The Tours Sketchbook of Eugène Delacroix

JACQUES OLIVIER BOUFFIER

Fine Arts Department, Brunswick School

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF JACOB BEAN

N 1991 The Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibited for the first time the sketchbook by Eugène Delacroix that Alexander and Grégoire Tarnopol had given to the Museum in 1969. This sketchbook was among the fifty-five "livres de croquis, albums de voyage et carnets de poche" that were sold at the studio sale in 1864, after the artist's death.2 There are thirty-six sheets of white wove paper, numbered from 1 to 36 in graphite on the verso, bound in black and green covers that measure 13.5 by 20.5 cm. Of the forty-eight drawings (on the obverse of all the folios and on the reverse of twelve of the folios), all but one were executed by Delacroix during a stay in Tours in 1828. They record his promenades in the city and its surroundings, particularly the valley of the river Cher. Because of conservation concerns, the sheets are now mounted separately.

The Tours sketchbook is important in many respects. It provides invaluable information about Delacroix's life at a period when he had stopped keeping a diary. In addition, the drawings he made during his stay vary greatly in style and purpose, and they constitute a unique tool for assessing his draftsmanship as a relatively young artist. Furthermore, a group of drawings inspired by Sir Walter Scott's *Quentin Durward* reveals an unusual aspect of the relations between graphic and literary works.

THE STAY IN TOURS

In late October 1828, Eugène Delacroix wrote to his friend Charles Soulier that he was leaving for Touraine, ostensibly without much enthusiasm:

Adieu, cher ami, viens me voir. Je t'écrirai de la Touraine. Il semble qu'elle recule devant moi. Il n'y a que

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The notes for this article begin on page 149.

la bagatelle de six ans que je remets ce trip. Je devrais être parti depuis un mois, et je suis sûr que je vais n'y trouver que l'hiver.³

In Tours, the artist stayed with his elder brother, General Charles Delacroix (1779–1845), who was living in a rented apartment in the so-called Maison Papion, an imposing hôtel particulier on rue Neuve (now rue Nationale) belonging to the Papion du Château family. Although Delacroix may have kept his promise to Charles Soulier, only two letters written from Tours are known to scholars, and they are addressed to another friend, Jean-Baptiste Pierret. In these he alludes briefly to his activities and reveals that the dreary "hiver" he had feared to find in Tours has turned out to be a glorious autumn, which seems to have put him in an elegiac mood:

Bonjour cher ami, je flâne toute la journée, ce qui ne les empêche pas de passer vite.... Je t'écris absolument sur le pouce; toi qui as toute la journée la plume à la main, écris-m'en bien long. Dans la solitude rien n'est plus doux que des lettres....

... Le temps continue à être charmant. La campagne est bariolée de rubis, d'émeraudes, de topazes, et de tout son luxe d'adieu. Malgré mes occupations qui me rappellent et ma fainéantise ici, j'appréhende de m'en aller et de retourner reprendre le collier de fatigue.⁵

Considering the fact that Delacroix did not keep a diary from 1824 to 1846 and that his known correspondence from Tours amounts to these two letters, we would know little about his sojourn there were it not for the drawings in this sketchbook.⁶ The dates he inscribed on some of them allow us to follow precisely his walks and excursions. On November 1, he was in St.-Avertin, a nearby village south of Tours; November 9, he had a Sunday stroll in the city; two days later he had a walk along the south bank of the Loire; the next day, November 12, he was back in the valley of the Cher; November 14,

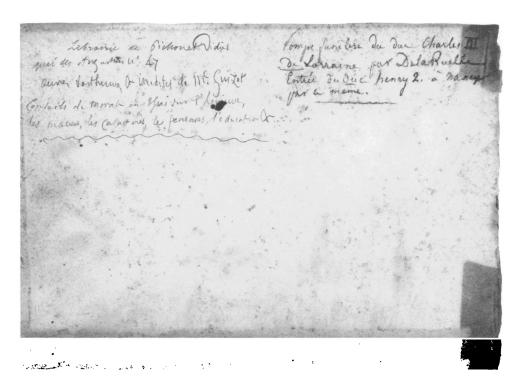


Figure 1. Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863), Left inner cover of sketchbook with drawings executed in Tours and its environs. Overall sketchbook: 13.5 x 20.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Alexander and Grégoire Tarnopol, 1969, 69.165.2

he returned to Tours at dusk from another outing in the countryside; finally, November 19, again at dusk, he had a walk in the city, perhaps his last before returning to Paris the next day. In all, his stay may have lasted about four weeks.⁷

THE NOTES IN DELACROIX'S HAND

The cover of the sketchbook was not exhibited in 1991, nor were the inner covers with notes in Delacroix's hand reproduced in the exhibition catalogue (Figures 1, 2). The notes 8 mention exclusively addresses of bookstores and titles of books. In particular, the notes referring to works by Guizot, Charron, and La Ruelle shed some light on Delacroix's preoccupations at the time of his trip to Tours.

Pauline Guizot's two volumes, Conseils de morale, ou essais sur l'homme, les moeurs, les caractères, le monde, les femmes, l'éducation, etc., were published posthumously in 1828. She was the wife of the historian and statesman Francois Guizot (1787–1874) and was a prominent novelist and moralist. De la sagesse, published in 1601, was the most noted book of the moralist Pierre Charron (1541–1603).

It would be impossible to know what interested Delacroix in these two works were it not for his mention of the chapter "Du mariage" in Charron's treatise.⁹ In thirteen pages the moralist analyzes the institution of marriage, first noting the arguments of those he names grands personnages who are against it, next providing a response to the criticism, and finally concluding that indeed marriage can be paradise or hell. He then gives a "description simple et sommaire du mariage" as it should be, addresses the question of inequalities between the sexes (apparently agreeing with the view that "le mari a puissance sur la femme, et la femme est sujette au mari"), and ultimately widens his inquiry, somewhat anthropologically, into the subjects of polygamy and repudiation.

Pauline Guizot would have most certainly objected to a few of Charron's opinions. Hers is a more liberated view of womanhood, in which she deplores the way men judge women and redresses the satires made at their expense. The entire section called "Des femmes" is in fact a manual to help women make the best of their condition. Advice is given throughout, not without humor, in such chapters as "Des brouilleries entre mari et femme," "Comment on gouverne son mari," and "Des inconvéniens de la réputation." What to make of Delacroix's curiosity about matrimony is unclear, and given the paucity of documentation concerning his private life at this time, attempts to read anything into it would invariably end in conjecture.

Delacroix mentioned twice (once on the inner front cover and a second time on the inner back cover) Claude de La Ruelle's Cérémonie des obsèques



Figure 2. Right inner cover of sketchbook in Figure 1

de Charles III, duc de Lorraine et de Bar, suivie de l'entrée de Henri II, duc de Lorraine, à Nancy, dans les années 1608 et 1610 (Figure 3). This important fête book depicts in eighty-one plates and in great detail the ceremonies attending the death and the funeral of Charles III of Lorraine, which lasted from May 14 to July 19, 1608, and the official entry into Nancy of his son Duke Henry II on April 20, 1610.

Delacroix's interest in these illustrations was no doubt the result of a commission he had received in August 1828, before his trip to Tours.11 The minister of the interior, Jean-Baptiste de Martignac, had initially submitted to him three subjects, all connected with the siege of Nancy in 1477, which opposed Charles le Téméraire, duke of Burgundy, and René II, duke of Lorraine.12 One of the scenes was of René's ordering full funerary honors for Charles after the latter's death beneath the walls of Nancy. Though the funeral ceremonies in La Ruelle's book took place more than a century after those of Charles le Téméraire, Delacroix may well have found them helpful in getting a sense of the pomp customary to the House of Lorraine in honoring its dead. There is further evidence that the commission was on Delacroix's mind in the closing paragraph of the second letter he sent from Tours, in which he asks Jean-Baptiste Pierret to write to Louis de Schwiter 13 in Nancy: "S'il en est temps encore, écris à Louis qu'il me rapporte le plus de vues qu'il pourra de différents côtés de la chapelle et du local où a été tué Charles le Téméraire." ¹⁴ Indeed, the subject suggested by Martignac was to illustrate the last chapter of Le Téméraire's lifelong history of conflicts and to represent his death during the siege of Nancy.

It would seem that Delacroix was also looking for information about the duke's personality. His cryptic note about him on the inner back cover, "Le



Figure 3. Fréderic Brental and Mathias Merian, Plate 7 from Claude de la Ruelle, *Cérémonies des obsèques de Charles III duc de Lorraine* (Nancy, 1609). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959, 59.570.163



Figure 4. Eugène Delacroix, *Paysage*. Pen and wash, 16.1 x 23.8 cm. Formerly Geneva, Galerie Jan Krugier



Figure 5. Folio 25 recto of sketchbook, showing trees and buildings at water's edge, hills in the distance

Livre des échecs amoureux," ¹⁵ recalls a remark that he made in the letter to Charles Soulier, just before leaving for Tours, about the duke's being a "grand libertin de sa nature." ¹⁶

These concentrated efforts to gather information on Charles le Téméraire bore fruit a few months after Delacroix's return to Paris, when he presented for approval, honoring Martignac's commission, an oil sketch for *The Battle of Nancy*. Delacroix chose to depict the momentous scene of a lanced knight of Lorraine about to unhorse Charles.

Works Derived from the Sketchbook

Delacroix was thirty when he visited Tours. His short stay, away from Paris and its "collier de torture," offered him an opportunity to draw as he pleased. The drawings range from almost illegible sketches to studies of impressive precision, and from landscapes roughly outlined and scribbled with numerous color notations to the most skillful bird's-eye perspective of a valley or the rendering of an intricate combination of architectural planes set within the rigorous rules of perspective.¹⁸ The freest handling of a landscape at dusk contrasts with a finely penciled profile of a young woman of exquisite Ingresque quality.19 A few drawings were started outdoors in graphite and were finished indoors in watercolor.20 Others were preliminary studies for versions in different media-watercolor or ink—or simply visual records of subjects.21 Whatever their purpose, the drawings in the sketchbook show a versatile and fluent hand, completely at ease with and in control of the medium.

Delacroix made a version in different media of each of the landscapes he sketched on folios 12r, 22r, and 25r.22 Taken together, they illustrate not only Delacroix's working methods but also the process of his artistic creation in representing nature. He addressed the subject of imitation in his diary many years later, in 1853. Of particular interest to him were the relations between the primary sketch "d'après nature," when the artist records as exactly as possible "le modèle qu'il a sous les yeux," and the later version, when he voluntarily forgets the little details to remember only "le côté frappant et poétique." Not mincing his words, he mused: "Le nez sur le paysage, entouré d'arbres et de lieux charmants, mon paysage est lourd, trop fait, peut-être plus vrai dans le détail, mais sans accord avec le sujet."23

In the case of the wash drawing in Figure 4, which has sometimes been wrongly identified as Paysage à Eaubonne,²⁴ Delacroix kept the essential elements of the site he recorded on folio 25r (Figure 5)—decidedly representing fewer trees, shrubbery, and buildings and employing a slightly larger scale—and transformed the precise and detailed graphite drawing into a more poetic version, where the dark to light transparent brown washes suggest the colors, luminosity, and atmosphere of an autumnal day. If Delacroix had thought of another version while drawing the landscape on folio 25r, he may well at that time have intended it to be a wash drawing, because there are no notations of colors, as there are in the two other drawings.

The ravine depicted on folio 12r (Figure 6) is typical of St.-Avertin and its surrounding area. Such abrupt ravines occur along small streams, known locally as girondes, which run toward the left bank of the river Cher.25 Delacroix seems to have been taken by the challenge of rendering these declivities, as evidenced also on folios 10r and 15r. The notations on folio 12r, marking precisely the locations of the vineyards ("vignx" and "x") and of the colors ("j[aune] r[ouge] v[ert] b[leu]"), and the use of graphite, from heavily applied dark strokes to light and airy gray shading, distinctly charting the contrasting values at different points in the landscape, are hallmarks of a preparatory drawing. The watercolor Landscape with a Ravine, formerly in the collection of W. Koenigs, Utrecht (Figure 7),26 repeats the contrasting values seen in the drawing, but the larger size of the sheet and the important increase in height open up the landscape with an expanded sky. What seemed cramped and confined in the drawing becomes widened and free. The use of watercolors endows the landscape with a brightness that could only have been suggested in the drawing.

The watercolor *Paysage avec fleuve* in the Feilchenfeldt Collection, Zurich (Figure 8),²⁷ is another example—albeit different from the two above—of the way earlier and later versions relate to each other. The swift and energetic pencil strokes and cursory color notations on folio 22r (Figure 9) suggest a hurried hand trying to catch all at once the bluffs, sky, and watered land in an atmospheric and fleeting moment.²⁸ Ultimately, in the watercolor, the hues—a blending of gray and red ("gris rougeatre"), interspaced with pure blue, and an intermingling of gray, yellow, and red ("gris jaune rouge") sweepingly laid—endow the sky and clouds with the ephemeral condition of a changing, somewhat



Figure 6. Folio 12 recto of sketchbook, showing a ravine with vineyards and a farmhouse on a hill



Figure 7. Eugène Delacroix, *Landscape with a Ravine*. Graphite and watercolor on paper, 19.7 x 22.2 cm. Haarlem, Collection F. Koenigs (photo: Tom Haartsen)



Figure 8. Eugène Delacroix, Paysage avec fleuve. Watercolor, 19 x 16 cm. Zurich, Collection Feilchenfeldt



Figure 9. Folio 22 recto of sketchbook, showing bluffs along the north bank of the Loire, near Tours $\frac{1}{2}$

stormy sky, where colors associate with and dissociate from one another at nature's whim. The river basin, barely suggested in the drawing but broadly depicted in the watercolor, seems unaffected by the motion above, the transience of which is thus accentuated. Significantly, Delacroix changed the format from horizontal to vertical, giving the bluffs in the middle of the composition the function of hinging two opposite mirrors of nature.

Delacroix's aphoristic remark "Il y a les licences pittoresques comme les licences poétiques" perhaps sums up best what he meant by poeticizing the work of art, and the group of drawings discussed here offer a compelling visual demonstration of the process as he applied it to landscape.

QUENTIN DURWARD COUNTRY

We can trace Delacroix's interest in Walter Scott to 1824. In his diary entry for Tuesday, July 20, he noted his pleasure in an evening he had spent with his friend Frédéric Leblond discussing, among other things, Walter Scott.30 Quentin Durward was published in 1823 both in England and in translation in France. By 1826, Delacroix had already painted Quentin Durward Overhears the Plot of Hayraddin and Lanzknecht Heinrich,31 a scene from chapter 17. In 1827 he made a preliminary sketch for the 1829 final version of The Murder of the Bishop of Liège,32 an eventful episode in chapter 22. In addition, Delacroix painted Quentin Durward and Le Balafré³³ late in 1828 or early in 1829, after his sojourn in Tours.³⁴ One can justifiably assume that Delacroix had Scott's story well anchored in his mind while he was in Tours. His walks there, in nearby Plessis-lez-Tours, and in the valley of the Cher bespeak his familiarity with the text, particularly with the first fourteen chapters, which take place precisely in Tours and its surroundings.

The rivalry between Louis XI of France and his vassal Charles le Téméraire is the main underlying theme of *Quentin Durward*, but it is the description of the characters' personalities and particularly of those of the king's entourage that fuels the interest in the plot. Among them, the king's confidant Olivier Le Dain and the provost marshal Tristan l'Hermite match their master's cruelty and wiliness. The hero is Quentin Durward, a young Scot of good breeding, whose valor, judgment, and honesty impress the king so much that he makes him a guard in his Scottish Archers. As the plot thickens, we

learn the real motive of the king, which is to use Quentin in his machinations to effect a marriage between the Burgundian heiress he is temporarily hiding, Comtesse Isabelle de Croye, and his political ally William de la Marck. Quentin not only foils the king's plan but also wins Isabelle's hand for having vanquished de la Marck.

Using Delacroix's sketchbook to trace the itinerary from Tours to its westerly suburb La Riche, where Louis XI's château du Plessis is still standing, one has the distinct impression that the artist was on Walter Scott's trail.³⁵ Too often for it to be coincidental, the sketchbook reads as a visual vade mecum to the characters and places in *Quentin Durward*. Louis XI is sketched on folio 17r (Figure 10). Delacroix would have seen in the Musée de Tours the portrait of the king wearing his hat adorned with a little leaden figure (Figure 11).³⁶ This badge is repeatedly mentioned in the novel. The museum had reopened in new quarters in 1828, not far from Maison Papion, where Delacroix was lodging.

The home of Tristan l'Hermite appears on folio 18r (Figures 12, 13).³⁷ The so-called Maison de Tristan owes its name to legend rather than to historical fact. As the tale goes, Tristan kept his frequent prisoners chained in the basement of his house. He climbed regularly to the top of the turret to observe Le Plessis, where King Louis lived, in order to see if there was any smoke coming from the castle's chimney—a sign that he should execute them.

The manor house sketched on folio 30v (Figures 14, 15) is called La Rabaterie (or La Motte-Chapon) and is located near the château du Plessis.38 Contrary to Delacroix's note on the drawing, which attributes ownership to Tristan l'Hermite, the house is known to have belonged to Olivier Le Dain. Perhaps, more than Tristan's or Le Dain's ownership, it is rather the architectural components of the building and its proximity to Louis XI's castle that caught Delacroix's attention. The setting brings to mind a long scene in chapter 4 that takes place at the inn Fleur-de-lys in the vicinity of the king's castle. The passage is memorable because it describes Quentin's burgeoning love for a young lady called Jacqueline, who is later revealed to be Isabelle de Croye.

L'hôte . . . ouvrit une porte, et montra à Durward une chambre formant l'intérieur d'une tourelle. Elle était étroite à la vérité, mais fort propre. . . . En parlant ainsi, il s'approcha de la petite fenêtre qui éclairait sa chambre. Comme la tourelle s'avançait considérablement au delà de la ligne du bâtiment, on découvrait

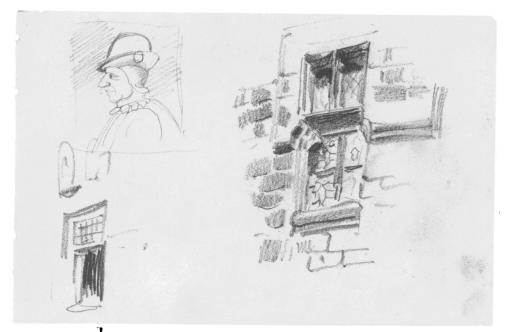


Figure 10. Folio 17 recto of sketchbook, showing portrait of Louis XI and studies of windows



Figure 11. French School, 17th century, Louis XI. Oil on wood, 40 x 30 cm. Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts)

non seulement le joli jardin assez étendu de l'auberge, mais encore la plantation de mûriers.... En détournant les yeux... pour regarder tout droit le long du mur, on découvrait une seconde tourelle éclairée par une fenêtre qui faisait face à celle où notre héros se trouvait en ce moment.... Cette seconde tourelle et cette seconde croisée l'intéressaient plus que le joli jardin et la belle plantation de mûriers. 39

Indeed, the object of his interest is Jacqueline, whom he had seen for the first time moments earlier in the inn's dining room ⁴⁰ and sees again in her bedroom through the window in the opposite "tourelle." One can only speculate about Delacroix's motivation to sketch the back of the manor house, but it is tempting to think that this facade, with its two gable ends (admittedly not "tourelles") projecting at both extremities and the trees in the garden, reminded him of the scene in the inn.

Louis's castle in Plessis-lez-Tours turns up on folios 31v, 32r, and 33r (Figures 16, 17). Delacroix's insistence on sketching the tower calls our attention again to Isabelle de Croye, who moved from the tower at the inn to the so-called Dauphin's Tower at the castle. Perhaps the pure profile of the young woman on folio 10v is an imaginary portrait of the "habitante de la tourelle," as she is often called in the novel.

Finally, closing the episode in Touraine, Comtesse Isabelle secretly leaves Plessis under Quentin's escort to seek refuge with her protector, the bishop

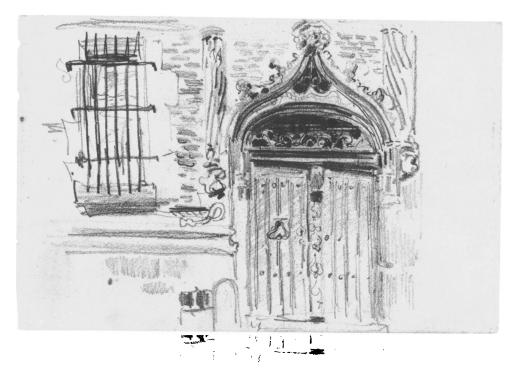


Figure 12. Folio 18 recto of sketchbook, showing window and doorway of a house in Tours



Figure 13. Maison de Tristan in Tours (photo: Jacques Olivier Bouffier)

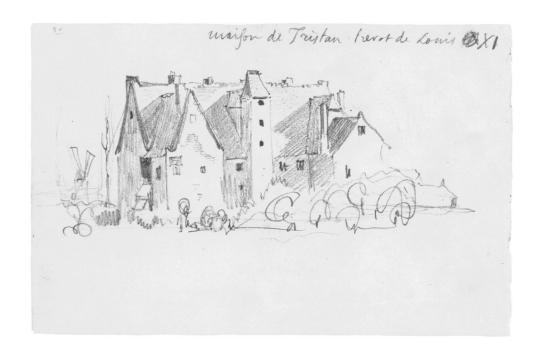


Figure 14. Folio 30 verso of sketchbook, showing manor house at Plessis-lez-Tours



Figure 15. La Rabaterie (photo: Jacques Olivier Bouffier)



Figure 16. Folio 32 recto of sketchbook, showing tower of the castle at Plessis-lez-Tours



Figure 17. Tower of the castle at Plessis-lez-Tours (photo: Jacques Olivier Bouffier)



Figure 18. Folio 21 recto of sketchbook, showing the towers of St.-Gatien, Tours

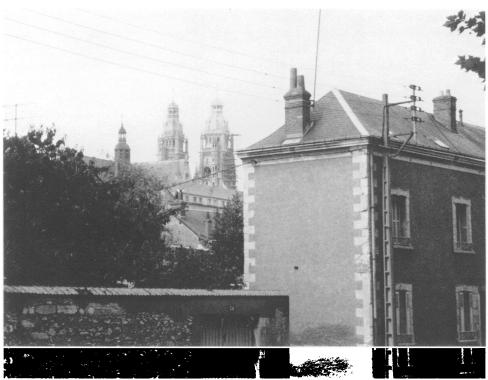


Figure 19. The towers of St.-Gatien seen from the Quai d'Orléans (photo: Jacques Olivier Bouffier)



Figure 20. Folio 8 recto of sketchbook, showing the valley of the River Cher seen from the château de Paradis

of Liège. Scott describes their ride along the banks of the Loire. As the small retinue passed Tours, he writes that they saw the "tours de l'église Saint Gatien" and the "château sombre et formidable." Given the configuration of the city, this view of the cathedral is possible only from the south bank of the Loire, exactly where Delacroix stood when he sketched the towers of St.-Gatien on folio 21r (Figures 18, 19).

The drawing on folio 8r (Figure 20) was made from Paradis, a château in the village of St.-Avertin,42 which is separated from Tours by the valley of the Cher. The river in Delacroix's time was divided into branches, and bridges connected the village to the city.43 What made Delacroix stop at Paradis is probably Walter Scott's rumored visit there in 1816,44 when he is said to have gone to Touraine to research Quentin Durward. In fact, this visit is not documented, and it is likely that Scott never went to St.-Avertin or Tours.45 Nevertheless, the walk to Paradis, where Scott had reportedly worked on the novel, may have been a form of literary pilgrimage. His visit would have been easily arranged, since Julien Lafond, then owner of the property, had been, like Charles Delacroix, an officer in the Napoleonic army.46

Delacroix must have been delighted by the panoramic view from Paradis. His drawing of it indeed

maps out the area where the first fourteen chapters of *Quentin Durward* take place. The towers of St.-Gatien's cathedral in the distance on the right, those of St.-Martin in the center, the forest surrounding Plessis-lez-Tours at the extreme left, and the vast land of the valley of the river Cher extending at the feet of Paradis are familiar to readers of the novel.

There is no indication that the drawings connected with *Quentin Durward* are preliminary studies for a future work. Rather, they seem to be the product of a well-read man who could not help indulge in reminiscing about a novel he knew particularly well and in bringing back "au bout de [son] crayon" those passages he had read "avec délices." ⁴⁷

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article evolved from the report I wrote in 1990 for the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, at the completion of my internship in the Department of Drawings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. I am very grateful to Lee Johnson for his comments on that report and for his generous advice on how to improve it. Together with Jacob Bean, he has been a source of inspiration for my study of Delacroix.

NOTES

- 1. MMA, Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863): Paintings, Drawings, and Prints from North American Collections, exh. cat. (New York, 1991). Lee Johnson contributed two essays, "The Art of Delacroix" and "Portrait of Delacroix." Jacob Bean and William Griswold prepared all the notices on the drawings, pastels, and prints except nos. 71 and 72, which were written with my collaboration and based upon the research I did in 1990 during my internship in the MMA Department of Drawings and on a trip I took to Dieppe and Tours during this internship. In no. 72, each of the thirty-six folios of the sketchbook is further identified as either the recto or the verso of that folio. Subsequent mentions in this article of the drawings in the sketchbook use this method of identification. A few drawings have been exhibited before. See MMA, Classicism and Romanticism, French Drawings and Prints 1800-1860, exh. cat. (New York, 1970) no. 34 (folios exhibited: 3, 4, 8, 14, 18, 21, 25, 26, 35); MMA, Drawings Recently Acquired, 1969-1971, exh. cat. (New York, 1972) no. 66 (folios exhibited: 3r, 4r, 8r, 21r, 35r); Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Dessins français du Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, de David à Picasso, exh. cat. (Paris, 1973-74) no. 35 (folios exhibited: 4r, 21r).
- 2. Catalogue de la vente qui aura lieu par suite du décès de Eugène Delacroix, Dessins, Hôtel Drouot, Feb. 22-27, 1864 (Paris) p. 77, nos. 664, 664bis. Competition among buyers to acquire the sketchbooks was fierce. In La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité 56 (March 13, 1864) p. 85, Philippe Burty noted: "Les albums ont été vivement disputés. Ils contenaient une quantité innombrable de croquis et surtout de pensées et de notes à la plume et au crayon." In the preceding issue of La Chronique des arts 55 (March 6, 1864) p. 73, Burty wrote movingly and admiringly about the sale: "La vente de ce qu'avait délaissé en mourant Eugène Delacroix est terminée. Pendant seize jours, du lundi 15 février, au lundi soir 1er mars, elle a eu le surprenant privilège de tenir en haleine cette société parisienne, si mobile dans sa curiosité, si rapide dans ses réactions. Les expositions ont appelé dans les salles de l'hôtel Drouot toute l'élite des arts, des lettres et du grand monde. Autour des tables sont venus se ranger chaque jour les grands amateurs, puis les curieux modestes et les artistes, puis les marchands. Plus de trois cents tableaux ou esquisses, plus de six mille dessins, eaux-fortes et lithographies ont successivement trouvé des acquéreurs enthousiastes. Tout le monde—je parle de ceux qui ont l'âme ardente surtout—tout le monde a désiré un des lambeaux de cet oeuvre immense que la volonté de Delacroix forçait à disjoindre, parce qu'avec une sorte de divination, il avait eu le pressentiment de ce succès. Les riches ont été les plus favorisés: il n'y a point eu de grand prix pour les grands morceaux. Les humbles ont payé pour eux; mais en emportant pieusement un croquis ou une ébauche, ils pouvaient se dire qu'un diamant gros comme un grain de sénevé jette des feux aussi purs que le Sancy ou le Kohinor."
- 3. André Joubin, ed., Correspondance générale d'Eugène Delacroix, 5 vols. (Paris, 1935–38). See I, p. 223. Subsequent citations of Delacroix's correspondence are also from vol. I.
- 4. For Charles Delacroix, see Jean-Luc Stéphant's article "Chili ou le frère oublié d'Eugène Delacroix," Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français (1990) pp. 173–205.

- 5. The first letter is dated "ce samedi" by Delacroix and is postmarked "27 octobre 1828" (Correspondance, pp. 228-229). The second one is dated "Mardi 4 novembre" by Delacroix and is postmarked "5 novembre 1828" (Correspondance, pp. 230-232).
- 6. The Louvre has a significant number of drawings that Delacroix made in Tours. See Maurice Sérullaz et al., Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des dessins: Inventaire général des dessins. École française. Dessins d'Eugène Delacroix, 2 vols. (Paris, 1984) nos. 1149, 1150, 1151. Stéphant, "Chili," makes convincing arguments for nos. 1193 and 1214.
- 7. From Saturday, Oct. 25 (his first letter), to Wednesday, Nov. 19 (folio 36r).
- 8. Delacroix's handwriting is at times difficult to decipher. For practical purposes, I repeat here the transcription I made for the exhibition catalogue: Librairie de Pichonet Didier / quai des Augustins nº 47 / Oeuvres posthumes & inédites de Mº Guizot / Conseils de morale ou essai sur l'homme, / les moeurs, les caractères, les femmes, l'éducation / Pompe funèbre du duc Charles III / de Lorraine par DelaRuelle / Entrée du duc Henry 2 à Nancy / par le même. / le Vade mecum . . . livre de médecine / chez le docteur d [crossed out] Chez Persan libr. rue du coq nº 11. / Charon: de la sagesse, liv. I. Chap. XLII. Sur le mariage. / Pompe funèbre du duc Charles de Lorraine et / autres gravures de Laruelle, graveur Lorrain / Mº Toly rue neuve St. Eustache nº 36. / pour Charles le Téméraire / Le livre des échecs amoureux. dédié à Louis. . . .
- 9. I have used a later edition. Pierre Charron, De la sagesse, trois livres, . . . Suivant la vraie copie de Bourdeaux, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1782). See I, pp. 228-241. Charron cross-refers this section on marriage to the one he calls "Du devoir des mariés" in vol. III, chap. 12.
- 10. Mme [Pauline] Guizot, Conseils de morale, ou essais sur l'homme, les moeurs, les caractères, le monde, les femmes, l'éducation, etc., 2 vols. (Paris, 1828). See II, pp. 1-68.
 - 11. Correspondance, p. 223.
- 12. Lee Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix. A Critical Catalogue*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1981–89). For a detailed account of Martignac's commission, see I, pp. 141–144.
- 13. He was a painter and a friend of Delacroix. See Eugène Delacroix, no. 84.
 - 14. Correspondance, p. 231.
- 15. I have not yet been able to find any text corresponding to this title.
 - 16. Correspondance, p. 223.
- 17. Now in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. See Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix*, I, no. 142.
- 18. See respectively folios 13v, 19r; 18r (Figure 12); 9r, 22r (Figure 9), 22v, 23r; 8r (Figure 20); 21r (Figure 18), 28r.
 - 19. See respectively folios 26r, 10v.
 - 20. See folios 2r, 3r, 4r.
- 21. See respectively folios 12r (Figures 6, 7), 25r (Figures 4, 5); 22r (Figures 8, 9).
- 22. Delacroix seems also to have used the buildings and the tall tree silhouetted at left on folio 26r in a watercolor formerly in

the Roger-Marx collection. See Charles Martine and Léon Marotte, *Dessins de maîtres français*, VII, Eugène Delacroix (Paris, 1928) no. 66 (Vue de Frépillon). Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to locate this work.

- 23. André Joubin, ed., Eugène Delacroix: Journal, 1822-1863 (Paris, 1981) pp. 366-367, 369.
- 24. Formerly in the collection of Jan Krugier, Geneva. Repr. (not in color) in Société des Expositions du Palais des Beaux-Arts, Ingres et Delacroix: Dessins et aquarelles, exh. cat. (Brussels, 1986) no. 136, as Paysage, and in Jan Krugier Gallery, Victor Hugo and the Romantic Vision: Drawings and Watercolors, exh. cat. (New York, 1990) no. 66, as Paysage à Eaubonne.
- 25. Charles-Antoine Rougeot (1740-1797) represented a similar view in his Vue du moulin et de la côte de Saint-Avertin. See Musée des Beaux-Arts, Ponts de Tours. Traversée des fleuves et des ruaux du Moyen-Age à nos jours, exh. cat. (Tours, 1978-79) p. 42.
- 26. See Smithsonian Institution, French Drawings: Masterpieces from Five Centuries, exh. cat. (Washington, 1952-53) no. 130, not repr. I am relying on Jacqueline Bouchot-Saupique's description of colors in the catalogue entry.
- 27. Repr. (not in color) in Kunsthaus, Eugène Delacroix, Zeichnungen, Aquarelle, Graphik, exh. cat. (Zurich, 1987) no. 29, as Paysage avec fleuve.
- 28. The drawings on folios 22v and 23v, equally swift and energetic, seem to be in the same vein as the one on folio 22r.
 - 29. Journal, p. 606.
 - 30. Ibid., p. 90.
- 31. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. See Lee Johnson, "A Delacroix Recovered: *Quentin Durward and Le Balafré*," *Bùrlington Magazine* 108 (1966) p. 569 n. 10, fig. 36.
- 32. Respectively, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons, and Louvre. See Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix*, I, nos. 133, 134.
- 33. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen. See Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix*, I, no. 137, and III, no. 137, p. 315.
- 34. Alfred Robaut also dated to 1828 the watercolor *Quentin Durward et la princesse de Croye* and a drawing relating to it. The whereabouts of both works are unknown to me. See Alfred Robaut, *L'Oeuvre complet d'Eugène Delacroix* (Paris, 1885) nos. 271, 272.
- 35. Stendhal has the narrator of his 1838 fictitious Mémoires d'un touriste carry Quentin Durward in his pocket while visiting Tours: "J'avais Quentin Durward dans ma poche; je suis allé à pied, en lisant, au village de Riche, à vingt minutes de Tours, où l'on voit encore quelques restes du château de Plessis-lez-Tours." See Stendhal, Mémoires d'un touriste, reprint, FM/La Découverte (Paris, 1981) I, p. 289.
- 36. The painting is now in the château du Plessis. The king also appears in the watercolor *Quentin Durward et la princesse de Croy* (see note 34 above) and again in a drawing dated 1829 by Robaut, *L'Oeuvre complet*, no. 318.
- 37. For a full view of the facade as it appeared in 1869, see Eugène-Napoléon Flandrin's drawing of it in Musée des Beaux-Arts, *Trésors du Mécénat*, exh. cat. (Tours, 1986–87) no. 49.
- 38. I am indebted to Prof. Pierre Leveel, honorary president of La Société Archéologique de Touraine, for this identification.

- 39. I purposely quote from an 1823 French edition. See *Oeuvres complètes de Sir Walter Scott*, Charles Gosselin (Paris, 1823) XXXIII, *Quentin Durward*, p. 122.
 - 40. See note 34 above.
 - 41. Quentin Durward, p. 360.
- 42. The castle no longer stands (it burned down on May 5, 1857), but the ground-level remains of the towers are still visible.
- 43. See pp. 41-43 in *Ponts de Tours*. See also James Forbes's *View of Tours from Saint-Avertin* in *Trésors du Mécénat*, no. 36, which shows the landscape of the river Cher as it may have existed in Delacroix's time.
- 44. Sylvain Livernet, Le Guide de Tours et de la Touraine (Lyons, 1989) p. 235.
- 45. The belief that Scott came to Tours and Paradis seems to have its genesis in his introduction to Quentin Durward. In it, the narrator (an anonymous novelist) recounts his meeting a certain Marquis de Hautlieu, who invites him to his castle and offers him the use of his library, where he finds documentation that helps him write Quentin Durward. P. Genévrier, in Walter Scott historien français ou Le Roman tourangeau de Quentin Durward (Tours, 1935) pp. 29-30, notes that Scott's introduction to the 1823 French edition did not include the sentence "Il est à peine nécessaire d'ajouter que tout ce qui suit est pure fantaisie," which the editor, Cadell, added "sur la première page d'une réimpression qu'il donna, en 1847, de l'édition originale." Genévrier also cites the last sentence of this introduction: "Si cet ouvrage rencontre la faveur du public, je ne regretterai pas de m'être exilé loin des miens pour une courte période." Not surprisingly, critics have been misled by these words. Earlier (p. 21), Genévrier quotes Félix Bodin, who claimed (Mercure du XIXe siècle, 1823, vol. I, pp. 359-360): "Quant aux localités décrites, elles sont toutes d'une scrupuleuse exactitude; il est clair que l'auteur les a vues." I would suggest that Paradis was a tempting site for the imagination of those readers living in Tours. Indeed, its location near Tours and its commanding view of the valley of the Cher come close to the description of the fictitious château de Hautlieu. The narrator sets the castle three miles from the town (supposedly Tours) where he has settled temporarily and describes it as occupying a commanding view of the banks of the Loire (Quentin Durward, p. 15). I may add that the words "Hautlieu" and "Paradis," though not synonyms, certainly have a semantic relationship.
- 46. He was a colonel of the Grande Armée and aide-de-camp to General Rapp at Danzig. I am grateful to Mme Annie-France Saint-Poulof for this information.
- 47. Delacroix's words in "De l'enseignement du dessin," Revue des Deux-Mondes, Sept. 15, 1850. Reprinted in Eugène Delacroix, Oeuvres littéraires (Paris, 1923) pp. 12-13. In this article Delacroix exhorts novice draftsmen to draw while traveling because a "simple trait de crayon" will bring back from memory all the impressions attached to the moment—a most Proustian concept, avant la lettre. Later in the same article, he addresses those "qui ont lu avec délices, comme je l'ai fait moi-même, les romans de Walter Scott."