

The Salon de la Rose+Croix

THE RELIGION OF ART

VIVIEN GREENE





call to arms for the worship of beauty, the Salon de la Rose+Croix (R+C) was founded in Paris by the eccentric Symbolist author and critic Joséphin Péladan (1858–1918).¹ The Salon privileged a hermetic and numinous vein of Symbolism, which reigned during the 1890s when Christian and occult practices were often intertwined in a quest for mysticism undertaken by many who yearned for a renewed centrality of faith. The Salon aimed to transcend the mundane and material for a higher spiritual life — the movement's holy grail. Péladan consecrated the Salon in 1891 as part of L'Ordre de la Rose+Croix du Temple et du Graal, a fraternal secret society he ordained after having broken with the Rosicrucian sect led by poet and occultist Stanislas de Guaita.² The rose and the cross, whether in the form of images or words, conjoined by the symbol +, †, x, or a Maltese cross, referred to the Catholic devotion of the esoteric order. Held from 1892 to 1897, the annual exhibitions of the R+C gathered an international brotherhood of artists, many of whom became standard-bearers for Péladan's Rosicrucian precepts.

Péladan and the R+C circle repudiated the empirical bedrock of Naturalism and, by extension, Impressionism and Neo-Impressionism, as well as their subjects from everyday life. Painters and sculptors who showed at the Salon de la R+C sought to convey the "ideal," a term popularized by the Symbolist theorist Albert Aurier in reference to elevated thought, at a far remove from the prosaic.³ Sinuous lines, attenuated figures, and hieratic compositions characterized their artwork. Imagery was mystical and visionary in tenor and often depicted mythical, literary, or spiritual themes replete with arcane symbols, ethereal women, androgynous beings, chimeras, and incubi. These artists rejected realism not only in art but also in life, finding respite in the intuitive, the imaginary, and the spiritual. They often conjured the latter with New Testament subjects and iconography, but with idiosyncratic refinements and fantasy that had little to do with Catholic strictures.⁴

Péladan's project of cultural renewal — albeit through the retreat into a total aesthetic experience — was symptomatic of late nineteenth-century reactions against Positivism, which had disavowed the inner life in favor of reason and the hard sciences.⁵ In France, where republicanism had gone hand in hand with secularism, Roman Catholicism made a comeback among all classes.⁶ Syncretism — the study and equation of world religions — led to investigations of Eastern mysticism and a burgeoning interest in the occult. Esoteric orders and secret societies, often informed by a hybrid of these religious philosophies, multiplied, and among them, in addition to L'Ordre de la Rose+Croix du Temple et du Graal, were the Martinists, Occultists,⁷ Spiritists, and Theosophists.⁷ They countered the perceived ills of industrial modernity and capitalism: the mechanization of labor, loss of community, and overcrowded urban centers.⁸ The 1890s also witnessed radical political divisions, anarchist bombings, and the emergence of a reactionary right wing.⁹ For his part, Péladan flaunted his anti-republican and pro-monarchy stance.

Symbolism germinated in this climate of fin-de-siècle anxieties.¹⁰ An umbrella term in Western art and literature, Symbolism encompassed writers and artists who were active in Europe and the Americas during the 1880s through the early 1900s. It began as a literary phenomenon in France and quickly gained adherents in the visual arts, including those with the labels of Art Idéaliste, Art Idéiste, Decadentism, and Synthetism.¹¹ Poet Charles Baudelaire was Symbolist literature's great precursor. His theory of "correspondences," whereby a color or line could evoke a mood or even a synesthetic experience, later became the bible for many visual artists. Figures closely associated with the prose and poetry of this movement were writer Joris-Karl Huysmans and poets Stéphane Mallarmé, Arthur Rimbaud, Paul Verlaine, as well as Jean Moréas, who was also author of the Manifesto "Le Symbolisme" (published in the French newspaper *Le Figaro* in 1886). Tapping the interior life, the Symbolists sought to inspire visionary states of mind in viewers, but the aesthetics of the movement remain stubbornly hard to define, especially since its exponents favored the open-ended and the evocative. Even among the R+C, artists' aims were not always clear-cut. The flattened forms, muted colors, and hermeticism of proto-Symbolist Pierre Puvis de Chavannes predominated as much as the overwrought, bejeweled surfaces, chiaroscuro, and fantastical elements of the other principal proto-Symbolist, Gustave Moreau. And sometimes artists employed a mélange of the two prevailing idioms.¹² The ideological agendas also varied from country to country: Romantic nationalism, Catholic revivalism, or nostalgia for medieval precepts.

Péladan's velvet glove, however, contained an iron hand. With specific directives, he authored a manifesto for the Salon de la R+C and a set of "rules" to accompany the catalogues for each of its exhibitions.¹³ Grandiosely proclaiming that art must be mystical, idealist, and in the service of "beauty," Péladan proceeded to enumerate the type of work that could and could not be exhibited. He excluded history paintings, still lifes, rustic and domestic scenes, images of domestic and sporting animals, marines, and landscapes (although the occasional "ideal" view was admitted). Instead, Péladan encouraged his "disciples" to submit works representing legend, myth, allegory, dream, and literary narratives. Sculpture, drawing, and decorative arts were admissible, though far less represented, and any architectural drawings could only imagine temples or fairy castles.

Portraiture was also anathema, unless the subject belonged to the R+C cadre of revered, such as composer Richard Wagner or Péladan himself.¹⁴ As the grand master of the order, Péladan assumed the title "Sâr Merodack": Sâr means "leader" in ancient Hebrew and Assyrian, while Merodack was supposedly an adaptation of Baladan-Merodach, the name of a Babylonian king.¹⁵ Several grand-manner portraits in vertical format contributed to the fashioning of his persona.¹⁶ Always obsessed with self-promotion, Péladan was smitten with painter Alexandre Séon's depiction of him as a seer (1891, page 93) with a noble posture and painted against a plain background, setting off his profile with its affected pointed beard and violet robe.¹⁷ Belgian artist Jean Delville likewise glorified Péladan in his Sâr incarnation (1895, page 65): his right hand raised in a blessing similar to the Byzantine Christ Pantocrator, while his pseudo-Assyrian pedigree is symbolized by profiles in the background of Lamassu, the Assyrian winged, part-human, part-lion deity. The emblems of the rose and flaming cross interlock in a repeating, all-over pattern that fills the composition's background and reappears to decorate the frame. Painter and printmaker Marcellin Desboutin, by contrast, portrayed Péladan (1891, page 69) as an earthbound man, albeit a stylishly dressed dandy. Though the dandy was a gender-bending, fin-de-siècle figure who usurped elements of feminine refinement, Péladan assumes the air of a patrician — a status he craved — his left arm assertively posed on his hip.

Indicative of his international ambitions, Péladan wrote that "for the Salon the word foreign did not exist." By contrast, Regulation XVII betrayed the limits of its cosmopolitanism and more illiberal core: "No work by a woman will ever be exhibited or executed for the order." Nonetheless, women did exhibit surreptitiously under male names.¹⁸ (Péladan was married twice; the first union ended in divorce despite his Catholic allegiance.) His homosocial vision was



Fig. 1 Félicien Rops, *Le vice suprême* [frontispiece], 1884
Etching, 34.2 × 23.5 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.,
Gift of Frank Anderson Trapp

inspired by the Nazarenes, an early nineteenth-century group of German painters who formed a fraternity, moved to Rome, lived in monastic conditions, and emulated the art of the Middle Ages.¹⁹ The Pre-Raphaelites, who established a brotherhood in 1849 and signed themselves the PRB (Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood), were even more pivotal.²⁰ In emulation of the latter, Péladan set forth that his artists would be known by the acronym “R+C,” which this essay and exhibition catalogue have adopted as well.

The 1892 inaugural exhibition of the R+C, also the most ambitious, was held at the Galerie Durand-Ruel (the location changed annually). With requisite fanfare, Péladan baptized the event the *geste esthétique*. The opening was an art world affair, and notable figures from all camps attended, from authors Émile Zola and Verlaine to artists Puvis and Moreau. It attracted the largest amount of press (see discussion in Jean-David Jumeau-Lafond’s essay in this volume, pages 36–45) and the most positive reactions. Remy de Gourmont, a Symbolist poet, critic, and a like-minded soul, proved to be an ally in the Symbolist journal *Mercure de France*, as did several others, including a one-time exhibitor, the more critical Félix Vallotton.²¹

The triumph of the 1892 Salon was, in part, due to the wealthy Count Antoine de La Rochefoucauld, who was a founding member of the Ordre, a collector, a second-tier artist, and an exhibitor. The count funded the event and his presence — given his ties to the Nabis and the Synthetists — also encouraged submissions by artists who fell outside of Péladan’s purview. However, a split occurred between La Rochefoucauld and Péladan, and subsequently, the latter was left to finance the exhibitions on his own.²² By the second Salon, criticism had built against it.²³ Nonetheless, it persisted for five years, but its success declined by the final manifestation in 1897. Despite some inconsistencies, there was an unswerving commitment throughout to an esoteric Idealist Symbolism, and certain artists continued to attract positive press.²⁴

Though French-born artists held sway, given the Parisian locale, the Salon included painters, sculptors, and graphic and decorative artists from Belgium, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands,

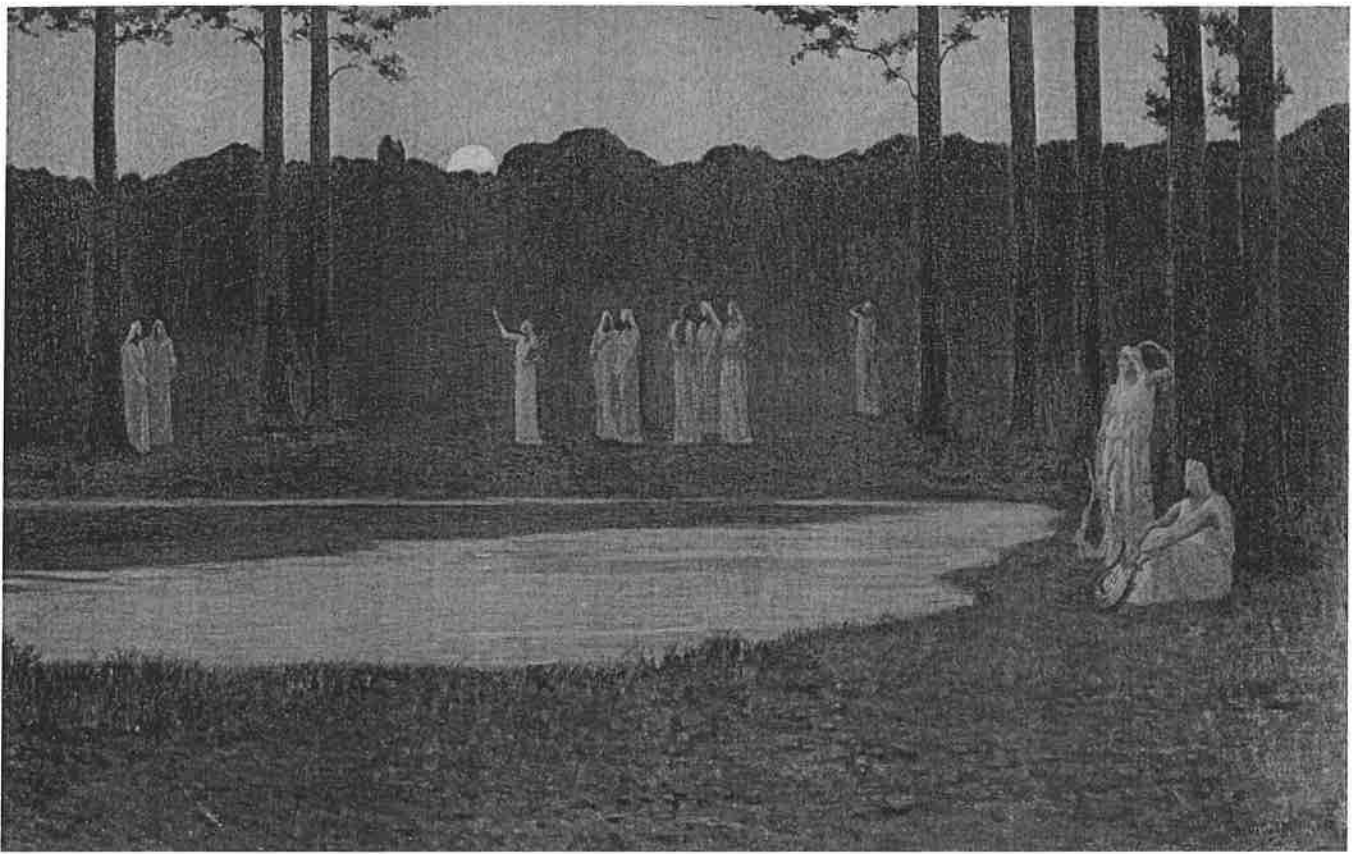


Fig. 2 Alphonse Osbert, *Songs of the Night (Les chants de la nuit)*, 1896
Oil on canvas, 76.5 x 123.2 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Italy, Spain, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States.²⁵ The most loyal exhibitors, if not always the most memorable, were French painters Maurice Chabas, Pierre-Émile Cornillier, and Alphonse Osbert, who showed at every Salon.²⁶ Others were present for four or five Salons, such as French decorative artist Edmé Couty, Belgian painter Delville,²⁷ Spanish artist Rogelio de Egusquiza, Belgian artist Fernand Khnopff, American painter Pinckney Marcius-Simons, French painter and decorative artist Armand Point, French sculptor Pierre Rambaud (whose works were included, in part, posthumously, as he died in 1893), and French artist Séon. Péladan had a close relationship with a number of this inner sanctum, some of whom were referred to as *artistes de l'âme* (artists of the soul), including Point and Séon.²⁸ The regular presence of these international exhibitors endowed the Salon with a degree of cohesion.

The coterie of Belgian artists had a particularly strong profile. Péladan traveled to nearby Brussels to see exhibitions and forge friendships with Symbolist promoters, such as poet Émile Verhaeren, who was a staunch supporter of the avant-garde exhibition group les XX. Les XX familiarized Péladan with the elongated androgynous nude boys of Belgian sculptor George Minne and the curvilinear forms that overran the enchanted scenes of Dutch artist Jan Toorop (page 97); both artists showed in the first R+C Salon.²⁹ Péladan's other Belgian allies included Octave Maus, critic and founder of the artists' society la Libre esthétique, the writer and publisher Raymond Nyst, and the previously mentioned Delville. The latter two figures mediated between Péladan and Belgian artists.³⁰ Péladan also had a long-standing collaboration with fantastical Belgian artist Félicien Rops, who created eerie frontispieces for several of the former's literary works and resided in Paris (fig. 1).³¹ Likewise, Symbolist artist Khnopff became an enthusiast of Péladan's novel *Le vice suprême* (1884), and he was inspired to create a work dedicated to the book and later realized uncanny frontispieces for some of Péladan's other novels.

The plethora of small journals and art periodicals circulating during the late nineteenth century increased the traffic of images and critical ideas, therefore making Péladan known to



Fig. 3 Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *The Sacred Grove, Beloved of the Arts and the Muses*
(*Le Bois Sacré cher aux arts et aux muses*), 1884–89
Oil on canvas, 93 × 231 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Potter Palmer Collection

Symbolist enthusiasts elsewhere. Milanese artist, dealer, and critic Vittore Grubicy De Dragon discovered Péladan in this manner and — sharing his Idealist aesthetic philosophy — wrote about him and the origins of the Salon de la R+C in the Italian press.³² The inclusions of Italian painter Gaetano Previati's *Mother and Child* (*Maternità*, 1890–91, fig. 10) and, probably, the reliquary by Italian sculptor Emilio Quadrelli were thanks to Grubicy's encouragement.³³ Other foreign participants were based or studying in Paris during the 1890s, such as Egusquiza, a German-born painter of English parents Louis Welden Hawkins, Danish painter Baron Arild Rosenkrantz, and Finnish sculptor Ville Vallgren.³⁴ Swiss artists were well represented, and like Brussels, Geneva had strong cultural ties to Paris abetted by geographic proximity and a shared language.³⁵ Some of the most commented-upon works at the first Salon were by Swiss artists Ferdinand Hodler and Albert Trachsel.³⁶ The latter, a trained architect, contributed numerous renditions of archaic temple designs congruent with the R+C rules (page 99).³⁷ Several of Hodler's friends appeared at the 1892 Salon as well, among them Auguste de Niederhäusern-Rodo with sculptures defined by twisting and flowing forms (fig. 15).³⁸

The first Salon was also exceptional because it included artists whose works did not adhere to Péladan's rules. Most remarkable among these were the Frenchman Charles Maurin and his friend the Swiss Nabi Vallotton.³⁹ Both were printmakers in addition to painters and committed anarchists. For this fact alone they were incongruous, their politicized subjects standing out transgressively, because Péladan eschewed politics in art (and preferred the Catholic right and elitist governance to left-wing politics). Further, Vallotton's portraits of Baudelaire (1892), Verlaine (1891), and Wagner (1891, all page 106), whom the Symbolists adulated, were hardly idealized effigies, as was Péladan's want. The *japoniste* manner of his small-format, alpine landscapes (page 103), not a genre of which the Sâr approved, conformed more to Symbolist aesthetics, but the stark black-and-white woodcut medium hardly harmonized with the bulk of the works at the 1892 exhibition. And his social satires

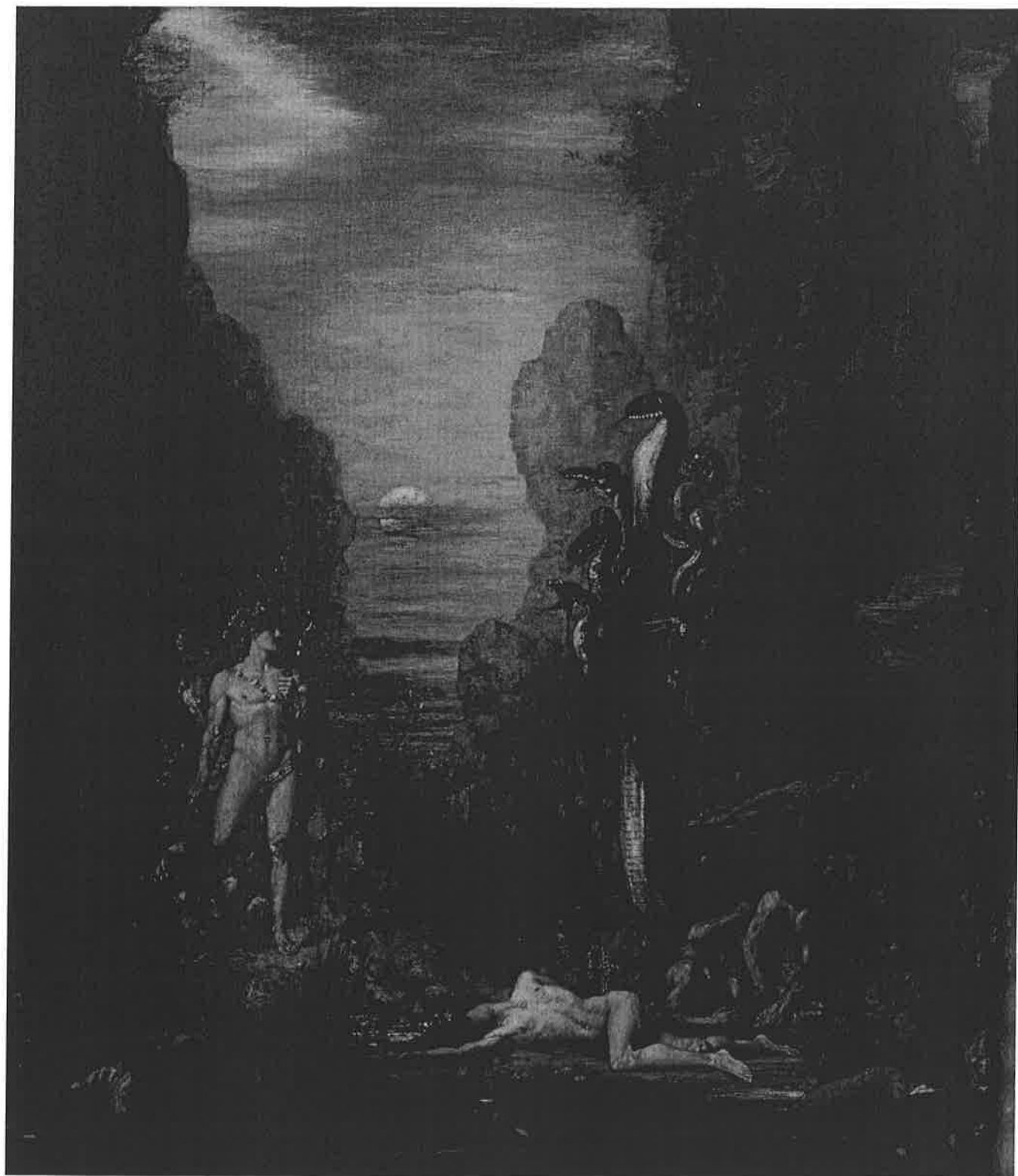


Fig. 4 Gustave Moreau, *Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra*
(*Hercule et l'Hydre de Lerne*), 1875–76
Oil on canvas, 179.3 × 154 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago,
Gift of Mrs. Eugene A. Davidson



Fig. 5 Georges Rouault, *Jesus among the Doctors*
(*L'Enfant Jésus parmi les docteurs*), 1894
Oil on canvas, 162 x 130 cm. Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar, France,
Gift of the State

The Funeral (*L'enterrement*, ca. 1891, page 105) and *The Paris Crowd* (*La foule à Paris*, 1892, page 104) were proverbial sore thumbs. The 1892 Salon proved the only appearance for Vallotton, whose work was nonetheless met with favorable attention by anarchist critic (and champion of Neo-Impressionism) Félix Fénéon.⁴⁰

Maurin's *Dawn* stymied public and critics.⁴¹ This radically conceived and politically strident triptych, with flat expanses of color, acid tones, extreme cropping, and strongly outlined figures, is a reminder of his skills as a graphic artist. The central panel (ca. 1891, page 81) — most striking for its array of muscular and unidealized women — offered an allegory of capitalism's ills and the revolt of the oppressed. De Gourmont spent a paragraph on the pros and cons of the work but ultimately understood the tragic message: "The different awakenings, in the morning, of battle weary humanity before the day that they will live, that they would flee, but who fall into the traps of daily needs, of daily pleasures. . . ."⁴² Similarly, an anonymous member of the R+C oscillated between scorn for the Japanese print-inspired lack of perspective, the confusing spatial arrangement, and the overabundance of nudes, and appreciation for the draftsmanship and the allegory.⁴³

In one key respect, the Salons de la R+C fell short of what Péladan had initially envisioned, that is, to exhibit works by famous elder, proto-Symbolist crusaders, namely the triad of Puvis, Moreau, and the second-generation Pre-Raphaelite Edward Burne-Jones.⁴⁴ Well-established and averse to the R+C's cultish milieu, they refused Péladan's invitation.⁴⁵ But artworks by their students and devotees, such as Pierre Amédée Marcel-Béronneau, Osbert, Point, Georges Rouault, and Séon echoed their predecessors' lessons (some critics accused them of doing so slavishly) and functioned as unofficial stand-ins for these masters throughout the six Salons. Séon, who had been Puvis's student, emulated one of the master's signature subjects in *The Lament of Orpheus* (*Lamentation d'Orphée*, ca. 1896, page 95) and adapted the matte and subdued zones of color for which the older painter was known. Osbert's *Songs of the Night* (*Les chants de la nuit*, 1896, fig. 2) — in which virginal women in Grecian gowns glowing white in the moonlight congregate around a sylvan pond, as if for an archaic rite — quoted Puvis's *The Sacred Grove, Beloved of the Arts and the Muses* (*Le Bois Sacré cher aux arts et aux muses*, 1884–89, fig. 3).⁴⁶

Moreau's progeny made a significant showing at the last Salon. Béronneau's *Orpheus in Hades* (*Orphée*, 1897, page 59) took cues from Moreau's images of fey heroic men of myth, such as *Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra* (*Hercule et l'Hydre de Lerne*, 1875–76, fig. 4).⁴⁷ Rouault's *Jesus among the Doctors* (*L'Enfant Jésus parmi les docteurs*, 1894, fig. 5) relied on several Moreau compositions, especially his famed *Salomes*.⁴⁸ Point's *April or Saint Cecilia* (*Avril or Sainte Cécile*, 1896, page 86), in turn, paid homage to the languid damsels of Burne-Jones. Whether he intended her as a personification of spring or the saint of music, Point, who excelled as a draftsman, framed the beauty standing in a vertical format, clad in medievalizing garb, all reminiscent of the Englishman's compositions (*The Beguiling of Merlin*, 1872–77, fig. 6). Through the presence of their students and followers, Péladan's idols haunted the Salon.

In addition to these immediate forebears, the R+C artists, along with Péladan, venerated the so-called Flemish, French, and Italian Primitives from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴⁹ The sacrosanct, even mystical, quality of their scenes was enhanced by the lack of fully developed spatial illusionism, making them congenial to modernist aesthetics. The Trecento and Quattrocento Primitives also evoked the idealized time of guilds and artistic brotherhoods. They were seen as cloistered ascetics, untouched by the Mannerist exaggerations of the Late Renaissance or the overwrought Baroque. Perceived to be free from the blemish of academicism and commercialization, the sweetness and purity of their art was exalted for expressing innocence and speaking to higher truths. The R+C circle was foremost drawn to the Italians, and adored the Trecento and Quattrocento Tuscan painters Giotto, Fra Angelico (*The Annunciation* [*Annunciazione*], ca. 1440–45, fig. 7), Sandro Botticelli (*Allegory of Spring* [*Allegoria della Primavera*], ca. 1482, fig. 8), and Leonardo da Vinci's Florentine-period works.⁵⁰ Point spoke on behalf of his R+C peers in the article "Primitifs et Symbolistes," in which

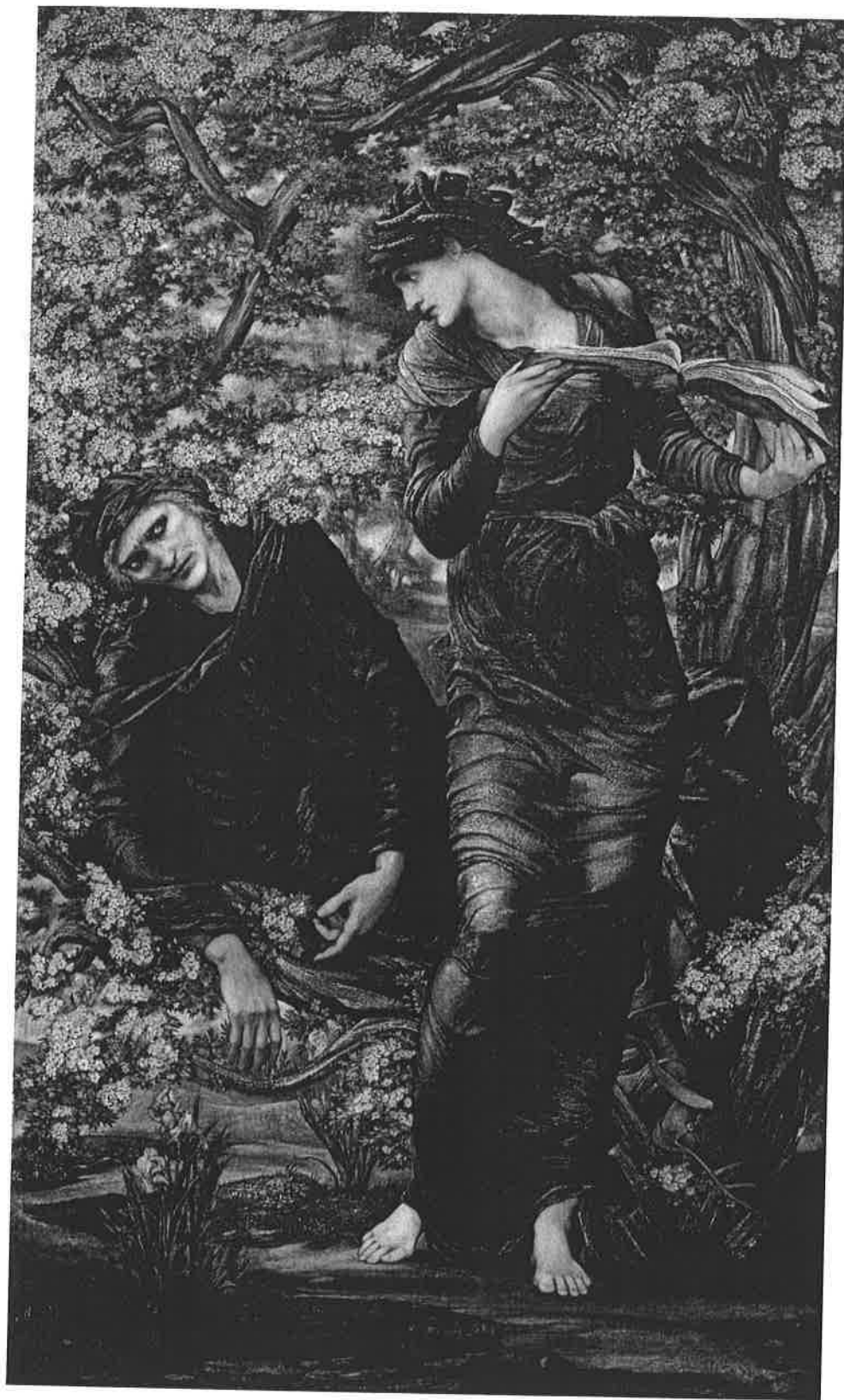


Fig. 6 Edward Burne-Jones, *The Beguiling of Merlin*, 1872–77
Oil on canvas, 186 × 111 cm.
National Museums Liverpool, Lady Lever Art Gallery



Fig. 7 Fra Angelico, *The Annunciation* (Annunciazione), ca. 1440–45
Fresco, 230 × 297 cm. Museo di San Marco, Florence

he condemned the realism of the French Naturalist painters and their failure to grasp the “rare and noble sentiments” that flowed forth from Giotto, Masaccio, and Masolino.⁵¹ Point’s adulation of the Primitives is overt in *The Annunciation* or *Ancilla Domini* (*L’Annonciation*, 1895, page 87) and *Legendary Princess* (*Princesse de légende*, 1895, page 85). He inspired the sycophantic voice of the Symbolists, Camille Mauclair, to write, “The tradition of draftsmanship in M. Armand Point above all reveals his love of the primitive masters,” invoking the now familiar litany of fifteenth-century artists: “Botticelli, Mantegna, Vinci [*sic*], Van Eyck.”⁵² Another R+C artist, the pious, if stylistically anomalous, Synthetist Charles Filiger (*Madonna and Two Angels* or *Madonna of the Fireflies* [*Madone aux vers luisants*], ca. 1892, page 73) employed simplified forms, planar areas of color, gold detailing, and the small format of devotional images, which led critics to compare him to the thirteenth-century Cimabue.⁵³ As to the incisive outlines of Séon’s draftsmanship, the critic Alphonse Germain exclaimed, “No one feels the Primitives with more devotion.”⁵⁴

The artists imitating the Primitives were not the only ones to focus on holy subject matter. The religious revival of the late nineteenth century and, more directly, the Rosicrucian Catholic foundation of the Salon’s platform ensured that Christian themes abounded.⁵⁵ They dovetailed with the R+C desire to both represent and induce meditative or rapturous psychological states. As the catalogue titles attest, numerous painters, among them Aman-Jean, Rosenkrantz, and Carlos Schwabe depicted the Virgin Mary, angels, various female saints, and assorted scenes from the New Testament: the Flight into Egypt, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Holy Family, and the Supper at Emmaus. Émile Bernard and Rouault, both religiously devout artists, bookended the Salons with sacred submissions. By 1892 Bernard had fallen under the spell of Péladan, while his invitation to exhibit came from Bernard’s patron La Rochefoucauld.⁵⁶ At this juncture Bernard had shifted away from the Paul Gauguin-inspired Pont-Aven School,

and he had become more deeply religious, despite the fact that the works he showed were earlier in date and in a *cloisonniste* vein (*Annunciation* [Annonciation], 1892, fig. 9).⁵⁷ The young Rouault, who had recently converted to Catholicism, exhibited thirteen works, eleven of which explored biblical favorites, including the Leonardo-like chiaroscuro and modeled figures of *The Holy Women Mourning Christ* (*Le Christ mort pleuré par les saintes femmes*, 1895, page 89).⁵⁸

Countering these more traditional, sacred renditions were artists who embraced alternate doctrines, tinged by Idealist philosophies and mysticism, especially those inspired by nature worship. One example was the Protestant painter Hodler.⁵⁹ *The Disappointed Souls* (*Les âmes déçues*, 1892, page 75) was a standout in the 1892 Salon, both maligned and admired. The artist depicted a row of seated men, nude except for black drapery, with faces creased by life's misery and pain, presaging death — a timeless allegory of humanity's search and struggle for spiritual release. Holder's Symbolist theory of painting, or Parallelism, established analogues between rhythm, line, and color and the sensations and emotions these engendered — not dissimilar to Baudelaire's correspondences. While he evolved these ideas independently of Péladan, they coincided with the R+C creed of drawing the viewer into contemplation of the human condition.

Consistent with fin-de-siècle gender stereotypes, the artists of the R+C specialized in the dichotomous representation of women as *femmes fragiles* or *femmes fatales*. Schwabe's poster for the first Salon (1892, page 91) epitomizes this perceived dual nature of women.⁶⁰ One lithe, young, naked woman remains trapped in swampy sludge, while two others, allegories for Purity and Faith, untainted as the white lilies surrounding them, mount to the heavens.⁶¹ Deterministic anthropology promulgated by the criminal anthropologist Cesare Lombroso, the still-entrenched evolutionary theories of Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, and the nascent field of psychology all made "scientific" claims regarding the biological inferiority of women and the problems, such as hysteria that were believed to stem from female physiology.⁶² In addition, nascent proto-feminism stoked fears regarding the diminishing social and political might of men. Women as depersonalized allegories of virtue or vice thus populated the R+C Salons, often captured in a moment of religious or sexual ecstasy to underscore their "natural" destabilized psychology. Sainly and virginal figures embodied wholesomeness and morality. Even more removed from the real world were the images of sylphs and good fairies, all insubstantial characters in the realm of the imaginary. There was also a contingent aspiration toward the feminized male, the sexually ambiguous androgyne — though never the masculine female.⁶³ Instead, the dangerous *femmes fatales* appeared as chimeras, maenads, sphinxes, and other temptresses. Driven by base urges, these women lacked control, intellect, and a moral compass. A metaphor for the physical versus the spiritual self, the *femme fatale* was the progeny of carnal Eve, whose presence augured the fall of (hu)mankind.

The virginal types extolled by the R+C artists included Saint Cecilia, who, given her association with music, was a favorite Symbolist metaphor for transmutation,⁶⁴ and Joan of Arc, France's heroic national martyr. Holy women were often portrayed as humble in origin, in rural scenes that underscored their innocent, unsullied nature, as with Osbert's *Vision* (1892, page 83). In a composition veiled in heavenly blue, Osbert canonized a shepherdess gazing upward with unearthly eyes — possibly in an altered religious state — by encircling her head with a halo. The public, in fact, mistook her for Saint Genevieve, the patron saint of Paris. In *Young Saint* (*Jeune sainte*, 1891, page 79), Henri Martin also crowned a peasant girl with a golden halo. Dressed in white, symbolic of the immaculate, she is doubly a fragile female and otherworldly, visible to humans, while clearly appertaining to the celestial realm. Despite Péladan's aversion to the empirically premised, Neo-Impressionist style, Martin employed a moderated Pointillist technique of individual strokes of color to create an optical vibrancy across the surface.⁶⁵ The perception of luminosity that this technique elicited served as a fitting visual metaphor for enlightenment and the ineffable. The woman in Antoine Bourdelle's *Dream of a Shepherdess* (*Rêve de pastoure*, ca. 1888–90, page 61), likewise assumes a state of grace. Sleeping peacefully in a moonlit pasture with her sheep (a symbol of God's flock in the Christian canon), she has a



Fig. 8 Sandro Botticelli, *Allegory of Spring* (*Allegoria della Primavera*), ca. 1482
Tempera on wood, 203 x 319 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

dream that by implication is analogous to a vision. Among the countless images of virgins, Previati showed *Mother and Child* (fig. 10) in 1892, a large-scale, unorthodox rendition of Mary and the Infant Jesus, surrounded by angels, with shimmering, Pointillist brushwork. The stylistic liberties he took in rendering this hallowed Christian icon caused a fierce polemic the year before at Milan's first Brera Triennial, offending conservative Italian Catholics and academics. But Parisian audiences, accustomed to Puvis's commissions for major Catholic churches, accepted his Symbolist treatment of the Madonna and Child more readily.⁶⁶

Another *fragile* trope is Séon's *The Passerby* (*La passante*, ca. 1895, page 95), nodding to the wistful maidens of Burne-Jones. Garbed in timeless, classical attire in an image without Christian symbolism, she stops in a glade at far remove from modernity, while listening to sounds that connect her to another dimension. Burne-Jones also profoundly influenced Khnopff, who had an epiphany upon seeing the Pre-Raphaelite's work at the 1878 Exposition Universelle in Paris and then befriended him.⁶⁷ Khnopff extracted Burne-Jones's ethereal women from the realm of Arthurian myth and placed them in hermetically sealed spaces with mysterious objects, equally untethered to reality. The title of his oil *I Lock My Door upon Myself* (1891, page 77) is taken from the poem "Who Shall Deliver Me?" (1866), written by Christina Rossetti, sister of the Pre-Raphaelite painter Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Unifying visual and literary metaphors for subjectivity, this work presents a meditation on the mundanity of life and the desire to exceed the limits of the physical self through the transubstantiating power of poetry and art, and, ultimately, death.

The femme fatale incarnated the misogynistic, scientific views that posited women as lower beings on the evolutionary scale. The female sex was allegedly atavistic and closer to animals, one impetus for the Symbolist construction of the femme fatale as monstrous—a hybrid fusing woman and animal. Séon's sphinx-inspired creature in *The Despair of the Chimera* (*Le désespoir de la chimère*, 1890, fig. 11), an arcane reference current in the Symbolist imagination, is a female composite of a woman and lion who weeps over the loss of Idealism, crushed by a material world.⁶⁸



Fig. 9 Émile Bernard, *Annunciation (Annonciation)*, drawing published in Joséphin Péladan, *Geste esthétique: Catalogue du Salon de la Rose+Croix* (Paris: Galerie Durand-Ruel, 1892), p. 39. Courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris

The strange, breasted creature with wings and smoking eyes in Georges de Feure's composition *The Abyss (L'abîme)*, 1893–94, page 63) is a paranormal bringer of doom.⁶⁹ Possibly the most harrowing of the femmes fatales at the Salon was by another Belgian, Delville. His highly remarked upon *The Idol of Perversity (L'idole de la perversité)*, 1891, page 67) is an enigmatic female who exemplifies animalistic sexual potency. Depicted from below to increase her imposing stance, a snake slithering between her pointed breasts up around her quasi-demonic face, small snakes radiating from her headdress, with an explosion of light behind her, she looms large, a goddess of some unknown rite.⁷⁰ The ferocity of this image attests to the multivalent meanings ascribed to women at the fin de siècle.

On another front, the R+C eagerly culled from world mythologies and their supernatural narratives. The nineteenth-century preoccupation with Syncretism was sparked early in the century by German thinker Friedrich Creuzer, whose multivolume compendium appeared in French translation by the mid-1800s.⁷¹ Édouard Schuré popularized Syncretic thought in his 1889 tome *Les grands initiés: Esquisse de l'histoire secrète des religions (Rama — Krishna — Hermès — Moïse — Orphée — Pythagore — Platon — Jésus)*.⁷² His was an all-encompassing view of the ancient religions of the world, which saw analogies between the leading prophets of each major faith. Though the R+C, with their Catholic inclinations, did not engage much with Far Eastern and South Asian cultures, they embraced the figure of the Orpheus — martyr, savior, mediator of the earthly and the divine, and archetype of artistic genius.⁷³ The classical Greek myth famously recounts Apollo giving Orpheus a lyre to play. His enchanting songs tamed humans and animals, and even moved rocks. When Orpheus lost his wife, Eurydice, to a snakebite, the gods were stirred by his sorrowful music, allowing him to descend into Hades, where the dead resided, to lead her back to the living. Orpheus failed one of the conditions of this favor. Doubting the gods, he glanced back at Eurydice to make sure she was still there, thus losing her again. His ensuing melancholy nonetheless fueled his art.

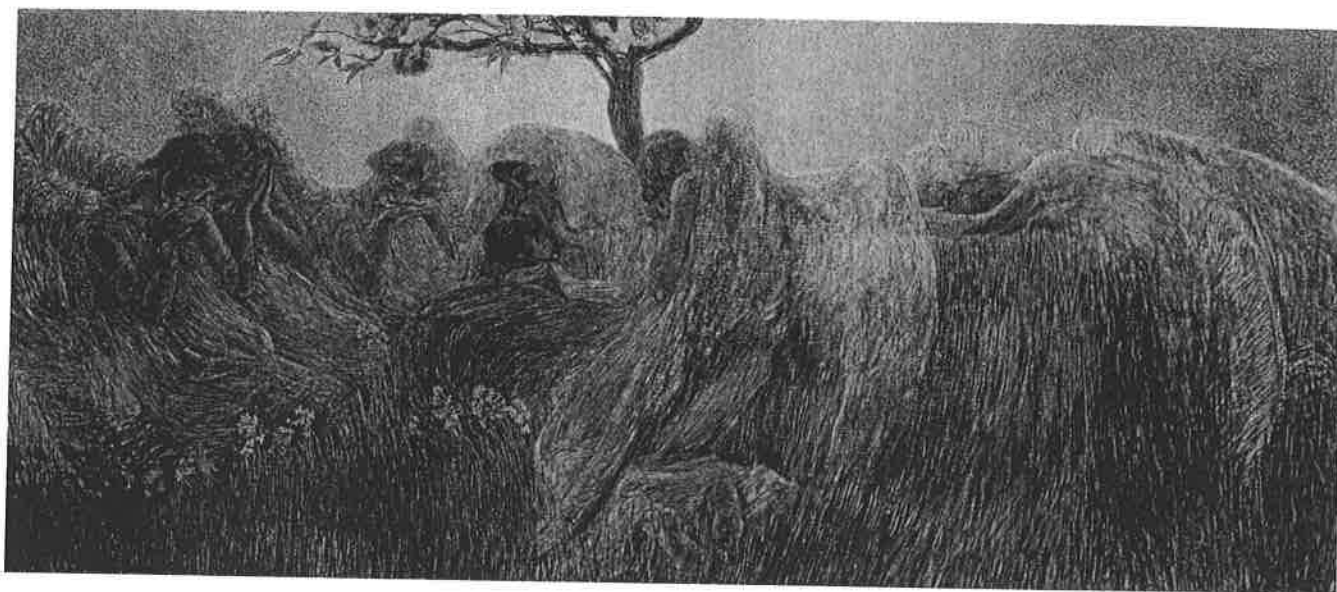


Fig. 10 Gaetano Previati, *Mother and Child (Maternità)*, 1890–91
Oil on canvas, 175.5 x 412 cm. Banco BPM—Collezione Banca Popolare di Novara, Italy

Another iteration of the myth held that Orpheus displeased Dionysus, who sent a group of maenads to rip apart his body. But his head and his lyre continued to emit song, floated down a river to the Mediterranean Sea, and eventually found their way to Lesbos, where he was buried. The decapitated Orpheus represented the pure mind and soul no longer weighted by the body, physicality, or desire — the incarnation of the antimaterial that Péladan and the R+C artists espoused. There was also the real Orpheus, a priest who led the orphic cults of the ancient Greeks, mimicked by the secret orders of the era, as well as reflecting the Syncretist interest in ancient sects. Orpheus stood for the poet, the artist, the oracular, and the transcendence of death, in addition to the transformative power of music, viewed by Symbolists as the most abstract and most spiritually ascendant of the arts.

R+C artists delighted in all stages of the Orpheus myth, though his lyre — symbol of his creative gift — was ever present. Another student of Moreau's, Léon Printemps, showed *The Sorrow of Orpheus* (*La douleur d'Orphée*, 1897), which featured a lithe, androgynous, and pained Orpheus ruing the loss of Eurydice. Béronneau, instead, pictured Orpheus in a frightening macabre Hades, atop a rock, playing his instrument to win back Eurydice. Pairs of eyes stare out of the painting, suggestive of the ghastly creatures teeming in the dark shadows and wretched crevices of the underground hell. In Delville's version (*The Death of Orpheus* [*Orphée mort*], 1893, page 67), the head of Orpheus is liberated and melded to his lyre, floating freely like the sounds of his song.⁷⁴ Delville must have been familiar with Moreau's 1865 monumental, vertical-format painting memorializing this final episode in the poet's life (*Orpheus* [*Orphée*], fig. 12). But while a young Thracian woman in Orientalizing dress cradles the stringed vehicle with Orpheus's head in Moreau's conception,⁷⁵ Delville favored a horizontal composition, allowing the magically conjoined head and bejeweled lyre, lit by the moon, to journey across the blue-green water of eternal life to a shore with seashells.

Léonce Bénédict described Orpheus's immortal instrument: "The Lyre, radiant hieroglyph, emblem of expressive harmony, of worth, of order and beauty, which the contemporary dreamers have elevated . . . [is] like the glorious symbol of the definitive liberation of the species by the reign



Fig. 11 Alexandre Séon, *The Despair of the Chimera* (*Le désespoir de la chimère*), 1890
Oil on canvas, 65 x 53 cm. Collection of Lucile Audouy, Paris

of the Idea."⁷⁶ The lyre assumed this status in the image of a woman, Aman-Jean's *Beatrice*, in the poster for the 1893 second Salon (page 57).⁷⁷ Beatrice, Dante's beloved in the *Divine Comedy*, was an obsession of the Pre-Raphaelites (whom Aman-Jean admired) and notably memorialized in Dante Gabriel Rossetti's widely illustrated *Beata Beatrix* (ca. 1864–70). In the poster a stylized *femme fragile* floats in an archway, an angel kissing her right hand. Her sinuous hyperextended left arm wraps over the frame of a lyre. Here, there is double symbolism for, like the bard who led Eurydice from Hades, so too did Beatrice, in her climb from Purgatory to Heaven, escort the poet Dante to Paradise. This episode and, by extension, Orpheus's own transformation, signified redemption and transcendence through ideal love, and pointed to the goals of the art at the R+C Salon.

The German opera composer Richard Wagner occupied a place of honor for the R+C. Many of the Salon's participants were Wagnerites including Péladan, who made his pilgrimage to Bayreuth, Germany, where Wagner had designed the Festspielhaus for the staging of his own musical dramas, most famously the *Ring* cycle. Indeed, Péladan pronounced that it was after a performance of *Parsifal* (premiered 1882) in Bayreuth in 1888 that he first landed upon the idea of the Salon.⁷⁸ Enraptured by the composer, Péladan also dedicated the four-volume study *Le théâtre complet de Wagner* to him.⁷⁹ Thus, it was no surprise that the German titan pervaded the Salon through portraits of all kinds from Vallotton's unorthodox woodcut (page 106) to the more customary commemorative medallion with the composer's visage cast by Jean Joseph Marie Anatole Marquet de Vasselot. Another artist, Egusquiza, had known the composer personally and attended Bayreuth religiously.⁸⁰ Péladan had been beguiled by his etchings at the 1890 salon of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, crowning his tribute in a review: "Bayreuth inspired his works as a great painter as it did mine as a playwright."⁸¹ In addition to a plaster bust of Wagner, Egusquiza realized a series of prints plucked from Wagner operas. His *The Holy Grail* (*El Santo Grial*, 1893, page 71) represented not only *Parsifal's* grail, but a reminder that the symbol of the R+C was also a chalice. Furthermore, it invoked the legendary grail of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, another medieval brotherhood and, most holy of all, the vessel for the blood of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist.

In a melding of the arts that Wagner's Gesamtkunstwerk directly inspired, Péladan's *geste esthétique* extended to all artistic disciplines, especially music, which was pivotal for Symbolist theory. The Salon was the locus for concerts and theatrical presentations — Péladan's own plays, *Le fils des étoiles* (performed 1892; published 1895) and *Babylone* (performed 1893; published 1895), were performed — as well as lectures.⁸² The Sâr chose the music with the assistance of his friends: the composers Édouard Bénédictus and Vincent d'Indy (a student of César Franck and a committed Wagnerite).⁸³ Wagner's compositions, in addition to his image, governed the first Salon. The opening night featured the prelude to his *Parsifal* performed on the organ. Another musical program held at the first Salon was dedicated entirely to him with excerpts from *Lohengrin* (1850), *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (1868), *Tristan und Isolde* (1865), and *Parsifal*.⁸⁴ But the R+C musical pantheon was eclectic, paralleling to some extent the heterodox nature of its exhibitors. The first Salon's performances included early music with Palestrina's *Pope Marcellus Mass* (published 1567), while other evenings honored Franck and his students, and the Classical master Ludwig van Beethoven.⁸⁵

Noteworthy among the musical figures involved in 1892 was the first Salon's official composer, Erik Satie,⁸⁶ who, also interested in esoteric religion, composed experimental works for Péladan. These included *Sonneries de la Rose + Croix* (1892, page 109) for the Salon's opening, which employed the mathematical structure of the Golden Section as an organizing principle in its score, thus gesturing to a Grecian and, by the early Renaissance, divine, harmonious geometric proportion that would have appealed to the R+C milieu. Nonetheless, the audience received the anomalous music in "icy silence."⁸⁷ He also crafted pieces for Péladan's plays: the vocal piece "Salut drapeau!" (1891) for *Le prince de Byzance* (performed 1892; published 1896), as well as incidental music for *Le fils des étoiles*.

The R+C's second-year selections included a broader range of composers, spanning from the late Renaissance and Baroque to Classical and Romantic. This eclectic roster encompassed Palestrina, Roland de Lassus, Johann Sebastian Bach, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Beethoven, Frédéric Chopin, Felix Mendelssohn, and Robert Schumann. The emotionally diverse chamber-music programming positioned a serene madrigal next to a funeral march from a Beethoven piano sonata. This mix of the sacred and secular was analogous to the arc of artworks that functioned as the pictorial backdrop to these sonic interventions and described atmospheric moods Péladan wished to foster, from the ecstatic to the contemplative.

The curtain fell on the Salon de la R+C in 1897, in tandem with the denouement of Symbolism. Since then the R+C has been marginalized, if not fully excised, from histories of modernism, in large part because of Péladan's revanchist Catholicism, misogyny, and cultish practices, which can easily appear anachronistic, if not insidious. Yet many of Péladan's strategies, notably the conception of the exhibition venue as a space for multidisciplinary performance and as an immersive aesthetic environment, were prescient. His self-reinvention, his publicity-seeking methods, and his oversized, theatrical persona anticipated the tactics of avant-garde impresarios, such as the Italian founder of Futurism, F. T. Marinetti, who emerged directly from the Symbolist milieu.

Nor should the artists of the R+C be approached only through the organization and its simultaneously charismatic and truculent leader. While the Salon de la R+C was inextricably bound to Péladan, recalling it solely through his figure and his dogma detracts from what can be gleaned from the diverse Symbolist artists who were exhibited. Khnopff, Hodler, Previati, Toorop, and Vallotton became leading figures of the fin de siècle and fed into the inception of twentieth-century Western avant-gardes. The aesthetic quest of the R+C — to inspire through the new religion of art — was carried on by Vasily Kandinsky, František Kupka, and Piet Mondrian (see Kenneth E. Silver's essay in this volume, pages 46–53), all of whom were weaned on Symbolism and owed their theories of painting, in varying degrees, to the esoteric beliefs of Theosophy. Their ultimate realization of a purely abstract art pointed the way to the future for most of the twentieth century.

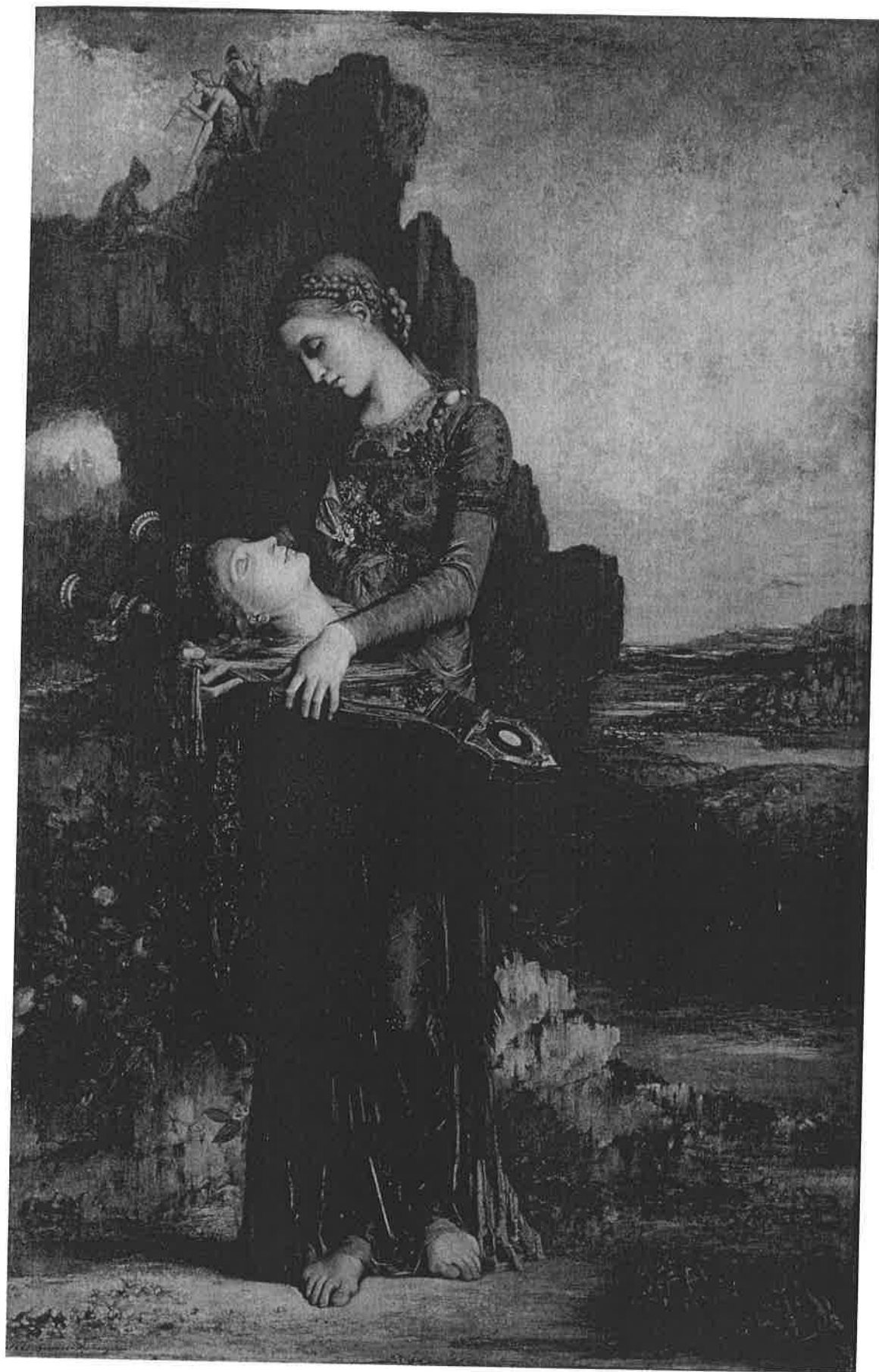


Fig. 12 Gustave Moreau, *Orpheus (Orphée)*, 1865
Oil on wood, 154 x 99.5 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris

This essay is dedicated to Robert Rosenblum, my greatest mentor and inspiration in art history. I regret profoundly that he is no longer among us.

I am deeply grateful to the Fondazione Civitella Ranieri, which invited me to be a Director's Guest in August 2016, a time that allowed me to hone and complete this essay. I owe a special thanks to Emily Braun for her careful reading of this text and to Jean-David Jumeau-Lafond for his review.

- 1 The principal sources on the Salon de la R+C are Jacques Lethève, "Les salons de la Rose-Croix," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 6, no. 106 (December 1960), pp. 363–74; Robert Pincus-Witten, *Occult Symbolism in France: Joséphin Péladan and the Salons de la Rose-Croix* (New York: Garland, 1976); Jean da Silva, *Le salon de la Rose+Croix (1892–1897)* (Paris: Éditions Syros Alternatives, 1991); and Mary Slavkin, *Dynamics and Divisions at the Salons of the Rose-Croix: Statistics, Aesthetic Theories, Practices, and Subjects*, Diss. (New York: Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2014). In addition, Jean-David Jumeau-Lafond has discussed the Salon de la R+C at length in his publications; see, for example, *Painters of the Soul: Symbolism in France*, exh. cat. (Tampere, Finland: Tampere Art Museum, 2006), pp. 19–23. For Péladan, see Christophe Beaufils, *Joséphin Péladan (1858–1918): Essai sur une maladie du lyrisme* (Grenoble, France: Jérôme Millon, 1993); Jean-Pierre Laurant and Victor Nguyen, eds., *Les Péladans* (Lausanne: Les Dossiers, L'Age d'Homme, 1990); and Michela Gardini, *Liturgie decadenti: Péladan e l'estetica del magico* (Bergamo, Italy: Bergamo University Press/Sestante, 2012).
- 2 The original Rosicrucians were a German seventeenth-century fraternal order that was tapped when the revivalism and the resuscitation of traditional religion occurred during the later nineteenth century.
- 3 See G.-Albert Aurier, "Le Symbolisme en peinture: Paul Gauguin," *Mercure de France* 2, no. 15 (March 1891), pp. 155–65.
- 4 These alternate means to express the spiritual had admirers and detractors. Critic Alphonse Germain lamented that at the Salon of 1892, "mysticism did not definitively imply religiosity" ("mysticisme n'implique pas fatalement religiosité"). See Alphonse Germain, "L'art religieux," *Le Saint-Graal*, no. 6 (May 1892), p. 150. Instead, the 1895 Salon occasioned Louis de Lutèce to comment that "they had the luck of seeing some excellent religious painting" ("nous avons le bonheur de rencontrer d'excellentes peintures religieuses"). Louis de Lutèce, "Quatrième exposition de la Rose+Croix," *Le coloriste enlumineur* 3, no. 2 (June 1895), p. 15.
- 5 For the turn against Positivism, see, for example, H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890–1930* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), pp. 33–66. However, the Symbolists adopted science or pseudoscience when it suited their purposes. Scientific theories were applied selectively to validate the beliefs of esoteric religions and to serve as proof of the transcendent and the metaphysical. In fact, alchemy was in play, if in theory only, for the Rosicrucians. This complex melding of apparently opposing schools was representative of the fluidity of the disciplines during this period, as well as the frequent paradoxical union of disparate ideas prevalent in the 1890s and with Symbolism. For a concise outline on this phenomenon, see Serena Keshavjee, "Editorial Introduction: The Visual Culture of Science and Art in Fin-de-Siècle France," *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review* 34, no. 1 (2009), pp. 5–10. In the same issue, see also Maria E. Di Pasquale, "Joséphin Péladan: Occultism, Catholicism, and Science in the Fin de Siècle," pp. 53–61. See also Lynn L. Sharp, "Spiritism, Occultism, Science: Meanings of Reincarnation in the Fin de Siècle," *Secular Spirituality: Reincarnation and Spiritism in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Lexington Books, 2006), pp. 163–200.
- 6 The revival of Catholicism in France is addressed in Joseph F. Byrnes, *Catholic and French Forever: Religious and National Identity in Modern France* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), and Richard Griffiths, *The Reactionary Revolution: The Catholic Revival in French Literature 1870–1914* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1965).
- 7 In their various ways, all of these esoteric orders shared common roots in mysticism and the occult, which were a means to understand universal truths and attain enlightenment. In brief, the Martinists followed a Christian mystical creed, the Occultists practiced magical ceremonies, the Spiritists believed in multiple reincarnations and the ability to communicate with those in the afterlife through mediumship, and the Theosophists sought divinity in ancient rites. Recent discussions of secret orders and occultism in nineteenth-century France include David Allen Harvey, *Beyond Enlightenment: Occultism and Politics in Modern France* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2005), and John Warne Monroe, *Laboratories of Faith: Mesmerism, Spiritism, and Occultism in Modern France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008).
- 8 For the shift from a rural to an urban society and its negative aspects in France, see, for example, Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1976).
- 9 Fin-de-siècle French culture is examined through a politicized lens in Richard D. Sonn, *Anarchism and Cultural Politics in Fin de Siècle France* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).
- 10 A major anxiety was the fear of degeneration, which was addressed most famously during the 1890s in Max Nordau's *Entartung*, published in Germany in 1892, and translated into many languages within a few years (Italian, 1893; French, 1894; and English, 1895). See Max Nordau, *Degeneration*, trans. from second ed. of German work (New York: Howard Fertig, 1968), introduction by George L. Mosse. Nordau dedicated pages to discussing Péladan, pp. 219–24.
- 11 Recent overviews on Symbolism are Michelle Facos, *Symbolist Art in Context* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009); Sharon L. Hirsh, *Symbolism and Modern Urban Society* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and Rodolphe Rapetti, *Symbolism*, trans. Deke Dusinberre (Paris: Flammarion, 2005). See also Robert Goldwater, *Symbolism* (New York: Icon Editions, Harper & Row, 1979).
- 12 For more on the problem of defining Symbolism, see, for example, Reinhold Heller, "Concerning Symbolism and the Structure of Surface," *Art Journal* 45, no. 2 (Summer 1985), pp. 146–53; Dario Gamboni, "Le 'Symbolisme en peinture' et la littérature," *Revue de l'art*, no. 96 (1992), pp. 13–23; and Rodolphe Rapetti, "Pour une définition du Symbolisme pictural: Critique et théories à la fin du XIXe siècle," 48/14 *Conférences du Musée d'Orsay* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993), pp. 69–82. More specifically on Péladan's definition of Symbolism or, better, *Idealisme*, see the summary of views in Véronique Dumas, *Le peintre symboliste Alphonse Osbert (1857–1939)* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2005), pp. 15–20.
- 13 Péladan was a prolific writer and copiously outlined the principles of his order and the "manifesto" for the Salon, publishing these texts at the front or back of his novels. These novels belonged to a multivolume work, *La décadence latine* (1884–1900), somewhat like a Symbolist riposte to Naturalist Émile Zola's *Les Rougon-Macquart* (1871–93), which addressed Péladan's pivotal fear of the degeneration of French society and recounts the demise of the aristocracy and the rise in authority of savior-geniuses (artists, poet, priests, composers, etc.).
- 14 While Péladan's own mythopoeisis was central, there were others worthy of inclusion. These figures were literary and musical icons of the R+C milieu. Félix Vallotton and Auguste de Niederhäusern-Rodo contributed print and sculpted versions of Symbolist poet Verlaine and the proto-Symbolist poet Baudelaire. Another proto-Symbolist writer, Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, was represented in a sculpture by Zachary Astruc. Barbey d'Aurevilly was the author of dark mysterious prose and had been an important figure in helping Péladan's career.
- 15 Writer Léon Bloy, a fervent Catholic convert who eventually thought Péladan a charlatan, claimed to have suggested the Sâr title upon having discovered Péladan as a young man. See Léon Bloy, "Lettre à M. Léon Deschamps," *La Plume* no. 50 (May 15, 1891), p. 164. This essay will not linger on Péladan's biography given the focus on the Salon itself.
- 16 For a discussion of Péladan's portraits, see Jean-David Jumeau-Lafond, "Fin-de-Siècle Portraits: From the Dandy to the Aesthete," in Christophe Leribault, *Figures du dandy de Van Dyck à Oscar Wilde*, exh. cat. (Paris: Petit Palais, 2016), pp. 66–69.
- 17 "You have conceived the nabis of fearless idealism in his violet robe confronting his riotous era which insults him; resolute and calm because his word is the word of faith" ("Vous avez conçu le nabi de l'idéalité impacide en sa robe violette affrontant son époque ameutée qui l'insulte; irréductible et calme parce que son verbe est un verbe de foi"). Péladan's words are from an inscription in the copy of *Le Panthée* that he gave to Séon. Cited in Henri Dorra, "Le portrait de Péladan par Séon au Musée des Beaux-Arts," *Bulletin des musées et monuments lyonnais* (1977), p. 66.
- 18 See Slavkin, *Dynamics and Divisions*, pp. 202–17.
- 19 Joséphin Péladan, *La décadence esthétique: L'art ochlocratique: Salons de 1882 et 1883* (Paris: Dalou, 1888), pp. 15–16.
- 20 The Pre-Raphaelites' Symbolist legacy was acknowledged at the time; Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Sir Edward Coley Burne-Jones were the most influential artists of the movement. See William Hauptman, "The Pre-Raphaelites, Modernism, and Fin-de-Siècle France," in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Laurinda S. Dixon, eds., *Twenty-First-Century Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Art: Essays in Honor of Gabriel P. Weisberg* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 249–53, and Susan P. Casteras,

- "Symbolist Debts to Pre-Raphaelitism: A Pan-European Phenomenon," in Thomas J. Tobin, ed., *Worldwide Pre-Raphaelitism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), pp. 119–44.
- 21 Remy de Gourmont, "Les premiers salons: Indépendants. — Rose+Croix. — Exposition de Mme Jeanne Jacquemin," *Mercur de France* 5, no. 29 (May 1892), pp. 60–66; and Félix Vallotton, "Beaux-arts: Le salon de la Rose-Croix I," *Gazette de Lausanne et journal suisse* (March 18, 1892), n.p. and "Beaux-arts: Le salon de la Rose-Croix II," *Gazette de Lausanne et journal suisse* (March 22, 1892), n.p. For a focused discussion on Vallotton's reviews, see Slavkin, *Dynamics and Divisions*, pp. 92–101.
 - 22 For a chronology of the disagreements between Péladan and La Rochefoucauld, as well as the other figures who were involved at various moments with the organization of the R+C Salons, see Slavkin, *Dynamics and Divisions*, pp. 74–85.
 - 23 Kalophile Ermitte, "Les arts," *L'Ermitage* 4, no. 4 (April 1893), p. 295. Maclair, who later had an about-face with Symbolism, declared, "The Rose+Croix is a stillborn thing" ("La Rose-Croix est une chose mort-née"), by the 1896 Salon. See Camille Maclair, "Art: Exposition de la Rose-Croix," *Mercur de France* 18, no. 77 (May 1896), pp. 314–16. For a discussion of Maclair's views, see Michael Marlais, *Conservative Echoes in Fin-de-siècle Parisian Art Criticism* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), pp. 151–71. An especially cruel diatribe appears in Julien Leclercq's "Sur la peinture (De Bruxelles à Paris)," *Mercur de France* 11, no. 53 (May 1894), pp. 75–77.
 - 24 Naturally, there was an idealist circle of critics who rehearsed the Salon's script and wrote for certain journals, such as *L'art et la vie*. For example, Gustave Soulier, "Notes d'art: Salon de la Rose-Croix," *L'art et la vie* (June 1894), pp. 383–84, and Fernand Weyl, "Notes d'art: Salon de la Rose-Croix, petites expositions," *L'art et la vie* (May 1895), pp. 266–68.
 - 25 Reviews of the 1892 Salon often called out the foreign artists. Remy de Gourmont identified Ville Vallgren by commenting that his *Funerary Urn* (*Urne funéraire*, 1892, page 101) was purchased by the French government. He praised several Swiss exhibitors: Rodo, Carlos Schwabe, Albert Trachsel, and Vallotton. He also noted the oddness of Fernand Khnopff's work (in a positive sense). De Gourmont, "Les premiers salons: Indépendants," pp. 62–64. Maclair, in a circumspect review, noticed foreign artists as well: Jean Delville, Ferdinand Holder, Khnopff, Rodo, Schwabe, Jan Toorop, Trachsel, and Vallgren. Camille Maclair, "Beaux-arts," *La revue indépendante* 23 (April 1892), pp. 136–39 [Slatkine reprint: vol. 23, no. 66; Geneva, 1970]. An unsigned review by a member of the R+C likewise applauded Khnopff, Rogelio de Eguisquiza, Schwabe, and Vallgren, but cast aspersions upon others, such as Delville and Trachsel. [No author] "Le salon de la Rose+Croix," *Notes d'art et d'archéologie* 4, no. 4 (April 1892), pp. 93–94.
 - 26 Monographs exist only for some of the Salon's regular exhibitors. See Myriam de Palma, *Maurice Chabas: Peintre et messager spirituel* (1862–1947), exh. cat. (Pont-Aven, France: Musée de Pont-Aven; Bourgoin-Jallieu: Musée de Bourgoin-Jallieu; Paris: Somogy, 2009), and Dumas, *Le peintre symboliste Alphonse Osbert*. For a full documentation of the number of times artists exhibited at the Salons, see the chart in Slavkin, *Dynamics and Divisions*, pp. 299–304.
 - 27 Delville was also a Theosophist and went on to organize his own Idealist salon, the Salon de l'Art Idéaliste, in Brussels in 1896. For Delville's particular brand of Theosophy and Idealism, see Brendan Cole, *Jean Delville: Art between Nature and the Absolute* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), especially pp. 149–203.
 - 28 This was made official with a series of articles on several of these artists in *L'art et la vie*, including also Aman-Jean. See Henri Bérenger, "Les artistes de l'âme: Edmond Aman-Jean," *L'art et la vie* (November 1893), pp. 33–37; Gustave Soulier, "Les artistes de l'âme, Armand Point," *L'art et la vie* (January 1894), pp. 171–77; and Fernand Weyl, "Les artistes de l'âme, Marcus Simons," *L'art et la vie* (February 1895), pp. 99–106. Séon was discussed in similar terms in Alphonse Germain, "Un peintre idéaliste-idéiste: Alexandre Séon," *L'art et l'idée* 1 (February 1892), pp. 107–12. Prior to the R+C Salon, Séon illustrated his novels, and Péladan reviewed the artist's work positively in the 1890 official Salon: "the great future called SEON" ("du grand avenir nommé SEON"). Joséphin Péladan, *La décadence esthétique: Le salon de Joséphin Péladan* (Paris: Dentu, 1890), p. 19.
 - 29 Péladan later met Toorop on his lecture tour in Belgium and the Netherlands in November 1892. See Robert Siebelhoff, "Jan Toorop and the Year 1892," *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies* 9/10 (1988–89), pp. 73, 89–90.
 - 30 For an examination of Péladan's Belgian connections, see, for example, Michel Drague, ed., *Splendeurs de l'Idéal: Rops, Khnopff, Delville et leurs temps*, exh. cat. (Gent, Belgium: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1996), pp. 56–68, and Michel Drague, *Le Symbolisme en Belgique* (Anvers, France: Fonds Mercator, 2004), pp. 217–25, 251–59. Both these publications also provide an overview of Belgian Symbolism in an international context. A more focused look at Belgian Symbolism and esoterism is Sébastien Clerbois, *L'ésotérisme et le Symbolisme belge* (Wijnegem, Belgium: Pandora, 2012). See also Cole, *Jean Delville*, pp. 84–90. Even before the Salon de la R+C, Péladan demonstrated interest in Belgian artists, choosing some to illustrate his publications, especially Félicien Rops, and calling out Khnopff in his review of the 1890 salon of the Académie des Beaux-Arts. See Péladan, *La décadence esthétique* [1890], pp. 20–21.
 - 31 Hélène Védrière, *De l'encre dans l'acide: L'œuvre gravée de Félicien Rops et la littérature de la décadence* (Paris: Champion, 2002), pp. 68–78.
 - 32 For example, Vittore Grubicy, "L'esposizione Péladan a Parigi: La Rosa+Croce," *Cronaca d'arte* 1, no. 51 (December 5, 1891), p. 418.
 - 33 The impoverished artist paid for the transport of his own work from Milan to Paris, even if it was Grubicy who urged him on and perceived the Salon de la R+C as a prime opportunity to gain renown beyond Italy's borders. Previati explained in a letter to his brother how his large canvas *Mother and Child* (1890–91) made it to the Salon: "the painting travels toward Paris... with a note of introduction from Grubicy" ("il quadro viaggia verso Parigi... con un bigliettino di presentazione del Grubicy"). Gaetano Previati, *Lettere al fratello*, ed. Spartaco Asciamprener (Milan: Hoepli, 1946), p. 105. Nonetheless, it was the only submission Previati made to the R+C Salon.
 - 34 Lucas Bonekamp, *Louis Welden Hawkins, 1849–1910* (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum; Zwolle, the Netherlands: Waanders Publishers, 1993), pp. 13–14. Arild Rosenkrantz scrapbook, pages for the years 1893–94, private collection; Leena Ahtola-Moorhouse, "Ville Vallgren 1855–1940, Biographical Notes," in Leena Ahtola-Moorhouse and Selma Green, eds., *Ville Vallgren 1855–1940*, exh. cat. (Helsinki: Ateneum Art Museum, Finnish National Gallery, 2003), p. 60.
 - 35 For a recent exploration of Swiss Symbolism, see Valentina Anker, ed., *Myth and Mysteries: Symbolism and Swiss Artists*, exh. cat. (Paris: Somogy, 2013).
 - 36 Péladan had singled out Hodler's work in the previous year's Paris official Salon, and it is probable that his friend, the artist Marcellin Desboutsin, who had contact with Hodler in Geneva, had indicated him to the Sar. Then La Rochefoucauld traveled to Geneva to invite Hodler to participate in the R+C. See Sharon Hirsh, "Ferdinand Hodler and the Salon de la Rose+Croix," in Katharina Schmidt, ed., *Ferdinand Hodler: A Symbolist Vision*, exh. cat. (Ostfildern-Ruit, Germany: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2008), pp. 156–59.
 - 37 For Trachsel, see Albert Trachsel, 1863–1929, exh. cat. (Geneva: Le Musée, 1984).
 - 38 None of the works shown by Rodo at the R+C have been located. See Claude Lapaire, *Auguste de Niederhäusern-Rodo, 1863–1913: Un sculpteur entre la Suisse et Paris, catalogue raisonné* (Zurich: Institut suisse pour l'étude de l'art; Bern: Editions Benteli, 2001), pp. 253–54.
 - 39 Several were alternately lauded and damned in the press. Alphonse Germain, who wrote hyperbolic prose on the virtues of Séon's work and tirelessly exclaimed the glories of Idealism and beauty from his columns, instead decried the "banal" nature of Martin and Vallotton's work. Alphonse Germain, "L'idéal au salon de la Rose+Croix," *L'Ermitage* 3, no. 4 (April 1892), p. 215.
 - 40 Fénéon's review identifies several works by title, whereas the R+C catalogue does not. See Félix Fénéon, "R.+C.," *Le chat noir*, no. 531 (March 19, 1892), pp. 1924, 1926. For Vallotton, see Sasha M. Newman et al., *Félix Vallotton* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Art Gallery, 1991). *The Paris Crowd* is described in Victor Fournel, "Les œuvres et les hommes, courrier du théâtre, de la littérature, et des arts," *Le Correspondant* 166 [130?], no. 6 (March 25, 1892), p. 155.
 - 41 However, he exhibited triptychs in two more Salons (1895 and 1897). For more on Maurin, see Maurice Fréchure, *Charles Maurin: Un symboliste du réel*, exh. cat. (Lyon: Editions Fage; Le Puy-en-Velay, France: Musée Crozatier, 2006).
 - 42 "les divers éveils, au matin, d'une humanité lasse d'avance du jour qu'elle va vivre, qui voudrait fuir, mais qui retombe aux rets de la besogne quotidienne, des plaisirs quotidiens [sic]," De Gourmont, "Les premiers salons: Indépendants," p. 64.
 - 43 I have paraphrased here. [No author] "Le salon de la Rose+Croix," p. 94.
 - 44 For Péladan's regard of these avatars, see, for example, Sar [sic] Péladan, "Gustave Moreau," *L'Ermitage* 6, no. 1 (January 1895), pp. 29–34, and Péladan, "P. Puvis de Chavannes," in *La décadence esthétique* [1890], pp. 16–18. For recent scholarship on Moreau, see Peter Cooke, *Gustave Moreau: History Painting*

- Spirituality and Symbolism* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2014). See also Geneviève Lacambre, ed., *Gustave Moreau: Between Epic and Dream, 1826–1898*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999); for Puvion, see Aimée Brown Price, *Pierre Puvion de Chavannes*, 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010), and Jennifer L. Shaw, *Dream States: Puvion de Chavannes, Modernism, and the Fantasy of France* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002); and for Burne-Jones, see Stephen Wildman and John Christian, *Edward Burne-Jones: Victorian Artist-Dreamer*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), and Fiona MacCarthy, *The Last Pre-Raphaelite: Edward Burne-Jones and the Victorian Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012).
- 45 Péladan was bold enough to publish a list of the supposed exhibitors for the first Salon de la R+C, including names of artists who had not even heard of the event, much less agreed to participate. "Among the 80 artists chosen already and almost all members at this time suffice it to note: the great Puvion de Chavannes, Dagnan-Bouveret, Merson, Henri Martin, Apian [sic] (Jean), Odilon Redon, Knopff [sic], Point-Séon [sic], Filiger, de Eguzguiza [sic], Anquetin" ("Parmi les quatre-vingts artistes choisis déjà et presque tous adhérents, à cette heure il suffit de citer: le grand Puvion de Chavannes, Dagnan-Bouveret, Merson, Henri Martin, Apian [sic] (Jean), Odilon Redon, Knopff [sic], Point-Séon [sic], Filiger, de Eguzguiza [sic], Anquetin"). Joséphin Péladan, "Le salon de la Rose+Croix," *Le Figaro* (September 2, 1891), front page. Puvion rebutted this in the evening edition of the same paper: Pincus-Witten, *Occult Symbolism*, p. 94.
- 46 Dumas discusses the relationship between Osbert and Puvion, and also addresses this work. See Dumas, *Le peintre symboliste*, pp. 49–51, 161, 175.
- 47 Cooke, *Gustave Moreau*, p. 170.
- 48 This work is discussed by Cristina Scassellati Cooke, "L'Enfant Jésus parmi les docteurs (1894), par Georges Rouault au Musée d'Unterlinden à Colmar," *Revue du Louvre* 43, no. 1 (February 1993), pp. 50–57, and Katie Larson, "The Relocation of Spirituality and Rouault's Modernist Transformation of Moreau's Proto-Symbolist Techniques," in Michelle Facos and Thor J. Mednick, eds., *The Symbolist Roots of Modern Art* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 193–209.
- 49 For the medieval revival in France, see Elizabeth Emery and Laura Morowitz, *Consuming the Past: The Medieval Revival in Fin-de-siècle France* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2003), and Nancy Davenport, "The Revival of Fra Angelico and Matthias Grünewald in Nineteenth-Century French Religious Art," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 27, no. 12 (Fall–Winter 1998–99), pp. 157–99. The term "Medievalism" was employed to describe this art, although the artists encompassed therein were also of the early Renaissance.
- 50 For the revival of the French *Primitifs*, see Laura Morowitz, "Medievalism, Classicism, and Nationalism: The Appropriation of the French Primitifs in Turn-of-the-Century France," *Studies in the History of Art* 68 (2005), pp. 224–41. Péladan and Point write about the Italians; see, for example, Armand Point, "Primitifs et symbolistes," *L'Ermitage* 6, no. 7 (July 1895), pp. 11–16, and Point, "Florence: Botticelli, La Primavera," *Mercure de France* 17, no. 73 (January 1896), pp. 12–16; Péladan wrote a series of articles, "Introduction à l'histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles depuis les origines jusqu'à la Renaissance," in *L'Artiste*. For example, "Quattrocentisti: L'Oragna," *L'Artiste* 54 (January 1884), pp. 41–61; and "Quattrocentisti: L'Angelico," *L'Artiste* 54 (March 1884), pp. 176–200.
- 51 "ce qu'ils ont pris à la vie, c'est le moyen d'expression, la ligne, la couleur, et le clair-obscur. Mais ce qu'ils ont exprimé ce sont de rares et nobles sentiments." Point, "Primitifs et symbolistes," p. 12. For Point, see also Cassandra Sciortino, "Armand Point's *Eternal Chimera* and *Saint Cecilia*: A French Quattrocento Symbolist Aesthetic," in Rosina Neginsky, ed., *The Symbolist Movement: Its Origins and Its Consequences* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. 58–93.
- 52 "La tradition du dessin surtout révèle chez M. Armand Point l'amour des maîtres primitifs..." Camille Mauclair, "Armand Point," *Mercure de France* 9, no. 48 (December 1893), pp. 333–34. Detractors derided Point's Primitive idiom as *drôle* (funny) and *navrant* (a shame). Henry Eon, "Expositions," *La Plume*, no. 167 (April 1, 1896), p. 228.
- 53 This mimicry polarized critics. De Gourmont ecstatically discussed Filiger's recapitulation of Cimabue and Fra Angelico. De Gourmont, "Les premiers salons: Indépendants," p. 64. For negative assessments of Filiger's affinities with the Primitives, see, for example, [No author] "Le salon de la Rose+Croix," pp. 93–94, and Mauclair, "Beaux-arts," p. 138. La Rochefoucauld championed Filiger, who had been associated with Paul Gauguin's Pont-Aven and Le Pouldu circles. For Filiger, see Mira Jacob, *Charles Filiger, 1863–1928: Présentation et analyse de l'œuvre* (Strasbourg, France: Musées de la ville de Strasbourg, 1990).
- 54 "les Primitifs n'y touchaient pas plus dévotement." Germain, "Un peintre idéaliste-idéiste," p. 112.
- 55 An overview of the religious revival in French art is Michael Paul Driskel, *Representing Belief: Religion, Art, and Society in Nineteenth-Century France* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992). The emergence of a conservative, primarily Catholic faction, specifically in the French art world, is addressed in Marlais, *Conservative Echoes in Fin-de-siècle Parisian Art Criticism*. A proponent of this return to tradition came, somewhat paradoxically, from the Nabi Maurice Denis. Though a modernist artist, Denis was a proclaimed Catholic and anti-Dreyfusard.
- 56 All the works Bernard showed are lost or unlocated. The catalogue lists: #8, *Christ Carrying His Cross* [*Christ portant sa croix*], #9, *Annunciation* [*Annonciation*], and #10, *Christ in the Garden of Olives* [*Christ au jardin des oliviers*]. Joséphin Péladan, *Geste esthétique: Catalogue du salon de la Rose+Croix* (Paris: Galerie Durand-Ruel, 1892), p. 21. For Bernard's interaction with Péladan and the R+C, see, for example, his letters from May 4, 1891, to Eugène Bloch; September 7, 1891(?), to Émile Schuffenecker; October 11, 1891, to Bloch; and around March 10, 1892, to Count Antoine de La Rochefoucauld. Reproduced in Neil McWilliams, ed., *Émile Bernard: Les lettres d'un artiste (1884–1941)* (Dijon: Les presses du réel, 2012), pp. 146–48, #72; 169–71, #81; 171–72, #82; 184–85, #88. See also Fred Leeman, *Émile Bernard (1868–1941)* (Paris: Éditions Citadelles & Mazenod; Wildenstein Institute Publications, 2013), pp. 180–82, 194–95, 199, and Rodolphe Rapetti, "From Gauguin to Péladan: Émile Bernard and the First Salon of the Rose+Croix," in Belinda Thomson, ed., *Visions: Gauguin and His Time*, Van Gogh Studies 3 (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum; Zwolle, the Netherlands: Waanders Publishers, 2010), pp. 47–64.
- 57 For Bernard's "conversion" to traditionalism, see, for example, Neil McWilliams, "Émile Bernard's Reactionary Idealism," in Natalie Adamson and Toby Norris, eds., *Academics, Pioneers, Official Artists, and the Arrière-Garde: Defining Modern and Traditional in France, 1900–1960* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp. 25–49. For the stylistic anomaly of his works at the R+C, see Rapetti, "From Gauguin to Péladan," pp. 53–56.
- 58 *Deposition (Déposition de croix)*, #152. Joséphin Péladan, *Ordre de la Rose+Croix du Temple et du Graal: VI geste esthétique. Sixième salon*, exh. cat. (Paris: Georges Petit, 1897), p. 24. For this work's identification, see Emmanuelle Macé, "Les premiers salons de Georges Rouault (1895–1897)," in Marie-Cécile Forest, ed., *Gustave Moreau — Georges Rouault: Souvenirs d'atelier*, exh. cat. (Paris: Somogy; Musée Gustave Moreau, 2016), p. 33.
- 59 Hodler's reasons for showing at the R+C are explored in Hirsh, "Ferdinand Hodler and the Salon de la Rose+Croix," pp. 155–66. Hodler exhibited a drawing of a boy kneeling in prayer the next year, though it is not listed in the catalogue. *Ibid.*, pp. 160–62.
- 60 For Schwabe, see Jean-David Jumeau-Lafond, *Carlos Schwabe: Symboliste et visionnaire* (Paris: Art Creation Realisation, 1994).
- 61 Marla H. Hand, "Carlos Schwabe's Poster for the Salon de la Rose+Croix: A Herald of the Ideal in Art," *Art Journal* 44, no. 1 (Spring 1984), p. 42.
- 62 The literature on these female stereotypes is vast. In her dissertation, Slavkin discusses some ramifications specific to the R+C (*Dynamics and Divisionism*, pp. 173–80, 217–48). In Symbolist art, see, for example, Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Facos, *Symbolist Art in Context*, pp. 115–44; Barbara Larson, "Darwin's Sexual Selection and the Jealous Male in Fin-de-Siècle Art," in Barbara Larson and Fae Brauer, eds., *The Art of Evolution: Darwin, Darwinisms and Visual Culture* (Hanover and London: The University Press of New England, 2009), pp. 173–93; Patricia Mathews, *Passionate Discontent: Creativity, Gender, and French Symbolist Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); and Hirsh, *Symbolism and Modern Urban Society*, pp. 163–216. For Lombroso, see Cesare Lombroso, *Criminal Man*, trans. Mary Gibson and Nicole Hahn Rafter (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006). For the issue of hysteria, especially in France, see Janet L. Beizer, *Ventriloquized Bodies: Narratives of Hysteria in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994); Asti Hustvedt, *Medical Muses: Hysteria in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2011); and Cristina Mazzoni, *Saint Hysteria: Neurosis, Mysticism, and Gender in European Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996).
- 63 The androgyne, seen as the return to a primordial unified being, nods to Neoplatonic thought and the philosophies of Charles Fourier, which were popular in esoteric circles. *L'androgyne* was

- the title of a book in Péladan's *La décadence latine*, a type that preoccupied Parnassian and Symbolist art from Moreau's idealized nude young men to Séon's ephêbic poet, Orpheus.
- 64 Goldwater notes that "music [is] theoretically the most symbolist of all the arts because it is supposedly the least material" (*Symbolism*, p. 34).
- 65 The scientific underpinnings of Martin's technique were at loggerheads with the anti-empiricism the R+C advocated, though he was on the list of first choices that Péladan published in *Le Figaro*. Péladan, "Le manifeste de la Rose+Croix," *Le Figaro* (September 2, 1891), front page. For Martin's R+C moment, see Claude Juskiewenski, "La parenthèse symboliste," in Juskiewenski et al., *Henri Martin (1860-1943): Du rêve au quotidien*, exh. cat. (Cinisello Balsamo, Italy: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), pp. 31-37. For this work's inclusion in the R+C, see Catherine Coustols, *Henri Martin, 1860-1943: Études et peintures de chevalet*, exh. cat. (Toulouse, France: Palais des Arts, 1983), p. 50. Both Osbert and Séon also developed some form of color theory in their pictorial practice (and Séon, along with Aman-Jean, had been friends with Georges Seurat), but they did not stand out as Divisionists or Pointillists.
- 66 For this polemic, see Vivien Greene, "Painted Measles: The Contagion of Divisionism in Italy," in Vivien Greene, ed., *Divisionism/Neo-Impressionism: Arcadia and Anarchy*, exh. cat. (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2007), pp. 19-21.
- 67 Draguet, *Le Symbolisme en Belgique*, pp. 166-68.
- 68 Jumeau-Lafond, "Le désespoir de la chimère," no. 41 in Jean-David Jumeau-Lafond, *Alexandre Séon (1855-1917): La beauté Idéale* (Cinisello Balsamo, Italy: Silvana Editoriale, 2015), pp. 164-66.
- 69 This work is analyzed in Ian Millman, *Georges de Feure, 1868-1943*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum; Zwolle, the Netherlands: Waanders Publishers, 1993), p. 38, who suggests it characterizes the perversity of lesbian love.
- 70 Cole traces a multivalent set of signifiers to *Perversity*, which incorporate allusions to multiple femmes fatales. He further argues that she is not only a femme fatale, but engages concepts of duality, and references to Theosophy and Syncretism, among other theories of the era. Cole, *Jean Delville*, pp. 245-67.
- 71 Friedrich Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen*, 4 vols. (Leipzig and Darmstadt: Heyer and Leske, 1810-12), and *Religions de l'antiquité considérées principalement dans leur formes symboliques et mythologiques*, trans. J. D. Guigniaut (Paris: Treuttel & Wurtz, 1825-41).
- 72 Édouard Schuré, *Les grands initiés: Esquisse de l'histoire secrète des religions (Rama—Krishna—Hermès—Moïse—Orphée—Pythagore—Platon—Jésus)* (Paris: Perrin, 1889).
- 73 The myth of Orpheus is exhaustively explored in Dorothy M. Kosinski, *Orpheus in Nineteenth-Century Symbolism* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Press, 1989).
- 74 Kosinski notes that this iconography, common in antiquity, had not reappeared until the Symbolists' use of it. See *ibid.*, pp. 193-94.
- 75 For more on Moreau's invention of this iconography, see Peter David Cooke, "Gustave Moreau's *Orpheus* (1865): Aesthetic, Iconography and Critical Reception," *La revue des musées de France*, no. 4 (2015), pp. 66-78.
- 76 "La Lyre, hiéroglyphe radieux, emblème expressif d'harmonie, de mesure, d'ordre et beauté, que les rêveurs contemporains ont élevé... comme le symbole glorieux de l'affranchissement définitif de l'espèce par le règne de l'Idée." Léonce Bénédite, "La Lyre et les Muses par Henri Martin," *Art et décoration* 7, no. 1 (January 1900), p. 2.
- 77 Aman-Jean had already exhibited at the first Salon de la R+C upon Péladan's invitation. The latter was impressed by Aman-Jean's work exhibited the same year at the official Salon, and had obtained an introduction through the Symbolist writer Paul Adam. See Françoise Baligand et al., *Aman-Jean, 1858-1936: Songes de femmes*, exh. cat. (Bour-en-Bresse, France: Monastère royal de Brou; Douai, France: Musée de la Chartreuse; Lectoure, France: Éditions Le Capucin, 2003), p. 73.
- 78 Péladan, *Le théâtre complet de Wagner: Les XI opéras scène par scène avec notes biographiques et critiques* (Paris: Chamuel, 1894), p. xii.
- 79 *Ibid.*
- 80 For Egusquiza's biography, see Salvador Carretero Rebés and Diego Bedia Casanueva, "Rogelio de Egusquiza (1845-1915): Notas biográficas, bibliográficas y artísticas," *Rogelio de Egusquiza, 1845-1915*, exh. cat. (Santander, Spain: Museo de Bellas Artes de Santander; Fundación Marcelino Botín, 1995), pp. 29-57.
- 81 "Son œuvre de grand peintre s'est décidée à Bayreuth comme mon œuvre de tragédiste." Péladan, *La décadence esthétique* [1890], p. 30.
- 82 Interestingly, women were permitted to access this sphere and programs reveal that pianist Madame Saillard-Dietz performed. Joséphin Péladan, "Program de la geste," in *Catalogue officiel illustré de 160 dessins du second salon de la Rose+Croix*, exh. cat. (Paris: Palais du Champ-de-Mars, 1893), pp. 165-66.
- 83 For the musical dimension of the Salon, see Roland van der Hoeven, "L'Idéalisme musical: Musique et musiciens autour du Sâr Péladan," *Revue de la Société liégeoise de musicologie* 2 (1995), pp. 5-34; and Laurinda S. Dixon, "Art and Music at the Salons de la Rose+Croix, 1892-1897," in Gabriel P. Weisberg and Laurinda S. Dixon, eds., *The Documented Image: Visions in Art History*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), pp. 165-86.
- 84 Flyer for the "Soirées de la Rose+Croix," Fonds Joséphin Péladan, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris.
- 85 *Ibid.*
- 86 For Satie's R+C music, see Patrick Gowers, "Satie's Rose-Croix Music (1891-1895)," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 92nd session (1965-66), pp. 1-25, and Robert Orledge, *Satie the Composer* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 41-49, 153-61, 273-74. For a theoretical analysis of Satie's R+C period, see Grace Wai Kwan Gates, "Satie's Rose-Croix Piano Works," in Caroline Potter, ed., *Erik Satie: Music, Art and Literature* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 49-66. Like others in Péladan's life, Satie broke with the outré Sâr soon after this collaboration.
- 87 Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, p. 107.

Mystical Symbolism

THE SALON DE LA

ROSE  CROIX

IN PARIS

1892-1897

VIVIEN GREENE



GUGGENHEIM