

# LOUIS DE CLERCQ'S STATIONS OF THE CROSS

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**Fig. 1.** Louis de Clercq, Ecce Homo arch. Pontius Pilate presented Jesus to the people, 1860. *The Royal Library, Copenhagen.*

Louis de Clercq set himself the artistic mission of seeing photographically jejune, even debased, sites and of visualizing the spiritual experience of the greatest pilgrimage route in Christendom.



**Fig. 2.** Louis de Clercq, Entrance to a Turkish barracks. It is at this door that pilgrims perform the prayers of the First Station, not having permission to enter the barracks, 1860. *The Royal Library, Copenhagen.*

Jesus is condemned to death. An interior courtyard of the Turkish barracks where tradition places the spot of the Praetorium in which Jesus was judged, 1860. *The Royal Library, Copenhagen.*

**Fig. 3.** Louis de Clercq, First Station.

*For a long time, the imagination of the Christian world has been led astray by the fancies of artists . . . [All schools] were of one accord in ignoring the evidence of history, and dispensing with topographical accuracy. Is it not time in this exact century, when such words as nearly or almost have no longer any value, to restore to reality—I do not say realism—the rights which have been filched from it?*

—James Tissot, *The Life of Our Saviour Jesus Christ*<sup>1</sup>

**A** lone among the great cities of Antiquity, Jerusalem lacks tangible evidence of the historical past prized by Western travellers. Until the nineteenth century, this had little artistic consequence. Countless painters and sculptors represented biblical scenes without concern for the landscape, architecture, or inhabitants of Palestine. Jerusalem appeared as a walled city with towers or, sometimes, like the cities these artists saw around them.<sup>2</sup> To the extent that the historical reality mattered at all, it was as a negative constraint. Just as Christianity superseded Judaism, so the Gothic cathedral and Heavenly Jerusalem replaced the Temple and historical city. Thus paintings that showed Solomon building a Gothic cathedral made an important theological point: the Church Triumphant.<sup>3</sup>

Attitudes changed only when a passion for history transformed the physical place into archaeological evidence. Those who could not visit Palestine—and an estimated one million made the trip in the course of the nineteenth century—devoured visual and literary accounts of its appearance.<sup>4</sup> Suddenly the absence of Christian monuments became a major problem for artists. Some—like Manet or, in a different spirit, Hippolyte Flandrin—continued to use established pictorial formulas without regard for these new demands. Others, however, recast traditional subjects in light of extensive study of the history and topography of Palestine. Holman Hunt, Vasily Vasilyevitch Vereshchagin, and James Tissot produced popular examples of such pictures.<sup>5</sup> Photographers, who could not escape the paltry remains of Jerusalem's Christian history, had a more difficult time.<sup>6</sup> Francis Frith, for instance, wrote in frustration that the city offered nothing for him to photograph.<sup>7</sup>

Louis de Clercq's photographs of the Stations of the Cross, taken during the winter of 1859–60, offer one brilliant solution to this dilemma of what to represent in Jerusalem. His sixteen albumen prints of the subject make up *Les Stations de la voie douloureuse à Jérusalem*, the fourth of six rare volumes that form *Voyage en Orient* (1860).<sup>8</sup> Not

until the 1880s did another photographer vividly illustrate the reason for their avoidance: nothing was there to symbolize the sanctity of the sites. Centuries of disagreement among the Christian Orthodoxies had left the course of the Via Dolorosa in vigorous dispute. Nineteenth-century guidebooks offered instructions cautiously—the ever sober Baedeker warned that “the spots to which these traditions attach have been frequently changed.”<sup>10</sup> As a consequence, De Clercq had to create his subjects, somehow invest anonymous side streets in Jerusalem with pictorial significance. Like many other French photographers of the 1850s, he used the paper negative to produce mysterious and suggestive effects of light, shadow, and texture.<sup>11</sup> In de Clercq's case, however, this aesthetic achievement serves a particular purpose: to represent the spiritual experience of the greatest pilgrimage route in Christendom.

Until recently, de Clercq's name had disappeared from photographic histories and his biography had been forgotten.<sup>12</sup> A native of Oignies (Pas-de-Calais), Louis-Constantin-Henri-François-Xavier de Clercq (1836–1901) began his career as a courier for Napoleon III. During the war with Austria, he carried messages between the government in Paris and the often absent Emperor. After the declaration of peace in July 1859, he set off for Switzerland and northern Italy, one leg of the Grand Tour expected of an educated and well-to-do young gentleman. While in Switzerland, he received a letter from his mother, suggesting that he join an archaeological expedition to Syria led by Emmanuel Guillaume Rey (1837–1916). De Clercq accepted immediately, and left with the expedition party in August of 1859. He travelled with them through Syria, studying the remains of Crusader castles, and onto Jerusalem, where he parted from Rey on 5 December.<sup>13</sup> De Clercq then continued alone through Palestine, Egypt, and Spain, before returning to France in 1860. His love of the area caused him to return in 1862–3, when, under the guidance of the chancellor of the French consulate in Beirut, de Clercq began to buy Near Eastern antiquities. This interest became a passion, competing only with his service in the National Assembly (1871–89) as the focus of his life.<sup>14</sup> He visited the Near East once more in 1893, and again made many purchases. From 1889 until his death in 1901, de Clercq devoted himself to cataloguing his extensive holdings. In 1968, more than 600 objects from his collection entered the Louvre, forming the most impressive single donation in the history of the Department of Oriental Antiquities. One of the pieces even bears

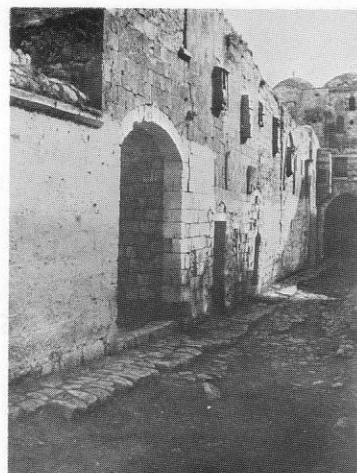




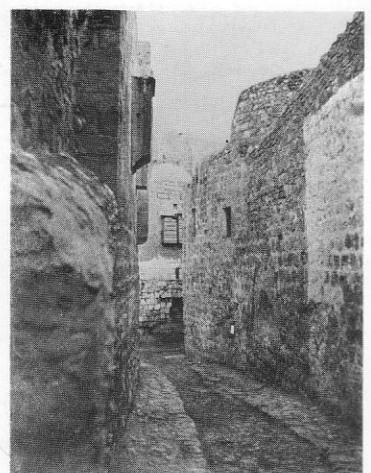
**Fig. 4.** Louis de Clercq, Second Station. Jesus is given His cross. This station is placed at the bottom of the Scala Santa, which was transported in its entirety to Rome. Only the first steps remain, 1860. *The Royal Library, Copenhagen*.



**Fig. 5.** Louis de Clercq, Third Station. Jesus falls for the first time. A broken column on the ground indicates the place of this Station, at which point the Via Dolorosa turns abruptly to the left, 1860. *The Royal Library, Copenhagen*.



**Fig. 6.** Louis de Clercq, Fourth Station. Jesus meets His very sainted mother. This Station is situated just a few steps from the previous one. Tradition places it in the arched doorway that one sees represented here, 1860. *The Royal Library, Copenhagen*.



**Fig. 7.** Louis de Clercq, Fifth Station. Jesus is helped by Simon of Cyrene. A mark on the wall is the only indication of this Station. The house that one sees at the end of the street is that of the Rich Man, c. 1860. *The Royal Library, Copenhagen*.

his name.<sup>15</sup>

De Clercq had learned to photograph by 1859, and it was as the group's photographer that he joined Rey's expedition.<sup>16</sup> Rey had taken his own photographs on his first trip to the Near East. The atlas volume to his *Voyage dans le Haoran et aux Bords de la Mer Morte, exécuté pendant les années 1857 et 1858* (Paris, 1861) consists of 26 large lithographs made after "EG Rey Photo," according to the captions. There was no comparable publication of de Clercq's photographs of the Crusader castles. Despite their wealth of information and the impressive contribution of the expedition (still regarded as reliable in the twentieth century), they apparently exist only in *Châteaux du Temps des Croisades en Syrie*, the second volume of *Voyage en Orient*.<sup>17</sup> De Clercq exhibited all of the *Voyage* in 1861 at the Société française de photographie, where Philippe Burty noted the volumes with admiration in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*.<sup>18</sup> He also showed three individual photographs at the International Exhibition in London in 1862, where they won an honorable mention. The pictures then disappeared from sight, however, and de Clercq seems not to have photographed again. Like so many of his period, he took up photography as a single experiment for a particular purpose rather than as a lifetime endeavor.<sup>19</sup>

By the midnineteenth century, the Near East had become familiar ground for study and travel. From the time of Napoleon's campaigns in 1798 and 1799, all manner of topographical, historical, and archaeological material had been examined eagerly by a host of scholars. The studies that resulted mapped out a new intellectual discipline.<sup>20</sup> Reconquest of the area by the Ottoman Turks in 1840 made it more easily accessible to Western travellers, who appeared in rapidly increasing numbers. With the initiation of regular steamship service to Jaffa in the 1830s, an active tourist industry developed around the routes of major interest, and, by the second half of the century, a standard three-week tour existed. Most important were the places of biblical significance, which travellers identified in greater and greater abundance. Violent disagreements also grew apace—between the British and the French, the Protestants and the Catholics, the religious and the scientific—assuring avid concern throughout Europe and America for the conclusions of the archaeological investigations.<sup>21</sup> Rey was only one of the surveyors of the historical remains that filled the Near East. Félicien de Saulcy, whose archaeological evidence Auguste Salzmann photographed in 1854 and 1863, and the British Ordnance Survey, which used Sergeant James McDonald as its photographer, were two of the better known.<sup>22</sup>

Photographers set out for the Near East immediately after Daguerre's public demonstration of his process in 1839. The historical painter Horace Vernet (1789-1863), for example, made daguerreotypes in Egypt in the fall of 1839, partly as studies for a planned painting of the battle of Nezib and partly to supply the Parisian publisher Noël-Marie Paymal Lerebours with views for *Excursions daguerriennes* (Paris, 1841-3).

An amateur architectural historian, Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (1804-1892), took about 1,000 daguerreotypes during a trip through Italy, Greece, Egypt, and the Near East in 1842. Some provided the basis for the illustrations in his *Monuments arabes d'Egypte, de Syrie, et d'Asie Mineure* (1846)—one of the few books about Arab rather than Christian monuments. With the publication of 125 salt prints by Maxime Du Camp (1822-1894) in *Egypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie* (1852), original photographs became available to a wider audience. Countless photographers followed. Among the most commercially successful were Francis Frith (1822-1898) and Felix Bonfils (1831-1885).

The nineteenth-century viewer saw such photographs through a screen of highly developed associations. The writer Louis de Cormenin, to whom Du Camp dedicated his book, described the mix of references Du Camp's photographs inspired in him: "History or travel, religious archaeology or fiction, Josephus or Chateaubriand, Lamartine or Bonaparte, acquired the precision of reality, movement and life, traced by the pure and true reflection of the sun."<sup>23</sup> This response resembled that of most nineteenth-century Westerners, who rarely noticed the Near East on its own terms. Native inhabitants appeared as picturesque details and places gained importance for their position in Western, not Eastern, history.

In terms of establishing the mental habits of nineteenth-century viewers, Chateaubriand's name is the most important one on de Cormenin's list. Especially *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, published in Paris in 1811 and immediately translated into English, German, and Dutch, captured the imagination of millions of readers. Chateaubriand was specific about his point of view: "I was perhaps the last Frenchman to leave my country for travel in the Holy Land with the ideas, goals, and feelings of an old-fashioned pilgrim." At the same time, he applied thoroughly nineteenth-century ideas to what he saw. On the one hand, he wished to provide a precise record of the trip: "The traveller is a sort of historian: his task is to recount precisely what he has seen and heard, without invention or omission." On the other hand, the critical experience of the trip was its imaginative impact:

I remained with my eyes fixed on Jerusalem, measuring the height of its walls, receiving at the same time all the memories of history, from Abraham to Godfrey de Bouillon, thinking of the world changed by the mission of the Son of Man, and searching in vain for the Temple, of which not one stone remains atop another. If I live to be one thousand, I will never forget [that sight]. His combination of these two—seemingly contradictory—approaches formed a distinctive synthesis that influenced all of Europe.<sup>24</sup>

For de Clercq, as for Chateaubriand, the Via Dolorosa offered the central attraction of Jerusalem.<sup>25</sup> Two of the five volumes that concern the Near East in de Clercq's *Voyage en Orient* are devoted to the Holy City. The second of them, *Les Stations de la voie douloreuse à Jérusalem*, consists of sixteen large albumen prints—each about eight by eleven inches—made from waxed paper negatives. Some of the



Fig. 8. Louis de Clercq, Sixth Station. St. Veronica wipes the bloody face of Jesus. No visible mark indicates the Station, but tradition places it at the foot of the small staircase. *The Royal Library, Copenhagen*.

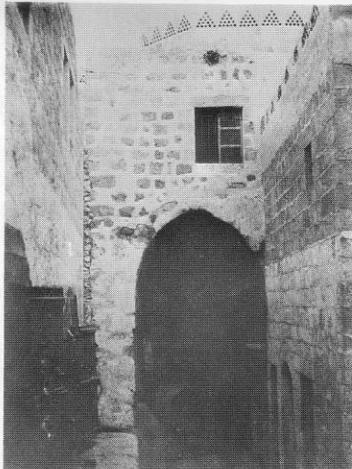


Fig. 9. Louis de Clercq, Seventh Station. Jesus falls for the second time. Ancient gate of judgement where the condemned were exhibited. A column still exists, hidden in the interior of the house at the left, 1860. *The Royal Library, Copenhagen*.

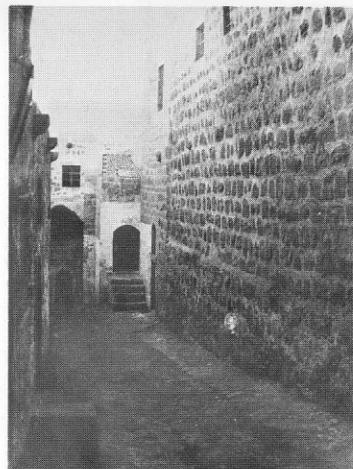


Fig. 10. Louis de Clercq, Eighth Station. Jesus consoles the Daughters of Jerusalem. Here again, a simple mark made on the end of a column encased in the wall indicates the Station. *The Royal Library, Copenhagen*.

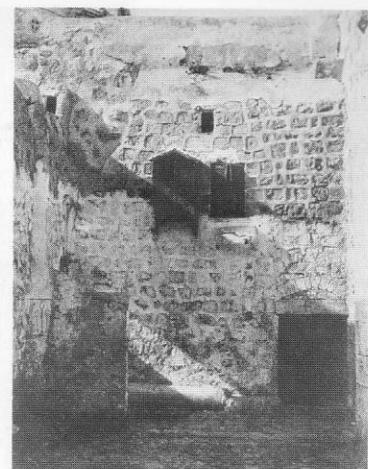


Fig. 11. Louis de Clercq, Ninth Station. Jesus falls for the third time. The end of the column at the bottom of the wall indicates the Station. *The Royal Library, Copenhagen*.

negatives were reworked extensively to enhance details that had not come out clearly. Beneath each photograph is a short title and the bare information about the view (quoted in full here as the caption for each illustration). Since the interior of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was too dark to photograph easily, the last five photographs depict watercolors of the final stations rather than the stations themselves.

Surprisingly, de Clercq included two photographs of the same watercolor—one for the eleventh station and one for the twelfth. This redundancy provides the clue to de Clercq's intention. The extra print provides no additional information for the armchair traveller. Rather it transforms the album into an equivalent of the pilgrimage route, with one picture for each stop. Thus the collection functions like a traditional spiritual exercise, offering aid for meditation on the mysteries of the Passion. At least one nineteenth-century admirer of de Clercq's "Stations" described the work in this way:

All fourteen stations of Christ are represented precisely by the artist, who has followed [Roman Catholic] tradition in his placement of the various events that happened in the Holy City. Unless we are mistaken, the initiative for this work rested entirely with M. de Clercq and he deserves the esteem of all good Catholics.<sup>26</sup>

It is revealing that the author thanks de Clercq as a Catholic—not as a photographer, an artist, or an archaeologist. This appreciation makes his understanding of the photographs clear: guides for the believer.

Not surprisingly, De Clercq's album opens with a view of the Ecce Homo arch (Fig. 1). Although not counted as one of the Stations of the Cross, it was the only recognizable monument connected with the story of the Passion. The fact that the arch was known to be later than Christ did not diminish its religious standing. Whatever its sanctity, the ruin offers no visual counterpart to the drama of the narrative in which it was supposed to have figured. De Clercq could only manipulate his vantage point and the fall of light to transform an unimpressive Hadrianic ruin into a vehicle for religious emotion. His photograph exaggerates the height of the arch as it stretches up into the bright sunlight and the sky. Deep shadows bring visual order to the chaotic mix of building and ruin that line the empty street before us. No incidental detail, whether of architecture or people, distracts our attention from the arch. To the extent that we confuse pictorial mystery with historical significance, his interpretation convinces us. The image suggests the sublimity that we would hope to find at a sacred place.

The second photograph (Fig. 2) shows the Turkish barracks that contain the first station. Shadow again creates visual order from a jumble of rough stone walls and pavement. The darkness, which breaks the composition along the diagonal, creates a strikingly bold graphic pattern. Working against the flatness of the shadow are the three paths that stretch before us, each one edged by a line of lighter stones. This opening up of the space is typical. De Clercq's photographs of the Stations frequently specify a means of entry for the viewer, thereby

enhancing our sense of being physically present. The view of the station within the barracks (Fig. 3), the interior courtyard where Roman tradition located the condemnation of Christ, also emphasizes the barrenness of the place. The photograph frames the crudely whitewashed stone wall, punctured by the single black rectangle of a door and decorated with a painted arch. Again, enough of the floor, side walls, and sky remains within the frame to allow us room to stand.

The next views create visual interest from the suggestive effects of shadow rather than compositional boldness. The second station marks where Christ received the cross and the crown of thorns, another subject that countless artists had represented with great drama and richness. De Clercq's view (Fig. 4) shows the undistinguished wall that lines the street—just visible under the arch beyond the Turkish barracks (Fig. 2). The patterns of the buttresses and the irregularly shaped and placed stones provide the only pictorial interest. A broken column marks the place of the third station (Fig. 5), where Christ fell for the first time. Again, the photograph finds nothing of historical significance. Instead, it describes the rhythm of shadow and sun falling on the filled arches of a building called Sultan's Bath. In both of these views, light softens the texture of the stones, and the weave of the paper negatives becomes mixed with the rough surfaces they describe. Bereft of obvious subjects, the pictures become studies in subtle middle tones.

Even in the street view that includes the fourth station (Fig. 6), where Christ met Mary, there are no signs of modern Jerusalem. The windows are shuttered and the shadowed doorways empty. Unlike similar pictures by his contemporaries, de Clercq's photographs do not include people. We never gain access—even in the limited terms of the picturesque—to the inhabited world that lies behind these walls. In the view that includes the fifth station (Fig. 7), where Simon of Cyrene took the cross from Christ, high, blank walls surround us. Seemingly pressed against the stones as we turn a tight corner, we look down a narrow street to the House of the Rich Man. In the photograph of the sixth station (Fig. 8), where Veronica offered her veil, we also look down an empty street. Here the absence of people seems especially remarkable—steps, doors, windows, a stretch of street, without a hint of life or movement.

Even more dramatic in its reticence is the blackness that fills the modern doorway of the ancient Porta Judiciaria (Fig. 9), through which Christ passed on his way out of the city. This subject also inspired centuries of magnificent pictures. In de Clercq's photograph, a worn and carelessly painted wall sets off the rectangle of a half-opened window and the oddly irregular outline of the arched doorway. The next photograph (Fig. 10), taken a few feet farther back than the previous picture, reveals yet another empty street lined with high stone walls. Time has passed between the two views: the window above the door is closed in the second picture.

By comparison with the empty silence of these photographs, the view of the ninth station (Fig. 11)—the last that falls outside the Church



Fig. 12. Auguste Salzmann, The Walls of the Temple: Detail of the Probationary Pool (1854), published in *Jerusalem* (Paris, 1856). Gilman Paper Company, New York.

of the Holy Sepulchre—seems filled with incident. In fact, the physical elements are the familiar ones: rough walls, partly whitewashed, dark doors, shuttered windows. The difference is only in the quality of the light, which brings out the tactility of this crudely constructed stone wall. It also precisely illuminates the end of the broken column that marks the place where Christ fell for the third time. The brilliance of the light and the striking variety of textures give the work a vividness of presence. We stand before a particular surface, illuminated by a particular light. The sheer physicality of the things makes the experience immediate. We are there.

The photograph of the ninth station, perhaps more than any of the others, suggests the nearly contemporary photographs of Jerusalem by Auguste Salzmann (1824-1872). A view of the Temple wall (Fig. 12), for example, displays a similar sensitivity to the aged and irregular surface of the stones, and, at first glance, it too lacks an obvious subject. The purpose of Salzmann's picture is archaeological, however, as the composition and the title make clear. According to the theories of Félicien de Sauly, the archaeologist who inspired Salzmann's photographs, the character and placement of the stones indicate a date during the time of Herod. Salzmann's photograph fully conveys the information necessary for this hypothesis. On those qualities that would establish our relationship to the wall, however, the picture is silent. Our place, the scale of the wall, the space in which we might stand, remain undefined. De Clercq's photograph offers nothing so definite by way of notable information, but it is eloquent in locating the viewer.

De Clercq's photographs more closely resemble those by French contemporaries such as Gustave Le Gray (1820-1882) and Henri Le Secq (1818-1882), who also explored the visually suggestive possibilities of the paper negative. The critic Francis Wey described the shared style in *La Lumière* in 1851:

Photography, by profusely aerating everything, by softening the swarming details without obliterating the contours, presents to the delighted eye monuments as great as their counterparts in reality, and sometimes even greater. Here as everywhere, it is the imagination that gives life.<sup>27</sup>

Wey's analysis perfectly suits de Clercq's photographs. Light softens and "aerates" objects, while shadows eliminate the "swarming details" that most photographers of the period gave in such glorious profusion. Certainly the pictures present monuments even greater than their counterparts in reality. In this case especially, the pictures offer a hook for the viewer's imagination, which "here as everywhere . . . gives life." In fact, the process of viewing the pictures resembles the process of viewing the Via Dolorosa itself. Association and memory of the historical past infuse the physical evidence with spirituality.

Although works by contemporaries such as Le Gray and Le Secq provide appropriate formal comparisons for de Clercq's pictures, contemporary religious art provides the appropriate historical context. James Tissot (1836-1902), an exact contemporary of de Clercq's, also travelled to the Near East in the years 1886-1887 and 1889. He too used what he saw to describe the story of the Passion. The resulting

illustrations to the New Testament, 365 watercolors, were painted between 1885 and 1895. Published in *La Vie de Jésus Christ* (Paris, 1896-7) and exhibited through Europe and America (1898-1900), they became sensationaly popular. By the time of Tissot's death in 1902, they had overwhelmed the rest of his artistic production. Some obituaries only described him as a religious painter.<sup>28</sup>

Tissot's biblical illustrations reform traditional scenes to accommodate the results of extensive historical research and study in the Holy Land. Tissot explained his intention: "My point of view throughout my task has been that of a historian, a faithful and conscientious historian . . . [My] ideal is truth in its completeness: truth in facts, truth in the interpretation of facts and of their higher meaning."<sup>29</sup> As the quotation at the head of this article makes clear, he had no doubt that this demanded an artistic revolution. His solution was to employ various formal devices, especially point of view and detail, to force the viewer to take part in the scenes. "It was of vital importance to me," Tissot wrote, "to take complete possession of the imagination of the spectator." He wished to "make [Christ] live again before [our] eyes."<sup>30</sup>

"What Christ Saw from the Cross" (Fig. 13) represents Tissot's desire for pictorial immediacy at its most extreme. The composition forces us onto the cross itself: our bloody feet appear at the bottom of the view. The weeping figures, seen in violent foreshortening, and the crazy tilt of the landscape further emphasize our position. This is belief through experience. Like Doubting Thomas, we must see the evidence of the events for ourselves. But Tissot's picture goes one step further, for only through total identification with Christ can we make sense of the meaning of the image. More like late medieval mystics than Thomas, we achieve our fullest understanding through ecstatic union with the physical facts of crucifixion. Both historical and psychological distance have been swept away. We do not watch the events, we actually live them; the story of the Passion becomes our own.

The likeness to late medieval mysticism is not coincidental. Tissot, like many other French artists and writers of the late nineteenth century, underwent a personal conversion during the 1880s. This revival of traditional Catholicism placed particular emphasis on the doctrine of vicarious suffering, about which fourteenth-and fifteenth-century mystics wrote extensively.<sup>31</sup> Henry Suso's *Little Book of Eternal Wisdom*, for example, provides a nearly exact textual companion to Tissot's watercolor in its description of the crucifixion in the voice of Christ.<sup>32</sup> Such enumerations of the details of physical suffering were to help the believer assume the burden as his own. The more complete the possession of the experience, the greater the spiritual achievement. Popular Catholicism in the nineteenth century also revered such practices. By official Church count, 321 people had received the stigmata since St. Francis in 1221—a sure sign of successful identification with Christ. Twenty-nine of them lived during the nineteenth century. Maria von Moerl (1812-1868) of Tyrol, who experienced the ecstasy of the Passion weekly from the age of 21 until her death, was one such figure. A book about her sufferings went through at least two French editions during the 1840s.<sup>33</sup> Presumably these were the same kind of people who bought Tissot's Bible fifty years later.

The abstraction of de Clercq's photographs, the boldness of their graphic designs, seems to place them worlds away from Tissot's pictures. We instinctively respond to the photographs as we might to Barnett Newman's paintings of the same subject: with an effort of willed concentration. But in this response, we overlook the factor that surely was central for nineteenth-century viewers. What Tissot achieved through pictorial means, de Clercq achieved through his very choice of medium. The mere fact of the process assured the conviction of the views. As Louis de Cormenin said about Du Camp's photographs, they offered "the precision of reality, movement and life, traced by the pure and true reflection of the sun." De Cormenin's evaluation emphasizes the extraordinary power of the camera by ascribing not only reality, but also movement and life, to these still views. In other words, the photograph transcended normal pictorial boundaries. They were not pictures, but nature itself, depicted by its own reflection. Tissot's picture had to include our bloody feet at the bottom of the composition to make it clear that we were there. De Clercq's photograph, by contrast, needed no such pictorial aid to indicate that we stood in Jerusalem on the Via Dolorosa.

Both de Clercq and Tissot reacted to the same dilemma, a dilemma that characterizes much religious imagery of the nineteenth century.

Caught by the new appetite for veracity in the representation of history and place, they nonetheless faced—or were themselves—believers who wished to find inspiration in the depiction of the Bible. Seen through nineteenth-century eyes, they solved their problem in the same fashion. Both used the language of the particular to give their pictures the value of immediacy. One artist, no less than the other, represented the spiritual experience in a peculiarly nineteenth-century fashion.

I presented versions of this article as talks at The Museum of Modern Art, New York (October, 1986) and the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University (February, 1987). I would like to thank the J. Paul Getty Trust and the Institute of Fine Arts for their support of my research. I also would like to thank Eugenia Parry Janis, who first introduced me to the study of nineteenth-century art and the history of photography. My interests and my approach owe a great debt to her teaching.

1. James Tissot, *The Life of Our Saviour Jesus Christ*, tr. from the French by Mrs. Arthur Bell (New York: McClure-Tissot Co., 1899), vol. 1, Introduction, ix.
2. Depicting Jerusalem as a local city may have been intended to make it seem more immediate. The fourteenth-century mystic Henry Suso envisioned the stages of the Via Dolorosa on particular street corners in his town (Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls. Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984], 115). Similarly, a devotional handbook by Zardin de Oration, published in Venice in 1494, suggested that the reader fix the people and places of the Passion in the mind by imagining them in "a city that is well known to you" (quoted in Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention. On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985], 124). For the influence of these new values of immediacy on contemporary religious imagery, see Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative. The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-century Devotional Painting* (Abo Abo Akademi, 1965) and James Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk, Belgium: Van Ghemert Publishing Co., 1979).
3. A particularly striking example of the Temple shown as a Gothic cathedral is Jean Fouquet's illustration of the building of the Temple in Jerusalem in *Les Antiquités Judaïques de Flavius Joseph* (Coll. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris), from about 1470. For a history of the representation of Temple, see Helen Rosenau, *Visions of the Temple* (New York, 1979).
4. For the early history of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, see H.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire A.D. 312-460* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984). It was not the interest itself that was new, but the attitudes toward the place and the sheer numbers of people.
5. Despite its importance in the nineteenth century, religious art has been neglected by historians. For general accounts of the subject in France, see Shepherd Gallery, *Christian Imagery in French Nineteenth-century Art, 1789-1906*, ed. Martin Reyment and Robert Kashey, exh. cat. (New York: the Gallery, 1980); and Maria Poprzeka, "Le Sacré au Salon," *Salons, Galleries, Museums and Their Influence in the Development of Nineteenth-and Twentieth-century Art*, 24th International Congress of the History of Art, ed. Francis Haskell (Bologna, 1979), 49-53. The transformation of particular motifs is discussed by Renate Liebenwein-Krämer, *Säkularisierung und Sakralisierung. Studien zum Bedeutungswandel christlicher Bildformen in der Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* Inaugural diss., Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität (Frankfurt zum Main, 1977), 2 vols. For Manet's religious paintings and the politics of nineteenth-century French Catholicism, see Michael Paul Driskel, "Manet, Naturalism, and the Politics of Christian Art," *Arts Magazine*, 60 (November 1985), 44-54. For Holman Hunt and the British depiction of the Holy Land, see Allen Staley, *The Pre-Raphaelite Landscape* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973); and Kenneth Bendiner, *The Portrayal of the Middle East in British Painting, 1835-1860*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University (New York, 1979). For Tissot's biblical illustrations, see Jewish Museum, *J. James Tissot, Biblical Paintings*, exh. cat. (New York: the Museum, 1982); "Tissot as a Religious Artist," by Ian Thomson in *James Tissot*, exh. cat. (London: Barbican Art Gallery, 1984); and Michael Wentworth, *James Tissot* (London: Oxford University Press, 1984). I am indebted to Professor Gert Schiff for information about Vereschagin.
6. For the photographers of Jerusalem, see Yeshayahu Nir, *The Bible and the Image, the History of Photography in the Holy Land, 1839-1899* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985). I have deliberately excluded F. Holland Day's photographs of himself as the crucified Christ from this discussion. They seem to me more like Gauguin's pictures, for example, in their implied identification of the sufferings of the artist with the sufferings of Christ, than like contemporary religious art. This is also the opinion of Estelle Jussim, *Slave to Beauty. The Eccentric Life and Controversial Career of F. Holland Day* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1981), Chap. 9, "A Crown of Thorns," 120-35.
7. Francis Frith, *Sinai and Palestine* (London: William Mackenzie, 1862), n.p.: "It cannot be expected that after nineteen sieges, and several complete demolitions, there are many very conspicuous objects of antiquarian interest in Jerusalem."
8. A handful of copies of *Voyage en Orient* have appeared: The Royal Library, Copenhagen; Bibliothèque nationale, Paris; Musée d'Orsay, Paris; Gilman Paper Company, New York; and Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal.
9. Op. cit. Nir, 60.
10. Karl Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria. Handbook for Travellers* (Leipzig and London: Baedeker, 1876), reprinted in part as *Jerusalem and its Surroundings* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1973), 95. Of course, religious orientation influenced one's opinion. As Mark Twain wrote in *Innocents Abroad*, each traveller went armed with his or her Bible and corresponding expectations.
11. For a splendid study of these photographers, see André Jammes and Eugenia Parry Janis, *The Art of the French Calotype, with a Critical Dictionary of Photographers, 1845-1870* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).
12. To the best of my knowledge, the first mention of his name in the context of photographic history was in Henrik Bramson, Marianne Brøns, and Bjørn Ochsner, *Early Photographs of Architecture and Views in Two Copenhagen Libraries* (Copenhagen: Thaning and Appel, 1957), which illustrates nine photographs from *Voyage en Orient* (pp. 35-49). André Jammes, *French Primitive Photography* (New York: Aperture, 1969), reproduces de Clercq's photograph of the sixth Station. The entry in Jammes and Janis is the fullest account of his life that has appeared to date. Unless otherwise noted, I have drawn my biographical information from E. Babelon, "Louis de Clercq," in A. de Ridder, ed., *Collection de Clercq. Catalogue*, vol. 3, *Les Bronzes* (Paris, 1905), x-vii.
13. Emmanuel Guillaume Rey, *Etude historique et topographique de la tribu de Juda* (Paris: Arthur Bertrand, 1864), 18. Rey made no mention of seeing de Clercq after his return to Jerusalem on 20 December (p. 131), so probably the photographer had left for Egypt. In this case, his photographs of Jerusalem would date from 1859 alone.
14. M. Prevost's entry about de Clercq in *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* (Paris,



Fig. 13. James Tissot, What Christ Saw from the Cross, published in *La Vie de Jesus Christ* (Paris, 1896-7). Brooklyn Museum.

15. André Parrot, "La Donation L. de Clercq-H. de Boisgelin," *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France*, 18 (4-5, 1968), 299-300.
16. Rey, 2: "Son expérience et ses succès comme photographe me promettaient en lui un utile auxiliaire."
17. See, for example, the evaluation of Paul Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte. Le Crac des Chevaliers* (Paris: 1934), text vol., p. iii.
18. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 11 (1861), 244.
19. See, for example, the careers of Roger Fenton, Henri Le Secq, and Robert Macpherson. Grace Seiberling, with Carolyn Bloom, discusses this phenomenon in terms of the shift from amateurs to professionals in *Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).
20. A vigorous attack on Orientalists and their discipline is Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978). For the difficulties in applying his approach to the history of photography in the Near East, see my review of Nir in *Journal of Communication*, 36 (Spring 1986), 159-62.
21. One recent survey of the development of the area for Western tourists is Neil Asher Silberman, *Digging for God and Country. Exploration, Archeology, and the Secret Struggle for the Holy Land, 1799-1917* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), especially Chap. 6.
22. A wonderfully thorough account of de Saulcy is *F. de Saulcy (1807-1880) et la Terre Sainte (notes et documents des musées de France)*. (Paris: éditions de la réunion des musées nationaux, 1982), with an essay about Salzmann by Françoise Heilbrun, 114-32. The Ordnance Survey was published in 1865, illustrated with original photographs.
23. Quoted in Isabelle Jammes, *Blanquart-Evrard et les origines de l'édition photographiques française* (Genève-Paris: Librairie Droz, 1981), 90.
24. Chateaubriand, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 5, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (Paris: Garnier frères, 1859), 110, 4; 277-8. For his influence, see Fernande Bassan, *Chateaubriand et la Terre-Sainte* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959). This response became the conventional one. The British photographer Francis Frith described his experience of the Holy Land in *Sinai and Palestine* (n.p.): "Overwhelming [Palestine] triumphantly, comes the thrilling recollection—that this was the country of Abraham and the Prophets! these the cities of David! and first and last, and mingling with every line of its eventful history—that this was the spot of his earth chosen by its Creator from the beginning, upon which the plan of his salvation should be finished."
25. Chateaubriand wrote: "J'eus soin chaque jour de revoir ce chemin sacré . . . afin qu'aucune circonstance essentielle n'échappât à ma mémoire" (321).
26. Henry Lauzac, *Galerie historique et critique du dix-neuvième siècle* (Paris: Bureau de la Galerie Historique, 1861-2), vol. 3, 352.
27. Francis Wey, *La Lumière*, 5 October 1851, 138, quoted in Jammes and Janis, 60-1. For a discussion of Wey's opinion of photography and Romantic methods of viewing, see Christopher Phillips, "A Mnemonic Art? Calotype Aesthetics at Princeton," *October*, no. 26 (Fall, 1983), 34-62. An analysis of Romantic reverie as a way of understanding landscapes appeared in Charles Rosen's review of Barbara Maria Stafford's *Voyage into Substance*, in the *New York Review of Books*, (6 November 1986), 55-60 ("Now, Voyager").
28. Jewish Museum, 6-7.
29. Tissot, vol. 3, 66.
30. Tissot, vol. 1, 53; x.
31. The most thorough study of the Catholic Revival and literary figures is Richard Griffiths, *The Revolutionary Reaction. The Catholic Revival in French Literature, 1870-1914* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1965). These same mystics interested twentieth-century visual artists as well, but for their descriptions of objectless states rather than meditations on the physical details of the Passion. See Los Angeles County Museum, *The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting, 1890-1985*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: the Museum, 1986).
32. Quoted in Kieckhefer, 104.
33. A. Poulain, SJ., *The Graces of Interior Prayer*, tr. Leonora L. Yorke Smith, 6th ed. (1901; London: Kegan Paul, 1921), 174-5.