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ART, TECHNOLOGY, CULTURE

In this issue, nonsite features new work on 19th-century French art and visual culture, from telegraphy to lithography, Orientalists to Post-Impressionists, Manet to Degas. Edited by Bridget Alsdorf.

ARTICLES

WHEN I WAS A TELEGRAPHER

RICHARD TAWS

Discussing his adopted city of Paris, where he lived from 1830 until his death in 1837, German writer Ludwig Börne described it as "the telegraph of the past, the microscope of the present, and the telescope of the future."[1] Börne's technological analogy is, to the modern reader, at once deeply familiar and oddly discordant. City-as-microscope makes a certain amount of sense as a vivid descriptor for a world becoming accustomed to new forms of spectacular realism, even if microscopy itself was hardly a concept or technique specific to the nineteenth century.[2] Telescope-town also works, the predictive powers of an urban milieu that drove not only industry but also novelties in art and fashion aligning with our expectations about the modern city's future-oriented *telos*. But "the telegraph of the past"? Why would telegraphy look backwards, and what kind of past might it communicate? Furthermore, while the other two devices are avowedly visual, telegraphy resonates for us as a technology grounded in a turn away from representation, a marker of the modern world's gradual drift towards elusive, immaterial, virtual presence. Telegraphy seems to mark an effective victory of writing over image-making, visual culture abandoned by the speed with which information could now be transmitted and by the inability of the telegraph to convert a visual field into code.[3]

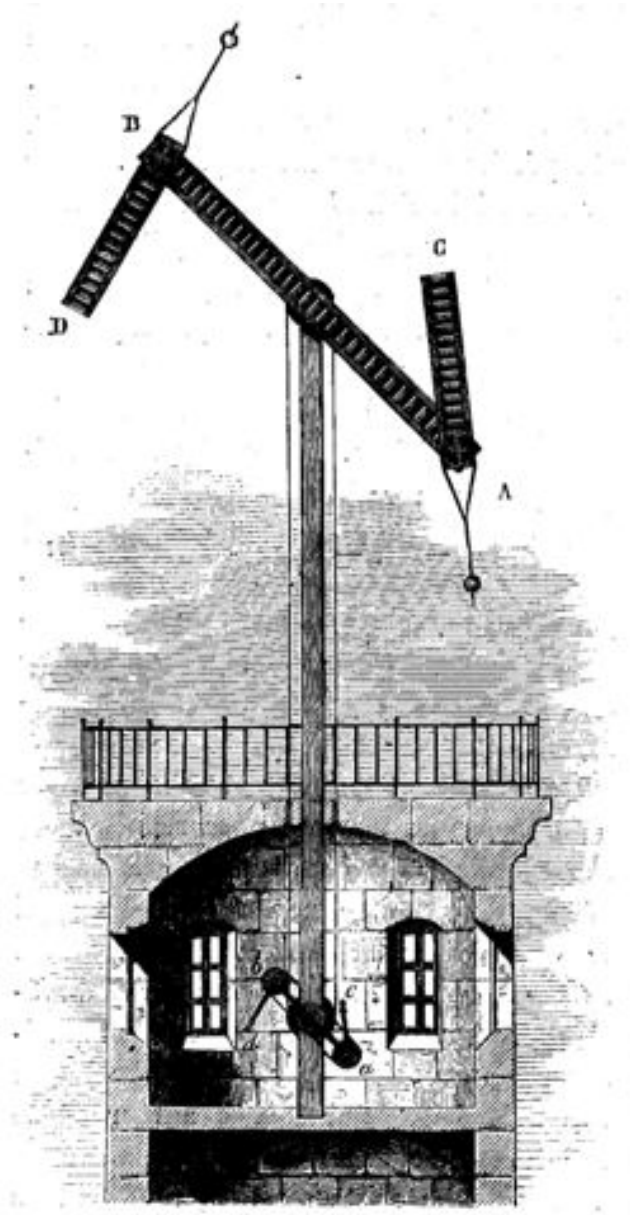


Fig. 1. Télégraphe de Chappe, cross-section of apparatus, from Louis Figuier, Les merveilles de la science, ou description populaire des inventions modernes (Paris: Furne, Jouvet, 1868)

But the telegraph that Börne had in mind was, in fact, avowedly visual in character. Börne's analogy was not with electrical telegraphy, but with the Chappe optical system, which operated in France from 1794 until 1855.[4] The longevity of the Chappe telegraph—introduced by Claude Chappe and his brothers at the height of the revolutionary Terror and still current in the aftermath of the 1830 Revolution—meant that it was, arguably,

able to offer a more convincing metaphor for historical thought than the technological and social caesura suggested by electrical telegraphy. Chappe's system took the form of a series of windmill-like metal "arms" set atop towers and prominent buildings.[5] In Paris, these included at various points the Louvre, Saint-Sulpice, Saint-Eustache and Montmartre. The arms of the telegraph were manipulated by an operator (known as a *stationnaire*) to form a series of discrete shapes, each of which was encoded with words or phrases (Fig. 1). An operator at the next station viewed the signals through a telescope, reproduced them, and transmitted them down the line to the next station, until after passing through a number of relays the messages were transcribed and decoded at their final destination. Associated irrevocably with the Revolution and Empire—indeed, promoted in its early years as especially revolutionary in character—this system was remarkably successful and wide-ranging, spreading for over 5000 kilometres within France.[6] The telegraph became a ubiquitous sight, altering significantly skylines across the country, transforming the role of architecture and reconfiguring the ways in which landscape, both urban and rural, was perceived; a range of contemporary observers commented on its visual effect. In Paris, the telegraph, used almost exclusively for military signals, was a continuous presence on the horizon, transmitting its secret messages just above normal lines of sight (Fig. 2). By the 1830s the telegraph was viewed increasingly as an instrument of a repressive state. Nonetheless, via association with the telegraph, the city figures in Börne's neat one-liner as a site where the ghost of the 1789 Revolution might appear—in material, technologized form—in the guise of 1830. Moreover, the comparison with telegraphy presented the metropolis as a scene for the reanimation of spectres of all kinds.

Fig. 2. Vue de l'église St Sulpice, 1840, coloured etching, 31 x 46cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

From Chappe onwards the systematization of telegraphy has been understood as contributing to an acceleration of life that has been taken to be a dominant characteristic of the nation-state, of modernity, and of a defining technological transformation; what media theorist Friedrich Kittler, comparing the comparative storage capacities of the Chappe telegraph and the Daguerreotype, described as the "fundamental trend of modern media technologies to replace static values with dynamic values and to replace steadfastness with speed."[7] Yet in a desire to assert a forward-looking account of irrevocable technological progress, interpretations of the Chappe telegraph that posit it as either the last phase of a tradition of semaphoric communication, or as some kind of prescient nineteenth-century internet, miss one of the most interesting aspects of telegraphy at this time: its profoundly visual nature—whether it be the self-evident necessity of the visual to the operation of the telegraph, the broader visual effects of telegraphy on those who saw it in action, or the many images representing telegraphs produced by artists working in a variety of media; images that proliferated in the half-century of its operation and in the years following its decline. Furthermore, the time of telegraphy did not only look forward, but also demanded, as Börne intimated, a reckoning with the past. Speaking to the socio-cultural contingencies of its moment, and pointing to both past and future, the optical telegraph provided a mechanism with which to think historically, not to mention allegorically. Telegraphy enabled new ways of thinking about time, yet these were not all associated with the new speed of communication it brought to bear, but with more far-reaching insights into the relation between technology, politics, and histories of media.

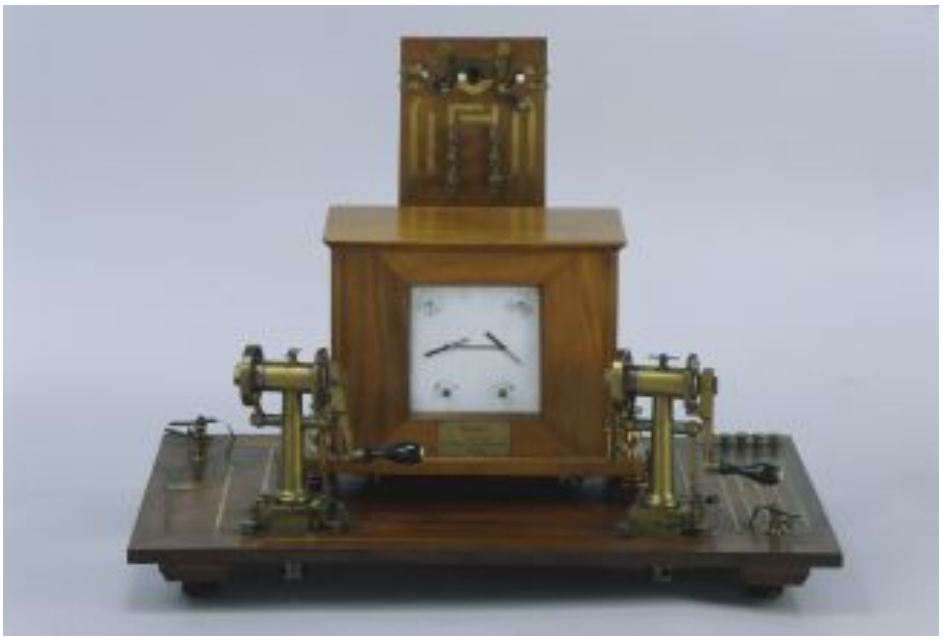


Fig. 3. Alphonse Foy and Louis Clément Breguet, Récepteur télégraphique français à deux indicateurs de signaux système Chappe, c. 1850. © Musée des arts et métiers-CNAM, Paris/Sylvain Pelly

The demise of the Chappe system was as fuzzily open-ended as its beginning, and for a few years electrical telegraphs replicated the semaphoric code of the Chappe telegraph, seemingly unable to commit to the obsolescence of a familiar technology and unwilling to embrace fully the potential of electric telegraphy as a form of communication with devices and visual vocabularies of its own (Fig. 3). It is to the afterlife of optical telegraphy that this article turns, less to trace a linear technical history characterized by patterns of evolution and decay, rupture and regress, than to suggest that visuality continued to inflect the subject of telegraphy in France after the 1850s, and to draw out some of the ways in which telegraphy provided a means of conceptualizing the historical meaning of diverse media. For Börne, Paris itself was the telegraph of the past, the city a medium comprised of, in Kittler's words, "commands, addresses, and data" that rendered the past intelligible in the present.[8] Yet as the century progressed, the emergence of other media with an ability to conjure the past—most notably photography, in its various forms—did not lead to a decline in telegraphic metaphors: rather, it gave them new life.

Sic transit!

In his magisterial *Paris, ses organes, ses fonctions et sa vie dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle* (1875), writer and photographer Maxime du Camp provided for his readers a meticulous anatomy of a singular institution: the *bureau central* of communication on the rue de Grenelle-Saint-Germain in Paris.[9] In this "palace of electricity" the noise of Morse and Hughes telegraph machines

created a constant, repetitive din, the effect of which, combined with the austere barracks-like interior, made for an overwhelming and punishing environment.[10] Yet the fierce modernity of the space and the contemporaneity of its operations existed in the wake of a trail of obsolete technological artefacts and quietly mouldering archives of earlier correspondence. In addition, the building itself, constructed with an earlier, pre-electric form of communication in mind—the Chappe optical telegraph—served to accentuate the troubling presence of the outmoded. At the *bureau central*, a tower at one end of the building had accommodated the Chappe apparatus (Fig. 4). By the time du Camp wrote, optical telegraphy had been replaced wholly by electrical signals (although other forms of optical telegraphy resurfaced briefly, such as Jules Lesuerre's heliographic technique, based on Morse code, which was used during the Paris Commune).[11] Yet despite largely disappearing from view, the Chappe telegraph continued, in du Camp's reading, to haunt the future path that telegraphic communication might take, and the traces of its hardware and administration were felt still at the *bureau central*. Although the Chappe telegraph had swiftly transitioned during the Empire from a revolutionary system that prophesied universal communication between equal citizens in (almost) real time to a servant of militarised and secretive state power, the utopian promise of telegraphy's early incarnation remained in the 1870s as a reproof to its current formulation.

Fig. 4. 103, rue de Grenelle, Paris, 75007. Chappe telegraph tower visible at the end of the building

Fig. 5. Operators' Room in the Great Telegraph Exchange, Paris, from Popular Science Monthly, 44 (April 1894)

"Eccentrically" located far from the Bourse, the avenues, the Interior Ministry and the Tuileries, the *bureau central* was, du Camp claimed, both "shameful" and "absurd," a fact reflected in the haphazard interior arrangement of the building, with the current telegraph rooms situated impractically on the second floor. [12] As du Camp put it:

> This old fortress of telegraphy is stripped of her splendour; she involuntarily makes one think of those medieval castles on which we put wings and which became mills. We removed the Chappe machines that gestured towards the four cardinal points; we took away the telescopes that searched the horizon; the employees climb two hundred stairs, grumbling increasingly, and in the post office, where all the news of France and the world ended up, we stacked cartons, old registers, piles of paper; the mice walk about in peace, spiders spin their webs unconstrained: *Sic transit!* The central cubicle has become an attic. [13]

So much for communication's inexorable forward march. Instead, technological progress reconfigures the present as a retrofitted middle ages, burdened by a jumble of rotten papers. Against this image of decay and diminution du Camp set out a detailed description of the physical, technological and social organization of the *bureau*, stressing the frantic labour that took place in its various departments (Fig. 5). Echoing Victor Hugo's complaint, in a youthful satire, that the secretive movements of the Chappe telegraph on the twin towers of Saint-Sulpice, onto which his room at that time faced, were distracting him from the task of writing, du Camp compared the sparse, atomized workspaces of the telegraphic clerks to the

garret lodgings celebrated by hard-up poets.[14] Something, however, had changed in the fifty-six years between the production of Hugo's and du Camp's texts. Although he suggested potential analogies between their ceaseless writing and the work of literature, du Camp presented the unending labour of the young clerks as an obstacle to a creative interior life:

> Some of these young people, whose pale features announce their tiredness, have a book with them, hoping to read if their apparatus remains motionless for a few minutes. None of them, I am sure, could finish the paragraph started; a dispatch arrives, then another, then another, and so on and forever, and with it a job that changes with each new telegram.[15]

Du Camp's derision of the exploitation at the heart of telegraphic communication was not assuaged by the "illusory" pay structure employed at the *bureau* (where many of the workers, he fails to note, were women).[16] Furthermore, at first sight, he observes, the work appears easy, for "To be seated on a chair in the presence of an intelligent machine which seems to function for itself, following by sight the features that it draws, to unroll a strip of paper, is all the apparent work." However, "to be well done, it requires a quick hand, a fixity of gaze, a tense mind and often even a deployment of considerable strength."[17] Far from creating a leisurely atmosphere for the worker, technologies of transmission produced detrimental physiological and psychological effects in those who operated them, people who had, du Camp reported, largely given up on speaking to one another, but who now conversed solely in code, like the "intelligent machines" that surrounded them. At the *bureau central*:

> There is not a second of rest, all the nerves are overexcited; the sheer diversity of news which follows relentlessly leads to more weariness: family matters, bank intrigues, commercial operations, political news, coded letters, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, German, arrive one after the other, like the ticking of a clock, regularly and tirelessly in the space of the same quarter hour. To this we must add the continuous noise of devices, nervous noise, staccato, almost as sour as it is dry and which, by dint of reproducing without discontinuity, ends by undermining the most vigorous of natures. If one ever comes to write the history of diseases special to each trade, I am convinced that the electric telegraph will furnish a remarkable and quite particular share.[18]

The combination of motivation and frustration apparent in Hugo's experience of the aerial telegraph—its stubborn industry mocking his "sterile brain," its invasion of his visual world, and the contrary impetus it gave him to write at a comparable rate—vanished in the closed

interiors of the palace of electricity, where cyborg operators communicated in code, their bodies twitching to constant stimuli. The madness Hugo discerned as a by-product of telegraphy had invaded the system itself. Communication had become pathological. We can see here, perhaps, the vestiges of an early harbinger of telegraphy playing themselves out: the optical telegraph, so clearly anthropomorphic, can surely be considered a scaled-up, dumbed-down extension of eighteenth-century automata, with their feedback loops, programmable operations and simulations of consciousness. Scholars of automation have noted how the critical purchase of automata waned in the nineteenth century, moving from the realm of legitimate scientific enquiry to fairgrounds, shows and other spectacles; the telegraph, however, seems to provide an alternative trajectory for some of the ideas contained in the dream of artificial life.[19] If it was not a simulation as such, the telegraph nonetheless evoked a machine-human body—a body, moreover, with the potential to revolt or subjugate its human masters. By the 1870s, this technological nightmare was enacted directly on the bodies of the *bureau central*'s overwhelmed workers. In Hugo's poem, the waving limbs of the telegraph of 1819 affected casual observers on the ground, even if they did not understand its nefarious political messages, but the machine operated in plain sight and could be avoided, whereas the collateral effects of the 1875 telegraph were largely absorbed by those poor souls who operated the Hughes and Morse machines.

Fig. 6. Maxime du Camp, Westernmost Colossus of the Temple of Re, Abu Simbel, 1850, salted paper print from paper negative, 22.8 x 16.5cm. Gilman Collection, Gift of the Howard Gilman Foundation, 2005, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Perhaps to get away from the infernal, driving noise of the transmission room du Camp retreated to the lower depths of the *bureau*, to the realm of mice and spiders. Here he passed a "mysterious" door, barred to the public, where, as if in one of his earlier photographs of Egyptian monuments semi-concealed by drifting sand (Fig. 6), the remnants of a previous

age were gradually revealed, obscured partially by the sediment of time's passage. If the transmission room was dominated by an accelerating, disciplining clock-time, here time went backwards, but was no less configured by established power dynamics.[20] This is where news came that was not meant for "little people like you and me"—the deaths of emperors and kings, revolutions, abdications, peace treaties, declarations of war, assassinations, royal marriages and princely births—information regarding world historical events that required extensive mediation before it could be let loose on an unsuspecting public, and which, du Camp observed, speculators at the Bourse would have killed to get their hands on.[21] This room harboured the secret information so intrinsic to the telegraphic enterprise since its systematization in the 1790s.[22] This is where fantasies of capitalist accumulation came to be realised, although only retrospectively, impotently, in the form of privileged information transmitted by a continually changing technology, situated always on the precipice of the outmoded. All that is solid melts into air. And here, in a little room on the ground floor, far away from the open, cloudless sky so necessary to the aerial forerunners for which the building was constructed, lurked four machines which for five years in the 1860s had promised to send images through time and space, but which, by the time of du Camp's investigation, had already begun their slide into disrepair and neglect.

Apparitions

These machines were pantelegraphs, the invention of an Italian priest, Giovanni Caselli, registered in 1861 and brought into official service in 1863.[23] "Everyone knows," du Camp writes, "that this device, which is electro-chemical, reproduces in *facsimile* everything that one can draw on paper: a portrait drawn in pen, submitted to the influence of the machine in Lyon, will be photographed, so to speak, by the apparatus in Paris."[24] Located between the subheadings "Mystère" and "Sorcellerie" in du Camp's text, this machine was itself a hybrid. Formed from an etymological conjunction of "telegraph" and "pantograph," its name imparted a confident universality to this kind of transmission that was not supported by the range of different technologies that ran alongside it at this time, competing for a share in the market.[25] Whereas Chappe's aerial semaphore operated by visual means, and gave rise in turn to an array of visual images that documented its incongruous appearance on rooftops and church towers across France, the pantelegraph's operation did not depend on an operator discerning a visual sign and conveying it to the next outpost. Rather, it offered, for the first time, the miraculous ability to send pictures down a telegraph line. Contained in the dark rooms of the telegraphic *bureau*, the pantelegraph did not figure *as* image, but instead gave rise to images of its own making.

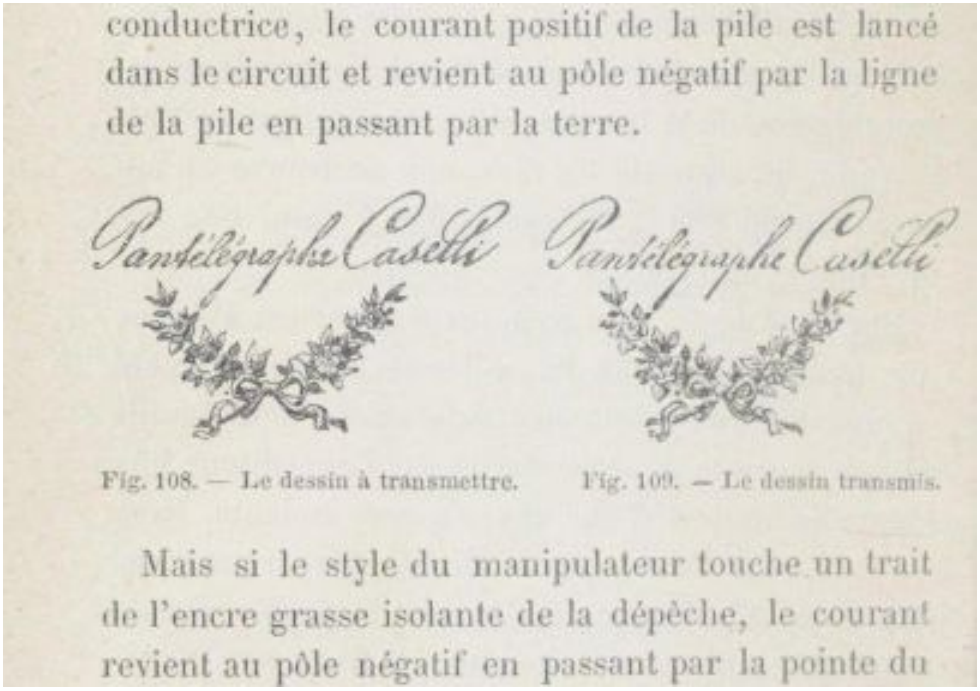
Fig. 7. Giovanni Caselli and Paul Gustave Froment, Télégraphe autographique système Caselli dit Pantélégraphe, 1861. © Musée des arts et métiers-CNAM, Paris/Pascal Faligot

Fig. 8. Giovanni Caselli and Paul Gustave Froment, Detail of pantelegraph transmission and reception plates, 1861. © Musée des arts et métiers-CNAM, Paris/Pascal Faligot

The pantelegraph took the form of an elegant A-shaped frame, approximately two metres in height, bisected by a heavy pendulum that hung its length (Fig. 7). The device transmitted messages to an identical machine at the destination, to which it was connected by an electrical cable. On one side of each device a pair of curved copper plates provided a support for the transmission of dispatches, one to send and one to receive incoming messages (Fig. 8). The user drew or wrote their message on a sheet of tin or metallized paper in non-conducting ink. Clips attached this sheet to one of the curved plates. The swinging pendulum animated a stylus that scanned the message by moving across it in a series of parallel lines, while on the other plate incoming messages were inscribed. One movement of the pendulum corresponded to the movement of one line. Extremely accurate clocks, functioning independently of the electrical current of the telegraphic cable to minimise atmospheric variation, ensured that syncopation between the two machines was perfect. Each time the stylus passed the non-conducting ink, it broke the signal, enabling an exact replica of the message to be produced at the other end, as long as the timing was correct. At the destination apparatus, a sheet of paper impregnated with potassium ferrocyanide was attached to the receiving plate. Those parts of the paper that were subject to an electrical current passing through the stylus were marked in Prussian blue, by virtue of a chemical reaction with the

paper (Fig. 9). Earlier attempts at electrochemical telegraphy—the Davy machine of 1839 or Alexander Bain's device of twelve years later—had been limited to the transmission of figures and pre-set signs.[26] The pantelegraph was the first such device to transmit faithfully other kinds of inscription: portraits, signatures, plans, or in fact any image that could be drawn on the surface of the tin (Fig. 10). Over a decade before the implementation of telephone lines, it realised the possibility that images too might transcend their rootedness in a single place and time to appear, almost simultaneously, at another location.[27]

Fig. 9. Specimen of outputs of different telegraphs, with pantelegraph images at top, 1867. © Musée des arts et métiers-CNAM, Paris/Pascal Faligot


conductrice, le courant positif de la pile est lancé dans le circuit et revient au pôle négatif par la ligne de la pile en passant par la terre.

Pantélégraphe Caselli

Pantélégraphe Caselli

Fig. 108. — Le dessin à transmettre.

Fig. 109. — Le dessin transmis.

Mais si le style du manipulateur touche un trait de l'encre grasse isolante de la dépêche, le courant revient au pôle négatif en passant par la pointe du

Fig. 10. From Paul Laurencin, Le télégraphe terrestre, sous-marin, pneumatique : histoire, principes, mécanismes, applications, règlements, tarifs, etc. (Paris: J. Rothschild, 1877). Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

The pantelegraph is often described as a forerunner of the fax machine.[28] Yet now that the many forms of image transmission that preceded the digital—CRT television and faxes, for instance—have themselves become extinct, visible only as fossilised forms or as vehicles for the nostalgia industry, the association between the pantelegraph and these "modern" forms of communication can no longer be assimilated as assuredly into a narrative of technological progress. Furthermore, where it has been discussed as anything other than a quaint forerunner to a technology whose potential was not realized at the time, the pantelegraph has tended to be incorporated into a history of telegraphic communication that has focused on the transmission of written characters. How might this all appear differently if we shift the focus to the imagistic potential of the pantelegraph, which was in fact its primary innovation in the minds of many contemporary observers?

Pantelegraphy imparted a powerful visual message, although rather than maintaining a strict division between image and text we might do better to consider the pantelegraph in the light of Lisa Gitelman's persuasive case for the representative function of technological objects and technological knowledge, as embedded in and produced by a rhetorical, discursive field of inscriptions.[29] Indeed, Gitelman observes that Edison's phonograph (her main object of study) emerged "amid a cluster of mutually defining literary practices, texts and technologies, among them shorthand reporting, typescripts, printing telegraphs, and silent motion

pictures."[30] The inscriptive functions of Caselli's pantelegraph were likewise enfolded within a broad range of objects, ideas and practices and had numerous conceptual and material affinities with other "new media" in the visual ecology of nineteenth-century France, as well as with more established forms of representation. Indeed, the admittedly happenstance coincidence of Caselli's invention with that transitional moment in narratives of Modernist painting, the Salon des refusés held apart from the official display at the Palais de l'Industrie in 1863, throws both events into a new kind of relief. While one was met with Imperial approbation and the other official veto, in both cases the movement of images was invoked as a marker of both novelty and legitimacy. Displacement could dilute an image's authority, but it might equally provide alternative forms of validation. Although avant-garde art's endorsement of individual artistic creativity was largely at odds with the pantelegraph's diffusion of images, at this moment they were grounded in a shared faith that the image apart, moved to a different place, might offer a superior truth, and contain a greater potential to speak to modern conditions, than that which adhered to images left behind at an original location.

It is hard to escape the sense that sending an image so that it might appear in identical form elsewhere would have registered as a crucial moment in the history of mechanical reproduction, as well as announcing a paradigm shift in the history of how we encounter images more generally. Surely it *must* have changed everything? Yet the pantelegraph did not, in and of itself, transform inexorably the temporality and authenticity of visual images. In commercial terms, at least, it failed. Following his arrival in Paris in 1857 Caselli had benefited from the assistance of Paul Gustave Froment, to whom he had been recommended by the renowned physicist Léon Foucault, and the two collaborated together on the design of the pantelegraph. The invention was the subject of a great deal of interest in the French scientific community, and was initially a great success, attracting the support of Napoleon III, who suggested that Caselli use the Parisian telegraph lines to conduct his experiments. In 1863 Caselli received authorisation for the commercial exploitation of a line from Paris to Marseille, and also experimented with a pantelegraph line between London and Liverpool. However, within a decade the pantelegraph had ceased to operate. It never achieved a sufficient number of users, and did not survive the traumatic events of 1870-71.[31]

Poorly supported by the "Société anonyme du télégraphe pantographique Caselli," set up to defend and market the invention, the pantelegraph was introduced at a difficult moment in the aftermath of the shift from the Chappe system and the abolition of a state monopoly on telegraphic transmission. Telegraphic companies refused to charge lower prices for handwritten messages (in fact they charged more) and the system was compromised by laws introduced to appease the anxieties of powerful interests threatened by the transition away from state control. These laws were particularly hostile to the visual dimension of

pantelegraphy. They required that all messages be sent in an intelligible language and include the signature of the sender, and in apprehension of the possible seditious uses to which telegraphy might be put, they did not respond favourably to a device that could send maps, drawings, or coded messages. Finally, although one of the pantelegraph's key uses was the transmission of signatures for banking purposes, Morse code already provided an effective means of sending figures, and the expense ultimately proved prohibitive.[32] The device was picked up in China and used to transmit idiographic characters (two Chinese emissaries visited Froment's lab as early as 1863), although an attempt in 1884 to export the pantelegraph from Italy to China broke down.[33] While Jules Verne may have included a pantelegraph in his vision of a future Paris in his novel *Paris au XXe. siècle*, crediting Caselli with its invention, no unbroken chain links the pantelegraph to the devices that succeeded it.[34] There is no forgotten history of technological triumph to be recuperated here, and any effects we might attribute to pantelegraphy ultimately transcend the technology itself.

Fig. 11. Tableau présentant des manuscrits et dessins obtenus avec le télégraphe autographique dit pantélégraphe de Caselli, 1861. © Musée des arts et métiers-CNAM, Paris/Pascal Faligot

Despite the legal restrictions that subordinated the telegraphic image to the text that accompanied it, the blue drawings transmitted by the pantelegraph remained firmly within the realm of the visual. The Musée des Arts et Métiers own a sheet of examples demonstrating its range (Fig. 11). The fragile little portraits in blue ink materialise the machine's promise of bilocation, while a Rosetta Stone of different texts evince a desire to assert the authenticity of

the transmissions: "There is no possible error in the transmission of autographic telegrams. The copies of dispatches, reproduced by means of an electro-chemical process, and not by the work of the employees, are always consistent with the originals," reads one. This disavowal of the hand-made is disingenuous, as the pantelegraph required a significant degree of intervention by the person making the drawings or writing the text. Occupying a conceptual, if not technical, middle ground between the image drawn by the human hand and photography's "pencil of nature," the relationship between pantelegraphy and established and evolving signs of authorship was correspondingly uncertain. What to make of these little sketches and carefully delineated orthographies? In one, Caselli himself is the subject of the image (Fig. 12). His portrait, drawn in Paris on 1 January 1867, was to be sent to a Monsieur Léon, 17 rue des Célestins, Lyon. This image reveals little about its sitter, for the portrait of Caselli is standardized, and as a demonstration piece was likely not from life, but rather appropriated from other representations.

Fig. 12. Portrait de Giovanni Caselli, obtenue avec le télégraphe autographique dit pantélégraphe de Caselli, 1867. © Musée des arts et métiers-CNAM, Paris/ Pascal Faligot

Nonetheless, thanks perhaps to the juxtaposition of the auratic presence of the person portrayed with the radical form of the image's displacement, there is, undoubtedly, something rather ghostly about these images, these magical inscriptions from elsewhere, a characteristic that did not go unnoticed by contemporary observers.[35] In Gabriel Delanne's 1909 *Apparitions matérialisées des vivants et des morts*, the ghost of pantelegraphy was harnessed to the study of apparitions from beyond the grave, as well as to the manipulation of the living. Delanne described how a "community of sensation" might allow for the transmission of images and impressions between an operator (an interestingly telegraphic locution) and their somnabulist

subject.[36] Via a mysterious process of magnetism, and by way of autosuggestion, a wound made to a photographic image might manifest as a stigmata on the skin of the person represented in the photograph. By the early twentieth century the pantelegraph as functioning apparatus was already a distant memory, but it continued to "offer an analogy for this phenomenon, because we know that thanks to an ingenious device, all trace left on the departure apparatus is reproduced automatically on the receiving apparatus located in the distance, electricity connecting each point of the two surfaces at a determined time."[37] Delanne continued to recount an experiment that took place in the studio of the photographer Nadar in front of several medical practitioners, whereby a certain Mme. O, under hypnosis, was successfully sent to sleep and awakened by exposure to a photograph that had been taken of her while under the influence, a photograph that, unbeknownst to her, had been superimposed with an identically sized photograph of the right hand of the operator. According to M. de Rochas, who recounted this story, the image of the operator's hand communicated the vibrations produced by the hypnosis to the image of Mme O, which, serving simply as a relay, transmitted them to Mme O herself. When the time came, Mme O could be woken up by blowing on the photograph.[38]

As early as 1858, a language of sorcery pervades the announcement of the "Télégraphe photographique" in *La Lumière*. Announcing Caselli's invention, the critic La Gavinie claimed that "The day is near when one will be able to write from one hemisphere to the other and communicate one's feelings, just as if one spoke to the ear. – Everyone at one end of the telegraph line will be able to share confidences or exchange his portrait. – What magician would dare to announce this marvel!"[39] La Gavinie predicted the future course the technology would take, and anticipated that Caselli's machine would prove particularly damaging to French notaries. He suggested that they would lose the income provided by their intermediary function, as anyone might sign a deed or certificate, from Paris to New York, London to Peking, without needing to be present in person.[40] The journalist took from an earlier report in *Le Magasin pittoresque* some basic information about the operation of the pantelegraph, including the claim that "To transmit by means of electricity, in an instant to a great distance, one's own portrait, or that of people with whom one finds oneself, or the view of the property where one lives, would surely be one of the finest applications of the combined findings of the electric telegraph and photography."[41] Pantelegraphy's present was avowedly visual and commercial, fusing personal identity and land ownership, and its future was photographic.

Although its images were produced at the point of reception by means of a chemical reaction, Caselli's machine was not, of course, truly photographic. However as these accounts demonstrate, right from the beginning it was considered in tandem with photography, and later incorporated into accounts of its development. As Simone Natale has observed, in the

context of the United States, Daguerre's innovation coincided with the opening of early electric lines and Samuel Morse's interest in photography, while subsequent to the demise of the pantelegraph, Willoughby Smith's 1873 discovery of the photosensitive qualities of crystalline selenium made photographic transmission down telegraph lines—in discussion since Becquerel's experiments in the late 1830s—a near possibility.[42] Yet the connection between photography and telegraphy was not formed by a concurrence between the "inventions" of either technology, for embedded within this relationship were memories of earlier developments and long-standing practices in both fields. By the 1896 edition of Frédéric Dillaye's *Les Nouveautés photographiques* a lengthy section on the history of "phototélégraphie" paid particular attention to Caselli's machine, which was attached posthumously to a longer history of photographic transmission.[43] Such narratives, which were predominantly technical in character, were preoccupied with affirming the successful progress of the medium of photography. However, four years after the publication of Dillaye's account, a more oblique, historically nuanced response appeared, in a text now taken to be a foundational, if somewhat eccentric, contribution to the history of photography. For the author of this text, photography's history belonged as much to the history of telegraphy as the other way around.

In Transit in the City

Nadar's *Quand j'étais photographe* was published in 1900, towards the end of his life. The past tense of the title is crucial, yet although Nadar had moved away from photography to focus on his other scientific interests, particularly in human-powered flight, he was still active in the medium.[44] Noting the title's strangeness, Rosalind Krauss observes that "Nadar's past tense has less to do with his personal fortunes and the trajectory of his own career through time, than with his status as witness."[45] Crucial, for Nadar, was photography's unique transformation of the world, and he stressed the extent to which it had surpassed the achievements of "the Laplaces and the Montgolfiers, the Lavoisiers, the Chappes, the Contés, all of them."[46] In an early section of this text Nadar presented a strange fantasy of image transmission, which not only referenced explicitly the telegraphic transmission of images, but which seemed to consider telegraphs more generally, and, remarkably, pantelegraphy in particular, as a form of historical comprehension.

Nadar begins his story by describing a strange correspondence that took place in the autumn of 1856. A café owner named Gazebon had written to Nadar, telling him of an encounter he had had recently with a M. Mauclerc, "an actor in transit in our city."[47] Mauclerc had convinced Gazebon that he had in his possession a daguerreotype portrait of himself that Nadar had allegedly taken "by the electric process" while the photographer was in Paris and

Mauclerc in Eaux-Bonnes, near the border with Spain. Although Mauclerc was disbelieved by some, Gazebon remained certain of the actor's credibility, having "dabbled in the process" himself.[48] Gazebon thus requested that Nadar photograph him at Pau—preferably in colour, while seated at a table in his *salle de billards*—with the promise that he would soon put some business his way. Gazebon's name rang a bell: Nadar recalled that Gazebon had in fact contacted him two years previously, also at Mauclerc's instigation, regarding a gilded copper engraving—"a masterpiece of Restoration bad taste"—that Mauclerc had assured him was highly valuable.[49] Mauclerc had persuaded Gazebon that this engraving was a collectors' item whose only other copy was, strangely enough, in the possession of Nadar. Nadar, slightly freaked by their author's persistence, ignored both letters, writing off Mauclerc as a crook and Gazebon as a gullible fool. He hung onto the correspondence though, for "It is not unpleasant and it is legitimate, in the last days of a long and sufficiently fulfilling career, to have received and to reread letters such as this one."[50]

Some twenty years later, while relaxing with his friend Hérald de Pages, Nadar was visited unexpectedly by a young man, a nineteen-year-old electrician from Clignancourt whose mother had allegedly been in service for Nadar's mother in Lyon, and who had himself worked for one of Nadar's friends. Pushing for an audience with the famous photographer, the visitor eventually wheedled his way in. He began by relaying his career to date: having already worked in Breguet's workshop, the young man had subsequently apprenticed with Trouvé while he was working on his dual-motored electric velocipede, with Froment as he developed his electric chronometers, with Marcel Desprez on his generator, and with Ader on his telephone. Each of these scientists was duly acknowledged for the magnitude of their achievements. Pride of place in this glittering vita, however, went to an invention that by the time Nadar was writing had long fallen into disuse: "I was even lucky enough to be accepted by M. Caselli to work on his autographic telegraphy. That is where, especially…"[51]

That is where… what? Transmission interrupted. An assumedly heartfelt evocation of the excellence of the invention and of the young man's memory of his career as a pantelegrapher was curtailed, for at this point, interrupted in the telling of his story, he moved, cautiously, to the subject of his visit, which was no less than the possibility of long-distance photography. Claiming to have developed a new technique, the mysterious visitor asked Nadar to grant him the opportunity to demonstrate his invention, asking that he commission one of his technicians to take, "in the isolated conditions indicated or that you will suggest yourself, with whatever model you choose," a photograph to prove or disprove his claim.[52] Nadar, as if already anticipating being photographed from afar, froze stock-still: "I did not move a muscle."[53] De Pages, on the other hand, was more effusive. "Do you hope to be able to take photographs from all distances, and out of sight?" he demanded. "I do not hope to be able to

do it, sir," responded the young man, "I already do it. But I don't know how else to explain it to you, and you will see the rest yourself: I am not an inventor, I haven't invented anything; I have only encountered something that was always there." [54]

Admitting to the two men that he had already demonstrated his invention, the visitor showed them—with a performative flourish—a cutting from "an ordinary *Courrier* or *Écho de la Banlieue*," which documented his successful attempt to photograph the town of Deuil, near Montmorency, from Montmartre. [55] The man's appeal found a receptive audience, for it so happened that the day before this encounter Nadar and de Pages had visited the International Exposition of Electricity, where they had marvelled at the exhibits, yet remained troubled slightly by the "diabolical servant" promised by the technological future, which Nadar recounted in a memorable passage:

> We had seen it invisibly discharge all duties and perform all functions, realizing all the dreams of the human imagination. Obedient and ready to execute our commands, this all-powerful yet discreet servant is unrivaled in all its forms, and is known by many names: telegraph, polyscope, phonophone, phonograph, phonautograph, telelogue, telephone, topophone, spectrophone, microphone, sphygmograph, pyrophone, etc., etc. It lifts and carries our burdens, propels our ships, and drives our carriages; it transports our voice from place to place without distortion; it writes far beyond the reach of the human hand; it reads our heartbeat and tells us what time it is; it sounds the alarm before we are aware of the fire and warns us of flood waters before they have begun to rise. Our faithful man-at-arms, it diligently stands the night watch in our stead; it regulates the speed of our missiles and routs our most powerful enemies; it reveals the hidden bullet to the surgeon's knife; it stops dead in their tracks locomotives, galloping horses, and highwaymen all; it tills our soil and winnows our wheat, ages our wine, and captures our game; it monitors the cashier at the same time it guards the cashbox; it prevents electoral fraud and may even someday make honest men of our worthy public officials. A first-class worker, a Jack-of-All-Trades-one at a time or all at once as you like: stevedore, postman, driver, engraver, farmer, doctor, artilleryman, bookkeeper, archivist, carpenter, policeman . . . and why not photographer, even long-distance photographer? [56]

As Stephen Bann has noted, in sustained examination of the text, despite Nadar's overwhelming commitment to a cult of progress and his fascination with the social and ontological implications of technological novelty, his scientific vision was eclectic and he

was averse to triumphalist narratives of photographic exceptionalism.[57] Indeed, this vision of technological supremacy bears a semblance to Maxime du Camp's dystopian account of telegraphic workers, their minds and bodies bound in servitude to an incessant stream of everyday and official information that is ours, not theirs. This is technology as regulating device—"it monitors the cashier at the same time it guards the cashbox"—in the service of capital. Nadar's description represents technology, with telegraphy in a lead role among the other inscriptive devices listed, as both supra-human and sub-human, operating above the level of our own capacities and at the same time beneath contempt. The trope of machines as servants was hardly a new one at the turn of the twentieth century, yet it is worth stressing that telegraphic workers had, since the earliest days of the Chappe system, been considered particularly worthy of pity, if not empathy. The mechanism of the Chappe telegraph required that its operators replicate in miniature, by manipulating small handles, the same manoeuvres as the signal arms they controlled. They were thus viewed as inseparable from the apparatuses themselves; du Camp's description of the robotic telegraphic workers of the 1870s took this to its logical conclusion. Furthermore, the cold and cramped conditions the Chappe operators endured, and the strain on their eyesight produced by staring through a telescope for long hours from an isolated turret, were thought to produce particularly enervating effects. "Living chrysalises," Alexandre Dumas termed them in the *Count of Monte Cristo*, "poor wretch[es]," "genii, sylphs, gnomes," "fagged to death with cabals, factions and government intrigues," their monotonous lives wasted watching a "white-bellied, black-clawed fellow insect, four or five leagues distant."[58]

The telegraph's zoomorphic affinities were firmly in place before Dumas's novel, and had a long shelf life. Here is Barthélemy, writing in the 29 May 1831 issue of his peculiar anti-July Monarchy verse satire *Némésis*:

> The minister issues floods of circulars;
> Everywhere the telegraph, obscure vocabulary,
> Bringing a clear meaning to the attentive prefects,
> Like a cut snake, wriggling in the air.[59]

And here is Aby Warburg, at the end of a 1923 lecture published in English in 1939 as "A Lecture on Serpent Ritual," drawing a sharp comparison between modern communications technology and primitive thought, as typified by the Pueblo Indian cult of the serpent:

> And away above his top hat runs the electric wire. In this copper-snake, invented by Edison, he has wrested the lightning from nature. The American of to-day no longer worships the rattle-snake….Electricity enslaved, the lightning held captive in the wire, has produced a civilization which has no use for heathen poetry. [60]

Warburg's remarks concern a photograph of an "Uncle Sam in his tall hat" he had captured in 1896 walking past an unidentified pseudo-classical rotunda on a San Francisco Street (in fact the former City Hall, completed in 1899 and destroyed in the 1906 earthquake) (Fig. 13). This figure exemplified the type of man whose technological rationalism dispensed with the cult of the serpent and overcame an indigenous fear of lightning. Warburg's suspicion of the ability of Enlightenment "progress" to answer the fundamental questions of human existence found an eloquent metaphor in the electric telegraph, which, alongside the telephone, he derides for "destroying the cosmos." [61] A final example: for Roland Barthes, describing the Eiffel Tower, Paris's most prominent communications mast, it was photography alone that was able to reveal its unique characteristics:

> Photography, which often tells us the whole truth about an object, perhaps offers another metamorphosis: animal metamorphosis. Whether we think of it as an insect with a hard thorax whose legs have been ripped off, or we see it rising up into the sky like a wingless bird that is trying to push itself up higher, way above the clouds, or whether it appears, finally and more prosaically, like a huge giraffe put there for the sole purpose of inspiring awe among Parisians…there is a virtual animality to the tower. [62]

Warburg's and Barthes's turns to animal metaphor, clearly distinct in intention though they are, are notable for the way in which they invoke an analogical language that had long attended telegraphy, even its pre-electric forms. [63] The line that connects Dumas's "black-clawed insect" to Warburg's "copper-snake" is one that also connects Dumas's wretched telegraphers and Warburg's diminished world. Similarly, Nadar's technological imaginary at the International Exposition was filtered through nearly a century of critique of telegraphy's complex dialectic between human, machine and animal, stillness and movement, exploitation and progress, dead media and those that still pulsed.

Fig. 13. Aby Warburg, Uncle Sam, 1896. The Warburg Institute, London

The first International Exposition of Electricity, to which Nadar likely referred, took place at the Palais de l'Industrie on the Champs-Elysées in autumn 1881 on the initiative of Adolphe Cochery, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, following a smaller display at the Exposition Universelle of 1878. If Nadar's description seems functionalist in tone, his book as a whole is infused by its reflection upon an earlier point in the nineteenth century, when the role of technology—contra Warburg—seemed neither so fixed nor so utilitarian. As John Tresch has described, the period until 1848 might be characterized by a confluence of seemingly opposed mechanist and romantic scientific worldviews.[64] Tresch recounts the role of spectacular, subjective, transformative machines in establishing truth, and notes the participation of scientists such as Arago and Foucault in the phantasmagoric operatic spectacles of Berlioz or Meyerbeer. These composers, too, demonstrated a consistent interest in technological advances; Berlioz proposed at one point the use of an electric telegraph to keep players in time.[65] Honoré Daumier, who depicted Chappe telegraphs in a number of his prints, pointed

to this meeting of art and science in a lithograph published in *Le Charivari* in April 1859, shortly before the introduction of the pantelegraph, but in the hiatus after the withdrawal of the Chappe system (Fig. 14). Showing three conductors raised above a massed crowd, Daumier's print refers to the "grand festival des orphéonistes" at the Palais de l'Industrie, which took place under the rubric of the 1859 World Exhibition. The text accompanying the image makes explicit that this is indeed, an "alliance de la télégraphie et de la musique."

Fig. 14. Honoré Daumier, Souvenir du Grand Festival des Orphéonistes. Aspect de la salle. – Plan, coupe, hauteur et élévation des chefs d'orchestre – Alliance de la télégraphie et de la musique, published in Le Charivari, 2 April 1859, lithograph in black on white wove paper, 20.8 x 26.5cm. William McCallin McKee Memorial Endowment 1953.591. The Art Institute of Chicago

We might also read an 1861 etching by Félix Braquemond's after Nadar's portrait of Meyerbeer in this context (Fig. 15). Braquemond's print remediates Nadar's photograph but also ironizes it, mock-heraldic grotesques and cartouches within the platemark sending up the composer and orchestrating a multiplicity that tests the limits of different media: print, drawing, and photograph. But Braquemond's sketches and scribbles in graphite, black ink, and orange pencil also speak to the condition of transmission—spectacular transmission at that—that characterised the careers of both Nadar and Meyerbeer. Like the slight fading of the image in a pantelegraphic message, the cartouches are repeated across the surface of the paper at varying densities, some of them split laterally between finished and unfinished

sides of the same image, as if mid-transmission. This is less a matter of a direct causal relationship between telegraphy and the print than an instance of an image's animation by, and interrogation of, new possibilities for mechanical reproduction. Coincident with Caselli's invention, Braquemond's defaced portrait of Meyerbeer is overlaid by an accretion of archaic decoration and whimsical masks that acknowledge the theatrical character of Meyerbeer's practice and its evolution in a climate of serially appearing, ghostlike reproductions. [66]

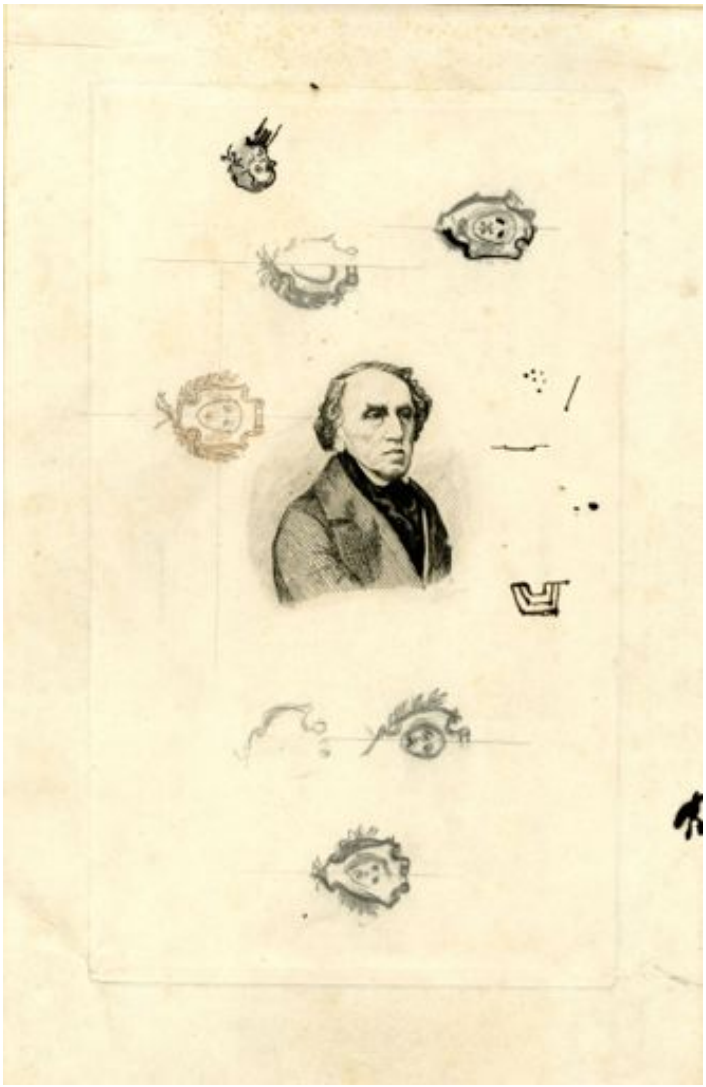


Fig. 15. Félix Braquemond, after Nadar, Giacomo Meyerbeer, c.1861, etching touched with graphite, black ink, and orange chalk, 24.2 x 14.1cm. © Trustees of the British Museum, London

Returning to *Quand j'étais photographe*, at this point in his account, Nadar himself succumbed to a strange hallucination, an optical illusion in which his friend de Pages' features merged with those of the young visitor, revealing "a kind of diabolical mask which slowly took on

the form of a face I had never seen before but that I recognized immediately: Mauclerc, Machiavellian Mauclerc, 'in transit in our city'; the electric image mockingly reared its head at me from the land of Henri IV."[67] As if in one of Francis Galton's composite photographs, superimposition of features revealed a criminal "type" that transcended location in a particular time and place.[68] It recalled too Balzac's eidolic theory of spectres, and perhaps, the autosuggestive images of Mme. O and her ilk produced in Nadar's studio. However, it also pointed to ways of tracking information across time that were not unique to photography. Nadar's hallucination was a photographic effect, certainly, but rather than allude solely to the temporal consequences of photography, it was grounded in the shared histories of photography and telegraphy.

The actual mechanics of the young man's proposed method were somewhat shady. The visitor stressed that no connecting wires were necessary, for the machine depended on the conducting properties of air alone. Having relieved an ironically amused Nadar of two *louis*, the young man left, swearing to return twelve days later. Needless to say (although the story is not resolved fully) we are left to assume that this never happened, that the two men had been scammed, albeit knowingly, by a consummate racketeer, and that the ghost of Mauclerc continued to stalk the streets. Pushed by de Pages as to whether he still denied the feasibility of long-distance photography, Nadar affirmed his agnosticism, refusing to deny or confirm the possibility. Two addenda to the section bring the story right up to date. A first postscript notes the recent work on precisely this technical question by Dr Ed. Liesegang of Vienna, citing an article in the *British Journal of Photography* "in which we may finally see Mauclerc discredited and Gazebon rehabilated." A final P.P.S. is even more adamant, asserting a contemporaneity that surpasses not only the long-ago story of Mauclerc and Gazebon, but exceeds even its later recounting, making sure that readers are in no doubt that the text occupies the time of the now: "P.P.S. This morning the first successful wireless telegraph message was transmitted across the English Channel by Marconi. Is there any dream too extravagant?" Nadar signs off, finally, "Marseille, June 99."[69]

When Nadar was a photographer, he tells us, the mysterious young fraudster who visited him was a telegrapher. Telegraphy, like photography, walked a fine line between truth and falsehood, fraud and sincerity. Nadar's visitor in *Quand j'étais photographe* was not an oppressed and exploited telegraphic worker, or even a sublimated form thereof. Rather, in his humble work shirt, he carried the brio of the impetuous, creative inventor, despite his claim to the contrary that he was just repeating pre-existing innovations, including those of Nadar himself. Caselli's device, after all, was (like photography) artistic in tone, if often bureaucratic in application (again, like photography), and as du Camp had observed, it occupied a different conceptual and physical space to the massed ranks of telegraph operators at the *bureau central*.

Nadar encounters this young man, if not as an equal, then as a fellow traveller, although this figure also operates as a cipher for significant changes in both media, transitioning between pantelegraphy and Marconi's success. For Krauss, Nadar's scepticism was another iteration of his commitment to photography's indexical qualities, his conviction that "photography can only operate with the directness of a physical graft."[70] Yet the text unfolds over a long time, bringing together a half-forgotten exchange from 1856 with a story from the 1880s and its telling in 1899. Nadar's "P.P.S." regarding Marconi challenges his own scepticism, affirming the subtly dialectical quality of his approach, for while pantelegraphy may have "failed" where photography transparently "succeeded," photography's future now looks likely to be realised by telegraphic means, reanimating Caselli's long-moribund project in the process.

As Bann has described, *Quand j'étais photographe* is not only one of the first attempts by a contemporary practitioner to document the history of photography's early industrial forms; it demonstrates too Nadar's particularly self-aware understanding of the relationship between images and history.[71] This is a relationship that extends into the future, for the conceptual attraction of the story is, Bann contends, an affinity between long-distance photography and "what we now banally term 'television'."[72] Nonetheless, "the moment has not yet come," for Nadar seems to articulate something that has not yet transpired, and will not for some years.[73] But is it "Nadar"—that curious confection of self and other in the photographer's memoir-story—who does this? Or is it rather the strange visitor, with his tall tale of previous work on Caselli's machine, who ventriloquizes for Nadar photography's displacement of bodies in space? Nadar's narrative betrays the extent to which the early history of photography was bound up with the ways in which it might be transmitted. The pantelegraph provided a language with which to understand something that had attended photography since its earliest days: the dream, and sometimes nightmare, of an image that might move seamlessly from one place to another. Collapsing the durational and spatial aspects of the new medium, this mobile image was tied to the mobility of Mauclerc (in transit in our city) but also to the mobility of objects themselves in time (du Camp's *sic transit*).

In *Charles Baudelaire intime: le poète vierge*, published posthumously in 1911, Nadar describes a surprising meeting in the late 1830s with "a strange, ghostly figure," who he encountered on a walk through Paris with the writer and journalist Alexandre Privat d'Anglemont. When Nadar and Privat were able to identify this "apparition" they saw it was none other than Baudelaire himself.[74] Nadar gave the following description of his friend:

> Assisted by the black of the costume, the restrained, meticulous, crushed gesture recalled the successive silhouettes of the optical telegraph which was then being taken apart on the towers of Saint-Sulpice or, better, the angular gymnastics of a spider in wet weather after her thread. The relationship with our new friend was already complete, despite his reserve, because things happened in this way then, and long before the electricities of M. Edison. [75]

Striking, in this account, is the attention Nadar pays, not only to Baudelaire's physical similarity to a Chappe telegraph, but to its destruction. Baudelaire's body is framed in terms of an interregnum between the dismantling of the optical telegraph on Saint-Sulpice and the new speed of human connection forged by Edison's electric marvels. This motif situates Nadar's recollection in a particular time and place, the Paris of the 1830s and 1840s—a period to which he returned frequently in his writings. Baudelaire *intime*, Baudelaire in time. Death is always already encoded in this description, which appeared in print after the passing of both men, and which invoked, by association, photography's much commented upon ability to mediate past lives. More importantly, however, Nadar uses the time of telegraphy to calibrate and comprehend this past.

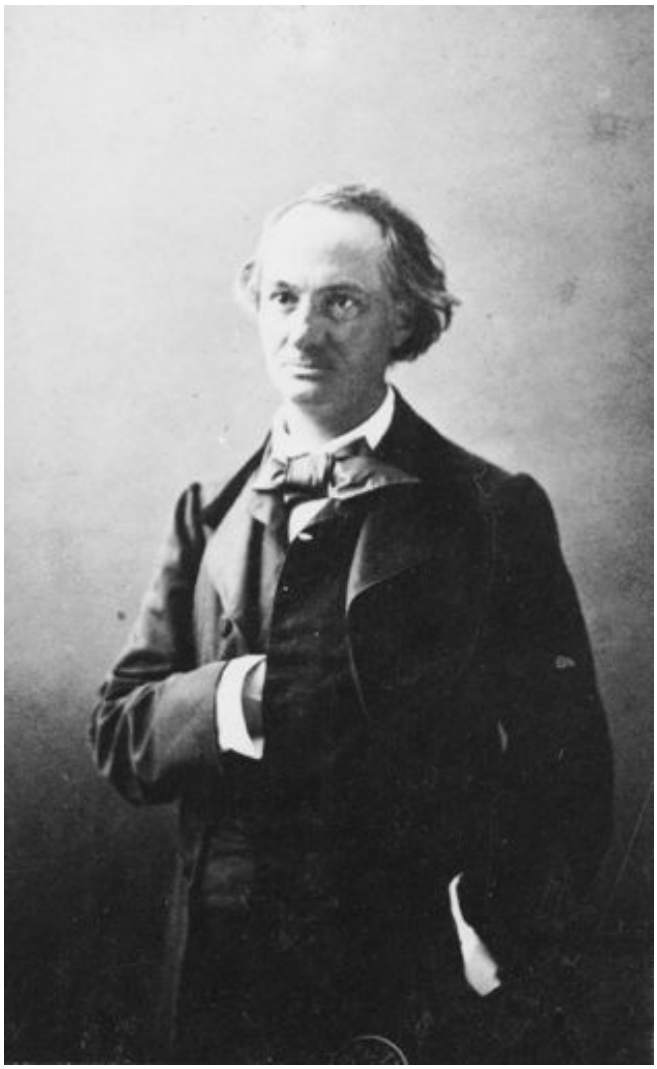


Fig. 16. Félix Nadar, Baudelaire, between 1854 and 1860, albumen print on paper pasted on card, 8.5 x 9cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

Much of the discourse on telegraphy's relationship to both contemporaneous and "new" media has focused on its electric forms, particularly those that achieved some measure of longevity, aligning them either explicitly or implicitly with a future path sometimes understood in overly deterministic terms. Yet the telegraphs with which Nadar punctuated his writing on photography had been mostly outmoded for some time—the Chappe system ceased to operate the year before Nadar's first correspondence from Gazebon—and even his references to technology from the last twenty years recalled its former, obsolete iterations. At one level telegraphy seemed to provide a useful framing device because of its longevity as a practice and its continuing relevance, a stable marker against which photography's progress might be measured. However while for Nadar the time of photography was informed by the many other devices that accompanied its introduction, such as the pantelegraph, through

these associations he also offered a reminder that telegraphy, like photography, offered a means to think the past in its complex relationship to the present and future. Nadar's late writing exploits, in the process, a fault line between a vision of photography as determined by technology itself, and one in which human subjectivity was primarily at stake. In other words, it expresses, but does not ever truly resolve, an uncertainty about the limits of human versus technological agency, and about whether photography's role was to record the traces of human time, or whether its key relation might in fact be with other machines. Nadar's image of an "all-powerful yet discreet servant" appropriating all aspects of human activity is undercut by the autobiographical tone of *Quand j'étais photographe*; indeed, it is clear that the force of telegraphy here derived in part from the way it presented such ambiguities in concentrated form, for behind every telegraphic apparatus was a human operator, however subordinated to their device they might be. Yet Nadar also knew that to speak of current forms of telegraphic communication was to invoke a technological genealogy that included the past time of telegraphy's visual world, from Caselli's little blue drawings to Chappe's network of semaphoric relays, materialised in the body of Baudelaire and captured repeatedly by Nadar's camera, his damp-spider-telegraph arm folded in jacket (Fig. 16). In this sense Nadar outlined the continuing relevance of a machine such as the pantelegraph to a world that had largely forgotten it. A cut snake—to paraphrase Barthélemy—but still wriggling in the air.

NOTES

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1. Ludwig Börne quoted in Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present: Modern Time and the Melancholy of History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 51. See also *"Die Kunst – eine Tochter der Zeit": Neue Studien zu Ludwig Börne*, eds. Inge Rippmann and Wolfgang Labuhn (Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag, 1988), 140.

2. See, for instance, the visual strategies discussed in Jillian Taylor Lerner, "A Devil's Eye View of Paris: Gavarni's Portrait of the Editor," *Oxford Art Journal* 31, no. 2 (June 2008): 233-50.

3. For an excellent recent analysis that proceeds in this direction, see Jennifer L. Roberts, "Post-Telegraphic Pictures: Asher B. Durand and the Nonconducting Image," *Grey Room* 48 (Summer 2012): 12-35. Also Roberts, *Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014).

4. For a comprehensive account of the Chappe telegraph, see *La Télégraphie Chappe* (Nancy: FNARH/Éditions de l'Est, 1993); also Gerard J. Holzmann and Björn Pehrson, *The Early History of Data Networks* (Los Alamitos: IEEE Computer Society Press, 1995). Ignace Chappe contributed his own account of telegraphy's genesis, in Ignace Urbain Jean Chappe, *Histoire de la Télégraphie* (Paris: L'Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1824).

5. On the technical operation of the Chappe telegraph, see especially Alexander J. Field, "French Optical Telegraphy, 1793-1855: Hardware, Software, Administration," *Technology and Culture* 35, no. 2 (April 1994): 315-47.

6. For the telegraph's revolutionary potential, see especially Joseph Lakanal, *Rapport sur le télégraphe fait au nom du Comité d'instruction publique, réuni à la commission nommée par le décret du 27 avril dernier, vieux style; par Lakanal; réimpr. par ordre de la Convention nationale* (Paris: l'Imprimerie Nationale, 1794).

7. Friedrich Kittler, *Optical Media: Berlin Lectures 1999*, trans. by Anthony Elms (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), 129. Kittler affords the telegraph a significant, if fleeting, role in his analysis of modern technics. Elsewhere he writes that the telegraph—"the first high-speed transmission system in history"—effectively created the revolutionary armies by enabling their connectivity to the capital. Friedrich Kittler, "The City is a Medium," trans. Matthew Griffin, *New Literary History* 27, no. 4 (Autumn 1996): 717-29.

8. Kittler, "The City is a Medium," 722.

9. Maxime du Camp, *Paris, ses organes, ses fonctions et sa vie dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris: Hachette, 1875).

10. For an account of the emergence of these two communication technologies see Patrice A. Carré, "From the Telegraph to the Telex: A History of Technology, Early Networks and Issues in France in the 19th and 20th Centuries," *Flux*, 11 (1993): 17-31.

11. Du Camp himself wrote extensively about revolutionary history, up to and including the Commune, analyzing the events of 1789, 1848 and 1871. See Maxime du Camp, "Études sur la Révolution française" in *Histoire et critique* (Paris: Hachette, 1877); Maxime du Camp, *Souvenirs de l'année 1848* (Paris: Hachette, 1876) and Maxime du Camp, *Les Convulsions de Paris* (Paris: Hachette, 1878).

12. Du Camp, *Paris*, 141.

13. Du Camp, *Paris*, 136.

14. "Que tour-à-tour j'accuse, en ma rage inutile,/Et ce siècle fécond et mon cerveau stérile;/Ce maudit Télégraphe enfin va-t-il cesser/D'importuner mes yeux, qu'il commence à lasser?/Là, devant ma lucarne! il est bien ridicule/Qu'on place un Télégraphe auprès de ma cellule!/Il s'élève, il s'abaisse; et mon esprit distrait,/Dans ces vains mouvemens, cherche quelque secret." Victor Hugo, *Le Télégraphe. Satire* (Paris: l'Imprimerie de Gille, 1819), 3. See also Guy de Saint-Denis, "Victor Hugo et le télégraphe Chappe," *Revue des PTT de France* 6 (1981): 66-71.

15. Du Camp, *Paris*, 139.

16. A description of the *bureau* in *L'Illustration*, 20 September 1888, is similar in tone to du Camp's, and relates that 542 men and 414 women worked there. *Artisans d'hier des communications d'aujourd'hui, 1850-1950*, exh. cat., Archives Nationales, Hôtel de Rohan, 9 April – 8 June 1981 (Paris: Archives Nationales, 1981), 50. The April 1894 edition of the American magazine *Popular Science Monthly* also commented on this aspect of the *bureau*'s organisation: "The employées (mark, the word with two final *e*'s is feminine) while at work are all dressed in black blouses to preserve their dresses from the oil stains liable to result from close contact with the apparatus. They are allowed to do, when their post is free, a little work in crocheting or in

tapestry." Nonetheless, the image chosen to accompany this description (Fig. 5) shows a room populated entirely by men. *Popular Science Monthly* 44 (April 1894): 799.

17. Du Camp, *Paris*, 140.

18. Du Camp, *Paris*, 140.

19. On this topic see, among others, Jessica Riskin, "Eighteenth-Century Wetware," *Representations* 83 (Summer 2003): 97-125; Jessica Riskin, "The Defecating Duck, Or, the Ambiguous Origins of Artificial Life," *Critical Inquiry* 29, no. 4 (Summer 2003): 599-633; John Tresch, "The Machine Awakens: The Science and Politics of the Fantastic Automaton," *French Historical Studies* 34, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 87-123; and Adelheid Voskuhl, *Androids in the Enlightenment: Mechanics, Artisans, and Cultures of the Self* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

20. See the classic account of the development of industrial time-keeping in E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present* 38 (December 1967): 56-97.

21. Du Camp, *Paris*, 148.

22. As du Camp himself writes, "I am convinced that nine tenths of the commercial and financial operations that the provinces make on the Paris market are ordered by telegrams that mean something completely different from what they seem to say." Du Camp, *Paris*, 143.

23. On Caselli's early experiments with telegraphy see Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati, Siena, BCI P.1/2, 1, 2, 3; BCI GDS Ritratti Porri. 2332; and R.VI.37.

24. Du Camp, *Paris*, 148.

25. On the reproduction of images via pantographic drawing in nineteenth-century France, see Katie Hornstein, "Le diagraphe de Charles Gavard et l'âge de la reproduction mécanique visuelle en France," *Histoire de l'art* 70 (July 2012): 73-82.

26. Frédéric Dillaye, *Les Nouveautés photographique; 4e complément annuel à la théorie, la pratique, et l'art en photographie* (Paris: Librairie Illustré, 1896), 208-10.

27. For a sophisticated analysis of the quest for simultaneous time in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in which telegraphy plays a key role, see Peter Galison, *Einstein's Clocks, Poincaré's Maps: Empires of Time* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003).

28. Emilio Pucci, "La transmission par fac-similé: Invention et premiers applications," *Réseaux*, 63 (1994): 125-39. A 1997 exhibition in Caselli's hometown of Siena encouraged this connection by presenting a homage to the inventor in the form of "faxart" interventions by a range of contemporary artists. *Omaggio a Giovanni Caselli. Londra, Parigi, Siena, Yamagata. Ottobre 1997*, eds. Enrico Crispolti and Marco Pierini (Siena: Comune di Siena, 1997).

29. Lisa Gitelman, *Scripts, Grooves, and Writing Machines: Representing Technology in the Edison Era* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 1-20.

30. Gitelman, *Scripts, Grooves, and Writing Machines*, 1.

31. Nicola Nosengo, *L'extinction des technosaures: histoires de technologies oubliées*, trans. from Italian by Sophie Lem (Paris: Belin, 2010), 120-38.

32. Nosengo, *L'extinction des technosaures*, 126. A single pantelegraphic message cost six francs to send. See also Alex Preda, "Les hommes de la bourse et leurs instruments merveilleux: Technologies de transmission des cours et origines de l'organisation des marchés modernes," *Reseaux* 122 (2003): 137-65.

33. On the demise and afterlife of the pantelegraph, see Julien Feydy, "Le pantélégraphe de Caselli," *La Revue du Musée des Arts et Métiers* 11 (June 1995): 50-57.

34. "Photographic telegraphy, invented during the last century by Professor Giovanni Caselli of Florence, permitted transmission of the facsimile of any form of writing or illustration, whether manuscript or print, and letters of credit or contracts could now be signed at a distance of five thousand leagues." Jules Verne, *Paris in the Twentieth Century*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Random House, 1996), 53.

35. On the relationship between nineteenth-century spiritualism and modern communications technologies see Jill Galvan, *The Sympathetic Medium: Feminine Channeling, the Occult, and Communication Technologies, 1859-1919* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010); John Durham Peters, *Speaking into the Air: A History of the Idea of Communication* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) and Jeffrey Sconce, *Haunted Media: Electronic Presence from Telegraphy to Television* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000). On this topic see also Jann Matlock, "Ghostly Politics," *Diacritics* 30, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 53-71.

36. Gabriel Delanne, *Apparitions matérialisées des vivants et des morts. Tome 1: Les fantômes des vivants* (Paris: Librairie Spirite, 1909), 373-75.

37. Delanne, *Apparitions matérialisées*, 375.

38. Delanne, *Apparitions matérialisées*, 375-76.

39. *La Lumière. Revue de la photographie, beaux-arts, héliographie, sciences*, 4 September 1858, 143. On the relationship between painting and photography as it appeared in *La Lumière*, the first journal dedicated to photography, see Ève Lepaon, "'L'art ne ferais pas mieux': Corrélations entre photographie et peinture dans *La Lumière*," *Études photographiques* 31 (Spring 2014).

40. *La Lumière*, 4 September 1858, 143.

41. *La Lumière*, 4 September 1858, 143.

42. Simone Natale, "Photography and Communication Media in the Nineteenth Century," *History of Photography* 36, no. 4 (2012): 452-454. For a subtle reading of the confluence of photography, electric telegraphy, and computing, with reference to the telegraphic transmission of photographs (although with no mention of Caselli), see Geoffrey Batchen, "Electricity Made Visible," in *New Media, Old Media: A History and Theory Reader*, eds. Wendy Hui Kyong Chun and Thomas Keenan (New York: Routledge, 2006): 35-40. On phototelegraphy's early years, see T. Thorne Baker, *The Telegraphic Transmission of Photographs* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1910).

43. Dillaye, *Les Nouveautés photographique*, 210-14.

44. See Nadar [Gaspard-Félix Tournachon], *Mémoires du Géant* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1865). On Nadar's interest in flying machines, and his 1863 photographs of helicopters (taken, coincidentally, the same year that the pantelegraph went live), see Emily Doucet, "Anticipating Machines Heavier than Air: Nadar, Photography, and the Objects of Technology," MA Dissertation, University College London, 2013. In 1840, Cham's *Croquis en l'air* brought the Chappe optical telegraph system into visual conversation with flying machines and other similar devices. Cham, *Croquis en l'air: à propos de ballons, de la chasse, du télégraphe sous-marin, de l'ambassade du Népaul, de la nouvelle Comète-Mauvais, et d'une foule d'autres événements drolatiques mais non politiques* (Paris: Au Bureau du Journal Le Charivari, 1840), 2.

45. Rosalind Krauss, "Tracing Nadar," *October* 5 (Summer 1978): 29-47.

46. Nadar, *Quand j'étais photographe* (Paris: Flammarion, 1900), 3-4. This section of Nadar's book has been published in English as "My Life as a Photographer," trans. by Thomas Repensek, *October* 5 (Summer 1978): 6-28. I have departed from Repensek's translation in some regards.

47. Nadar, *Quand j'étais photographe*, 9. Nadar returns to this phrase ("de passage en notre ville") several times during the course of his account.

48. Nadar, *Quand j'étais photographe*, 9.

49. Nadar, *Quand j'étais photographe*, 11.

50. Nadar, *Quand j'étais photographe*, 12.

51. Nadar, *Quand j'étais photographe*, 16-17.

52. Nadar, *Quand j'étais photographe*, 19-20.

53. Nadar, *Quand j'étais photographe*, 20.

54. Nadar, *Quand j'étais photographe*, 20-21.

55. Nadar, *Quand j'étais photographe*, 21.

56. Nadar, *Quand j'étais photographe*, 23-24. This translation is from Repensek.

57. Stephen Bann, "'When I was a Photographer': Nadar and History," *History and Theory* 48 (December 2009): 107.

58. Alexandre Dumas, *The Count of Monte Cristo* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1894), 78. On motifs of transmission and speed in Dumas' work, as well as in novels such as Stendhal's *Lucien Leuwen*, where the telegraph plays a prominent role, see David F. Bell, *Real Time: Accelerating Narrative from Balzac to Zola* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 76-130. On the telegraph in literature see also Bernhard Siegert, *Relays: Literature as an Epoch of the Postal System*, trans. by Kevin Repp (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 165-185.

59. "Le ministre, à long flots, verse la circulaire;/Partout le télégraphe, obscur vocabulaire,/Aux préfets attentifs apportant un sens clair,/Comme un serpent coupé, se tortille dans l'air." Barthélemy, *Némésis. Satire hebdomadaire* (Paris: Perrotin, 1833), 68.

60. Aby Warburg, "A Lecture on Serpent Ritual," trans. by W.F. Mainland, *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2, no. 4 (April 1939): 292. I am grateful to Michael Gaudio for pointing me to this reference.

61. Warburg, "A Lecture on Serpent Ritual," 292.

62. Roland Barthes, "The Eiffel Tower," trans. Richard Howard and Julie Rose, *AA Files* 64 (2012): 131.

63. On natural and artificial technological metaphors, see Dolf Sternberger, *Panorama of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. by Joachim Neugroschel (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977), 17-38.

64. John Tresch, "The Prophet and the Pendulum: Sensational Science and Audiovisual Phantasmagoria around 1848," *Grey Room* 43 (Spring 2011): 16-41; also Tresch, *The Romantic Machine: Utopian Science and Technology after Napoleon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

65. Tresch, "The Prophet and the Pendulum," 23.

66. Nadar and Baudelaire's caricatures of Jongkind, Barthet, and Clésigner, executed in the 1850s on the same sheet of paper, might also be considered under this rubric. Blibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, RESERVE BOITE FOL-NA-88. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10315488x/f1.item

67. Nadar, *Quand j'étais photographe*, 25.

68. See Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (1986): 3-64.

69. Nadar, *Quand j'étais photographe*, 35. This translation is from Repensek.

70. Krauss, "Tracing Nadar," 33. See also Eduardo Cadava, "Nadar's Photographopolis," *Grey Room* 48 (Summer 2012): 56-77.

71. Bann, "'When I was a Photographer'," 95-111. Also Bann, *Distinguished Images: Prints in the Visual Economy of Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 87-120. On Nadar's practice as an industrial photographer, see Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 105-148.

72. Bann, "'When I was a Photographer'," 111.

73. Bann, "'When I was a Photographer'," 111.

74. Nadar, *Charles Baudelaire, intime. Le poète vierge* (Paris: A. Blaizot, 1911), 36.

75. Nadar, *Charles Baudelaire*, 38-39. Recalling Nadar's description of Baudelaire's "jerky gait," Walter Benjamin noted the relationship between the poet's alarming appearance and the "shock experience" at the core of his art. Walter Benjamin, "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire," in *Selected Writings*, vol. 4, 1938-1940, eds. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 319.

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CAPITAL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:
EDGAR DEGAS'S PORTRAITS AT THE STOCK EXCHANGE IN 1879

MARNIN YOUNG

In the spring of 1879, the catalogue of the fourth Impressionist exhibit listed *Portraits at the Stock Exchange* among the twenty-five works grouped under the name Edgar Degas (fig. 1). When, if ever, the painting actually appeared in public that year remains, however, an open question. Gustave Caillebotte, for instance, reported that only eight of Degas's works had been hung on April 10 when the galleries opened on the avenue de l'Opéra.[1] Over the next month of the show almost none of the numerous critics reviewing the exhibition came to acknowledge the existence of the picture. The one exception was Louis Leroy who, in typical comic mode, noted in passing a "man's hat, under which, after the most conscientious researches, I found it impossible to find a head."[2] Although Degas's picture was also listed again in the catalogue for the next Impressionist exhibition, Leroy's cryptic aside constitutes the entirety of its critical reception in the circumstances of its historical beholding.

Fig. 1. Edgar Degas, Portraits at the Stock Exchange (Portraits, à la Bourse), ca. 1878-79. Oil on canvas, 39 3/8 × 32 1/4 in. (100 × 82 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Consequently, the standard reading of the painting's tone and meaning have only emerged piecemeal over the last century or so. In her 1991 book, *Odd Man Out: Readings in the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas*, Carol Armstrong gives one of the most nuanced and attentive descriptions of the work. "This place of business is not cool and clean and open," she writes, "rather, it is a murky, secret netherworld, as behind-the-wings and other-side-of-the-keyhole as Degas's foyers, loges, and boudoirs, peopled with marginalized physiognomies as suspect as those of his dancers, demimondaines, and criminals: witness the two figures behind the pillar to the left, very similar to Degas's *Criminal Physiognomies*."[3] These lurking, sinister figures do not quite present the readability of character implied by nineteenth-century physiognomy, but in their sketchy rendering and shadowed features they convey an indecipherability of action

and intent that serves as a dark mirror-image of the same.[4] Armstrong continues: "Illicit and unclean—the *Stock Exchange* is a blacker, dirtier picture than any of Degas's others—this is business conducted in secret. It is a picture of clandestine commerce, depicting the exchange of market information as a species of covert operations conducted through furtive whispers and spying glances."[5] Such a reading constitutes the dominant art historical account of the work's signification—in Degas's hands a portrait of public stock trading has become a representation of shady, back-room dealing.

Predictably, an analysis of the meaning of *Portraits at the Stock Exchange* hinges on the conflation of the stylistic rendering of its depicted figures and the cultural significance of their activity and its setting. Everyone now agrees the painting is "murky": dark, dirty, unclear, shading metaphorically into concealed dishonesty. For example, the face leaning over the shoulder of the central bearded man is, as Leroy suggests, rendered with such abbreviated brushmarks as to be completely unclear; his gesture has consequently been construed as a whispered "stock tip," suggestive of insider trading.[6] Just as the illegitimacy of this financial transaction flows logically from its dark and sketchy rendering, likewise the interpretation of the location of these traders has been elaborated from their seemingly clandestine behavior. Consequently, few would assert that the painting depicts a transparent deal on the floor of the stock exchange, and indeed most everyone agrees that picture situates its action on the exterior "steps of the Paris Bourse."[7]

The modern reading of Degas's *Portraits at the Stock Exchange* runs aground, however, at precisely this point. As will soon become clear, the evidence overwhelmingly confirms that the setting of the painting is, in fact, the interior trading hall of the Bourse. As a consequence, and despite the existing art historical consensus, the financial dealing of the depicted figures could be, and perhaps should be, construed as above-board, legitimate, and conventional. As virtually no historical reception of the work exists, it is consequently difficult to say whether or not our assumptions about the murkiness of the painting constitute a projection of our own economic and political situation. To what extent, for instance, was Armstrong writing in the wake of the Crash of 1987? For our part, can we now escape seeing the painting in the shadow of 2008? Would it not have been possible, by contrast, to see the painting as a non-critical representation of the stock exchange, of finance, of business in 1879? In what follows here I want to try—and rather modestly, I should admit—to move beyond a mere description of the appearance and tone of *Portraits at the Stock Exchange*, to the more historically situated question of meaning. What, I want to ask, did Degas intend by choosing to depict these men, at this location, murkily performing a "clandestine commerce"? Or more precisely what kind of financial transaction are they performing, and with what significance for a beholder of the work at the time? Ultimately, the argument will turn on whether the painting's representation

of their business dealing can be understood without a more precise accounting of its location. It will also hinge on the historical retrieval of the nature and significance of finance capitalism at the moment of the painting's production in 1879.

One of the things that complicates any understanding of this work as a "picture of clandestine commerce" is its possible origins as a portrait commission. Importantly, the catalogue for the 1879 exhibit already lists Monsieur "E.M." as the owner of *Portraits, à la Bourse*. Ernest May had been introduced to Degas through Caillebotte, and the three appear to have had dinner about a month before the opening of the show.[8] He had only recently become interested in collecting Impressionist paintings, and the commission for, or purchase of, the stock exchange picture is in part a result of this growing collection. Although relatively young—he was 33 at the time the work was completed—May was a well-known agent of the Banque Franco-Égyptienne, itself a quickly diversifying international financial concern founded by Louis-Raphaël Bischoffsheim in 1870.[9] In the 1880s, May became the director general of the bank. An early backer of the Panama canal project introduced by Ferdinand de Lesseps in May of 1879, he was later forced to testify following the collapse of the project and the revelations of corruption that ensued.[10] His ultimate claim to fame, however, involved the more legitimate and successful negotiations for the backing of the construction of the Eiffel Tower in 1888.[11] In later years, he ran the Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris, the bank that eventually became BNP Parisbas, now the third largest bank in the world.

Fig. 2. Edgar Degas, Portraits at the Stock Exchange, ca. 1878-79. Pastel on paper, pieced and laid down on canvas, 28 3/8 × 22 7/8 in. (72 × 58 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art

In *Portraits at the Stock Exchange*, Degas almost certainly intended to portray May in a typical work environment, the Paris Bourse. The artist first established this location in a smaller preparatory study, also owned by May, in which the action of the scene is markedly less ambiguous (fig. 2). The pastel sketch fails to imply, for example, that any kind of "tip" is being whispered between the two central men—instead the attention is focused toward their apprehension of a document held aloft by the tall man at right. The central, bearded figure wearing a pince-nez is fairly obviously May, however much his appearance might suggest a somewhat older man. Yet, the relative significance of this identification has been questioned, not least it seems by May himself. At the time of a major Degas exhibition in 1931, the banker's son insisted that the pastel be titled simply *A la Bourse* (*At the Stock Exchange*), because his father apparently never considered it a portrait.[12] By extension, Degas's choice of a title for the oil painting—*Portraits, à la Bourse*, or *Portraits, At the Bourse*, as it appears in the 1879

catalogue—should be understood as deliberate. The sitter and the setting have quite obviously been blurred, and the precise identification of the sitter or sitters (as the title implies) became manifestly less clear in the larger and more publicly-oriented oil painting.

The ready availability of the sketch has, nonetheless, encouraged art historians to establish and clarify a basic account of its iconography. In Jean Sutherland Boggs's 1988 catalogue of the major *Degas* exhibition, Michael Pantazzi gives the surest description of the scene: "Under the portico of the stock exchange, a deferential secretary or usher presents May with a document, likely a financial statement. Behind May, his companion—identified . . . as a M. Bolâtre, an associate of May's—leans forward to have a better look at the document."[13] Despite the authoritativeness of this description, it has not in fact been consistently clear which figure is May and which is Bolâtre. Somewhat earlier, Boggs herself claimed that it was May placing his hand on Bolâtre's shoulder, not the other way around.[14] Other aspects have likewise been defined without explanation. Henri Loyrette asserts that the paper presented by the red-haired man at right is a bordereau, or a document of account, but the final version does everything in its power to obscure this detail.[15] The description elaborated by Pantazzi is, it should be noted, very specifically of the pastel, and only by inference of the painting. Nonetheless, it establishes with some limited historical precision the location and the action of the figures in both pictures.

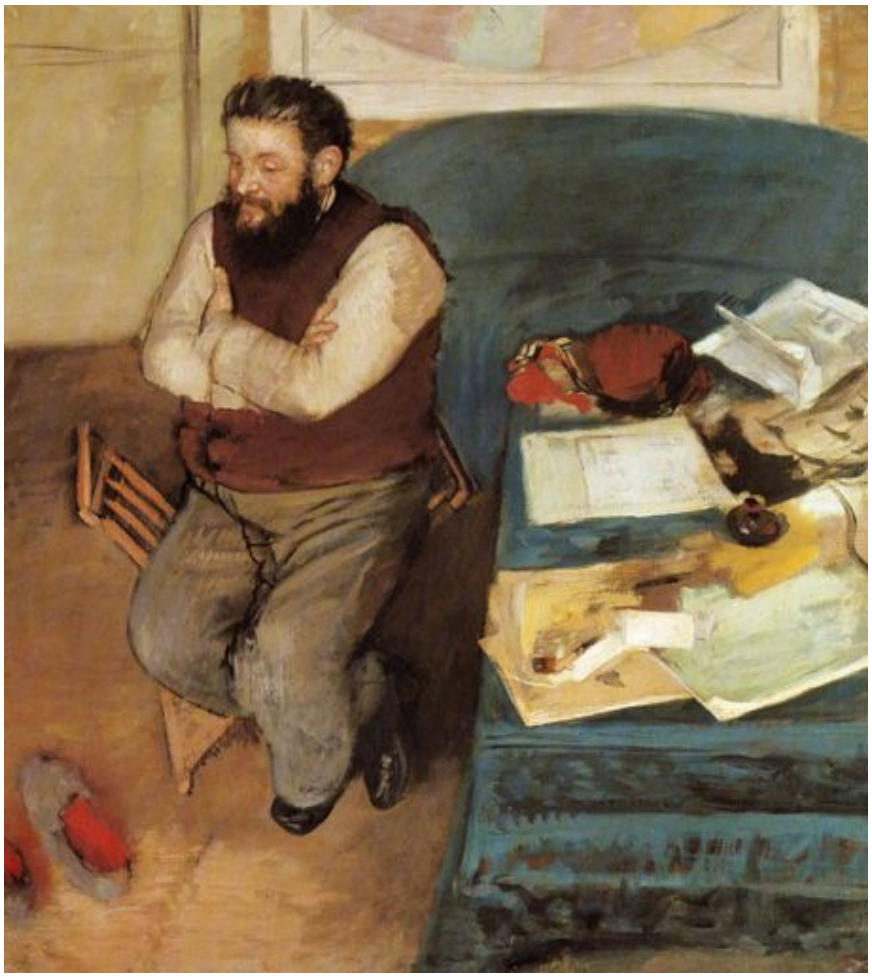

Fig. 3. Edgar Degas, Diego Martelli (Portrait de M. Diego Martelli), 1879. Oil on canvas, 43 1/2 × 39 3/4 in. (110 × 100 cm). National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh

Fig. 4. Edgar Degas, Edmond Duranty (Portrait de M. Duranty), 1879. Pastel and distemper on canvas, 39 3/8 × 39 1/2 in. (101 × 100 cm). The Burrell Collection, Glasgow

The relation of sitter and setting is significant for any historical account of Degas's work. *Portraits at the Stock Exchange* should be situated among a series of portraits executed in about 1879, each of which places a man within a specific surrounding that exemplifies or elaborates his character or profession. Portraits of Diego Martelli and Edmond Duranty, for example, appear next to the portrait of May in the catalogue of 1879 (figs. 3 and 4). Each is about the same height, and at the time each was titled a "portrait." The pastel and distemper depiction of Duranty alerts us to the intended complexity of this term. With his bookcases towering over him and his cluttered desk sweeping out in front of him, the art critic is dwarfed by the tools of his trade: they dominate the composition, enclosing and framing the ostensible subject of the picture. The writer connects metonymically to everything that surrounds him—a "Duranty" essay surely lies on the desk—not only elaborating his craft, but working through an implicit theory of the Realism he had so long defended.[16] To reapply

a phrase Duranty had written about Adolph Menzel only a few months before, Degas "was familiar with and rendered the characteristic aspect of a milieu."[17] In his 1878 review of the Exposition Universelle, the critic had originally used these words to compare Menzel with Honoré Daumier, but the fact that Degas proceeded to sketch an oil copy of Menzel's *Supper at the Ball* when it was shown at Goupil in March 1879 indicates the profound harmony between artist and critic (figs. 5 & 6).

Fig. 5. Adolph Menzel, Supper at the Ball (Das Ballsouper), 1878. Oil on canvas, 28 x 36 in. (71 × 90 cm). Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Fig. 6. Edgar Degas, after Adolph Menzel, Supper at the Ball, 1879. Oil on wood panel, 17 3/4 × 26 1/3 in. (45 × 67 cm). Musée d'Art Moderne et Contemporaine, Strasbourg

By the time the pastel portrait of Duranty appeared again in 1880, its sitter had unexpectedly passed away. Along with Degas and a dozen other mourners, Joris-Karl Huysmans attended his funeral on April 13 of that year.[18] He was thus especially attentive to the portrait when he reviewed it at the fifth Impressionist exhibition some days later—the critic no doubt sought to articulate how the work fit with the now-deceased critic's conception art. Unlike most portrait painters, Huysmans pointed out, Degas sought to show the man's authentic setting. "One needs to paint the character of the portrait sitter at home, in the street, in a real frame," he declared, "M. Duranty is there in the middle of [*au milieu de*] his prints and his books seated behind his table."[19] In this careful choice of words, Huysmans quite deliberately evoked Duranty's use of the concept of "milieu"—Menzel's evocation of "the characteristic aspect of a milieu" becomes the "milieu" of Duranty's prints, books, and table. Although possibly obscure today, both critics knew quite well the origins and ramifications of the use of this word.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Hippolyte Taine had famously attached an entire theory of cultural production to the concept of milieu. In an authoritative account of his work, Mary Morton explains that milieu can be defined as the "climatic, geographical, political, social, and psychological conditions" that serve to determine the construction of any given

individual or work of art.[20] Along with what Taine called "race" and "moment," milieu purportedly underlay all artistic production throughout human history. In a subsequent article Huysmans explicitly evoked Taine's ideas, demonstrating the critic's command of the conceptual underpinnings of his more subtle language in 1880. By this later date, however, he had come to admire art—Gustave Moreau is his example—that worked "against the grain" [*à rebours*] of its milieu.[21] Within the naturalist literary circles of the late 1870s, however, the concept was widely appreciated. For art critical purposes, it is perhaps best paraphrased in Duranty's own 1876 essay on what he termed "The New Painting": "as we are solidly embracing nature, we will no longer separate the figure from the background of an apartment or the street. In actuality, a person never appears against neutral or vague backgrounds. Instead, surrounding him and behind him are the furniture, fireplaces, curtains and walls that indicate his financial position, class and profession. The individual will be at a piano, examining a sample of cotton in an office or waiting in the wings to go onstage."[22] Not surprisingly Duranty was thinking of Degas when he wrote *The New Painting*, and it is in the artist's work that the idea of milieu plays out most powerfully.

Fig. 7. Edgar Degas, Portraits in an Office (New Orleans), 1873. Oil on canvas, 28 3/4 × 36 1/4 in. (73 × 92 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, PauEdgar Degas, Portraits in an Office (New Orleans), 1873. Oil on canvas, 28 3/4 × 36 1/4 in. (73 × 92 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Pau

Portraits in an Office (New Orleans)—or *A Cotton Office in New Orleans* as it has come to be called—served as a key point of reference for Duranty, not least because it appeared at the second Impressionist exhibition in 1876 (fig. 7). It may also have served as model for Degas's series of 1879 portraits as well—in the spring of 1878, just months before he began working on the picture of the stock exchange, the painting of the cotton office entered the collection of the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Pau, the first museum ever to acquire one of his works.[23] A comparison of the two images of "business"—one clear and American, one murky and French—inevitably rests not only on their style, which has to do with an evaporating late Realism, but on an understanding of the milieu they describe, the non-neutral "background" against which the figures stand.[24] Achille Degas, for example, slouching idly against an inside window of the cotton exchange at far left, is framed and portrayed by this setting in more or less the same way as Ernest May at the stock exchange. The difference is—thanks to the research of Marilyn Brown and others—that we know quite a lot about the milieu of New Orleans in 1872.[25] And indeed, Degas seems to have wanted the *Cotton Office* to suggest a greater transparency to its setting. The crisp lighting, perspectival recession, and fine rendering of detail all serve this purpose. By contrast, it is very hard to understand where May is supposed to be standing. The painting's darkness, flatness, and sketchiness only obscure the background and framing physical context. What, then, is the setting, the milieu, this picture of the stock exchange seeks to describe in 1879?

The Paris Stock Exchange came to occupy its present location only in the early nineteenth century. The cornerstone was laid by Napoleon himself in 1808, but La Bourse did not open for trading until November 1826. Soon enough, the building itself came to be called the Palais Brongniart after the principal architect, Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart. His instantly old-fashioned neo-classical design enclosed a vaulted and arcaded interior hall within a continuous exterior portico of large Corinthian columns (fig. 8). It is precisely these columns that give the first clue to the setting of *Portraits at the Stock Exchange*. Whatever architectural structure frames the figures of May and Bolâtre it is certainly not a Corinthian column; Degas's painting simply does not show the "portico of the stock exchange." It must, therefore, represent the interior of the building.

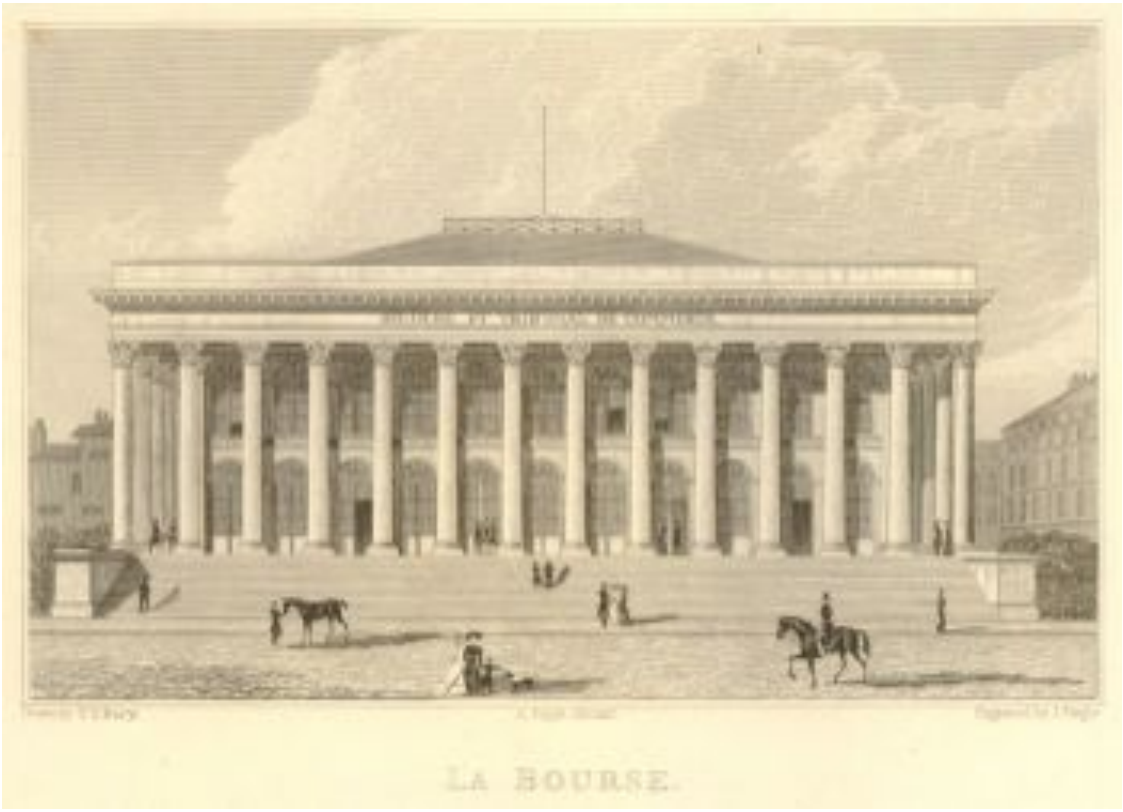

Fig. 8. Thomas Talbot Bury, La Bourse, 1829. Illustration from L.T. Ventouillac and Augustus Pugin, Paris and its Environs (London: Robert Jennings, 1829), 25

The differences between the inside and outside of the Bourse would not have been obscure to a nineteenth-century viewer. The Paris stock exchange was for many years a tourist destination listed in any good handbook to the city, and a basic understanding of the layout of the interior and the activities on the floor of the exchange can be gleaned from such period literature. Here is Karl Baedeker in 1878: "The *parquet*, at the end of the hall, is a railed off space which the sworn brokers, or *agents de change*, alone are privileged to enter. In the center of this part of the hall is the *corbeille*, a circular, railed off space, round which they congregate, making their offers in loud tones. Various groups in different parts of the hall, but especially near the parquet, are occupied in taking notes, or concluding sales or purchases, the prices being regulated by the transactions going on in the parquet, while other persons are seen handing instructions to the brokers within the parquet."[26] Matching such verbal descriptions, an extensive iconography of the interior of the bourse existed in the nineteenth century. In Edmond Texier's *Tableau de Paris*, the illustrator provides a view looking down from the visitor's gallery of the second floor of the surrounding arcade—the parquet and the corbeille are just visible below (fig. 9). A few year's later, a picture in *Le Monde illustré* takes us onto the

floor, where the frenzied transactions of the agents de change inside the corbeille take on a more dramatic tone (fig. 10).

Fig. 9. Interior View of the Paris Bourse (Vue intérieure de la Bourse), 1853. Illustration from Edmond Texier, Tableau de Paris, vol. 2 (Paris: Paulin et Le Chevalier, 1853), 158

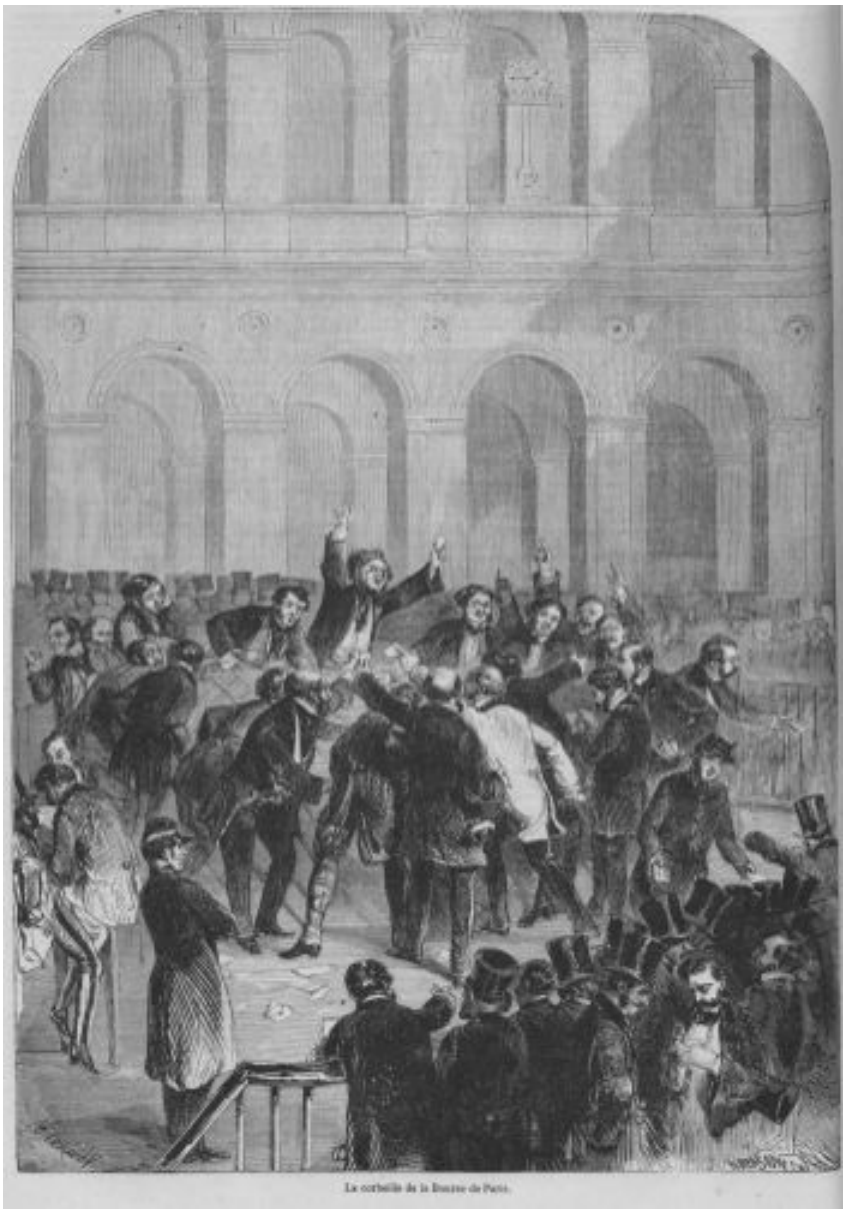

Fig. 10. The Corbeille of the Paris Bourse (La Corbeille de la Bourse de Paris), 1857. Illustration from Le Monde illustré 1, no. 2 (25 April 1857): 12

These so-called agents de change were strictly regulated under French law, appointed directly by the Minister of Finance, and limited in number to 60. They held a monopoly on the exchange of *valeurs mobilières*, that is securities, including government bonds and common stocks, and they received a set commission for these tfransactions. At the exchange, the agents de change served as intermediaries and played no direct role in financial speculation. Investors in the kind of joint-stock companies trading on the exchange were understood to receive profits primarily from corporate dividends paid out every few months. As with

government securities and state "rents," such regulated and regular profits were often grouped with pensions and property investments (*valeurs immobilières*) in personal financial portfolios.

As Thomas Piketty has demonstrated, the rate of return on such capital investments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was stable and widely understood to be so. In the novels of Jane Austen or Honoré de Balzac, for example, "the equivalence between capital and rent at a rate of 5 percent (or more rarely 4 percent) is taken for granted . . . every reader knew full well that it took a capital in the order of 1 million francs to produce an annual rent of 50,000 francs (or a capital of 40,000 pounds to produce an income of 2,000 pounds a year), no matter whether the investment was in government bonds or land or something else entirely."[27] In the 1870s, similar presumptions still applied to the understanding of certain key artists within the Impressionist group. For example, in 1879 the critic Bertall claimed that Caillebotte collected rents of 100,000 francs, probably basing his estimate on knowledge that his father's recently-settled estate exceeded two million.[28] In fact, Caillebotte shared this estate with two brothers, and his wealth in 1879 probably totaled 700,000 francs at most—his annual income from property, stocks, and bonds came in around 30,000, just about the predictable 5 percent Piketty has shown was the norm in the century.[29] In the short term, however, this norm was beginning to change.

In 1867, a new law allowed limited liability corporations, notably railroads, to float stock offerings as a means to gain capital for commercial expansion. Banks increasingly became key holders of stocks in these same companies, with investments totaling 35 billion francs in 1880.[30] The risks associated with the more speculative stock trading that consequently came to predominate on the floor of the exchange would become clear only after the Crash of 1882. They should have been obvious in 1873, when the Vienna and New York stock exchanges plunged, bringing the industrialized world into a phase of economic contraction more or less lasting until the mid-1890s, a period sometimes called the Long Depression. But in fact, the impact of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and the enormous indemnity France was forced to pay Prussia in its wake had already brought the stock indexes low in Paris, and prices on the exchange actually began to rise after 1874.[31] The value of stocks traded on the Bourse remained relatively low compared to that under the Second Empire, but trading activity reached all-time highs by the late 1870s, suggesting short-term financial speculation was becoming common. 1879 saw an especially large number of offerings on the exchange—over 3 billion—and as a result, the government authorized expanded trading in 1880 to accommodate the increased demand.[32]

Degas was of course quite familiar with these financial dynamics and their location. He came from a banking family, albeit a small-scale concern whose fortunes had very seriously faltered by the 1870s. The artist's father had incurred larger and larger debts before his death in 1874, and the sons were tasked with settling the troubled estate in the years that followed. Achille Degas returned from New Orleans to aid in the cleanup, but in turn managed only to tarnish even further the family name. On August 19, 1875, while he was standing on the steps of the Paris stock exchange, a man approached and struck him suddenly with a cane. In response, Achille pulled a revolver and fired five times, injuring slightly his fleeing attacker. Victor-Georges Legrand had his day in court the following month: some years before, Achille Degas had an illegitimate child with the woman who was now Legrand's wife. The child had died and Achille had moved to America, but with his return the two had been seen together again. The reasonable challenge of a duel had been declined, so the aggrieved husband took it upon himself to revenge his apparent cuckolding. Both men received brief jail sentences. Edgar Degas worked hard to keep this scandal under wraps, but the date of the altercation, just a few years before the artist began his portrait of Ernest May, has led more than one art historian to assert that the setting of *Portraits at the Stock Exchange* is the same as the attack on the artist's brother. [33]

The temptation is obviously great to collapse the story of Achille Degas with the portrait of Ernest May. The architecture of the building confirms, however, that the setting of the painting simply cannot be the exterior portico or the steps of the Bourse. Was May then supposed to be trading inside at the corbeille? He was not a stockbroker, nor was he an agent de change. One key piece evidence in this regard is his hat. At least in the period imagery, the agents de change inside the corbeille never wear top hats. In fact, we know May was a high-level banker who would have stood well outside the enclosed parquet of the exchange. Where then, exactly, is he standing? And with what significance for Degas's (perhaps inevitably loaded) representation of financial dealing at the stock exchange in 1879?

Fig. 11. Roux, A Circle of Stockbrokers at the Paris Stock Exchange (La Corbeille des agents de change à la Bourse de Paris), 1865. Illustration from L'Univers illustré 495 (20 December 1865): 805

Of the extensive visual material depicting the interior of the Bourse, an engraving from *L'Univers illustré* of 1865 does the best job of situating May's location (fig. 11). In the foreground of this print, waves of speculators crowd around the enclosed parquet giving orders to the agents inside, who in turn make their designated trades across the corbeille. In the middleground, all the way to the double-storied arcade at the edge of the building, crowds of bankers and financial agents attend the prices of trades and wait to jump in to the trading. In the back right corner of the hall, on two supporting piers near the corner of the arcade

hangs some kind of framed document, in front of which smaller groups stand at a distance from the central action.

Fig. 12. Roux, A Circle of Stockbrokers at the Paris Stock Exchange, 1865 (detail of fig. 11)

A similar framed document hangs behind May's head and can thus be correlated with the supporting pier on the right side of the print (fig. 12). It is evident, then, that the setting of *Portraits at the Stock Exchange* is the interior of the Bourse, but it is more precisely a corner of the trading hall, at some distance from the corbeille. As a banker, not a stockbroker, May would have bought and sold securities through his own agents who would have taken the trades directly to the agents de change. His job was to monitor prices and to give orders. This is what he is doing in the corner of the Bourse, and he would have instantly recognized that Degas's painting depicts his proper milieu. It provides the framing and meaningful

"background" to his work as an investment banker. His son was quite right to suggest that the simpler title *At the Stock Exchange* functions quite well, but May almost certainly understood that to be synonymous with "*in* the stock exchange."

The archive provides almost no evidence of the historical legibility of the painting's now rather obvious setting. No one has ever noted it. If Leroy's obscure remark offers anything to go on, however, its consistent misunderstanding since 1879 has everything to do with the deliberate lack of clarity in Degas's ultimate rendering. Whatever the limits of iconographical analysis, Carol Armstrong does not get the tone of the painting wrong. The milieu represented in *Portraits at the Stock Exchange* may have been identifiable to its intended audience, but it surely would have struck a knowledgeable beholder as willfully selective and needlessly unclear. Why, the question might be asked, did Degas make it so easy to misread the setting as the exterior of the building? Why render legitimate stock trading so murkily?

Fig. 13. Honoré Daumier, Robert-Macaire, boursier, 1837. Hand colored lithograph. Illustration from Le Charivari, 26 February 1837

Of course, there are endless possible precedents for such a treatment. With a standard interpretation of the work no doubt in mind, some art historians have compared *Portraits at the Stock Exchange* to Daumier's 1837 lithograph of the scoundrel Robert Macaire at the Bourse (fig. 13). The late-career exhibition of Daumier's art was certainly on everyone's mind in 1878, and Duranty's review of the show in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* insisted, among other things, on the especially "mephistophelian" quality of the artist's stock character: "Audacity, cunning,

coarseness, malicious and insolent pleasure are written on this face. The tall cravat, covering the chin and sometimes the mouth itself, plays the role of a mask, and adds to the deceitful associations that attach to Robert Macaire."[34] Yet the visual resonance with the 1879 painting offers only a weak comparison, and surely even Degas would have hesitated to insinuate that May rhymed with Macaire.

Fig. 14. Gustave Doré, La Coulisse de la Bourse, 1854. Lithograph, 10 1/4 × 13 1/2 in. (26 × 34 cm). Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

By contrast, Gustave Doré's engraving of the "coulisse de la Bourse" offers a more obvious source for the painting (fig. 14). Located outside the Bourse, the *coulisse* constituted a famous and largely unregulated stock market operating in tandem with the official one inside the building. It took its name—roughly the "wings" of a stage—from a previous location near a store supplying Opera décor. Originally tolerated, the outside trading activity had been curtailed in 1857 and pushed into a black market that popped up all around the stock exchange, at Édouard Manet's beloved café Tortoni, in the gallery of the Baromètre, in a casino on the rue de la Chausée d'Antin, and on the steps of the Bourse itself.[35] Twenty years later, the "outside bankers," or *coulissiers*, still made large sums from trades in derivatives, shorts, futures, and other similarly risky speculation on the actual stock prices set by the agents de change inside.

One such coulissier working for the firm of André Bourdon earned the enormous salary of 30,000 francs in 1879. His name was Paul Gauguin. To give some sense of comparison, his earnings that year exactly match those of the *rentier* Caillebotte. Some years before, in the

early 1870s, Gauguin had worked for Paul Bertin in the more menial position of *liquidateur*—a kind of money-collector and accountant—earning 200 francs a month, with an annual bonus of about 3,000.[36] Even as he began to collect Impressionist painting, to study painting with Camille Pissarro, and to contribute a modest piece to the same 1879 exhibit, he continued to earn large sums at the coulisse from speculative trades, futures, and quick, profitable stock turnarounds. Of course, when the inevitable stock market crash came in 1882, he lost it all.

At the time that Degas conceived and produced *Portraits at the Stock Exchange*, this murkier financial world was only beginning to seep onto the floor of the Bourse. Sales of shares in the Union générale bank and the brand new Panama Canal company, most famously, were just opening a decade of frenzied speculation followed by spectacular bankruptcies that came to emblematize the fin-de-siècle French economy. Ernest May was certainly at the forefront of the collapse of the two financial worlds, inside and outside the exchange. In 1879, however, the world of the coulisse and the new speculation-based economy still sat on the other side—or to put it literally: the outside—of the stock exchange. Degas's painting thus offered a portrait of May and a picture of the milieu of the stock exchange, but it deliberately invoked the blurring of the interior space of the regulated agents de change and the murkier world of the coulissier outside. It gave a sense of how unknowable, secretive, and chaotic finance was coming to be seen. For the old-school bankers and for the rentiers, for Degas and Caillebotte, for May's dinner companions in early 1879, this was a fundamentally different world of money, a world of new money.

As Robert Herbert has noted, most of the key patrons of Impressionism "were not long-established members of high society, but wielders of new money: the financier Ernest May, the banker Albert Hecht, the retailer and speculator Ernest Hoschedé, the renowned baritone J. B. Faure."[37] Herbert evokes, without fully explaining, the relation between this new money and the new painting, but he suggests it may have something to do with the "caught moment" of Impressionism, or that is, the new pictorial temporality. In Degas's case, the task of representing a new patron of the new painting involved blurring the distinction between the perceived stability of the older banking class from which he emerged and the evanescent world of finance capitalism with which Impressionism was increasingly associated.

As I discuss at greater length in my book, *Realism in the Age of Impressionism: Painting and the Politics of Time*, the underlying distinction between these two sides of the French economy was deeply tied to broader shifts in the conception, experience, and representation of time.[38] I am not the first to argue this point. "With the rapid and easy circulation of money," Michel Melot once wrote in an account of Pissarro's work in 1880, "capitalist philosophy underwent a profound change. The belief in the value of lasting equilibrium and the well-defined object [gold, land, commodities] gave way to such values as mobility, flexibility, and

a capacity to invent and adapt."[39] These new "social-economic conditions" brought forth a significant "revision of the notion of time," leaving behind the "permanence" of an older order for wealth "associated with the value and movement of time."[40] For the banker and for the speculator, then, as Georg Simmel put it long ago, "time is governed in a particular way and form," but these temporalities are different, and those differences can be given representational form in painting.[41]

Degas's picture seeks to synthesize these temporalities. Its setting indicates the slower temporality of the stable rentier economy that dominated the upper-echelons of wealth at the time and was consistent with the core function of the regulated market in the Bourse. It also shows the emerging, fleeting, fast, and future-oriented economy of the speculative market of the coulissier outside the Bourse. Or rather it depicts the former as the latter. Even in the move from pastel to finished painting, the increasingly sketchy and shady rendering accelerate the image into the sphere of the fast and unpredictable new economy. M. Bolâtre's face sinks under the dark green shadow of his top hat; two crudely-rendered men flicker to life on the left of the arcade pier; and a blurred back jolts in front of May's bordereau-wielding agent. Degas has rarely represented a set of hands so cursorily as those clutched behind this passing character. Or does the tangle of muddy pink brushstrokes imply May's right hand still clutching his cane? The slight shift in the tone of the black paint suggests otherwise, and on its own the painting more evidently shows the banker holding the document with his right hand, allowing Bolâtre a clearer view over his shoulder. Degas's quickly-dabbed brushmarks—sketchy, blurred, incomplete—create a frame for May, standing still and alone against the background pier, as the frenzied activity of the stock exchange whizzes around him. The descriptive function of this picture of the Paris Bourse thus seems to have been to collapse two previously distinct spatial configurations of economic activity, and in doing so to combine two kinds of pictorial temporality. The nearly photographic Realism of *Portraits in an Office (New Orleans)* has disintegrated, now in all its murky particularity, into the "fugitive" Impressionism of *Portraits at the Stock Exchange*.[42] Neither one nor the other dominates—setting and sitter become one—but such is the peculiar nature of Degas's art in 1879.

Amid the broader argument in his much-discussed *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, Piketty has recently pointed out that understandings—representations, we might say—of long-term economic trends are often obscured by shorter-term fluctuations. He calls this "the clash of temporalities."[43] One of the reasons, for example, that Austen and Balzac can serve to illustrate the consistent return on investment in the early nineteenth century is that intervening short-term economic fluctuations simply did not impact such returns at the time. Indeed, the *longue durée* history shows that the rentier system of wealth-consolidation persisted until World

War I, and in a sense it has returned.[44] But in periods of crisis or stagnation like the 1870s and 1880s, the appearance of frenzied speculation disrupting the stable banking of the past can be hard to dispel, and an understanding of its significance is not without its use. In any case, Degas was certainly in no position to ignore it.

Portraits at the Stock Exchange should be understood, then, ultimately, to have offered a pictorially and iconographically complex reflection on the image of finance capitalism and its relation to French economic institutions at a looming crisis moment in its larger development in the nineteenth century. The narrowness of this moment and the murkiness of its depiction perhaps do not fit well with attempts to universalize or contemporize all historical representations. But the meanings of works of art always reduce to the horizons of possibility in their making, and art historians would be well-served to attend to such moments of crisis when historical shifts destabilize conventions of understanding. To paraphrase another famous, if now long dead, economist, "Art historians set themselves too useless a task if in tempestuous seasons they can only tell us that when the storm is long past the ocean is flat again."[45]

NOTES

This essay incorporates material treated more fleetingly in my book, *Realism in the Age of Impressionism: Painting and the Politics of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015). A shorter version of the current analysis was first presented publicly in Chicago at the meeting of the College Art Association in February 2014. My thanks to André Dombrowski for organizing the panel on "The Nineteenth-Century Image of Money." Subsequently, Bridget Alsdorf, Sarah Betzer, Holly Clayson, Todd Cronan, and Seamus O'Malley have given constructive comments on the argument. As always, my wife, Gabrielle Larocque, offered immeasurable support all the way through.

All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

1. Gustave Caillebotte, letter to Claude Monet, 10 April 1879, quoted in Ronald Pickvance, "Contemporary Popularity and Posthumous Neglect," in Charles S. Moffett, *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874–1886* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986), 250.

2. Louis Leroy, "Beaux-Arts," *Le Charivari*, 17 April 1879, p. 2, reprinted in Ruth Berson, ed., *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874-1886: Documentation*, vol. 1: *Reviews* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1996), 227: "Et ce chapeau d'homme, sous lequel, après les recherches les plus consciencieuses, il m'a été impossible de trouver une tête: un chapeau indépendant aussi!"

3. Carol Armstrong, *Odd Man Out: Readings in the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 35.

4. On legibility in Degas's physiognomy, see John House, "Toward a 'Modern' Lavater? Degas and Manet," in Melissa Percival and Graeme Tytler, eds., *Physiognomy in Profile: Lavater's Impact on European Culture* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 191.

5. Armstrong, *Odd Man Out*, 36.

6. See Roy McMullen, *Degas: His Life, Times, and Work* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984), 301.

7. On the setting of the picture as the exterior portico of the Bourse, see McMullen, *Degas*, 301; T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life* (1985; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 225; Jean Sutherland Boggs, *Degas*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), 317; Robert L. Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 2; Marilyn Brown, *Degas and the Business of Art: A Cotton Office in New Orleans* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 128. There are exceptions to this rule, but they are not elaborated or defended. See Richard Shone, *The Janice H. Levin Collection of French Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 37: "in the Paris Stock Exchange (Bourse)." Despite this reading of the iconography of the pastel, the Metropolitan Museum of Art website still states that the work depicts "the portico of the Paris stock exchange." See http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/436154, accessed November 21, 2014.

8. On May, see Michael Pantazzi's contribution in Boggs, *Degas*, 316-18. See also Anne Distel, *Les Collectionneurs des impressionnistes: Amateurs et marchands* (Paris: Bibliothèque des Arts, 1989), 224.

9. For some indication of May's financial activities in the 1870s, see "Foreign Correspondence," *The Economist* 30, no. 1520 (12 October 1872): 1258; and, "Table of Cases," in *The Weekly Notes* (London: Clowes and Sons, 1879), 165.

10. See "Banquet des fondateurs du Canal de Panama," *Bulletin du Canal Interocéanique* 16 (15 April 1880): 152; and, "Déposition de M. Ernest May, banquier" [7 December 1893], in *Annales de la Chambre des députés: Documents parlementaires*, vol. 52 (Paris: Imprimerie des journaux officiels, 1898), 631.

11. See Michel Lyonnet du Moutier, *L'Aventure de la tour Eiffel: Réalisation et financement* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2009), 101.

12. Jacques-Ernest May, letter to Paul Jamot, 1931, as cited in Henri Loyrette, *Degas* (Paris: Fayard, 1991), 418.

13. Pantazzi, in Boggs, *Degas*, 317.

14. Jean Sutherland Boggs, *Portraits by Degas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 54.

15. Loyrette, *Degas*, 417.

16. On Realism and metonymy, see Roman Jakobson, "Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Aphasic Disturbances," in Jakobson, *Language in Literature*, ed. Krystyna Pomorska (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987), 111.

17. Edmond Duranty, "Exposition universelle: Les Ecoles étrangères de peinture," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 18 (July 1878): 60: "Les gestes, les mouvements me rappellent Daumier. M. Menzel est un profond observateur; les forgerons qui se tiennent

près des foyers ont l'oeil *très-dilaté* et très-brillant; je ne voudrais que ce trait pour me dire que cet artiste connaît, saisit le côté caractéristique d'un milieu, d'une situation."

18. See [Félix Fénéon], "Note," in Duranty, *La Cause du beau Guillaume* (Paris: Éditions de la Sirène, 1920), 14, reprinted in Félix Fénéon, *Oeuvres plus que complètes*, ed. Joan U. Halperin, vol. 1 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1970), 593. Among those who attended the funeral were Édouard Manet, Camille Pissarro, Jean-François Raffaëlli, and Émile Zola.

19. Joris-Karl Huysmans, "L'Exposition des Indépendants en 1880," in *L'Art Moderne* (Paris: Charpentier, 1883), 117: "Il faudrait […] peindre la personne qu'on portraiture chez elle, dans la rue, dans un cadre réel […] M. Duranty est là, au milieu de ses estampes et de ses livres, assis devant sa table." On Duranty's influence on this review, see Armstrong, *Odd Man Out*, 169: "From beginning to end of his 1880 article, Huysmans paid indirect tribute to his realist forbear, declaring himself Duranty's successor."

20. Mary G. Morton, "Art history on the Academic Fringe: Taine's Philosophy of Art," in *Art History and Its Institutions*, ed. Elizabeth Mansfield (New York: Routledge, 2002), 219.

21. Joris-Karl Huysmans, "Gustave Moreau," in *Certains* (Paris: Tresse & Stock, 1889), 21: "La théorie du milieu, adaptée par M. Taine à l'art est juste – mais juste à rebours, alors qu'il s'agit de grands artistes, car le milieu agit sur eux alors par la révolte, par la haine qu'il leur inspire."

22. [Edmond] Duranty, *La Nouvelle peinture: A propos du groupe d'artistes qui expose dans les galeries Durand-Ruel* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1876), 27-28: "puisque nous accolons étroitement la nature, nous ne séparerons plus le personnage du fond d'appartement ni du fond de rue. Il ne nous apparaît jamais, dans l'existence, sur des fonds neutres, vides et vagues. Mais autour de lui et derrière lui sont des meubles, des cheminées, des tentures de murailles, une paroi qui exprime sa fortune, sa classe, son métier: il sera à son piano, ou il examinera son échantillon de coton dans son bureau commercial, ou il attendra derrière le décor le moment d'entrer en scène," trans. in Moffett, *The New Painting*, 44.

23. See Boggs, *Degas*, 185.

24. Armstrong's description of the "murky" world of *Portraits at the Stock Exchange* in fact rests on such a comparison. See Armstrong, *Odd Man Out*, 35.

25. See Brown, *Degas and the Business of Art*; Christopher Benfey, *Degas in New Orleans: Encounters in the Creole World of Kate Chopin and George Washington Cable* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); and, Gail Feigenbaum, ed., *Degas and New Orleans: A French Impressionist in America*, exh. cat. (New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 1998).

26. Karl Baedeker, *Paris and Its Environs* (Leipzig: Baedeker, 1878), 75.

27. Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014), 207.

28. Bertall, "Exposition des Indépendants, Ex-Impressionistes, demain Intentionists," *L'Artiste* (1 June 1879): 396-97, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 212.

29. On the estate of Caillebotte *père*, see Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, Étude XXV, repertoire 18, no. 1197 (11 December 1878), as cited in Michael Marrinan, "Caillebotte as Professional Painter: From Studio to the Public Eye," in *Gustave Caillebotte and the Fashioning of Identity in Impressionist Paris*, ed. Norma Broude (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 65n.74.

30. Paul-Jacques Lehmann, *Histoire de la Bourse de Paris* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997), 22.

31. In fact it was the agricultural sector more than the financial sector that most dramatically impacted French economic growth in this period. See Jean-Charles Asselain, *Histoire économique de la France du XVIIIe siècle à nos jours*, vol. 1: *De l'Ancien Régime à la Première Guerre mondiale* (Paris: Seuil, 1984), 161.

32. Lehmann, *Histoire de la Bourse*, 27.

33. See McMullen, *Degas*, 301; and Brown, *Degas*, 128. I rely on both these sources for the details of the Achille Degas incident, which was reported at the time in the Paris press.

34. See Edmond Duranty "Daumier," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 17 (May 1878): 438: "méphistophélique […] Audace, ruse, vulgarité, méchanceté et insolent jovialité sont inscrites sur ce visage. La grande cravate, couvrant le menton et parfois la bouche même, joue le rôle d'un masque, et ajoute aux idées de mensonge que s'attachent à Robert Macaire."

35. Lehmann, *Histoire de la Bourse*, 19.

36. David Sweetman, *Paul Gauguin: A Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 64.

37. Robert L. Herbert, "Impressionism, Originality, and Laissez-Faire," *Radical History Review* 38 (1987): 8, reprinted in Herbert, *From Millet to Léger: Essays in Social History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 92.

[38.] See Marnin Young, *Realism in the Age of Impressionism: Painting and the Politics of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

[39.] Michel Melot, "Camille Pissarro in 1880: An Anarchist in Bourgeois Society," *Marxist Perspectives* 2 (Winter 1979-80): 33, reprinted in Mary Tompkins Lewis, ed., *Critical Readings in Impressionism and Post-Impressionism: An Anthology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 210.

[40.] Melot, "Camille Pissarro in 1880," 32, reprinted in Lewis, *Critical Readings*, 209.

[ft num=41]Georg Simmel, *Philosophy of Money*, trans. Tom Bottomore, David Frisby, and Kaethe Mengelberg (1907; New York: Routledge, 2011), 331.

[42.] On the period understanding of "fugitive" temporality in Impressionist painting, see Ernest Chesneau, "A côté du Salon: II. Le Plein air: Exposition du boulevard des Capucines," *Paris-Journal*, 7 May 1874, p. 2, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 18; and, Paul Mantz, "Exposition des peintres impressionnistes," *Le Temps*, 22 April 1877, p. 3, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 166.

[43.] Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, 286-87.

[44.] Thomas Piketty, "On the Long-Run Evolution of Inheritance: France 1820–2050," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 126, no. 3 (August 2011): 1073. On the rentier, see Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, 422-24; and, among others, Paul Krugman, "The Rentier Regime," *The New York Times*, 10 June 2011, A35.

[45.] John Maynard Keynes, *A Tract on Monetary Reform* (1923; London: Macmillan, 1971), 65: "*In the long run* we are all dead. Economists set themselves too useless a task if in tempestuous seasons they can only tell us that when the storm is long past the ocean is flat again."

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BONNARD'S SIDEWALK THEATER

BRIDGET ALSDORF

It is the foreground that gives us our
concept of the world as seen through
human eyes.
–Pierre Bonnard

Digression is secular revelation.
–Adam Phillips

Every morning before breakfast, sketchpad in hand, Pierre Bonnard (1867-1947) went for a walk to observe and absorb his surroundings. This lifelong practice began early, when the artist launched his career in Paris in the tumultuous fin-de-siècle period, long before he left the urban sidewalks for the greener paths of Vernon and Le Cannet.[1] These daily walks were his way of immersing himself, both visually and bodily, in the life of the city and – along with the radical perspectives and bold linear patterns of Japanese *ukiyo-e* prints[2] – inspired many of his early works. Bonnard produced over one hundred paintings and prints in the 1890s that capture the bustling pace and brisk energy of Paris. He later referred to this subject as "the theater of the everyday,"[3] and it is his particular vision of this sidewalk theater, and the viewer's involvement in it, that I will investigate here, with particular attention to how his engagement with new media mattered to developing this vision. In particular, Bonnard's use of color and his plays with space and figure-ground relations take advantage of the limits and potentials of printmaking as a medium, a medium that was more immediate and accessible yet less flexible than the painting for which he would become known. Playing off the chromatic constraints of lithography, Bonnard shuttles the viewer between foreground and background, intimate proximity and distance. In so doing he explores the duality of the street as a disorienting amalgam of schematic backdrops and looming intrusions into our personal space, both seemingly captured at the limits of our visual field. I will also suggest that early cinema offers an illuminating framework for understanding Bonnard's urban scenes, not only because it presented new pictorial possibilities for the representation of light, shadow, and (above all) movement, but also, and more importantly, because it enacted the kinds of spontaneous interactions on the street that drove the young Bonnard's visual imagination.

Fig. 1. Pierre Bonnard, Le cheval de fiacre (The Cab Horse), ca. 1895, Oil on wood, 29.7 x 40 cm (The National Gallery of Art, Washington, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Collection, 1970.17.4)

Taken as a whole, paintings and prints, Bonnard's street scenes of the 1890s model a new kind of vision that takes its cues from the constant optical interference of urban life: a vision acutely receptive to the peripheral glimpses and chance encounters of life in a city. His immersive approach to the depiction of street life – representing passersby at their own level, obliquely, and at very close range – had no artistic precedent,[4] and is all the more remarkable in that he worked from memory, re-imagining these moments of perceptual *frisson* with strangers after returning to the studio. In the paintings, which are notably small in format – often similar in size or even smaller than his prints – Bonnard focuses on the exchange of gazes between individuals and crowds. In *The Cab Horse,* ca. 1895, the foreground silhouettes of a woman and a horse cast glances across the street, inviting the viewer to gaze with them at the distant stream of people –rendered as a conglomeration of colorful dabs – filling the café terraces and market stalls (Fig. 1). In *Passerby,* 1894, a fragmented view of a passing woman is embedded in a patchwork of figure-like shapes that imply her embeddedness in a crowded street, as she pushes past our line of vision to continue on her way (Fig. 2). In *Two Elegant Women, Place de Clichy,* 1905, a similarly confrontational woman in an elaborate pink hat stares straight ahead, about to slip past the viewer across the lower-left foreground of the frame, causing a ripple effect of turns and gazes as she walks through a crowded square (Fig. 3). In *Café Terrace,* 1898, a man and a young girl seated together at a sidewalk café stare in

opposite directions, pulled away from the personal space of their table by the surrounding crowd (Fig. 4). In *The Street in Winter*, 1894, bourgeois men negotiate acts of sexual commerce at strikingly close range, and even little dogs (a Bonnard favorite) have serendipitous meetings, fleeting moments of interpersonal tension, excitement, and exchange (Fig. 5). The diminutive scale of these works serves to underscore their focus on proximate space – the minimal and often invaded margin of air surrounding the self when one moves through a crowd. Bonnard swings between this intimate space and a more remote scenery space throughout his sidewalk pictures. This back-and-forth, and the model of viewing it enacts for the viewer, is fundamental to the works' aesthetic and psychological force, and emerged, I believe, through his work with other media, most principally color lithography.[5] Although a standard line in the literature on Bonnard and his fellow Nabis is that their painterly aesthetic lent itself to printmaking, given the number and importance of Bonnard's print commissions in the 1890s and his obvious gifts for working in the medium, it seems just as likely that his graphic work shaped his early approach to painting as the other way around.[6] Either way, the dialogue between his early paintings and prints begs closer examination.

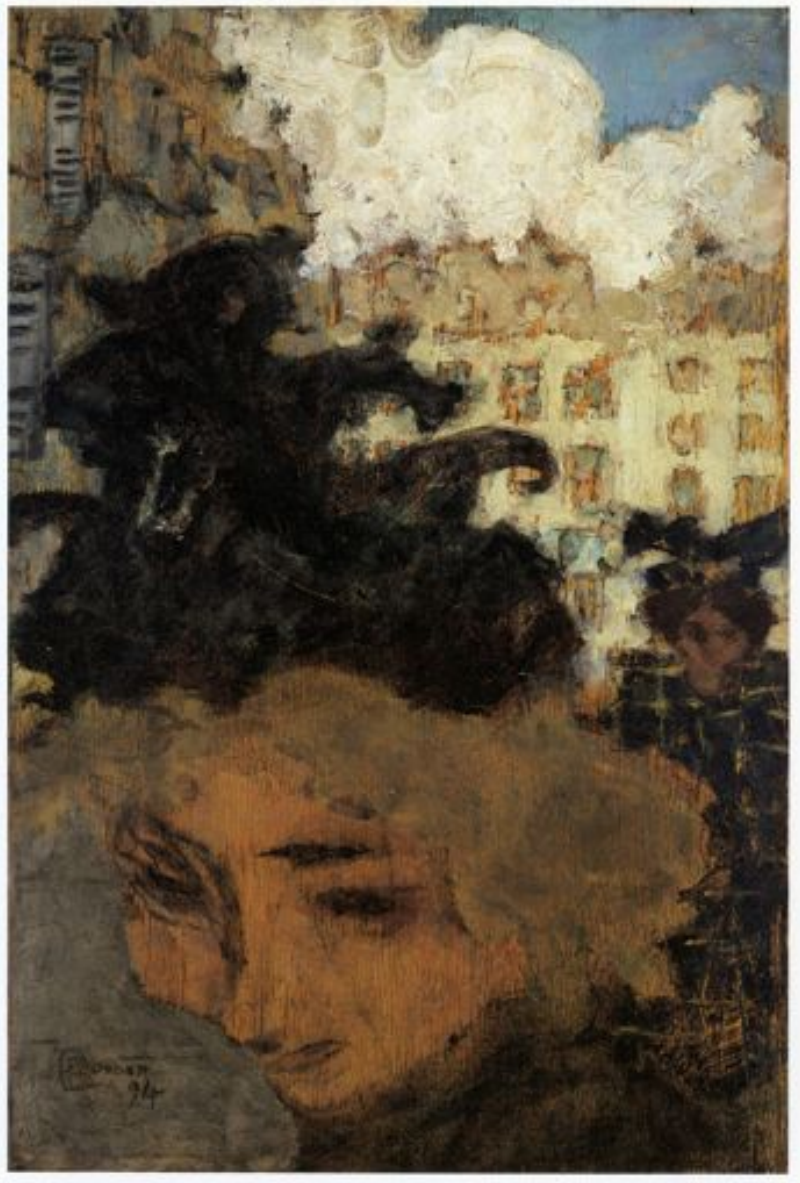

Fig. 2. Pierre Bonnard, La passante (Passerby), 1894, Oil on wood, 36 x 25 cm (Private collection)

Fig. 3. Pierre Bonnard, Deux élégantes, Place de Clichy (Two Elegant Women, Place de Clichy), 1905, Oil on wood, 73 x 62 cm (Private collection)

Fig. 4. Pierre Bonnard, Café Terrace, 1898, Oil on wood, 47 x 64.1 cm (The Cleveland Museum of Art, Anonymous Gift, 1976.148)

Fig. 5. Pierre Bonnard, La rue en hiver (The Street in Winter), 1895, Oil on wood, 26.5 x 35 cm (Dallas Museum of Art, The Wendy and Emery Reves Collection, 1985.R.5)

In his remarkable series of twelve color lithographs, *Quelques aspects de la vie de Paris* (*Some Aspects of Parisian Life*), 1895-99, we can see how Bonnard's printmaking practice generated formal and figurative strategies for picturing the everyday life of Paris's streets. Created over the course of several years, the series was published in 1899 by the leading dealer Ambroise Vollard as a luxury album produced in an edition of one hundred on fine wove paper. The Vollard album features a broad variety of compositions, from narrow, compressed views of a street or a square to more sweeping urban vistas of a boulevard, a park, or a bridge. As a whole, the album demonstrates Bonnard's idiosyncratic image of Paris as a continual shifting between close, crowded encounters on the sidewalk and more distant, detached views of elevated cuts of space, with color used sparingly for strategic highlights and tonal variation. The most compelling prints in the album show this shifting between perceptual modes within a single image.

Fig. 6. Pierre Bonnard, Place le soir (The Square at Evening), from Quelques aspects de la vie de Paris (Some Aspects of Parisian Life), ca. 1897-98, Lithograph in five colors on cream wove paper, final state, sheet: 38.1 x 53.3 cm (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928, 28.50.4[4])

In *The Square at Evening,* ca. 1897-98 (Fig. 6), carefully spaced spots of searing red serve as sinister marks of the feminine in urban life: the flowers on the central woman's hat, the bouquet offered by a man in top hat at left, and the four red windows in the right distance, probably marking the lurid lights of a brothel. The square in question is likely Place Pigalle, a lively area of artist's studios, literary cafés, and shops that was also a hub of nightlife and prostitution. Gathered under the four red windows is a loosely rendered crowd of figures who seem to be attracted by some wider windows below, peering into their yellow light at an indeterminate spectacle, perhaps a commercial display. Like the crowd of men and women in the foreground, compressed into the *left*most half of the composition, this distant clump of figures at right is framed by glowing windows at the back and the solitary figure of a woman in front, hunched over in profile as she steps gingerly across the square. Because of Bonnard's dramatic compression of this wide open area into a frieze-like arrangement of figures and his limited range of inks dominated by large, intersecting areas of black, both of which collapse and weld together layers of space, the wheel of a distant carriage appears to press down on the woman's back, and her umbrella, clutched to her side, appears to slice through her pelvis.[7] Her walk is the opposite of an easy, *flâneur*-esque stroll; she seems loath to look up until she gets where she needs to go. The solitary woman in the foreground is another figure given a sense of separateness within the crowd, stepping into the throng as

if from our viewing position. Seen from behind, her cloaked torso and fashionable hat with tentacular plumage serves as our entry point into the picture: her body blocks half of the scene, and her point of view guides our gaze to the other half, toward the hunched-over woman illuminated by a garish splash of electric light.[8] Between the two of them is another key figure dominating the center of the print: the outsize profile of a man whose rigid posture marks the lithograph's central axis (Fig. 7). His ominous appearance and sallow skin recall Edgar Allan Poe's wandering "Man of the Crowd" (1840) or the suspicious "gamblers" Poe's *flâneur* describes as "distinguished by a certain sodden swarthiness of complexion, a filmy dimness of eye, and pallor and compression of lip."[9] His features are summarily sketched, but his razor-sharp cheekbone and villainous moustache underscore the work's theme of anonymous encounter and interpersonal risk – the spontaneous and sometimes mysterious interactions between men and women that drift in and out of our view when navigating busy streets. The woman in the foreground is our surrogate for this sidewalk spectacle, and the wide-open, black, almond eye on the edge of her lost profile is positioned to suggest that although she faces the scene in front of us, she is also looking back, as if aware of being watched and perhaps, followed, too. By both facing ahead and glancing behind, she folds us into the scene.

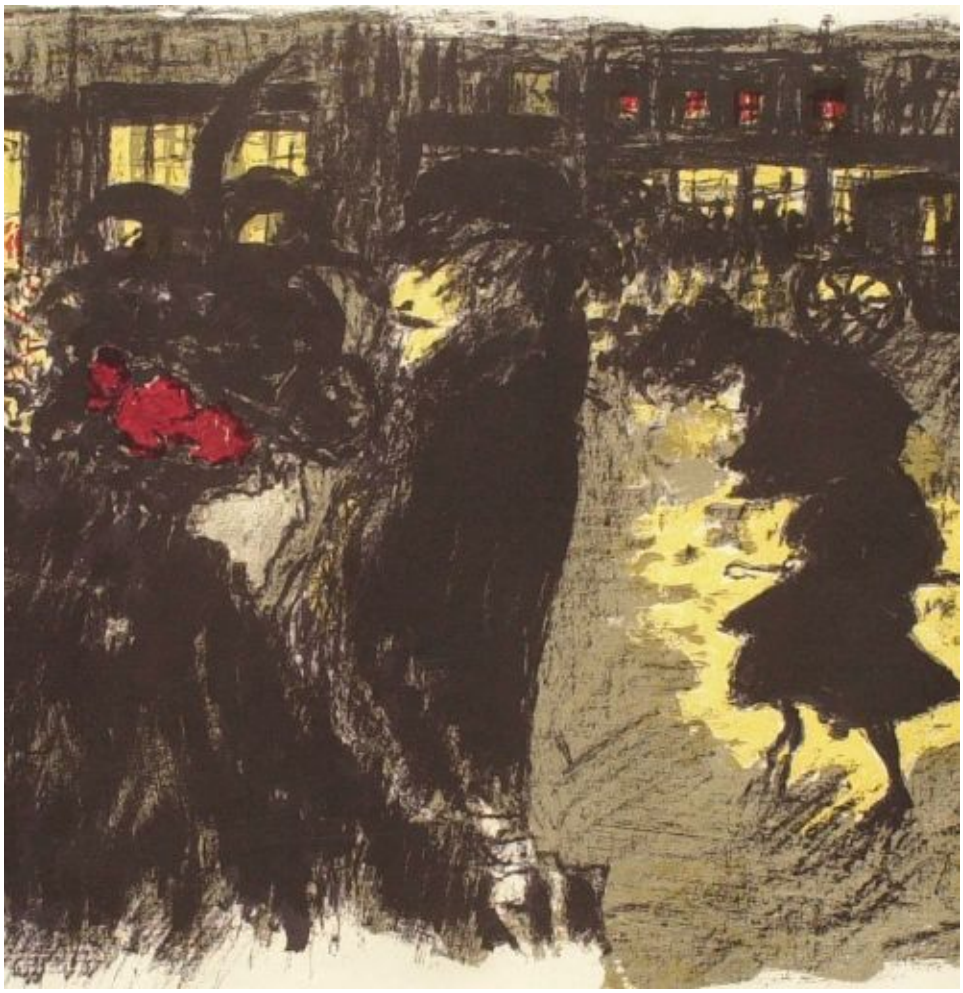

Fig. 7. Detail of Bonnard, Place le soir (The Square at Evening)

Fig. 8. Pierre Bonnard, Arc de Triomphe, from Quelques aspects de la vie de Paris (Some Aspects of Parisian Life), ca. 1898, Lithograph in five colors on cream wove paper, sheet: 40.5 x 53.5 cm (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928, 28.50.4[12])

Bonnard's printer was Auguste Clot, the leading fine-art printer of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in France, known especially for his skills with multi-color lithography.[10] Despite Clot's authority, Bonnard was a demanding client with an insistent vision: in 1893, at the age of twenty-six, he complained to Vuillard, "I'm again turning my hair white in trying to obtain the impossible from the printer."[11] Like his Nabis colleagues, he was interested in the bold chromatic contrasts of Japanese prints, and he was particularly deft at combining a limited range of colors for a variety of compositional and expressive effects.[12] This is hardly surprising; Bonnard is renowned as a great colorist, largely on the basis of his twentieth-century landscapes and nudes. Yet for this same reason the relative chromatic restraint of his early work has made it difficult to reconcile with the rest of his oeuvre.[13] In fact, his intuitions as a colorist are just as remarkable in the fin-de-siècle prints as in the luminous canvases of the 1920s, '30s and '40s, only in a much more subtle way, a way befitting these works' smaller size and casual, merely glimpsed subjects. See, for example, the vibrant touches of bottle green and blood red in *Arc de Triomphe*, ca. 1898 (Fig. 8). These floating patches of rich color do not, for the most part, delineate recognizable motifs but rather key our eyes to areas of figuration, marking off passages of people and horses from

the tangle of trees and buildings that set the stage. They tell us where to look to find the action and bring out the more subtle distinctions between sanguine and gray – resonating with the red and green like faded echoes – throughout the rest of the print. The sunset tonalities of *Avenue du Bois de Boulogne*, ca. 1898, are created by an over-layer of honeyed beige that washes the reds, yellows, violets, and blacks with a luminous warmth, softening tonal contrasts and uniting spatial layers of ground, trees, and sky (Fig. 9). Bonnard achieves an especially remarkable degree of subtlety in *House in the Courtyard*, 1895-96, a print whose effect of variable atmosphere hinges on the delicate interplay of slightly different shades of white. Bonnard realizes this slight tonal variation not with actual pigment variation, but by framing these uncolored sections with other colors. That is, the whites are not differently inked, but are the same local off-white of the page, yet the darkest black of the windows on the building make the white of the façade appear brighter, while the white of the sky appears softer, dingier, and faintly warmer, because of the gray roof outlined in taupe topped by four vermilion chimneys leading our eye up to its overcast expanse (Fig. 10).

Fig. 9. Pierre Bonnard, Avenue du Bois de Boulogne (Avenue in the Bois de Boulogne), from Quelques aspects de la vie de Paris (Some Aspects of Parisian Life), ca. 1898, Lithograph in five colors on cream wove paper, sheet: 40 x 53 cm (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928, 28.50.4[2])

Fig. 10. Pierre Bonnard, Maison dans la cour (House in the Courtyard), from Quelques aspects de la vie de Paris (Some Aspects of Parisian Life), 1895-96, Lithograph in four colors on cream wove paper, sheet: 53 x 39.5 cm (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928, 28.50.4[4])

Because Bonnard was limited in his range of colors when conceptualizing and designing his prints – each additional pigment complicated the process considerably – he discovered more subtle ways of differentiating forms and spaces, and he embraced, rather than resisted, the spatial compression and confusion that was an inevitable result. Indeed, in certain key prints of the Vollard suite he made this spatial compression and confusion central to the

urban phenomena depicted, using it in the more populated prints to develop the theme of pedestrians spontaneously colliding or crossing each other's intimate perceptual space.

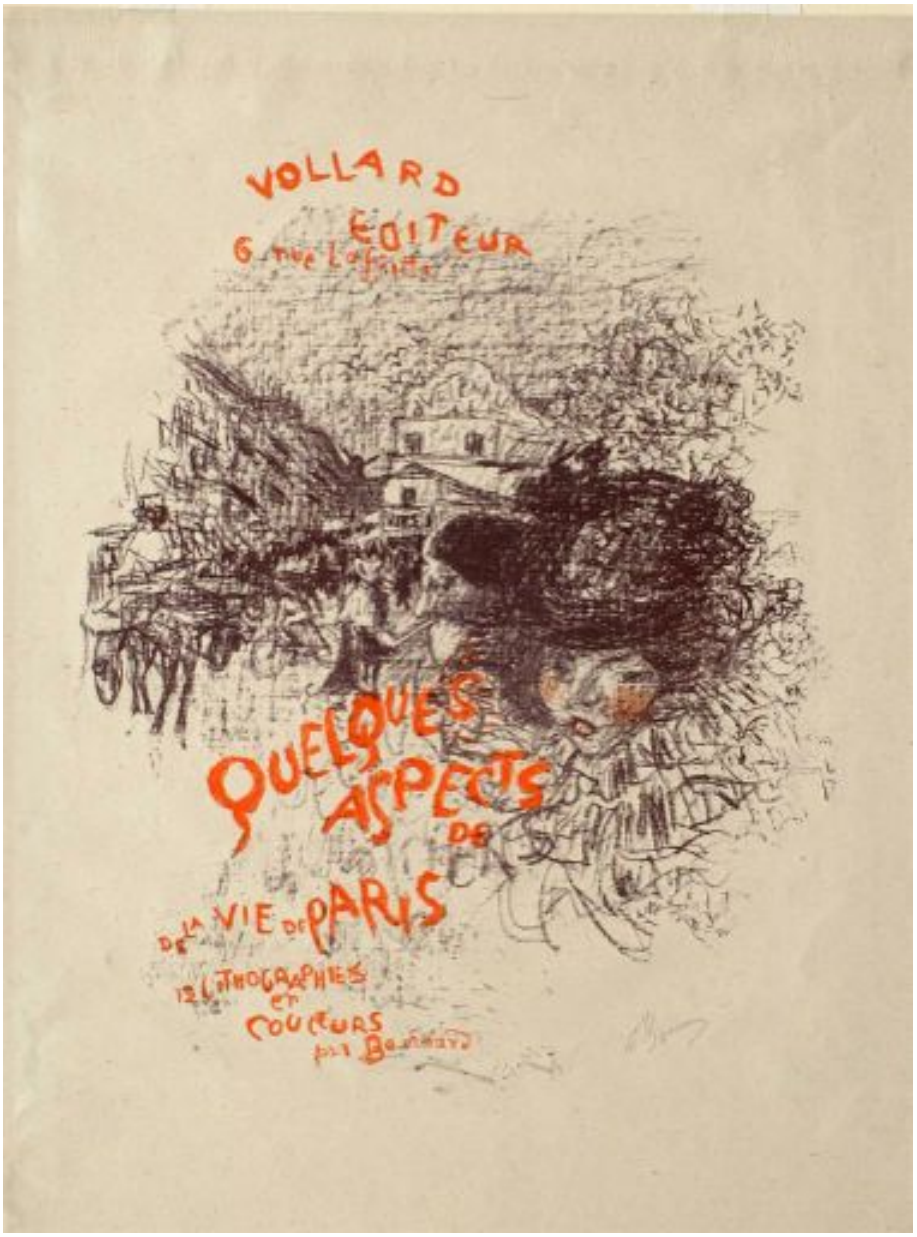

Fig. 11. Pierre Bonnard, Cover of the album Quelques aspects de la vie de Paris (Some Aspects of Parisian Life), ca. 1898, Lithograph in two colors on China paper, sheet: 53 x 40.6 cm (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928, 28.50.4[1])

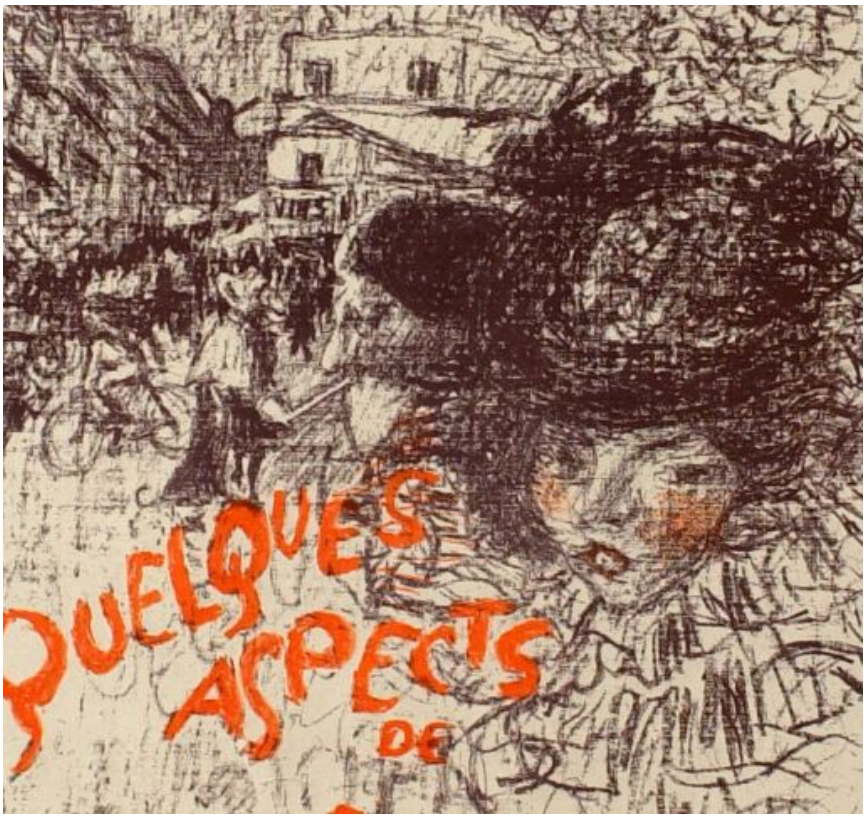

Fig. 12. Detail from Bonnard, Cover of the album Quelques aspects de la vie de Paris (Some Aspects of Parisian Life)

The album's title page, ca. 1898, for example, centers on the peripheral glimpse of the *parisienne*, the protagonist of the album and indeed of much of Bonnard's early work (Fig. 11). She seems to be speaking the title, echoing it with her orange rouge, while right behind her head and to the left is the profile of a bespectacled old man smoking a pipe. The Janus-like juxtaposition of his head with hers is a clever pictorial conceit for the alternately delightful and disturbing encounters with strangers that we experience in urban streets. A coil of white then black smoke curling out of his pipe seems to waft directly into the woman's face, collapsing their otherwise distinct lateral sections of space (she is clearly closer to us, given her size) (Fig. 12). The way Bonnard arranges the title – with the letters undulating upward toward the woman's open mouth in the same curving left-to-right diagonal as the drifting smoke – further emphasizes this idea of the inevitable and sometimes uncomfortable, even noxious intrusions of others into our consciousness and personal space. Beyond the lettering and the woman's cheeks, the only touches of orange float beneath this barely perceptible coil of smoke, highlighting the man's collar and coat, thereby linking the two figures in color as well as contiguous form.

Fig. 13. Detail from Bonnard, La rue en hiver (The Street in Winter)

Fig. 14. Detail from Bonnard, La rue en hiver (The Street in Winter)

Bonnard frequently used color and perspectival compression to materialize impromptu connections between strangers on the street, across divisions not only of space but also of class, gender, age, and other social divides. In *The Street in Winter*, 1894, Bonnard explores the spontaneous social dynamics of strangers by layering several encounters in a narrow slice of urban space (Fig. 5). In the right foreground, two little dogs approach one another with flirtatious energy, the white dog turning his head to meet his eager, scampering mate (Fig. 13). Like all of the encounters depicted, the dogs are positioned so as to suggest the sudden shift of perspective that happens when we catch a glimpse of someone or something in our peripheral vision. Bonnard was fascinated by the various kinds of social exchanges that can result from these micro-movements of the eye that redirect our attention. Behind the dogs is a wisp of a schoolboy plodding down the sidewalk, his tiny body almost disappearing beneath the weight of his winter clothes and bag. He is about to bump into an older woman, her hands tucked in a fur muff. The placement of the muff, and the woman's slight crouch, create a defined negative space between her and the boy – the shape of a sudden detour, akin to the

one both may momentarily take, built up in thick, creamy strokes of yellow and beige (Fig. 14). A couple walking behind the woman observes this meeting over her shoulder, mirroring our view of the scene over the shoulder of the broad-backed man in the foreground. Our eyes gravitate to these charming chance meetings, sliding past the flat barrier of black coats that dominates half of the work. Right behind that barrier is another kind of encounter altogether, of which we only catch a provocative glimpse: an exchange between two bourgeois men and two women. Only one of these four figures shows us her face, cropped at the cheek, but its colorfully painted surface offers a hint to her profession, suggesting this meeting may be the opposite of the innocent ones happening in the rest of the scene (Fig. 15). [14]

Fig. 15. Detail from Bonnard, La rue en hiver (The Street in Winter)

The division of the painting into sharp contrasts of black and beige is typical of Bonnard's Nabi style, when he worked with a restrained palette of colors to capture the grit of the city and emphasize the graphic punch of dark and light shapes. The strong vertical of the central figure's sleeve leads us straight to the older woman and her exchange with the boy, and Bonnard signs the picture right across this dividing line, linking the faceless men cruising in the street to the charm of children and frolicking dogs. The line marks a sharp tonal shift in both senses of the term, from mysterious, morally ambiguous and dark to

charming, broadly comical and light, while also making a sharp graphic distinction between the viewer's proximate and distant visual fields. Similar to the relationship in *The Square at Evening* between the immediate foreground (featuring the woman with the elaborately feathered hat and the sinister male profile abutting hers), the right middle-distance (featuring the hunched-over woman with an umbrella), and the background (featuring the crowd beneath the red windows), this structure allows Bonnard to collage together various vignettes, with the middle- and back-ground figures serving as dramatic foils to the dominant yet less legible figures in the foreground. Like a magician distracting his audience's attention, Bonnard uses lighter tones and striking caricatural silhouettes to divert our gaze from center stage, highlighting peripheral episodes of more easily graspable psychological content. In *The Street in Winter,* these peripheral events are the lyrical play of the light-colored dogs and the amusingly awkward crouch of the schoolboy, trapped in front of the woman bending down to engage him in a kind yet probably patronizing intergenerational exchange; while in *Square at Evening,* they are the harried walk of the woman framed by a splash of yellow light, set off by a rolling carriage and a crowd of people gathered in front of a series of windows, a crowd that echoes the one in the more proximate and obscure left foreground of the composition. In *The Street in Winter*, the lighthearted libidinousness of the dogs and the harmless ensnarement of the little boy ease the viewer, empathetically, into understanding the more obscure dynamics of flirtation between the men and women at the forefront of our view. In *Square at Evening*, the distant spectacle of the brothel and the hunted posture of the walking woman likewise inform – with the same impish, although in this case blacker, humor – our understanding of the foreground woman, who glances back at us as she steps forward between a man proffering a red bouquet and the threatening Man of the Crowd. Contrast becomes analogy; the sideshow unlocks the main event; theater and personal experience merge.

Fig. 16. Henri Cartier-Bresson, Quai de Montebello, Paris, 1955, Gelatin silver print

And yet the ultimate discovery of both *Square at Evening* and *The Street in Winter* lies in their immediate foregrounds, which may initially appear spatially disorienting and formally obscure, but ultimately resolve, with the help of the diverting episodes, into something more visually and psychologically readable. This perspectival and psychological diversion later became a vital technique of twentieth-century street photographers like André Kertész and Henri Cartier-Bresson (Fig. 16), but Bonnard was careful to distinguish his approach from photography, saying in 1927:

> The [camera] lens records unnecessary lights and shadows, but the artist's eyes add human values to objects and reproduce them as seen through human eyes. And this vision is mobile. And this vision is variable. I am standing in a corner of the room near a table bathed in sunlight. Distant masses look almost linear, without volume or depth. Close objects, however, rise up toward my eyes. The sides run straight. This vanishing is sometimes linear (in the distance) and sometimes curved (in the foreground). The distance looks flat. It is the foreground that gives us our concept of the world as seen through human eyes, of a world of undulations, or of convexities or concavities. [15]

When Bonnard states that "it is the foreground that gives us our concept of the world as seen through human eyes," he clarifies a key organizing principle of his early work: the idea that the only way for the artist to humanely experience the city and engage with its crowds is to immerse himself in them, fold himself into their movements and glances, while simultaneously stepping back and attending to the "linear," "distant masses" that frame this foreground vision like a theatrical scrim. Unlike the camera, which records "unnecessary" detail, the artist's eyes "add human values to objects," and the resultant image is both "mobile" and "variable," shifting between proximate and distant visual fields.

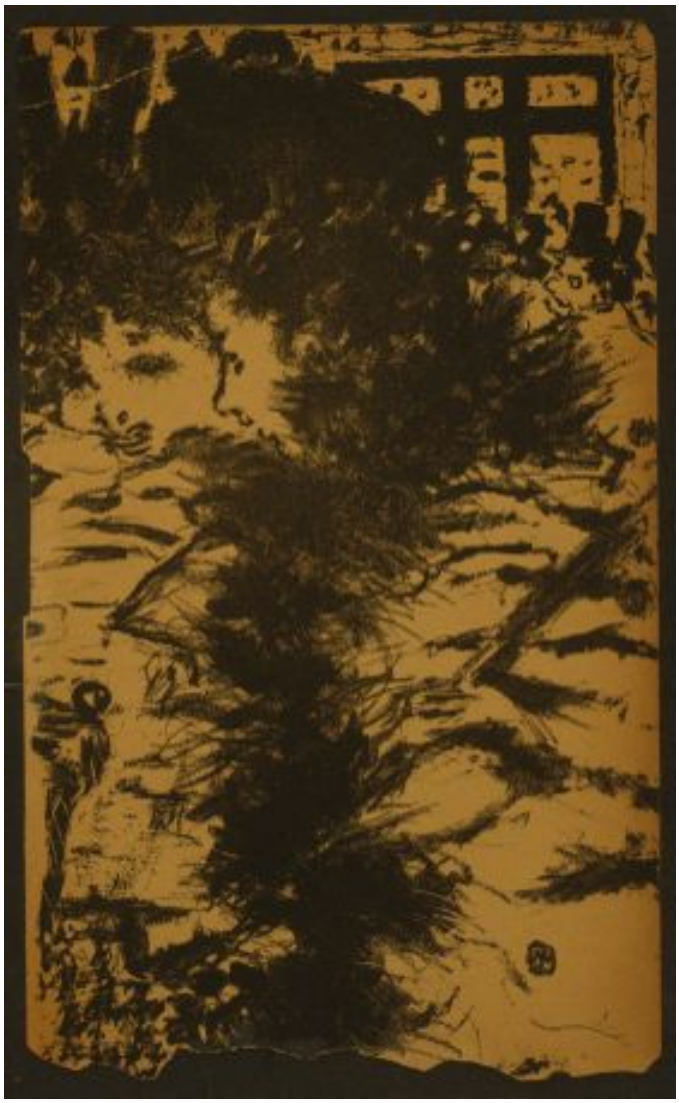

Fig. 17. Pierre Bonnard, Les parisiennes (Parisians), 1893, Lithograph on cream wove paper, 21.6 x 13.7 cm (Library of Congress, Washington)

One of Bonnard's earliest lithographs, *Les Parisiennes,* 1893, establishes this approach, depicting two elegant women and their voluminous fashions – in particular, a curve of thick black fur lining the central woman's coat – 'rising up' toward our eyes in 'convex undulations,' while a distant man in profile looks flatter, more linear, an effect emblematized by the way the frame of the shopfront window behind him plunges, sword-like, into the highlight of his top hat (Fig.17). This stunning flip from black to white, positive to negative, solid to light, back to front, encapsulates perhaps better than any other detail Bonnard's canny facility with the lithographic medium. The solitude of this remote male figure, echoed by schematic indications of a surrounding crowd, sets off the intimacy of the chatting *parisiennes*, and the conjunction of the two visual and psychological registers within the limits of a small, tightly composed black-and-white print pitches the viewer into the layered visual experience of the sidewalk spectator.

Fig. 18. Pierre Bonnard, Le pont (The Bridge), from Quelques aspects de la vie de Paris (Some Aspects of Parisian Life), ca. 1896-97, Lithograph in four colors on cream wove paper, sheet: 38.1 x 53.3 cm (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928, 28.50.4[9])

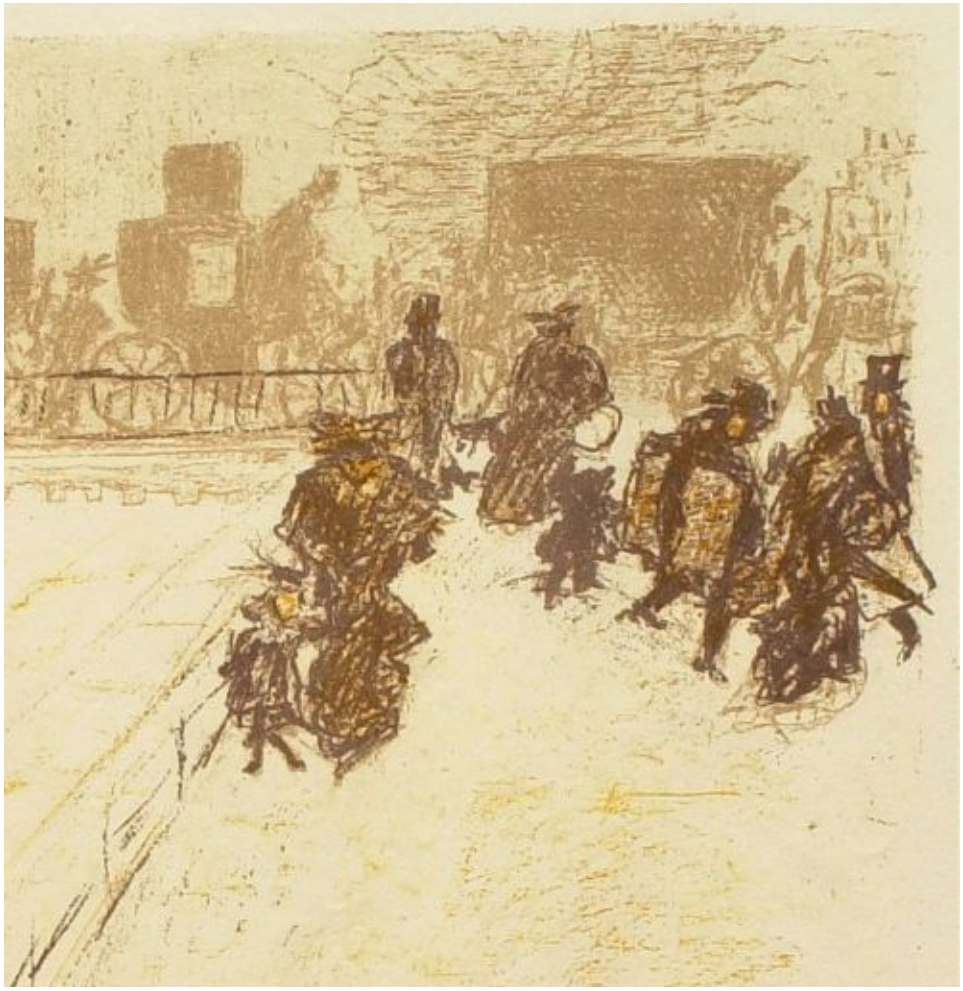

Fig. 19. Detail from Bonnard, Le pont (The Bridge)

A similar structure is apparent even in some of Bonnard's more open and airy urban views. In *The Bridge,* ca. 1896-97, from the Vollard album, he employs a virtually monochrome palette – beiges and browns with occasional touches of yellow – so as to focus our attention on composition and the tonal variation between two layers of figures: darker on the right, on the quai, which leads directly toward our spectatorial space, and lighter in the back, on the bridge, where a tightly packed frieze of carriages, buses, and figures moves in both directions across the semi-distant horizon (Fig. 18). The composition creates a split sense of our optical relationship to the city: the frieze of lighter figures are staged in a highly theatrical way, like a shadow puppet performance that we view from a comfortable distance, behind a theatrical barrier, and the light tonality encourages this separation, serving as a veil between us and them.[16] But the nearer figures on the quai, the darker and more animated silhouettes of men and women walking with children, suggest a hustle and bustle that we can more easily envision ourselves entering (here there is a clear, unblocked path between us and them). This more

accessible relationship is underscored by the figure of the artist holding a large portfolio of prints under his arm (Fig. 19). Bonnard inserts someone like himself into this crowd, while the frieze of lighter figures behind on the bridge is to be watched, stood apart from. The bridge viewed from the quai is a clever compositional device for creating this spatial and spectatorial distinction between the two areas of figures, setting the stage for the viewer's reflection on different modes of visual engagement with the city: passively distant and disconnected or more experientially embodied and implicated. And on this note, it seems significant that the background frieze is considerably less rewarding to view. Less activated with movement and virtually void of tonal variation or color, this area does not pop or engage the viewer in the same way. Like the woman in the foreground of *The Square at Evening,* the print thus encourages us to engage in a more participatory, projective mode of viewing the city and its scattered sociality, rather then the more passive mode of viewing a detached stage.

In the preceding descriptions I have used the term "stage" several times to describe how Bonnard establishes spatial and figure-ground relationships in his prints via composition and color. Colta Ives has aptly described how Bonnard's graphic art treats the picture plane as a tightly structured proscenium, with figures and carriages skillfully packed into narrow street-corners or spread across a series of shop-fronts like a classical frieze.[17] His involvement with theater throughout the 1890s, including the production of backdrops, theater programs, even puppets and costume designs, can be seen in his prints' biting humor and economy of means, as well as his fascination with spectatorship as a visual mode of modern life. *At the Theater*, ca. 1897-98, is the only print in the Vollard album that depicts the world of theater directly, but its focus on the audience rather than the performance is echoed in much of the rest of the series, where sidewalk spectators abound (Fig. 20).[18] Judging by the slumping and somnolent character of this audience relatively void of interaction, compared to the quivering energy and crossing paths of Bonnard's pedestrians, the theater of the street seems much more lively than the theater of the stage. What Bonnard seems to be trying to capture is his and the viewer's involvement or at least implication in this sidewalk theater. His approach to representing this spectatorial position was likely informed by his work on theatrical backdrops, in particular, and their way of framing yet detaching from the three-dimensional actors that perform in front of them[19]; but it was the new medium of cinema that mirrored Bonnard's interest in viscerally incorporating the viewer into his scenes of urban streets.

Fig. 20. Pierre Bonnard, Au théâtre (At the Theater), from Quelques aspects de la vie de Paris (Some Aspects of Parisian Life), ca. 1897-98, Lithograph in four colors on cream wove paper, sheet: 38.2 x 52.8 cm (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928, 28.50.4[10])

We know very little about Bonnard's interest in cinema during these early years, but he was evidently eager to experiment with new media. He became an avid amateur photographer for several years in the late 1890s, taking snapshots of family and friends, approximately two hundred of which have survived.[20] Save for a few pictures of his artist friends in Venice, Bonnard's photographs include no street views, despite the capability of his Pocket Kodak to capture such spontaneous scenes. He took most of his photographs during visits to the countryside, framing his friends and loved ones in more bucolic natural settings and interiors. Curiously, he only used his camera in Paris to photograph a few nudes and family groups indoors.[21] Although snapshot photography would seem like the perfect tool, if not substitute, for his sidewalk pictures, the artist evidently preferred his ritual method of walking, sketching, remembering, and then making, remaining committed to the "human values" of the artist's eyes and the psychological filter of memory.[22]

Given Bonnard's interest in theater, photography, and other new image technologies like chromolithography and the printing of large-scale posters, it is hard to imagine that he was not well aware of cinema and its revolutionary capacity to capture the movement and spontaneity of the street. The young artist was introduced to the first film-makers in France, Louis and Auguste Lumière, via his brother-in-law, the composer Claude Terrasse. In fact, the Lumière

brothers were regular guests at the family property in Le Grand-Lemps where Bonnard spent considerable time.[23] Like Bonnard, much of their early work was focused on capturing the everyday life of urban streets. A large proportion of their first films are set in major cities, tracking the hustle and bustle of metropolitan traffic and pedestrians. Screened in penny arcades and cafés on major thoroughfares in the latter half of the 1890s, they first appeared to the public in the precise period when Bonnard was working on the Vollard album and wandering Paris's boulevards every day. These "actualities" (*actualités*), as they were known, were just 30-60 seconds in length, and were, as the name suggests, entirely non-fictional – mini-documentaries that often focused on the crowded life of the street. Sometimes they feature semi-dramatic events like a parade or the arrival of a prominent politician, but more often than not their primary subject is the everyday activity of lively urban spots.[24]

Key to the fascination of the Lumière brothers' urban films – both then and now – is their spontaneity, especially their inevitable involvement of passersby who often seem to realize only in the captured moment that they are being filmed. This realization generally either delights or disturbs these impromptu extras, but it virtually always enthralls them. Their performative self-consciousness and gawking at the camera then becomes the central drama of the reel. As Tom Gunning has shown, early cinema was an art of attraction and "exhibitionist confrontation rather than diegetic absorption" in narrative, "willing to rupture a self-enclosed fictional world for a chance to solicit the attention of the spectator."[25] In the Lumière brothers' *actualités* this rupture happens spontaneously, with people stopping to look into the camera rather than continuing on their way. Indeed, these gawking bystanders are all the more affecting in that their involvement appears accidental, unintended by the people making the film. While Bonnard was striving to capture the perceptual and psychological complexity of his encounters with pedestrians in paintings and prints, the Lumière brothers were making films that showed moments of encounter between the directors and pedestrians in a more spontaneous, haphazard way.

Fig. 21. La Foule (The Crowd), Black-and-white silent film, 48 seconds, Directed by Marius Sestier, Produced by Auguste and Louis Lumière (3 Nov. 1896, Melbourne) (Centre Nationale du Cinéma, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Catalogue Lumière no 418)

Film-makers and their equipment were a novel spectacle for fin-de-siècle pedestrians, far more mysterious and intriguing to the average urban dweller than the everyday life of the street that the film-makers were trying to capture. It is no wonder that many of those caught by the camera became gawkers gaping into the lens, approaching the viewer as if hypnotized or passing by hurriedly with a furtive glance. For example, in *The Crowd*, 1896, a crowd gathered for horse races at the Melbourne hippodrome includes various figures who stop in their tracks to look into the camera. Amazed by the spectacle of the cinematic production, they give the audience of the eventual film the sensation of being ogled by the people within (Fig. 21).[26] In *Street Dancers,* 1896, a group of working-class and bourgeois men stop to stare at three young women dancing joyfully in a London street.[27] Here, the men seem to be relaying cues from the director, telling the dancers to come closer together when their dancing makes them drift off-frame. This leads viewers of the film to wonder whether the scene is entirely staged, with the men both posing as gawkers and directing the action upon which they gaze, a fascinating conflation of active and passive models of viewing that makes the audience aware of the film's construction, and their own gawking role (Fig. 22).

Fig. 22. Danseuses des rues, Londres (Street Dancers, London), Black-and-white silent film, 46 seconds, Director unknown, Produced by Auguste and Louis Lumière (20 Feb. 1896) (Centre Nationale du Cinéma, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Catalogue Lumière no. 249)

Fig. 23. Cologne: Sortie de la cathédrale (Cologne: Exiting the Cathedral), Black-and-white silent film, 53 seconds, Directed by Charles Moisson, Produced by Auguste and Louis Lumière (3 May 1896, Cologne) (Centre Nationale du Cinéma, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Catalogue Lumière no. 225).

Jan Olsson has described how early narrative filmmakers in America handled gawking bystanders, thronging crowds, and "Buttinskis" who invaded outdoor film shootings, and the way in which these interlopers confused the relationship between fiction and reality, acting and "posing."[28] Because the Lumière brothers' urban films were primarily non-narrative and documentary, distinctions between actor, extra, and bystander did not exist. In fact, crowds and bystanders are often the protagonists of these *actualités*. This does not mean that they posed no problems for the cameraman, however. In several remarkable instances, such as *Exiting the Cathedral,* 1896, showing a crowd milling around the cathedral in Cologne, we see the hands of the director waving at these captivated onlookers from behind the camera, shooing them off-frame once they have lingered a second too long (Fig. 23).[29] At three different moments in this very short film, a cane – sometimes two – flutters in from the left, the first time with a visible hand, directing people right or left to open up the frame to the crowd scene desired. The gestures of at least two operators are visible physically herding the crowd, and we see the people responding to these directions on screen, halting their movement, shuttling off to the side, stopping in their tracks or changing direction. By the end of the 53-second reel a small sub-crowd has gathered off to the left, stopping to watch the production of the film. They have been waved away yet are still in-frame, watching the

film from within both as internal spectators of the crowd and as (former) participants in its bustling movement.

According to Paul Willemsen, this is the central paradox of the extra as a cinematic figure: "they see the film from outside while being in the middle of it."[30] Willemsen has theorized the extra as a revelatory figure in the historical development of cinema, marking major shifts in conceptions of cinematic narrative, action, and "authenticity" from the classic period of early Hollywood studio films, to modern "auteur" films of the post-war era, to postmodern films characterized by self-referential irony and pastiche.[31] In general terms, extras are a kind of "human scenery," the "undirected, uncontrollable broader context" of a film's narrative action. They are, by definition, extraneous to the main sequence of events, and they are typically multiple, the cinematic equivalent of the masses in real history.[32] Willemsen's characterization of the extra's role in film history is fascinating, but crucially skips the earliest phase of the medium's development with which I am concerned. If classical narrative cinema is defined by transparency, or "seamless editing and a camera presence which may not be sensed by the viewer," and modern cinema "radically distances itself from this approach…by permitting jump cuts and individualizing the camera presence and camera work,"[33] then the Lumières' city films are neither. The camera's presence is sensed very much by the viewer, but this is primarily due to the reactions of filmed bystanders, not stylized camera work. Their films are pre-classic: first, because in most cases they are fundamentally non-narrative; and second, because their primary "actors" are unpaid, largely undirected and uninformed passersby who just happen to enter or exit the scene. (*Street Dancers* is a partial exception to this rule, as the gawking bystanders do appear to be involved in the staging of the scene to some degree.) The Hollywood model of strict control over extras had not yet taken root, and there was no division between them as background figures and the main actors in the foreground of each scene. There *were* no actors other than them, and their awkward collision with the new medium mirrored the awestruck curiosity of the audience on the other side of the screen. By revealing how the gawking crowd was being directed from behind the camera, these films show both the spontaneity and artificiality of the construction of spectatorship that is literally on view, and that is simultaneously being experienced by the viewers in the theater, who necessarily find themselves in a crowd.[34] These bystanders wandering into and out of the scene from all sides, including the area behind the camera, create a highly porous and liminal frame that significantly enhances the film's immediacy for its viewers, who feel thereby looped into the action by these surrogate onlookers whose bodies drift into and around the scene in a way that embodies the exploratory movement of our eyes.

Whether or not Bonnard was directly inspired by such films we can only wonder, but he certainly exploits similar compositional techniques of looping the viewer into the lively human traffic of his early paintings and prints. This experience of spontaneous encounter, of the visual and sometimes almost physical collision with others we experience on the sidewalk and the attendant phenomenological and psychological *frisson*, was one of the central "aspects of Parisian life" that defined his approach to the street. Many of his prints and paintings from the mid-late 1890s feature people confronting each other as onlookers or furtively glancing passersby, often folding the viewer into their pictorial space via foreground figures who destabilize the boundary between the external space of the beholder and the internal space of the scene. While the Lumières' films are remarkable in allowing these crossings and confrontations to happen, perhaps even welcoming this spontaneous interaction between directors and subjects to a certain degree, Bonnard made these encounters his pictures' *raison d'être*. The waving canes in *Cologne: Exiting the Cathedral* suggest that the involvement of gawking bystanders was not intended as the film's central subject, even though this is undeniably its most fascinating feature. Bonnard, for his part, seized on these unexpected and often awkward interactions, recreating their visual and psychic charge through the strategic use of color, oblique perspective, and spatial compression. His carefully constructed compositions impart a range of "human values" to his sidewalk scenes, from intimacy to menace, amusement to satire, empathy to critique.

In 1896 the critic Gustave Geffroy called Bonnard's scenes of Paris "charmingly malicious," with "a touch of impudent gaiety,"[35] while the artist's friend and one-time studio-mate, the actor Lugné-Poë, said "a satirical element was always implanted in the decorative" in Bonnard's early work.[36] Humor is an important element of these city views, and of the Lumières' early cinema as well. Both reveal the street as a modern form of entertainment. But they also show it to be a place where the enforced closeness, anonymity, and awkwardness of modern urban sociality appears powerfully in microcosm, if we stop to look.

Bonnard's central interest as an artist of the street in the 1890s was the way in which Parisians approached the life of their city as a free, open-air theater – an ever-changing spectacle for passersby to watch. And it was the limits and possibilities of new media, namely lithography and cinema, that throw his achievements as an artist of this everyday theater into relief. One of the most remarkable features of *Quelques aspects de la vie de Paris* is the way it shows the artist thinking about the exigencies of the lithographic medium as existing somehow hand-in-hand with the pressures and proximities of the urban street. He later described how the challenges of printmaking pushed him in these early years to find new and subtle ways to pictorialize everyday life: "When one must study the relationship among tones while playing with only four or five colors which one either superimposes or puts side by side, one discovers

many things."[37] Recalling a breakthrough he had around 1895, he wrote: "[C]olor, harmony, the relation between line and tone, balance – lost their abstract significance and became very concrete. I had understood what I was seeking and how I would try to obtain it. What came after? The point of departure had been given to me; the rest was just daily life."[38] For Bonnard, the challenges of multi-color printing made the problem of balance between line and tone, abstract form and content, newly urgent and "concrete," pushing him to paint with a similarly limited palette and graphic sensibility to keep the two forces in check. As a result, his sidewalk scenes are a subtle investigation of passive vision: Bonnard tries to translate into lithography and paint a kind of openness – both optical and social – to "just daily life," to the spontaneous encounters that pop up at the edge of our visual field as we move through the street. This passive vision can lead to lively interactions and flirtations, as well as to moral deviation and social competition, and was an openness the artist tried to practice himself when he strolled and sketched. By giving us the perspective of a proximate bystander and/or distant witness, he imposes this openness, immediacy, and capacity for reflection on his viewers, challenging us to enter and explore his sidewalk theater as individuals, rather than remaining detached in the crowd.[39]

NOTES

I wish to thank, first and foremost, the artist Adrian Nivola, who has spent many productive hours with me trading ideas and observations about Bonnard. His keen insights and infectious enthusiasm for the artist shaped many aspects of this essay. I am also grateful to Elizabeth Zanis, Department of Drawings and Prints, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for her generous welcome on multiple occasions; to the organizers and participants at the recent conference "Beyond Connoisseurship: Rethinking Prints from the *Belle Épreuve* to the Present," The Graduate Center, CUNY, 7 Nov. 2014, for their generous feedback on this material; to William Straw, for his kind help with my research on gawkers and extras in early cinema; and to Todd Cronan who, as always, offered incisive suggestions for improving the text.

1. The artist's great-nephew, Michel Terrasse, describes this "fixed ritual" in Elizabeth Hutton Turner, ed., *Pierre Bonnard: Early and Late* (Washington: The Phillips Collection, 2002), 12.

2. Bonnard was known by his friends as "the very Japanese Nabi" (*le Nabi très japonard*). On the impact of Japanese prints on Bonnard's work see Ursula Perucchi-Petri, *Die Nabis und Japan: Das Frühwerk von Bonnard, Vuillard und Denis* (Munich, 1976), 29-96; Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, *Le Japonisme* (Paris, 1988), 40-41, 205, 210-11; Gabriel P. Weisberg et al., *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art, 1854-1910* (Cleveland, OH, 1975), 53-156; Colta Ives, *The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints* (New York, 1974), 56-79; and Siegfried Wichmann and Chisaburoh F. Yamada in Haus der Kunst, *World Cultures and Modern Art* (Munich, 1974), 91-148. Because this topic is well covered in the literature, I will not be revisiting it here.

3. Looking back on his early work in 1937, Bonnard aligned himself with "those artists who have a taste for the theater of the everyday, the faculty of distilling emotion from the most modest acts of life." Quoted in Timothy Hyman, *Bonnard* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1998), 50.

4. This point is made by Helen Giambruni in "Early Bonnard, 1885-1900" (PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 1983), 173.

5. For a concise history of chromolithography in nineteenth-century France, from its reproductive uses in the 1830s to the "color revolution" of original art prints in the fin-de-siècle period, see Laura Anne Kalba, "Color in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction: Chromolithography in Nineteenth-Century France," in Chelsea Foxwell, Anne Leonard, et al, *Awash in Color: French and Japanese Prints* (Chicago: Smart Museum of Art, 2012), 133-46.

6. The claim that the Nabis' painting style lent itself to printmaking appears throughout the literature on Bonnard and the Nabis, even in an essay entirely devoted to their favored printer: Pat Gilmour, "Cher Monsieur Clot…Auguste Clot and His Role as a Colour Lithographer," in Pat Gilmour, ed., *Lasting Impressions: Lithography as Art* (Philadelphia, 1988), 144. A recent challenge to this view is Katherine M. Kuenzli, "Decorating the Street, Decorating the Home: Bonnard's *Women in the Garden* and the Poster," in *The Nabis and Intimate Modernism: Painting and the Decorative at the Fin-de-siècle* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 33-67, which argues that Bonnard's early poster design, *France-Champagne,* 1891, was foundational to his *intimiste* painting. For an outline of Bonnard's many print commissions throughout the 1890s see Colta Ives, "Chronology of Bonnard's Graphic Work," in Colta Ives, Helen Giambruni, and Sasha M. Newman, *Pierre Bonnard: The Graphic Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 236-39.

7. Bonnard may have borrowed this striking motif from Edgar Degas, whose *Place de la Concorde*, 1875, features a male figure (Vicomte Ludovic-Napoléon Lepic) on the same side of the composition whose body appears similarly punctured by an umbrella while traversing an open square. Robert Herbert has described Degas's painting in terms of the dynamics of the gaze between the onlooker at left and the Vicomte and his daughters on the right, calling the leftmost figure a "*badaud*, an onlooker who is easily distracted by what comes within his notice." Robert L. Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 35.

8. Hollis Clayson included this print in her exhibition *Electric Paris* at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA (17 Feb. – 21 April 2013) as an example of an artwork representing the visual effects of the new electric lighting springing up around Paris in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, changing Parisians' nighttime experience of their city. Clayson's book on this topic is forthcoming from the University of Chicago Press.

9. Edgar Allan Poe, "The Man of the Crowd" (1840), in *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe – Vol. II: Tales & Sketches, 1831-1842,* ed. Thomas Ollive Mabbott (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1978), 509. Poe's story was translated into French by Charles Baudelaire as early as 1857 in *Nouvelles histoires extraordinaires* (Paris: M. Lévy frères, 1857).

10. See Gilmour, "Cher Monsieur Clot," 129-82.

11. Pierre Bonnard to Edouard Vuillard, 15 Oct. 1893, in Antoine Terrasse, *Correspondance: Bonnard, Vuillard* (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), 30, quoted and translated in Hutton, ed., *Pierre Bonnard: Early and Late*, 30.

12. Bonnard made very few corrections or adjustments to his proofs relative to the other Nabis (Edouard Vuillard, Ker-Xavier Roussel, and Maurice Denis) who worked closely with Clot, demonstrating a natural gift for translating his ideas into the pictorial language of lithography. Gilmour, "Cher Monsieur Clot," 144-45.

13. On the difficulty of articulating the relationship between Bonnard's early and late work see Colta Ives, et al, *Pierre Bonnard: The Graphic Art*, 3, and Hutton, ed., *Pierre Bonnard: Early and Late*.

14. On this painting and its unique provenance in the collections of Thadée Natanson and Félix Fénéon see Richard R. Brettell, *Impressionist Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture from the Wendy and Emery Reves Collection* (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1995), 111.

15. Recorded in Charles Terrasse, *Bonnard* (Paris: Floury, 1927), 162, and cited in Turner, ed., *Pierre Bonnard: Early and Late*, 53.

16. On the new importance of shadow as an independent pictorial element for the late nineteenth-century Parisian avant-garde and its relationship to concurrent developments in theater and popular entertainment, see Nancy Forgione, "'The Shadow Only': Shadow and Silhouette in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *The Art Bulletin* 81:3 (Sept. 1999): 490-512. On the relationship between Bonnard's early work and contemporary shadow puppet theater see Patricia Eckert Boyer, ed., *The Nabis and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 53-75.

17. Colta Ives, "City Life," in Ives, et al, *Pierre Bonnard: The Graphic Art*, 122.

18. See also the closely related *A Lady and a Man in the Loge of a Theater*, 1898, a four-color lithograph made as the frontispiece for André Mellério's book *La Lithographie originale en couleurs* (Paris: Publication de l'Estampe et l'Affiche, 1898). Other prints in the Vollard album that represent sidewalk spectators, which I do not have space to address here, include *Boulevard,* ca. 1896; *Street Corner* (*Coin de rue*), ca. 1897; *Street Corner Viewed from Above* (*Coin de rue vue d'en haut*), 1896-97; and *Street on a Rainy Evening* (*Rue le soir sous la pluie*), 1899. *Street on a Rainy Evening*, in particular, shares the layered visuality of *Square at Evening* with a figure in the foreground cropped by the lower edge of the frame situated in front of a more distant frieze of figures in the background.

19. Sadly, none of these set designs seem to have survived. See Merel van Tilburg, *Staging the Symbol: The Nabis, Theatre Decoration, and the Total Work of Art* (PhD diss., Université de Genève, 2013).

20. See Françoise Heilbrun and Philippe Néagu, *Bonnard: photographe* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1987), and Françoise Heilbrun, "Pierre Bonnard's Amateur Photographs: A Poetic, Dancing World," in Elizabeth W. Easton, ed., *Snapshot: Painters and Photography from Bonnard to Vuillard* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 61-81.

21. Heilbrun, "Pierre Bonnard's Amateur Photographs," 62.

22. See note 15.

23. Heilbrun and Néagu, *Bonnard: photographe,* 8. For a different approach to Bonnard's possible engagement with early cinema see Elizabeth Hutton Turner, "The Imaginary Cinema of Pierre Bonnard," in Turner, ed., *Pierre Bonnard: Early and Late*, 52-73. Turner focuses on early cinema's photographic translation of light and movement as relevant to Bonnard's "fantasy of painting with light" (52), as well as to his interest in photography.

24. On the history of early cinema see Georges Sadoul, *Histoire générale du cinéma. L'Invention du cinéma 1832-1897* (Paris: Denoël, 1946), and *Histoire générale du cinéma. Les Pionniers du cinéma 1897-1909* (Paris: Denoël, 1947).

25. Tom Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde" (1986), re-printed in Wanda Strauven, ed., *The Cinema of Attractions Reloaded* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 382, 384.

26. *La Foule* (*The Crowd*), Black-and-white silent film, 48 seconds, Directed by Marius Sestier, Produced by Auguste and Louis Lumière (3 Nov. 1896, Melbourne), Lumière no. 418, catalogued in Michelle Aubert and Jean-Claude Seguin, *La Production cinématographique des Frères Lumière* (Paris: Bibliothèque du Film, 1996), 56.

27. *Danseuses des rues* (*Street Dancers*), Black-and-white silent film, 46 seconds, Director unknown, Produced by Auguste and Louis Lumière (20 Feb. 1896, London), Lumière no. 249, catalogued in Aubert and Seguin, *La production cinématographique des Frères Lumière*, 288.

28. Jan Olsson, "Screen Bodies and Busybodies: Corporeal Constellations in the Era of Anonymity," *Film History* 25:1-2 (2013): 188-204. Among Olsson's references are the newspaper article "Spoiled His Tableaux: Moving Picture Man's Experiences with Buttinskis," *Washington Post* (October 22, 1905): V:12.

29. *Cologne: Sortie de la cathédrale*, black-and-white silent film, Directed by Charles Moisson, Produced by Auguste and Louis Lumière (3 May 1896, Cologne), Lumière no. 225, catalogued in Aubert and Seguin, *La Production cinématographique des Frères Lumière*, 44-45. Acquiring stills of the precise moments when the canes wave into the frame has so far proved impossible.

30. Paul Willemsen, "Figures of the Extra," trans. Gregory Ball, *Cinéma & Cie* 9:13 (Fall 2009): 94.

31. Ibid., 85-106.

32. Ibid., 85.

33. Ibid., 87.

34. On the importance of the crowd to the construction of cinema as a medium, both in terms of its subject matter and address to mass audiences, see Lesley Brill, *Crowds, Power, and Transformation in Cinema* (Wayne State University Press, 2006). Brill's study does not address the earliest period of cinema, however, focusing on narrative film. Vanessa Schwartz's *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-siècle Paris* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 177-99, contextualizes early cinema as part of a "broader cultural climate that demanded 'the real' as spectacle," including the mass press, the morgue, panoramas, dioramas and wax museums, arguing that the cinematic spectator was constructed from the beginning as necessarily part of a crowd.

35. Gustave Geffroy, Review of 1896 exhibition at Durand-Ruel, quoted in Hyman, *Bonnard,* 39.

36. Quoted in Hyman, *Bonnard*, 29.

37. Bonnard to André Suarès, quoted in Turner, ed., *Pierre Bonnard: Early and Late,* 31, 278.

38. Quoted in Antoine Terrasse, *Bonnard: Shimmering Color* (New York: Abrams, 2000), 126-27.

39. Yve-Alain Bois has characterized "Bonnard's passivity" as "a refusal to choose, or to heed the injunctions of his conscious mind." Bois, "Bonnard's Passivity," 62. (Bois also discusses Bonnard's work in terms of proximity and distance that resonate with my analysis here, although his focus is the way in which Bonnard's paintings invite the viewer to experience them up close and from a distance.) He draws upon the important scholarship of John Rewald, Jean Clair, and Timothy Hyman, all of whom have described the distinct form of vision and attention articulated in Bonnard's art – his refusal of the singular viewpoint in favor of multiple "jostling" ones, his interest in peripheral vision and wide-angle views.See John Rewald, *Pierre Bonnard* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1948); Jean Clair, "The Adventures of the Optic Nerve," in *Bonnard: The Late Paintings* (Washington, DC: The Phillips Collection, 1984), 29-50; and Timothy Hyman, *Bonnard,* 1998. Overall, Bois argues that Bonnard "turns passivity into a virtue" (62) in his painting, a brave risk in both formal and phenomenological terms. For him, what was revolutionary about Bonnard as a painter was his willingness to passively accept the complexity and confusion of the world as it struck him, without forcing it into structural clarity. I would agree, but I also think we must consider the social implications of this mode of vision in fin-de-siècle France – a period when crowd behavior was a topic of tremendous interest to philosophers, social scientists, and men of law, not to mention to other artists like Félix Vallotton, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, and Théodore Steinlen – all of whom Bonnard knew well. I believe that Bonnard had these social implications in mind, and that all of these artists pose a significant challenge to the narrow, pessimistic understanding of crowd psychology that has survived into the 20th and 21st centuries. I am currently exploring the work of these artists, and this line of thinking, in my current book project: *Theaters of the Crowd: The Art of Gawking in Fin-de-siècle France,* under contract with Princeton University Press.

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HOW ORIENTALIST PAINTERS DIE

MARC GOTLIEB

Mostly they died in ways like anyone else. The fifty-seven year old Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps, who enthralled Paris audiences with suite of exotic genre and biblical subjects following a year in Asia Minor in 1829-1830, perished in August 1860 after being thrown by a horse, near his home in the forest of Fontainebleau.[1] Léon Belly, whose *Pilgrims Going to Mecca* of 1861 remains one of the best-known Orientalist pictures of the nineteenth century, died in Paris in 1877 after a long and debilitating illness. The French art world was shaken by the news of this artist cut down at the age of fifty, but there was nothing Orientalist about the manner of his death, no reports of dramatic last words or studio deathbed scenes.[2] We know even less about how the end came to Jean-Jules-Antoine Lecomte du Nouÿ, a student of Ingres and best known for his *White Slave* of 1888. His death in Paris in 1921 at the age of eighty-one attracted little attention, silence traceable in large part to a historic artistic reset that saw so many academic masters of the nineteenth century fall into obscurity. To repeat, Orientalist painters left the world under varied circumstances — violent, painful, peaceful, or in ways simply unknown, in other words just like anyone else. And yet the basic argument of this essay is that how Orientalists died is not only an empirical but discursive question. From this latter perspective, their manner of passing would be mediated across a rich poetics of mortality whose shape and texture these remarks explore.

Sometimes an Orientalist simply died a painter's death. Nothing as emblematic or status-driven as Raphael dying after painting Christ's face on his unfinished *Transfiguration,* or Leonardo da Vinci dying in the arms of Francis 1st, to cite two notable deathbed scenes, recounted by Vasari, that Romantic artists took up with gusto. Nevertheless, examples abound of nineteenth-century artists who died in a manner that in some measure evoked their artistic vocation. Take the case of Charles Gleyre, a Swiss painter working in Paris remembered today mostly for his *Lost Illusions* of 1843, a talismanic, Orientalizing scene of fatalistic disillusion. Three years in Greece, Egypt, and Syria in the mid-1830s saw Gleyre

nearly succumb both to fever and severe ophthalmia, including ten months where he lay nearly blind in the vicinity of Khartoum.[3] Gleyre's experience in the Middle East was said to have left its mark on the famously grave and taciturn artist. The end, however, did not come until May 1874, when the sixty-eight year old artist collapsed while viewing an exhibition in support of the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, at the Palais Bourbon.

Figure 1. Léon Dussart and Charles Gleyre, Lost Illusions, 18651867 (reduced replica ofthe 1843 original), oil on canvas, 34 1/16 x 59 1/4 in. Acquired by William T. Walters, 1867, the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

His biographer Charles Clément, rushing to Gleyre's house to view his friend's body, noted that his "tired features, so often wracked with pain," seem "relaxed." The painter's face bore "an extraordinary expression of calm, peace, and serenity."[4] Note that Clément is anxious to stress the precise circumstances surrounding Gleyre's last moments: the exhibition on behalf of the lost provinces, the gallery where he fell, the fact that he was accompanied by a student, walking with deference "a few steps behind." He also noted the time of day–precisely 11:50, Clément explained, Gleyre arriving in time still to qualify for half-price admission. Here as elsewhere, the broadly positivist protocols of nineteenth-century biography did not tolerate the kind of strategic fictions that populate Vasari's deathbed scenes. And yet it's tempting to treat this recitation of details as embedding a poetics of its own. The site of Gleyre's death, to be sure–to drop dead in a museum, surely that is a painter's death; note, too, the image of the respectful student following a few steps behind. And let us not omit the allusion to Gleyre's parsimoniousness, which Clément cites to pinpoint the time of death, but which also serves as ironic counterpoint to the catastrophe shortly to unfold. Finally note the narrative

takes an Orientalist turn, Clément evoking the sense of serenity on Gleyre's features following his release. Clément imagines Gleyre at last free of physical torments that dogged him from his months in Egypt, torments that nurtured his fatalistic disposition and marked him to the grave.

Eugène Fromentin did not die an "Orientalist" death either, but as with Gleyre, his biographers could not resist bringing Fromentin's experience in North Africa into play. Fromentin's *Street at Laghouat* from the Salon of 1859 emerged as a touchstone of Orientalist art criticism, and to this day his journals recounting his travels to Algeria stands today as among the most accomplished examples of the genre. The fifty-six year old Fromentin died in 1876 in his hometown outside La Rochelle, on the Atlantic coast. He only recently had failed (again) to secure a seat at the Institut, although in literature rather than the section for painters. The prospects of a chair in painting, Fromentin knew, were slim — a career consisting of genre paintings or mere *tableaux de circonstance* would never qualify him for his profession's highest honor. Fromentin's biographers, for their part, evoked a sense of Orientalist irony. Hence the phrase of Emile Montégut, who cited an Arab proverb as he spoke of Fromentin succumbing just as he was in the full maturity of his powers, and on the point of being properly recognized: "When the house is built, death comes and slams the door," Montégut observes, explaining that certainly Fromentin knew this "fatalistic" proverb, in which seemed "condensed" all the wisdom of the Orient. Surely Fromentin's "sudden disappearance," Montégut adds, so "unexpected," offered a "lugubrious" and alas "all too justified" demonstration of the proverb's veracity. [5]

The idea that Fromentin's death offered an ironic fulfillment of the lessons learned on his travels to Algeria operates as more than rhetorical conceit. We find many similar statements across the corpus of Orientalist artistic biography, as friends and biographers brought to their obituaries and memorial essays a poetics of endings that entwined art and death along an Orientalist axis. In some cases critics improvised with a light touch, Montégut's phrase about Fromentin offering a case in point. But in other cases the figuration was more ambitious, encompassing for example a painter's last words, the manner of his death, the kind of memorial made for him, or for that matter who turned up at his funeral. And as the example of Gleyre suggests, the broadly positivist protocols of nineteenth-century historical writing were scarcely immune from such figuration and indeed might be said to have offered this poetics new force and grip. How an Orientalist painter died, to repeat, was not just an empirical but a discursive question, and we must treat such end of life stories as a rich, aspirational, and broadly vocational mythology, at once varied and malleable as per the circumstances of the case, even as certain themes and motifs recur in a manner open to historical and rhetorical analysis.

From Leonardo to Raphael and many others, accounts of artists' deaths by Vasari and his successors offer an important precedent for these concerns. Across painting, biography, and illustration, artists, critics, and illustrators rewrote the biographies of the old masters through the filter of their own aesthetic and critical positions. We generally treat pictures depicting the last moments of Leonardo, Michelangelo, Titian, and Raphael as doing strategic work, nineteenth-century artists seizing on their presumed ancestors as historical aliases and fashioning a mediated image of the present. And yet the topic of how nineteenth-century artists died remains by and large unexplored. Certainly it might seem hard to elicit from nineteenth-century data the topoi, mythical residue, or "biographical cells" that Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz explored in stories told about artists from antiquity to the Renaissance.[6] We commonly associate nineteenth-century life writing with the emergence of positivist evidentiary protocols inhospitable to the kind of mythic formulae projected onto the old masters. The catalogue, the retrospective, the artist's correspondance, and other instruments of modern artistic biography were generally hostile to figurative play. And yet the emergence of this historiographical edifice should not obscure the sheer fertility of meaning-making associated with artists' death, meaning-making operating not just side by side but embedded within the edifice itself. That poetics, in short, was sometimes all the more powerful since it took the form of simple description and in this sense did not seem like mythmaking at all.

Only rarely did the deaths of nineteenth-century artists qualify for visual illustration, still less were they staged in drama or fiction. *The Death of Gericault*, painted in 1824 by a member of his circle, offers an important exception in this regard, notable in part because of its association with a death mask of the Gericault that proved crucial to the legend of the artist as it took shape. Alexandre Decamps painted *The Suicide* in 1835, inspired it was held by the suicide earlier that year of Léopold Robert. Alexandre Menjaud completed *Girodet Bids Farewell to his Studio* in 1826 shortly after the master's death, but despite these examples such visual evocations are rare. By and large, for the nineteenth century these practices of figuration lie on textual terrain, from formal artistic biographies to obituary notices and casual recollections circulated in the press. Inscribed within and sometimes working against the secular protocols of life-writing that eventually came to dominate such writing system wide, they open a revealing window onto the psychologically and historically configured imperatives that shaped and structured an artist's vocation, from their studios to their deathbeds.

Let me make two additional points before developing a series of examples in greater detail. Whether the deaths of Orientalist artists inspired a more varied or elaborate poetics than, say, the deaths of landscape or history painters in the nineteenth century, is an important question that lies beyond the compass of the present study. "The Sun is God," Turner is said to have uttered on his deathbed – arguably the most famous last words by any artist (the tale traceable

to Ruskin, although whether Turner said them is doubtful). But by way of a preliminary hypothesis, I want to argue that a combination of historical, geopolitical, and cultural factors combined to give Orientalist narratives of mortality singularly deep purchase. Many recent accounts of nineteenth-century Orientalist painting emphasize its invented, idealized, and indeed ideological character – ideological work, as the argument goes, that operates invisibly thanks to that painting's typically realist idiom. Whether or not we sign on to the charge, at the very least we may say that precisely Orientalist's invented and escapist character offered a ready platform for end-of-life narratives to take flight. Orientalism perhaps most of all among nineteenth-century art movements nurtured an elegiac poetics of mortality, loss and exile that left painter and career, life and art, mysteriously and sometimes fatally – like "The Orient" itself — intertwined.

Finally, I want to make the additional point that for all its richly imaginative character, this poetics was not simply born from studio voyages. It was fruit of the broadly naturalist climate of the mid- and later-nineteenth century, as Western artists travelled to North Africa and the Middle East, and the profession of the painter-traveler took shape. Each of the artists discussed in this essay actually journeyed to "The Orient," several of them on multiple occasions and two (Fromentin and Gustave Guillaumet) leaving behind important literary monuments. Following in the tracks laid by colonial expansion, painters and illustrators established commercially successful practices that highlighted the first-hand, observational basis of their exotic representations. Needless to say, artists also mined the classic tropes that in the Western imagination defined the region's climate and geography — the desert, the caravan, and the oasis, among others. But it was the reality of such journeys that gave this poetics special feeling. Such travel, as it seemed, marked a painter's eyes, body, speech, and affect — in short how painters lived and how they died.

Death Abroad

The risks were real. The Scottish born history painter David Wilkie died at age fifty-six outside Gibraltar aboard the steamer *SS Oriental* in June 1841, en route home from Syria and Constantinople. The exact cause of death is uncertain, but the surgeon aboard the *Oriental,* who took careful notes as Wilkie deteriorated, writes that the artist came aboard in Alexandria already sick, and that his condition deteriorated rapidly following the consumption of fruit and iced lemonade purchased during a stop in Malta. *The Spectator* reports that passengers on the steamship lobbied the captain to bring Wilkie's body ashore, but the Governor at Gibraltar refused permission and the artist was buried at sea that evening at 8:30 pm, just before sunset.[7]

The availability of the surgeon's notes helped assure that Wilkie's biographers would confine themselves to clinical descriptions of his final hours. His death resonated in British visual culture for decades after, however, thanks in large part to his friend J. M. W. Turner, who made Wilkie's burial at sea the subject of one of his most famous pictures. "The midnight torch gleam'd, o'er the steamer's side," explained Turner in *The Fallacies of Hope,* when his *Peace-Burial at Sea* was first exhibited in 1842 (along side *War, The Exile and the Rock Limpet,* a pendant also themed on the topic of exile, and featuring Napoleon on the Island of St. Helena). Ruskin, as it happens, was disparaging about Turner's use of black, and many other critics found fault in Turner's disinclination to describe the event with exacting accuracy. But eventually it became one of the artist's best-known pictures, routinely inspiring more sympathetic viewers to spiritual heights. Turner, explained Ralph Nicolson Wornum, keeper of the National Gallery, in account of the picture published next to a mezzotint by Alfred-Louis Brunet-Debaines, was not the kind of artist to be "tested by realism."

Figure 2. Joseph Mallord William Turner, Peace—Burial at Sea, 1842, oil on canvas, 87 x 87 cm, Tate Britain, London.

Nor might we add was Turner tested by the facts of the case. The burial time of 8:30pm was widely noted, but perhaps in an effort to motivate the great contrast of light and dark that so puzzled the picture's first viewers and continues to puzzle scholars into the present day (Paulson goes as far as to suggest the great mass of black on the ship is in fact a London stagecoach, an allusion to the burial at home that was denied to Wilkie), Turner sets the hour at midnight, as if to dramatize the symbolic darkness of the occasion by a striking contrast of light and dark. And while the light is torchlight, John Mollet described the picture's effect of hyper-natural illumination as almost "mystical" in character — a "great flood of crimson light that seems to consecrate the temporary chapel of the waist of the ship, and the coffin's plunge into the illuminated wave of crimson flood of light."[8] Of course Mollet was right –

transcendent effects of light dominate Turner's art through and through. But on this occasion we may say that Turner adapts that commitment to a metaphorics of illumination already inscribed in Orientalist painting and criticism, a claim we will have occasion to revisit in the remarks ahead.

Another example, in this case an artist who perished in the field. Clément Boulanger, a pupil of Ingres, saw success at the Salon in the 1820s and 1830s before signing up in 1841 as recorder to an archeological expedition led by Charles Texier to the ancient city of Magnesia, in the Meander Valley. As Alexandre Dumas recalled in his recollections of the artist, in September 1842 the group was at work excavating a magnificent temple to Diana, destroyed in an earthquake and now partially under water. Unwisely seeking to complete a sketch "in the full heat of the midday sun," Boulanger succumbed to a "one of those bouts of sunstroke, so dangerous in the Orient." Achmet Bey, the Governor, sent his carriage and attendants "for the use of the sick man," but too late, and the only medical treatment available was from "bad Greek doctors, like those that killed Byron." A report in the *Smyrna Journal,* reprinted in the French press, adds that upon being taken ill, native workers at the site were sent off to fish for leaches (Byron was also bled), but the physician in charge of treatment was not a Greek native but rather was attached to their ship, *L'Expéditive.*[9] Falling into a delirium, Dumas continues, Boulanger was set in a hammock in a nearby mosque and died within five days, "singing and laughing" but "not doubting he was dying."[10]

The funeral of this thirty-seven year old painter was prestigious. Boulanger's body was transported to Scala Nova (present day Ku?adas? in Turkey) by horse, attended by "eight Greeks" and a dozen sailors from *L'Expeditive.* Reports in the French and English press add that that the ceremony drew local diplomats as well as a contingent of clergy, not to mention all the Christian residents of the city, who gathered to meet the cortege upon its arrival. Dumas claimed that no less than three thousand people trailed Boulanger's coffin by the time it arrived at the French legation in Constantinople – quite wrong, since the body never travelled there. But we do know that in a show of patriotic solidarity, French houses and commercial institutions adorned their facades with funeral banners and flags, as did ships offshore. Other locals, too, it was reported, would pay their respects to fallen artist. To be sure, the stakes for these communities differed, sited as they were on hierarchically distinct positions on the "imaginative geography" (Said's term) that mapped Boulanger's path to the tomb. But in each case, the honors shown an artist charged with retrieving a community's lost or forgotten history operates as a legitimating topos of imperial culture, just that homage seeming to fuel a sense of solidarity on the ground, and reported up to readers back home.

This cultural work of mourning operates not only over space but over time, the deaths of Boulanger and Wilkie sending out a lingering after-image of the painter-traveller's journey gone awry. "Poor Clément Boulanger," writes Louis Gonse in the *Gazette des beaux-arts* in 1874, upon encountering one of his pictures in Lille. "He rests now, unknown, in the cloister of a Greek church in Smyrna, where probably no traveller thinks of going to render him pious homage."[11] In fact this was not quite right — Gonse's lament for Boulanger's forgotten tomb was enabled in part by the fact it was not forgotten, but rather formed part of an elegiac, Orientalist tour. Travelling to Constantinople a decade later after Boulanger's death, Théophile Gautier reports encountering a plaque honoring Boulanger in the exterior cloister the Greek Church near the marketplace in Smyrna. "The Tomb of a compatriot in a foreign land," confessed Gautier, has always something of a sadness in its associations, be it from an unacknowledged selfishness of humanity, or from a vague impression that the foreign soil presses more heavily upon the ashes which it covers."[12] Note the chance character of the encounter. It may well be that Gautier had been informed of the memorial, or that his guide took him to see it. But in the narrative as he stages it, serendipity leads him to explore a mysterious cloister in a provincial town, only to discover the faded trace of another who preceded him. "Foreign soil," Gautier explains, seemed to press "more heavily" on the fallen artist than burial in his native land, although of course what Gautier means is that it pressed more heavily on himself, his encounter with Boulanger's ashes catalyzing traveller's anxiety for home. Other travellers, too, in the years ahead, took note of the plaque and sent in reports for readers back home, including Adolphe Joanne and Emile Isambert in 1861, and Emile Bourquelot in 1886.[13] A mournful poetics of the forgotten exile rested on the possibility of sometimes being remembered. For Boulanger this took the form of an actual site on a cultural and archeological tour. But the principle obtains for Wilkie as well, British travellers steaming past Gibraltar taking note of the approximate location where the *SS Oriental* consigned their compatriot to the deep.

Sacrifice and Representation

Another death in the field saw friends rally round a painter in an effort to inscribe his fatal pilgrimage in the canon of British art. Affiliated with the Pre-Raphaelite circle, Thomas Seddon died of in November 1856, at the age of thirty-five, while on his second visit to Cairo. Three years earlier the born-again Christian had accompanied Holman Hunt on a voyage to Egypt and subsequently Jerusalem, pitching a tent in the surrounding hills and studying its sites. From this campaign Seddon completed what is generally regarded as his masterpiece, *Jerusalem and the Valley of Jehoshaphat from the Hill of Evil Counsel*, whose striking topographical and geological accuracy inscribes a tri-partite allegory of resurrection readily accessible to a viewer informed by similar Christian fervor. Commercial success cemented

Seddon's conviction he should return to the Middle East, again with the idea of undertaking sacred subjects, and to which he proposed to bring a new level of documentary veracity based on first hand-observation of the region's topography, flora, and geology. The motivation for this disciplined program was less artistic than educational – precisely by sacrificing, as it seemed, fatuous claims to originality, Seddon could present the Holy Land to audiences back home for their religious benefit: "He wished to present to those who could not visit it an accurate record, not a fancy view, of the very ground our Savior so often trod," explained Seddon's brother, in a note to *The Atheneum* in 1879.[14] All of this is to say that Seddon's embrace of unmediated realism was less an aesthetic position than a moral obligation. His conviction he must forego anything "fancy" constituted a willing and deliberate act of artistic selflessness.

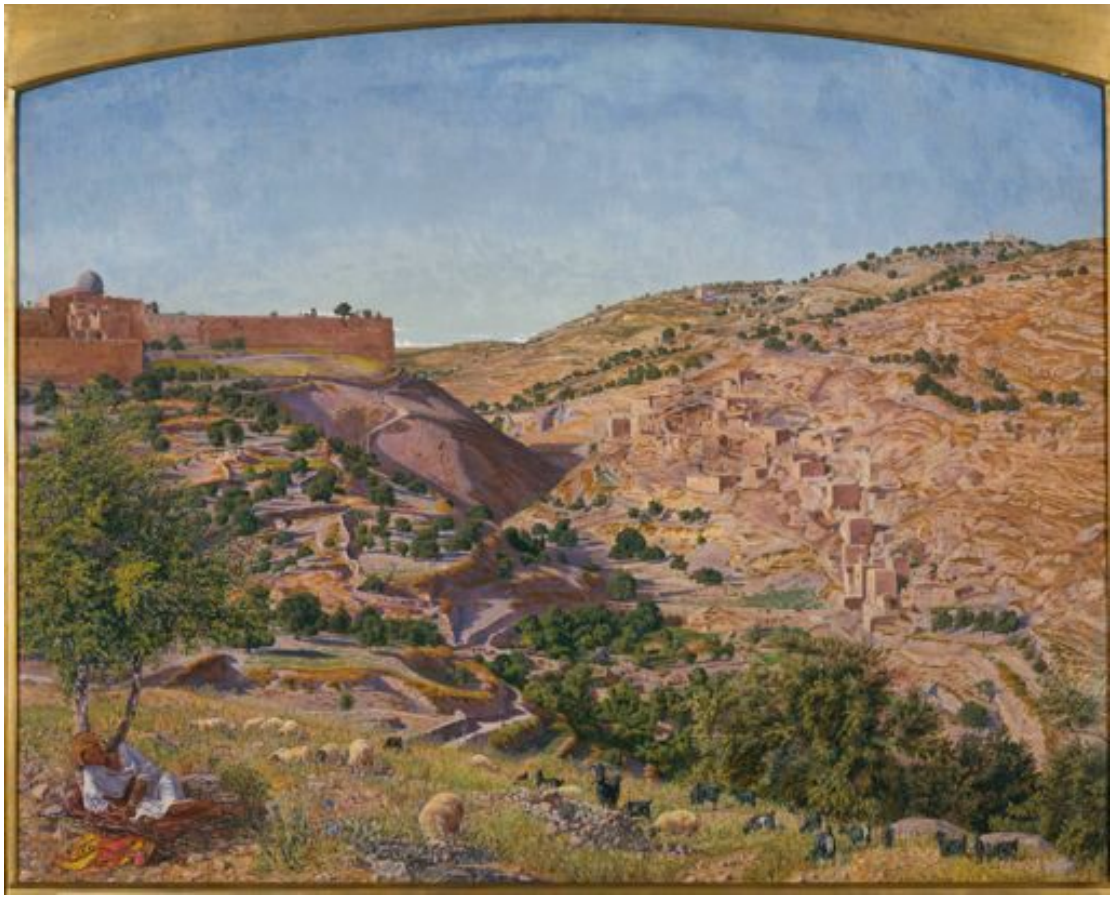

Figure 3. Thomas Seddon, Jerusalem and the Valley of Jehoshaphat from the Hill of Evil Counsel, 1854–5, oil on canvas, 67 x 83 cm, Tate Britain, London.

Within a few weeks of his arrival in Cairo, Seddon came down sick — "thrown for a sharp curb," he wrote his wife, indeed perhaps "punished" for "a want of attention to His Sabbath," Seddon confessing to having walked the streets and alleys after church on Sunday, rather than

returning home to rest.[15] The days ahead offered an uncanny mirror-reversed image of an earlier experience: during his first trip to Egypt, Seddon had nursed a fellow traveller known only as Nicholson, moving him from Cairo to the Pyramids as he declined and finally died. But on this occasion, as commentators rued following a memoir on Seddon published by the artist's brother, it fell to a physician and missionary in the Cairo community of expatriates to take this obligation on: "and when, after no long period, he himself lay on his deathbed, in the same land of strangers, it is touching to know that a friend as devoted was raised up to him, and the cup of cold water he had given to another held to his own parched lips by a gentle Christian hand."[16] A mere four weeks following his arrival Seddon was dead, felled by dysentery in all likelihood acquired on the passage from Marseilles.

Needless to say, Seddon's death struck friends and admirers hard, many of them yielding to magical thinking in an effort to assign agency where there was none. Look no further in this regard that Seddon himself, whom as friends report, had recently confessed to intimations of mortality. He neither "expected nor desired," Seddon's brother recalled, "to be long lived." Indeed it "really seemed as if he felt a presentiment of his death, and was studiously making preparation for it." Seddon's circle of friends found comfort in this notion, Seddon's serenity and good nature in the face of these intimations helping to lift the pall cast by his death and mobilizing their commemorative work in turn. The tragic outcome of his second tour would be assimilated to a divinely inspired master plan. The death of this artist in the field was not simply an occupational hazard, but the highest expression of his devotion and even his destiny. The quest for first-hand observation that underwrote his journey was a spiritual quest through and through, an artistic version of an ethics of sacrifice that found its highest expression in Seddon's early passage into eternal life.

All this and more informed the attitudes of his friends when they gathered at the house of Ford Maddox Ford for the purpose of preserving Seddon's memory in the annals of British art. Together with Holman Hunt, John Ruskin, and others in the Pre-Raphaelite circle, they launched a subscription campaign to acquire Seddon's *Jerusalem* for the nation, in the end purchasing the picture for six hundred pounds and offering it to the National Gallery. This, too, as it seemed, was part of Seddon's master plan. His brother reports that he had proposed to let the picture go at a low price to a collector, with the proviso it be offered to the Gallery after his death; and that in still another scheme, Seddon had planned to present a large copy of the picture for a "public institution," so that others may have "a correct representation of the very places that were so often trod by our Redeemer during His sojourn on earth."[17]

For an account of Seddon's aesthetics self-effacement, look no further than Ruskin, who praised Seddon's Holy Land subjects for their absence of art. It was Seddon's presence there, Ruskin explained, and the mortal risks that presence entailed, that assured the truthfulness

and sincerity of his pictures, and hence his seeming invisibility at the scene of representation. Seddon's landscapes, Ruskin explained, were "the first" to unite "perfect artistical with topographical accuracy." The first to be "directed, with stern self-restraint, to no other purpose than to giving those who cannot travel, trustworthy knowledge of the scenes which ought to be most interesting to them." All previous efforts at truth in this area had been "more or less subordinate to pictorial or dramatic effect," in other words what Seddon's brother had termed "fancy." For Seddon anything fancy was absent. His "primal object," Ruskin insists, was to "place the spectator, as far as art can do it, in the scene represented, and to give him the perfect sensation of its reality, wholly unmodified by the artist's execution." [18] It is hard to imagine a fuller statement of an of artful self-sacrifice – artful because the guarantor of Seddon's invisibility was the fact he was there, his presence assuring his viewers they were seeing the truth even as he relinquished all claims for this art and put his own life at risk. Seddon's humble dream of unmediated realism on another's behalf stands as artistic counterpart to his own readiness to follow the path of Christ, literally and figuratively to the Promised Land. Surrendering his art for the sake of a truthful representation, Seddon's death was not simply a risk associated with his voyage but in a sense its fulfillment — hence Ruskin, as he called on the public to throw itself behind "the sacrifice of the life of a man of genius to the serviceable veracity of his art." [19]

The Sun and Death

"Light!" exclaimed Henri Regnault as he fell in January 1871, his "last cry" evoking the immersive, sun-filled dream that took him from Paris to Rome, Madrid, Granada, and finally Tangier. [20] Doubtless it is farfetched to imagine the famous hero of the Franco-Prussian War, killed outside Paris on a cold, gray afternoon, to have shouted out the word encapsulating his journey to "the land of the sun" — not least of all because no one saw him fall. But the tale, sent around three decades later by Gabriel Hanotaux, a leading historian and diplomat, speaks to the currency of an Orientalist poetics of illumination that so colored Regnault's memory that readers could imagine exactly that. For Regnault as for many others, a well-trodden metaphorics of light came utterly to saturate Orientalist art criticism and artistic biography, the sun seeming at once to illuminate their artistic path but also trail them to the grave.

Countless painter-travellers would be described as setting out for the "land of the sun," at once in an effort to brighten their palettes but also in search of a deeper sense of artistic renewal. The sun stands as a figure of vocational rebirth, artists recharging their enterprise in the face of climatic and atmospheric effects that bordered on the inimitable. Reentry, accordingly, was invariably difficult, Orientalist painters suffering and even dying from withdrawal under the grey skies of Northern Europe. The thirty-six year old Prosper Marilhat, for example, seemingly "haunted" by his journey to the Orient, was "suffocated by

the fogs of the North."[21] Théodore Chassériau, a pupil of Ingres but "touched" by Delacroix, made several trips to Algeria only to be cut down in Paris in 1856, at the age of thirty-seven. Chassériau, lamented Gautiert, "sleeps in the darkness of the tomb," an ironic fate for this "ardent artist who loved the sun" and whose paintings made Gautier "drunk with light" (more on Chassériau shortly).[22]

Figure 4. Charles de Tournemine, Hélios photo, upload, stitch and restoration by Jebulon,Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 5. Charles de Tournemine, Turkish Women in Setting Sun, 1863, oil on canvas, 68 x 125 cm, Musée Fabre, Montpellier.

Deathbed narratives rewrote the painter's journey into the sun in spiritual terms, the tracks laid by an Orientalist culminating in a final encounter that marked his passage into eternal life. Take the case of Charles de Tournemine, an underrated Toulon-born painter and curator at the Luxembourg museum (and model for the Orientalist painter Coriolus in the Goncourt's *Manette Salomon*).[23] Tournemine made several trips to Algeria, Asia Minor, and Egypt in 1850s and 1860s, including an invitation in 1869 to attend the inauguration of the Suez Canal. After helping to safeguard the Luxembourg's collections during the Franco-Prussian War and Commune, Tournemine returned to his native Toulon to nurse his deteriorating health. To no avail, however, Toulon dying in 1872 following a slow decline in his physical and mental faculties. J.L. Turrel, a noted physician, naturalist, and supporter of the arts in Toulon and Marseilles, reports that in his last days Tournemine fell into a delirium, the artist confusing past and present as he imagined himself once again in the land of the sun. Tournemine's "poor mind, feverish from sun," sought a final journey into the light — "he wanted to forge straight into these lands of the sun that he had so loved and were the aspiration of his life."[24] Indeed even to India, its "sun and fruits" tempting his now unhinged mind. But if the illness was "cruel," the "agony was gentle," the physician insists, for in the end Tournemine regressed to a childlike state, and the "doors of his tomb" opened precisely in the "crib." As from "chrysalis to butterfly," Tournemine finally found himself on the threshold of "what was always his ideal, towards the great, eternal light."

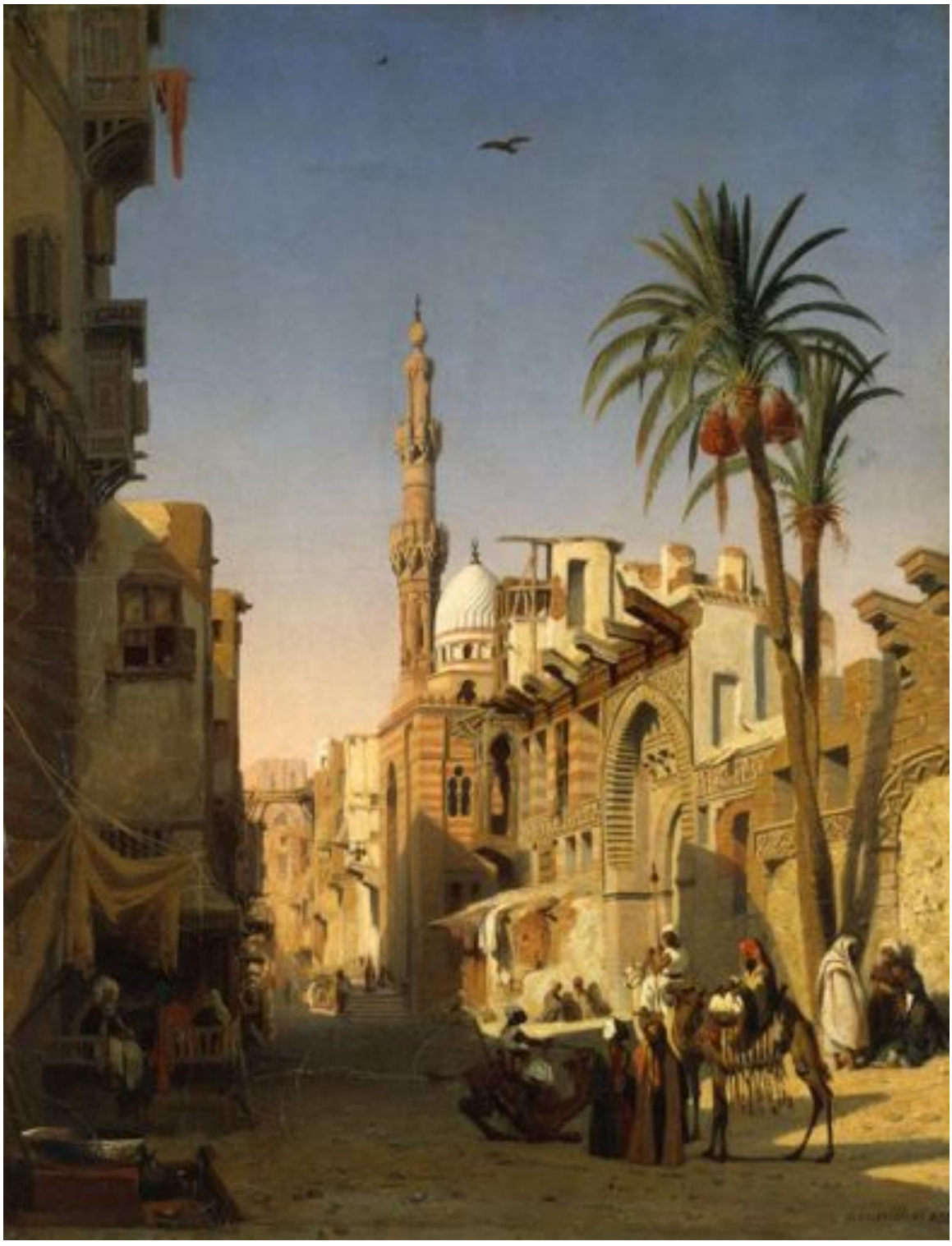

Figure 6. Prosper Marilhat, Ezbekiyah Street in Cairo, 1833, oil on canvas, 54 x 42 cm, The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

The lamented Marilhat, remembered today in a striking portrait by Chassériau, offers another version of this regressive scenario, alas less redemptive than poignant and strange. Returning to Paris in the spring of 1833 after a long voyage to Egypt, where he served as recorder to a scientific expedition before eventually striking out on his own, Marilhat sent to the Salon a suite of landscape and urban subjects that captured the interest of Gautier and other Romantic critics. And while he never returned to the Middle East, Marilhat continued to mine this youthful journey until 1847, when syphilis sent the thirty-six year old painter to the grave. Critics who knew him noted creeping signs of mental illness overtook Marilhat in the early 1840s, triggered in part by an unexpected blow to his artistic pride. In 1844 he was nominated for the *Légion d'honneur* by his ally Prosper Marilhat (or at his urging), only to be rejected. The news came as a shock, although this was hardly a surprise given his youth. In fact later that year Marilhat received something like a consolation prize in the form of a substantial commission that would have allowed him to return to Egypt or elsewhere in North Africa and the Middle East. But this could not soften a blow that embittered the artist and seemed to fuel his instability.

Figure 7. Théodore Chassériau, Portrait of Prosper Marilhat, oil on canvas, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

As the delusion took hold, Marilhat fell victim to a compulsive perfectionism, beginning many new canvases only to abandon them in anger and frustration. As Gautier explained, Marilhat did not work from an é*bauche* but brought different parts of his canvas to completion before

touching the rest of the picture, an unusual procedure that his mental illness exaggerated to a dramatic degree.[25] In March 1847, overtaken by "melancholy" and prone to fits, Marilhat left Paris and retreated to his native Thiers, in the Auvergne. But the change in setting could not halt the delusions so common to syphilitic dementia, and in the end he quit painting altogether.

Gomot, whose 1884 biography of Marilhat draws on first hand reports, speaks of several instances where Marilhat's mental illness and his Orientalism seemed unexpectedly to intersect. Marilhat's family, worried by further signs of deterioration and thinking that a return to the studio might prove therapeutic for the artist, supplied him with materials and encouraged him to draw. To their amazement, they discovered that his abilities had entirely left him. Pencil and paper in hand, he set upon tracing stick figures as if in the margins of a schoolbook — the talent of the "Orientalist painter had been reduced to that of a child." The artist was dead, Goumot explains, his "light extinguished," and "his conception (*idea*) taken flight forever to the land of myrtles and oleander."[26] And from this moment, Gomot explains, Marilhat would speak with strange serenity of the time "*when I was a painter*" – *quant j'étais peintre*, Goumot underlining the phrase. Unable even to draw, Marilhat lost himself in memories of the Orient — the dromedaries and serpents in the desert, the "blue ibis in a melancholic pose on the banks of a river," a "veiled woman passing like shadows," – all that and more "lived in his spirit *from the time when I was a painter*."[27] The painter whose powers have left him withdraws into a child-like rehearsal of his earlier life. Dimly conscious of his own transformation, Marilhat calls upon the Orient as mnemonic refuge, allowing him to retreat in his mind where he could no longer travel in space.

The regressive cycle marched inexorably forward. In his last months Marilhat was overtaken by a determination to return to Paris from Thiers. Alarmed by the prospect, Marilhat's family had him committed. Family and friends who visited the artist in the weeks before his death in September 1847 found he barely recognized them, and for that matter had little sense of his former self. But the blow to his pride held to have triggered his decline clung to him in the form of a compulsive re-enactment. And also to cling to him was his Orientalist dream, only now in the form of a child's nightmare. As Goumot explained, the painter spent his last days compulsively drawing the outline of the *Légion d'honneur* on the walls of his room at asylum. When friends spoke to him of Egypt, in an effort to "pluck the strings of his memory," Marilhat's mumbled replies were incoherent — except for a phrase, now uttered in fear: "the camels, the camels!"[28]

Figure 8. Alfred Dehodencq, Self Portrait, 1870, oil on canvas, High Museum of Art, Atlanta.

Other versions of a quest derailed populate the corpus of Orientalist artistic biography. The sun, for example, could not only redeem but disable. Its regenerative power could go awry, consuming the painter from within. Alfred Dehodencq, who made multiple trips to Morocco in the 1840s and 1850s, would be described as suffering from a withdrawal of illumination that distorted his painting before sending him to the grave. We owe our account of Dehodencq to philosopher Gabriel Séailles, whose texts on Leonardo da Vinci, Eugène

Carrière, and other topics once attracted wide readership. Séailles spoke of the dissatisfaction that gradually overtook Dehodencq upon his return to Paris, signaled in his inability to complete his paintings, in their destruction at his own hands, and in the introduction of exaggerated and unnatural light effects. Haunted by the memory of transcendence past, the sun that had fueled his enterprise now drove him into decline: "he could see nothing but what shone inside him. Did his tired eyes lose a feeling for sense of nuance? Were they satisfied with nothing but dazzling light?" In his last years, Séailles adds, Dehodencq brought to his painting a jarring intensity of illumination: he wanted "full-on light . . . direct, immediate impact — force without artifice, without resort to contrasts, an explosion of pure colors at their highest pitch."[29] Unconfirmed reports claim the sixty-year-old Dehodencq took his own life, although Séailles himself is silent on the topic, attributing his death to the painter catching a cold after the funeral of a friend. Regardless of the actual circumstances, at the very least we may say the sun tracks Dehodencq's decline, luring him into a search for false transcendence. Where once the sun had rejuvenated the artist, its toxic residue now claimed him as victim.

Fiction and artistic biography overlap in the case of Naz de Coriolis, the Orientalist painter whose career the Goncourts recount in *Manette Salomon*. Following his return from Asia Minor, Coriolis becomes lover to his model Manette. Their union goes awry as Manette, a Jew, gradually isolates Coriolis in a Semitic domestic sphere he neither controls nor understands. The novel ends not with Coriolis dying but with his marrying Manette. But it's worth emphasizing that his artistic decline, like that of Dehodencq, takes an Orientalist turn, Coriolis succumbing to an optical disorder that appears to "deregulate" and "trouble" his eyesight, and creating an insatiable desire for light. Paintings by the old masters that he once admired seemed too dark: "of light, he could find nothing but the pale memory. Something seemed to be missing in the encounter with these immortal canvases: the sun."[30] Coriolis now works only in the brightest light of day, overcompensating for the seeming darkness around him. His mental deposits of light-filled transcendence proved impossible to stabilize and control, distorting his paintings and tilting him into decline.

Redemption in the Studio

A passing detail concerning Chassériau's funeral, cited by Gautier 1856, opens a window onto yet another elegiac theme – the painter united with his art from the grave. Gautier spoke of spotting a mysterious Arab man in a great black cape following the Chassériau's funeral cortege with "Oriental gravity," reading verses from the Koran, sprinkling water on his coffin, and adorning the painter's mortuary chapel with a yellow wreath.[31] The Luxembourg's curator Léonce Bénédite, in a manuscript on Chassériau left unfinished at Bénédite's death in 1925, reported finding a note in Chassériau's estate that seventy francs should be given to "the Arab," leading Bénédite to conclude that this mysterious mourner

must have been a North African native whom Chassériau employed as model. Certainly this was a reasonable speculation, although the precise circumstances surrounding this mysterious figure are impossible to determine with certainty. But more important is the fact Gautier tells the story in the first place, and that Bénédite takes it up in turn. This mysterious "Arab" who performs rituals at Chassériau's tomb is for Gautier more than a model. He is the living agent of Chassériau's Orientalism, at once impenetrable and yet rendering honors to Chassériau for being represented in the first place – indeed not just rendering honors but, as we might put it, interpellated as subject on Orientalist terms. His model, the Orient "itself" – most of all he is the subject that Chassériau sets out to portray, now come alive to mourn his maker. The idea might seem farfetched, were it not that a memorial to another fallen Orientalist would propose exactly that.

Figure 9. Gustave Guillaumet, Lhagouat, Algeria, 1879, oil on canvas, 123 x 180 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris..

For the lofty character of the Orientalist painter's final journey, for the realization that his voyage into the sun was merely a rehearsal for a moment of transcendence revealed only on the other side of a one-way journey, and for the possibility such a redemptive metaphorics might be tasked with still more intimate work, look no further than Gustave Guillaumet. Today the painter's fame rests principally on his *Desert* of 1868, a spectacular panorama that unites the sun, the desert, and a barely visible caravan in an exalted meditation on humanity's struggle for existence in the face of the sun's crushing power. Multiple additional

trips to Algeria saw Guillaumet retreat from the grandiloquence of his *Desert* in favor a more Impressionist-style, observational project. Guillaumet's *Laghouat* of 1879 and other paintings from this era established him as the leading French interpreter of the Algerian landscape and its local population, his urban scenes seeming to breathe with a sense of terrestrial exhalation nurtured by the sun's animating embrace.

Of modest origins, success at the Salon brought Guillaumet substantial wealth and the promise of still greater success, promise cut short by his death in 1887 at the age of forty-seven. Twenty minutes before he passed, his biographer reports, Guillaumet was seized by a vision. At last free of pain, his features took on ecstatic expression: "alone with his soul at eternity's gate," all of a sudden his face was "transfigured":

A vision came to him; the abundance of light to which he had dedicated his life reassembled before his eyes like a dazzling Grebe; it was the glory, undoubtedly, it was the goodbye to the sun, that, in this last moment, he believed he saw shining brightly. He stretched forth his arms, and in an attitude of ineffable admiration, he said these words, the last he would ever pronounce: "What gold! What gold! How beautiful it is! What golden palms!" [32]

Whether these were truly Guillaumet's last words, and whether he truly died minutes later still with "a smile on his face" is impossible to verify. But verification is beside the point in the face of a deathbed discovery that rewrote Guillaumet's worldly enterprise as a search for transcendence all along. His quest for the sun the sun was transformed in death, redeeming the painter in spirit as it had sustained his vocation. Bidding the sun goodbye, he welcomes its true face the figure of his future glory. The golden palms of posterity mark his passage into eternal life.

The story neither ends there nor begins there, however. As turns out, the circumstances behind Guillaumet's demise were scarcely exalted. French papers spoke hesitatingly about the scandal, but the *New York Times* did not hold back, explaining that Guillaumet apparently shot himself in the chest following a quarrel with his mistress, "a lady who was his senior by many years." What happened to the mistress in the hours that followed is never made clear, but we learn that his wife along with her son retrieved the mortally wounded artist and had him brought, at his request, to his studio, so that he could be surrounded by his sketches of Algeria "for the last time." [33] Eight days passed before Guillaumet succumbed, long enough for his physicians to regain hope he might survive the trauma; and long enough for the painter to reconcile with his wife, Guillaumet proposing they return to Lhagouat and other sites in Algeria, at once the setting for his art and for the renewal of their vows. The painter's devotion to his art and his domestic sphere were now united in perfect if tragic identity, as if these historic antimonies could only be recalibrated at death's door: "'if I get

out of this,' he told his wife, 'we will return to Lhagouat. Do you remember how well I was working?… I have never worked so well as when I was with you…'" By day six Guillaumet had deteriorated, however. By the next day everyone knew the end was near.

Figure 10. LouisErnestBarrias, Tomb of Gustave Guillaumet, 1890, Montparnasse Cemetery, Paris.

Figure 11. LouisErnest Barrias, The Young Girl of Bou Saâda, after 1890, ivory, silveredbronze, wood, motherofpearl and turquoise, 12 3/8 × 11 1/4 × 10 1/2 in. Acquired by Henry Walters, 1900, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

Neither the manner of Guillaumet's death nor a redemptive metaphorics of light appear to figure in Louis-Ernest Barrias's magnificent monument to Guillaumet, unveiled in 1890 at Montparnasse Cemetery, and where it remains to this day. The sculpture saw enormous success, although countless reductions in bronze and other materials have served to obscure the commemorative circumstances initially attached to its making. The installation at Montparnasse features a *Young Woman of Bou Saâda* sitting on the monument, along with a

medallion portrait of Guillaumet, also by Barrias, set on its base, together with the titles of Guillaumet's pictures inscribed in the stone behind. The seated figure was in fact a variant Barrias's *Spinner of Megara,* sent up from Rome for the Salon of 1870 while he was still a *pensionnaire* at the Villa Medici. Reworking the figure for Guillaumet's tomb, Barrias changes the position of the girl's hands, so that she now drops flowers on his grave rather than spins. More generally, he "orientalizes her," switching out the *Spinner's* Greek features, hair, and cloak for a melancholy muse with North African features, Algerian dress, a North African rug, and native Algerian flowers that she drops one by one on his Guillaumet's tomb.

Barrias's young flower girl also recalls female figures from Guillaumet's own painting, for example his *Weavers at Bou Saâda,* exhibited in 1885 and again at a retrospective following his death. Whether it was this picture or similar interior subjects that Barrias had in mind we cannot say, but the notion that the girl derived from Guillaumet's own painting was central to the conceit Barrias put in place, and was commonly described as exactly that. Charles Bigot, for one, made the point, noting that the features and attitude of this "young woman of Kabyla" owed nothing to Greece. Rather, she was "just the kind of girl Guillaumet frequently painted, either sowing or sitting at home, going to get to water or returning with it." Indeed she "personified" Guillaumet's oeuvre, Bigot explained, and surely Guillaumet himself would have wanted "no other image for his tomb."[34] The trope reaches back to Pygmalion, now reborn as a naturalist fantasy in a tragic key. The painter's muse comes to life in the form of his model, only this muse is not the painter's lover but his mourner. Nor in fact is she his model in the traditional sense, since Guillaumet was held not to employ models but native girls unaccustomed to posing. In short, and like the "Arab" who trailed Chassériau's tomb, the young woman who mourns Guillaumet is a figure for the "real Orient" — truly an effect of his naturalist discourse, and yet seemingly offered up by nature itself.

Figure 12. Gustave Guillaumet, Weavers at Bou Saâda, c. 1885, oil on canvas, 94 x 112 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

A posthumous retrospective at the École des Beaux-arts offered critics the opportunity to revisit Guillaumet's *Spinners of Bou Saada,* and more generally to take stock of the painter's career and its sudden conclusion. For all their determination to remain silent on the circumstances of Guillaumet's death, their readings worked to cement the urgent renewal of vows that followed the bizarre conduct that had brought him to his deathbed. Guillaumet's friend Durand-Gréville, writing in *L'Artiste,* cites the *Spinners of Bou Saada* and others like it as evidence of a true "collaboration" between the artist and his spouse. Without her, Duran-Greville insists, Guillaumet would never have been able to secure models, still less overcome their nervous stares as he walked into the studio, not to mention their tendency simply to slip away.[35] The peaceful, absorptive, and as it seemed timeless rituals that populate his Algerian subjects were wholly the fruit of a collaboration between husband and wife. Scarcely is it farfetched, under the circumstances, to imagine Barrias's *Young Woman of Bou Saada* as re-inscribing on Guillaumet's tomb the idealized union of art and domesticity that his violent quarrel so scandalously undermined. To be sure such a reading might seem

scarcely open to verification. But certainly Barrias was sufficiently well-informed, and indeed sufficiently invested, to put such a message in place. Not only were he and Guillaumet friends, but Guillaumet had studied with Barrias's brother, the painter Felix-Joseph Barrias (not an Orientalist, deceased in 1907 under circumstances unknown, but author of *The Death of Chopin*, painted in 1885 and in its day widely reproduced).

Orientalist artists died in ways like anyone else, but by virtue of their exotic trajectories they attracted to their deathbeds a rich metaphorics of mortality that the present pages have only begun to unpack. Suffice it to close with another example, as it happens another occasion that saw Barrias charged with commemorating a fallen friend. The scene united the work of mourning and representation, even as Barrias effaced the work of his hand in an effort to preserve the features dear to him. On January 27 1871, five days following Henri Regnault's death at the Battle of Buzenval, Barrias together with Georges Clairin pulled a plaster mold from their dead friend's face, following the delivery of his body to Père Lachaise. In the years ahead this intimate artifact was molded in plaster, cast in bronze, and widely photographed, allowing countless Frenchmen to reflect on the death of a painter destined, as it seemed, one day to lead the French school.[36] The installation in 1900 of the original plaster at the Musée Carnavalet allowed still more viewers to view up close this effigy of the Prix de Rome painter who, returning to Paris from Tangier, joined the National Guard and was killed on his first day of combat. But between the entry wound on Regnault's left temple and the smashed nose that gave him the features of "a Mongol," to cite one critic's phrase, what was called up even more than Regnault's sun-lit dream was its sudden and definitive end, expressed for all to see in the path left by a bullet to the brain.

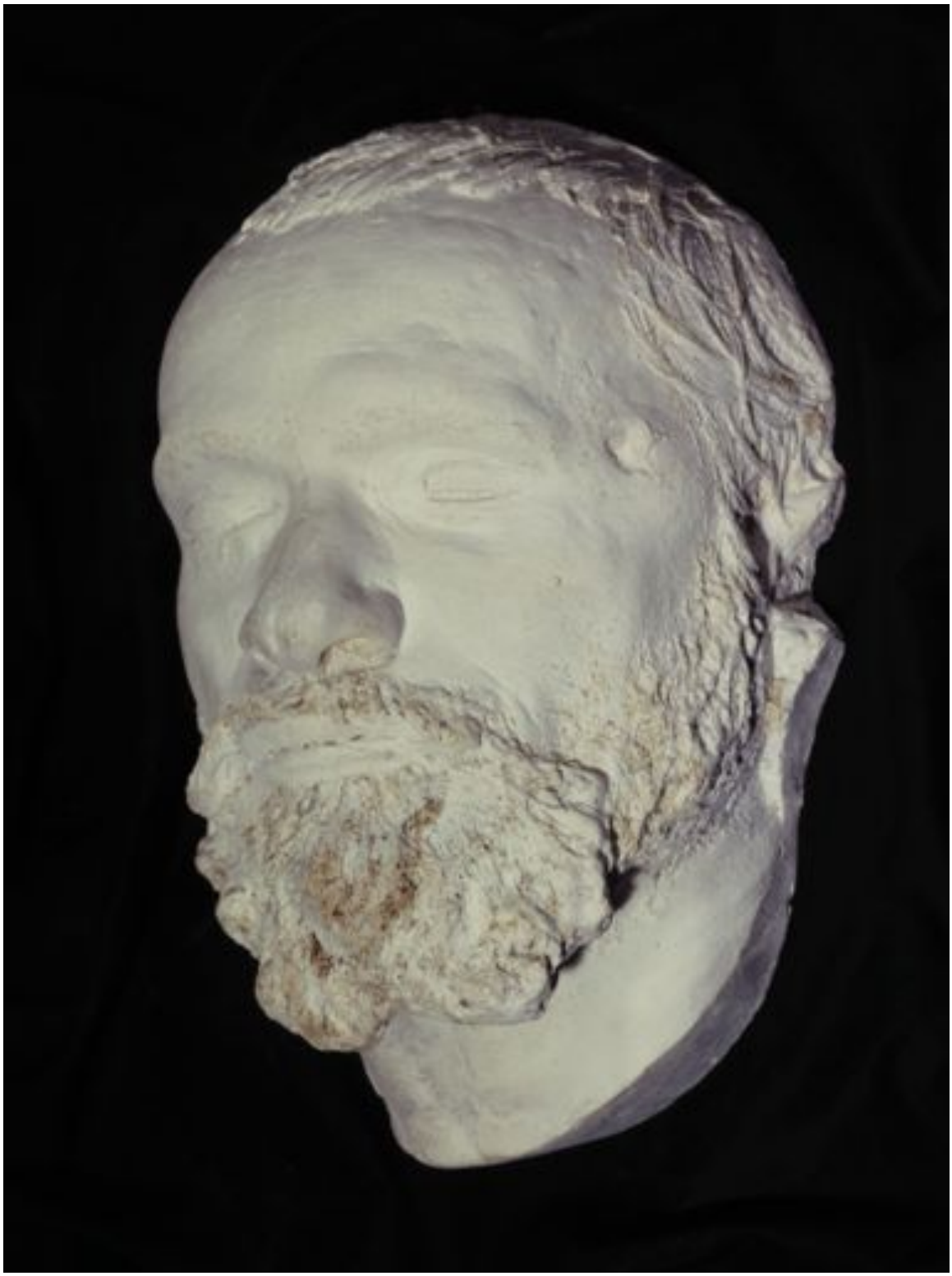

Figure 13. LouisErnest Barrias, Death Mask of Henri Regnault, 1871, plaster, Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

NOTES

1. See the account in Marius Chaumelin, *Decamps, sa vie, son oeuvre, ses imitateurs* (Marseille: Camouin, 1861), 9.

2. See *Exposition des oeuvres de Léon Belly à l'Ecole nationale des beaux-arts* (Paris: J. Claye, 1878), which reprints a biography and obituary notice by Emile Bergerat, published the previous year in the *Journal officiel*.

3. Charles Clément recounts the story of Gleyre's illness in *Gleyre: Étude biographique et critique, avec le catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre du maître* (Paris, 1878), 116-117. For additional details, see William Hauptman, *Charles Gleyre, 1806-1874: Biography and Catalogue Raisonné* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 1:101.

4. Clément, *Gleyre: Etude biographique,* 367.

5. Emile Montégut, *Morts contemporains, 2eme série* (Paris: Hachette, 1884), 79.

6. For the deaths of the old masters, notable for this study is Philip Sohm, "Caravaggio's Deaths," *The Art Bulletin*, 84 (September 2002), 449-468. For the impact of *Legend, Myth and Magic in the Myth of the Artist: A Historical Experiment,* first published in 1934 along with additional literature on the biography of artists, see the recent review essay by Perry Chapman, "The Problem With Artists," *The Art Bulletin* 95 (2013): 484-88. Also of special relevance to my essay is Karen Junod's analysis of eighteenth-century British artistic biography, including deathbed scenes (Hogarth in particular), which Junod treats in broadly topological terms traceable to Vasari's account of Leonardo and other models. See *"Writing the Lives of the Painters;" Biography and Artistic Identity in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 116-118; for nineteenth-century artists' life-writings in general, see Julie F. Codell, *The Victorian Artist: Artists' Lifewritings in Britain, ca. 1870–1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); also relevant is Nicholas Green, "Dealing in Temperament: Economic Transformation of the Artistic Field in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Art History* 10 (March 1987), 59-78. Simon Critchley's *The Book of Dead Philosophers* (New York: Vintage Books, 2008) offers an inspiring model for the artistic poetics explored in the present essay.

7. Allan Cunningham, *The life of Sir David Wilkie With His Journals, Tours and Critical Remarks on Works of Art* (London: John Murray, 1843), 3:143; *The Spectator*, 14 (1841), 572.

8. *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: G. Allen, 1904), 13:159; Nicolson Warnum, *Etchings from the National Gallery* (London: Seely, Jacson, and Halliday, 1876), 31; John William Mollett, *Sir David Wilkie* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1881), 103; Ronald Paulson, Literary Landscape: Turner and Constable (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 94-95; and Martin Butlin, *The Paintings of J.M.W. Turner* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 1:248.

9. *Journal de Toulouse*, October 25 1842.

10. Alexandre Dumas, *Mes mémoires* (Paris, 1870), 9: 93-94.

11. Louis Gonse, "Musée de Lille," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 16 (April 1 1874), 342.

12. Gautier, *Constantinople Today* (London: David Bogue, 1854), 65; Emile Bouquet also notes encountering his monument in *Promenade en Egypte et Constantinople* (Paris: Challamel, 1886), 317.

13. Adophe Joanne and Emile Isambert, *Itinéraire descriptif, historique et archéologique de l'Orient* (Paris: Hachette, 1861), 464; Emile Bourquelot, *Promenades en Égypte et à Constantinople* (Paris: Challamel, 1886), 317.

14. *The Atheneum*, no. 2862 (March 22 1879), 386.

15. *Memoir and Letters of the Late Thomas Seddon, Artist,* ed. John Pollard Seddon (London: Nisbet, 1858), 166-167. For the allegorical content of *Jerusalem,* see Nicholas Tromans, "The Holy City," in *The Lure of the East,* ed. Nicholas Tromans (London: Tate Publishing, 2008), 166-67.

16. "Thomas Seddon and the Christian Artist," T*he Family Treasury of Sunday Reading,* ed. Andrew Cameron (London, 1859), 266.

17. *Memoir and Letters of the Late Thomas Seddon, Artist,* 172.

18. Ibid, 171. This sense of the humble character of Seddon's enterprise survives to this day, Timothy Barringer for example noting that *Jerusalem* might well be mistaken for a "topographical view," an attitude he contrast to the more "ambitious" aspirations of Seddon's travel companion, Holman Hunt. See *Reading the Preraphaelites* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 123; Barringer, citing Seddon's brother, also highlights the "sacrificial" of Seddon's commitment to observation, as do other scholars who treat Seddon's picture.

19. Cited in *The Atheneum,* no. 1534 (March 21 1857), 379.

20. Gabriel Hanotaux, *Contemporary France* (London: Constable and Co., 1905) 2:634.

21. G. Dargenty, "Chronique des exposition," *Courrier de l'art,* 4 (1884), 88.

22. Théophile Gautier, *Portraits contemporains* (Paris: Charpentier, 1874), 269-270.

23. For the Goncourt's relations with Tournemine and links between the painter and their fictional protagonist Jean-Claude Lesage, *Charles Tournemine, peintre orientaliste* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1986), 43-48.

24. L. Turrel, "Étude sur Charles Tournemine, peintre toulounais," *Bulletin de l'Académie du Var*, 8 (1877-1878), 77.

25. Gautier, *Portraits contemporains,* 263-264.

26. H. Gomot, *Marilhat et son oeuvre* (Clemont-Ferrand: Typographie Mont-Louis, 1884), 74.

27. Ibid, 77.

28. Ibid, 78.

29. Gabriel Séailles, *Alfred Dehodencq: L'Homme et L'artiste* (Paris: Société de propagation des livres d'art, 1910), 173-74. This discussion of Dehodencq and Coriolus is adapted from my essay, "Figures of Sublimity in French Orientalist Painting," in *Dialogues in Art History, from Mesopotamian to Modern,* ed. Elizabeth Cropper, (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 2009), 317-341.

30. Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Manette Salomon*, intr. Thierry Paquot (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993), 427-28.

31. Gautier, *Portraits contemporains,* 270. Léonce Bénédite, *Théodore Chassériau: Sa vie et son oeuvre,* ed. André Dezarrois (Paris: Les Editions Braun, 1931), 2: 522; also see *Chassériau: Un Autre Romantisme* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2002), 401.

32. *Tableaux algériens: Ouvrage illustré* de douze eaux-fortes . . . précédé d'une notice sur la vie et les oeuvres de Guillaumet par Eugène Mouton (Paris: Plon, 1888), 39, and for another account, *Catalogue des tableaux, dessins, pastels et aquarelles provenant de l'atelier G. Guillaumet. Précédé d'une notice par Durand-Gréville* (Paris, 1888).

33. *New York Times,* April 6 1887; also see report by Charles Bigot*,* "Gustave Guillaumet," *La Revue Bleue* 15 (1888), 240.

34. Charles Bigot, "La Sculpture en 1890," *La Revue Bleue,* v. 27 (1890), 817. Alan Doyle, whom I want to thank for the careful reading of this essay, makes the excellent point that Barrias's design encourages the mourner on site uncannily to slip between the Paris tomb and the mortal East, the flowers dropped by the mourning figure echoed in the falling leaves Père Lachaise.

35. E. Durand-Gréville, "Exposition des oeuvres de Gustave Guillaumet," *L'Artiste*, 1 (1888), 113.

36. I explore Regnault's death mask and allied commemorative practices at length in *The Deaths of Henri Regnault* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, in press).

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GÉRÔME, RODIN, AND SCULPTURE'S INTERIOR

GÜLRU ÇAKMAK

A curious bust on view at the Musée Rodin in Paris shows a young woman asleep (Figs. 1 and 2).[1] In the abandon of sleep, her head has slumped to one side. Her right hand, bent from the wrist, supports the cheek. A proliferation of details is sketchily indicated: the dark of the eyelashes blend into rings under the eyes, which in turn rhyme with similarly-colored lips and nostrils. This is a study in mixed-media Auguste Rodin made in preparation for the marble bust entitled *Le Sommeil (Sleep)* (c. 1889-1894, Musée Rodin) (Figs. 1 and 3).[2] So heavily worked, so tortuously modeled, many of its details—evidence of a laborious production process—eventually disappear in the gentle curves of the bulky monochrome marble. Why?

Fig. 1. Auguste Rodin, Le Sommeil (Sleep), 1889-1894, Terracotta, plaster, wax, nails, modelling clay, newspaper (Musée Rodin, Paris); right: Rodin, Le Sommeil (Sleep), 1889-1894, Marble, H: 48 cm (Musée Rodin, Paris)

Daniel Rosenfeld notes that the translucent marble has a certain ephemeral quality that resonates with the state of unconsciousness that the sculpture depicts: "In *Sleep*, the seeming fusion of the figure and its atmosphere, and, simultaneously, the inseparability of the figure from its base, are exploited by Rodin to evoke this woman's mental drift. The composite plaster model predetermined the subject's outward gesture of sleep. The internal sensations of withdrawal, weightlessness and self-absorption, however, are uniquely conveyed by the marble—its transparency, limpidity, and brilliance, its cohesion and compactness, qualities lacking in the original plaster."[3] While Rosenfeld makes a case for the hermeneutics of marble as a medium, his assessment does not help us address the question why the various layers of the colored study were eventually muted in the marble version.

Fig. 2. Auguste Rodin, Le Sommeil (Sleep), 1889-1894, Terracotta, plaster, wax, nails, modelling clay, newspaper, H: 46 cm (Musée Rodin, Paris)

The answer I propose takes its cue from Rodin's notion of "interior modeling": "Before the purity of the antique forms, people used to believe that the beauty lay solely in the exterior profiles. It is really beautiful because of the interior modeling. And still we make the distinction between the profiles and the modeling, thanks to our mania for dividing things; but we know that the one is inseparable from the other; the surfaces are nothing but the extremities of volumes, the boundaries of the mass."[4] According to Rodin, the exterior and the interior were continuous: in order to represent the exterior, one needed

to take into account the interior beneath the surface. Modeling denotes the presence of an invisible interior, one which determines the shape of the surface from within. Paul Gsell reported an analogous conversation with Rodin as the artist explained his *science du modelé*: "Rather than imagining the different parts of the body as more or less flat surfaces, I pictured them as projections of interior volumes. In each swell of the torso or limbs I tried to give the impression of the protrusion of a muscle or a bone which extends deep below the skin."[5] Modeling for Rodin, then, was not simply modulation of projections and depressions that defined what was visible to the eye *on* the surface. It was, above all, a reflection on the presence of an interior—an interior that was invisible, and yet foundational to such projections and depressions.

Fig. 3. Auguste Rodin, Le Sommeil (Sleep), 1889-1894, Marble, H: 48 cm (Musée Rodin, Paris)

This trope of an interior of sculpture—one which is invisible, and yet whose sensed presence animates and sustains that which is discernible on the surface—can be traced back to a number of late eighteenth-century precedents. The terms Rodin used to define his *science du modelé* approximate Toussaint-Bernard Émeric-David's definition of *le dessous* and *le dessus,* the underneath and the exterior surface, as elaborated in *Recherches sur l'art statuaire considéré chez les anciens et chez les modernes* (1805).[6] According to Émeric-David, in direct carving, a fully formed figure was discovered in the rock, so to speak, while in modeling the sculptor built up the work from the inside to the outside, from the foundational structure of the skeleton to the soft layer of skin that covered the musculature.[7] Veiled by the exterior, what lay beneath nonetheless defined what was visible on the surface: "The various forms that the surface (*le dessus*) offers to our eyes are produced by projections and actions of interior parts."[8]

Explaining the relationship between the terms *le dessus* and *le dessous* as one of contiguity, the author referred to classical representations of Prometheus modeling a skeleton, and preferred to interpret this iconography rather literally, arguing that this was probably how classical sculptors actually worked, by creating a core skeletal structure based on specific measurements taken from their models, and gradually building the rest on top of it in order to guarantee the lifelikeness of their figures.[9] Moreover, if waves, swellings, and depressions on the surface denoted bones and muscles underneath, the motion of these interior elements themselves expressed affects—ripples from the inside of the body that reached the outside and, at times, became perceptible only as "fleeting undulation[s]": "boredom, lassitude, impression of hot and cold, the prudery of a young girl who is seen in the nude for the first time, generate an almost imperceptible vibration."[10] Émeric-David argued that only an artist who paid attention to anatomy and closely observed nature, i.e. the model, could capture such effects of an interior life.[11]

While Émeric-David's history of sculpture offered an account of naturalist mimesis as the driving force of sculptural production since antiquity, his work came on the heels of Winckelmann, who had equally endorsed the subtle yet determinant role of the interior. Winckelmann made the case both in his 1755 *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture,* and more extensively in the encyclopedic *History of the Art of Antiquity* of 1764. According to Winckelmann's metaphysics of modeling, that which was reflected on the surface was essentially the quality of the interior, that is to say, the soul. And in classical Greek sculpture, that soul was essentially calm and grand: "Just as the depths of the sea always remain calm however much the surface may rage, so does the expression of the figures of the Greeks reveal a great and composed soul even in the midst of passion."[12] In his subsequent work, Winckelmann defined the impact of internal forces as tactile effects on the surface. Therefore the muscles of Laocoön, under extreme pain, "lie like hills that flow into one another, in order to express the greatest exertion of powers in suffering and resisting."[13] Winckelmann again applied a geographical metaphor to account for the surface of the Belvedere Torso: "like the surge of a calm sea, flowing sublimely in a gently changing beat."[14] Finally, the most elusive surface effect was reserved for the Apollo Belvedere, whose "muscles are subtle, blown like molten glass into scarcely visible undulations and more apparent to the touch than to sight."[15] Not merely sensing the presence of bones and muscles underneath the skin, Winckelmann formulated a geographical paradigm in which the movements of the spirit approximated forces of nature.[16] There was an invisible interior to the sculpture that animated the visible surface, an interior that was the repository of underlying structures whose presence could be traced as fleeting effects on the surface.

Despite such forceful eighteenth-century theories, the art of sculpture lost its ground to painting in the first half of the nineteenth century. The increasing sense of the irrelevance of the art of statuary toward the middle of the century was most famously declared by Baudelaire in his review of the Salon of 1846 in the section entitled "Why sculpture is boring."[17] As Jacqueline Lichtenstein shows, for those who advocated the supremacy of painting, the art of sculpture, constrained by its inert materiality, had little to offer in the way of the ephemerality, intangibility, and fleetingness essential to nature, qualities fundamentally associated with color in French art theory since the seventeenth century.[18] These had also been the qualities that gave painting the upper hand in its competition with sculpture for most of the nineteenth century: advocates of painting argued that painters tapped deep into the world of imagination and creativity through the application of color, and thereby measured up to the task of capturing the essential quality of nature, namely, its fragility, movement, and sensuality.[19] By contrast, even when sculpture represented more abstract ideas or grand principles, its products existed as obdurate substances, "permanent, unchangeable, and immune to the depredations of time."[20]

Against the illustrious background of eighteenth-century theorists such as Winckelmann and Émeric-David who attempted to elevate sculpture in its paragone with painting by asserting that sculpture was more than an art of the surface, of slavish imitation of the three-dimensional world, Rodin's highly elaborate yet equally fragile and ephemeral study for *Sleep* gives us a glimpse of the radicalness of the artist's experimentation in the privacy of his studio as he set up for sculpture the task of competing with painting in capturing the fleeting realities of organic life: the life-like tincture of the sleeping figure's complexion, a sensation of blood circulating beneath the skin, but also a strong undertone of death and decay, are all notated by color. From this perspective, the contrast between the marble version's thick and dense homogeneity, and the fragile, polychrome heterogeneity of the study becomes even more striking, and pushes us to explore Rodin's notion of "interior modeling" further.

One approach to Rodin discerns some sort of an artistic sham, a make-believe, in marble versions of the artist's works delegated to professional carvers:

> With respect to the integrity of the sculptural object, for example, it is often maintained that Michelangelo's work stands at the opposite pole to Auguste Rodin's. Michelangelo's so-called *Atlas Slave* is without doubt an "original" whose status is enhanced by the very fact that it remains unfinished. The figure emerges from a block which itself bears the marks of those processes by which it was brought to this stage of semi-completion. Indeed, those very marks guarantee its

> authenticity as a historic survival. Like the facture of a painting, they are signs that the shaped stone is an issue from Michelangelo's hands. In Benjamin's terms, those traces of the chisel constitute part of its 'aura.' By comparison, a Rodin marble such as *La Pensée*, although it displays similar signs of manufacture, is a fiction. Far from being unique, it is a version of a work originally conceived in a different medium (clay or plaster), translated into stone, not by Rodin but by a professional carver. In other words, the marks here do not show how excavation of the block was broken off (by chance or because the sculptor was dissatisfied), but deliberately concoct the unearned appearance of an image half-discovered in the rock. [21]

According to this line of thought, then, the deception derives from the fact that Rodin did not discover the motif in the stone as he chiseled it away, but had already invented it prior to carving, when he had modeled the preparatory clay or wax. The marks on stone, the argument continues, when seen as traces of the artistic process, come across as superfluous and misleading: they do not seem to pertain to the artist's creative act, but merely to subsequent reproduction. This accusation has a long history, going back to Rodin's lifetime. [22] In an essay written in 1917, for instance, Adolf von Hildebrand made the same claim, and proposed the same contrast to Michelangelo. [23]

But what happens if we do not read surface marks as indexical signs of the artist's hand? If anything, going back to the two works with which I began my article, the bulky white marble *Sleep* suppresses traces of Rodin's process so clearly demonstrated by the embattled mixed-media study. What if the aura evoked by facture on the surface of the marble is not one of spontaneity of the marks left behind by the sculptor's chisel as he unearthed the figure buried deep inside the stone, but one of interiority—an interior which, by that point, had acquired a charged meaning as the repository of the artist's creative process? It is the very process of the making of the work that is veiled by the exterior—as if the inner core as a variegated composite figure is locked within the massive volume of the stone, sustaining it. [24] The fleeting, the ongoing, life is inside, while the surface that covers it guarantees its longevity, but also mummifies it, marking the end of the creative process, "sealed up against any further possibility of change" as British sculptor Alfred Gilbert put it somewhat elegiacally in a letter to his patron Mr. Illingworth. [25]

It is at this juncture that I propose to trace a link between Rodin and a seemingly very different artist, Jean-Léon Gérôme. What was common to both was an archaeological paradigm—a quest to signal the continual presence of the interior that underlay the surface akin to an

archaeological layer, a repository of the past: the past, simultaneously defined as the anteriority of the artist's process of creation, *and* as tradition/history epitomized in, but not limited to, the classical ideal.

In a biography published in 1906, two years following Gérôme's death, Charles Moreau-Vauthier reported how an elderly Gérôme described facture in painting as epidermis: "facture is merely a matter of epidermis. The construction, to construct well, that is the most important thing."[26] The distinction Gérôme drew between facture and construction, and his attribution to facture of a place secondary to construction, seemingly belongs to a by-then well-established dichotomy of color and drawing (*dessin*) in painting. According to the proponents of drawing, color was secondary. Only drawing had the power to penetrate the timeless essential truths beneath transitory appearances. Seemingly disdainful of color throughout his career as a painter, Gérôme's decision to turn to polychromatic and mixed-media sculpture in the last two decades of his life is puzzling. A life-long advocate of the supremacy of *dessin* as a painter, when he turned his hand to sculpture, the ultimate art of *dessin*, why did he contaminate it with color? The same Gérôme who declared pigment applied to the surface of the canvas merely epidermis, and construction the primary concern of art, added paint layers to his sculptural work. Why?

Fig. 4. Jean-Léon Gérôme, Thèbes, c. 1856, Black crayon on paper, 23.2 x 34 cm (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes)

Gérôme's words "epidermis" and "construction" take on a different complexion when we look at two programmatic paintings he produced in the late 1850s. The first was conceived on a trip to Egypt in the winter of 1855-1856, and exhibited at the Salon of 1857 under the title *La plaine de Thèbes (Haute-Egypte)* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes). The preparatory pencil drawing, *Thèbes* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes) (Fig. 4) shows a barren landscape, interrupted only by two giant sculptures in the background, and a circular object in the foreground—a base for a monumental column. In the oil painting, Gérôme added a road in the middle ground with a caravan proceeding towards the two monumental sculptures in the background. Another rather enigmatic addition is a large stone tablet in the lower right, positioned on a diagonal to the picture plane close to the edge of the canvas (Fig. 5). The massive stone, partially buried in the ground, is decorated with a bird-headed figure and hieroglyph-like signs carved in low relief.

Fig. 5. Detail of Jean-Léon Gérôme, La Plaine de Thèbes (Haute-Egypte), 1857, Oil on canvas, 76 x 131 cm (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes)

Gérôme revisited sections of this route in a number of journeys in the coming years. A younger companion, Paul Lenoir, in a book dedicated to Gérôme, gave an account of one of these later trips in 1868. Throughout his book, Lenoir repeatedly describes the experience of crossing the desert, and gazing at the wide expanse of sand, which sometimes, under glowing sunlight, seemed like mountains of snow.[27] The volume's most striking anecdote relates to an observation Lenoir makes early on, during a visit to the site of the city of Memphis. What was left of the ancient world's largest city was an abundance of sand strewn with residues of the past—bones, hair bands still attached to hair on skulls, amulets of the lion-headed Isis… "This profusion of debris within arm's reach and on the surface of the sand makes one think of all that would certainly be discovered underneath."[28] Evidently, the ground hid much

more than what it displayed on its surface. Such was the weight of the ground underneath—it contained the past, in all its omnipresence and insurmountable distance from the present time.

The stone artifact partially projecting out of the ground in Gérôme's painting and physical traces of the past strewn on the desert sand in Lenoir's account present a common archaeological trope that understood the relation between the modern-day present and the bygone past in spatial and tactile terms: the past is omnipresent underneath the ground that covers it, and yet it is fundamentally lost to us, the modern viewers. All we have are its residues. Charles Blanc, too, betrayed the impact of this archaeological paradigm in *Grammaire des arts du dessin: architecture, sculpture, peinture* (1867) when he described "nature" in terms analogous to Gérôme's and Lenoir's sand ground. According to Blanc, nature was a vessel containing residues of the absolute beauty of a bygone age, whose traces surfaced here and there akin to "those fragments of paintings that have survived in the ruins of ancient murals, or in the debris of those divine statues among the rubble in Athenian temples."[29] While nature thus possessed the kernels of absolute beauty, the artist's task was to recognize and glean the elements of the beautiful—which were effectively residues of the past—thus strewn in the world, and to construct images deriving from those essential truths lying behind fleeting appearances.[30]

While for Blanc the mission of an artist was to discern and collect these residues in order to reconstruct the lost past, the problems Gérôme grappled with in a series of paintings in the 1850s demonstrate how such a mission of reconstruction would be problematized, and historical representation reconsidered, under the pressure of a novel understanding of history.[31] The 1850s witnessed a crisis in historical representation, a culmination of the growing demand for empirical observation in art, and an emergent modern epistemology that posited the past as foundational and yet inaccessible to the physically and historically specific individual. How could a painter convincingly depict history—or persuasively represent anything at all, since everything that existed in the present time was now understood to be a product of obscure historical processes that traversed epochs exceeding the lifespan of a single individual? Since neither the artist nor the viewer could have actually experienced a bygone historical incident as it unfolded, was history painting even feasible in modern times? Under the weight of such questions, in a group of paintings in the late 1850s, Gérôme reconceived painting as a layered image with a depth that encompassed multiple temporalities. In doing so, he took his cue from the archeological spatialization of the residues of the past in the earth. The canvas ground became a highly charged area in Gérôme's art during this period, and acquired a subliminal weight as a foundation where the past—the tradition—was located. This device enabled him to acknowledge invisible layers of history as sustaining the present, without having to visualize them.

Fig. 6. Jean-Léon Gérôme, Death of Caesar, c. 1859, Oil on canvas, 85.5 x 145.5 cm (Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)

A second painting demonstrates how Gérôme's pursuit of a truthful history painting problematized the painterly facture as well. *Death of Caesar* (c. 1859, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore) (Fig. 6) shows a murdered Caesar stretched on the mosaic floor of the Curia Pompeii, and assassins fleeing the hall. This painting is intimately connected to a now-lost canvas, *César* (1859, formerly Corcoran Gallery, Washington D.C.) that had generated controversy among critics at the Salon of 1859 due to its unconventional composition, near-monochromy, and very thin facture.[32] In the Walters painting, the weave of the canvas is perfectly visible to the naked eye beneath the slender layer of pigment (Fig. 7). Gérôme's excessively minute brushwork invites the viewer to a careful study of the surface. However, any extended experience of the illusionistic image is quickly frustrated by the clearly visible pattern of the canvas ground. The Salon painting most likely had the same quality, which must have contributed to the objection raised by critics that one could see the grains of the barely-covered canvas, that "his color covers a canvas hardly more than ink eats into paper.—This is calligraphy at its highest expression."[33]

Fig. 7. Detail of Gérôme, Death of Caesar

For many critics of Gérôme, it would have been perfectly acceptable, even desirable, for the illusionistic image itself to disappear when viewed up close. Had not this been Diderot's praise of Chardin's achievement after all? The critic famously asserted in his review of the Salon of 1763 that what held as a perfectly illusionistic image from afar, when viewed from up close, dissolved into sheer, obdurate matter in Chardin's work: "Move in and everything blurs, flattens itself out, and disappears. Step back and everything re-creates and reproduces itself."[34] As Lichtenstein explains, in the Diderotian paradigm the pigment-as-matter existed independently of the illusionistic image.[35] Upon close view, such a mark on the canvas lost its iconic meaning, for instance as a glimmer of light on the surface of an apple, and instead became the index of a single brushstroke left behind by the artist's hand (Fig. 8). As an indivisible spot of matter, the indexical brushstroke was then valued as a residue of the artist's act of painting, an act that had taken place at some point in the past. The obduracy of matter at such close inspection was, consequently, valued for its metonymic connection to the body of its maker. A single instant, materialized and frozen, preserved for posterity, paradoxically denoted the immediacy of a past moment.

Fig. 8. Jean-Siméon Chardin, Le bocal d'olives, 1760, 71 x 98 cm (Musée du Louvre)

In Gérôme's *Caesar*, when the canvas is viewed up close, like with the Chardin, the illusion of bodies and objects quickly dissipates. But Gérôme takes us beyond that. In *Caesar*, even the obdurate pigment dissolves. What becomes perceptible at such a micro-level is no longer the indivisible materiality of the pigment, but the presence of the canvas ground (Fig. 7). Gérôme's notoriously thin facture is perfectly consistent with his philosophy of

historical representation: everything that had taken place prior to the beholding of the canvas by the viewer, not only the historical event of Caesar's death but also the more recent event of Gérôme's act of painting, had to be located in the past. Therefore, to create a truthful representation, the facture's indexical claim to immediacy had to be strictly regulated. Gérôme's ultra-thin facture offered a solution as to how to create painterly illusion, and yet to police its claim to indexical immediacy: upon approaching the surface of *Death of Caesar*, what the viewer confronts is not the comforting evidence of the artist's presence anchored in the indivisible materiality of the blob of paint, but the disappearance of any fantasy of historical presence in the grains of the canvas. [36]

Clearly such a reductivist approach to representation could not be sustained in the long run. While the full story of Gérôme's transition from painting to polychromatic sculpture in the 1890s is yet to be written, I believe one of the primary reasons for this change to be intimately tied to the trajectory taken by the artist's exploration of the canvas as a highly-charged ground—the quest to signal an invisible yet foundational depth that extends beneath the painted surface, one which contains the processes of the past. What led Gérôme to sculpture late in his career was a realization of a certain limitation of the canvas ground in representing the bygone past: marks made on the canvas could be layered—first, the pencil drawing, then the blocking in of colors, and finally the fine painting with a brush—but all such marks, the so-called epidermis, remained above the surface, analogous to footprints left in the desert sand. It was imperative to denote the physical presence of the past underneath the surface.

Fig. 9. Jean-Léon Gérôme, Tanagra, 1890, Tinted marble, H: 154.7 cm (Musée d'Orsay)

The answer offered by his once-polychrome marble sculpture *Tanagra* (1890, Musée d'Orsay) (Fig. 9) illuminates his decision to turn to sculpture late in his life.[37] Today having lost most of the pigment that once tinted its surface, *Tanagra* shows a female nude personifying the ancient Greek city famous for its small terracotta statuettes. She sits on a mound, an archaeologist's spade at her side, numerous *tanagra* figurines strewn on the ground around her. Small figurines materializing out of the earth mound—here projecting a head, there a limb to the surface—are all in a state of emergence, from the past to the present (Figs. 10 and 11). The surface is not only a receptacle of traces of past events, but a ground with a volume that contains the past within, and sustains the present above. As such, *Tanagra* expresses Gérôme's deepest conviction pertaining to the radical alterity of history: that the past is omnipresent underneath

the ground that covers it, and yet it is fundamentally lost to us, the modern viewers, except for its residues. In this sculpture, far from having changed directions, Gérôme in effect revisited his painting experiments of the 1850s, in which he had first explored the idea of the ground as an interface between the past and the present.

Fig. 10. Detail of Jean-Léon Gérôme, Tanagra, Bronze cast in 1913, H: 152 cm (Musée Garret, Vesoul)

Fig. 11. Detail of Jean-Léon Gérôme, Tanagra, Bronze cast in 1913, H: 152 cm (Musée Garret, Vesoul)

While the Musée d'Orsay's *Tanagra* has been purged of its applied polychrome tint, a related work in the collection of the Santa Barbara Museum of Art, *Head of Tanagra* (c. 1890) (Fig. 12) retains its original polychromy, and offers a sense of what the Musée d'Orsay piece would have looked like. Gérôme colored not only the eyes and hair, but went so far as to suggest the skin itself through the application of a subtle hue of pink. What becomes clear upon close study of this bust is one major difference between tinted marble and oil painting on canvas: the application of color on marble lacks the indexicality of the brushstroke on the canvas surface. The tinted marble seems to be glowing from within, in opposition to the imposition of color on the canvas from the outside. Nor does the thin facture tinting *Tanagra*'s opaque marble surface raise the problem that once plagued Gérôme's *Death of Caesar*: namely, the radical exposure of the ground. The Musée d'Orsay *Tanagra*'s polychromy must have enveloped the surface as epidermis. As the uppermost layer, it is the interface between the invisible past omnipresent underneath the ground, and the modern viewer inhabiting the present time—becoming neither one nor the other.

Fig. 12. Jean-Léon Gérôme, Head of Tanagra (c. 1890), Tinted marble, H: 57 cm (Santa Barbara Museum of Art, California)

It is exactly at this juncture that I propose to trace an intersection between Gérôme's and Rodin's sculptures as well as their philosophies of art and history. An artwork that did not imagine an interior beneath the surface merely emphasized the surface and the present time of mark-making—at the expense of situating the layers of the past inside the work. That would have been a deception, an illusion. This is what Rodin referred to and condemned as a decadent flatness, one which he believed plagued the art of his period, and which he contrasted to modeling.[38]

Fig. 13. Auguste Rodin, La mort d'Athènes (c. 1903), Marble (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool)

Perhaps one of the works that best illustrate this condition in Rodin's art is *La mort d'Athènes* (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool) (Fig. 13), a small marble sculpture acquired by the Liverpool merchant James Smith in 1903.[39] *La mort d'Athènes* consists of two nude figures: one partially buried in the ground, the other stretched on top of the first figure. An Ionic capital partially emerges from under the ground beneath the two. The sculpture is a composite of two earlier works by the artist: *Danaïd* and *La Fatigue*, both of which in turn derived from the artist's work around *Gates of Hell*, the seedbed of his experiments in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.[40] In his usual manner of working with plaster multiples of figures to create assemblages, Rodin combined the tragic figure of the daughter of King Danaus, banished to Hades to fill up a broken jar with water for an eternity, with the exhausted studio model of *La Fatigue* reclining in a pose of sleep, right hand tucked under the head for comfort.

I see *La mort d'Athènes* as programmatic in its aspiration to thematize the invisible interior of sculpture as a depository of the past. There are two aspects to this "past": first of all, it is the past as tradition or history epitomized in the antique ideal of sculpture, buried underneath the visible surface of ground, and almost entirely out of our visual field, save for a partially submerged column head that gives us a clue as to whatever else might be lying beneath the surface. Secondly, the artist's act of creation—the artistic process that brought forth this piece—has also been allocated to the past, buried beneath the surface. In the absence of a preparatory study similar to that of *Sleep* that documents individual acts of decision-making that built up the work, the artist's marks of creation—marks produced in the process of modeling and constructing the study—escape the present time of the viewer's experience of this piece.

As they reconsidered the role of surface and depth in art, both Gérôme and Rodin took their cue from, and attempted to reinvigorate, earlier theories about the contiguity between the exterior and the interior in sculpture. In the process, both stumbled upon a new approach to facture. If there is an aura to be talked about in this new facture, it is not one of immediacy, but of an invisible interior. The resulting works imagine grounds that are highly charged as interfaces—between the present moment inhabited by the viewer, and the past buried below. What is profoundly modern in their work is an underlying sense of the radical alterity of the past, one which is irretrievably lost, and yet whose debris is fantasized as populating the substratum of the present time.

NOTES

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1. I would like to thank Anne Wagner for bringing this work to my attention.

2. The Musée Rodin website has recently posted a digital focus page on this work accompanied by detailed photographs and zoomable three-dimensional models. The page offers an analysis of this work (S. 1829), and clarifies its relationship to a related plaster (S. 2128) as well as to the finished marble (S. 1004). See: http://www.musee-rodin.fr/fr/focus (Date of access: August 1, 2014).

3. Daniel Rosenfeld, "Rodin's Carved Sculpture," in *Roding Rediscovered* exh. cat., ed. Albert Elsen (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1981), 84. In this passage, Rosenfeld is comparing the finished marble to the intermediate plaster at the Musée Rodin in Paris (S. 2128). In "Rodin et le *non finito,*" published in *Rodin: Le Chair, le marbre* (Paris: Éditions du Musée Rodin, 2012), Christine Wohlrab offers an analogous but slightly different interpretation regarding the connection between material and subject matter in the Musée Rodin's marble *Le Sommeil*, suggesting that the submersion of the sleeping figure by the marble bloc evokes the drifting into unconsciousness associated with the state of sleep: "L'engloutissement supposé de la figure dans le bloc illustre le glissement progressif dans l'état d'absence et d'inconscience du sommeil" (98).

4. *Rodin the Man and his Art with Leaves from his Note Book*, compl. Judith Cladel, trans. S.K. Star (New York: The Century Co., 1918), 225.

5. Auguste Rodin, *L'Art: Entretiens réunis par Paul Gsell* (Paris : Bernard Grasset, éditeur, 1911), 64-65: "Au lieu d'imaginer les différentes parties du corps comme des surfaces plus ou moins planes, je me les représentai comme les saillies des volumes intérieurs. Je m'efforçai de faire sentir dans chaque renflement du torse ou des membres l'affleurement d'un muscle ou d'un os qui se développait en profondeur sous la peau." All translations are mine unless indicated otherwise-G.Ç.

6. Toussaint-Bernard Émeric-David, *Recherches sur l'art statuaire, considéré chez les anciens et chez les modernes, ou Mémoire sur cette question proposée par l'Institut national de France: Quelles ont été les causes de la perfection de la sculpture antique et quels seroient les moyens d'y atteindre ? Ouvrage couronné par l'Institut national, le 15 vendémiaire an IX* (Paris : Vve Nyon aîné, an XIII-1805), 201-202: "Si l'on considère l'extérieur du corps, les formes qu'il présente peuvent être appelées *le dessus*. Si l'on veut connoître les parties intérieures, il faut soulever le voile ; alors on découvre les muscles, les tendons, les os, et ceci peut être appelé *le dessous*. C'est le dessus sans doute que l'artiste veut représenter; mais, nous le disions tout-à-l'heure, pour représenter *le dessus* avec fidélité, c'est le dessous qu'il faut connoître : nous disons plus maintenant, c'est *le dessous* qu'il fait imiter, qu'il faut rechercher, voiler, ou laisser reconnoître à propos, suivant le caractère de la figure, et suivant l'action qu'elle représente."

7. Émeric-David, *Recherches sur l'art statuaire*, 202: "Il suit de-là qu'il y a, dans l'Art Statuaire, deux manières d'opérer. L'une est celle que les artistes employent, quand ils travaillent le marbre ; elle consiste à enlever l'excédent du bloc, et à dégager la figure qui s'y trouvoit en quelque sorte enfermée. L'autre est celle qu'ils mettent en pratique, en travaillant une matière molle, et qu'ils suivent plus ou moins rigoureusement ; elle consiste à former d'abord une charpente ou un noyau qui représente le squelette, à revêtir cette charpente de muscles, à poser ensuite sur les muscles une couche légère, ou bien à terminer finement la surface de toutes les parties, pour exprimer la souplesse et le moëlleux de la peau."

8. Émeric-David, *Recherches sur l'art statuaire*, 202: "Les formes variées que le *dessus* offre à nos regards, sont produites par la saillie et par l'action des parties intérieures."

9. Émeric-David, *Recherches sur l'art statuaire*, 203-204: "C'est évidemment à ce procédé que se rapporte la figure de Prométhée modelant un squelette. (…) Le squelette qui est placé dans le corps de l'homme, est le centre des forces et du mouvement. Le squelette, par son aplomb, établit l'aplomb du corps. Il donne les angles ; il établit les plans principaux ; il forme les jointures ; il soutient les grandes masses, sur lesquelles reposent les parties secondaires et les détails. Le squelette enfin, par ses proportions et par ses inflexions est la cause première de la grandeur, de la légèreté, de la grâce de chaque partie. Qu'est-ce que la peau ? Le vêtement des chairs ? Que sont la peau et les muscles ? Le vêtement des os. Le squelette

fut le premier ouvrage de la nature; après l'avoir modelé, il ne lui resta qu'à le vêtir. L'artiste, à l'exemple de Prométhée, ne devroit-il pas fixer d'abord les longueurs, les angles, les sommités des jointures du squelette de sa figure, poser ensuite des muscles sur cette base solide, et terminer son travail par la recherche des détails et par la couche délicate qui forme la peau?" Also see Meredith Shedd, "Prometheus the Primeval Sculptor: Archaeology and Anatomy in Emeric-David's 'Recherches sur l'art statuaire,'" *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 54. Bd., H. 1 (1991).

10. Émeric-David, *Recherches sur l'art statuaire*, 173-174: "Il devroit être inutile de dire que les artistes grecs étudioient l'anatomie. (…) L'artiste le plus instruit dans cette science, distingue à peine sur l'homme vivant, le jeu des parties intérieures dont il doit exprimer les effets. Combien d'aspects toujours différens, occasionnés par des affections différentes ! Tous les jours, durant un long travail, tandis que l'artiste considère une partie du corps de son modèle, et qu'il croit en saisir la forme, le plus léger mouvement efface ce qu'il alloit imiter : si le modèle respire, tout change : l'ennui, la lassitude, l'impression du froid et du chaud, la pudeur d'une jeune fille qui se voit nue pour la première fois, ont opéré une vibration presque insensible ; cela suffit pour que le muscle qu'il observoit disparoisse ; une ondulation fugitive en indique à peine la trace."

11. Émeric-David, *Recherches sur l'art statuaire*, 174-175: "Qui osera entreprendre de représenter ces ressorts intérieurs, sans en avoir auparavant étudié la disposition, en soulevant le voile qui les couvre? Non, quelque force que l'on suppose aux Grecs dans l'organe de la vue, jamais ils n'eussent produit tant de chefs-d'œuvres, si armés d'un fer studieu, ils n'eussent porté les yeux sur les secrets les plus profonds de la nature."

12. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, trans. Elfriede Heyer and Roger C. Norton (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1987), 33.

13. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity*, trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave, (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Publications, 2006), 203.

14. Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity*, 203.

15. Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity*, 203.

16. I do not propose Winckelmann and Émeric-David as holding diametrically opposed viewpoints. If Winckelmann argued for the superiority of the Greeks as well as the imperative to imitate them, Émeric-David, who had read Winckelmann closely, aspired to offer the tools to do so: modern sculptors could become *Nouveaux Prométhées* and animate their works with "a heavenly fire" if they pursued a rigorous process of observing and measuring nature—using rulers and other devices to determine the size of muscles, bones, in brief, the interior structure, just as generations of classical sculptors must have done: "Jeunes artistes, suivez ce conseil (…). Formez des tableaux qui vous donnent les proportions de ces modèles différens, et rectifiez celles de chaque modelé, en les comparant avec l'antique. Vous découvrirez par-là vous-mêmes, ainsi que les Grecs avoient su le faire, le type de la beauté. Votre science sera véritablement à vous" (Émeric-David, *Recherches sur l'art statuaire*, 198). A few pages later : "Nouveaux Prométhées, servez-vous d'un plomb, comme cet ouvrier divin, en modelant le corps de l'homme, et animez-le, comme lui, avec le feu du ciel. Cette belle allégorie de nos maitres renferme une grande leçon : si, dès le commencement de l'ouvrage, vous n'appelez à votre aide de sages procédés pour mettre de la justesse dans votre figure, le feu de la vie n'y pénétrera jamais" (200).

17. Charles Baudelaire, "XVI. Pourquoi la sculpture est ennuyeuse," in *Curiosités esthétiques* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, Libraires Éditeurs, 1868), 184-188.

18. See Jacqueline Lichtenstein, *The Eloquence of Color: Rhetoric and Painting in the French Classical Age,* trans. Chris Miller (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), and Jacqueline Lichtenstein, *The Blind Spot: An Essay on the Relations between Painting and Sculpture in the Modern Age,* trans. Emily McVarish (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

19. Lichtenstein, *The Blind Spot*, 148-149.

20. Lichtenstein, *The Blind Spot*, 84.

21. Anthony Hughes, "Authority, Authenticity and Aura: Walter Benjamin and the Case of Michelangelo," in *Sculpture and Its Reproductions,* eds. Anthony Hughes and Erich Ranfft (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 30-31.

22. In "Le vérité sur les Salons de 1898 et de 1899," Paul Leroi declared that Rodin was "[a]s clumsy at handling a chisel as he is expert at shaping wax or clay," and that his "very rudimentary sketches" were in fact completed and executed in marble by a series of young artists working under him. Paul Leroi, "The Truth About the Salons of 1898 and 1899," in *Rodin in Perspective*, ed. Ruth Butler, 89-90: "By signing works he has not so much touched with a chisel," Leroi argued, Rodin "has not helped his reputation, for the exploitation of others never remains a secret in the art world." Two years later, he repeated that Rodin did not execute any of his marbles, he only knew how to model clay and wax in "Treizième Exposition de la Société Nationale des Beaux Arts (I)," in *L'Art* 52 (1903), 232, n.1: "Ils [*referring to "les bons Americains" who incessantly bought Rodin's marbles*] en sont encore à croire aux marbres de M. Rodin qui n'en exécute aucun; il ne sait modeler

que la glaise ou la cire." For a detailed account of this controversy and the changing reception of Rodin's marbles, see Aline Magnien, "Verissima manus," in *Rodin: La chair, le marbre* (catalogue of an exhibition at the Musée Rodin in Paris, 8 June 2012-3 March 2013) (Paris: Musée Rodin, 2012).

23. Adolf von Hildebrand, "Auguste Rodin," in *Rodin in Perspective*, ed. Ruth Butler, trans. Sabina Quitslund (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1980), 140: " [Rodin] employed means that were meant to create an effect, and that these means came from a process that did not take place in the work of art itself, but that were employed artistically to stimulate, indeed, to delude the viewer. Everybody who has worked directly in stone must realize that Rodin perceived the traces of work in Michelangelo's partially hewn marbles in a purely superficial manner, and that he used it in and for itself. The way he did so immediately proves to the expert that Rodin never cut anything directly in stone himself. He works in a manner that cannot originate through a natural process. I am only drawing attention to this deceit, which is surely completely unconscious, because it shows how a superficial appearance can be made to look as if it had meaning, that is, to look as if it is an expression of a process of life and of creation."

24. Such layering of the artist's process over time is inherent within the study for *Sleep* as well. As Jennifer Vatelot has shown, an initial clay model was first fired, and Rodin continued working on the resulting terracotta, adding plaster, wax, paper, and other materials. For different stages of modeling, see Jennifer Vatelot, "Etude et restauration du modèle de mise au point du « Sommeil » d'Auguste Rodin, Musée Rodin, Meudon" (Mémoire de fin d'études, Institut de formation des restaurateurs d'œuvres d'art, Paris, 2000), 38-43.

25. Alfred Gilbert to Douglas Illingworth, 19 October 1913, GIL/22 2p + 1e, Illingworth Correspondence, The Henry Moore Institute Archive, Leeds, UK: "[*Circe* is] in a waxen form and awaiting my final touches before she is cast into the fiery oven to prepare her for yet another transformation this time she will be turned into Bronze and thus sealed up against any further possibility of change." At that point, Mr. Illingworth had been patiently waiting for a bronze *Circe* for over two years. The final step of putting an end to the laborious process of modeling and encapsulating the ever-changing form in a definitive manner was to take long in Gilbert's case, not atypical of the artist. In 1921, Gilbert was still in correspondence with the patron explaining why the work was not ready. Alfred Gilbert to Douglas Illingworth, 25 April 1921, GIL/53 2p + 1e, The Henry Moore Institute Archive.

26. Charles Moreau-Vauthier, *Gérôme: Peintre et Sculpteur, L'Homme et l'Artiste. D'après sa correspondance, ses notes, les souvenirs de ses élèves et de ses amis* (Paris: Libraire Hachette Et Cie, 1906), 198: "La facture disait-il un jour à Frémiet devant moi, la facture n'est qu'une question d'épiderme. La construction, bien ce construire, il n'y a que ça! "

27. Paul Lenoir, *Le Fayoum, Le Sinaï et Pétra*, *Expédition dans la moyenne Égypte et l'Arabie pétrée sous la direction de J. L. Gérôme* (Elibron Classics, 2005), 197-199.

28. Lenoir, *Le Fayoum, Le Sinaï et Pétra*, 75: "Cette profusion de débris à portée de la main et à la surface du sable fait penser à tout ce que l'on découvrirait certainement dessous."

29. Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des arts du dessin: architecture, sculpture, peinture,* 6th edition (Paris: H. Loones, 1881), 7: "ces fragments de peinture qui ont survécu à la ruine des murailles antiques, ou à ces débris de statues divines que l'on retrouve dans les décombres des temples athéniens."

30. While certainly under the influence of Plato and German thinkers, what is striking about Blanc's approach is his historicization of the notion of "absolute beauty"—it is not only a universal category, but a stage reached in the course of human history in ancient art. On Blanc's historicization of nature, see Misook Song, *Art Theories of Charles Blanc, 1813-1882* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1984), 37.

31. My forthcoming book *Jean-Léon Gérôme and the Crisis of History Painting in the 1850s* situates both the crisis of historical representation in French art, and Gérôme's response to it as elements of a more fundamental transformation in the definition of history that had begun at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in conjunction with the rise of modern science. As Michel Foucault argues in *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences. A Translation of Les Mots et les Choses* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994) it was no longer God's universal order that was at the origin of the world, but long-begun and ongoing historical processes hidden from sight: evolution underlay current biological forms, inner anatomical structures shaped visible surfaces of bodies, historical formation of languages determined everyday speech and thought. Foucault has shown that a new idea of human subjectivity and limitations of knowledge resulted from this epistemological turn during this period: the individual was understood to be fundamentally inadequate in perceiving these invisible historical systems if not assisted by empirical methods of science that investigated them. My book argues that changing conditions of modern spectatorship and scientific epistemology were at the heart of the crisis of history painting in nineteenth-century France. At the climax of this crisis in the second half of the 1850s, when historical representation seemed all but impossible to critics and artists of various hues, Gérôme came up with a series of momentous solutions, whose implications he explored for the rest of his life.

32. For *César*'s reception at the Salon, and an analysis of its connection to *Death of Caesar*, see Gülru Çakmak, "The Salon of 1859 and *Caesar*: The Limits of Painting," in *Reconsidering Gérôme*, eds. Mary Morton and Scott Allan (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Publications, 2010). I discuss these two paintings in depth in my forthcoming book.

33. Paul de Saint-Victor, "Salon de 1859. II. MM. Gérôme, Hebert, Baudry, Bouguereau, Mazerolle," *La Presse*, April 30, 1859, n.p.: "sa couleur ne recouvre guère plus la toile que l'encre n'entame le papier. —C'est de la calligraphie à sa plus haute expression."

34. Diderot quoted in Lichtenstein, *The Blind Spot*, 56.

35. Lichtenstein, *The Blind Spot*, 166.

36. By the same token, the near monochromy of the lost Salon *César*, as I explain in my forthcoming book, was a ground-zero moment in which the artist announced that painterly illusionism was not an end in itself, but a device which triggered the process of representation in the viewer's mind.

37. In the absence of technical analysis that would offer an accurate understanding of Gérôme's process of application of color to the marble, evidence at hand is anecdotal. In the catalogue of the most recent exhibition on the artist, Édouard Papet suggests that "artificial polychromy—wherein marble was painted, most often with a pigmented wax, reviving antique *ganosis*" was "Gérôme's real calling and success." See Édouard Papet, ""Father Polychrome": The Sculpture of Jean-Léon Gérôme," in *The Spectacular Art of Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904)*, ed. Laurence des Cars et al. (Paris: Skira, 2010), 200. Fanny Field Hering observed that Gérôme used clay to model the sculpture. In a letter to Hering in August 1889, Gérôme announced that "the marble has arrived!" According to Hering, "[t]he marble alluded to was the *Tanagra,* which had just been brought to his ground-floor atelier on the Rue de Bruxelles, from the workshop where it had been roughly fashioned from the block after the cast." In another letter to the author, Gérôme wrote: "I regret that you did not see it with the light coloring I have added to it. I believe that this pleasing *patine,* which gives life to the marble, has contributed much to this favorable result." See Fanny Field Hering, *The Life and Works of Jean-Léon Gérôme* (New York: Cassell Publishing Company, 1892), 268, 275, 283.

38. *Rodin the Man and his Art with Leaves from his Note Book*, 223-224.

39. According to the Walker Art Gallery's *La mort d'Athènes (Death of Athens)* object file, bought by James Smith from the artist in 1903 for 12000 francs, the piece was bequeathed by the collector to the museum in 1923. For Smith's patronage of Rodin's works, see Anna Tahinci, "Private Patronage: Rodin and his early British collectors," in *Rodin: Zola of Sculpture*. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), especially 109.

40. *Rodin* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2006), 164.

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PORTRAITS OF FANTASY, PORTRAITS OF FASHION

SUSAN L. SIEGFRIED

This article investigates an aspect of the visual culture of fashion in the early nineteenth century, realized around 1830 in the form of large lithographic fantasy "portraits" of stylishly dressed women. These lavish prints belonged to a new zone of cultural experience that blurred boundaries between fine art and commercial art in an age of commercial expansion and capitalist image production. They were designed by artists such as Henri Grévedon and Achille Devéria, and commissioning editors of the art publishing houses that sold them played an integral role in their conception and marketing. Serial in format, affordable in price, and inventive in their free-wheeling exploitation of verbal associations, the new image world these prints generated responded more directly—and in many ways more creatively—to the burgeoning fashion culture of early nineteenth-century bourgeois society.

An important factor here – beyond their visual rhetoric – was the way the material form of their production as images was directly linked to changes in clothing style and, indeed, claimed to be generated by them. The title page of the series of lithographs that I shall be considering, Henri Grévedon's *Le Vocabulaire des Dames* (1831-1834), announced: "This collection of portraits will continue from month to month as long as new fashions present themselves."[1] The statement explicitly tied the production of the lithographs to changes in the clothing styles that it pictured and brought the two forms of material production into a parallel and mutually reinforcing relation. The promise of open-ended image production, which would continue until there were no new fashions, played upon the idea of unending, predictable change that was fundamental to the concept of fashion. This series did not go on forever—it stopped at twenty-four prints after four years—but it harnessed seriality, a traditional means of organizing print production, to a fantasy of fashion. The serial form of the production of such lithographs offered an advantage to the picturing of fashionable dress that painting could not match at the time.

Economies of scale made the so-called "romantic" fashions of the 1820s and '30s and their imaging big business: the manufacture and processing of textiles propelled European economies and colonial trade and trade barriers were loosened in the mid-1820s, allowing markets for cloth and printed images to expand to an unprecedented extent.[2] Improvements in transportation speeded up the distribution and marketing of both the textiles themselves and the imagery created by the fashion industry. The number of fashion journals or magazines devoted to women's fashion multiplied during the July Monarchy (1830-1848)—thirty were in production by the late 1830s, over a hundred before the end of the next decade—contributing to a feminization of consumption, and Paris secured its reputation as fashion capital of Europe.[3] With fabrics and printed images reaching more people faster, a certain democratization of fashion began to take hold: long before mass-produced ready-made clothing became commonly viable, roughly the same style of cosmopolitan European dress could be seen from Wichita to St. Petersburg.

Lithography as a new print form, which began to be commercialized after 1817, responded to and stimulated this evolving culture of fashion.[4] The historians Fischel and Von Boehn remarked in the early twentieth century that lithography became the medium of fashion par excellence in the 1820s and 1830s because it was able to keep up with the pace of fashion's change:

> [Lithography] superseded copper and wood engraving, for these are lengthy processes: and the times were restless and hurried and out of breath, as if pursued by fashion and taste – as if fearing that the truth of the morning had already become a lie – and so they needed a quicker method of reproduction.[5]

As a technique with no previous history, lithography freely embraced a wide range of subjects, including contemporary topics traditionally shunned by the fine arts which ranged from military episodes to fashionable dress.[6] While the new medium acquired artistic credibility by reproducing Old Master and modern history paintings—these were the main type of lithographs displayed at the Paris Salon exhibitions—lithography moved quickly into a commercial realm of image production, distribution and sale.[7] Some lithographs, like the Grévedon series, occupied an intermediate, porous zone between the fine arts and the commercial arts that a number of dealers, editors, and entrepreneurs attempted to open up in the 1820s and 1830s.[8]

New forms of image production such as Henri Grévedon's *Le Vocabulaire des dames* (1831-1834) so far have been little discussed in the scholarly literature. Beatrice Farwell first drew attention to the subject type in her survey of popular lithography, classifying it under

"Pinups and Erotica," quite differently than I do here.[9] Such series merit reconsideration for several reasons. Firstly, these lithographs laid claim to a certain status as fine art in ways that overlap interestingly with their distribution and sale through commercial channels. Grévedon's prints, especially hand-colored examples, imitated the format and look of oil portraits at the same time that they visualized fantasies about fashion in ways that fine art painting as a medium could not do. The serial form of the images and their interaction with caption texts are features that belong in this epoch to the world of print. Secondly, the lithographs refer to and deploy language in intriguing ways. The titles of this and other series allude to linguistic components such as "vocabularies" and "alphabets," which suggests a role for the images as a kind of visual primer of style. Captions situated below the images involve the viewer in an imaginary exchange of dialogue, and the open-ended associations they evoke laid the groundwork for the kind of "written fashion" that Roland Barthes analyzed in his seminal study of semiotics, *The Fashion System* (1967; trans. 1983). Thirdly, these prints were symptomatic of larger tendencies in image production at the time. The contours of this commerce are familiar to specialists of prints and other reproductive media but bear recalling for the understudied period when the speculative commercial character of lithography was in formation. The proliferation of such prints went hand-in-hand with a standardization of the images according to a complementary dynamic of production that has implications for how we think about the author-function associated with them.

Between fine and commercial art

Grévedon's *Le Vocabulaire des dames* (1831-1834) exemplifies the artistic pretentions of a new genre of lithograph that appeared in the late 1820s and early 1830s. The prints are large, measuring 48.5 (H) x 31 (W) cm (19 x 12 1/8 in.).[10] These folio dimensions made them much too big for insertion in albums and "keepsake" books, which were usually octavo in format, 20 to 25 cm (8 to 10 in.) (H) or smaller, though folio keepsakes are known.[11] Grévedon's prints were issued in four *livraisons* of six prints each over four years and could be purchased as subsets or as a series; the publisher did not advertise single sheets for sale. The impressive size of his lithographs might have made them suitable for framing as wall images, and leading print sellers sold gilt-edged mattes and glass cut to standard sizes "for framing engravings."[12] Alternatively, they could be bound into a dedicated folio album, and a complete leather-bound set of twenty-four hand-colored plates survives in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library.[13] Deluxe hand-coloring significantly increased the price. The black-and-white edition of *Le Vocabulaire des dames* sold for 9 francs per *livraison* (a unit price of 1,50 francs) and hand coloring nearly doubled that price, to 15 francs per *livraison* (a unit price of 2,50 francs). Other print sellers charged double or more for hand-colored lithographs.[14]

Fig. 1. Henri Grévedon, *Le Vocabulaire des dames*, No. 1, Peut-Être | [*Perhaps*], Paris: Rittner and Goupil and London: Charles Tilt, 1831-34, album of 24 hand-colored lithographs on wove paper, 48.5 x 31 cm (19 x 12 1/8 in.) (Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library, Williamstown, Mass.).

Fig. 2. *Petit courrier des dames*, 1828, no. 530, "Modes de Paris," hand-colored ngraving on wove paper, 22 cm. (H). (Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library, Williamstown, Mass.).

Fig. 3. Antoine Trouvain, *Françoise d'Aubigné, Marquise de Maintenon*, ca. 1691, hand-colored engraving on paper, 29 x 19 cm.

These large lithographs were thoroughly conversant with the conventions of fine art portraiture at the level of conception, which had not always been the case for the relation of popular prints to paintings. Grévedon adopted the format of half-length oil portraits for his prints (Fig. 1), a format which itself gained favor in the romantic period, perhaps because it focused instead on the shaped torso and dressed head and avoided draping the legs, which had been a distinctive feature of neoclassical portraiture. The half-length format of these lithographs deviated from the conventions of the fashion print, which depicted full-length, usually standing figures (Fig. 2). The earliest French fashion prints, produced from

the last quarter of the seventeenth century on the rue St. Jacques in Paris by engravers such as Nicolas Arnoult and the Bonnarts (Fig. 3), were worlds away from the sphere of fine art production and were fundamentally ignorant of techniques of portrait painting.[15] The separation between fine art and popular prints remained in place through the early nineteenth century but lithography, which was promoted as an artist's medium, began to make inroads into that divide. Printmakers began to imitate paintings at the same time that certain painters looked to fashion prints for ideas and even supplied drawings to fashion journals.[16] By the 1830s, it was not always clear which medium was influencing the other.

Henri Grévedon (1776-1860) offers a case in point since he trained as a painter before taking up lithography. He studied history painting with Jean-Baptiste Regnault at the beginning of the century and subsequently specialized in portraiture, making his career outside France between 1804 and 1816.[17] After returning to Paris he continued to make accomplished oil portraits, such as *Portrait of a Young Woman* ([1820s], Musée Magnin, Dijon), but concentrated on lithography after 1822. The medium was on the cusp of commercialization and Grévedon was well prepared to handle the black lithographic crayon by the technique of *manière noire* drawing, noted for its velvety tonal gradations, which he had learned in England. Grévedon's turn to the new medium was probably economically motivated but, following his experience with engraving, he must have appreciated seeing rapid results and recognized its appropriateness to the subject matter that interested him.

Fig. 4. Henri Grévedon, *Le Vocabulaire des Dames*, No. 10, I Wish I Could. | Je le voudrais.

Fig. 5. Louis Hersent,*Portrait of Madame Arachequesne*, 1831, oil on canvas, 84 x 65 cm. (Musée Carnavalet, Paris). Photo: Roger-Viollet / Parisienne de la Photographie, Paris.

The concept of fashionability that lithography and painting shared around 1830 can be gauged through a comparison of plate 10 from Grévedon's *Le Vocabulaire des dames* (Fig.4) and Louis Hersent's *Portrait of Madame Arachequesne* (1831; Paris, Musée Carnavalet) (Fig. 5). Both works present half-length figures of stylishly dressed women set against nondescript backgrounds. Both exclude hands from the pictorial field, limiting corporeal expression to the heads and the torsos. In these truncated, gestureless bodies, the costumes the women wear—fabulous hats and shaped bodices—vie for visual attention. Grévedon's publishers, Rittner and Goupil, called his figures "portraits," which implies the portrayal of individual

likenesses, while simultaneously acknowledging their fictional character by advertising them as "portraits de fantaisie."[18] There was considerable interplay between portraits and imaginary figures in prints and paintings of this period, including in other lithographs by Grévedon, although *Le Vocabulaire des dames* consists entirely of ideal types. These "pretty women," as Beatrice Farwell called them, are invariably young, with oval faces, regular features, white skin, and brunette hair, flawless sloping shoulders and tiny waists.[19]

Fig. 6. Henri Grévedon, *Le Vocabulaire des dames*, No. 8, Je ne Veux Pas | I Will Not.

Fig. 7. Théodore Chasseriau, *Portrait of Aline Chasseriau*, 1835, oil on canvas, 92.4 x 73.6 cm. (Musée du Louvre, Paris).

Fig. 8. Henri Grévedon, *Le Vocabulaire des Dames*, No. 24, IL EST GENTIL! | HOW AMIABLE HE IS!

It is instead the manner of dressing that realizes the prints' claim to the individualization of portraiture. One elegant costume and striking coiffure follows another through twenty-four plates, each different from the other. This parade of outfits fulfilled the "fantasy" of dressing up promised by these "portraits de fantaisie." Costume had always been the primary vehicle of fantasy in "portraits de fantaisie," a genre of painting that included seventeenth-century Dutch tronies and Italian *teste capriciosi* through eighteenth-century English fancy pictures and Jean Honoré Fragonard's famous series of some fifteen "portraits de fantaisie" (c.1769).[20] These precedents exploited the transformative potential of costume, its ability to change

people's identities by dressing them in regional, foreign, or historical garb. *Le Vocabulaire des dames,* by contrast, muted that potential for the extraordinary by bringing the clothing portrayed into line with contemporary fashion: the outfits shown range from normative cosmopolitan to mildly exotic and historical, nothing too outlandish. The overwhelming majority are respectable daydresses, such as the brown *pelerines,* or dresses with matching capes, depicted in plates 8 and 16 (Figs. 6 and 18), which closely correspond to the one worn by Aline Chassériau in her brother Théodore's 1835 portrait of her (Fig. 7). A few outfits incorporate more whimsical historical and exotic elements such as the jaunty seventeenth-century-style hat and fur-trimmed vest shown in *Vocabulaire* plate 24 (Fig. 8), and that blending of exotic motifs into the dominant contemporary silhouette was typical of the fashion and costume subjects depicted in prints of the 1830s.

In Hersent's *Portrait of Madame Arachequesne*, by contrast, the sitter's facial expression is emphasized at the expense of the clothing. One would expect this in an oil portrait though not to the degree of animation exhibited by Madame Arachequesne. Unlike most portrait sitters, who look solemnly out at the viewer with a studied lack of expression, Madame Arachequesne turns her head to one side and looks up, her lips slightly parted. This kind of angled upward glance was typically reserved for writers and musicians since it signified inspiration or rapt attention; Hersent himself had used it in his earlier portraits of the poet Delphine Gay and the writer Sophie Gay (both, 1824, Musée national du château, Versailles). In the absence of information about Madame Arachequesne, we can only observe that her expression lends her features an unusually emotive, genre-like character.[21] Facial expressions of this kind, though unusual in oil portraits, were common in lithographs of imaginary subjects such as plate 10 from *Le Vocabulaire des dames* (see Fig. 4), in which a woman tilts her head and looks up and out of the frame. These prints would have helped legitimate and popularize emotive and sentimental expressions for adoption in fine art portraits.

In contrast to the rich variety of clothing styles, colors, fabrics, and trimmings shown in *Le Vocabulaire des dames*, Madame Arachequesne wears a simple white dress. This choice harkened back to the monochrome neo-Greek dresses of earlier decades and conformed to an unwritten law of painting that clothing should not detract from the face. Madame Arachequesne's white dress, while elegant and up-to-date in its styling, was a conservative choice in pictorial terms. The main concessions the portrait made to fashionability are the sitter's wide-brimmed straw hat decorated with red poppies and a wide belt that accentuates her slim waist. Neoclassical fashion had so valorized the undressed head that it remained unusual in the 1820s for women to wear hats in oil portraits, as the *Portrait of Aline Chasseriau* demonstrates (see Fig. 7), despite their revival in sartorial practice. Printed images, on the other hand, featured elaborate hats (see Fig. 2). Hersent's painting resembles Grévedon's

lithographs as well as periodical fashion plates in making the hat into its crowning glory. In the interests of expressive effect both the painting and the lithograph frame women's faces with lavishly decorated hats, though the balance between the latter is different in each case. Madame Arachequesne's large animated face dominates her pale figure and is accentuated by the eye-catching red poppies on her hat and transparent red shawl draped over her lower arms. In the lithograph, however, visual attention is divided between the woman's feathered beribboned hat, which frames a small head, and her colored dress with its scalloped bertha, crossed bodice and white layered sleeves. The clothing and coiffure are more vibrantly rendered than her body, which accords a higher priority to inanimate over human subjects.

While common ground was shared by lithographic "portraits de fantaisie" and oil portraits in the 1830s, we attend to these works quite differently. Modern oil paintings presume a singularity of execution and sustained viewing attention whereas these lithographs were designed for rapid consideration. When bound into an album, the sequencing of the prints creates a momentum that carries the viewer forward. Their vignette format, floating on the page with ragged, unbounded edges that blend into the sheet, leads one on to the next page. Many of the captions invoke the comings and goings of a potential encounter — Viendrez Vous? [*Are You Coming*?], No. 5; or A bientôt. | I'll See You Very Soon, No. 19 – as if commenting on the viewer's transitory engagement with the figures pictured. This is very different from the momentum of narrative, which directs a reader toward a goal. Here, the viewer's relationship to the images is casual and undirected; one can take them or leave them, linger over one or move on to another. If a lithograph was extracted from a set, it could easily become part of another context such as a décor, and it has been argued that captions gave prints a self-contained independence as wall images.[22]

Oil paintings demanded a different kind of visual attention. Much larger than Grévedon's lithograph, Hersent executed his *Portrait of Madame Archequesne* as a pendant to *Portrait of Monsieur Arachequesne*, which the artist's wife, Louise Marie Jeanne Hersent (née Maudit) had completed the year before (1830; Paris, Musée Carnavalet). Despite matching the existing half of a pair, Hersent treated the composition of his portrait separately from that of its mate.[23] The poses of husband and wife only vaguely mirror each other, and Madame Archequesne's sideways glance flies over her husband's head and misses him entirely. Hersent also introduced a foliage background behind his sitter, which creates a different sense of space and texture from the plain ground in the pendant portrait. The foliage fills out the frame and slows viewing down: one attends to distinctions in facture between the brushily painted greenery and the smoothly painted dress and to subtle differentiations of hue such as the buttery yellow sash set off from the white dress. Hersent exhibited this portrait at the Salon of 1831, which suggests that such distinctions of facture, texture, and color were meant to

be noticed and appreciated.[24] In contrast, the Grévedon series was sold commercially, by subscription and through shops in Paris and London, and not exhibited at the Salon, even though other types of lithographs at the time were.

Images and Texts

Texts had been integral to printed images since engraving began in the sixteenth century though only rarely were they brought into a direct physical and conceptual relationship to modern paintings. The interplay between text and image, a common feature of lithographic printmaking that had no equivalent in painting, is one of the most intriguing aspects of *Le Vocabulaire des dames*. The "vocabulary" invoked in the series title draws attention to the phrases that accompany each figure in captions located beneath them. These consist of banal fragments of dialogue such as C'est possible [*It's Possible*], No. 2, and rhetorical questions such as Viendrez vous? [*Are You Coming?*], No. 5 (Fig. 9). These texts, like the portrait format of the images, distance the large lithographs from the commercial world of fashion illustration contrasting as they do so clearly with the commercial information and descriptions of clothing in the captions of contemporary fashion plates (see Fig. 2).[25] The phrases in *Le Vocabulaire des dames* impute an idea or a situation to the figures that pulls them toward narrative. The series begins by introducing the viewer/reader to scenarios that are vague and indeterminate: Peut-être! [*Perhaps*], No. 1 (see Fig. 1); C'est possible [*It's Possible*], No. 2; Pourquoi pas! [*Why Not!*], No. 3. The situations evoked are open-ended in their uncertainty, without being troubling, and many questions are posed.

Fig. 9. Henri Grévedon, *Le Vocabulaire des Dames*, 1831-34, No. 5, Viendrez vous? | [*Are you coming*?].

Fig. 10. Achille Devéria, *L'Attente*, from *Album lithographique de divers sujets composés et dessinés sur pierre par Devéria*, pl. 11, Paris : Motte, 1829, lithograph in black on wove paper, in.-fol. (Departement des Estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Fig. 11. Henri Grévedon, *Le Vocabulaire des Dames*, No. 6, J'attends | [*I wait*].

About a third of the phrases are voiced in the first person and their placement immediately beneath the figures inclines one to impute them to the women depicted, who are then imagined as speaking or thinking subjects. The demi-dialogic form of the captions interpolates the viewer into the visual world of the print. This subjectivization of the viewing experience can be gauged by comparison with Achille Devéria's *L'Attente*, 1829 (Fig. 10). Its caption assumes the passive voice of a disembodied narrator who describes "waiting" as the state of a woman shown standing outside. *Le Vocabulaire des dames* articulates the same idea in the first person – J'attends [*I Wait*], No. 6 (Fig. 11) – and the half-length "portrait" format

pulls the viewer in close. The sense of being addressed by a speaking subject breaks down the objectivity of a viewer's relationship to the figure depicted and establishes a fictional relationship of intimacy with it. However, the source of the utterance is often very unclear. A handful of phrases are voiced in the second person and could be uttered by someone outside the image: Viendrez Vous? [*Will you come*?], No. 5 (see Fig. 9) could be exclaimed by a viewer in response to this image rather than by the depicted figure. More than a third of the captions lack pronoun subjects and create considerable uncertainty about whether the utterance is coming within the image or is a commentary upon it: Peut-Être [*Perhaps*], No. 1 (see Fig. 1); A Demain. | To Morrow, No. 15.

The style of the phrases was relatively new and appears to belong to lithography as a medium. The captions are very short; the phrases are banal; and they do not comment diegetically on the image. The quippy exchanges attached to Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet's vast corpus of military episodes and to Honoré Daumier's newspaper caricatures exemplify the new trend in lithographic captions; however, those are proper dialogues, not the "half-a-logues" or rhetorical questions posed in *Le Vocabulaire des dames*. No caption in the Grévedon series is more than four words, some are only one (Perfide. | Perfidious, No. 21). These verbal fragments are not anchored to the image through a narrative or a commentary on it, unlike the rhymed quatrains that had for centuries been attached to prints, and told mini-stories about them, or the snatches of modern dialogue found in Charlet's and Daumier's lithographs. Crucially, nothing in the captions of *Le Vocabulaire des dames* refers specifically to the images nor, conversely, do the images depict a specific action or situation that calls for explanation. This radically opens up the semiotics of their address. It also releases the visual image from the grip of literature to be expressive on its own terms, considering William McAllister Johnson's argument that in the eighteenth century, engraved images, particularly ones that appeared to lack a subject, were "commercially pointless without a text." [26]

It is simply the physical proximity of the captions to the half-length figures that invites one to draw a connection between them. Yet that connection is a projection on the viewer's part, as it was on the part of the editors Rittner and Goupil who probably composed the captions and appended them to the images supplied by Grévedon. [27] Even when a statement made in the first-person seems to emanate from the figure above it, a disjunction or an uncertainty can intervene between the message and the image: nothing in the posture, expression or dress of No. 9 corresponds to "her" caption, Osez! | I Defy You (Fig. 12). Or again, the potential for sly humor in a caption such as "Peut-être" could be read as transforming the visual intent and undermining the primness of the sitter pictured in plate 1 (see Fig. 1).

Fig. 12. Henri Grévedon, *Le Vocabulaire des Dames*, No. 9, Osez! | I Defy You.

Fig. 13. Henri Grévedon, *Le Vocabulaire des dames*, No. 19, A Bientot | I'll See You Very Soon.

Fig. 14. Henri Grévedon, *Le Vocabulaire des Dames*, No. 13, Passez Vot' chemin. | Go Your Way.

Fig. 15. Henri Grévedon, *Le Vocabulaire des Dames*, No. 14, Irai-Je? | Shall I Go.

Fig. 16. Henri Grévedon, *Le Vocabulaire des dames*, No. 23, Venez-Vous. | Will You Come.

The relation of captioned phrases to images is so loose as to sometimes seem arbitrary. What is there about the figures portrayed in plates 8 and 19 (see Fig. 6 and Fig. 13) that corresponds to the captions, Je ne Veux Pas | I Will Not, in the first instance, and A Bientot | I'll See You Very Soon, in the second? The distinctions come down to subtle differences in pose and costuming, and this is where the costuming comes in as conveying moral and social connotations that help constitute, and mix, the "message" of the printed image. The woman depicted in No. 13, Passez Vot' chemin. | Go Your Way, appears to reject the prospect of company by turning her back on us; she wears a wide-brimmed hat set at a determined angle

(Fig. 14). The next print in the sequence, No. 14, suggests the opposite attitude, receptivity toward an encounter, by facing us with wide eyes and seeming to pose a question that we readily ascribe to her: Irai-Je? | Shall I Go (Fig. 15). One effect of the minimalized body language of and absence of setting for these figures is to shift expressive power to the attire. Nos. 13 and 14 are both dressed like Swiss exotics yet the low-cut chemise, split-front bodice, and flower-strewn hat of No. 14 are more inviting than the covered-up, angular costume of her counterpart No. 13. Costume helps create the affective sense of each figure. To put this another way, pose alone is not enough to indicate a "narrative" situation or an emotional state. One back-turned female, No. 23 (Fig. 16), is accompanied by a caption, Venez-Vous. | Will You Come., that conveys almost the opposite message to that of Passez Vot' chemin. &#124 Go Your Way, under a similarly posed figure, No. 13 (see Fig. 14).

Typography plays its part in keeping the options of viewer engagement open. The design of the captions contributes to their lack of "narrative" anchoring. Rather than being contained within a box or by a frame, which establishes a separate but linked relation to an image, the captions float on the sheets beneath the images. They blend into the white space, like the unbounded vignettes themselves. Printed in block capital letters, the formality of the typography detaches the captions from the depicted figures. The capital letters suggest an emphatic and declarative tone, which is reinforced by periods as the preferred form of punctuation, with question marks often omitted from interrogative sentences. These traits make the phrases more difficult to read as articulated speech than the mixture of upper and lower case characters and sprinkling of punctuation marks in the captions on Charlet's and Daumier's lithographs. If the typography of *Le Vocabulaire des Dames* removes it from the syntax of spoken language, the open form of the letters' design seems to allow sound to pass through them. Anyone could be speaking.

The interplay between the caption texts and the images in *Le Vocabulaire des dames* might be related to Roland Barthes's discussion of the "relay" function of a linguistic message with regard to an iconic message in his analysis of an advertisement in "Rhetoric of the Image" (1964; trans. 1977): "Here text (most often a snatch of dialogue) and image stand in a complementary relationship."[28] The "snatches" of dialogue in the captions of *Le Vocabulaire des dames* do not describe the women pictured or the garments they wear; rather the captions "relay" messages to the images that come from the outside world. Since the image is as fragmentary as the text, "the unity of the message [of the iconic whole]," Barthes continued," is realized at a higher level, that of the story, the anecdote, the diegesis."[29] He had in mind the comic strip and the film, iconic forms that have a narrative, diegetic impulse built into their sequencing of images. *Le Vocabulaire des dames* takes serial form, too, but its images are repetitive and its caption texts do not advance the action of a story or plot. How can we

understand "story" or "anecdote" to be operating in these prints? Where do their extra-iconic messages come from?

Barthes's analysis of the "rhetoric of Fashion" from *The Fashion System* (1967; trans. 1983) is useful in this regard. Referring to the "law of Fashion euphoria," which forbids reference to anything aesthetically or morally displeasing, he observed:

> The resistance to pathos is all the more notable here in that Fashion rhetoric . . . tends increasingly to the novelistic; and if it is possible to conceive and to enumerate novels "in which nothing happens," literature does not offer a single example of a continually euphoric novel; perhaps Fashion wins this wager insofar as its narrative is fragmentary, limited to citations of decor, situation, and character, and deprived of what could be called organic maturation of the anecdote; in short, Fashion would derive its euphoria from the fact that it produces a rudimentary, formless novel without temporality: time is not present in the rhetoric of Fashion.[30]

The relay between texts and images in *Le Vocabulaire des dames* alludes to a series of potential encounters which express a wish, a doubt, a possibility, and which are never negative or judgmental. The texts refuse to impose a moral judgment on the images, which was one of the primary functions that texts had performed in late seventeenth and eighteenth century prints. The captions consequently avoid categorizing the images. The vague incidents they evoke are left open to interpretation in an eternal present. They are not trying to tell us anything so much as trying simply to increase the evocativeness or immediate affectivity of the prints.

The question of audience

The strategy of interpolation suggested by the demi-dialogic captions in these lithographs was not new and lay at the origins of French fashion prints from the last quarter of the seventeenth century.[31] The questions for the early nineteenth-century series are, who was the implied audience for these large lithographs? What was their probable social function? These questions cannot be answered with any certainty for lack of documentary evidence, as Beatrice Farwell observed in her 1980s survey of popular lithography:

> Pictures such as these, inexpensive and ephemeral, raise the inevitable questions—who bought them, how were they used, and in what quantities were they produced. Most of these questions are unanswerable with any certainty,

> owing to the lack of documentary evidence on the interface between a copious commercial production and its social destination. [32]

Precisely because so little in the way of concrete information is known about the contemporary consumption and production of the prints, they are hostage to the preoccupations and ideological concerns of scholars who interpret them and their reception. [33] Thus for Farwell, feminist paradigms of the 1970s and '80s underpinned her classification of images of women, "largely passive feminine types," under the category "Pinups and Erotica" rather than, for example, in her volume on "Portraits and Types." Even though she recognized that in the former category "the range in degree of sexual suggestiveness or explicitness is considerable," and that many of the prints included in it "are innocent enough to have been framed and hung in decorative groups in the most proper bourgeois home," she nevertheless stressed their eroticism, sexism and presumed male audience. [34] She emphasized "gallant subjects (*sujets galans*)," "oriented more or less exclusively for the pleasure of the male consumer," and argued that they were intended for "the bachelor market," seconded by "prostitutes and demi-mondaines [who] formed a female counterpart to the legions of unmarried men." These libertine subjects are not far removed in her interpretation from "Gracious subjects (*Sujets gracieux*)," which included Grévedon's series, as "a euphemism for sexually suggestive or erotic subjects": "Pretty women both French and foreign speak of the universal appeal of youth and beauty, a sort of ecumenical eroticism in varied costumes but sharing a similar address to the (male) viewer." [35]

Some prints in the Grévedon series certainly sustain such an interpretation but all of them do not. The presumption of a male auditor for the indeterminate caption Bonjour! | Good Morning, No. 7, seems clarified by the image, which, exceptionally for the series, represents a woman wearing negligée in bed (Fig. 17). The wide-eyed looks and passive receptivity of other figures suggests coy flirtation, born out by a caption such as Vous me flattez. | You Flatter Me, No. 18. Yet the series' emphasis on the stylings of women's clothes does not seem exclusively or even primarily oriented to a male audience, and Farwell's explanation of the up-to-date costumes and coiffures, as signs of modernity and realism that separated "popular or vulgar imagery" from "the iconography of high art, at least until the 1860s," seems inadequate to the variety and detail of the outfits portrayed and fails to acknowledge any cross-over between lithographic and fine art production that already takes place in the 1830s. [36] If there is an erotic appeal in *Le Vocabulaire des dames*, it is an eroticism of the material, not of the sexual.

Fig. 17. Henri Grévedon, *Le Vocabulaire des dames*, No. 7, Bonjour! | Good Morning.

Fig. 18. Henri Grévedon, *Le Vocabulaire des dames,* No. 16, Je l'oublierai. | I Will Forget Him.

Fig. 19. Henri Grévedon, *Le Vocabulaire des dames*, No. 12, Je suis engagée. | I Am Engaged.

The semiotic indeterminacy of the prints—of their captions and the vague situations evoked—is even more significant in qualifying (heterosexual) eroticism as their primary valence. Several lithographs hedge their bets on the gendering of the audience through remarks made in the captions about men: Je l'oublierai. | I Will Forget Him, No. 16 (Fig. 18); Pauvre jeune homme! | Poor Young Man!, No. 17; and Il est gentil! | How Amiable He Is!, No. 24, are statements that appear to be uttered by a woman or confided to a female friend. In fact, the majority of phrases are gender-neutral and depend upon context for their sense. If uttered by the woman depicted, Je suis engagée. | I Am Engaged, No. 12 (Fig. 19) could

imply a rebuff of a male suitor but if this statement were made to a female friend, it would become a confidence or, if addressed to mixed company, it might have the declarative tone of an announcement, and the image itself would support all three interpretations. This fashion print series seem more or less opportunistically titled to allow for whatever associations a viewer wishes to make, only sometimes being explicitly content driven.

Given the lack of direct documentary evidence regarding their consumption, quite different interpretations of reception could be projected for these prints, depending again upon an interpreter's predilections. Women could be constructed as the primary audience for the prints, a reading which would not necessarily remove their functioning in the straightforwardly sexist way that Farwell critiqued but would re-direct it toward female consumers and viewers as pupils to be schooled or socially educated by such imagery. Such interpretations depends upon a presumed homology between image and audience, on deducing a female audience from the female subjects depicted in the prints. It could be extended from gender to social class, whereby images of bourgeois women would be directed at bourgeois women and girls. To try and typify the consumption of the images in such a way however assumes a rather monolithic relationship between the image and the gender and class, as well as belief systems and social attitudes, of the supposed audience. In this case, for one thing, it would leave aside the fascination that visualizing and writing about female fashion evidently exercised on male authors and writers, the most striking example being Stéphane Mallarmé, who invented highly sensuous and specific descriptions of the cut, colors, trimmings, and fabrics of women's dresses for a set of fashion plates that never existed in his journal *La Dernière mode* (1874).[37]

The idea that such work was designed at least in part to appeal to a female audience though does have considerable grounds for plausibility. Most of what we know about the consumption of fashion as a subject is based on periodical literature; and in her publication history of the long-running *Journal des dames et des modes* (1797-1839), Annemarie Kleinert argued on the basis of internal evidence that the journal addressed itself largely to middle-class women between the ages of eighteen and forty. She documented its subscription base as between 1,000 and 2,500, with a readership many times greater, reaching as many as 11,000 people; most of the thirty fashion journals published in the 1830s had a comparable subscription base (between 1,000 and 2,000).[38] Citing studies of reading room publics, she emphasized the social range of readers who frequented them, and could rent the journal for as little as five centimes a day, as encompassing "seamstresses, lower middle class women, actresses out of work, luxurious courtesans, false 'devotes,' the farmer from the region and even the cook."[39]

The middle-class and aristocratic women who could have afforded to subscribe to a fashion journal overlapped with the audience intended for "keepsake" books, also called "commonplace" books, which were luxury objects that contained a selection of printed images and texts or blank pages.[40] The variety of pictorial genres featured in keepsakes (narrative scenes, landscapes, portraits) included half-length portraits of aristocratic British women (belying the British origin of keepsakes), famous women of the past, and imaginary female figures, which resemble the general figure type depicted by Grévedon and others.[41] However, the volumes served a different purpose: keepsakes were proscriptive in educating women in proper middle-class codes of behaviour and deportment and reinforced domestic values whereas large lithographs such as *Le Vocabulaire des dames* were much more open in their semiotic codes of address. The lithographic series and keepsake portrait images thus appear as discreet and nearly contemporaneous responses to the popularity and imaginative potential of the half-length portrait format.[42]

The social education promulgated by keepsake books tends to deprive their female recipients of much agency; they are objectified and manipulated much as they are by the eroticization in "pretty women" imagery. Prints such as Grévedon's, however, are not readily subsumed within such a paradigm. They really need to be placed in the context of the remarkable development of textual and popular commercial culture during the July Monarchy, particularly the culture of fashion. As Hazel Hahn has noted in her study of the commercial fashion culture of the period, "it was shopping as a pleasurable activity, and dress as an expression of one's taste, that dominated the magazines," rather than "the ideas of making the home beautiful and comfortable or aimed at fulfilling the duties of a housewife."[43] This edged out an earlier Enlightenment theme in fashion journals that maternity and fashionability were perfectly compatible states and aspirations. While the theme of "taste" had emerged in cultural journals in the wake of the French Revolution, as a democratic leveller that could be taught to and acquired by aspirant social groups, the 1830s saw an expansion of the idea that good "taste" was the key to customizing one's appearance within the parameters of the dominant style.[44] A "new modern idea of fashion as an individual interpretation of a trend" emerged in the July Monarchy," and Honoré de Balzac gave the concept literary form in *Ferragus* (1835) when he described the troubles his character Madame Jules took to decorate her house and dress her person:

> Any woman of taste could do as much, even though the planning of these things requires a stamp of personality which gives originality and character to this or that ornament, to this or that detail. Today more than ever before, there reigns a fanatical craving for self-expression.[45]

This idea of fashion as a means of expressing individuality complimented a "view of shopping as an activity of leisurely amusement or empowerment that increased women's influence both at home and in retail and production."[46] Consumption was one of the few public activities in which women were encouraged to engage, and they became the target audience both for print culture and fashion culture.[47] This was not an inconsiderable audience to address since there is some indication that French women controlled the family budget in the nineteenth century.[48]

The tasteful individualization of appearance seems compatible with the emphasis on contemporary French fashion in the *Le Vocabulaire des dames*. The term "vocabulary" in the series title had a visual as well as a verbal dimension. It can be taken to refer to *a style of dressing* rather than to a collection of garments, considering that the items of clothing shown are not fully rendered, named or described as they are in contemporary fashion journals. From the lithographs one learns about combinations of elements that create a certain look. Plate 5 indicates that a floral print dress with spikey vandyked sleeves is balanced by rounded loops of hair and a monochrome butterfly bow projecting off the head (see Fig. 9). Plate 9 suggests that a solid green dress set offs accessories such as a thick chain necklace and dark fur boa and that hair rolls and an Aphrodite knot echo their curved forms (see Fig. 12). In so far as *Le Vocabulaire des dames* functions as a visual primer of style, it refers to acts of dressing (in linguistic terms, to speech acts, *la parole*) more than it does to a collection of garments (to language as a reservoir of words, *la langue*) from which an individual might compose a look.[49]

One context for understanding the subjectivization of viewing and address to the common culture in *Le Vocabulaire des dames* is provided by the correspondence section of the fashion press, which employed "half-a-logues" similar to those in the prints to entice and represent public participation.[50] The editors of the *New Monthly Belle Assemblée* published replies to people who had submitted poems and essays for publication, responding on average to twenty-five a month in the 1840s.[51] The editors identified their correspondents only by initials and replied to them in quite specific terms without filling the reader in on the first part of the correspondence. Half of a conversation was published, much as in *Le Vocabulaire des dames* one seems to eavesdrop on the middle of an exchange. It remains open to question whether the essays and poems discussed, or letters to the editor published in the correspondence section, were actually written by readers and subscribers rather than being invented by the editors.[52] Whether fictional or actual, correspondence with readers highlights the allure that publically exposing "private" communications held for the reading public. The thrill and safety of this kind of exposure depended on the anonymity of the public sphere and the illusion of participation in it, which was created by suggesting that any reader's query would be dignified by a response and that anyone with aspirations to write might see her or his work in

print. This open form of demi-dialogic conversation was readily transposed to fashion-related lithographs such as *Le Vocabulaire des dames* given the material culture of clothing of the time: soliciting the participation of viewers of prints was important in an era before *haute-couture* and ready-to-wear, when individual consumers actively engaged in selecting the fabrics, trimmings, designs and accessories for their own clothes. [53]

Fashion "portraits" and the market in images

Large-scale lithographic "portraits" of fashionable women proliferated in the late 1820s and 1830s. Henri Grévedon designed about twenty series between 1828 and 1840, each containing between four to twenty-eight prints. Achille Devéria was another artist who abandoned engraving for lithography and found the medium congenial for series of imaginary female figures; he was Grévedon's major competitor in this genre. Jean Gigoux, Octave Tassaert, Léon Noël and Charles Philipon also made lithographs of this type, inventing designs and occasionally reproducing paintings by other artists. In the realm of fine art, the French painters who produced half-length "portraits" of imaginary costumed women included Joseph-Désiré Court, Édouard Dubufe, Charles Emile Callende de Champmartin, and Thomas Couture.

Fig. 20. Thomas Lawrence, *Portrait of Miss Rosamond Crocker, later Lady Barrow*, 1827, oil on canvas, 81.28 x 63.5 cm (32 x 25 in.) (Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo). Photo: Albright-Knox Art Gallery/Art Resource, NY.

Fig. 21. Emilien Desmaisons, *Je dois oublier* | *I must forget him*, 1833, lithograph in black on wove paper, 32 x 27 cm (image), 41.5 x 31 cm (sheet) (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris).

But the most striking indication of the slide between painting and printmaking across this genre was the reinterpretation of portraits by the English painter Thomas Lawrence for the French print market. Lawrence burst onto the French scene with the exhibition of his works at the Salon of 1824, where he was awarded the cross of the Legion of Honor. His paintings, especially portraits of women and children, enjoyed popularity in France under the guise of genre subjects: the identities of his aristocratic English sitters were striped out of reproductive engravings and lithographs after his portraits and replaced with generic titles or captions. His *Portrait of Miss Rosamond Crocker, later Lady Barrow*, 1827 (Fig. 20), thus became *Je dois oublier*

| *I must forget him* in a large lithograph by Emilien Desmaisons from 1833 (Fig. 21).[54] The print belonged to a series of six "gracious subjects" by Desmaisons after Lawrence, which transformed portraits into generic female subjects: *Une Grande Dame | A Lady*, based on Lawrence's *Portrait of Mrs. Robert, later Lady Peel* (1827, Frick Collection, New York); *Une Jeune Mère | A Young Mother*; *Une Jeune Veuve | A Young Widow*; *La Jolie Villageoise* ? *A Cottage Girl* (after Edwin Henry Landseer); and *Pense-t-il a moi? | Is he thinking of me?* These were yet another example of portraiture's role as a vehicle for imaginative projection at the time. The craze for Lawrence-derived images of "pretty women" suggests that the figure type may have originated in England and been exported to France, either by means of direct transmission—Grévedon would have had ample opportunity to study Lawrence's work in London and absorb the soft sentiment that suffused his portrayal of women—or by means of engravings—Samuel Cousins's mezzotint *Miss Crocker* (1828, National Portrait Gallery, London) was probably the intermediary for Desmaisons's *Je dois oublier | I must forget him* (see Fig. 21). The emphasis on variations in fashionable clothing in Grévedon's (and others') series would then represent a French contribution to the genre, at a time when Paris was advancing its cultural claim to inventiveness in fashion design. The demi-dialogic form taken by two of Desmaisons's captions was probably influenced by the Grévedon series: *Je dois oublier | I must forget him* closely recalls the *Vocabulaire*'s Je l'oublierai. | I Will Forget Him, No. 16 (see Fig. 18). That is, the Lawrence/Desmaisons series of large lithographs thus extended the arbitrary nature of the captions' relation to the images.

The market for prints after Lawrence in France is only one indication of the cultural traffic between London and Paris that flourished after 1815, especially after 1828 when French taxes on prints imported from England were lifted.[55] The presence of bi-lingual captions in *Le Vocabulaire des dames* and in the Desmaisons series points to cooperation between print publishers that sustained international sales; in fact, the brevity of the captions may have been a practical solution to fitting two languages on one line. In a long-standing convention, publishers who financed the prints printed their names and addresses on them: Rittner and Goupil in Paris and Charles Tilt in London published *Le Vocabulaire des dames* while Jeannin in Paris and Bailly, Ward & Co. in New York published the Desmaisons series.[56] French artists and publishers needed the English and American markets since the French exported more printed images than they imported.[57] That balance sheet conditioned the reception of work by Lawrence in France as well as the cross-Channel marketing of Grévedon's dreamy English-infused bilingual series of fashionable women. Lines of collaboration crossed and were multiple: the London merchant Tilt co-published with nearly every art house in Paris while an artist such as Grévedon was hired by eight different editors in Paris.[58] In these decades before art publishing houses were large enough to establish branches in foreign cities (Goupil, Vibert & Co. first did so in 1846), individual prints and series were apparently commissioned

by different houses on a subject-by-subject basis.[59] There is precious little evidence of the contractual arrangements that must have existed between publishers in different cities; at the very least, letters of credit or a private account for exchanging cash would have been needed to facilitate international sales, arrangements that still depended upon first-hand knowledge and trust of a business partner.[60]

Fig. 22. Henri Grévedon, *Alphabet des Dames*, *ou Recueil de vingt-cinq portraits de fantaisie*, "Xima," Paris, Chaillou-Potrelle, 1828-1830, lithograph on in black on wove paper, 40.8 x 23.7 cm. (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris).

Fig. 23. Achille Devéria, *Alphabet varié, choix de costumes dessinés d'après nature*, "B, Viennoise," Paris, Adolphe Fonrouge, 1831, lithograph in black on wove paper, 43.4 x 32.8 cm (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris).

Given these criss-crossing lines of production and sale, it is no wonder that different publishers commissioned similar subjects from artists. Henri Grévedon and Achille Devéria both designed series on the theme of the alphabet, for instance, featuring fantasy "portraits" of women (Grévedon, *Alphabet des Dames*, *ou Recueil de vingt-cinq portraits de fantaisie*, 1828-1830, 25 plates for Chaillou-Potrelle; and Devéria, *Alphabet varié, choix de costumes dessinés d'après nature*, 1831, 25 plates for Adolphe Fonrouge) (Figs. 22 and 23).[61] The array of overlapping subjects in the same medium and format appears as an excess of a capitalist system of image production that was in the throes of transforming reproductive print technologies and

establishing new markets. Decourcy E. McIntosh aptly described that excess as "the welter of undifferentiated merchandise on the Paris print market in 1828-1835":

> Except for Englemann, who published lithography exclusively, all of these firms [Charles Motte, Henri Gaugain, Gilhaut Frères, Giraldon-Bovinet, Ritter and Goupil] sold engravings after old and modern masters, and all offered lithographed scenic views, portraits, genre subjects, and humor, usually in long series, each one emulating the publications of the others. [62]

The idea of one firm emulating another's stock suggests a modification of the author-function that art historians and curators usually assign to printed images from this period. Rather than assuming that the subjects and formats of prints were generated primarily by artists, more account of the role of the commissioning editors in shaping this visual culture needs to be taken. In the absence of documented contracts or letters of understanding between artists and editors, few of which survive from the 1820s through the 1840s, it is difficult to know what degree of influence editors exerted on artists' choices of subjects and designs but it is reasonable to assume that it was growing. [63] Associations with book printing had always been in the background of the enlistment of prints for serial imagery, and historians of the book have called this period "the time of the editors (*le temps des éditeurs*)." [64] À propos of Gavarni's portrayal of the fictional editor Flammèche as a rag-picker, who re-cycles and re-combines found objects, Jillian Taylor Lerner has argued that the editor's role as creative director and curator usurped that of the author by the mid-1840s. [65]

Fig. 24. Henri Grévedon, *Le Miroir des dames, ou Nouvel alphabet français*, "O", Paris, 1834, lithograph in black on wove paper, 51.0 x 39.5 cm (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris)

A complementary relationship between proliferation and standardization can be said to have characterized the production of lithographs in the 1830s. The series of fantasy fashion portraits are alike but different, much like the images each one contains. The female figures that populate Grévedon's twenty series of lithographs are very similar in general appearance and yet each one differs from the others by details of costume and pose. There are remarkably few repetitions; instead Grévedon shuffled, varied and recombined features of posture and dress to create an unending supply of "new" figures.[66] The letter "O" from his *Le Miroir des dames, ou Nouvel alphabet français* (1834) (Fig. 24) recalls plate 9 from *Le Vocabulaire des dames*

(see Fig. 12) owing to a similar coiffure and dark fur boa, but the boa is tied around O's neck rather than draped over her shoulders and the dress and pose differ slightly. Peter McNeil has argued with regard to fashion prints that they "can be copied but the copy is always literally a new 'impression,' or more visibly transformed with the addition or removal of parts, new titles, the addition of new or extra languages; . . .this is not a matter of imitation, but rather creative transformation."[67] Here we have a dynamic, not only of a new image culture of fashion and its free-wheeling play with different genres and image forms, but also of the operations of a new phase of capitalist development gaining ground in the early nineteenth century – particularly with regard to the development, production, and distribution of semi-luxury consumer commodities.

NOTES

1. *Le Vocabulaire des dames*, lithographed by Henri Grévedon, published by Rittner and Goupil, Paris and Charles Tilt, London, printed by Lemercier, Paris, 1831-1834, title page: "Cette Collection de Portraits se continuera de mois en mois autant qu'il se présentera de Modes nouvelles."

2. On the textile trade, see William M. Reddy, *The Rise of Market Culture: The Textile Trade and French Society, 1750-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); and *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850*, edited by Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). On visual culture, see *The Popularization of Images: Visual Culture under the July Monarchy*, edited by Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Gabriel Weisberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

3. Hazel Hahn, "Fashion Discourses in Fashion Magazines and Madame de Girardin's *Lettres parisiennes* in July Monarchy France (1830-1848)," *Fashion Theory* 9:2 (2005): 205-27; and Raymond Gaudriault, *La Gravure de mode feminine en France* (Paris: Editions de l'amateur, 1983), 64 and appendices.

4. Some statistics provide a sense of this: the number of lithographic presses licensed in France increased from five in 1818 to fifty-nine in 1831, reaching 1274 by 1870; Corinne Bouquin, "Rose Joseph Lemercier e la stampa litografica nel XIX secolo," in *Carte dipinte. Esotismo e Intimismo nell'Ottocento francese*, edited by Marilena Mosco (Milan: Artworld Media, 1989), 98. Between 1820 and 1830, the number of lithographs deposited at the *dépôt légale* in Paris increased from 1600 to 2200, a low figure since not all prints published were registered; James Cuno, "Charles Philipon and La Maison Aubert: The Business, Politics, and Public of Caricature in Paris, 1820-1840," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1985.70.

5. Oskar Fischel and Max Von Boehn, *Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century as Represented in the Pictures and Engravings of the Time,* vol. II, *1818-1842*, translated from the German (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1927), 100.

6. As Jonathan Bober has pointed out in *Lithography: The Modern Art and its Traditions* (Austin: Jack S. Blanton Museum of Art, 1998), 4.

7. W. McAllister Johnson, *French Lithography: The Restoration Salons, 1817-1824* (Kingston, Ont.: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1977).

8. Studies of attempts made by editors and dealers to bridge the gap between the spheres of commercial and fine art in Paris during the late 1820s and 1830s include Beth Wright, "Henri Gaugain et le musée Colbert: l'entreprise d'un directeur de galerie et d'un éditeur d'art à l'époque romantique," *Nouvelles de l'estampe* (1990): 24-31; and Amelle Jaquinot,"L'impact commercial de l'exposition au Salon (1818-1848)," in *Painting for the Salon, 1791-1881*, edited by James Kearns and Alister Mills (Oxford and Berne: Peter Lang, forthcoming 2015).

9. Beatrice Farwell, *French Popular Lithographic Imagery, 1815-1870*, 12 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981-1997), XI, 1-27.

10. I thank Susan Roeper, Librarian at the Clark Art Institute, for taking these measurements. The series was advertised in the format "1/2 jésus"; *Catalogue du fonds de Rittner & Goupil, éditeurs d'estampes et commissionnaires, Paris, 9, boulevard Montmartre* [Paris: Imp. E. Duverger, s.d. (1834)], 5, nos. 595-612. The traditional (pre-1972) French paper size "Jésus" (marked with the monogram of Christ "I.H.S.") measured 56 x 72 cm; AFNOR [Organization of the French standardization system], www.AFNOR.com, accessed July 22, 2014. While "Grand Jésus" (56 x 76 cm) and "Petit Jésus, ou Jésus de musique" (55 x 70) were related formats, I have not found documentation of traditional measurements for "1/2 jésus."

11. Carol Rifelj, "'Ces tableaux du monde': Keepsakes in Madame Bovary," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 25:3-4 (Spring-Summer 1997): 360-61.

12. *Nouveau catalogue d'estampes en noir et en couleur, livres a figures, collections et recueils dans tous les genres, composant le fonds et l'assortiment de Giraldon-Bovinet, Editeur, Marchand d'Estampes, Commissionnaire, Paysage Vivienne, No. 26* (Paris and London: Pillet ainé, 1827), s.p.: "Prix des bordures dorées pour encadrer les gravures, dessins, tableaux, etc."; and "Prix des verres qui servent à l'encadrement des gravures." See also David Alexander, "The Historic Framing of Prints," in *Historic Framing and Presentation of Watercolours, Drawings and Prints*, edited by Nancy Bell (Worcester, Eng.: Institute of Paper Conservation, 1997), 1-9.

13. *Catalogue du fonds de Rittner & Goupil,* 5, nos. 595-612, "*Le Vocabulaire des Dames*, 1e, 2e et 3e *Livr*., cont. chacune 6 portraits de fantaisie." The six prints in the fourth and final *livraison* of the series were registered in November 1834, after Rittner and Goupil published its catalogue; George D. McKee, *Image of France, 1795-1880,* no. 24818. *Bibliog. de la Fr.,* 22 novembre 1834, no. 765; http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/image-france, accessed 6 Aug. 2014 (hereafter *Image of France*). The title page of the Clark Art Institute volume is dated 1832 though the series was legally registered between 1831 and 1834.

14. The hand-colored set referenced in this article is in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library, Williamstown, Massachusetts, Rare Folio NK 4709 G7. A black-and-white set is in the BnF Est, Oeuvre de Grévedon, Dc 99a; catalogued by Jean Adhémar and Jacques Lethève, *Inventaire du fonds français après 1800*, 15 vols. (Paris : Bibliothèque nationale, 1930-85), *Tome neuvième, Gavarret-Guillard* (1955), 385, no. 76, as "Suite de vingt-quatre portr[aits], avec réflexions." Prices are given in *Catalogue du fonds de Rittner & Goupil,* 5, nos. 595-612, *Le Vocabulaire des Dames*, "Prix. Couleur: 15 fr; Noir: 9 fr" [per *livraison*, presumably]. Other print sellers simply doubled the price for hand-coloring; *Catalogue de la Maison Bance et Schroth, éditeurs, marchands d'estampes commissionnaires, Paris, rue du Mail, 5* (Paris: Bance, s.d. [after July 1830]).

15. See Kathleen Nicholson, "Fashioning Fashionability," in *Fashion Prints in the Age of Louis XIV: Interpreting the Art of Elegance*, edited by Kathryn Norberg and Sandra Rosenbaum, Costume Society of America Series (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2014), 148-85. Nicholson calls them "fashion portrait prints," the reference to portraiture alluding to the high ranking aristocrats who were named by title in the inscriptions on the prints, even though the figures themselves were entirely stereotypical and bore no resemblance to the individual named.

16. The painters in question include Marie-Denise Villers, William Beechy, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, and Camille Corot. Carle Vernet, Horace Vernet, and Pauline Auzou supplied drawings to the *Journal des dames et des modes,* as documented by Annemarie Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes,' ou La Conquête de l'Europe feminine, 1797-1839* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2001), 343-46.

17. Grévedon's training as a history painter is evident in his *Dead Hero on his Bier*, oil on canvas, 88 x 118.2 cm (location unknown; exhibited New York, Shephard Gallery, 1985). He exhibited at the Salon of 1804 before leaving France to work in Russia, Sweden and England until 1816. *Oxford Art Online/Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, "Grevedon [sic], Pierre-Louis, called Henri"; and Adhémar and Lethève, *Inventaire des fonds français après 1800. Tome neuvième, Gavarret-Guillard*, 378.

18. *Catalogue du fonds de Rittner & Goupil,* 5, nos. 595-612. The descriptor "portraits de fantaisie" was also used for the *Galerie of Beauty* [sic] by Grévedon and Jean Gigoux, to which each artist contributed six prints (ibid., nos. 312-323); two examples are in BnF Est, Oeuvre de Gigoux, Dc 193g. Rittner and Goupil employed the term "têtes de fantaisie" for other prints in their inventory (ibid., nos. 60 and 167-172).

19. Farwell, *French Popular Lithographic Imagery*, XI, 6-9.

20. Melissa Percival, *Fragonard and the Fantasy Figure: Painting and Imagination* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012).

21. The sitter's maiden name, which has not been identified with certainty, may be Louise Marie Elisabeth Capitaine (1796/7-1856), spouse of Jean-Louis-Pierre Arachequesne (1791/2-1867); https://gw.geneanet.org, accessed 6 August 2014.

22. Corinne Bouquin, "Rose Joseph Lemercier," 109. Stefan Muthesius has shown that lithographs became an increasingly important part of interior decoration during the nineteenth century in *The Poetic Home: Designing the 19th-century Domestic Interior* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2009).

23. The coordinated execution of these portraits by a husband-and-wife team suggests that the Hersents and Arachequesnes knew each other. The context of sociability may have been artistic since Madame Hersent ran a studio for women artists and Jean Louis Pierre Arachequesne (1793-1867)—if he is indeed the sitter she pictured—submitted paintings to the Salons of 1827 through 1833. Charles Lefeuve, *Les anciennes maisons de Paris. Histoire de Paris rue par rue, maison par maison*, 5th ed., 5 vols. (Paris : C. Reinwald, and Leipzig : A. Twietmeyer, 1875), II, 281, under "Rue Cassette, VI^{ème} arrondissement de Paris" [written 1858]: "No. 22 . . . Mme Hersent, qui a ouvert elle-même un atelier pour enseigner aux dames la peinture, en a confié la direction à Mme Dénos, une de ses meilleures élèves, et M. Galimard y succède à Mme Dénos." The author quoted information on No. 44, rue Cassette, provided by "M. Arachequesne, maire de Compiègne" (II, 281-82), probably referring to Jean Louis Arachequesne, mayor of Compiegne from 1853-63 (http://www.francegenweb.org/mairesgenweb, accessed 7 Aug. 2014). Perhaps the families owned properties on the same street. On Jean Louis Pierre Arachequesne's submissions to the Paris Salon, see Harriet Griffiths and Alistair Mills, *Database of Salon Artists 1827-1850*, University of Exeter, http://humanities-research.exeter.ac.uk/salonartists (accessed 7 August 2014).

24. *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, gravure, lithographie et architecture des artistes vivans, exposés au Musée Royal, le 1er mai 1831* (Paris: Vinchon, 1831), 83, cat. no. 1064, "Portraits, même numéro." Madame Hersent does not appear to have exhibited her portrait of Monsieur Arachequesne.

25. See Hahn, "Fashion Discourses," 216-17.

26. William McAllister Johnson, *Versified Prints: A Literary and Cultural Phenomenon in Eighteenth-Century France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 8-10.

27. Referring to rhymed quatrains, Johnson argues that it was "rare for an artist or an engraver to versify his own work"; *Versified Prints*, 48-49.

28. Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," *Image, Music, Text*, ed. and trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 32-51, quotation, 41.

29. Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 41.

30. Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Mathew Ward and Richard Howard (New York: ill and Wang, 1983), 261-62.

31. William Ray, "Fashion as Concept and Ethic in Seventeenth-Century France," in *Fashion Prints in the Age of Louis XIV*, 91-115.

32. Farwell, *French Popular Lithographic Imagery*, XI, 3.

33. Scholarship on print collecting has concentrated on the early modern period and on prints (especially engravings, etchings, and woodcuts) subsequently valued for their rarity, iconography, or authorship rather than on collectors and purchasers of commercially produced prints. A few general references to lithographs in nineteenth-century collections are found in Jean Adhémar, "Le public de l'estampe," *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, no. 37 (Jan.-Feb. 1978): 7-19, especially 15. Concerning lithographic production, the only quantitative analysis that attends to subject matter which has been undertaken is Corinne Bouquin's study of Rose Joseph Lemercier, the most important lithographic printer in nineteenth-century Paris. As Bouquin could not locate the firm's business records, she studied a sample of 6000 lithographs printed between 1829 and 1890 and concluded from this, among other things, that in the category "Vie quotidienne," which accounted for 66% of her sample, 5.5% of the prints were devoted to "habillement/mode" before 1850 compared with 60% between 1850 and 1857, a spike that she attributed to advertisements. "Recherches sur l'imprimerie lithographique à Paris au XIXème siècle: l'Imprimérie Lemercier (1803-1901)," Ph.D. dissertation [Thèse, Doctorat Nouveau régime], University of Lille III, 1994, 247-50.

34. Farwell, *French Popular Lithographic Imagery*, XI, 3; vol. II in her series covers "Portraits and Types." Farwell justified the classification as follows (XI, 2): "Women's bodies and faces constitute the subject of this class of imagery. It does not matter what they are doing, and doing nothing is as good as doing something. Just being there and looking appealing fulfills the duties of the pinup." Her reading built on an eighteenth-century tradition of eroticizing printed images of women; see *Aimer en France: 1780-1800: cent pieces tirées du Cabinet des estampes de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Clement-Ferrand: Bibliothèque municipal et interuniversitaire, 1977), and Ella Snoep-Reitsma, "Chardin and the Bourgeois Ideals of His Time 1," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 24 (1973): 147-69 and 186-88.

35. Farwell, *French Popular Lithographic Imagery*, XI, 3-4 and 8. She relied on printseller Jean Baptiste François Delarue's capacious classification of "sujets gracieux" in his 1840 catalogue.

36. Farwell, *French Popular Lithographic Imagery*, XI, 5.

37. *Mallarmé on fashion : a translation of the fashion magazine, La dernière mode*, with commentary, edited and translated by P.N. Furbank and Alex Cain(Oxford and New York: Berg, 2004), 7 and 41-44.

38. Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes,'* 127-50, especially 128. Kleinert cited internal evidence of the journal's address to male readers (144).

39. Kleinert, *Le 'Journal des Dames et des Modes,'* 134.

40. Keepsake prefaces often addressed women (Rifelj, "'Ces tableaux du monde'," 360), though examples that belonged to men are known, for example *Commonplace book of Charles Sumner*, ca. 1851; Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library, 3 FHCL.Hough.3725359. See Fréderic Lachèvre, *Bibliographie sommaire des keepsakes et autres recueils collectifs de la période romantique 1823-1848*, 2 vols. (Paris : L. Giraud-Badin, 1929).

41. The eight steel-plate engravings in Martha Leach Packard's *Album of Beauty*, 1837-1894, bulk, 1859-1862, which were executed by a variety of hands, include three portraits (*Lady Constance Gower*; *Lady Georgina Codrington, in the costume worn at Her Majesty's fancy ball*; *Mrs. Maher of Turtulla*), a historical "portrait" (*Marguerite of France, Queen of Edward I*), two imaginary figures (*Félicina*; *The Baroness*); a genre scene (*Myans*, a mother at a bedside); and a landscape (*Tivoli*); William L. Clement Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan M-4303, called "commonplace book"; measuring 23.5 x 19 cm (cover), 23 x 18 cm (sheets) [9 x 7 in. (sheets)].

42. Keepsakes flourished in France after 1833, shortly after large lithographic series were published, when Charles Philipon imported them from London for the enormously influential Maison Aubert; David S. Kerr, *Caricature and French Political Culture, 1830-1848* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 61.

43. Hahn, "Fashion Discourses," 216. Hahn develops the subject in *Scenes of Parisian Modernity: Culture and Consumption in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillian, 2010).

44. Rebecca L. Spang, "The Frivolous French: `Liberty of Pleasure' and the End of Luxury," in H. Brown and J. Miller, *Taking Liberties: Problems of a New Order from the French Revolution to Napoleon* (Manchester and New York : Manchester

University Press, 2002), 110-125. See also Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989, c 1987).

45. Hahn, "Fashionable Discources," 209. Honoré de Balzac, *Ferragus: Chief of the Companions of Duty*, in *History of the Thirteen*, trans. Herbert Hunt (London: Penguin Classics, 1974), 82; Honoré de Balzac, *Ferragus: chef des Dévorants*, ed. Roger Bordier (Paris: Collection Folio classique, Gallimard, 1974), 120-21: "Toute femme de goût pouvait en faire autant, quoique, néanmoins, il y ait dans l'arrangement de ces choses un chachet de personnalité qui donne à tel ornement, à tel détail, un caractère inimitable. Aujourd'hui plus que jamais règne le fanatisme de l'individualité."

46. Hahn, "Fashionable Discources," 216.

47. For eighteenth century developments, see Jennifer Jones, *Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion and Commercial Culture in Old Regime France* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004), 45-48. The iconography of image consumption favoured women as viewers of prints, albums, and fashion journals early in the century, as it did later (*Journal des dames et des modes*, an X [1801-1802], pl. 346; *Journal des dames et des modes*, no. 25 [5 May 1824], pl. 2233; Achille Devévia, *Le Goût nouveau*, 1831, No. 18; and *Le Miroir* [1843], pl. 12, reproduced in *Der Spiegel für Kunst, Eleganz und Moder*, ed. Samuel Rosenthal [Fr. Wiesen's Wtw, 1845], opposite p. 176). However, in addition to Daumier's depictions of print collectors, men were sometimes portrayed as viewers and readers of prints and journals (*La Mode* 2 [April 9, 1831], pl. 138).

48. Flora Tristan remarked on the difference between women's roles in French and English households in this respect, in *Promenades dans Londres* (Paris: H.-L. Delloye, and London: W. Jeffs, 1840), 267-78, cited in Michael Marrinan, *Romantic Paris : Histories of a Cultural Landscape, 1800-1850* (Stanford : Stanford University Press, 20009), 336.

49. This distinction is drawn from Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Mathew Ward and Richard Howard (New York: ill and Wang, 1983). See also Odile Blanc, "Histoire de costume: quelques observations méthodologiques," *Histoire de l'art*, no. 48 (June 2001): 153-63, especially 153-54.

50. Another context is suggested by the dialogic performances of women *salonnières* of the romantic period, discussed by Daniel Harkett, "Paris S/salon in the 1820s," in *Painting for the Salon*, forthcoming 2015.

51. For example "To Correspondents," *The New Monthly Belle Assemblée* 15 (July 1841): 62.

52. Denise Davidson, "Imagining the Readers of the *Journal des dames et des modes*," unpublished paper presented at the interdisciplinary workshop *More than Fashion: The* Journal des dames et des modes *(1797-1839)*, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 2009. Mallarmé imitated the form, inventing correspondence and articles purportedly submitted by readers for his journal *La Dernière mode*; see *Mallarmé on Fashion.*

53. Françoise Tétart-Vittu, "Who Creates Fashion?" in *Impressionism, Fashion, and Modernity*, ed. Gloria Groom (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 68–77.

54. The artist who signed "E. Desmaisons" is known as Emilien or Pierre-Emile (1812-1880). Examples of his series are in BnF Est, Oeuvre de Desmaisons, Dc 228b, fols. 99-104. The prints measure 41.5 x 31 cm (sheet); 32 x 26 cm (image above inscriptions). On the circulation of prints after Lawrence in France see Barthélémy Jobert, "À la recherche de l'école anglaise: Lawrence, Wilkie et Martin: three British artists in Restoration France," in *English Accents: Interactions with British Art, c. 1776-1855*, edited by Christiana Payne and William Vaughan (Aldershot, Hants, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 124-51, especially 132-33.

55. Barthélémy Jobert, "Estampe anglaise, estampe française : une historie commune?" in *D'outre-Manche : l'art britannique dans les collections publiques française*, exh. cat. (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France and Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), 119 (of 114-29). See also J. Lecocq, "Les Rapport entre la France et l'Angleterre dans la domaine de l'estampe à l'éopque romantique (1815-1850)" (Paris, 1948, unpublished manuscript, BnF Est Yc 559 4°), 88-89, listing Paris merchants who sold prints after Lawrence; and Stéphane Roy, "The art of trade and economics of taste : the English print market in Paris, 1770-1800," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* (June 2008): 190 (of 167-92).

56. Bilingual captions were printed only after the sixth plate of *Le Vocabulaire des dames* though publishers in London and Paris were inscribed from the beginning. The same pattern was seen in Louis-Léopold Boilly's *Les Grimaces* (1823-28), perhaps suggesting a trial run in one city or the other. On the *Grimaces*, see Susan L. Siegfried, "Les Grimaces: La phrase expérimentale de Boilly dans la dernière partie de sa vie," in *Boilly (1761-1845)*, directed by Annie Scottez De Wambrechies and Florence Raymond (Lille: Palais des Beaux Arts de Lille, 2011), 47-57. On the history of bilingual captions, see Roy, "The art of trade and economics of taste," 178-79.

57. Jobert, "Estampe anglaise, estampe française," 119.

58. On Tilt, see "Charles Tilt, Publisher, 1826-1842," *The Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record* (April 23, 1927): 475; and *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004-14), v. 54, "Tilt, Charles."

59. Régine Bigorne, "La Maison Goupil avant Goupil & cie. (1827-1850)," *Etat des lieux*, 2 vols. (Bordeaux: Musée Goupil, 1994 and 1999), II, 12-13. DeCourcy E. McIntosh, "The origins of the Maison Goupil in the age of Romanticism," *The British Art Journal* 5:1 (Spring/Summer 2004): 71.

60. Rare evidence of business transactions between English and French print publishers in the eighteenth century is provided by Antony Griffiths, "Two Letters on the Print Trade between London and Paris in the Eighteenth Century," *Print Quarterly* 9 (1992), 282-84. In 1825, the artist Henri Monnier urged the engraver and printsellter Charles Motte to establish a shop in London, which Motte did not do; BnF Est., Z 85 420 79 705, letters dated London, 26 July and 5 Oct. 1825. John Martin's account book indicates that he sold his prints directly to Victor Morlot, a printseller, during a trip to Paris in the 1850s; personal communication, Stéphane Roy, 11 August 2014.

61. Henri Grévedon, *Alphabet des Dames, ou Recueil de vingt-cinq portraits de fantaisie* (Paris : chez Chaillon-Potrelle, 1828-1830), BnF Est, Œuvre de Grévedon, DC 99d ; and Achille Devéria, *Alphabet varié, choix de costumes dessinés d'après nature par A. Devéria* (Paris: Adolphe Fonrouge, 1831), BnF Est, Œuvre de Devéria, Dc 178d rés, v. 8 ; catalogued in Adhémar and Lethève, *Inventaire du fonds français après 1800. Tome sixième, Daumont-Dorange* (1953), 508, no. 199, and *Tome neuvième, Gavarret-Guillard*, 384, no. 63

62. McIntosh,"The origins of the Maison Goupil," 73.

63. An 1832 letter from Charles Philipon to Achille Devéria proposing work provides rare insight into relations between editors and artists, quoted in Kerr, *Caricature and French Political Culture*, 60. See also Cuno, "Charles Philipon and La Maison Aubert," Ch. 2 and 120.

64. *Histoire de l'edition française*, v. 3, *Le temps des éditeurs. Du Romantisme à la Belle Epoque*, edited by Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier, and Jean-Pierre Vivet (Paris : Promodis, 1985).

65. Jillian Taylor Lerner, "A Devil's-Eye View of Paris : Gavarni's Portrait of the Editor," *Oxford Art Journal* (2008): 233-50.

66. Unusually, Grévedon repeated the figures "Fevrier" and "Juillet" from his series of months (1838) in those of the "Baronne" and "Actrice" from *Portraits de femmes, selon leur rang social* (1840); BnF Est, Oeuvre de Grévedon Dc 99 and Dc99a. Even here, the earlier figures were varied: the later ones are inversed, slightly smaller, and plainly framed. Sarah R. Cohen analyzed similar strategies in seventeenth-century fashion prints in "Masquerade as Mode in the French Fashion Print," in *The Clothes That Wear Us. Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, edited by Jessica Munns and Penny Richards (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 188.

67. Peter McNeil, "'Beauty in Search of Knowledge': eighteenth-century fashion and print culture," *Fashioning the Early Modern Anthology*, manuscript p. 7, forthcoming from the Humanities in the European Research Area (HERA)/European Science Foundation-funded *project, "Fashioning the Early Modern: Innovation and Creativity in Europe, 1500-1800" (FEM).*

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VISIBLE SPECTERS, IMAGES FROM THE ATMOSPHERE

NANCY LOCKE

Toward the middle of Balzac's *Cousin Pons*, the reader encounters a passage that introduces the new phenomenon of photography. The narrator has just expressed the sentiment that to believe in divination, such as fortune-telling, is to believe in the absurd.

> But this criterion of absurdity once ruled out the harnessing of steam; it still rules out aerial navigation; it ruled out many inventions: gunpowder, printing, the telescope, engraving and also the most recent great discovery of our time, the daguerreotype. If anyone had come and told Napoleon that a man or a building is incessantly and continuously represented by a picture in the atmosphere, that all existing objects project into it a kind of *spectre* which can be captured and perceived, he would have consigned him to Charenton as a lunatic, just as Cardinal Richelieu consigned Salomon de Caux to Bicêtre when that martyred Norman put within his grasp a tremendous victory over nature: navigation by steam. And yet that is what Daguerre's discovery proved! [1]

Cousin Pons was written in the early 1840s, only a handful of years after Daguerre demonstrated his new invention for the French Academy of Sciences and the public. Balzac finds photography disconcerting. For him, the human character, from gestures and manners to complex motivations and secret vices, was something made visible to the keen observer, the human narrator of his fiction. The idea that a machine could "incessantly and continuously represent" a "spectre," or that we might be giving off images of ourselves that the camera could capture, was deeply unsettling. Édouard Manet did not share Balzac's reservations (or maybe superstitions?) about photography, and indeed several scholars have noted photographic models for particular works by Manet. [2] I would argue that we need to look more specifically at the kinds of formal effects typical of photography at mid-century in order to see Manet's profound engagement with this new image paradigm. We also need to think

about the photograph as an image whose source was not human, but optical and mechanical, and thus mysterious. Like Balzac, Manet was primarily concerned with the human, social world, but in Manet's case, the ommatophore of the camera—the automatism of an eye on a stalk—has a greater presence than we have previously acknowledged.

Perhaps what is most startling about photography is that we expect photographs—those products of lens, machine, and chemistry— to be accurate, neutral, "scientific" images, when in fact they turn out to be something else. We expect the world to appear in black and white, for instance. Prior to the development of orthochromatic emulsions in 1873, however, the entire value scale of a landscape was somewhat unpredictable: greens in nature, for example, could look quite dark in early paper prints. When Édouard Baldus made a salted paper print of some friends on a country retreat, the Château de la Faloise almost vanishes in the center of the picture (fig. 1).[3]

Fig. 1: Édouard Baldus, Footbridge at La Faloise I, 1856, salted paper print from wet collodion negative, 29 x 40.9 cm (Musée d'Orsay, Paris).

A lady's parasol becomes a floating mushroom cap: it is a large white shape with no visible handles or structures. Both the lady's dress and her friend's bright trousers are noticeably too bright, as is the little path behind them, which resembles a beam of light. The man in light trousers standing on the bridge, meanwhile, becomes a tonal inversion as his form is reflected as a long and heavy shape in the water. Light legs become dark; his whole body lengthens; a hatted head becomes a peg. Trees that probably looked lush and full to the persons on site seem to bristle against the white sky in the photograph. Lady Eastlake, writing about landscape photography in 1857, complained about these very phenomena, especially the house looking like a "card-box, with black blots of trees on each side, all rooted in a substance far more like burnt stubble than juicy, delicate grass."[4] Imagine a viewer whose understanding of the French landscape was based on the silvery light of Corot or the humid atmosphere of Daubigny; now imagine that viewer coming face to face with this print. She

or he would wonder what kind of climate this was, or whether ordinary sunlight pushed soft grasses and poplar leaves to such extremes of light and dark. A nineteenth-century landscape painter would probably have softened the appearance of the foliage, and a portraitist would have heightened the definition of the château, the figures, and the relations among them. No painter had ever rendered the obdurate tones and geometry of the underside of a bridge and the intricate reflections of tree trunks, posts, and rails so insistently as they appear in Baldus' print.

In order to appreciate how a painter of Manet's generation would have viewed early photographs, it is necessary to think past our own familiarity with photographic images to try to see how these new images first appeared in their own time. Portraiture was one of the first artistic genres to change as a result of the availability of photographic portraits at mid-century; at the same time, the photographic portrait was capable of producing effects that would be daring in a nineteenth-century painting. If Julia Margaret Cameron's subject, Philip Stanhope Worsley, didn't look so Victorian, we might take him to be the model for a Cubist harlequin, with a mask of shadow overtaking the left side of the face, and his eye emerging out of the darkness (fig. 2).

Fig. 2: Julia Margaret Cameron, Philip Stanhope Worsley, 1864–66, albumen silver print from glass negative, 30.4 x 25 cm (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

Cameron's choice of high contrast lighting was deliberate and meant to be expressive, but at the same time, her deployment of extremes to illuminate her subject reminds us that artificial light potentially introduces high value contrast to the scene. The lighting of a face could be

extreme in a photograph in ways that painters of the time would certainly have found to be novel and evocative. [5]

Photography could be called upon to do many kinds of documentary work, but for painters, it was perhaps even more significant that there were things it could *not* register. Take, for example, Baldus's 1855 photograph of the train station at Amiens, part of an album commissioned by Baron James de Rothschild to commemorate the train line from Paris to Boulogne (fig. 3). [6]

Fig. 3: Édouard Baldus, La Gare d'Amiens, 1855, salted paper print, 32 x 44 cm (Musée d'Orsay, Paris).

Baldus' long exposure allows us to see into the shadows of the train sheds even as we admire the severe geometry of the architecture. The image does record the contingent: the pattern of diverging rails, the robotic signaling mechanism, the impressions of so many footsteps in the soft earth. But that very long exposure allows for no incident in the sky or on the tracks—no movement, no life, nothing ephemeral. Manet's *Railway* of 1873 is the photograph's polar opposite, with its brightness, its high-key color, and its focus on two vividly represented actors (fig. 4).

Fig. 4: Édouard Manet, The Railway, 1873, oil on canvas, 93.3 x 111.5 cm (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC).

A glance up at the viewer, a girl grasping a rail, fingers holding a page in a book: everywhere in the painting, from the workers in the distance to the dozing puppy, we see the kind of incident and ephemerality that Baldus could not capture.[7] Manet's enormous clouds of steam have depth and definition; even as they are known to be fleeting, they have form. No photograph from 1873 could capture so many different varieties of momentariness as Manet's painting. His addition of a bunch of grapes on the ledge at right creates a visual rhyme—the clouds of steam are like a bunch of grapes—in case we missed his display of what painting could do that photography in 1873 could not. Although Manet clearly engaged with photography by thinking through it visually in ways I hope to illuminate, he could also marshall painting's means of outdoing the newer art.

Art historians have noted that Courbet's response to photography was, by turns, both imitative and oppositional.[8] For example, Gustave Le Gray's *Great Wave, Sète*, has been exhibited as a precedent for Courbet's late *Wave* paintings (figs. 5, 6).

Fig. 5: Gustave Le Gray, Great Wave, Sète, c. 1857, albumen print, 33.7 x 41.4 cm (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

Fig. 6: Gustave Courbet, Waves, 1869, oil on canvas, 75.9 x 151.4 cm (Philadelphia Museum of Art).

The sheer bravura of Courbet's palette-knife technique is immediately apparent; one sees why Benjamin called Courbet "the last who could attempt to surpass photography."[9] Look again at Le Gray, however. Against all odds, working under a dark cloth, composing on the view-camera's ground glass with its image reversed and upside-down, he manages to create an image of a wave's absolute uniqueness in space and time. We see the wave in all its phases: it crashes forward, it begins to turn, the water peaks. In Le Gray, we see the suggestion of elapsed time via the wave's displacement across space. Courbet, by contrast, is not painting with optical attentiveness: he comes up with a brilliant painterly trick to represent the cresting wave just beginning to cascade, and he does it again and again. He impresses us with his laying-on of paint, but he does not capture what the wave *does* in an instant. Although he probably saw Le Gray's *Wave*, he did not paint what Le Gray's camera registered. Like Courbet, Manet must have looked at Le Gray's marine photographs, and like the older Realist, Manet may well have looked rather deeply into certain uniquely photographic effects, even if

he then challenged them in paint. I am struck by the glassiness of the water and the shadowy wakes in Le Gray, *The French Fleet, Cherbourg* (fig. 7).

Fig. 7: Gustave Le Gray, The French Fleet, Cherbourg, 1858, albumen print from collodion-on-glass negative, 30 x 41 cm (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris).

Le Gray's sky has only mere traces of clouds; he does not try to layer on dramatic clouds from another exposure as he so often did. His plate records an overall mood of calmness, but at the same time registers innumerable shadows, reflections, wakes, vibrations in the water. In *The Tugboat*, Le Gray relies on a shorter exposure time to capture the tugboat's heavy black smoke seen against the sky (fig. 8). [10]

Fig. 8: Gustave Le Gray, Seascape with Sailing Ship and Tugboat, 1857, albumen silver print, 30 x 41.3 cm (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California).

The brief exposure makes the water dark with a rougher surface, and the ship is merely a small silhouette in the middle of the vignette of light. Perhaps Manet responds to something like the glossy water of the *French Fleet* and the trail of smoke in *The Tugboat* in his painting *Steamboat Leaving Boulogne* (fig. 9).

Fig. 9: Édouard Manet, Steamboat Leaving Boulogne, 1864, oil on canvas, 73.6 x 92.6 cm (Art Institute of Chicago).

He creates an image with his characteristic insouciance: this is one of his most spare and rapidly painted works from 1864. Manet paints sailboats that are simple shapes, summarily painted over a glassy blue surface. What appears at first glance to be a painting in the genre of Le Gray's seascapes, though, emerges as a uniquely painterly intervention. Unlike Le Gray's imprint of every shadow and every ripple in the water's surface, Manet's water reflects almost nothing. Manet contrives an alternation of warm and cool blues that record only the most minimal shadow from tall sailboats such as the one in the painting's center, and no shadow to speak of for the sailboat at right, clearly painted right on top of the blue. The steamboat, meanwhile, leaves a white wake and a brown shadow while it belches smoke. Manet's attention to its activities renders his sailboats even more flat and toylike by comparison. If his composition recalls Le Gray's seascapes, Manet's selectivity remains stubbornly resistant to photography's indiscriminateness.

Photography is, of course, an abstraction: it is an abstraction of a chaotic world into a non-colored set of tonalities that is nevertheless visually rich and geometrically constrained. I would suggest that some of the tonal abstractions that could be seen in mid-century photography enabled Manet to see the world differently, and ultimately, to take more liberties with painting it differently. Henri Le Secq's view of the public baths provides one such example (fig. 10).

Fig. 10: Henri Le Secq, Bains publics (or École de natation), 1852–53, salted paper print from waxed paper negative, 12.5 x 17.4 cm (Bibliothèque des arts décoratifs, Paris).

The photograph reveals glimpses of a few male bathers: one standing like a column, one hardly visible except for light grazing his thigh, one with legs akimbo, one gingerly lowering himself into the water. For a visitor to the baths in 1852, the scene would probably have looked rather ordinary, yet in the photograph, the building and bathers become a startling, abstract pattern of revealings and concealments. Works of art make us see the world anew, and having seen photographs like Le Secq's, Manet must have seen the light hitting the piers of a jetty with a heightened attentiveness to superimposed geometries and tonal distinctions; the *Jetty at Boulogne* is a painting after photography (fig. 11).

Fig. 11: Édouard Manet, The Jetty of Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1868, oil on canvas, 59.5 x 73.3 cm (Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam).

Although strong value contrast had always been an element of Manet's work, a painting like the *Jetty at Boulogne* makes the most of the intricate play of accentuations created by the fall of light on the back side of the railing, while facing posts are a neutral value and others in deep shadow. It is true that the human eye can detect these variations, but it is striking that painting in the 1860s becomes more attuned to such abstract patterns in the wake of photographs such as Le Secq's, with the brilliant light on the columns and the different levels of shadow playing between and across them.

Writers on the relationship between photography and painting did not initially focus on the kinds of formal devices that could be shared between the two arts. Many critics and viewers agreed with Baudelaire's attitude that photography was best suited to being the handmaiden of science, separate from the domain of art. As late as 1936, the painter and critic André Lhote could claim that "the much-discussed replacement of painting by photography has its proper place in what might be called the 'ongoing business' of painting. But that still leaves room for painting as the mysterious and inviolable domain of the purely human."[11] Lhote's statement sounds harmless enough, perhaps even comforting: let photography be accurate and scientific, and art will take care of the human world. Balzac, however, tells us something else. I take Balzac's text, absurd as it is, to be commingling technology and the human. Balzac would not worry about the photographic image if it were safely consigned to the realm of science, merely rendering useful documentary work, and leaving to art the domain of the human. For Balzac, the photograph, the "specter," is lurking out there, as the camera is always ready to capture images of us that we cannot predict or control. The photograph already occupies the realm of the human. Art has to explore this uneasy conjunction if it is truly to respond to the conditions of the modern world. This is where I think we find Manet: he is alive to the ways in which photography could reveal images of us that were not authored, or maybe even authorized, by us.

In the ballet *Coppélia*, an inventor creates a mechanical doll so lifelike that a young man begins to neglect his fiancée as he pursues it. Photography was the Coppélia of the art world in the middle of the nineteenth century; like the mechanical doll of the ballet, it was appealing and strange; human and machine. Like the villagers around Coppélia, nineteenth-century viewers were alternatingly duped or made suspicious. Balzac was far from alone in his fear that the taking of the photograph would remove an outer layer or two from his person.[12] Other writers and artists of the time spoke of the photographic image as a kind of double or doppelgänger. Daguerre had already spoken of "the spontaneous reproduction of images of nature received in the camera obscura."[13] Oliver Wendell Holmes compared the "evanescent films" of the stereograph to the ancient belief that "all bodies were continually throwing off certain images like themselves, which subtile emanations, striking on our bodily

organs, gave rise to our sensations."[14] Still others expressed more concern about what the photograph revealed or expressed. Nathaniel Parker Willis and Timothy O. Porter exclaimed, "The telescope is rather an unfair tell-tale; but now every thing and every body may have to encounter his double every where, most inconveniently, and thus everyone [must] become his own caricaturist."[15] Edmond de Goncourt wrote that photography seemed to capture "only the animality contained in the man or woman represented."[16] It is clear from the imagery of these writers that photography, despite its mechanical origins, was likened to something unconscious: it could even be animalistic in its automatism. It was a matter of concern that the photograph could reveal something over which the sitter had no conscious control.

Photography in the nineteenth century can be said to have authored a new type of self-consciousness, as the photograph could make visible an image that a person exuded like a scent. Since the camera could "take" an exposure without the sitter's knowledge, though, the sitter did not truly produce the image the way a portrait painter produces a portrait. Like the image in Lacan's mirror stage, the photograph could inaugurate a split, a feeling of lack of fit between the way we are seen by others and how we feel ourselves to be.[17] But unlike Lacan's mirror image, the photograph so often was *not* an idealized representation, but rather, a terribly awkward one. Some of the earliest photographic portraits we have, by David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson in the mid-1840s, periodically feature sitters clearly unused to looking at themselves, much less able to project an image of themselves that anticipated the gaze on the other side of the lens (fig. 12).[18]

Fig. 12: David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, Mrs. Elizabeth Johnstone Hall, c. 1846, salted paper print, 20.2 x 14.5 cm (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California).

The extreme camera-shyness of the mid-'40s gives way to some knowledge of what the act of posing is for, and the next wave of photographic portraits features clients straining to hold their expressions (fig. 13).

Fig. 13: Charles Reutlinger, Emma Stone Lawrence Blackwell, early 1870s, albumen print, 8.9 x 5.1 cm (Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Cambridge, Massachusetts).

They look stiff at times, blank at others as they unwittingly register their submission to the photographic regime. Manet seems to have embraced this blankness as a condition for modern posing. Several art historians and critics have addressed the ways in which photography—specifically the photography of the 1850s and early '60s—might have been influential to Manet. Both Anne McCauley, who has written on Manet's acceptance of the "inherent falsity and stylistic peculiarities" of photographic prints, and Carol Armstrong, who notes that Manet drew on photography "to make [the portrait] boldly strange," have responded to the overall look of mid-century photographic portraiture and its resonance in Manet's figure paintings.[19] Artist Alexi Worth recounts that a session looking at photographs of nude models in the 1850s changed the way Delacroix saw the engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi; for Worth, Manet then picked up where Delacroix left off in trying to make the contemporary "dissonance between Marcantonio and photography" into paintings.[20] All three of these writers would have us think anew about the strange and novel aspects of the technical appearance of photographs in the mid-nineteenth century. I think it is worth accepting their assertions and building upon them by continuing to look closely at particular examples of period photographs and their formal effects.

When Charles Hugo set out to photograph his father Victor, he somewhat overexposed the portraits, resulting in very light foreheads and deep shadows in the eye sockets, an effect that may well lie behind the overlit *Street Singer* by Manet, with its bright forehead and the two "commas" of shadow, as one critic called them, on either side of Victorine's nose (figs. 14, 15).

Fig. 14: Charles Hugo (attributed), Auguste Vacquerie (attributed), Victor Hugo, 1850–55, salted paper print from glass negative, 9.7 x 7.2 cm (George Eastman House, Rochester, New York). Photo: Courtesy of George Eastman House, International Museum of Photography and Film.

Fig. 15: Édouard Manet, The Street Singer, c. 1862, oil on canvas, 171.1 x 105.8 cm (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). Photo: © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Elizabeth Rigby, later Lady Eastlake, emerges as one of the most lucid evaluators of photography's strengths and weaknesses in 1857. "Though the faces of our children may not be modeled and rounded with that truth and beauty which art attains, yet minor things—the very shoes of the one, the inseparable toy of the other—are given with a strength of identity which art does not even seek."[21] The shoes and toy may well be Lady Eastlake's *punctum*, objects that capture her attention in photographs despite their relative meaninglessness.[22] Could photography's incidental inclusion of objects with no narrative purpose have become an aspect of period style that Manet recreated in portraits such as *Théodore Duret*, with its inexplicable carafe, glass, and lemon at right (Fig. 16)?

Fig. 16: Édouard Manet, Portrait of Theodore Duret, 1868, oil on canvas, 46.5 x 35.5 cm (Musée du Petit Palais, Paris).

Lady Eastlake was fully capable of appreciating photography's unique properties, but was in no doubt about its artistic limitations when it came to the human countenance. "The likeness to Rembrandt and Reynolds is gone!" she proclaimed.[23] A woman's rouged cheek looked blotchy; women's hair, "if very glossy," "is cut up into lines of light as big as ropes."[24] She made a further observation of 1850s portrait photography, for her a negative: "[The] fineness of skin peculiar to the under lip reflects so much light, that in spite of its deep colour it presents a light projection, instead of a dark one."[25] We are so accustomed to reading photographs now that this effect no longer stands out to us; J. G. Ellinwood's tintype portrait looks straightforward enough (fig. 17).

Fig. 17: John G. Ellinwood, Portrait of a Woman, c. 1870, tintype, hand-colored, 21.6 x 16.5 cm (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC).

But consider the nineteenth-century viewer familiar with painted portraits such as those of Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres (fig. 18).

Fig. 18: Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, Madame Marcotte de Sainte-Marie, 1826, oil on canvas, 93 x 74 cm (Musée du Louvre, Paris). Photo: Gérard Blot, ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

The upper and lower lips of Madame Marcotte de Sainte-Marie in Ingres' portrait are the same rose color, unlike those of the woman in the photographic portrait. No wonder Lady Eastlake found it unnatural and unflattering that the photograph renders the lower lip light and the upper lip dark. Manet clearly noticed this odd artifact of early portrait photography, and chose to imitate it: Victorine's lower lip pales in the *Portrait of Victorine Meurent*, even as her upper lip has a more natural dark color (fig. 19).

Fig. 19: Édouard Manet, Portrait of Victorine Meurent, c. 1862, oil on canvas, 42.9 x 43.8 cm (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

It is in details like these that we see Manet not only visually attuned to the features peculiar to portrait photographs of his time, but also in effect saying in paint that photography offered a new kind of image of us; photographic seeing was modern seeing.

Contingency—that quality T. J. Clark has identified as intrinsic to modernism—is the ineluctable fact of photography.[26] "Every form which is traced by light is the impress of one moment, or one hour, or one age in the great passage of time," wrote Lady Eastlake.[27] Photography's contingent character gave us the stiffness of Baldus's friends on the lawn of the Château de La Faloise, aligned with bench and chairs, hatted, parasol-ed, and bored (fig. 20).

Fig. 20: Édouard Baldus, Group at the Château de la Faloise, 1857, salted paper print from glass negative, 27.8 x 38.2 cm (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

The world of Manet's *Croquet Party at Boulogne* appears here, with the taking of the photograph supplying the distraction that the game of croquet provided for Manet's friends (fig. 21).

Fig. 21: Édouard Manet, Croquet at Boulogne, c. 1871, oil on canvas, 46 x 73 cm (private collection, Switzerland).

Baldus' *Self-Portrait in the Tuileries Gardens* offers a combination of sharp delineation and softer garden backdrop that Manet imitated in his *Portrait of George Moore* (figs. 22, 23).

Fig. 22: Édouard Baldus, Self-Portrait in the Tuileries Gardens, 1856, salted paper print from wet collodion negative, 17 x 19.1 cm (Troob Family Foundation, Williamstown, Massachusetts).

Fig. 23: Édouard Manet, George Moore in the Artist's Garden, c. 1879, oil on canvas, 54.6 x 45.1 cm (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC).

Charles Nègre's exposure of a man standing in front of a French door must have been familiar to Manet when he posed his group of friends on the balcony of his Boulogne summer studio (figs. 24, 25).

Fig. 24: Charles Nègre, Man in Front of French Door, c. 1852, albumen print, 23.5 x 17.2 cm (private collection, Paris).

Fig. 25: Édouard Manet, The Balcony, 1868–69, oil on canvas, 170 x 125 cm (Musée d'Orsay, Paris).

Both photograph and painting represent particular persons, not social types, dressed in the fashions of the day. Manet's modern life painting has long been thought to synthesize aspects of portraiture and genre painting. It may be the case that photography pointed the way toward a painting of modern life that highlighted particularity rather than universality:

the painter represents recognizable persons, places, and moments rather than activities typical of a larger class. *The Balcony* combines what we might call this contingent or highly particularized approach to its subject with a formal effect that is also photographic: the way the heads emerge out of the darkness—black hair against shadowed interior—seems distinctly reminiscent of early photography's high value contrasts.

Despite Baudelaire's regret, finally it was photography that was capable of showing us "how great and poetic we are in our cravats and our patent leather boots."[28] Such a claim is perhaps too easy to make, however, or it sounds too sunny, even if we remember Baudelaire's objections to the new art. Photography made it clear that the future had arrived, and we would now encounter our doubles everywhere; even before the first tweet or status update, photography had already made us our own caricaturists.

In the ballet *Coppélia*, the young female lead, Swanhilda, becomes jealous of the mechanical doll Coppélia's beauty, and of her lover Franz's enthrallment with the doll. Swanhilda must outwit both her boyfriend and the doll's inventor, Dr. Coppélius, by posing as Coppélia and by pretending that the doll has come to life. Manet's engagement with photography can be compared with Swanhilda's response to Coppélia. Photography was among us; it irrevocably became part of the social fabric. It did not stay in the domain of science any more than the doll stayed in the mad inventor's shop. A painting of modern life would have to find a way to represent the rapport between technology and the human world, between photography and painting. The banal particularity of the man on the balcony, the pale lower lip, the *punctum* of the accessories—they were part of how we *looked* as well as how we saw.

Walter Benjamin had a name for the phenomenon of the camera's registration of what the human eye, molded by culture and sensibility, could not see: he called it the "optical unconscious."[29] Benjamin was referring to the previously unseen stages of human and animal locomotion, finally revealed in the photographic experiments of Étienne-Jules Marey and Eadweard Muybridge. Invoking Benjamin, Rosalind Krauss has wielded the concept in her analysis of Surrealist collage, photography, the readymade, and their place in the history of modernism.[30] I think the term works well to capture early photography's strangeness, its uncanny, its way of giving us pictures that we present to the world without entirely authoring or controlling them. There is in the optical unconscious a palpable distance between a felt mode of self-presentation and an awareness of external observation.

The workplace differs from ordinary life in that it is place where activities are surveyed, a place in which we are aware of external observation and judgment. Manet could not have seen this photograph, from the Seabury & Johnson Company in East Orange, New Jersey, in the late 1880s, but I imagine he saw a similar kind of image somewhere along the way (fig. 26).[31]

Fig. 26: Anonymous, Seabury and Johnson Company Employees, c. 1880s.

Seabury and Johnson manufactured medical and surgical supplies such as sterile gauze. Here, the employees pause in their work and wait for the photographer to capture them at their stations. It is a look of professional comportment in a state of suspended animation, as if the young women are awaiting the boss' inspection. It is a look we have seen before in Manet's painting.

The atmosphere at the Folies-Bergère is dazzling and laden with pleasures; it is a far cry from the sobriety of the Seabury & Johnson workroom, but the woman's look is the same (fig. 27).

Fig. 27: Édouard Manet, A Bar at the Folies-Bergère, 1882, oil on canvas, 96 x 130 cm (The Courtauld Gallery, London).

The barmaid may as well be waiting for the tell-tale click of the photographer's shutter. Manet challenges us to make sense of the discrepancy between the barmaid and her mirror image. Her expression is the suppression of spontaneity in favor of a professional look: we might also call it the meeting of the barmaid and the photograph. In the mirror, we see her engagement with the man and her participation in a form of social life that runs counter to the blankness before us. Walter Benjamin's words come to mind: "Immersed long enough in such a picture, one recognizes to what extent opposites touch."[32] Manet makes painting and photography—the sensuous and the spectral—touch, and only Manet would put the older

form of sociability in the mirror, as if in the past. The here-and-nowness of the image, the model's gaze, eternally faces out.

NOTES

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1. Honoré de Balzac, *Cousin Pons*, trans. Herbert J. Hunt (New York: Penguin, 1968), 131–32; *Le Cousin Pons*, ed. Jacques Thuillier (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1973), 146.

2. See Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography* (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1968), 40–49; Juliet Wilson-Bareau, review, "Art in the Making: Impressionism," *Burlington Magazine* 133, no. 1055 (February 1991): 129; Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte-de-Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985), 172–195.

3. The English title in the caption comes from James A. Ganz, *Édouard Baldus at the Château de La Faloise*, exh. cat. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 11, which dates the work to 1856. The title given by the Musée d'Orsay is *Personnages dans le parc du Château de la Faloise*.

4. Anonymous [Lady Elizabeth Eastlake], "History and Practice of Photogenic Drawing, on the true principles of the Daguerreotype, with the new method of Dioramic Painting," *The Quarterly Review* 101, no. 202 (April 1857): 464. See also the abridged version in Andrew E. Hershberger, *Photographic Theory: An Historical Anthology* (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 64.

5. On the idea of "photographic" lighting in Manet, see Alexi Worth, "The Lost Photographs of Édouard Manet," *Art in America* 95, no. 1 (January 2007): 59–65. Worth follows Beatrice Farwell's argument that the type of frontal lighting featured in nineteenth-century photographic studio portraits characterizes Manet's strong lighting and abbreviation of nuanced modeling; see Beatrice Farwell, *Manet and the Nude: A Study of Iconography in the Second Empire* (New York: Garland Publications, 1981). Scharf also discusses the obtrusiveness and harshness of artificial light in early photographs, and he finds these effects influential to Manet (37).

6. Malcolm R. Daniel, *The Photographs of Edouard Baldus* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), 43.

7. On steam in modernist painting, see T. J. Clark, "Modernism, Postmodernism, and Steam," *October* 100 (Spring 2002): 154–74.

8. See the numerous examples in Laurence des Cars et al., *Gustave Courbet* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2008).

9. Walter Benjamin, "Letter from Paris (2): Painting and Photography," trans. Edmund Jephcott, in *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 304.

10. According to a contemporary review, Le Gray used an exposure of one-twentieth of a second; see the catalogue entry by April M. Watson in Simon Kelly and April M. Watson, *Impressionist France: Visions of Nation from Le Gray to Monet* (St. Louis: Saint Louis Art Museum and Kansas City, Missouri: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 2013), 271.

11. As quoted in Benjamin, "Letter from Paris (2)," 305; originally published in *La Querelle du réalisme: Deux débats par l'Association des peintres et sculpteurs de la maison de la culture*, with contributions by Jean Lurçat, Marcel Gromaire, et al. (Paris: Editions sociales internationales, 1936), 102.

12. Nadar reported that Balzac had spoken of the daguerreotype as removing the outermost layer of the person, like the skin of an onion. See *Quand j'étais photographe* (Paris: Flammarion, 1895), 6–7.

13. Louis-Jacques Mandé Daguerre, *Description de nouveaux daguerréotypes perfectionnés et portatifs, avec l'instruction de M. Daguerre, annotée, et des méthodes pour faire des portraits* (Paris: Buron, 1841), 5; the treatise is excerpted and translated in Dominique de Font-Réaulx, *Painting and Photography, 1839–1914*, trans. David Radzinowicz (Paris: Flammarion, 2012), 308.

14. Anonymous [Oliver Wendell Holmes] "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," *The Atlantic Monthly* 3, no. 20 (June 1859): 738; in Hershberger, 69.

15. See "The Pencil of Nature: A new discovery. To the Editor of the Literary Gazette," *The Corsair. A Gazette of Literature, Art, Dramatic Criticism, Fashion and Novelty* 1, no. 5 (April 13, 1839): 71; see also Hershberger, 45.

16. Entry from 11 May 1876, *Journal des Goncourt: Mémoires de la vie littéraire*, 2 ser., tome 5: 1872–77 (Paris: Charpentier, 1891), 278.

17. Jacques Lacan, "The mirror stage as formative of the function of the I," in *Écrits*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Norton, 1977), 1–7.

18. My point here is debatable, as there are plenty of photographic portraits of the upper classes in the 1840s that are as formal as any painted portrait. When photography appears on the scene, however, there are still many members of rural society who did not regularly encounter full-length mirrors; furthermore, upper-class young women were discouraged from looking upon their own nude bodies. With the earliest wave of photographic portraits, there is an avoidance of a direct gaze at the lens that I see as a corollary of an unfamiliarity with images of the self for many early sitters.

19. McCauley, 173; Carol M. Armstrong, "Manet at the Intersection of Portraits and Personalities," in *Manet: Portraying Life* (Toledo, Ohio: Toledo Museum of Art and London, UK: Royal Academy of Arts, 2012), 42.

20. Alexi Worth, "The Invention of Clumsiness," *Cabinet* 54 (Summer 2014): *http://www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/54/worth.php*

21. Eastlake, 465–66.

22. Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 42–59.

23. Eastlake, 461.

24. Eastlake, 461.

25. Eastlake, 461.

26. T. J. Clark, *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999); see especially 10–11.

27. Eastlake, 465.

28. Charles Baudelaire, "Salon of 1845," in *Art in Paris, 1845–1862: Salons and Other Exhibitions*, trans., ed. Jonathan Mayne (Oxford: Phaidon, 1981), 32; "Salon de 1845," *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Marcel A. Ruff (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1968), 224.

29. Benjamin, "Little History of Photography," trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter, in *The Work of Art*, 278–79.

30. Rosalind E. Krauss, *The Optical Unconscious* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1994), 178.

31. See < http://www.kilmerhouse.com/2013/03/international-womens-day-our-first-eight-women-employees-in-1886/>.

32. Benjamin, 276.

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