

of the work. Like any other picture, *Olympia* provided various places from which the viewer might appropriate its main fiction, but those places ended by being precisely too various; I shall argue they were contradictory and largely uninhabitable; and to a great extent they remained so for later viewers, so that instead of the fictive body on the bed, a more limited fiction called "the picture" was consumed and imagined—it seemed the best on offer. Yet even this fact is open to contrary interpretations, and eager discussion of "the free play of the signifier" may on the whole be premature. It is true that *Olympia* makes hay with our assumptions as spectators, and may lead us to doubt the existence on canvas of three dimensions, the female body, and other minds; but this very negation is pictured as something produced in the social order, happening as part of an ordinary exchange of goods and services. The painting insists on its own materiality, but does so in and through a prostitute's stare, a professional and standardized attentiveness, with the self reserved from the purchaser's looking; though the possible grimness of that reflection on the painter's task was hardly understood in 1865, let alone approved of.

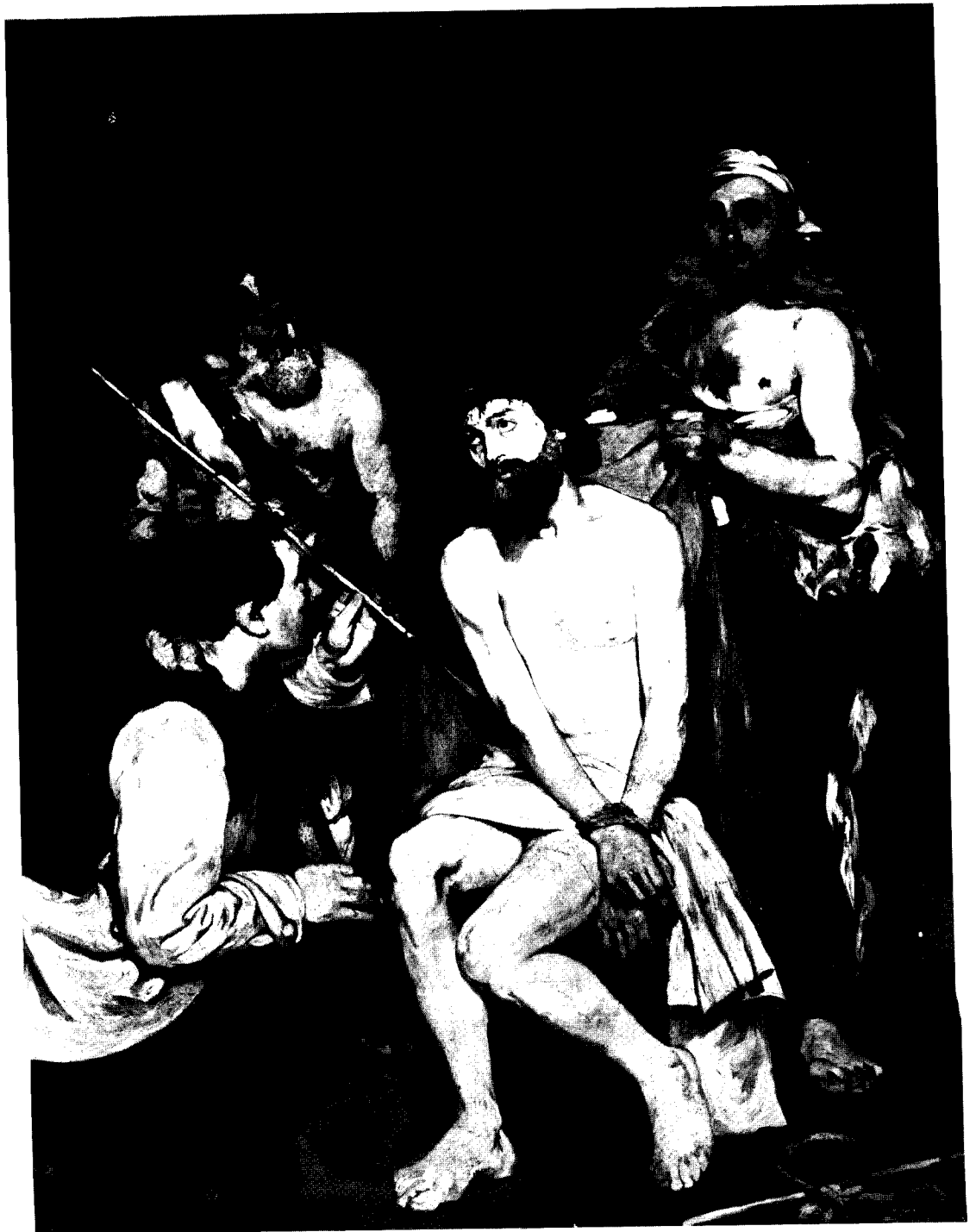
Towards the end of March 1865 Manet wrote a letter to Baudelaire in Brussels, outlining his plans for the salon that year:

My dear Baudelaire, you were right, I was miserable for no reason, and just as I was writing to you my picture was accepted. From the word I'm getting it actually seems this year won't go too badly; I've done a *Jesus Insulted by the Soldiers*, and I think it's the last time I'll take on this kind of subject; but obviously you didn't know that Th. Gautier was on the jury. I didn't send him your letter, it's unnecessary now, and it's wrong to use up good recommendations when there's no need.

The other day I had quite a surprise. Monsieur *Ernest Chesneau* bought one of my pictures, two flowers in a vase, a little thing I showed at Cadart's; perhaps he'll bring me luck.

I just finished your *Mystery of Marie Roget*—I started from the end, I'm always so curious—and I'm amazed that imbecile Villemessant doesn't want it. It's remarkable and amusing.²

Manet seems always to have worried a great deal about the salon, and there is no reason not to take at face value the writer's relief at having a picture get past the jury, and even his optimism as to how the public would react. It is rare to have the least hint of Manet's reading habits, and good to think of him reading Baudelaire's translation of Edgar Allan Poe. (What Manet was reading was a detective story, in fact: one of the early classics of the genre, whose sedentary hero, Auguste Dupin, solves the mystery in



26. Edouard Manet, *Jésus insulté par les soldats*, 1865.

question—the murder of a Parisian *grisette*—without leaving his study, on the basis of clues he gleans from reports in the newspapers.)

The optimism of Manet's March letter did not last long. The salon opened early in May, and the picture of Jesus was hung close by Manet's other entry—which he had not mentioned to Baudelaire—the painting entitled *Olympia*.³ Within a week or so Manet wrote to Baudelaire as follows:

I really would like you here, my dear Baudelaire; they are raining insults on me, I've never been led such a dance. . . .

I should have liked to have your sane verdict on my pictures, for all these cries have set me on edge, and it's clear that someone must be wrong; Fantin has been charming, he defends me, and that's all the more praiseworthy because his picture this year, though full of excellent things, makes less of an effect than last year's (what's more, he knows it). . . .

In London, the academy has rejected my pictures.⁴

To which Baudelaire addressed this kind and annihilating reply:

So once again I am obliged to speak to you about yourself. I must do my best to demonstrate to you your own value. What you ask for is truly stupid. *People are making fun of you; pleasantries* set you on edge; no one does you justice, etc., etc. Do you think you're the first to be placed in this position? Have you more genius than Chateaubriand and Wagner? And did people make fun of them? They did not die of it. And so as not to make you feel too proud of yourself, I shall add that these men were exemplary, each in his own genre, and in a world which was very rich, while you, *you are only the first in the decrepitude of your art*. I hope you don't take offence at my treating you thus, without ceremony. You know the friendship I feel for you.

I wanted the *personal* impression of Monsieur Chorney, at least insofar as a Belgian can be considered a *person*. I must say he was kind, and what he said tallies with what I know of you, and what several intelligent men say about you: "*There are faults, weaknesses, a lack of aplomb, but there is an irresistible charm.*" I know all that; I was one of the first to understand it. He added that the picture representing the nude woman, with the Negress and the cat (is it a cat, really?), was much superior to the religious picture.⁵

These are almost the only traces in Manet's correspondence of the scandal surrounding *Olympia* in 1865. There *was* a scandal, and Manet does not seem to have exaggerated its violence very much. The events of 1865 lived on in the public memory, and Manet never wholly escaped from his reputation as the "painter of *Olympia*." Degas waxed sarcastic in the 1870s about Manet's being as famous as Garibaldi, and Jacques-Emile Blanche told the story of "Manet the hero of songs and caricatures . . . followed as soon as he showed himself by rumours and wisecracks; the passers-by on the street turning to laugh at the handsome fellow, so well dressed and

correct, and him the man who 'painted such filth.'"⁶ Berthe Morisot recalled that her daughter, spending the summer at Bougival in 1881, once gave her name as Bibi Manet—she was the painter's niece—and made "two *cocottes* out promenading on the riverbank laugh till they cried, since they doubtless took her for the child of the celebrated Manet, put out to nurse in the land of *canotières*."⁷

What happened in 1865 can be briefly stated.⁸ The two pictures, as was customary, were hung in the same room, most probably one on top of the other, with *Olympia* below *Jésus*. Manet put the simple title *Jésus insulté par les soldats* in the salon catalogue, but underneath *Olympia* he added five lines of unforgiveable verse by Zacharie Astruc:

*Quand, lasse de songer, Olympia s'éveille,
Le printemps entre au bras du doux messager noir;
C'est l'esclave, à la nuit amoureuse pareille,
Qui vient fleurir le jour délicieux à voir:
L'auguste jeune fille en qui la flamme veille.*⁹

From the first days of the salon, it seems that Room M was more than usually crowded. "Never has a painting," wrote Louis Auvray in *La Revue Artistique et Littéraire*, "excited so much laughter, mockery, and catcalls as this *Olympia*. On Sundays in particular the crowd was so great that one could not get close to it, or circulate at all in Room M; everyone was astonished at the jury for admitting Monsieur Manet's two pictures in the first place."¹⁰ The crush of spectators was variously described as terrified, shocked, disgusted, moved to a kind of pity,¹¹ subject to epidemics of mad laughter,¹² "pressing up to the picture as if to a hanged man,"¹³ and on the verge of adopting the then fashionable tactics of Mr. Lynch.¹⁴ Once or twice the description was more detailed and pretended to extend its sympathy to all concerned, painter and public alike. Here, for example, is a journalist named Bonnin writing in the republican paper *La France*:

Each day [*Olympia*] is surrounded by a crowd of visitors, and in this constantly changing group, reflections and observations are made out loud which spare the picture no part of the truth. Some people are delighted, they think it a joke that they want to look as if they understood; others observe the thing seriously and show their neighbour, here a well-placed tone, and there a hand which is improper, but richly painted; finally one sees painters whose work was rejected by the salon jury this year—and there is the proof that they *do* exist—standing in front of the picture, beside themselves with spite and indignation. Very probably everyone is right to some extent, and such diverse opinions are authorized by the incredible irregularities of Monsieur Manet's work. He has shown mere sketches. Yet we are not of the opinion, which is too widespread, that this negligence is a *parti pris* on his part, a sort of ironic defiance hurled at the jury and the public. The jury

would certainly have distinguished a studio jape from an unsatisfactory work of art, and would have closed the doors of the Palais des Champs-Élysées against it. From another point of view, an artist cannot treat the public lightly without compromising his reputation, which sometimes never recovers; and Monsieur Manet, who appears at each exhibition, is certainly pursuing something other than the sad celebrity obtained by such perilous procedures. We prefer to think he has made a mistake. And what is his aim? His canvases are too unfinished for us possibly to tell.¹⁵

This text becomes more sober as it goes on, and ends by being almost too judicious to interest us much; but at least the writer does not seem to be producing the *Olympia* scandal for his readers' easy delectation. Women are not turning their heads from the picture in fright,¹⁶ the crowd is not united by a "unanimity of reprobation and disdainful pity."¹⁷ These were the commonplaces of criticism that wished to be lively in the nineteenth century, and when even this unlively critic toys with the idea that Manet may *intend* to offend, he is taking up and refuting a well-established theme—one Baudelaire could afford to make fun of in his letter the previous month. The bourgeoisie was used to the fiction that great art, new art, would necessarily not conform to its expectations; it had learnt to be ironical about the claims of Realists and bohemians. This, for example, is Francis Aubert in *Le Pays*, discussing the typical inhabitant of the Quartier Latin:

A great drinker of beer and absinthe, a great smoker of black pipes filled from his pocket, cobbling together three or four artistic, literary, or political commonplaces, so out of date that a schoolboy would not dare use them, cursing and swearing every sentence, speaking only the argot of thieves, republican certainly, socialist probably, communist perhaps, but without knowing what any of the doctrines means . . .

His career? His past? The same as his present, which consists of going from boardinghouse to brasserie, dreaming up ways of paying neither; and as capital diversion being insolent to an honest man—which is called *épater le bourgeois*.¹⁸

Manet in 1865 was suspected of possessing opinions of this kind, and the more intelligent critics were prepared to forgive them as youthful folly. The crowd in front of *Olympia* "was not exclusively composed of *bourgeois*," wrote one;¹⁹ the painter should not offer himself that consolation. Another talked of "armed insurrection in the camp of the bourgeois," and of Manet's going down to a "popular execution,"²⁰ but the phrases were clearly meant as conceits, or ironic rendition of the common wisdom, and the critic's entry as a whole hardly granted the picture sufficient weight—or weight of the right kind—to justify the metaphors.

But however suspicious one might be about the evidence, it still makes

sense to talk of an *Olympia* scandal. Some critics described the scene in front of the picture with genuine distaste and could hardly be suspected of playfulness: when the grim and lordly Dubosc de Pesquidoux told the Catholic readers of *L'Union* that people were laughing at Christ in Room M, he was surely telling nothing but the truth. In any case, the brouhaha was enough to alarm the administration, always jealous of the salon's precarious dignity. Some time towards the end of May, they moved *Olympia* and *Jésus* out of sight, and stood back to receive the critics' congratulations. Thus Félix Jahyer in his *Etude sur les Beaux-Arts*:

May I be allowed, on this subject, to thank the commission for having acceded in the four days the salon was closed to the request I made on the subject of Monsieur Manet. At the moment his two canvases are so well hidden above the two doors in one of the end rooms that you need the eyes of a lynx to detect them.

At this height the *August Olympia* looks like an immense spider on the ceiling. She cannot even be laughed at any more, which has quite disappointed everyone.²¹

Olympia, as Baudelaire described it in his letter, was a picture of a nude woman with a Negress and a cat. The poet pretended to doubt the latter detail—"est-ce un chat, décidément?"—which might suggest that it was added to the picture after he left for Brussels, or simply that he raised his eyebrows at the thought of such an overtly Baudelairean signature. It was also a picture of a prostitute, we can be fairly certain of that. And in this too it seems to have derived, at least partly, from Baudelaire: Olympia's hopeless, disabused nobility recalls the kind described—and recommended to the modern artist—in *Le Peintre de la vie moderne*:

Among these women, some, in whom an innocent yet monstrous fatuity is only too apparent, carry in their faces and in their eyes, which fix you audaciously, the evident joy of being alive (in truth, one wonders why). Sometimes they find, without seeking them, poses both provocative and dignified, which would delight the most fastidious sculptor, if only the sculptor of today had the courage and the wit to seize hold of nobility everywhere, even in the mire; at others, they show themselves in prostrate attitudes of desperate boredom, or adopt the indolent postures of the estaminet, with a masculine cynicism, smoking cigarettes to kill time, with all the resigned fatalism of the Orient; there they lie, sprawling on sofas, skirts ballooning to front and back like two fans, or they balance themselves precariously on stools and chairs; heavy, sad, stupid, absurd, their eyes glazed with brandy, and their foreheads bulging with the force of their own obstinacy.²²

Zacharie Astruc was a friend and admirer of Baudelaire, and his five lines in the salon *livret* read like an attempt to provide Manet's naked woman with some of the same connotations. *Olympia* was Astruc's choice

of title: it was on the face of it a dignified name, and its formality was emphasized by the phrase in his poem—the much-quoted, much-mocked description—“l’auguste jeune fille.” Part of the critics’ mockery had to do with Astruc’s talents as a poet, and part with their conviction that the appearance of dignity was deliberately flimsy. For Olympia was a pseudonym favoured by prostitutes: it figured in the classic list of names drawn up in 1836 by the trade’s first great investigator, Parent-Duchâtelet:²³ the better class of brothel was full of Floras, Aspasia, Lucretias, Delphines, Thalias, Sidonias, Azelinas, Calliopes, Lodoiskas, and—inevitably—Virginias by the score. For readers in 1865 the name Olympia probably also conjured up, as Gautier put it in his *Salon*, “the memory of that great Roman courtesan on whom the Renaissance doted,”²⁴ by whom he meant La Dona Olympia, villainous heroine of a popular novel by Etienne Delécluze; sister-in-law, mistress, and manipulator of Pope Innocent X; prisoner and harlot, so avid for gold that after Innocent died she refused even to pay for his coffin.²⁵ Delécluze’s romance had been reprinted as recently as 1862; the reference came easily to Gautier, and other critics seem to have echoed it; but even this reference, Gautier argues, is undeserved by the picture itself.²⁶ For, after all, the great Dona Olympia had been beautiful as well as sordid; Manet’s young woman had taken nothing but her predecessor’s name, and in that she was one of many. Her title was bogus; and as for Astruc’s “auguste jeune fille”! It appeared to the critics a euphemism coined with the same cynical aplomb.

Some of the critics in 1865 were sure that Manet’s Olympia was a prostitute and said as much. There was nothing very remarkable in their doing so: it had become an established critical tactic in the 1860s to detect the contemporary, even the bourgeois, *courtisane* beneath the skin of a Venus or Phryne; and in any case, as we shall see, prostitution demanded and received its representations in the salon each year, in forms both ancient and modern. But the words these critics used to indicate Olympia’s profession were once or twice less ordinary, the strangeness having to do with their attempt to exceed the concept *courtisane*—its comfortable, general, archaic field of reference—and specify where Olympia came from and whom she could possibly be looking at.

Of course there were writers who did no such thing. Several were happy with the single epithet *courtisane*, and one followed Gautier’s lead in calling Olympia “la dame de beauté de la Renaissance.”²⁷ “What is this odalisque with a yellow belly [asked another], ignoble model picked up who knows where, who represents Olympia? Olympia? What Olympia? A courtesan, no doubt.”²⁸ The question was easily answered, in other words. And *courtisanes* came from the Quartier Bréda, the area just north of the Bou-

levard des Italiens, not far from the railway station and felicitously close to the debtors' prison in the Rue de Clichy. Olympia was no exception: "It was said of Pradier," wrote one critic in 1865, "that he set out for Athens each morning and arrived each evening in the Rue de Bréda. Nowadays a certain number of artists go to the Rue de Bréda direct."²⁹ Manet was certainly one of them: he could be seen in Fantin-Latour's ridiculous painting *Le Toast* paying homage to Truth "in the guise of a redhead from the Quartier Bréda."³⁰

These references are essentially normal. Brief and highly coded, they barely interrupt the critics' main business of aesthetic judgement. The same is true of Félix Deriège in *Le Siècle*, who ends his account of *Olympia*—we shall see later on that it was an exceedingly hostile one—with the inevitable jibe at Manet's claim to be painting the truth: "one can be true indeed, if one is able to paint like Goya, even in representing a *manola de bas étage*, lying quite naked on her bed, while a Negress brings her a bouquet."³¹ No doubt the phrase *de bas étage* is a sneer at Olympia's presumed place in the social order, or at least in her chosen profession—she is clearly no *grande cocotte*—but the phrase is elliptical, and the writer sees no need to spell out its unpleasant implications.

Some writers were not so reticent. Postwer, for example, writing in an eccentric journal called *La Fraternité Littéraire*, quoted all five of Astruc's limping lines and proceeded to the following fraternal analysis:

What verse! What a picture! Olympia awakes, weary from . . . dreaming. She has had a bad night, that is evident. Insomnia and colic have disturbed her serenity; her colour indicates as much. There are two "*black messengers*": a cat which has unfortunately been flattened between two railway sleepers; a Negress who has nothing about her that *recalls the amorous night* unless it be a bouquet bought at the florist's on the corner, and paid for by Monsieur Arthur, which tells me a great deal about Olympia. Arthur is certainly in the antechamber waiting.³²

Monsieur Arthur's identity is obscure now and perhaps always was, but his purpose could hardly have been made plainer. And it was dangerous to talk at all of the real circumstances of prostitution, even in this lugubrious way, since doing so could lead so quickly to the kind of fact which the stately word *courtisane* was intended to obscure. The *courtisane* was supposed not to belong at all to the world of class and money; she floated above or below it, playing with its categories, untouched by its everyday needs. It was not clear that Manet's prostitute did any such thing. To more than one critic in 1865 she seemed to occupy a quite determinate place in the Parisian class system: she was an "Olympia from the Rue Mouffetard,"³³ "the wife of a cabinetmaker,"³⁴ a "coal lady from Batignolles."³⁵ All of these references were meant to be funny, of course, but the jokes depended

on Olympia's being placed, to some extent unequivocally, in the world of the *faubourgs* and the working class.

The same is true—though here the tone is more elusive and ironical—of Jean Ravenel's description of *Olympia* in a paper called *L'Epoque*. It has at its centre the following compacted, staccato sentence or two, in which the writer seems to be casting round for categories in which *Olympia* might begin to make sense. The list he provides is brilliant and unexpected:

Painting of the school of Baudelaire, freely executed by a pupil of Goya; the vicious strangeness of the little *faubourienne*, woman of the night from Paul Niquet's, from the mysteries of Paris and the nightmares of Edgar Poe. Her look has the sourness of someone prematurely aged, her face the disturbing perfume of a *fleur du mal*; her body fatigued, corrupted, but painted under a single transparent light. . . .³⁶

For the moment let us extract from the pattern of phrases the words "petite faubourienne, fille des nuits de Paul Niquet, des mystères de Paris et des cauchemars d'Edgar Poe." No doubt these descriptions are meant to evoke the painting's dreamlike, literary quality, but for the reader in 1865 they would also have suggested that Olympia belonged to Paris in quite ordinary ways. To call her a *petite faubourienne* was simply to say she was working-class; to have her be a character from Eugène Sue's novel *Les Mystères de Paris* was essentially to make the same point; to imagine her haunting the tables of Paul Niquet's was to place her in the lower depths of prostitution, among the women who catered to the porters of Les Halles. (Niquet's establishment in the Rue aux Fers stayed open all night and "was frequented by a quite special clientele of ragpickers, idlers, drunkards, and women whose sex and age were indistinguishable beneath their mass of rags."³⁷ For a while the bar had been a stopping place for sightseers of the Parisian underworld, but by 1865 it had returned to its normal obscurity.)

These are descriptions of Olympia's class; and I shall end this chapter by arguing that class was the essence of Olympia's modernity and lay behind the great scandal she provoked. But it seems none of the critics in 1865—not even Jean Ravenel—would have agreed with me. There were over seventy pieces of writing on Manet's picture that year, and they contained, as I have shown, no more than a handful of references to prostitution and a grand total of six attributions of class, all fleeting and formulaic. However one looks at it, this is a strikingly poor haul, and the questions raised by the scarcity can be put as follows: If class was somehow signified in *Olympia*, and sometimes mentioned, what were the signs of it? And why could they not be identified in more detail, even by a critic like Ravenel, who seemed convinced that Olympia was working-class and

27. Théodule-Augustin Ribot, *Saint-Sébastien*, 1865.



that he should say so? The critics were certainly offended by *something* in Olympia: What was it, then, that they believed they saw and thought improper?

We have to do with art critics writing salon reviews in the daily press or monthly magazines. These writers would presumably have liked to discuss Manet's picture as an example of a school or a tendency in art, most probably that of Realism. Was not Manet included, along with Astruc, Whistler, the etcher Félix Bracquemond, and others, in the picture Fantin-Latour had sent to the salon entitled *Le Toast* or *Hommage à la Vérité*? Courbet had a painting in the salon of the anarchist Proudhon; Théodule-Augustin Ribot a study of Saint Sebastian, in his best Spanish manner; and Whistler his odd *Princesse du pays de la porcelaine*. The critics could flesh out their account of Realism in various ways: by including a kitchen scene by Antoine Vollon, for example, or a "metallic" Virgin by Albert Lambron,³⁸ or by giving encouragement to two beach scenes by Claude Monet, the "young Realist who promises much."³⁹

This was already a list of eccentrics and anomalies, and perhaps Manet could be added to it. He was the "self-styled Realist, pupil of Courbet";⁴⁰ his *Jésus* was "Raphael corrected by a third-rate Courbet";⁴¹ master and imitator were the two "Marquis de Sade of painting."⁴² The violence of this final phrase was not necessarily a guide to the critics' overall tone: though Courbet was still condescended to in 1865, his school was an

28. James McNeill
Whistler, *La Princesse du
pays de la porcelaine*,
1864.



established part of the French scene, and even its enemies wished to discriminate and recognize talent where it occurred. They tried to do so in Manet's case.

Manet was a skilful technician, they quite often conceded. His draughtsmanship had character and originality, his colour was supple and mordant, he had "tempérament," "facultés," "une main d'artiste."⁴³ His painting was understood to be deliberately bold and experimental, and regularly attained to "a very great truth of tone";⁴⁴ it had "the charm of naïveté," it had touch, vigour, and "hardiesse,"⁴⁵ it derived (a bit slavishly) from Goya,⁴⁶ and even at its worst "one made out passages which were straightforwardly well done."⁴⁷

Yet on the whole the critics in 1865 could not be so charitable as this.



29. Antoine Vollon, *Un Intérieur de cuisine*, 1865.

There was something about *Olympia* which eluded their normal frame of reference, and writers were almost fond of admitting they had no words for what they saw. *Olympia* was "informe," "inconcevable," "inqualifiable," "indéchiffrable"; the picture "ne s'explique pas."⁴⁸ "The least handsome of women has bones, muscles, skin, form, and some kind of colour,"⁴⁹ whereas *Olympia* had none; she was "neither true nor living nor beautiful."⁵⁰ The negatives multiplied: "she does not have a human form,"⁵¹ and therefore "I can say nothing about her in truth, and do not know if the dictionary of French aesthetics contains expressions to characterize her."⁵² "Not that I dream of examining her, describing her. God preserve me from so doing!"⁵³ "*Que signifie cette peinture,*" finally, "and why does one find these canvases in the galleries of the Palais de l'Industrie?"⁵⁴

Of course these phrases are partly mechanical. A good salon review was



30. Cham, *Manet, La Naissance du petit ébéniste*. Wood engraving in *Le Charivari*, 14 May 1865.

MANET.

La Naissance du petit ébéniste.

M. Manet a pris la chose trop à la lettre :

Que c'était comme un bouquet de fleurs !

Les lettres de faire-part sont au nom de la mère Michel
et de son chat.

frame of
no words
diffiable,"
some of
whereas
l."⁵⁰ The
efore "I
onary of
ot that I
loing!"⁵³
canvases

view was

30. Cham, Manet, *La Naissance du petit ébéniste*. Wood engraving in *Le Charivari*, 14 May 1865.



31. Titian, *The Venus of Urbino*, 1538.

incomplete without its quota of monstrosities, and one or two works each year were consigned to the space outside Art altogether. They were to be compared with the latest popular song or Hottentot Venus, and described as mere sign painting or "images d'Epinal."⁵⁵ All of these stock figures were tried out on *Olympia* in 1865; and yet in this case the critics' sneering claim not to be able to see or describe *Olympia*—not to have the least sense of its formal logic—does seem to be close to the truth. There are ways, after all, in which *Olympia* was at pains to disclose its relationship to the great tradition of European art, and by and large the critics seem genuinely not to have noticed that it did so.

For instance, *Olympia* derived—and stated its derivation—from Titian's *Venus of Urbino*.⁵⁶ The pose of the nude is essentially the same, and the nude's accessories seem to be chosen as the modern forms of their Renaissance prototypes: orchid in place of roses, cat for dog, Negress and flowers instead of servants bringing dresses from a distant *cassone*. The nineteenth century believed that Titian's Venus was a courtesan. This was probably too secular a reading, but the sense of the picture's sensuality it

stemmed from—the unchasteness of its chastity, the openness of its promise of undress and attentiveness—does not seem much mistaken. Promise, in Titian's case, may have been the operative word: if the picture was painted to commemorate a wedding, it was most likely that of Guidobaldo II della Rovere, who was married in 1534 to a ten-year-old girl, Giulia Varano.⁵⁷ That the body represented in the picture is older and more mature, and that the signs arranged round it seem to denote for the most part fidelity and the domestic virtues, may well have carried in the circumstances a quite pointed meaning. In any case, the picture's domesticity is of a special kind: the woman on the bed is Venus as well as wife, and the Urbino records were surely right to name her, bluntly, "la nuda."⁵⁸

For the nineteenth century this painting *was* the nude. Like many another student, Manet had done an oil copy of it in the Uffizi when he was in his twenties, as a normal part of learning the alphabet of art. Salon criticism was supposed in turn to be largely about that alphabet and how well young painters were using it: the writing of a *Salon* was organized around the critic's ability to recognize quotations from older art and say whether they were apposite or not. But in the case of *Olympia's* relation to the *Venus of Urbino*, for all that the critics were capable of producing the key word *courtisane*, the usual connections did not follow. In the mass of commentary in 1865, only two critics talked at all about Manet's sources, and they did so in a thoroughly outlandish way. "This Olympia," wrote one Amédée Cantaloube in *Le Grand Journal*,

a sort of female gorilla, a grotesque in India rubber outlined in black, apes on a bed, in a state of complete nudity, the horizontal attitude of Titian's *Venus*: the right arm rests on the body in the same fashion, except for the hand, which is flexed in a sort of shameless contraction.⁵⁹

This should be compared with some lines by Pierrot in a fly-by-night publication called *Les Tablettes de Pierrot*:

... a woman on a bed, or, rather, some form or other, blown up like a grotesque in India rubber; a sort of monkey making fun of the pose and the movement of the arm in Titian's *Venus*, with one hand shamelessly flexed.⁶⁰

Perhaps the other seventy-odd writers said nothing about Titian as a way of registering their contempt for what Manet had done to him; but I am inclined to think that they simply did not see that Manet had done anything. We might compare their silence in 1865 with what they had had to say two years earlier about Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe*. That painting was similarly held to be bizarre and immoral, and it had been shown in the extraordinary Salon des Refusés—to that extent, officially beyond the pale of Art. Critics certainly came to laugh at its mistakes and incoherences,

32. Titian (in the nineteenth century commonly attributed to Giorgione), *La Fête champêtre*, c. 1510–11.



and yet the very way to do so best was to point out what Manet's picture derived from—and how incompetently. The writers whose *Salons* dealt with *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* were quick to connect it to the painting in the Louvre then thought to be by Giorgione, the so-called *Fête champêtre*; and one of them even claimed to detect that Manet had quoted—a peculiar, literal repetition it is—from a print after Raphael of river gods and attendant nymphs.⁶¹

But in 1865 none of this took place. If the revisions of the *Venus* could be seen at all, they could not be said; and if on one or two occasions they were spoken of, it was in Cantaloube and Pierrot's terms. Their violent fantasies of what Manet had done to Titian explain the other critics' silence, I think, for if the old arrangement of the nude was present at all in Manet's picture, it seemed there as a sign of everything the actual, latter-day *Olympia* was not. The past was travestied in *Olympia*: it was subjected to a kind of degenerate simian imitation, in which the nude was stripped of its last feminine qualities, its fleshiness, its very humanity, and left as "une forme quelconque"—a rubber-covered gorilla flexing its hand above its crotch.

I shall take Pierrot and Cantaloube's descriptions as licence to say—quite crudely in the end—that the meanings Manet contrived in terms of Titian in 1865 amounted to nothing for most of his viewers. The *Venus of Urbino* was painted out or painted over, and seemed to the public no part of the image Manet had produced. It is as if the work of negation in

Olympia—and some such work was surely intended, some kind of dissonant modernization of the nude, some pitting of Baudelaire against Titian—were finally done, but somewhat too well. The new Dona Olympia was too much the opposite of Titian's for the opposition to signify much, and the critics were able to overlook those features the two pictures had in common.

What the writers saw instead was some kind of indeterminacy in the image: a body on a bed, evidently sexed and sexual, but whose appearance was hard to make out in any steady way, and harder still to write about. Of course, the fact of Olympia's sexuality did appear in the critics' writing, but mostly in displaced form: they talked—not wholly facetiously, it seems—of violence done to the body, of its physical uncleanness, and of a general air of death and decomposition. It was often quite clear—and presumably meant to be—that in talking of the one set of qualities they wished to indicate the other. Victor de Jankovitz, for example, managed the transition from fig leaf to putrefaction in fifteen words:

The author represents for us under the name of Olympia a young girl lying on a bed, having as her only garment a knot of ribbon in her hair, and her hand for fig leaf. The expression of her face is that of a being prematurely aged and vicious; her body, of a putrefying colour, recalls the horror of the morgue.⁶²

A critic called Ego, writing in *Le Monde Illustré*, was equally abrupt:

The *auguste jeune fille* is a courtesan, with dirty hands and wrinkled feet; she is lying down, wearing one Turkish slipper and with a red cockade [*sic*] in her hair; her body has the livid tint of a cadaver displayed in the morgue; her outlines are drawn in charcoal and her greenish, bloodshot eyes appear to be provoking the public, protected all the while by a hideous Negress.

No, never has anything so . . . strange been hung on the walls of an art exhibition.⁶³

Olympia was unwashed, that was the commonest opinion. "Ce corps est sale," "cerné de noir," "avec du charbon tout autour."⁶⁴ "The tone of its flesh is dirty, the modelling nonexistent. Shadows are indicated by stripes of blacking of various widths."⁶⁵ Surely that was the steam of a bath in the background—from the look of things not a moment too soon! And why do the Realists, asked Louis de Laincel, "choose unclean women as their models and, having done so, reproduce even the filth which clings to their contours?"⁶⁶ The cat was a possible culprit: perhaps it had "left its mark on the contours of this *belle personne*, after having rolled on a coalheap"; perhaps those were its pawprints on the sheet; and so on.⁶⁷ Olympia was a coal lady "whose modest outlines had never been outraged by water, that banal liquid" (see p. 145).⁶⁸ She was a skeleton, said Lorentz in his *Revue galopante au salon*,

dressed in a tight-fitting tunic made of plaster, all surrounded with black like the armature of a stained glass window . . . and who to the horror of so much stupidity and ignorance now adds the disappearance of a finger . . . which cries out for examination by the public health inspectors!⁶⁹

Some of this sarcasm has to do with Manet's way of modelling—those brief, matter-of-fact lines of shading which trace out the edges of Olympia's hand and breast, her near shoulder, her ankle, and her heel. But the writers seize on these visual facts and immediately exceed them: the conceit of uncleanness constantly leads to others more fantastic. Olympia was dressed in rubber, said Cantaloube. She was "exposed quite naked on a bed," so Victor Fournel told his readers, "like a corpse on the counters at the morgue, this Olympia from the Rue Mouffetard, dead of yellow fever and already arrived at an advanced state of decomposition."⁷⁰ There was more than ordinary ugliness here: there was decrepitude and outright bodily decay. It was no wonder that "the crowd presses up to the putrefied *Olympia* as if it were at the morgue."⁷¹ Olympia, wrote Félix Deriège,

is lying on her bed, having borrowed from art no ornament but a rose which she has put in her towlike hair. This redhead is of a perfect ugliness. Her face is

33. Bertall, *Manette, ou La Femme de l'ébéniste*, par Manet. Wood engraving in *Le Journal Amusant*, 27 May 1865.

PROMENADE AU SALON DE 1865, — par BERTALL (suite)



MANETTE, ou LA FEMME DE L'ÉBÉNISTE, par MANET.

Que c'est comme un bouquet de fleurs.
(Air connu.)

Ce tableau de M. Manet est le bouquet de l'Exposition. — M. Courbet est distancé de toute la longueur du célèbre chat noir. — Le moment choisi par le grand coloriste est celui où cette dame va prendre un bain qui nous semble impérieusement réclamé.

stupid, her skin cadaverous. She does not have a human form; Monsieur Manet has so pulled her out of joint that she could not possibly move her arms or legs. By her side one sees a Negress who brings in a bouquet and at her feet a cat who wakes and has a good stretch, a cat with hair on end, out of a witches' sabbath by Callot. White, black, red, and yellow make a frightful confusion on this canvas; the woman, the Negress, the bouquet, the cat, all this hubbub of disparate colours and impossible forms, seize one's attention and leave one stupefied.

*Quand, lasse de songer, Olympia s'éveille,
Le printemps entre au bras du doux messager noir:
C'est l'esclave, à la nuit amoureuse pareille,
Qui vient fleurir le jour délicieux à voir.*

Thus says the stanza appended in the catalogue to the mention of *Olympia*. The verses are worthy of the painting.⁷²

The catalogue of insults is now finished. The reader is entitled to be impatient with them and find them untrustworthy, for no doubt they are part of a journalistic game whose rules are obvious and in which hyperbole always wins. Yet I intend to play the Dupin with them, and treat them as evidence in which the real appearance of *Olympia* can be made out, in however distorted a form. Certainly the critics' descriptions belong to a shifty, knowing, hypocritical game of make-believe: make-believe anger, make-believe morality, counterfeit concern for art. But what other kind of evidence could we expect to have, and what better kind for the questions raised by *Olympia*—questions of modernity and sex? When these are the subject, even abuse can be depended on for information: it will show the traces of actual desire and anxiety, sometimes with comic distinctness. Consider the case of Lorentz and his disappearing finger, for example; or *Olympia*'s left hand's appearing to Ernest Chesneau, no less, "in the form of a toad"; or a critic called Merson entitling *Olympia* "l'enseigne de la *Femme à barbe*"!

Confronted with classic parapraxes like these, it is tempting to move straightaway into the Freudian mode: Is that really a finger which has disappeared? Where precisely is the lady's beard located? "Est-ce un chat, décidément?" The mode is certainly appropriate to the material in hand, and I do not intend to avoid it; but I think it should figure alongside other kinds of questioning, more literal and for the most part more plodding. To put the point most guardedly: though there is such a thing as normal critical discourse in the mid-nineteenth century, and within it a flourishing discourse of scandal, this is not it. There is something else appearing in discourse here, and leaving behind the usual signs of its passage: repetitions and redundancies, falterings, false and real silences, misrecognitions, illogic,

- 117 A point made by Kirk Varnedoe in lectures.
 118 E. de Amicis, *Studies of Paris*, pp. 31–32; cited in *Paris, A Century of Change: 1878–1978*, by N. Evenson.

Chapter Two: Olympia's Choice

- 1 Henri Turot, *Le Proletariat de l'amour*, 1904, from pp. 107–9: "Acceptons donc, si vous le voulez bien, la définition de M. Emile Richard, qui s'appuie sur le *Digeste* pour formuler sa pensée dans les termes que voici:

"Doit seulement être réputée prostituée toute femme qui, publiquement et sans amour, se livre au premier venu, moyennant une rémunération pécuniaire, formule à laquelle il convient d'ajouter: et n'a d'autres moyens d'existence que les relations passagères qu'elles entretient avec un plus ou moins grand nombre d'individus."

"D'où il résulte—ce qui me paraît être la vérité—que la prostitution implique d'abord la vénalité et ensuite l'absence de choix.

"Ah! je sais bien qu'à vouloir ainsi restreindre la portée du mot, nous arrivons à réserver toutes les indulgences pour les plus heureuses des femmes sans vertu, pour les privilégiées, pour les plus inexcusables, et que nous consacrons au contraire l'existence d'une sorte de *proletariat de l'amour* sur qui peuvent impunément s'appesantir toutes les sévérités et toutes les tyrannies. . . .

"Et ce proletariat est, tout comme l'autre, l'inéluctable conséquence du régime capitaliste."

- 2 C. Pichois, ed., *Lettres à Baudelaire*, pp. 232–33 (about 25 March 1865).
 3 The literature on *Olympia* is vast. I owe most to the chapter in N. G. Sandblad, *Manet: Three Studies in Artistic Conception*; Theodore Reff, *Manet: Olympia*; E. Lipton, "Manet: A Radicalized Female Imagery," *Artforum*, March 1975; and B. Farwell, *Manet and the Nude: A Study in Iconography in the Second Empire*. A treatment (albeit sketchy) of the criticism will be found in A. Tabarant, *Manet et ses oeuvres*, pp. 106–10, and G. H. Hamilton, *Manet and His Critics*, pp. 65–80. I learnt a great deal from the article by M. Fried, "Manet's sources: Aspects of His Art 1859–1865," *Artforum*, March 1969, and the reply to it by Theodore Reff, "Manet's Sources: A Critical Evaluation," *Artforum*, September 1969. (Fried's study really has been "un-

justly neglected" in the Manet literature. Many of its most interesting arguments for my purposes are in the notes.) Some issues raised by the study of a picture through its critical reception were dealt with in my "Un Réalisme du corps: *Olympia* et ses critiques en 1865," *Histoire et Critique des Arts*, May 1978, and "Preliminaries to a Possible Treatment of *Olympia* in 1865," *Screen*, Spring 1980. The latter provoked a reply from P. Wollen, "Manet, Modernism and the Avant Garde," *Screen*, Summer 1980. We were both taken to task in C. Harrison, M. Baldwin, and M. Ramsden, "Manet's *Olympia* and Contradiction," *Block*, no. 5 (1981).

- 4 Pichois, *Lettres à Baudelaire*, pp. 233–34 (beginning of May 1865).
 5 Charles Baudelaire, *Correspondance générale*, 5:96–97 (11 May 1865).
 6 Jacques-Emile Blanche, *Manet*, pp. 36–37 (also reports Degas's *mot*).
 7 D. Rouart, ed., *Correspondance de Berthe Morisot avec sa famille et ses amis*, p. 101 (letter to a friend, probably 1881).

- 8 In the following list of criticism and other items on the 1865 Salon, I have attempted to be as complete as possible, though there are omissions and loose ends. Entries which contain some mention of Manet or *Olympia* are marked *; the more significant discussions or descriptions **. Unless otherwise indicated, these items have the standard title "Salon de 1865" or minor variants. Page numbers are not given for newspaper *feuilletons*, invariably on pp. 1 and 2. All subsequent references to 1865 criticisms refer to this list.

Out of the 87 items known to me, 15 do not mention Manet or *Olympia*. Of the 72 that do, the kindest possible estimate would have to judge 43 as trivial, formulaic, or casual mentions; of the 29 which have something a little more substantial to say, 13 strike me as containing description or discussion of a vivid or cogent kind (this is not to say that there is nothing of interest in the rest, but it comes in utter fits and starts). Three of these 13 are caricatures-plus-captions, and of the 10 remaining there are 6 items (Cantaloube, Deriège, Geronte, Jankovitz, "Pierrot," and Postwer) where insight is *happened upon*, splenetically or ludicrously, in ways the writer is barely in control of. This leaves four pieces of criticism which

- 108 Paul de Kock, in *Paris-Guide, par les principaux écrivains et artistes de la France*, cited in *Paris*, by Gaillard, p. 555: "The equator is the Boulevard Montmartre. . . . In the adjacent streets, silent and gloomy by eight in the evening, there lodges a crowd of export agents, buyers, *commissaires en marchandises*, representatives from the wholesale houses or the big manufacturers [the men whose hold on the *quartier* economy I have just described]. Knock on any door at random, and it will be opened by a stock-broker."
- 109 Denis Poulot, *Le Sublime, ou Le Travailleur comme il est en 1870 et ce qu'il peut être* (Poulot spoke from direct working experience), cited in *La Vie ouvrière*, by Duveau, p. 492.
- 110 See, for instance, E. Texier and A. Kaempfen, *Paris, capitale du monde*: "When Paris was not yet the city of *nomads* [Haussmann's notorious phrase], it had *quartiers* which differed from one another and made up so many small cities within the greater one. . . . None of that these days, the same house everywhere. This house, reproduced here, there, further on, to the right, to the left, run off in an edition of forty thousand, gives each street the physiognomy of the street next door." See also Fournel, *Paris nouveau, passim*; e.g., p. 221: "Instead of all those cities, with their multiple and differentiated physiognomies, there will be only one city, new and white. . . ." And see Ferry, *Les Comptes fantastiques* (see note 50 above), Sardou, etc., etc.
- 111 My argument here connects with recent work stressing the extent to which the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century city was defined by patterns of symbolic *use* and appropriation. See, for instance, M. Ozouf, *La Fête révolutionnaire 1789-1799*, and, behind all such studies, the work of G. Soboul, *Les Sans-Culottes parisiens en l'an deux: Mouvement populaire et gouvernement révolutionnaire*, and Chevalier, *Classes laborieuses*.
- 112 Gaillard, *Paris*, pp. 245-53 and, from pp. 540-43: "By and large, then, the department stores did not get working-class customers. It was later, much later, that the department store would provide the model for an urban uniform to all classes of society. In the Second Empire that time was still to come" (p. 543).
- 113 *Ibid.*, p. 267. Gaillard's whole discussion is basic to my conception of spectacle. "It seems to us that more profoundly, in the Second Empire, the powers-that-be took advantage of the diverse changes which Paris was undergoing in order to effect a permanent change in the relation between the city and its inhabitants [*modifier durablement le rapport des habitants avec la ville*], to change the very essence of the notion of urban citizenship: they strove to make Parisians *fit into* the city rather than create an active community" (pp. 231-32). The Commune was one attempt to resist that process and restore collectivity; so were the various efforts at "municipal" socialism. But both were failures. In the long run, "the Empire had a posthumous success . . . the urban collectivity, become passive, took its place over the years in a framework whose character has hardly changed since Haussmann" (p. 232). The verdict could come from Debord's *Société du spectacle*. See also pp. 528-31 in Gaillard on "la ville extravertie du Baron Haussmann."
- 114 See Gaillard, *Paris*, pp. 332 and 370, note 1; see also J. Rancière and P. Vauday, "L'Ouvrier, sa femme et les machines," *Les Révoltes Logiques*, no. 1 (the article is good on working-class resistance to the spectacle).
- 115 This is the crowning fact in Emile Zola's spleenetic attack on Haussmann's suppression of working-class entertainments, "Causerie," *La Tribune*, 18 October 1868, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 13:193-97. The article reminds us that the bourgeois pleasures of Paris and its environs were founded on the elimination of the pleasure of the working class. "I know that M. Haussmann does not like *les fêtes populaires*. He has banned almost all those that took place in the old days in the recently annexed districts; he is pitiless in his campaign against hawkers and pedlars. In his dreams [as always], he must see Paris as a gigantic checkerboard, possessed of a geometrical symmetry" (p. 196).
- 116 In the Salon of 1880. The full title is given by Antonin Proust in his introduction to *Exposition Norbert Goeneutte*, p. 8. Proust stresses Goeneutte's links with Manet, and Manet's high opinion of him. The 1880 picture was one of several studies of working-class life by Goeneutte, including *L'Appel des balayeurs devant l'Opéra* (1877 Salon), and took its place alongside pictures of the normal Impressionist sites: *La Place de la Bourse*, *Le Parc Monceau*, *Le Pont de l'Europe*, *Gare Saint-Lazare*, *La Sortie du Moulin Rouge*, etc.

- 117 A point made by . . .
- 118 E. de Amicis, *Studia* . . . in *Paris, A Century* . . . N. Evenson.

Chapter Two: Oly

- 1 Henri Turot, *Le* . . . from pp. 107-9: "vous le bien, la défini qui s'appuie sur l pensée dans les ter "Doit seulement femme qui, public livre au premier v neration pécuniaire vient d'ajouter: et tence que les re entretient avec un p d'individus." "D'où il résulte vérité—que la pro vénérité et ensuite "Ah! je sais b treindre la portée server toutes les in reuses des femm privilégiées, pour nous consacrons a sorte de *prolétariat* impunément s'app toutes les tyrannies "Et ce prolétar l'inéluctable cons liste."
- 2 C. Pichois, ed., *Le* . . . (about 25 March 1
- 3 The literature on to the chapter in *N Studies in Artistic Manet: Olympia*; F calized Female Ima and B. Farwell, *M in Iconography in ment* (albeit sketc found in A. Tabar 106-10, and G. H Critics, pp. 65-80. l article by M. Frie of His Art 1859-1 and the reply to it Sources: A Critical. tember 1969. (Fried

could be called deliberate and good—Chesneau, Gautier, Gonzague Privat, and Ravel. None of the first three, as I argue in the text, is particularly detailed or acute about the form or content of *Olympia*; where they are good is in their preliminary and generalizing discussion of Manet. Ravel is thus one out of 87.

I have attempted no systematic description of the politics or even the general aesthetic commitments of the journals in which the criticisms appear (this in spite of the arguments presented for doing so by Nicos Hadjinicolaou, "La Fortune critique et son sort," *Histoire et Critique des Arts*, November 1977). *Olympia* is a special case. There simply is no correlation that I can see between political and social ideology and ability or willingness to respond to the picture. For the one Ravel writing in the radical opposition paper *L'Epoque*, there are the silences of other radical or socialist papers, such as *La Rive Gauche*, *Le Courrier du Dimanche*, and *L'Avenir National*. I cannot detect a significant ideological difference between the entry of Victor Fournel in the Legitimist *Gazette de France* and that of Félix Deriège in the leading Leftist republican paper, *Le Siècle*; or, for that matter, between the condescending hostility of the solid Bonapartist *Le Pays*, the solid republican *Journal des Débats*, the good Centre-Rightist *Le Constitutionnel*, and so on.

As for aesthetics, *Olympia* exceeded the available ideological frames of reference: hacks, caricaturists, and provincials like Victor de Jankovitz did better than experts and progressives like Edmond About, Charles Blanc, Maxime Du Camp, Paul Mantz, Marc de Montifaud, or even Théophile Thoré. The critic (C. S. d'Arpentigny) writing in the paper owned by Manet's dealer, Louis Martinet, was notably feeble. Especially tantalizing in this connection is the absence—or disappearance?—of a *Salon* by Castagnary. In *La Chronique des Arts* of 21 May 1865, he was announced as writing a *Salon* for *L'Europe*; neither of the papers I could find which possibly correspond to that title—*L'Europe Artiste* and a French-language paper published in Frankfurt—contains the piece. Did the salon present too many problems for a critic committed to Naturalism? (Also not located by me was the *Salon* by Jean Rousseau announced in *Le Figaro* as about to appear in a special number of the paper.)

*Anon., *L'Autographe au Salon de 1865*, 8

July, p. 87; *Edmond About, *Le Petit Journal*, 27 June; *A. Andréi, *La Comédie*, 4 June; *C. S. d'Arpentigny, *Le Courrier Artistique*, 21 May; *C. S. d'Arpentigny, *Le Monde Artiste*, 24 June (approving Privat's pages on Manet); *Francis Aubert, *Le Pays*, 15 May; *X. Aubryet, *Le Moniteur Universel du Soir*, 16 June (possible reference); *A. Audéoud, *La Revue Indépendante*, 1 July, p. 758; *Louis Auvray, *Exposition des Beaux-Arts: Salon de 1865*, Paris, p. 59 (originally in *La Revue Artistique et Littéraire* 9 [1865]); *C. Bataille, *L'Univers Illustré*, 10 May, p. 291, and 5 July, p. 423; *Rapinus Beaubleu, *Le Han-neton*, 11 June; **Bertall, *Le Journal Amusant*, 27 May (caricature); **Bertall, *L'Illustration*, 3 June, p. 341, and 17 June, p. 389 (caricatures); *A. Berthet and E. Simon, *Le Tintamarre*, 7 May; C. Blanc, *L'Avenir National*, 12 May, etc. (8 articles); *E. Blondet, "A l'Exposition," *Le Nain Jaune*, 27 May; *A. Bonnin, *La France*, 7 June; *J. Bonus, "Chronique," *Le Journal Illustré*, 7–14 May, p. 146 (obscure joke); F. Borgella, *La Critique Illustrée*, 21 May, etc. (5 articles); *H. Briolle, "Faites attention à la peinture s.v.p.—Quatrains pour le salon," *Le Tintamarre*, 4 June; *A. de Bullemont, *Les Beaux-Arts*, June, p. 354; *H. de Callias, *La Gazette des Etrangers*, 24 May (internal evidence suggests that there is fuller discussion of Manet in the edition for 6 May, which I was unable to locate); **Amédée Cantaloube, *Le Grand Journal*, 21 May; *Amédée Cantaloube, *L'Illustrateur des Dames et des Demoiselles*, 18 June (passing reference, disguised); *P. Challemel-Lacour, *La Revue Moderne*, 1 July, p. 92; **Cham, *Le Charivari*, 14 May (caricature); *Cham, *Le Musée des Familles*, June, p. 288 (caricature); **Ernest Chesneau, "Les Excentriques," *Le Constitutionnel*, 16 May; *Jules Claretie, "Deux Heures au salon," reprinted in *Peintres et sculpteurs contemporains*, Paris, 1874, pp. 108–9 (originally printed in *L'Artiste*, 15 May); *Jules Claretie, "Echos de Paris," *Le Figaro*, 25 June; *C. Clément, *Le Journal des Débats*, 21 May; A. Cournet, *La Rive Gauche*, 14 May (critical of Courbet's *Proudhon*); **Félix Deriège, *Le Siècle*, 2 June; *C. Diguët, *Le Messager des Théâtres et des Arts*, 25 June; *M. Drak, *L'Europe Artiste*, *Journal Général*, 2 July; *Dubosc de Pesquidoux, *L'Union*, 24 May; *Maxime Du Camp, *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 June, p. 678 (cryptic but unmistakable reference); Alexandre Dumas, *La Mode de Paris*, 16 May and 1 June; *A. J.

mond About, *Le Petit Journal*,
 dré, *La Comédie*, 4 June; *C.
Le Courrier Artistique, 21 May;
 gny, *Le Monde Artiste*, 24 June
 t's pages on Manet); *Francis
 15 May; *X. Aubryet, *Le Mo-*
u Soir, 16 June (possible ref-
 oud, *La Revue Indépendante*,
 Louis Auvray, *Exposition des*
de 1865, Paris, p. 59 (origi-
 rtistique et Littéraire 9 [1865]);
 vers Illustré, 10 May, p. 291,
 Rapinus Beaubleu, *Le Han-*
 Bertall, *Le Journal Amusant*,
 ; **Bertall, *L'Illustration*, 3
 7 June, p. 389 (caricatures);
 . Simon, *Le Tintamarre*, 7
Venir National, 12 May, etc.
 ondet, "A l'Exposition," *Le*
 ; *A. Bonnin, *La France*, 7
 Chronique," *Le Journal Il-*
 146 (obscure joke); F. Bor-
 lustré, 21 May, etc. (5 arti-
 aites attention à la peinture
 our le salon," *Le Tinta-*
 de Bullemont, *Les Beaux-*
 H. de Callias, *La Gazette*
 ay (internal evidence sug-
 gler discussion of Manet in
 ay, which I was unable to
 antaloube, *Le Grand Jour-*
 lée Cantaloube, *L'Illustra-*
Demoiselles, 18 June (pass-
 ed); *P. Challemel-Lacour,
 1 July, p. 92; **Cham, *Le*
 caricature); *Cham, *Le Mu-*
 , p. 288 (caricature); **Er-
 Excentriques," *Le Consti-*
 les Claretie, "Deux Heures
 n Peintres et sculpteurs con-
 74, pp. 108-9 (originally
 15 May); *Jules Claretie,
Figaro, 25 June; *C. Clé-
 ébats, 21 May; A. Cournet,
 vlay (critical of Courbet's
 ièrge, *Le Siècle*, 2 June;
 ger des Théâtres et des Arts,
L'Europe Artiste, Journal
 ubosc de Pesquidoux,
 axime Du Camp, *La Re-*
 1 June, p. 678 (cryptic but
 ace); Alexandre Dumas,
 May and 1 June; *A. J.

Du Pays, *L'Illustration*, 17 June, p. 382 (and
 other mentions); *Ego, "Courrier de Paris," *Le*
Monde Illustré, 13 May, p. 291; *H. Escoffier,
Le Journal Littéraire de la Semaine, 29 May-4
 June; *Ernest Fillonneau, *Le Moniteur des Arts*,
 5 May, p. 2; *L. Gallet, *Salon de 1865: Peinture-*
Sculpture, Paris, 1865, p. 36; **Théophile Gau-
 tier, *Le Moniteur Universel*, 24 June; *Théophile
 Gautier fils, *Le Monde Illustré*, May 6, p. 283;
 **Geronte, "Les Excentriques et les gro-
 tesques," *La Gazette de France*, 30 June; *P.
 Gille, *L'Internationale*, 1 June; A. Hemmel, *La*
Revue Nationale et Etrangère, 10 May and 10
 June; *F. Jahyer, *Etude sur les Beaux-Arts, Salon*
de 1865, Paris 1865, pp. 23-26 and 283; **Victor
 de Jankovitz, *Etude sur le Salon de 1865*, Be-
 sançon 1865, pp. 67-68; *Junior, "Courrier de
 Paris," *Le Monde Illustré*, 6 May, p. 275; E. de
 Labédollière, *Le Journal Politique de la Semaine*,
 21 May, etc. (4 articles); *L. Lagrange, *Le Cor-*
respondant 29 (1865):143; *Louis de Laincel,
L'Echo des Provinces, 25 June, p. 3; *Louis de
 Laincel, *Promenade aux Champs-Élysées*, Paris
 1865, pp. 13-14 (slight changes from previously
 published version); C. Lavergne, *Le Monde*, 24
 May; *L. Leroy, *Le Charivari*, 5 May; *L. Leroy,
 "Un Critique d'art autorisé," *L'Universel, Jour-*
nal Illustré, 1 June, p. 139; *L. Leroy, *Le Journal*
Amusant, 27 May; *M. de Lescure, *La Revue*
Contemporaine, May-June, p. 535; *A.-J. Lo-
 rentz, *Dernier Jour de l'Exposition de 1865: Re-*
vue galopante au salon, Paris 1865, pp. 12-13
 (cryptic but unmistakable attack); *Paul Mantz,
La Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1 July, p. 7; *O.
 Merson, *L'Opinion Nationale*, 29 May and 31
 July; *M. de Montifaud, *L'Artiste*, 15 May, p.
 224; C. de Mouy, *La Revue Française*, June, pp.
 177-207; J. Nilis, *Revue d'Economie Chrétienne*
 8:893-916; T. Pelloquet, *Le Nain Jaune*, May-
 June; **Pierrot, "Une Première Visite au Sa-
 lon," *Les Tablettes de Pierrot—Histoire de la*
Semaine, 14 May, pp. 10-11; *Pollux, "Mathu-
 rin au Salon," *Les Petites Nouvelles*, 8 and 18
 May, p. 4; **C. Postwer, *La Fraternité Litté-*
raire, Artistique et Industrielle, 1 June; E. Pou-
 jade, *La Parisienne—Revue Mensuelle*, July, pp.
 125-33; **Gonzague Privat, *Place aux jeunes!*
Causeries critiques sur le Salon de 1865, Paris,
 1865, pp. 63-66; **Jean Ravenel, *L'Epoque*, 7
 June (also 4 May, 8 July); *C. Rolland, *L'Uni-*
versel, Journal Illustré, 8 June, p. 154; *E. R.
 Sainfoin, *La Mode Illustrée, Journal de la Fa-*
mille, 18 June, p. 198; *P. de Saint-Victor, *La*

Presse, 28 May; *C. de Sault, *Le Temps*, 24 May;
 *M. de Thémènes, *La Patrie*, 18 May, p. 3;
 *Thilda, *La Vie Parisienne*, 6 May, p. 239 (13
 May, p. 257, has a caricature of the cat and
 flowers set into the salon, between columns);
 *Théophile Thoré (W. Bürger), *L'Indépendance*
Belge, 13 and 19 June; P. Thouzery, *La Gazette*
des Familles, 15 June, etc. (3 articles); G. Vattier,
Le Courrier du Dimanche, 7 and 28 May, 4 and
 25 June (a radical paper); A. de Viguier, *Le*
Monde Chrétien Illustré, May, pp. 341-43; *C.
 Wallut, *Musée des Familles*, June, p. 287; *J.
 Walter, *Messenger des Théâtres et des Arts* (daily
 edition), 19 May; "Y," *L'Europe*, 8 May and 18
 June; A. Z., *Jockey*, 16 May.

Where possible, I have used the notes to
 provide the full French text of the most inter-
 esting entries on *Olympia*; sometimes this has
 meant reserving to the notes the whole of an
 entry, citing only a part of it in the main text,
 or discussing and citing it in several different
 places in the text, according to the topic and
 vocabulary of particular sentences.

- 9 "When, weary of dreaming, Olympia wakes,
 Spring enters in the arms of a gentle black
 messenger; it is the slave, like the amorous
 night, who comes to make the day bloom,
 delicious to see: the august young girl in whom
 the fire burns." See J. Meier-Graefe, *Edouard*
Manet, for complete poem, "La Fille des îles,"
 and S. Flescher, *Zacharie Astruc: Critic, Artist*
and Japoniste, chap. 2, for full discussion. The
 poem was dropped from the entry on *Olympia*
 in what appears to be a second edition of the
 salon *livret*, presumably at Manet's or poor As-
 truc's request!
- 10 Auvray: "Enfin, si, comme le dit la Presse théâ-
 trale, M. Manet a voulu attirer l'attention par
 une excentricité, il y a réussi au-delà probable-
 ment de ses désirs, car jamais peinture n'a excité
 tant de rires, de moqueries, de huées que son
Olympia. Le dimanche, surtout, la foule était si
 grande, qu'on ne pouvait en approcher, ni même
 circuler dans la salle M; tout le monde s'éton-
 nait que le jury eût admis les deux toiles de M.
 Manet."
- 11 Audéoud: "l'unanimité de la réprobation et
 de la dédaigneuse pitié qu'a manifesté le pu-
 blic . . ."
- 12 Fillonneau: "l'épidémie de fou-rire . . ."
- 13 Jankovitz: "Le public, abasourdi d'une pareille
 exhibition, ne savait si c'était une plaisanterie

ou un défi porté à son adresse, et, pendant qu'on se pressait devant le tableau comme autour d'un dépendu, la risée publique et son grognement ont fait justice de l'oeuvre. Seuls, quelques rares connaisseurs aux notions superflues de l'art aventureaient quelques louanges modérées!"

14 Ravenel: see pp. 139-40 and note 144, below.

15 Bonnin: "C'est avec une couleur plus harmonieuse, mais sans la même facilité de pinceau [the comparison is with Jolyet's *Conscrits de la Bresse*], que M. Manet traite des toiles de genre historique d'une assez grande dimension. Son *Olympia* (no. 1428), étendue sur un lit, ayant pour tout costume un noeud de ruban rouge dans les cheveux; la négresse habillée de rose qui lui apporte un bouquet; le chat noir qui arrondit sa maigre échine et dont les pattes marquent des couleurs singulières la blancheur des draps, forment bien le tableau le plus bizarre qu'on puisse imaginer. Chaque jour il est entouré d'une foule de visiteurs, et, dans ce groupe sans cesse renouvelé, les réflexions et les observations à haute voix ne lui épargnent aucune vérité. Les uns se pâment d'aise et croient à une plaisanterie qu'ils veulent avoir l'air de comprendre; d'autres regardent sérieusement et montrent à leur voisin, un ton heureux ici, là une main malpropre, mais grassement peinte; enfin on a vu des refusés de cette année, et c'est la preuve décisive qu'il en existe, s'emporter de dépit et d'indignation devant cette peinture. Il est bien probable que tout le monde a un peu raison, et ces opinions si diverses sont autorisées par les incroyables irrégularités de la peinture de M. Manet. Il n'a exposé que des ébauches. Cependant nous ne partageons pas l'opinion, trop répandue, que cette négligence soit un parti pris, une sorte de défi ironique jeté au jury et au public. Le jury eût certainement distingué une charge d'atelier d'une oeuvre malheureuse, et il lui eût fermé la porte du palais des Champs-Élysées. D'un autre côté, un artiste ne peut traiter légèrement le public sans compromettre sa réputation, qui reste parfois à jamais atteinte; et M. Manet, qui paraît à chaque Exposition, poursuit certainement autre chose que la triste célébrité que l'on peut acquérir par ces procédés périlleux. Nous aimons mieux penser qu'il s'est trompé. Maintenant, quel est son but? Ses toiles sont trop inachevées pour qu'il soit possible de l'apercevoir."

16 Ego: "Les femmes qui passent se détournent,

et les hommes ne s'arrêtent que pour protester dans tous les styles."

17 Audéoud; see note 11 above.

18 Aubert: "Grand buveur de chopes et d'absinthe, grand fumeur de pipes noires qui n'ont d'autre étui que sa poche, rabâcheur de trois ou quatre lieux communs, artistiques, littéraires ou politiques si vermoulus, qu'un écolier n'oserait s'en servir, jurant et sacrant à tout propos, ne parlant que l'argot des voleurs, républicain à coup sûr, socialiste probablement, communiste peut-être, mais sans savoir ce que c'est que l'une ou l'autre doctrine . . .

"Sa carrière? son passé? Ils n'ont de semblable que son présent, qui consiste à aller du garni à la brasserie, à imaginer des expédients pour ne payer ni l'un, ni l'autre, et, comme divertissement capital, à être insolent envers quelque honnête homme, ce qui s'appelle 'épater le bourgeois.'"

19 Drak: "Espérons que les rires moqueurs d'une foule qui n'était pas exclusivement composée de *bourgeois*, M. Manet, vous inspireront le désir d'une revanche où vous prouverez qu'il y a un artiste sous le mauvais plaisant."

20 Ravenel; see pp. 139-40 and note 144, below.

21 Jahyer, p. 283: "Qu'il me soit permis, à ce sujet, de remercier la commission d'avoir réalisé, pendant les quelques jours de la fermeture, le voeu que j'émettais au sujet de M. Manet. Actuellement, ses deux toiles sont si bien cachées au-dessus de deux portes dans l'un des salons du fond, qu'il faut des yeux de lynx pour les découvrir.

"A cette hauteur, l'*Auguste Olympia* fait l'effet d'une immense araignée au plafond. Il n'est plus même possible d'en rire; c'est devenu navrant pour tout le monde."

The removal is also mentioned by Geronte, and by Claretie in *Le Figaro*: "La réprobation publique l'avait chassée de cette place d'honneur. . . ." For the administration's similar treatment of Courbet's *Burial at Ornans* in the Salon of 1850-51, see T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution*, p. 134.

22 Baudelaire, *Oeuvres complètes*, pp. 1188-89.

23 See A.-J.-B. Parent-Duchâtelet, *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris*, 1:134. Its usual French form, *Olympe*, is given as one of a list of thirty-five common *urnoms* for prostitutes of the *classe*

rétaient que pour protester

above.

leur de chopes et d'ab-
de pipes noires qui n'ont
oche, rabâcheur de trois
ins, artistiques, littéraires
ulus, qu'un écolier n'ose-
et sacrant à tout propos,
des voleurs, républicain
probablement, commu-
sans savoir ce que c'est
doctrine . . .

passé? Ils n'ont de sem-
t, qui consiste à aller du
imaginer des expédients
n, ni l'autre, et, comme
, à être insolent envers
me, ce qui s'appelle 'épa-

les rires moqueurs d'une
exclusivement composée
t, vous inspireront le dé-
vous prouverez qu'il y a
avais plaisant."

40 and note 144, below.

ne soit permis, à ce sujet,
ession d'avoir réalisé, pen-
s de la fermeture, le vœu
de M. Manet. Actuelle-
sont si bien cachées au-
dans l'un des salons du
eux de lynx pour les dé-

Auguste Olympia fait l'ef-
ignée au plafond. Il n'est
en rire; c'est devenu na-
nde."

mentioned by Geronte,
Figaro: "La réprobation
ée de cette place d'hon-
administration's similar
s *Burial at Ornans* in the
T. J. Clark, *Image of the
t and the 1848 Revolution*,
omplètes, pp. 1188-89.

Duchâtelet, *De la prosti-
ris*, 1:134. Its usual French
as one of a list of thirty-
or prostitutes of the *classe*

élevée. (Those of the *classe inférieure* preferred Belle-cuisse, Faux-cul, Mont-Saint-Jean, La Ruelle, Crucifix, Le Boeuf, etc.) B. Farwell, *Manet and the Nude*, p. 232, was the first to point out that Olympia was a well-known prostitutes' nickname.

- 24 Gautier: "*Olympia*, dont le titre réveille le souvenir de cette grande courtisane romaine dont raffola la Renaissance, ne s'explique à aucun point de vue, même en la prenant pour ce qu'elle est, un chétif modèle étendu sur un drap. Le ton des chairs est sale, le modelé nul. Les ombres s'indiquent par des raies de cirage plus ou moins larges. Que dire de la négresse qui apporte un bouquet dans un papier et du chat noir qui laisse l'empreinte de ses pattes crottées sur le lit? Nous excuserions encore la laideur, mais vraie, étudiée, relevée par quelque splendide effet de couleur. La femme la moins jolie a des os, des muscles, une peau, des formes et un coloris quelconque. Ici, il n'y a rien, nous sommes fâché de le dire, que la volonté d'attirer les regards à tout prix."

- 25 See L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 30:32-47. Delécluze's novel was first published in 1842.

- 26 As far as I can tell, these are the only connotations of the title to which the critics seem alert. There are other tempting possibilities: for instance, the automaton heroine, Olympia, of E. T. A. Hoffmann's story "L'Homme au sable," with which Astruc and Co. would surely have been familiar (see *Contes d'Hoffmann*, pp. 115 ff.). There is a similarly named cold *courtisane* heroine in Dumas's *La Dame aux camélias* (see Reff, *Manet: Olympia*, pp. 111-13).

- 27 Ego: "L'auguste jeune fille est une courtisane. . . ." Leroy, *L'Universel*: "O chat de la courtisane Olympia. . ." Cantaloube, *Le Grand Journal*: "Il s'agit d'une Olympia chantée par M. Zacharie Astruc, et bien différente de la dame de beauté de la Renaissance."

- 28 Claretie, *L'Artiste*: "Qu'est-ce que cette odalisque au ventre jaune, ignoble modèle ramassé je ne sais où, et qui représente Olympia? Olympia? Quelle Olympia? Une courtisane sans doute."

- 29 Du Pays: "on a dit de Pradier qu'il partait le matin pour Athènes et arrivait le soir à la rue de Bréda. Aujourd'hui, un certain nombre d'artistes vont à la rue de Bréda directement."

This follows a discussion of Fantin-Latour's *Le Toast*, and various apoplectic asides about Manet in previous articles.

- 30 Challemel-Lacour, in a passage on the "grotesques" of painting: "Leur trait commun, un des symptômes les plus connus dans les Petites-Maisons, est la prétention d'être les seuls vrais amants de la Vérité; on l'adore sous les traits de quelque rousse du quartier Bréda, on se réunit autour d'elle en paletot, en robe de chambre, en chapeau tubuliforme, on lui offre des fleurs, on lui porte des toasts, on appelle le public à lui rendre hommage, et le public répond à cette leçon par une autre que ces artistes feraient bien de comprendre." Manet's painting and Fantin's are deliberately being conflated. See also p. 89.

- 31 Deriège: "l'on peut être également très-vrai, quand on sait peindre comme Goya, en représentant une *manola* de bas étage, couchée toute nue sur son lit, pendant qu'une négresse lui apporte un bouquet."

- 32 Postwer: "Quels vers! Quel tableau! Olympia s'éveille, lasse . . . de songer. La nuit a été mauvaise, c'est évident. Une insomnie, panachée de coliques, en a troublé la sérénité; son teint l'indique. Il y a deux '*messagers noirs*': un chat, qu'une circonstance malheureuse a applati entre deux tampons de chemins de fer; une négresse, qui n'a rien de *pareil à la nuit amoureuse*, si ce n'est un bouquet acheté chez la fleuriste du coin, et dont M. Arthur a fait les frais, ce qui m'en apprend très-long sur Olympia. Arthur est certainement dans l'anti-chambre, qui attend."

- 33 Geronte; see p. 97 and note 70 below.

- 34 Bertall, *Le Journal Amusant*.

- 35 Bertall, *L'Illustration*, 3 June.

- 36 For full text and translation, see pp. 139-40 and note 144 below.

- 37 Pierre Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire universel du dix-neuvième siècle*, 3:11: "Ce cabaret, ouvert toute la nuit, était fréquenté par une clientèle tout particulière, des chiffonniers, des rodeurs, des ivrognes et des femmes dont l'âge et le sexe n'eussent pu se reconnaître sous l'amas de hail-lons qui les couvraient. . . . Grâce à tout ceci, le cabaret de Paul Niquet était connu du monde entier, et lorsqu'un roman d'Eugène Sue eut mis les tapis francs à la mode, ce fut à qui irait

visiter celui-là, au risque de s'y trouver en bien mauvaise compagnie."

38 Described as such by Cantaloube in *Le Grand Journal*, in his general attack on the Realists that year. Geronte described him as "un Fra Angelico de pacotille." Lambron was regularly bracketed with Courbet and his followers. Geronte had previously, in an article of 2 June, praised Vollon's *Intérieur de cuisine* as worthy of Chardin, but could not resist a side swipe at Baudelaire in passing: "Il y a, dans cette cuisine, un certain mou de veau, pendu à un croc, qui vaut tout un poème. (Est-ce bien un mou de veau? Je consulterai M. Baudelaire.)"

39 Gallet: "un jeune réaliste qui promet beaucoup.—Ses deux marines: *L'Embouchure de la Seine à Honfleur* et *La Pointe de la Hève à marée basse*, portent l'empreinte d'une main forte, peu soucieuse du joli, très-préoccupée de la justesse de l'effet." Cf. Geronte: "Que dire, par exemple, de cette *Embouchure de la Seine à Honfleur* (no. 1524), où les flots sont figurés par des mottes de terre, les voiles des bateaux par des triangles de bois noir, et qu'on croirait dessinée par un enfant de douze ans sur la couverture de son catéchisme. . . ."

Among the many critics who discuss Manet in the context of a Realist school, the more interesting accounts are those by Louis Auvray (a bitter attack on the Realists' assault on traditional standards, and the art of Bouguereau in particular), Deriège, Geronte, Jankovitz, Mantz (for whom the Realism of 1850 survives only in Belgium!), and, in a typically bizarre way, Pierrot. One standard tactic was to extract Ribot from the group and declare him the only Realist worthy of the name; see, e.g., Gallet and Bonnin.

40 Ego: "Je ne cite pas le nom du prétendu réaliste, élève de Courbet, qui a déposé cette *Olympia* le long du mur officiel. . . ."

41 Jankovitz: "*Jésus insulté* par M. Manet, je veux dire dû à son pinceau, est un tableau au-dessous de toute critique. C'est du Raphaël corrigé par un Courbet de troisième qualité. . . ."

42 Gille: "Qu'on ne s'y trompe pas, MM. Courbet, Manet et autres font vraisemblablement ainsi, parce qu'ils ne peuvent faire autrement, et j'ai grand peur pour eux qu'ils ne soient que consciencieux en nous offrant ces monstruosités. Ce sont des esprits malades, comme qui dirait des sortes de marquis de Sade de la peinture,

dont le sens artistique est déplacé ou corrompu, et qui ont perdu le chemin lumineux du naturel et du beau; tous deux se heurtant dans l'ombre, y chercheront vainement l'inconnu et le nouveau, ils ne pourront y trouver que des fantômes difformes et hideux." The Baudelairean echoes in the last few phrases—especially the echoes of the close of *Le Voyage*—seem deliberate. Compare the terms of Ravenel's evocation of the same "source."

43 Anon., *L'Autographe au Salon*: "M. Manet a de rares qualités d'originalité et de caractère comme dessinateur, de souplesse et de mordant comme coloriste. On peut s'en apercevoir rien qu'à ces petits croquis qui semblent faits du bout d'une plume usée avec l'insouciance parfaite et la verve pittoresque de Goya." About uses the words "tempérament" and "facultés." Drak: "Une main d'artiste guidée par une cervelle bourrée de paradoxes jusqu'à l'indigestion."

44 Compare Fillonneau, "M. Manet expose aussi Jésus insulté par les soldats, où nous voudrions trouver autre chose à louer que des valeurs de tons, témoignages insuffisants d'une certaine recherche," with d'Arpentigny in Martinet's magazine: "M. Manet, entre autres, artiste d'une nature fine, distinguée, est remarquable dans ses oeuvres, par une vérité très-grande des tonalités, par une hardiesse, sans mesure il est vrai, mais qui cédera devant le besoin d'études plus sévères." Aubert, Chesneau, and Du Camp were also well aware of Manet's tonal aims.

45 Gonzague Privat, p. 66: "Eh bien! moi, je n'hésite pas à le dire: M. Manet a le tempérament d'un peintre, l'inspiration poétique, le charme de la naïveté, des tons, des finesses, et un côté vivant que peu d'artistes possèdent." Montifaud: "Nous savons reconnaître la touche de M. Manet au milieu des excentricités qu'il a voulu nous servir, comme son Christ insulté et sa composition d'*Olympia*, et cette touche dénote une vigueur qui, employée par un esprit plus sain, pourrait produire des oeuvres." Rapinus Beaubleu: "Un peintre de cette valeur devrait se méfier de son extrême facilité qui touche en quelque sorte à l'improvisation. Mais ce défaut prouve une ardeur, une vigueur, un tempérament peu communs à notre époque." (Fillonneau; see note 44 above.)

46 The Goya link is mentioned in *L'Autographe au Salon*; Cantaloube in *Le Grand Journal*—"Constations, en effet, des tons dérobés aux Es-

est déplacé ou corrompu,
 min lumineux du naturel
 se heurtant dans l'ombre,
 ment l'inconnu et le nou-
 y trouver que des fan-
 hideux." The Baudelairean
 few phrases—especially the
 of *Le Voyage*—seem delib-
 e terms of Ravenel's evoca-
 ource."

au Salon: "M. Manet a de
 alité et de caractère comme
 esse et de mordant comme
 n apercevoir rien qu'à ces
 nblent faits du bout d'une
 uciance parfaite et la verve
 " About uses the words
 acultés." Drak: "Une main
 une cervelle bourrée de
 idigestion."

"M. Manet expose aussi
 oldats, où nous voudrions
 louer que des valeurs de
 suffisants d'une certaine
 rpentigny in Martinet's
 entre autres, artiste d'une
 e, est remarquable dans
 érité très-grande des to-
 se, sans mesure il est vrai,
 t le besoin d'études plus
 eau, and Du Camp were
 net's tonal aims.

"Eh bien! moi, je n'hésite
 a le tempérament d'un
 étique, le charme de la
 nesses, et un côté vivant
 ent." Montifaud: "Nous
 ouche de M. Manet au
 qu'il a voulu nous ser-
 ulté et sa composition
 he dénote une vigueur
 prit plus sain, pourrait
 rapinus Beaubléu: "Un
 evrait se méfier de son
 che en quelque sorte à
 défaut prouve une ar-
 mpérament peu com-
 Fillonneau; see note 44

oned in *L'Autographe*
Le Grand Journal—
 tons dérobés aux Es-

pagnols, surtout à Goya, mais délayés dans je
 ne sais quelle mixture nauséabonde"—and more
 cryptically in *L'Illustrateur des Dames*: "Elle [the
 figure of Truth in Fantin's *Toast*] dirait à l'un,
 ne démonétisez ou ne barbouillez pas Goya
 avec vos hideux pastiches à la façon de Bar-
 barie; à l'autre, ne décalquez pas au carreau
 l'une des estampes de l'album des cinquante
 femmes du Japon" (clearly Manet and Whistler
 are meant); Deriège (see note 31 above); Gau-
 tier, in discussing the Christ: "L'exécution rap-
 pelle, moins l'esprit, les plus folles ébauches de
 Goya, lorsqu'il s'amusait à peindre en jetant
 des baquets de couleurs contre sa toile"; and
 Ravenel (see pp. 139–40 and note 144 below).

47 Gautier fils: "Dans *Olympia* M. Manet semble
 avoir fait quelque concession au goût public et
 à travers le parti pris on discerne des morceaux
 qui ne demandent pas mieux que d'être bons."

48 Aubert: "Eh bien, comment se fait-il qu'il soit
 l'auteur de cette *Olympia*, que par courtoisie,
 par intérêt sympathique pour l'homme, je ne
 veux pas analyser, mais que je caractériserai en
 peu de mots en disant qu'elle n'est ni vraie, ni
 vivante, ni belle (belle, grand-Dieu!), qu'elle est
 informe, qu'elle a je ne sais quoi de lubrique,
 que ce corps est sale, que sais-je?" Cantaloube,
Le Grand Journal: "Nous voulons, ici, parler de
 certaines ébauches informes ou grotesques qui
 causent un véritable scandale." Chesneau: "un
 parti pris de vulgarité inconcevable." Clément:
 "Quant aux deux toiles qu'a envoyées M. Ma-
 net, elles sont inqualifiables." Gille: "Cet in-
 déchiffable *rébus* . . ." Gautier; see note 24
 above.

49 Gautier; see note 24 above.

50 Aubert; see note 48 above.

51 Deriège; see pp. 97–98 and note 72 below.

52 Dubosc de Pesquidoux: "Quant à l'*Odalisque*
 que M. Manet a exposée au-dessous de son
Christ, et dans une pose si honnête, je n'en puis
 rien dire en vérité, et je ne sais pas si le dic-
 tionnaire de l'esthétique française offre des
 expressions pour la caractériser. . . . On ne peut
 point parler de tels tableaux, ni en donner l'idée."

53 Merson: "Auparavant, néanmoins, un mot des
 tableaux de M. Manet, initiateur fameux selon
 quelques gens. Non pas que je songe à les exa-
 miner, à les décrire. Dieu m'en préserve!"

54 Escoffier: "Que signifie cette peinture et pour-

quoi trouve-t-on ces tableaux dans les galeries
 du Palais de l'Industrie?"

55 Auvray: "Et voilà pourquoi *Olympia* est si bien
 placée. . . . 'Que c'est comme un bouquet de
 fleurs.'" Compare the captions of the Bertall
 cartoon in *Le Journal Amusant* and Cham's in
Le Charivari (in all three cases the reference is
 to a famous café-concert song by Paulus, "Le
 Baptême du petit ébéniste," which is quoted
 and discussed in chapter four); Geronte: "cette
 Vénus hottentote"; Postwer: "Le tableau peut
 servir d'enseigne à une maison d'accouche-
 ment; l'auteur a une consolation toute trouvée";
 Merson: "M. Manet, qui a peint l'enseigne de
 la *Femme à barbe*, est original," and, "Et aux
 personnes qui n'ont pas vu ces pièces miri-
 fiques, il suffira d'affirmer que le *Juif errant*,
 tel qu'Epinal l'expédie à toutes les auberges du
 globe, est un pur chef-d'oeuvre auprès d'*Olym-
 pia* et de *Jésus insulté par les soldats*"; Cantaloube,
L'Illustrateur des Dames: "Voilà donc ces ar-
 tistes, comme bien d'autres entraînés par l'abus
 des improvisations et du métier, uniquement
 préoccupés d'attrouper le public selon le mode
 des enseignes de la foire" (his verdict on Manet,
 Fantin, and Lambron); Deriège, see note 72
 below; Geronte (the pseudonym hides Victor
 Fournel, a special expert in such matters), see
 note 70 below, and a parallel phrase earlier in
 his article, "ces deux toiles foraines."

56 See Farwell, *Manet and the Nude*, p. 199 ff. for
 full discussion. See also Reff, *Manet: Olympia*,
 pp. 46–61.

57 See Theodore Reff, "The Meaning of Titian's
 Venus of Urbino," *Pantheon* XXI (1963): 362–
 63. C. Hope's more recent dismissal of the Gui-
 doaldo connection (*Titian*, p. 82) seems based
 on an odd view of Titian's scrupulousness as
 regards the art market.

58 See H. Wetthey, *The Paintings of Titian*, 3: 203.

59 Cantaloube: "Jamais, du reste, on n'a vu de ses
 yeux spectacle pareil et d'un effet plus cynique:
 cette *Olympia*, sorte de gorille femelle, de gro-
 tesque en caoutchouc cerné de noir, singe sur
 un lit, dans une complète nudité, l'attitude hori-
 zontale de la Vénus de Titien; le bras droit
 repose sur le corps de la même façon, sauf la
 main qui se crispe dans une sorte de contraction
 impudique. De l'autre côté du lit, une négresse,
 'un doux messenger noir,' lui apporte, à son ré-
 veil, le printemps sous le forme d'un bouquet
 de fleurs qui n'a guère l'air de flatter l'odorat.

On ne sait ce que vient de faire un pauvre chat maigre, d'une couleur de noir animal, car il gonfle piteusement son échine au pied de 'l'auguste jeune fille en qui la flamme brûle' (voir le livret)."

60 Pierrot: "L'autre peintre de ce groupe expose: 1. un Christ. O divin maître, tu n'a jamais été plus torturé; qu'on éloigne de toi ce calice! 2. une femme sur un lit, ou plutôt une forme quelconque gonflée comme un grotesque en caoutchouc; une sorte de guenon grimaçant la pose et le mouvement du bras de la Vénus du Titien, avec une main impudiquement crispée! Une négresse, un chat noir, tout maigre d'échine qu'il soit, n'en faisant pas moins le gros dos, complètent cette vision du sabbat." The nearest thing to another reference in 1865 is the title "la Vénus au chat" given the picture in passing by J. Claretie in *Le Figaro*. Pierrot and Cantaloube are surely one and the same writer.

61 The evidence for the critical reaction in 1863 is incomplete; but of the handful of references to Manet we know, one mentions the Giorgione connection directly—Zacharie Astruc in "Le Salon," *Le Feuilleton Quotidien*, 20 May 1863, p. 5 (cited in *Zacharie Astruc*, by Flescher, p. 121). Astruc's reference seems to be echoed, quite casually and not approvingly, in Thoré's attack on "ce contraste d'un animal [he means the reclining man] si antipathique au caractère d'un scène champêtre, avec cette baigneuse sans voiles," where the words "scène champêtre" are perhaps meant to remind the reader of the nineteenth-century title of Giorgione's picture (see Théophile Thoré, *Salons de W. Bürger, 1861 à 1868*, 1: 425.) The recognition of the Raphael source was added as a note to E. Chesneau's *L'Art et les artistes modernes en France et en Angleterre*, p. 190, which is a reprint of his "Salon" in *Le Constitutionnel* the previous year. Though Chesneau does not say so, one suspects he had been primed, perhaps by the artist.

The evidence is fragmentary and odd, as I say, but what we have of it suggests some kind of contrast between the critical language of 1863 and 1865 along the lines I have sketched.

62 Jankovitz: "L'auteur nous représente, sous le nom d'Olympia, une jeune fille couchée sur un lit, ayant pour tout vêtement un noeud de ruban dans les cheveux, et la main pour feuille de vigne. L'expression du visage est celle d'un

être prématuré et vicieux; le corps d'une couleur faisandée, rappelle l'horreur de la Morgue. Une hideuse négresse vêtue de rose tient à côté d'elle un bouquet d'une douteuse allégorie, tandis qu'un chat noir faisant le gros dos vient sur le drap imprimer avec ses pattes la trace non équivoque du lieu où il a marché. . . .

"A côté d'erreurs de tous genres et d'audacieuses incorrections, on trouve dans ce tableau un défaut considérable, devenu frappant dans les oeuvres des réalistes. En effet, si la plupart de leurs tableaux affligent tant la nature et nos yeux, c'est que la partie harmonique qui tient aux rayonnements de la lumière et à l'atmosphère est pour ainsi dire complètement sacrifiée. A force d'éliminer le sentiment de l'âme, ou l'esprit de la chose, dans l'interprétation de la nature, les sensations des yeux ne leur donnent, comme aux Chinois, que la couleur locale nullement combinée avec l'air et le jour. On dirait du scepticisme physique."

The last sentences, for all their clumsiness, represent a real effort at criticism.

63 Ego: "L'auguste jeune fille est une courtisane, aux mains sales, aux pieds rugueux; elle est couchée, vêtue d'une babouche et d'une cocarde rouge; son corps a la teinte livide d'un cadavre exposé à la Morgue; ses lignes sont dessinées au charbon, et ses yeux éraillés et verdâtres ont l'air de provoquer le public sous la garantie d'une hideuse négresse.

"Non, jamais rien de plus . . . étrange n'a été appendu aux murs d'un salon artistique."

64 Aubert; see note 48 above. Cantaloube; see note 59 above. Lorentz; see pp. 96–97 and note 69 below. Pollux: "il a fait aussi une vilaine bonne femme avec une négresse; tout est dessiné avec du charbon tout autour et de la pommade au milieu."

65 Gautier; see note 24 above.

66 Laincel, *Promenade*: "Mais pourquoi s'obstinent-ils à ne reproduire les choses que sous le côté le plus laid? pourquoi, en fait de modèles, vont-ils, par exemple, choisir des femmes malpropres, et, après cela, reproduire jusqu'à la crasse qui enduit leurs contours? Olympia n'est pas la seule qui se trouve dans ce cas."

67 Laincel, *L'Echo des Provinces*: "Je me trompe peut-être par rapport à Olympia; il est possible que tout simplement le gros matou noir qui fait ronron à ses pieds ait déteint sur les contours de cette belle personne, après s'être roulé sur un tas de charbon." Bonnin; see note 15

le corps d'une cou-
reur de la Morgue.
de rose tient à côté
teuse allégorie, tan-
le gros dos vient sur
pattes la trace non
marché...

tous genres et d'auda-
trouve dans ce tableau
devenu frappant dans
En effet, si la plupart
tant la nature et nos
harmonique qui tient
la lumière et à l'atmos-
re complètement sacri-
le sentiment de l'âme,
dans l'interprétation de
des yeux ne leur don-
nois, que la couleur locale
avec l'air et le jour. On
physique."

for all their clumsiness,
at criticism.

ne fille est une courtisane,
x pieds rugueux; elle est
babouche et d'une cocarde
teinte livide d'un cadavre
; ses lignes sont dessinées
eux éraillés et verdâtres ont
le public sous la garantie
esse.

n de plus... étrange n'a
rs d'un salon artistique."

bove. Cantaloube; see note
pp. 96-97 and note 69 be-
si une vilaine bonne femme
est dessiné avec du char-
la pommade au milieu."

bove.

"Mais pourquoi s'ob-
ire les choses que sous
urquoi, en fait de mo-
ple, choisir des femmes
la, reproduire jusqu'à
rs contours? Olympia
trouve dans ce cas."

vinces: "Je me trompe
Olympia; il est possible
gros matou noir qui
it déteint sur les con-
onne, après s'être roulé
Bonnin; see note 15

above. Gautier; note 24 above. Jankovitz; note
62 above. Leroy, *L'Universel*; see note 145.

68 Bertall, *L'Illustration*.

69 Lorentz: "Mais c'est encore bien plus horrible-
ment frappant; devant cette toile qui nous montre
un squelette habillé par un maillot collant de
plâtre, cerclé du noir, comme une armature de
vitrail sans verrerie; et qui, à l'horrible de tant
de sottise et de laideur, adjoint la disparition
d'un doigt... qui appelle à grands cris l'examen
des inspecteurs de la salubrité publique!"

70 Geronte (Fournel): "Ce Christ, insulté par des
soldats vêtus en saltimbanques, et plus insulté
encore par l'artiste lui-même; cette Vénus hot-
tentote, au chat noir, exposée toute nue sur son
lit, comme un cadavre sur les dalles de la Mor-
gue, cette Olympia de la rue Mouffetard, morte
de fièvre jaune et déjà parvenue à un état de
décomposition avancée, seraient des imperti-
nences envers le public, si ce n'étaient avant
tout de colossales inépties, d'autant plus bur-
lesques qu'elles sont plus sérieuses et plus con-
vaincues. L'effet irrésistible que ces deux com-
positions produisent sur les rates les plus
hypochondres provient surtout du contraste én-
orme qui existe entre l'attitude solennelle de
l'artiste et la pauvreté de l'oeuvre, entre l'or-
gueil incommensurable et l'avortement piteux
des prétentions qu'il affiche. Les roueries de M.
Manet sont trop naïves; les maladresses et les
gaucheries de son dessin trop grossières ou trop
enfantines, pour qu'on les puisse croire aussi
volontaires qu'il le souhaiterait. Son coloris au
verjus, aigre et acide, pénètre dans l'oeil comme
la scie d'un chirurgien dans les chairs. En re-
gardant cette Olympia, comparée sur le livret
au 'jour délicieux à voir,' et qualifiée par le
poète lyrique que M. Manet a appelé à son aide,
d' 'auguste jeune fille, en qui la flamme veille,'
il me prend ressouvenir de ces baraques de fêtes
publiques, à la porte desquelles un Monsieur
distingué vous promet, en langage élégant, des
merveilles extraordinaires, incomparables,
uniques, et où, dès que vous êtes entré, on vous
montre un veau à deux têtes, dont l'une est en
carton."

71 Saint-Victor: "La foule se presse, comme à la
Morgue, devant l'Olympia faisandée et l'horri-
ble *Ecce homo* de M. Manet. L'art descendu
si bas ne mérite même plus qu'on le blâme.
'Ne parlons pas d'eux, regarde et passe,' dit

Virgile à Dante en traversant un des bas-fonds
de l'Enfer:

Non ragionam di lor ma guarda e passa

"Mais les caricatures de M. Manet revien-
draient plutôt à l'Enfer de Scarron qu'à celui du
Dante."

The morgue has occurred as a point of ref-
erence in Jankovitz, Ego, Geronte, and Saint-
Victor. Its connotations are not quite so simple
as they may seem. The word designated a
building where the bodies of the unknown dead
of Paris, fished from the river or found in the
streets, were put on show in the hope that
someone would identify them. It stood for
nameless, specifically urban, and specially hor-
rifying death. Haussmann had allowed the
morgue to stay near its old place on the Ile de
la Cité, though he provided it with a new Beaux-
Arts building. *Morgue* also meant a kind of
facial expression, intent, grim, rigid, and over-
bearing; some etymologies connect the two sen-
ses of the word via the look on the corpses' faces.

72 Derière: "Olympia est couchée sur son lit, n'ay-
ant emprunté à l'art d'autre ornement qu'une
rose, dont elle a paré la filasse de ses cheveux.
Cette femme rousse est d'une laideur accom-
plie. Sa face est stupide, sa peau cadavéreuse.
Elle n'a pas forme humaine; M. Manet l'a telle-
ment estropiée qu'il lui serait impossible de
remuer ni bras ni jambes. A côté d'elle, on voit
une négresse qui apporte un bouquet, et, à ses
pieds, un chat qui s'éveille et s'étire, un chat
ébouffé qui semble venir du sabbat de Callot.
Le blanc, le noir, le rouge, le vert font un va-
carme affreux sur cette toile; la femme, la né-
gresse, le bouquet, le chat, tout ce tohu-bohu
de couleurs disparates, de formes impossibles,
vous saisit le regard et vous stupéfie.

Quand, lasse de songer, [etc.]

"Telle est la stance que le livret ajoute à la
mention d'Olympia. Ces vers valent la peinture.

"Un plaisant assurait que Mlle Olympia, en-
gagée par un impresario pour aller représenter
des tableaux vivants dans les foires, avait com-
mandé le tableau de M. Manet comme en-
seigne."

73 The whole of Chesneau's entry—it comes at
the end of a long discussion of Manet's aims,
his previous successes (*L'Enfant à l'épée*); the still
lives shown *chez* Cădart, one of which Ches-