

This watercolor takes on enriched meaning when we consider it in the context of two other lithographs in the Gaugain suite. Gaugain #6, also by Roqueplan (figure 11), shows an earlier scene from *Kenilworth*: a calm, elegantly dressed Amy is seated; her husband displays his jewels and orders for her instruction. Gaugain #7 (see figure 24 below), a scene by Achille Devéria from *The Talisman*, presents a similar situation of a tearful woman displaying her beauty to appease her angry husband: Queen Berengaria attempting to soften her stern husband Richard's determination to punish treason. Berengaria will succeed, but in Roqueplan's watercolor the wife's beauty,

Figure 10. Roqueplan, *The Pardon Refused*, ca. 1826–1829, watercolor with lead white. Photo: ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, New York.

undimmed despite her dishevelment, betraying her 'fear, grief, and fatigue,' will be unable to pacify her husband:

'Alas! Amy,' said Leicester, 'thou has undone me!' . . . 'are you not here contrary to my express commands — and does not your presence here endanger both yourself and me?'⁶⁴

The morose Earl of Leicester sits with one hand supporting his head and the other holding the haft of a sword. Although by the end of the chapter Leicester will be willing to acknowledge her, even at the cost of his life or freedom, his servant Varney vows 'She or I must *perish*.'⁶⁵ Varney will forestall Leicester's confession by causing Amy's murder.

Joannides suggested that Delacroix's ink wash drawing in Stockholm *Quentin Durward Overhears the Plot of Hayraddin and Lanzknecht Heinrich* (figure 12) was probably intended for the Gaugain suite.⁶⁶ The episode occurs in *Quentin Durward*'s Chapter 17 ('The Espied Spy'), when Hayraddin Maugrabin (an African Moor) meets with Heinrich the Lanzknecht (a German–French mercenary) and insists that he promise to spare Quentin Durward's life. Delacroix follows Scott's description of the lanzknecht as a 'soldierly looking man' whose feathered hat tops a head of long curling hair, and who is armed with a lance and wearing a baldric 'which sustained a

Figure 11. Roqueplan, *Kenilworth*, ca. 1829, lithograph. Gaugain illustration #6 *Kenilworth*, Chapter VII. Paris, H. Gaugain. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

sword that hung almost across his person.⁶⁷ But Delacroix also alters many of the items specified by Scott to explicate subjective mood rather than repeat physical features. Scott contrasts the tall, stout lanzknecht with the smaller, more slender Bohemian. Here they are equally tall but are contrasted through their gestures: two massive fists, one holding his lance, lead to two sinuously gesturing hands. Their gestures conclude in Quentin Durward's apparent three hands: as he listens to the conversation of these two, his right hand repeats the lanzknecht's pointing gesture while his left hand (covered with mail) and another armored gauntlet cross one another. To understand Delacroix's decision not to repeat Scott's description of Hayraddin, we must understand the larger role which Hayraddin plays in the novel, and Scott's earlier descriptions of his costume and his motivations.

Scott introduces Hayraddin in Chapter 15 ('The Guide'): he will escort Quentin Durward, Countess Hameline, and Isabelle de Croye to Liège. Hayraddin's costume is described as specifically as the lanzknecht's and includes such picturesque elements as a plumed red turban with a silver clasp, a crimson sash with a dagger on the right and a short Moorish sword on the left, and a

Figure 12. Delacroix, *Quentin Durward Overhears the Plot of Hayraddin and Lanzknecht Heinrich*, ca. 1828, pen and brown ink with gray wash drawing. Photo: © Stockholm, National museum.

horn worn at his shoulder hanging from a baldric. Another artist might have been delighted to follow this description of costume, but Delacroix dresses the Moorish gypsy in a burnoose. He does, however, follow Scott's description of Hayraddin's 'swarthy and sunburnt visage, with a thin beard and piercing dark eyes . . . black elf-locks which hung around his face and the air of wildness and emaciation.'⁶⁸ Why did Delacroix ignore Scott's description of costume but retain Scott's description of facial features and expression? Because for this artist external appearance was a clue to subjectivity, not an end in itself. To understand his, and Scott's, characterization of Hayraddin we must go beyond this episode in Chapter 17. Throughout the novel Hayraddin, a savage, unaffiliated with any locale or geopolitical force, becomes Quentin Durward's guide in more than the physical sense. His apparent treachery in serving William de la Marck will be overturned in Chapter 34 when, about to be executed, he warns Durward of the duke of Burgundy's menace. One who is alien and excluded may assist a naïve newcomer in gaining a clearer view of duplicitous leaders. The dwarf Nectabanus will play a similar role in *The Talisman*, as we shall see.

Hayraddin is a wandering Bohemian or gypsy: a 'Zingaro.' Scott's description of him in Chapter 16 'The Vagrant' is both

psychologically and anthropologically acute. Though Quentin is horrified to learn that Hayraddin has no national identity, no home, no security (on which he assumes happiness depends). Hayraddin insists his position is more enviable than that of Quentin, whom he considers 'imprisoned in mind':

...my thoughts . . . no chains can bind; while yours, even while your limbs are free, remain fettered by your laws and your superstitions, your dreams of local attachment, and your fantastic visions of civil policy.⁶⁹

What Quentin considers civilization's benefits, Hayraddin resents as burdens. His early life, he tells Quentin, was that of a wild animal who resented his first master's attempt to tame him:

The Zingaro boy was no house-bred cur, to dog the heels of his master and crouch beneath his blows for scraps of food. He was the imprisoned wolf-whelp, which at the first opportunity broke his chain, rended his master, and returned to the wilderness.⁷⁰

For Scott and for Delacroix Hayraddin's core qualities are his feral nature and his resistance to identification with a single country. While Scott alludes to the gypsy's roaming among nations by combining costumes from more than one place (the Estradiots, the Moors), Delacroix concentrates attention on the visual markers of the harsh, wandering life of a 'savage': sunburn, emaciation, untrimmed hair.

Another 'imprisoned wolf-whelp' appears in a pen sketch by Achille Devéria of *Jeanie Deans and The Whistler* (figure 13), another possible study for the Gaugain suite. This subject comes from the very end of the novel *The Heart of Midlothian* and has never, to my knowledge, inspired a work of art before this date. The novel centers on Jeanie Deans and her sister Effie, who bears an illegitimate child. In this episode from the end of the novel we see Effie's grown 'child of guilt and misery,' savage and vindictive from his youth.⁷¹ A member of a band of bandits, he participates in the fight in which his father, Sir George Staunton, is killed. Imprisoned, due to be executed, he sees Jeanie Deans, his aunt, enter the room where he lies, bound with cords, on a pile of flax:

... like a sheep designed for slaughter . . . Amid features sunburnt, tawny, grimed with dirt, and obscured by his shaggy hair of a rusted black colour, Jeanie tried in vain to trace the likeness of either of his very handsome parents.⁷²

Compassionate, she offers him food and slackens the cords on his arm so that he may eat. He promises not to hurt her if she cuts his bonds, but once she does he sets fire to the flax and, as the flames rise, escapes through the window. Like Hayraddin, who attacked his beneficent master, the Whistler (a 'young savage' whose life of harsh, nomadic liberty is visually evident in sunburned and grimy features) rejects Jeanie's offer of succor and endangers her life.⁷³ After he escapes and arrives in America, like Hayraddin and Ramorny, he will head a rebellion

Figure 13. Achille Devéria, *Jeanie Deans and the Whistler*, ca. 1829, pen and ink drawing. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

which murders his master, then flee to live in the wilderness with an Indian tribe.

As we have seen with Ulrica's and the Whistler's arson, with Front-de-Bœuf's and Rashleigh's snarling death, with Amy's and Berengaria's tearful display of their beauty to placate their husbands' wrath, with Steenie's rearing horse and Father Philip's bucking mule, there are many comparative themes in this group of published or planned lithographs. Let us now consider the suite as a unified whole, and analyze its ways of reading Scott's works.

The Gaugain-Ardit suite: its unusual thematic repertory and its common themes

Nine different works by Scott inspired the episodes chosen for this suite of more than 20 lithographs by Delacroix, Boulanger, Roqueplan, and the Devéria brothers, and they can safely be identified through Gaugain's and Ardit's publication or brochure description. Of these nine works, the majority were represented by only one print each (*The Abbot*, *The Antiquary*, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, *Kenilworth*, *The Monastery*, and *Rokeby*). *Rob Roy* inspired two works (numbers 15 and 18). *Ivanhoe* (numbers 5, 11, and 14) inspired three works and *The Fair Maid of Perth* (numbers

3, 8, 19, and 21) four works. *The Talisman* (part 2 of *Tales of the Crusaders*) inspired the largest number: five prints (numbers 1, 4, 7, 9, and 13); this is masked by the fact that this novel is given three titles in the Gauguin suite: *Le Talisman*, *Richard en Palestine*, and *Histoire du temps des croisades*.

The Gauguin suite's selection of themes is highly unusual. At least 14 of the 20 completed or publicly planned works in the Gauguin/Ardit suite are unprecedented in the Scott repertory in France, whether for paintings, book illustrations, or graphic works.⁷⁴ Of these 14, six lithographs have no French precedents but do have British precedents: Gauguin #1 *The Talisman* (Edith with Sir Kenneth disguised as a Nubian slave); Gauguin #4 *The Talisman* (Sir Kenneth recognizes Edith through the ruby ring); Gauguin #6 *Kenilworth* (Amy sees Leicester in regalia); Gauguin #8 *The Fair Maid of Perth* (Rothsay kisses Louise); Ardit #12 *The Abbot* (Roland's anger at the sermon); and Ardit #16 *The Monastery* (the White Lady dowses Father Philip).⁷⁵ But fully eight (possibly nine) of these 14 works have neither British nor French precedents: Gauguin #2 *Rokeby* (Redmond's taking aim at Bertram), Gauguin #3 *The Fair Maid of Perth* (Catherine and Louise feed the prince), Gauguin #10 *The Antiquary* (Martin Waldeck), Ardit #13 *The Talisman* (the dwarves scrutinize Kenneth), Ardit #14 *Ivanhoe* (Richard and Wamba), Ardit #15 *Rob Roy* (the death of Rashleigh), Ardit #19 *The Fair Maid of Perth* (Catherine surprised by Ramorny at the dungeon), and Ardit #21 *The Fair Maid of Perth* (Harry meets Dwining while escorting Louise). Delacroix's lithograph for Ardit #11 *Ivanhoe* (Front-de-Bœuf threatens Isaac of York) (Deltail 85) was published September 1829, simultaneous with Renoux's exhibition of a painting of this subject at the Galerie Lebrun.⁷⁶

Three common narrative and visual aspects tie together the unusual selection of themes: an interest in presenting exotic, grotesque, and fantastic beings (Moors, Jews, dwarves, and pixies); an interest in the tonal extremes available in representations of nocturnal episodes or subjects in which light becomes a dramatic protagonist; and an interest in disguised and revealed identity. This third factor also relates to a fundamental and significant aspect of the suite as a whole: its signaling of the unseen, whether literally (when material objects hide figures), metaphorically (through disguise), or interpretatively, when a reference to one subject is intended to be read as a reference to a second subject as well: an 'abrasive' reading of the text.

The suite's common themes and approaches: the grotesque, fantastic, exotic, and alien

As we have already seen in Delacroix's presentation of the Jew Isaac of York in *Ivanhoe* confronted by Moors, and Roqueplan's White Lady from *The Monastery* (the pixie who almost drowns Father Philip), this suite's works often focus on the fantastic and supernatural, the alien, and the grotesque. One reason for the French Romantics' interest in Scott was their mutual interest in Germanic legend and its inspiration for modern German Romantic literature. By 1796 Scott was translating poetry and drama by Goethe, Schiller, and other

Figure 14. Boulanger and Achille Devéria, *L'Antiquaire*, 1829, lithograph. Gauguin illustration #10 *L'Antiquaire*, Chapter XVIII. Paris, H. Gauguin et Cie Octobre 1829 London, Engelman, Graff, Coindet. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

German authors. Louis Boulanger's admiration for Delacroix's *Faust* suite (1827) had already been evident in *La Ronde du Sabbat* (1828). It is not surprising, therefore, to see Boulanger taking a similar approach in Gauguin #10 (figure 14), which describes *The Antiquary's* self-contained Germanic tale of the supernatural 'The Fortunes of Martin Waldeck', portraying the same Harz mountains explored by Goethe's Faust and Mephistopheles.

Scott's tale (Chapter 18 of *The Antiquary*) heralds the incursion of the supernatural through images of uncontrollable light in the night. Three Waldeck brothers, foresters in the Harz mountains, tend their fire throughout the night, charring their wood. Three times a supernatural light overwhelms their own fire. Each brother sees the supernatural in increasingly specific terms, as they interact with demonic figures led by a giant who holds an uprooted fir tree and stirs a huge fire. After the supernatural

lights intrude into the brothers' hut, the youngest brother, Martin, resolves to confront these spirits, saying: 'But be they men or fiends . . . that busy themselves yonder with such fantastic rites and gestures, I will go and demand a light to rekindle our furnace.'⁷⁷ We see the confrontation in Gauguin #10: a collaborative work by Louis Boulanger (for the Harz demon and the spirits dancing in the air) and Achille Devéria.

Their image, following Scott's lead, hints at the narrative denouement. Martin's thrice-repeated requests for an ember to rekindle his fire will result in 'three years of precarious prosperity,' since the magical embers turn to golden nuggets.⁷⁸ But his sudden wealth is accompanied by arrogance, class resentment, death and disaster. Having bought patents of nobility, Martin seeks to enter a tournament for noblemen, who are infuriated by this presumption: 'A thousand voices exclaimed, "We will have no cinder-sifter mingle in our games of chivalry."⁷⁹ Martin slays the herald who bars his way. Tried on the spot, he is sentenced to lose his right hand, his claim to the nobility, and his citizenship. Like Ramorny in *The Fair Maid of Perth*, Martin Waldeck's right hand is amputated. Expelled from the city, Martin and his brothers meet the Harz demon, who asks: 'How like you the fire MY coals have kindled?'⁸⁰ Achille Devéria gives Martin Waldeck an appropriately swaggering stance and also, more subtly, alludes to the severing of his right arm; his hand is barely visible on his chest.

As these artists shared Scott's interest in the supernatural, and the physical appearance of fantastic, grotesque, and alien beings, they also were interested in describing the physiognomies of people of many races. We have already seen Delacroix's description of the Jew Isaac (who Front de Bœuf calls an 'accursed dog of an accursed race') who is watched by two Moors, and his presentation of the wandering Moor Hayraddin.⁸¹ One reason for the Gauguin/Ardit's suite's many images from *The Talisman* is that its setting in the Holy Land permits a cast of characters which include with Europeans Arab boys in the procession viewed by Sir Kenneth in Chapter 4 (#4; figure 15), the Moor Saladin disguised as the physician El Hakim (#9), and Sir Kenneth's Nubian disguise (#1).

Eugène Devéria gives full visual emphasis to Scott's explicit description of the malformed dwarves Nectabanus and Guenevra (#13; figure 16), who emerge from a trap-door in the hermit's cave at Engaddi. Sir Kenneth sees a male and a female dwarf who are 'frightful,' 'misshapen,' and 'abortion-seeming' and who engage in 'antic gestures and elritch exclamations' and 'gibbering in discordant whispers.'⁸² Furthermore, they claim to be both pagan and Christian. Nectabanus, who announces that they are 'The twelfth Imaum . . . Mahommed Mohadi . . . and . . . one of my hours,' is contradicted by his female companion: 'thou art King Arthur of Britain . . . and I am Dame Guenevra, famed for her beauty.' Scott's apparent ridicule of the dwarves in this passage will be contradicted by his later characterizations for, as in *Ivanhoe*, Scott does not share the prejudice which leads their contemporaries to discount their intelligence and agency.

Figure 15. Achille Devéria, *Richard en Palestine*, ca. 1829, lithograph. Gauguin illustration #4 *Richard en Palestine*, Chapter VIII [sic]. Paris, Henry Gauguin. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

In the last chapter of the novel Nectabanus will enable justice to be done, when he informs Saladin and Richard that he had been a hidden witness to the murder of Conrade, Marquis of Montserrat by Giles Amaury, Grand Master of the Templars.

The suite's common themes and approaches: light as a protagonist

Just as these Romantic artists were eager to explore a wide range of figural possibilities in this suite, they were eager to explore a wide tonal range. Extremes of light often reinforce plot elements and deepen the emotional impact of the fantastic elements. In 'The Fortunes of Martin Waldeck' in *The Antiquary* (#10 by Louis Boulanger and Achille Devéria), the Harz demon's supernatural fire challenges nature's fire under human control. One reason for Roqueplan's and Gauguin's repeated interest in *The Monastery* is that the novel is filled with episodes in which effects of radiance and reflection advance the plot as well as delight the eyes. Like the White Lady of Avenel, light in *The Monastery* can be beautiful and spiritually supportive but also malign and uncontrollable, as in the moonlit 'bain du sacristain' (Ardit #16; figure 9) by Camille Roqueplan. In *The Talisman* when Sir Kenneth keeps watch in the hermit's cave at Engaddi at night (# 4, *Richard en Palestine*, figure 15), he enters a small, hidden chapel in which a fragment of the True Cross is kept, and is dazzled by a sudden 'stream of the purest light.'⁸³ He sees a procession of figures who exemplify tonal extremes as they glide through a lamp-lit, incense-clouded, apartment: Arab boys whose snowy tunics contrast with their bare limbs and faces 'showing the bronze complexion of the East,' white-robed Carmelite nuns wearing black scapularies and veils, and white-

Figure 16. Eugène Devéria, *Le Talisman* ('les deux nains'), 1829, lithograph. Gauguin/Ardit illustration #13 *Le Talisman*, Chapter V. Paris, H. Gauguin & Comp. Septembre 1829. London: Engelman, Graff, Coindet private collection.

veiled novices.⁸⁴ The emergence of Edith's hand through the gauzy folds of her robe to drop a rose at Kenneth's feet is like that of 'a moonbeam through the fleecy cloud of a summer night.'⁸⁵ It is immediately after this scene of mystic light that Sir Kenneth sees the dwarves emerge from a subterranean room (Gauguin #13, figure 16) from which light streams upward, emphasizing their misshapen features and forms.

The suite's common themes: disguise and the revelation of identity

Disguise and revelation of identity often occurs in the suite. As we have seen, Delacroix's *Richard et Wamba* (#14) reveals the true identities of three protagonists: Waldemar Fitzurse, Robin Hood, and Richard the Lionheart. *The Talisman* centers on disguise and the recognition of identity: for Saladin, Sir Kenneth, Lady Edith, the hermit Theodorick, and even the dog Roswal. The climax of the novel is the double revelation that Sir Kenneth, the Scottish Knight of the Leopard, disguised as a mute Nubian bond-slave (#1 *Histoire des croisades*, figure 17), is actually Prince David of Scotland. The eye of love pierces through disguise. In

Figure 17. Achille Devéria, *Histoires du temps des Croisades*, ca. 1829, lithograph. Gauguin illustration #1 *Histoires du temps des Croisades*, Chapter XXV. Paris, H. Gauguin. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

the hermit's cave at Engaddi, Sir Kenneth recognizes his beloved, the Lady Edith Plantagenet (#4 *Richard en Palestine*), one of several veiled maidens in the procession. And she, after recognizing him in his Nubian disguise, tells him:

She is no true lady, and is unworthy of the service of such a knight as thou art, from whom disguises of dress or hue could conceal a faithful servant.⁸⁶

Conversely, Amy Robsart in *Kenilworth* (#6; figure 11) is accused by her husband, the Earl of Leicester, of being dazzled by his court dress and no longer perceiving the man beneath them:

Thou art like the rest of the world, Amy . . . jewels and feathers, and silk are more to them than the man whom they adorn.⁸⁷

Of course the opposite is true: it is the courtier Leicester, dazzled by the possibility of becoming King, who is unable to perceive his wife's steadfast love and loyalty.

The suite's common themes: to signal the unseen

These repeated themes of disguised identity, tonal range, and physiognomic variance across ethnicity all direct the viewer's attention to the unseen, both materially and metaphorically: to

Figure 18. Achille Devéria, *Ivanhoe*, ca. 1829, lithograph. Gaugain illustration #5 *Ivanhoe*, Chapter XXIX. Paris, H. Gaugain. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

other forms and other forms of existence. In several plates material objects are literally screened from sight: in *Rokeby* (#2), when Bertram levels his rifle through the branches to take aim at Bertram; in *The Fair Maid of Perth* (#3), when Catherine and Louise feed an unseen prisoner through the bars over the window of his cell and in *The Fair Maid of Perth* (#19), when Catherine attempts to do so once again; in Delacroix's *Richard et Wamba* from *Ivanhoe* (#14), when the enemies lying in ambush are discovered.

Achille Devéria's *Ivanhoe* (#5, figure 18) centers on the inability to see: Ivanhoe (and the viewer) are unable to see the siege of Torquilstone.⁸⁸ The battle will be narrated by Rebecca rather than described directly to the reader. Scott heads Chapter 29 with a quotation from Schiller's play about Joan of Arc, *The Maid of Orleans*:

Ascend the watch-tower yonder, valiant soldier,
Look on the field, and say how goes the battle.

The instinctively courageous Ivanhoe is maddened by frustration because his wounds make him unable to participate in

freeing himself and his friends: 'like the war-horse . . . glowing with impatience at his inactivity.'⁸⁹ Fearing his injury if he struggles to see the battle for himself, Rebecca volunteers to stand at the lattice-covered window which will be archers' target and describe it to him.

Devéria's decision to illustrate an episode of hampered sight — Ivanhoe's inability to see the battle, let alone take an active part in its success — results from his full comprehension of the novel's paradoxical characterizations. As Delacroix had recognized that the humble, cringing Isaac of York was able to confront numerous callous foes, so Devéria recognized that the gentle Rebecca's exposing herself to arrows to see the battle made her a more valiant heroine than the impotent warrior Ivanhoe. Devéria blocks the view through the window with the pointed outline of her shield held horizontally to contrast with the smoothly sloping curves outlining Ivanhoe's forms. His pale, blocky forms are barely given a contour; her forms are more assertively modeled, further enlivened in the jacket with arabesques, and set off with a belt which is the same width as the border of the shield, visually uniting maiden and armor. Rebecca is happy to endanger herself if it aids her father (and Ivanhoe, whom she loves). But although she accepts the necessity of war in defense of one's nation, she finds the battle repulsively brutal, not a glorious demonstration of chivalry. Her commentary lays the foundation for the establishment of the rule of law in Richard's nation-state by the end of the novel.

Directing the viewer's attention to the unseen can also be understood metaphorically: as the signaling of related subjects. The unusual thematic repertory takes on additional meaning when we recognize its purpose is two-fold: to represent content which is both present and contextual in the original historical episode or literary allusion supporting the novel's episode.

Reading abrasively: to signal the related subject

We have seen that Delacroix's representation of Isaac in *Ivanhoe* (Gaugain #11) is imbued with Scott's recollection of Shakespeare's Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* even as, like Scott, he critiques Shakespeare's characterization of the Jew who prizes money over familial devotion. Once we consider the suite as a unit instead of a sequence of individual prints we see that Delacroix was not unique in reading 'abrasively,' expanding the meaning of the moment illustrated, by exploring dual narrative references, just as Scott had done initially, through his references to other authors (Schiller, Shakespeare) and other historical subjects.

Achille Devéria's illustration of Chapter 4 from *The Abbot* (#12, figure 19) shows the Protestant minister Henry Warden berating the page Roland Graeme for having threatened to use a knife. Devéria emphasizes not only Roland's rage but the anger and humiliation of his protectress, the Catholic Lady Mary Glendinning of Avenel. Devéria recognized Scott's source for this episode: the Protestant John Knox's harangue of Mary Stuart for having engaged in negotiations to marry Don Carlos, the Catholic heir to Philip II of Spain. Devéria's

Figure 19. Achille Devéria, *L'Abbé*, 1829, lithograph. Gauguin illustration #12 *L'Abbé*, Chapter IV. Paris, Henry Gauguin et Cie. Septembre 1829 London, Engelmann, Graff, Coindet & Co. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

composition repeats Robert Smirke's *Mary Queen of Scots Reproved by Knox*, engraved by Thomas Holloway in 1800 for the Bowyer Historic Gallery (figure 20).⁹⁰ Lady Mary of Avenel, as Scott scholars have recognized, is a prefiguration of Queen Mary Stuart; Warden's rebuke in 1567 echoes Knox's rebuke of Mary in 1563, before *The Abbot* begins. Both of these Catholic women are reproved by Protestant ministers for their supporters' arrogance, foppery, and violence. As Scott scholars have recognized, this scene of a violent brawl at the island castle of Avenel between factions oriented by religious allegiance prefigures later events in *The Abbot*, after Roland arrives in Edinburgh. Street fighting and political intrigues at Holyrood culminate in Roland's being sent to Lochleven by the Earl of Murray, now Regent of Scotland, to keep Mary Stuart under surveillance. Roland's chivalrous loyalty to his Queen, the influence of his Catholic grandmother, and his love for Catherine Seyton, one of Mary's attendants, will lead to his assisting the Queen to escape from Lochleven. As Scott references the true Mary Stuart's life in an episode from the life of the fictional Mary of Avenel, so Devéria references the celebrated

Figure 20. Smirke, *Mary Queen of Scots Reproved by Knox*, engraved by Holloway 1800, Bowyer Historic Gallery. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Bowyer Historic Gallery in his lithograph for Gauguin's suite of Scott subjects.

Reading abrasively: the dual citation which extends the meaning of text and image

As Delacroix's portrayal of Isaac facing his torturers in his *Ivanhoe* plate capitalized on Scott's reference to Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, as Devéria capitalized on Scott's reference to a historical event beyond the boundaries of *The Abbot*, so Delacroix's *Bride of Lammermoor* emphasized Scott's premonition and denouement by a dual citation of Chapters 20 and 29. The image and quotation present Chapter 20's raven's death at the moment when Edgar and Lucy plight their troth as an omen of the disasters which will ensue after Lucy is forced to break her vow and pledge to marry Bucklaw, including Lucy's melancholia and insanity, her attempted murder of Bucklaw, and both Lucy's and Edgar's death. As we saw, Henry told Lucy in Chapter 29 of his melancholy bird who is dying of grief. This strategy of dual citation — presenting one moment in image and quotation

Figure 21. Roqueplan, *La Jolie Fille de Perth*, ca. 1829, lithograph. Gaugain illustration #3 *La Jolie Fille de Perth*, Chapter IX [sic]. Paris, H. Gaugain. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

while simultaneously referring to another narrative moment in the title's chapter identification — occurs five other times in the completed plates to the Gaugain suite, in works by Roqueplan (#3) and Achille Devéria (#4, 7, 8, and 9), enriching their narrative visualizations of episodes from *The Fair Maid of Perth* and *The Talisman*.

Camille Roqueplan's *Fair Maid of Perth* (Gaugain #3; figure 21) both signals the unseeable (the imprisoned prince) and cites two textual passages. Although the visualized episode is actually taken from Chapter 32, the plate cites Chapter 9. In Chapter 32 David of Rothsay, the Prince of Scotland, is starving in a dungeon at Falkland castle, having been imprisoned by Robert, duke of Albany. He is fed by Catherine Glover and the glee-maiden Louise (the duke of Albany's cast-off mistress) by their passing crumbs through a hollowed out willow branch through the lattice bars: 'Catherine transmitted several morsels of the soft cakes,

soaked in broth, which served at once for food, and for drink.'⁹¹ Why was Chapter 9 referenced instead? In Chapter 9 King Robert III of Scotland hesitates to insist that a Dominican convent pay for his court's food and lodging. Prior Anselm insists that he has sufficient provisions for ten times as many people:

No, my royal liege; come with ten times your present train, they shall neither want a grain of oats, a pile of straw, a morsel of bread, nor an ounce of food, which our convent can supply them.⁹²

How much more piteous is the prince's situation in Chapter 32, fed on crumbs, when we know the abundance offered to his father in Chapter 9.

Achille Devéria's *Fair Maid of Perth* (Gaugain #8, figure 22) presents an earlier interaction between David of Rothsay and the glee-maiden Louise: the kiss which places both of them in peril. Although this episode occurs in Chapter 11, the print cites Chapter 10. Having jilted the Earl of March's daughter to marry the daughter of the Earl of Douglas, he flirts with the glee-maiden to show disrespect to his father-in-law, refusing to

Figure 22. Achille Devéria, *La Jolie Fille de Perth*, ca. 1829, lithograph. Gaugain illustration #8 *La Jolie Fille de Perth*, Chapter X [sic]. Paris, H. Gaugain. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

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He kissed her as she stood thus suspended in the air, perched upon his foot, and supported by his hand . . . He suffered the frightened girl to spring to the ground, and turned his looks from her to bend them contemptuously on the Earl of Douglas, as if he had said 'All this I do in despite of you and of your daughter's claims.'⁹³

His father recognizes that his son has endangered himself. In Chapter 10 he compares the constant menaces facing ‘a strolling glee-woman’ with those he faces himself as King.⁹⁴ In that chapter the Prior sees the flirtation through the lattice window and warns the King, who, in his rush to intercede and avert his son’s murder, literally misses his step and momentarily loses consciousness.⁹⁵

In Chapter 11 when Louise asks Rothsay for protective escort, the repentant prince exclaims ‘O Heaven! what a life is mine, so fatal to all who approach me!’⁹⁶ It is the prince who will be overcome by fatality, despite the aid which Louise and Catharine give him. The Prior who turns from the lattice window, unwilling to report what he sees, is the predictor of the women who will peer through the lattice window to the prince’s prison cell. They will repay his unwanted attention — kisses, raillery, even attempted abduction — with compassionate attention of their own. And their courageous view through the latticed window recalls that of Rebecca, the commentator on the siege of Torquilstone’s brutality.

The Talisman was often selected for depiction in the Gauguin suite, popular, as we have seen, for its multiple episodes of disguised and revealed identity, and its range of races and physiognomies. Double citation of texts offer complicated cross-references in three lithographs by Achille Devéria of episodes from *The Talisman* (illustrations #4, 7, 9). In Devéria's *Richard en Palestine* (Gauguin #4; figure 15), although Chapter 8 is cited we actually see the moment in Chapter 4 when Kenneth catches sight of Edith at the hermit's chapel at the grotto of Engaddi. Edith, Queen Berengaria, and other ladies of the court are there to pray for Richard's recovery from illness. Though Edith is physically indistinguishable from the other women in the procession, Kenneth's throbbing heart makes him aware of her presence even before he recognizes material objects (a hand, a ring, a ringlet) which enable him to discern under her veil 'the lady of his love.'⁹⁷

Why was Chapter 8 cited instead? Both Chapter 4 and Chapter 8 center on disguised identity: of Edith in Chapter 4 and of Saladin in Chapter 8. In Chapter 8 the sojourn of Sir Kenneth at Engaddi in Chapter 4 is recalled as the time in which he first met Adonbec El Hakim, Saladin's 'own physician' (in actuality Saladin himself).⁹⁸ El Hakim's appearance is unassuming, and younger than one would have expected; his broad and

unwrinkled brow and 'the piercing quality of his dark eyes' do not accord with his long beard.⁹⁹ Meanwhile, the older Bishop of Tyre, a 'striking and commanding figure' wearing jewelry and embroidered robes trimmed with fur, becomes less impressive as he becomes better known.¹⁰⁰ Neither his character nor his resplendence befit his spiritual role. Unable himself to restore Richard's health, prejudiced by his view that appearance denotes mastery and that rank confers immunity from illness, the Bishop of Tyre is foiled by disguise.

In Chapter 8 El Hakim reminds him that human beings are all alike under their robes:

I have cured a beggar . . . Are the kings of Frangistan made of other clay than the meanest of their subjects?¹⁰¹

Similarly, in Chapter 14 El Hakim deems all living things worthy of his skill, and puts aside Koranic law to cure Sir Kenneth's faithful hound Roswal, 'mortally wounded . . . in discharging the duty which his master had been seduced to abandon.'¹⁰²

Achille Devéria's illustration #9 to *The Talisman* (figure 23) has the most complicated relationship with textual references: it cites Chapter 5 next to the title, quotes text from Chapter 7 when the physician cures the squire, and visualizes the episode in Chapter 14 where Sir Kenneth, grieving over his dying dog, turns to find El Hakim seated in his room.¹⁰³ Why is Chapter 5 cited in connection with this episode? As we have seen, in Chapter 5 (Gaugain #13, by Eugène Devéria, figure 16), Sir Kenneth met the dwarves. He was impressed by the ugly and grotesque physical aspects and actions which Scott insists upon, but ignored Scott's indications of the dwarves':

Figure 23. Achille Devéria, *Le Talisman*, ca. 1829, lithograph. Gauguain illustration #9 *Le Talisman*, Chapter V [sic]. Paris, H. Gauguain. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

alertness and intelligence . . . the brilliancy of their eyes . . . the extreme quickness and keenness with which their black and glittering eyes flashed back the light of the lamps.¹⁰⁴

In assuming that ‘deformity of person’ denotes ‘weakness of intellect,’ and that the dwarves are ‘poor effigies of humanity,’ Sir Kenneth demonstrates that he is ‘[S]uperior in no respect to the ideas and manners of his time.’¹⁰⁵ He will learn from Saladin that just as a dog is no less worthy than a human being of a physician’s attention, so the dwarf Nectabanus is not an object of amusement but a protagonist in his own right. When we look beneath surface distinctions of rank, power, and species, we discover that that which appears modest (El Hakim, the dwarves, and the dog Roswal) can nevertheless be intelligent, steadfast, and capable of noble deeds.

Devéria’s illustration #7 to *The Talisman* (figure 24) demonstrates the power of love and beauty. Though it cites Chapter 4 once again, in which Sir Kenneth recognizes Edith in the procession at Engaddi by her hair and ruby ring, it visualizes an episode in Chapter 17 in which Berengaria and Edith plead with Richard to have mercy on Sir Kenneth. Berengaria is more successful than Amy Robsart had been in Roqueplan’s *The Pardon Refused* (figure 10) in using her beauty to soften her husband’s wrath; eventually, after she has displayed her ‘dishevelled,’ ‘beautiful golden tresses,’ Richard kisses her tenderly.¹⁰⁶ The link between Chapters 4 and 17 of *The Talisman* is made explicit when Richard asks Sir Kenneth he saw Berengaria and her ladies when they were on their pilgrimage to Engaddi. Sir Kenneth, after arguing that he had been unable to know their identities since he could not see their faces or hear their voices,

admits that love enabled him to recognize Edith. Richard warns him that loving beyond his station would be not simply ‘folly’ but ‘self-destructive madness.’¹⁰⁷ In Chapter 17 this comes to pass: Sir Kenneth’s love for Edith makes him desert his post guarding England’s banner for a private rendezvous with her in Queen Berengaria’s tent. Richard orders his execution.

Berengaria and her ladies in waiting are horrified that their teasing trick, intended only to demonstrate Kenneth’s love-sick folly, has endangered his life. Linking the processional in the chapel with the nocturnal rendezvous, Edith insists that his love is chaste: ‘He was indeed my lover . . . but . . . contented with such humble observance as men pay to the saints.’¹⁰⁸ But Richard cannot forgive Kenneth’s dereliction of duty or Edith’s appearance of concupiscence in Berengaria’s tent. When Berengaria offers to replace the stolen banner with a new one embroidered with pearls, Richard sternly reminds her that pearls cannot replace stained honor.¹⁰⁹ Calista, one of Berengaria’s waiting women, wishes that she could: ‘buy with every jewel I have, that our fatal jest had remained unacted.’¹¹⁰ As Kenneth recognized his beloved by the ruby ring on her hand, so the callous women who treated his love as cause for mockery now realize that love and honor are more precious than gems.

Not only do these prints offer insightful presentations of themes individually: they offer an enriched understanding of themes and characterizations by means of repetitions and resonances between works. We see such repetitions in the ambushes in *Rokeby* and in *Richard et Wamba*, the women peering through screened windows in *Ivanhoe* and *The Fair Maid of Perth*, the snarling deaths of Rashleigh in *Rob Roy* and Front-de-Bœuf in *Ivanhoe*, the display of feminine beauty to soften masculine wrath in *Kenilworth* and *The Talisman*, as well as Kenneth and Edith recognizing one another in #1 and #4 from the same novel. Thematic obverses are established as well: the jewels which reveal and conceal identity in *Kenilworth* and *Richard en Palestine* #4, *The Fair Maid of Perth*’s kisses of rash licentiousness (#8’s Louise suspended in air) and gratitude for protection from licentiousness (#19’s Catherine’s kiss of Harry, her Valentine). The templar Front-de-Bœuf threatens Isaac with violence (*Ivanhoe* #11) while the Protestant preacher Henry Warden rebukes Roland for drawing a weapon (*The Abbot* #12). Recognizing these thematic resonances permits us to propose further works for inclusion in this suite: Roqueplan’s *The Pardon Refused*, where Amy unsuccessfully (unlike Berengaria) pleads for her husband’s forgiveness, Delacroix’s Steenie and Roqueplan’s Father Philip (whose steeds recognize the incursion of the supernatural), and Delacroix’s and Achille Devéria’s arsonists Ulrica and the ‘wolf-whelp’ nephew of Jeanie Deans.

Lasting impact of the Gauguin suite’s innovations

We began with Delacroix’s acknowledgment of the difficulty of ‘grasping the thread that binds . . . together’ the author’s separate episodes of a narrative. We have seen how Delacroix and

Figure 24. Achille Devéria, *Le Talisman*, ca. 1829, lithograph. Gauguin illustration #7 *Le Talisman*, Chapter IV [sic]. Paris, H. Gauguin. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

his Romantic colleagues accomplished this in the 1820s and 1830s in the Gaugain/Ardit suite of published and prepared lithographs, both for different episodes of the same narrative and for consonant episodes of different narratives. What was the legacy of this initiative after Gaugain and Ardit ceased to publish? What was the legacy of the methodology employed in the Gaugain-Ardit lithographs of pairing images of one textual episode with a description from another textual location?

In 1844 Hippolyte Lecomte's suite of eight lithographs on Scott subjects included one such intentional cross-reference, when Berengaria's appeal to Richard cited Chapter 8 rather than the correct Chapter (17).¹¹¹ In Chapter 8 Richard is infuriated when he learns that Kenneth was at the grotto at Engaddi at the same time as Queen Berengaria and her ladies. As we have seen, in Chapter 17 Richard will question Kenneth and Edith about their time at Engaddi when he is considering their punishment. Lecomte, whose lithographs on Scott subjects in 1831 had included chapter, volume, and page number below the image, now utilized a methodology which enabled him to enrich his visualization of narrative insights.

Extensive textual and temporal cross-references occurred in an 1853 edition of a work ideally suited to such a methodology: Chateaubriand's *Les Quatre Stuarts*. This history, originally published in 1828, had been written by the vicomte de Chateaubriand (politician as well as historian and novelist) to assure readers that the Bourbons had learned from the Stuarts' mistakes so that 'the drama of revolution' could now be concluded.¹¹² Chateaubriand often ruptured linear chronology as he traced the history of the Stuarts from 1603 to 1746, as when he linked the executions of Charles I and Louis XVI ('la complicité du crime de 1649 avec celui de 1793').¹¹³

The 1853 edition of *Les Quatre Stuarts* appeared after another series of royal reverses: Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte's nationalization of the Orléans possessions (January 23, 1852) after his coup d'état (December 2, 1851). Janet-Lange's anti-chronologically placed vignettes extended Chateaubriand's temporal cross-referencing into the visual arena to represent the author's theme of suffering royalty. The last vignette, of Charles I at his execution in 1649, is inserted into text describing the revolution of 1688 and James II's exile in France. The first vignette, inserted into the text describing James I in 1603, represents his daughter-in-law Queen Henrietta-Maria fleeing into exile in 1644 (figure 25).

This anti-chronological juxtaposition of text and image provided a contemporary update to the original political comparison of Stuart and Bourbon dynasties. Chateaubriand's text stressed Henrietta-Maria's frailty (having just given birth to her daughter Henriette-Anne), her fear of decapitation, and her escape from Britain only to be thrust into civil war once more when she returned to France during the Fronde. Henriette-Anne died at age 26, soon after her marriage to Philippe d'Orléans, second son of Louis XIII.¹¹⁴ By introducing the history of the Stuarts in 1853 with an image of a vulnerable woman who had lost her throne and was menaced by civil war

Figure 25. Janet-Lange [Ange-Louis Janet], *Henriette-Marie*, in *Chateaubriand Illustré* (Paris: Hippolyte Boissard, 1853), Vol. 2, p. 1. Photo: courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

(and had given birth to a woman who would become duchesse Orléans), readers were encouraged to remember recent events: the 1848 revolution, which had caused the French Orléans dynasty to lose its throne. As in the Gaugain suite, visual and textual references support interpretation of the significance of the actions and events instead of simply re-presenting them.

Conclusion: the 'work of the reader'

The Romantic artists who participated in the Gaugain-Ardit suite — Delacroix, Roqueplan, Boulanger, and the Devéria brothers — and the others who followed their example, succeeded in a new approach to literary art capable of re-presenting in visual terms what Delacroix would call 'the work of the reader.' They succeeded with an author who was particularly challenging, since Scott often referenced other authors and historical events in order to shed light on modern characters and acts in his historical fiction, as well as foreshadowing his denouements and enriching his characterizations. The artists

participating in this suite encouraged a similar response from their audience of reader-viewers through double citation of moments in the text and juxtaposition of consonant episodes. Furthermore, as visual artists they recognized the potent impact they could have on prepared readers if they directed attention to the unseen figure, the other moment in the plot. By awakening a response in the viewer's mind, they could combine recognition of the immediate object and subject with recollection of the originals. These literary illustrations which refuse to be shackled to transparent representation, which extend the meaning of both text and image, demonstrate that it was possible for author, artist, and reader-viewer to communicate mind to mind, and for illustration to represent a swiftly moving fictional narrative to an audience of 'active readers' capable of 'grasping the thread' and engaging in the 'pleasant labor' of the 'work of the reader.'

NOTES

1 – 'Je désirais contribuer à apprendre à mieux lire dans les beaux ouvrages', Eugène Delacroix, *Journal*, ed. Michèle Hannoosh, 2 Vols. (Paris: José Corti, 2009), Vol. 1, p. 1099. This new edition is the essential source to consult. Not only does she bring in an immense amount of new material, she reconstructs Delacroix's own cross-references to earlier passages and corrects mistranscriptions in earlier editions.

2 – Eugène Delacroix, *The Journal of Eugène Delacroix*, trans. Walter Pach [1937] (New York: Viking Press, May 7, 1850), pp. 220–1. He recopied this passage on January 21, 1857 (ed. Michèle Hannoosh, Vol. 1, p. 1083).

3 – On Delacroix's fiction (*Alfred* and *Les Dangers de la cour*) and theatre (*Victoria*), see Jean Marchand, 'ED homme de lettres d'après trois œuvres de jeunesse inédites', *Le livre et l'estampe*, 19, no. 3 (1959), pp. 173–84. *Alfred* and *Les Dangers de la cour* are discussed in Beth S. Wright, *Painting and History during the French Restoration: Abandoned by the Past* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 128–31.

4 – 'Il faut classer, diviser, suivre les développements et ne pas les pousser trop loin. Comment faire un livre . . . surtout quand on n'a pas pris l'habitude d'embrasser un ensemble en même temps que les parties séparées, de les coordonner avec des liaisons assez bien ménagées pour mettre en saillie tout ce qui est important et doit fixer l'attention du lecteur?' Eugène Delacroix, 'Littérateurs et littérature', in *Œuvres Littéraires*, ed. Elie Faure, 2 Vols. (Paris: G. Crès & Cie, 1923), Vol. 1, pp. 91–101, p. 93, p. 91.

5 – 'On a dit que les rivières sont des chemins qui marchent. On pourrait dire que les livres sont des portions de tableaux en mouvement dont l'un succède à l'autre sans qu'il soit possible de les embrasser à la fois. Pour saisir le lien qui les unit, il faut dans le lecteur presque autant d'intelligence que dans l'auteur. Si c'est un ouvrage de fantaisie, qui ne s'adresse qu'à l'imagination, cette attention peut devenir un plaisir'. Delacroix, *Journal* (January 21, 1857) Michèle Hannoosh, Vol. 1, pp. 1082–3.

6 – In his journal entry of October 8, 1822 he compares creating a beautiful painting to 'writing a thought': 'Quand j'ai fait un beau tableau, je n'ai pas écrit une pensée. C'est ce qu'ils disent. Qu'ils sont simples! Ils ôtent à la peinture tous ses avantages'. (ed. Hannoosh, Vol. 1, p. 90.) On January 25, 1857 he described painting as 'a bridge spanning the space between the mind of the painter and that of the spectator': 'un pont jeté entre l'esprit du peintre et celui du spectateur'. (Vol. 1, p. 1093)

7 – 'The constant movement of the imagination thus makes special demands upon the image: . . . it must take account of this "imperfection" in the viewing subject, and incorporate a temporality by which its own properties—instantaneity, simultaneity, concentration of effect, assured interest—may be fully realized. The pictorial must be reconsidered, reconceived in terms of the natural instability, the "literary" temporality, of the imagination'. Michele Hannoosh, *Painting and the Journal of Eugène Delacroix* (Princeton, NJ:

Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 53. See her discussion pp. 45–51 of Delacroix's disagreement with Lessing on limits of the arts.

8 – On the relationship between Romanticism, illustration, and the development of a newly literate, actively engaged mass audience see Beth S. Wright, "'That Other Historian, the Illustrator': Voices and Vignettes in Mid-Nineteenth Century France', *Oxford Art Journal*, 23, no. 1 (2000), pp. 113–36.

9 – One contemporary example is a suite of six works by Hippolyte Lecomte on themes from Scott's novels, lithographed by Delaunois (Paris: Chaillou and Dero-Becker, 1831).

10 – Ludovic Vitet, 'De la Vignette' (1828) in *Fragments et Mélanges. Etudes sur les Beaux-Arts*, 2 Vols. (Paris: Charpentier, 1846), Vol. 1, pp. 395–401. First published as 'Vignettes pour les Chansons de Béranger' (signed L. V.) in *Le Globe* tome 7, no. 49 (May 20, 1829) according to Jean-Jacques Goblot, *Le Globe 1824–1830. Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la presse littéraire* (Paris: Champion, 1993), p. 144.

11 – ' . . . tout art qui en suit un autre à la trace abdique sa propre vertu et devient impuissant. . . . Toute imitation littérale d'un art par un autre art ce se fait qu'aux dépens de l'imitateur. . . . En tête des tragédies et des comédies on vit assez souvent paraître une estampe représentant presque exactement une scène de la pièce telle qu'elle se passait sur le théâtre. Ce genre de vignettes que nous appelons littérales, a donc duré, tous faux qu'il est, près de deux siècles'. Vitet, 'De la Vignette' in *Fragments et Mélanges*, 1 (1828), pp. 396–7, p. 399.

12 – 'no. 109 ILLUSTRATIONS DE WALTER SCOTT, par A. DEVERIA, C. ROQUEPLAN et BOULANGER. Le nom seul de cet auteur européen suffirait pour attirer l'attention sur des reproductions de ses pensées les plus intéressantes et les plus vraies, si celui des artistes qui les exécutent n'était un sûr garant du mérite de cet ouvrage'. *Catalogue des fonds d'Estampes de E. Ardit, successeur de Henri Gauguain et Cie, Imprimeur-lithographe, éditeur, commissionnaire. Magasins et ateliers, Rue Vivienne, n. 2 et Galerie Colbert, n. 7.* (Paris: Tastu, 1830).

13 – Roland Barthes, *Le Plaisir du texte* (Paris: Seuil, 1973), trans. Richard Miller, *The Pleasure of the Text* (London: Cape, 1975); reprinted in *A Critical and Cultural Theory Reader*, eds Antony Easthope and Kate McGowan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), pp. 96–9, p. 97.

14 – This suite of lithographs was first discussed by Paul Joannides in his dissertation *English Literary Subjects in French Painting, 1800–1863* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1974), Chapter 5, pp. 168–72. I would like to express my appreciation to Paul Joannides, who discovered illustration #13 by Eugène Devéria and graciously provided me with a photograph of it, as well as recently sharing with me the section from his unpublished PhD thesis which dealt with this suite. See also Beth S. Wright, 'Walter Scott et la gravure française. A propos de la collection des estampes "scottesques" conservée au Département des estampes, Paris', *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, 93 (July 1987), pp. 6–18; Beth S. Wright, 'Henri Gauguain et le Musée Colbert: l'entreprise d'un directeur de galerie et d'un éditeur d'art à l'époque romantique', *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, 114 (December 1990), pp. 24–30.

15 – See Martyn Lyons, 'In Search of the Bestsellers of Nineteenth-Century France, 1815–1850', *Reading Culture and Writing Practices in Nineteenth-Century France* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp. 15–42.

16 – According to Lyons' chart of French bestsellers 1826–1830 (Tables 2–4, pp. 22–3), Scott provided four of 30 titles: *Ivanhoe* (10 editions), *L'Antiquaire* (10 editions), *L'Abbé* (10 editions) and *Quentin Durward* (10 editions). See also Maurice Samuels, *The Spectacular Past. Popular History and the Novel in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), Chapter 4 'Scott Comes to France', pp. 162–86.

17 – M.G. Devonshire, *The English Novel in France, 1830–1870* [1929] (New York: Octagon, 1967), p. 6.

18 – 'homme que je regard comme le plus grand maître qu'il y ait jamais eu en fait de divination historique'. [italics in original] Thierry in Henri Blaze de Bury, *Mes études et mes souvenirs. Alexandre Dumas: Sa Vie, Son Temps, Son Oeuvre* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1885), p. 21, cited by Eric Partridge in *The French Romantics*

Knowledge of English Literature (1820–1848) according to contemporary French memoirs, letters, and periodicals (Paris: Revue de Littérature Comparée, 1924), pp. 294–5. 18 – ‘... chose singulière, mais qui ne surprendra point ceux qui ont lu ses précédents ouvrages, c’est dans un roman qu’il a entrepris d’éclairer ce grand point d’histoire...’ Walter Scott, entrant profondément dans l’examen des faits, nous montre des masses d’hommes, des intérêts, des existences distinctes, deux peuples, un langage double, des mœurs qui se repoussent et se combattent...’ Augustin Thierry, ‘Sur la Conquête de l’Angleterre par les Normands. A propos du roman *Ivanhoe*’, *Censeur Européen* (May 20, 1820), reprinted in *Dix Ans d’Etudes historiques* (Paris: Just Tessier, 1834), pp. 131–40, pp. 131–34.

19 – On Scott’s impact on French art, see Beth S. Wright, ‘Scott’s Historical Novels and French Historical Painting 1815–1855’, *Art Bulletin*, 63 (June 1981), pp. 268–87; Beth S. Wright and Paul Joannides, ‘Les romans historiques de Sir Walter Scott et la peinture française, 1822–1863 (première partie)’, *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français*, année 1982 (1984), pp. 119–32; Beth S. Wright and Paul Joannides, ‘Les romans historiques de Sir Walter Scott et la peinture française, 1822–1863 (deuxième partie)’, *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français*, année 1983 (1985), 95–115; Beth S. Wright, ‘“Seeing with the Painter’s Eye”: Sir Walter Scott’s Challenge to Nineteenth-Century Art’, in *The Reception of Scott in Europe*, ed. Murray G. Pittock (London and New York: Continuum, 2007), pp. 293–312.

20 – ‘Outre ces caractères qui dérivent de l’état politique du pays, l’auteur d’*Ivanhoe* n’a pas manqué d’en introduire d’autres qui dérivent des opinions du siècle. Il peint... le templier fanatique... le prêtre hypocrite et sensuel; le juif, humble, souple et patient, entouré du mépris et de périls’. Thierry, ‘Sur la Conquête de l’Angleterre par les Normands’, reprinted in *Dix Ans d’Etudes historiques*, p. 138.

21 – Delacroix, *Journal* (December 31, 1860) ed. Hannoosh, Vol. 2, pp. 1374–5.

22 – See Lee Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix: A Critical Catalogue*, 6 Vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981–1989), L 94, Vol. 1 (1981), p. 203; Vol. 3 (1986), p. 316; Lee Johnson, ‘A new Delacroix: “Rebecca and the Wounded Ivanhoe”’, *Burlington Magazine*, 126, no. 974 (May 1984), pp. 280–1; Véronique Moreau, ‘Delacroix lecteur de Walter Scott’, pp. 145–84 in *Delacroix en Touraine* (exhibition catalog by Philippe Le Leyzour; Musée des Beaux-Arts de Tours, 1998), S. 9 *Rébecca et Ivanhoe blessé*, p. 153. Signed and dated 1823, it passed into the hands of the dealer Coutan in December 1823 and was sold by Coutan on March 9, 1829. Delacroix painted the subject again in 1858; see Johnson, *Paintings of Delacroix*, J 329, Vol. 3 (1986), pp. 146–7 and supplement, Vol. 6 (1989), p. 204.

23 – See Loys Delteil, *Le Peintre-graveur illustré, III. Ingres-Delacroix* (Paris, 1908; 1969). Rev. and trans. by Susan Strauber as *Eugène Delacroix. The Graphic Work. A Catalogue Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 1997), no. 85, pp. 216–7; Margret Stufmann, *Eugène Delacroix. Themen und Variationen. Arbeiten auf Papier* (exhibition catalog; Frankfurt-am-Main: Städelschen Kunstinstitut, 1987), G 1, pp. 103–5; Barthélémy Jobert et al., *Delacroix. Le trait romantique* (exhibition catalog; Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1998), no. 94, p. 99; Véronique Moreau, S. 15 *Front-de-Bœuf et le Juif*, pp. 152–4; Barthélémy Jobert, ‘Delacroix et l’estampe: chronologie, techniques, collaborations’, *Revue de l’art*, 127 (2000–2001), pp. 43–61, especially pp. 57–58.

24 – Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe* (New York: Bantam Books Classic Edition, 1988), Chapter 24, pp. 202–12, p. 206.

25 – See Delteil, no. 83, pp. 212–3; Stufmann, G 4, pp. 106–8; Véronique Moreau, S. 3 *La fiancée de Lammermoor*, pp. 150–1.

26 – Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor* (London: Dent and New York: Dutton, Everyman edition, 1973), Chapter 5, pp. 53–67, pp. 56–7.

27 – Scott, *Bride of Lammermoor*, Chapter 20, pp. 195–205, pp. 196–201.

28 – Scott, *Bride of Lammermoor*, Chapter 29, pp. 284–90, pp. 89–90.

29 – Delacroix had already produced a watercolor (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, ca. 1824) of the insane, blood-spattered, gibbering Lucy.

30 – Martin Kemp, ‘Scott and Delacroix, with some Assistance from Hugo and Bonington’, *Scott Bicentenary Essays*, ed. Alan Bell (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Academic Press, 1973), pp. 213–27, p. 223, n. 39. Kemp mistakenly stated that the correct textual citation was Chapter 19 instead of Chapter 20, which Strauber corrected (p. 212, n. 219).

31 – ‘It was clearly the most important Scott series undertaken in France, including book illustration, but editorially, with a large number of incorrect references, deplorably slapdash’. Joannides, *English Literary Subjects in French Painting*, pp. 170–1.

32 – See Archives Nationales: F⁸⁸* VI. t. 10 (1829); juin 13/ #367 Gauguain/Gauguin. Illustrations de Walter Scott. Sujets lithographiés tirés de ses romans par Devéria et Roqueplan pl 4,8,9, et 25; juillet 22/ #462 Gauguain/Gauguin. [. . .] nos 5,6,7, et 8; septembre 5/ #640 h. Gauguain/h. Gauguain. . . [no numbers given]; septembre 5, 1829/#648 Gauguain. . . [no numbers given]. This information is repeated virtually verbatim in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Cabinet des Estampes Ye. 79 ‘dépôt légal des estampes et planches gravées’ for the same dates. The *Bibliographie de la France ou Journal Général de l’Imprimerie et de la Librairie* t.XVIII (Paris, 1829) notes the publication of four plates on June 20, 1829; four more on August 1, 1829; and four more on September 12, 1829, without plate numbers. The title page and numbers 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19 and 21 were simultaneously published in Paris and London, by Engelmann, Graff and Coindet.

33 – *Le Mentor*’s admiring review of the first two *livraisons* (four plates each) included a promise to write again about ‘cette jolie publication qui aura huit livraisons’. ‘Variétés’, *Le Mentor* (8 août 1829), issue 2021, p. 4.

34 – Armand-Pierre-Henri Gauguain (b. 1799) left his legal studies to work in the publishing firm of Lambert and Noël. In 1826 he went into business for himself at 2 Rue Vivienne (the shop) and 34 Rue Vaugirard (the studio). The contract with Bioche de Misery, entered into June 23, 1827 (Archives de Paris D31 U3 no. 757), was dissolved in November 1829, resulting in a lawsuit for 25,000 francs and Gauguain’s bankruptcy in 1831 (acte sous seing privé July 31, 1831, Archives de Paris DQ7 no. 9164). On Gauguain’s career, see Linda Whiteley, ‘Art et commerce d’art en France avant l’époque impressionniste’, *Romantisme*, 4 (1983), pp. 63–75; Wright, ‘Henri Gauguain et le Musée Colbert’.

35 – On the career of Jean-Marie-Etienne Ardit (b. 1801), see Archives Nationales F¹⁸ 1727, ‘Brevet d’imprimeurs’; report of May 6, 1828. Ardit’s 1831 dossier of bankruptcy in the Archives de Paris D12 U3 no. 7047 carton 90 was lost with the other 1831 dossiers.

36 – Although illustrations 1–9 and 11 have no date printed on them, the information in the Archives Nationales and the Cabinet des Estampes allow us to date to June and July 1829 illustrations 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9.

37 – *Catalogue des tableaux et objets d’art exposés dans le Musée Colbert* (November 1829) #77: Eugène Devéria, Les Nains (sujet tiré de WALTER SCOTT, *Le Talisman*)

Les Nains, dirigeant alors la lumière de leur lampe sur le chevalier l’examinèrent à leur tour avec attention, et, se tournant l’un vers l’autre, ils le saluèrent d’un éclat de rire sauvage qui retentit à ses oreilles. (*Le Talisman*, WALTER SCOTT)

38 – *Catalogue du fonds d’Estampes de E. Ardit, successeur de Henri Gauguain et Cie, Imprimeur-lithographe, éditeur, commissionnaire. Magasins et ateliers, Rue Vivienne, n.2 et Galerie Colbert, n.7. contenant en outre divers tarifs d’impressions, articles relatifs à l’impression, pierres lithographiques, cadres, verres, etc. Expédie tous les articles relatifs à la gravure, à la lithographie, à la peinture* (Paris, Tastu, 1830).

39 – The most likely date is September 1829, since both illustrations #12 and #13 carry that date on the print and the Ardit brochure provides chapter location for #12 (Achille Devéria’s *The Abbot*, Chapter 4) but only novel and theme (‘les deux nains’) for #13 (Achille Devéria’s *The Talisman*, Chapter 5). Since the Ardit brochure does not include chapter numbers for half of the suite, its information, though helpful, is not always conclusive. For example, the entry for Delacroix’s *La Fiancée de Lammermoor* (‘rendez-vous à la fontaine’) refers to both Chapters 5 and 20.

40 – Wright, ‘Henri Gauguain et le Musée Colbert’, especially pp. 24–5. The Devéria brothers (who shared a studio with Boulanger) lived on rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs near Hugo. Madame Tastu dedicated a poem to Achille Devéria in 1825. Achille Devéria began courting Celeste Motte in 1827, marrying her in 1829. See Maximilien Gauthier, *La Vie et l’Art romantique. Achille et Eugène Devéria* (Paris: Floury, 1925), pp. 72–3; Stephen Bann, *Parallel Lines*.

Printmakers, Painters and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century France (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001); DeCourcy E. McIntosh, 'The origins of the Maison Goupil in the age of Romanticism', *The British Art Journal*, 5, no. 1 (2004), pp. 64–76. Marie-Hélène Girard described the relationships between the artists and writers in Nodier's circle at the Arsenal as well as Hugo's Petit Cénacle in 'Un de ces nobles noms rayonnant d'espérance' in *Eugène Devéria 1805–1865* (essays to accompany exhibitions at the Musée national du château de Pau and the Musée des Beaux-arts de Pau, 2005), pp. 25–46; Paul Mironneau emphasized the close connection which both Devéria brothers had with publishers as well as authors in 'L'histoire au goût d'un romantique', *ibid.*, pp. 109–31.

41 – Jobert, 'Delacroix et l'estampe', pp. 57, 58. This *Richard et Wamba-Sancho*, previously in Tb. Mat 1 Don Quichotte, is now attributed to Delacroix (De 183 rés). The other two *Sancho* plates, which Jobert described as of 'très faible qualité' (p. 58), remained anonymous. I attribute them to Louis Boulanger (see below). Jobert suggested that Delacroix had prepared *Richard et Wamba* for Gauguin's suite in 1829, and that Gauguin, for 'raisons indéterminées', had not published the print but sold the lithographic stone at a later date to Chardot. (p. 58). As we have seen, bankruptcies disrupted Gauguin's and Ardit's publishing program. On Delacroix's *Richard et Wamba*, see Delteil 84; Véronique Moreau, S. 21 *Richard et Wamba*, pp. 152–5.

42 – Jobert, 'Delacroix et l'estampe', p. 61, n. 61. Jobert did not address the question whether Chardot had titled the prints 'Sancho' by mistake or deliberately, in order to appeal to a wider audience. By 1835 Scott's novels were less popular than they had been in 1829. We know that Delacroix's *La Soeur de Duguesclin* (Delteil 81) and *Duguesclin* (Delteil 82) from Mme Amable Tastu's *Chroniques de France* (Paris: Gauguin, 1829) when they were republished in state iii/state iv had artist, author, and text changed to C. Roqueplan, Ligny et Duplaix, and 'La Tour de Nesle' or 'Entrée du Duc de Bourgogne' from *Scènes de la Fronde*.

43 – Delacroix, *Journal* ed. Hannoosh, Vol. 2, p. 1375.

44 – Scott, *Ivanhoe*, Chapter 40, p. 373.

45 – Delteil 86; Stiffmann G2; Jobert, 'Delacroix, et l'estampe', p. 57; Paul Joannides, 'Delacroix and Modern Literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to Delacroix*, ed. Beth S. Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 130–53, pp. 139–40.

46 – Scott, *Ivanhoe*, Chapter 30, pp. 266–74, p. 272.

47 – Delacroix, *Journal*, ed. Hannoosh, Vol. 2, p. 1375: 'Frondebœuf brûlant dans son lit'. See Véronique Moreau, S. 19 *Front-de-Bœuf et la sorcière ou Boisuilbert sur son lit maudit par la sorcière*, pp. 152–4. Scott makes it clear that smoke is already entering the room and that we are witnessing the early stage of the 'parricide's death bed'.

48 – Joannides, 'Delacroix and Modern Literature', pp. 139–40. See Delteil 88; Véronique Moreau, S. 39 *Steenie*, 1829–1841, p. 159. Citing Robaut no. 300, she describes the plate as having been initiated in 1829, set aside, and taken up once again in 1841.

49 – Sir Walter Scott, *Redgauntlet* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd; New York: Dutton, Everyman's Library edition, 1970 reprint), Letter XI 'The Same to the Same' [Darsie Latimer to Alan Fairford], pp. 110–30, including 'Wandering Willie's Tale', pp. 112–29.

50 – In 1829 Delacroix exhibited a similar subject at the Galerie Lebrun: *Tam O'Shanter pursued by witches*, a subject which he painted twice in this period (ca. 1825 and ca. 1829) as well as a third time in 1849. Like Steenie, Tam was drunk when he encountered the supernatural. See Joannides, 'Delacroix and literature', p. 217, n. 21 J. 109 (1:94–5), ca. 1825, Nottingham, Castle Museum; J. 139 (1:136–7), ca. 1829, private collection; J. 296a (6:204), 1849, Basel, Kunstmuseum.

51 – Purchased from Prouté and donated to the Cabinet des Estampes in 1837. 'Walter Scott, *Rob Roy*. Chapter XI et XVII. Planches XV et XVIII des *Illustrations* de Walter Scott. — 2 lith. petit in-4°. Paris, Gauguin. Planches médiocres. Nous ne connaissons pas d'autres sujets de cette suite', Aristide Marie, *Le Peintre-Poète Louis Boulanger* (Paris, 1912), p. 122. Marie did not mention Boulanger's contribution of the fantastic figures to the print illustrating *The Antiquary* Chapter 18, although his name is listed with Achille

Devéria's on the print; dated October 1829, it is number 20 on the print but described as illustration #10 in the Ardit brochure.

52 – Sir Walter Scott, *Rob Roy* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. and New York: Dutton; Everyman's Library Edition, 1973) Chapter 17, pp. 151–60, p. 159.

53 – Scott, *Rob Roy*, Chapter 39, pp. 372–83, pp. 380–81.

54 – This is not the first time that these subjects were confused. As Paul Joannides has noted, Camille Roqueplan's watercolor of the same subject (ca. 1825–1830, in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Deane F. Johnson) was misidentified as *Don Quixote at Home after His Second Sally* although Noon recognized that it diverged from the text. See Patrick Noon, *Richard Parkes Bonington 'On the Pleasure of Painting'* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), no. 117, p. 237.

55 – Musée Colbert (May 1832) #32 Boulanger, *La jolie fille de Perth*. I would like to thank the anonymous reader of this essay for the suggestion that the female figure here resembles Odette de Champdivers in Delacroix's *Charles VI and Odette de Champdivers* (ca. 1825, private collection); see Johnson J 110, Vol. 1, pp. 96–7. In addition Catherine's angular elbows and costume resemble those of Delacroix's Marguerite in 'Faust cherchant à séduire Marguerite' (Delteil 65). Boulanger's figures often resemble Delacroix's in this period. Paul Joannides has discussed Delacroix's influence on Boulanger, particularly that of the *Faust* series; see Joannides, 'Delacroix and Modern Literature', in Wright, *Cambridge Companion to Delacroix*, p. 151.

56 – 'I have slain — murdered, if you will — my late master, the Duke of Rothsay. The spark of life which your kindness would have fed was easily smothered. . . . you know the crime, but you know not the provocation. See! This gauntlet is empty. I lost my right hand in his cause; and when I was no longer fit to serve him, I was cast off. . . .' Sir Walter Scott, *The Fair Maid of Perth*; or, *Saint Valentine's Day* (T. Nelson & sons, London, Edinburgh, Dublin, NY [?1880–1920]), Chapter 32, pp. 478–502, pp. 490–1. Ramorny's amputated hand is a persisting motif in the novel. The Duke of Albany compares the removal of the Prince from court (and Ramorny's influence) to a surgical amputation. Scott, *Fair Maid of Perth*, Chapter 21, pp. 315–30, pp. 318–19.

57 – Scott, *Fair Maid of Perth*, Chapter 4, pp. 41–51, pp. 45–6.

58 – Scott, *Fair Maid of Perth*, Chapter 5, pp. 52–64, p. 58.

59 – Edgar Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott. The Great Unknown*, 2 Vols. (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd, 1970), Vol. 1, p. 749.

60 – Sir Walter Scott, *The Monastery* (J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, Everyman's Library edition, 1969 reprint), Chapter 5, pp. 78–89, pp. 87–8.

61 – *Ibid.*, p. 88.

62 – In 1828 Gauguin published Garnier's lithograph after Roqueplan's 1827 Salon painting of Halbert summoning the White Lady, another theme from Scott's *The Monastery* (*La dame blanche*, Salon 1827 (2e supplement #1727)). It is possible that Roqueplan's composition for 'le bain du sacristain' was also exhibited in the Salon of 1827, side by side with this painting, pairing themes from *The Monastery*. The archives of the Salon du Louvre for 1827 (registre 2492) note 'une marine (ordre verbal)' for the work exhibited as *Sujet tiré du Monastère, de Walter Scott* (1827, 2nd supplement 1728). See Wright and Joannides, 'romans historiques de Sir Walter Scott et la peinture française (deuxième partie)', p. 105.

63 – Watercolor with lead white on stiff wove paper, 24.4 × 19.1, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; purchase, gift of Mrs. Gardner Cassatt, by exchange, 1998 (1998. 226). See *Constable to Delacroix: British Art and the French Romantics 1820–1840* curated by Patrick Noon (London: Tate Publishing, 2003), no. 182, p. 275. A colored lithograph of this scene was published by Charles Motte (Achille Devéria's father-in-law) in a suite of Roqueplan prints entitled *Album de douze sujets* (Motte: London and Paris, 1831).

64 – Sir Walter Scott, *Kenilworth* (London: Dent and New York: Dutton, Everyman's Library edition, 1968), Chapter 35, pp. 389–97, pp. 392–3.

65 – *Ibid.*, p. 396.

66 – Joannides, 'Delacroix and Modern Literature', p. 140; n. 55, p. 219. Delacroix, *Quentin Durward Overhears the Plot of Hayraddin and Lanzknecht Heinrich*, ca. 1828, pen and brown ink with grey wash drawing, 27 × 21 cm., Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, NM H 60/1920. See also Maurice Sérullaz, 'Unpublished Drawings by Eugène Delacroix at the Nationalmuseum,

Stockholm', *Master Drawings*, 5, no. 4 (1967), pp. 404–6; Per Bjurström, *French Drawings. Nineteenth Century* (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 1986), no. 1500; Véronique Moreau, S. 58 (catalog 25) *Quentin Durward surprend le complot* (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, ca. 1828), pp. 172–4.

67 – Sir Walter Scott, *Quentin Durward* (New York: New American Library [Signet Classic], 1963), Chapter 17 'The Espied Spy', pp. 243–53, p. 245.

68 – Scott, *Quentin Durward*, Chapter 15 'The Guide' (Hayraddin), pp. 220–9, pp. 228–9.

69 – Scott, *Quentin Durward*, Chapter 16 'The Vagrant', pp. 230–4, p. 232.

70 – Ibid., p. 233.

71 – Sir Walter Scott, *The Heart of Midlothian* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), Chapter 52, pp. 548–56, p. 553.

72 – Ibid.

73 – Ibid., p. 555. Scott stresses his animal nature; having been a 'sheep designed for the slaughter' (p. 553) he 'bounded through the woods like a deer' after escaping through the window.

74 – *Oeuvres Complètes de sir Walter Scott*, trans. A.-J.-B. Defauconpret, 84 Vols. (Paris: Gosselin, 1826–1828), with illustrations by Alexandre-Joseph Desenne, Alfred and Tony Johannot, and Eugène Lami, inspired only five of the 19 completed lithographs' themes and/or visual compositions: Gaugain #7 (Berengaria begging Richard's mercy for Kenneth, from *The Talisman*); Gaugain #9 (Kenneth and the Moorish physician from *The Talisman*, but from a different moment in the novel); Ardit #17 (the dead bird at Lucy's feet from *The Bride of Lammermoor*); Ardit #18 (Diana and Frank from *Rob Roy*); and Ardit #19 (Catherine's St. Valentine's kiss from *The Fair Maid of Perth*). Four paintings of Berengaria's appeal to Richard had been exhibited in London: H. Fradelle, *The Queen and Edith imploring Richard Coeur de Lion to grant the life of Sir Kenneth*, B.I. 1827 (31); H. Singleton, *The Queen and Edith interceding for the life of the Knight of the Lion*, B.I. 1827 (143); H.C. Jones, *Berengaria entreating for the life of Sir Kenneth*, S.B.A. 1827 (179); J. Stephanoff, *Berengaria with Edith and her attendants interceding with Richard Coeur de Lion for the life of Sir Kenneth*, W.C.S. 1827 (297).

75 – W.H. Brooke, *The Nubian Slave in the Tent of Edith Plantagenet*, S.B.A. 1826 (423); re-exhibited R.H.A. 1828 (17). E.E. Kendrick, *Edith Plantagenet dropping the rosebud in the chapel of Engaddi*, R.A. 1826 (635); re-exhibited S.B.A. 1827 (617); R.S.A. 1828 (304), Edinburgh Royal Institution 1830 (23). H. Fradelle, *The Earl of Leicester's Visit to Amy Robsart at Cumnor Place*, B.I. 1825 (81). This theme, illustrated by Stothard in 1820, also inspired an oil by Bonington (*Amy Robsart and Leicester*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, ca. 1827), which appeared as a lithograph 'Le doux reproche' in *Cahiers de six sujets* (1826); see Noon, Bonington 'On the Pleasure of Painting', no. 141, p. 270. A. Beaumont, *The Duke of Rothsay protecting Louisa*, S.B.A. 1829 (190). J.D. Paul, *Father Philip preparing to pass the ford*, R.A. 1822 (383). Devéria's composition for Ardit #12 *The Abbot* cites Robert Smirke's *Mary Queen of Scots Reproved by Knox*; see below. In addition, the grouping of preacher with raised arm, crouching youth, and seated mature figure is similar to the composition in Richard Westall's *The Monastery. Warden Reproving Julian Avenel for His Injustice to Catherine* (engraved by Charles Heath for Hurst, Robinson & Co., 1821).

76 – Renoux, *Frondebauf menaçant Isaac d'York de la question pour lui faire payer une forte rançon. Sujet tiré d'Ivanhoe*, Société des Amis des Arts 'au profit de la Caisse ouverte pour l'extinction de la mendacité', Galerie Lebrun, Paris 1829 (200). Marie-Claude Chaudonneret cites reviews of the exhibition appearing in the *Journal des artistes* as early as April 5, 1829; see *L'État & les Artistes. De la Restauration à la monarchie de juillet (1815–1833)* (Paris: Flammarion, 1999), p. 236, n. 55 to Chapter 4, p. 111.

77 – Sir Walter Scott, *The Antiquary* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. and New York: Dutton; Everyman's Library Edition, 1969) Chapter 18, pp. 160–71, p. 166.

78 – Ibid., p. 170.

79 – Ibid., p. 169.

80 – Ibid., p. 170.

81 – Scott, *Ivanhoe*, Chapter 22, pp. 186–94, p. 188.

82 – Walter Scott, *The Talisman* (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1954), Chapter 5, pp. 78–82, pp. 78–80.

83 – Scott, *The Talisman*, Chapter 4, pp. 67–77, p. 70.

84 – Ibid., pp. 72–3.

85 – Ibid., p. 74.

86 – Scott, *The Talisman*, Chapter 25, pp. 266–72, p. 270.

87 – Scott, *Kenilworth*, Chapter 7, pp. 67–89, p. 67.

88 – Devéria's interest in this subject may have been stimulated by seeing Delacroix's painting *Rebecca and the Wounded Ivanhoe* (1823), since Coutan's sale occurred several months before Devéria's plate #5 was submitted by Gaugain to the dépôt légal and Archives Nationales on July 22, 1829 #462 (plates 5, 6, 7, 8).

89 – Scott, *Ivanhoe*, Chapter 29, pp. 256–66, p. 257.

90 – See Beth S. Wright, 'The Auld Alliance in Nineteenth-century French Painting: The Changing Concept of Mary Stuart, 1814–1833', *Arts Magazine*, 58, no. 7 (March 1984), 97–107, p. 100. The Bowyer Historic Gallery exerted a significant influence over French artists, particularly when their paintings or prints described British subjects. Delaroche's quotations of works from this source for his *Joan of Arc* (1824) (Northcote's *Feckenham Visits Lady Jane Grey*), *Death of Elizabeth* (1827) (Smirke's portrayal of the same subject), and *Jane Grey* (1833) (Opie's *Execution of Mary Stuart*) were the subject of extensive critical commentary. See Wright, *Painting and History*, pp. 94–5, 215–6; Stephen Bann, 'Paul Delaroche's Early Work in the Context of English History Painting', *Oxford Art Journal*, 29.3 (2006), pp. 341–69.

91 – Scott, *The Fair Maid of Perth*, Chapter 32, pp. 478–502, p. 484.

92 – Scott, *The Fair Maid of Perth*, Chapter 9, pp. 116–28, p. 125.

93 – Scott, *The Fair Maid of Perth*, Chapter 11, pp. 143–57, p. 149.

94 – Scott, *The Fair Maid of Perth*, Chapter 10, pp. 128–42, p. 134.

95 – Ibid., pp. 140–1.

96 – Scott, *The Fair Maid of Perth*, Chapter 11, p. 153.

97 – Scott, *The Talisman*, Chapter 4, p. 74.

98 – Scott, *The Talisman*, Chapter 8, pp. 104–13, p. 109.

99 – Ibid., p. 110.

100 – Ibid., p. 109.

101 – Ibid., p. 112.

102 – Scott, *The Talisman*, Chapter 14, pp. 165–71, p. 165.

103 – 'Beside the couch sat on a cushion, also composed of skins, the Moorish physician . . . cross-legged, after the Eastern fashion', Scott, *The Talisman*, Chapter 7, pp. 93–103, p. 100.

104 – Scott, *The Talisman*, Chapter 5, p. 79.

105 – Ibid., p. 80.

106 – Scott, *The Talisman*, Chapter 17, pp. 185–92, p. 187.

107 – Scott, *The Talisman*, Chapter 9, pp. 114–25, p. 120.

108 – Ibid., pp. 189–90.

109 – Ibid., p. 188.

110 – Ibid., p. 192.

111 – Jazet's lithographic suite after works by Hippolyte Lecomte and Claudius Jacquand was entitled *Huit pièces sur des thèmes de W. Scott* (Paris: Goupil & Vibert; London: E. Gabbart & Junin, 1844). Lecomte's painting for this graphic work (*La reine Bérengère*, exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1835, no. 1291) was identified in the *livret* as belonging to Jazet, as was another work lithographed for the same suite on a subject from *Anne of Geierstein* (Salon 1835, no. 1292).

112 – 'Les Stuarts ont passé, les Bourbons resteront, parce qu'en nous rapportant leur gloire, ils ont adopté les libertés récentes, douloureusement enfantées par nos malheurs. . . . Alors le drame de la révolution s'est terminé'. François-René, vicomte de Chateaubriand, *Les Quatre Stuarts* in *Œuvres Complètes de Chateaubriand*, 10 Vols. (Paris: Eugène and Victor Penaud frères, 1849–1850), Vol. 3 (1850), pp. 155–272, pp. 267–8. In Chateaubriand, *Œuvres Illustrées* (Paris: H. Boissard, 1852–1853), 7 Vols., *Les Quatre Stuarts* illustrated by Janet-Lange [Ange-Louise Janet], Vol. 2, pp. 1–35, p. 35. François-René, vicomte de Chateaubriand, *Les Quatre Stuarts* (1828); first published in *Œuvres Complètes* (Paris: Ladvocat, 1826–1831), 28 Vols. in *Mélanges et Poesies*, Vol. 22, pp. 79–278. See Wright, *Painting and History*, pp. 97–101; Beth S. Wright, 'Delaroche's *Cromwell* and the Historians', *Word & Image*, 16.1 (2000), 77–90, especially p. 80.

113 – Chateaubriand, *Les Quatre Stuarts*, Penaud frères ed., Vol. 3, p. 217.

114 – Ibid., pp. 171, 172.

Appendix

Illustrations de Walter Scott. Sujets lithographiés tirés de ses romans par A. Devéria et C. Roqueplan

A Paris, chez Henry Gaugain & Cie

Rue Vivienne No 2 et Rue de Vaugirard No 34

London by Engelman, Geoff, Coindet et Compe

St Martin's lane, Leicester Square

[Walter Scott, seated in front of rock/castle (Edinburgh) and a ruined Gothic Cathedral]

Achille Devéria

Gaugain #1

Histoires du temps des Croisades WALTER-SCOTT Chapter XXV

A. Devéria inv.t & del.t, Imp. lith. de H. Gaugain

Paris, H. Gaugain

Et le Chevalier, se prosternant à ses pieds, avec tous les signes du désespoir, se hasarda à porter la main sur le pan de sa robe, pour la retenir.

She was about to shoot from the Knight, when kneeling at her feet in bitter agony, he ventured to lay his hand upon her robe and oppose her departure.

Gaugain #2

Rokeby WALTER-SCOTT Chant IV

A. Devéria inv.t et del.t Imp. lith. de H. Gaugain

Paris, H. Gaugain [no date given]

Le farouche Bertram se traine sur ses genoux et sur ses mains, jusqu'à ce qu'il se trouve vis-à-vis de Redmond, il relève sa carabine.

On hands and knees fierce Bertram drew/The spreading birch and hazels through,/Till he had Redmond fiell (??) in view,/The gun he levell'd.

Gaugain #3

La Jolie fille de Perth WALTER-SCOTT Chapter IX [Chapter 32]

Roqueplan fec.t Imp. lith. de H. Gaugain

Paris, H. Gaugain [no date given]

Elle transmet au Prince, par ce moyen, des gateaux qu'elle avait apportés et qu'elle trempa dans le bouillon, pour qu'ils pussent lui servir de nourriture et de boisson.

And by means of a cleft in the top of the wand, Catherine transmitted several morsels of the soft cakes, soaked in broth, which served at once for food, and for drink.

Gaugain #4

Richard en Palestine WALTER-SCOTT Chapter VIII [Chapter 4]

Devéria del.t Imp. lith. de H. Gaugain

Paris, Henry Gaugain [no date given]

Il avait vu briller un instant sur un doigt aussi blanc que la neige, ce rubis sans égal . . . c'était la dame de ses pensées.

There was the glimmer of that matchless ruby ring on that snow white finger whose invaluable worth . . . It was the lady of his love!

Gaugain #5

Ivanhoé WALTER-SCOTT Chapter XXIX

A. Devéria inv. et del. Imp. lith. de H. Gaugain

Paris, H. Gaugain [no date given]

Hé bien, Rebecca, que voyez-vous?

What dost thou see, Rebecca?

Gaugain #6

Kenilworth WALTER-SCOTT Chapter VII

Roqueplan fec.t Imp. lith. de H. Gaugain

Paris, H. Gaugain [no date given]

Tu es comme toutes les femmes, Amy, dit le Comte . . . La soie, les plumes et les bijoux sont pour elles plus que l'homme qui on est paré.

Thou art like the rest of the world, Amy, said the earl . . . The jewels and feathers, and silk are more to them than the man whom they adorn.

Gaugain #7

Le Talisman WALTER-SCOTT Chapter IV [Chapter 17]

Devéria fec.t Imp. lith. de H. Gaugain

Paris, Henry Gaugain [no date given]

Caressant la jolie tête de son épouse, et entrelaçant ses longs doigts dans les tresses de ses beaux cheveux, il la releva

Caressing her fair head, and mingling his large fingers in her beautiful and dishevelled locks, he raised her . . .

Gaugain #8

La Jolie Fille de Perth WALTER-SCOTT Chapter X [Chapter 11]

Devéria fec.t Imp. lith. de H. Gaugain

Paris, H. Gaugain [no date given]

Rothsay embrassa Louise tandis qu'elle était ainsi suspendue en l'air, perchée sur son pied et soutenue par sa main.

Rothsay kissed Louise as she stood thus suspended in the air, perched upon his feet, and supported by his hand.

Gaugain #9

Le Talisman WALTER-SCOTT Chapter V [Chapter 7]

Devéria fec.t Imp. lith. de H. Gaugain

Paris, H. Gaugain [no date given]

Le chevalier du léopard se tourna vers celui qui parlait et vit le medecin maure qui s'était assise un pas derrière lui, les jambes croisés.

Beside the couch, sat, on a cushion also composed of skins, the Morrish [sic] physician . . . cross-legged after the Eastern fashion.

Gaugain #10 [on print #20]

L'Antiquaire WALTER-SCOTT Chapter XVIII

L. Boulanger & A. Devéria Imp. lith. de H. Gaugain

Paris, H. Gaugain et Cie Octobre 1829 London, Engelman, Graff, Coindet

Que ce soient des hommes ou des esprits, dit l'intrépide Martin Waldeck, j'irai leur demander du feu.

But be they men or friends' [sic- should be fiends], said the undaunted forester, 'that themselves yonder with such fantastical rites and gestures, I will go and demand a light . . .

Gaugain #11

Ivanhoé WALTER-SCOTT Chapter XXII

Delacroix fec.t Imp. lith de H. Gaugain [no date or publisher given]

Chien maudit, issu d'une race maudite! vois-tu ces balances — il faut que tu m'y pèse mille livres d'argent

Most accursed dog of an accursed race seest thou these scales? on these very scales shall thou weigh me out a thousand silver pounds

Gaugain #12

L'Abbé WALTER-SCOTT Chapter IV

Devéria del.t Imp. lith de H. Gaugain

Paris, Henry Gaugain et Cie Septembre 1829 London, Engelman, Graff, Coindet & Co

Roland ne put déguiser sa fureur, il grinça des dents, serra les poings et porta machinalement la main sur son poignard.

His brow grew red; his lips grew pale; he set his teeth; he clenched his hand, and then with mechanical readiness grasped the weapon.

Gaugain #13 [Ardit: *Le Talisman* ('les deux nains')]

Le Talisman WALTER-SCOTT Chapter V

Eug. Devéria Imp. lith de H. Gaugain

Paris, H. Gaugain & Comp. Septembre 1829 London: Engelman, Graff, Coindet

Dirigeant alors la lumière de la lampe sur Sir Kenneth, Nebectamus et Genievre l'examinèrent à leur tour.

They then turned the gleam of both lights upon the knight, and accurately surveyed him.

Ardit #14 *Ivanhoë* ('le roi Richard')

Here identified as Delacroix, *Richard et Wamba* (*Ivanhoe*, Chapter 40)

Ardit #15 *Rob Roy* ('la dispute')

Here identified as Ardit #18 *Rob-Roy* (Mort de Raleigh [sic])

Here identified as by Louis Boulanger

Ardit #16 *Le Monastère* ('le bain du Sacristain')

Here identified as by Camille Roqueplan

Gaugain #17 = Ardit #17 *La Française de Lammermoor* ('rendez-vous à la fontaine')

The Bride of Lammermoor WALTER-SCOTT Chapter XXIX [Chapter 20]

Delacroix fec.t Imp. Lith. E. Ardit

Paris, E. Ardit January 1830 London: London: Engelman, Graff, Coindet, Dean's Street, Soho

Et l'oiseau tomba aux pieds de Lucie dont la robe fût tachée de quelques gouttes de sang

The bird dropped at the feet of Luci [sic] whose dress was stained with some spots of its blood.

Gaugain #18

Rob Roy WALTER-SCOTT Chapter XVII

L. Boulanger, imp. lith. H. Gaugain

Paris, H. Gaugain London: Engelman, Graff, Coindet, St. Martin's Lane, Leicester Square

Courez au poste qu'on vous indique à présent et tout peut se réparer.

Hasten to that which is now pointed out and it may possible be retrived. [sic]

Ardit #19

La Jolie Fille de Perth WALTER-SCOTT Chapter XXXII

L. Boulanger fec.t.

Paris, E. Ardit February 1830 London, Engelman, Graff, Coindet

Rue Vivienne No. 2, 14 Newman Street, Oxford Street

Elle se retournait et vu derrière elle sir John Ramorny armé de pied au cap.

She looked round . . . sir John Ramorny stood behind her in complete armour.

Ardit #21

La Jolie Fille de Perth WALTER-SCOTT Chapter XII

L. Boulanger del.t.

Paris, E. Ardit February 1830 London, Engelman, Graff, Coindet

Cette rencontre imprevue et desagréable remplit l'armurier de confusion.

His unexpected and most unwelcome presence overwhelmed the smith with confusion.