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Frontispiece Edouard Manet, *Argenteuil* (detail of fig. 100)

To Ira, Aaron, and Zachary

Chapter Six

MLLE V. . . . IN THE COSTUME OF . . . : PAINTING AND EXHIBITING VICTORINE BETWEEN 1862 AND 1868

MANET PROBABLY PAINTED VICTORINE MEURENT for the first time in 1862. The earliest painting of her, which he never exhibited, was arguably the only time he painted her as "herself" (fig. 63). Of the large-scale, full-length paintings in which she later figured, some represented her in modern costume such as she might have worn herself either in the street or at home, while others represented her in male and/or Spanish costume or without clothes at all, adopting poses from the history of art, either juxtaposed to or elided with the features of other figures. But whether unclothed or wearing her own or other people's clothes, in all of those later paintings she was in masquerade, dressed up (or down) to be turned into painting, rather than simply having her portrait done. And like Manet's own style of painting, her features at once remain remarkably recognizable from one painting to the next and change noticeably, sometimes dramatically, as if to question the assumption of physical continuity and personal consistency that is the very foundation of the "likeness" (as it is of the "signature"). Victorine Meurent may or may not have been Manet's mistress during this period, but if she was Manet's paintings do not allude to their intimacy. Indeed, they forbear to reflect any biographical fact in a secure way or to suggest that painting could ever be counted on to mirror a prior reality. Instead, they seem to call into question what kind of knowledge painting provides about a person – about either its author or its referent. And this in spite of the fact that Victorine's features appear so often in conjunction or conflation with those of people who were family members of Manet's – his brothers, his brother-in-law, his wife's son. Personhood is founded in the biological and cultural circle of the family but what is that personhood? And what sort of thing is its painted "likeness"? Those are the queries that Manet's paintings of Victorine Meurent shown between 1862 and 1868 seem to address to their viewers.

There are a variety of stories about how Manet met Meurent – in or near a studio (she was registered as a model at Couture's studio), in a crowded street in the neighborhood of the Palais de Justice, or coming out of a bar-café. The last was Zola's preferred version, rendering *The Streetsinger* as a transparent record of the painter's first encounter with his favorite model of the 1860s: "A young woman, well known on the heights of the Pantheon hill, emerges from a brasserie while eating some cherries which she holds in a paper wrapper."[1] Antonin Proust revised that account somewhat, describing Manet

Detail of fig. 66.

63 Edouard Manet, *Victorine Meurent*, c.1862, oil on canvas, 42.9 × 43.8 cm. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Richard C. Paine in memory of his father, Robert Treat Paine 2nd, 1946.

as a *flâneur* ambling along the newly cut Boulevard Malesherbes through what became the "quartier Monceau" and coming upon the following sight: "A woman came out of a sleazy cabaret, lifting up her skirt, clutching her guitar. He went straight up to her and asked her to come pose for him. She just laughed. 'I'll grab her again, he said, and then if she still doesn't want to come, I have Victorine.' Victorine Meurent, whose portait he had painted, was his favorite model. We went up to his studio . . ."[2] And later Tabarant filled in the blanks:

> Some time later a young woman arrived in the atelier to pose for the *Streetsinger*, who will play a considerable role in our story, because until 1875, though not without long gaps, she will be Manet's reigning model: Victorine-Louise Meurent. She was barely twenty years old, in that year of sixty-two, but one would have said she was twenty-five, so marked with gravity were her features. It is true that if her profile was rather hard, her full face gave the lie to the impression of hardness, a face vivified by beautiful eyes and animated by a fresh and smiling mouth. In addition, she had the nervous body of the Parisienne, delicate in each of its details, remarkable for the harmonious lines of the hips and the graceful suppleness of the bust. Her chest was firmly and finely fleshed. Whence came this blond girl? We doubt that Manet encountered her, as Theodore Duret wishes us to believe, at the Palais de Justice, where he must have been "struck by her original aspect and her manner of standing out." She was not some unknown on the left bank. In his address book, which we have, Manet jotted this note: "Louise Meuran, rue Maître-Albert, 17." This certainly referred to her, for she called herself Louise as well as Victorine, and it is precisely on the Rue Maître-Albert, near Place Maubert, that Manet went to have his earliest aquatint plates etched. Very given to whimsy, she tried her hand at being an artist and strummed at the guitar. She even drew and later painted.
>
> Manet represented her – in a canvas of 1 m. 74 × 1 m. 18 – just as she was, opening her eyes wide in her audacious, tired face. Toque, mantle, gray dress. Holding her guitar in her hand, she pressed beneath her arm some cherries wrapped in paper that she carried to her mouth. It would have been a genre portrait like many others, if Manet had not been shrewd enough to give his picture its background of a cabaret interior, where one glimpses drinkers at their tables, one of them sporting a top hat, and with his back turned, a waiter in a white apron. Signed below, at left, *ed. manet*.[3]

Tabarant gives us a vivid picture of Victorine in face, body, and spirit, informs us that she became a painter herself, corrects some of the stories that circulated (such as Duret's), and like Proust, makes it clear that she took up her pose in Manet's studio rather than encountering him in the street, thereby denaturing Zola's naturalist description of her.

Manet's first depiction of her, titled simply *Victorine Meurent*, does not pretend to sort through these alternatives. Unlike his other representations of her, this painting is a portrait head, without anecdotal detail or narrative implication. It is also an extraordinarily naked image and not because Victorine is undressed: quite the contrary, her wide, ice-blue hair ribbon, one visible earring, black neck ribbon, and demure white bodice with collar, pintucks, black piping, and black embroidery, have all been rendered with care. It is her face that is somehow stripped bare, with its (soon to be) trademark Titian hair parted and pulled back, escaping its confinement just a little on one side, its expanse of bleached forehead and blank stare (soon to become famously deadpan), its pale, almost nonexistent brows and strawberry-fringed eyes, its strongly shadowed nose with the highlit shine upon it, triangulating the whites of the eyes and rhyming with the highlit earring dangling from a single fleshy earlobe, its half-defined, half-indeterminate mouth and hesitant chin, and above all the starkness of its spotlighting against the unrelieved black of the background. It has about it something of a deer caught in the headlights, or a face frozen by flash light. It is a face without a role to play, one might say, what a

face looks like without the cover of an expression or the mask of a persona – which is to say, blank. It gives the lie to the notion that the self resides within, behind the facade of the polite smile, underneath the clothing and outer lineaments of the flesh. If anything, *Victorine Meurent* reverses that equation, suggesting that the "soi-même" – here the "elle-même" – is the clothing, the outer, detachable layers of the person, and the flesh the layer "below."

As became clear in the later pictures of this "same" woman, however, even the flesh of a person is mutable. And as in those other pictures, in the portrait it is evident, if also diffident, that nothing except paint is "below" anything, and that both body and soul, flesh and person are constituted in paint – neither below nor above but in a set of side-by-side juxtapositions, oppositions, and elisions. Victorine is made of visible ear and earring versus their invisible counterparts; shadowed expanse of cheek at left versus the demarcated edge of the face at right; hair taut at left and hair a little loose at right, contrasting smoother and tighter to slightly rougher and looser brushwork, and displaying the differences in ginger tonality that are produced by the shadowy range at left and the starker context of black and white at right; black on black rendering an almost unnoticed coil of hairnetted hair in barely differentiated degrees of ebony; and finally, a strong upper lip versus a weak under lip, all edge and shadowed russet rose versus a lighter hue of the same color, fudged and smudged underneath like the right corner of the mouth in contrast to the left, at once marked and blurred by a dab of shadow under it and underwritten by the uncertain double shape of the cleft of the chin below, which both mirrors and undermines the certainty of the double shape of the lip's indented bow above. These are indeterminate contrasts between left and right, top and bottom that were repeated, even thematized, in Manet's other, full-figure pictures of Victorine. They became integral to his manner of constituting people in paint; here, he begins to work them out, while also stripping the portrait down to them.

Victorine Meurent also introduces framing into the midst of the picture: the blue ribbon with its flat knot and bow is a frame for the head and the hair, as the hairline with its slight indentation is a frame for the face, the black neck ribbon a frame for the chin, its tie lined up with the bifurcating of the face above it – cleft chin, upper lip, bridge of the nose, part in the hair – its line doubled by the embroidered collar beneath it, while the bodice's black piping frames and reiterates, simultaneously accenting and blurring, making and unmaking the lines of Victorine's shoulders. And the white of the blouse, with its brushed layering of gray and rose at right, while it manages to suggest the crease of an arm and the fold of a sleeve, and to balance what might be the pull of a shawl at the bottom left corner, is also an exercise in demonstrating what "above" and "below" mean in paint – rather than profundity, the vertical and lateral scansion of the picture; rather than a hierarchy of inner substance and outer surface, the color on color, mark upon mark build-up of facture. It is at the same time a demonstration of how a pictorial illusion oscillates between painted fiction and material fact, maintaining the one while announcing the other. Here the equation of the thick and thin folding of cloth over skin and the pellucid brushing of pigment over pigment helps to make that point, parading as it does the dense superficiality of its effect of depth. Thus *Victorine Meurent* shows how a likeness is a framing, and how a person is fabricated in paint. But this making and unmaking of a person in paint was preliminary; in it Victorine performed nothing but the *tabula rasa* of personhood; and Manet did not exhibit the portrait.[4]

Manet painted Victorine twice more in 1862: as *The Streetsinger*, in which she is portrayed in modern Parisian clothes, and *Mlle V. . . in the Costume of an Espada*, in which she is depicted wearing the knee-breeches of an *espada* (figs. 65, 66). Both were exhibited in 1863 but separately, one at Martinet's and the other at the Salon des Refusés. In 1863, he painted her twice again, this time in two multi-figured, Italian-based paintings, the *Luncheon on the Grass* and *Olympia*, in both of which Victorine appears naked, her clothes by her side in one and absent in the other. Again, Manet divided the pair, displaying *Luncheon on the Grass* with *Mlle V. . . in the Costume of an Espada* and *Young Man in the Costume of a Majo* at the Salon des Refusés, while holding back *Olympia* until the Salon of 1865, when he showed her with *Christ Insulted*. Then in 1865 or 1866, Manet seems to have painted two other pictures using Victorine Meurent as the model, *The Reader* and *The Guitar Player* (fig. 64), an updating of the theme of *The Spanish Singer*. Neither of these paintings did Manet exhibit at the time, although one was shown in the retrospective of 1867.

64 Edouard Manet, *The Guitar Player*, c.1866, oil on canvas, 63.5 × 80 cm. Hill-Stead Museum, Farmington, Conn.

65 Edouard Manet, *The Streetsinger*, 1862, oil on canvas, 171.1 × 105.8 cm. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Bequest of Sarah Choate Sears in memory of her husband, Joshua Montgomery Sears, 66.304.

66 Edouard Manet, *Mlle V . . . in the Costume of an Espada*, 1862, oil on canvas, 165.1 × 127.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929. (29.100.53).

67 Edouard Manet, *The Fifer*, 1866, oil on canvas, 161 × 97 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

68 Edouard Manet, *Young Woman in 1866*, 1866, oil on canvas, 185.1 × 128.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Erwin Davis, 1889. (89.21.3).

Then in 1866, Manet painted another pair of pictures in which Victorine figured, *The Fifer* (fig. 67), where her features were overlayed by those of Léon Leenhoff and another boy, and the so-called *Young Woman in 1866* (fig. 68). These Manet also divided, in the main because the *Young Woman in 1866* was not ready for the Salon of 1866, from which *The Fifer* was rejected. After the retrospective of 1867, in which all of these pictures appeared, Manet showed the *Young Woman in 1866* in the Salon of 1868, together with the portrait of Zola. The only other picture of Victorine Meurent that he produced was *The Railway*, which was painted, after a hiatus of some five years in which he had not painted her at all, on its own; like the inaugural portrait of Victorine of ten years before, it was not part of a pair. Manet showed this final depiction of Victorine, in many ways an anomaly in relation to his other pictures of her, in the Salon of 1874, the year of the first Impressionist exhibition – I shall return to it in Chapter Eight. For now, I wish to concentrate on the pairs of pictures of Victorine painted between 1862 and 1866, then divided and exhibited between 1863 and 1868. I shall focus on the pairings as they were painted and hung in Manet's studio (and then re-hung, all together, in the 1867 retrospective's monographic re-imagining of Manet's studio), and as they were separately partnered with other paintings from Salon to Salon, in order to see how Manet put the problem of personhood in paint, in private and in public, in the image of "Mlle V."

1862 (1863)

In the next painting that Manet did of Victorine, *The Streetsinger* (begun in 1862 and finished in time to be exhibited at Martinet's in 1863), she is painted in a "blond," "acrid," "austere" manner as a "young woman well known around the neighborhood of the Pantheon hill."[5] Here Victorine appears in contemporary women's clothes, in the guise of a profession that was close to hers – she was reputed to be a musical performer as well as an artist's model – and as a member of the class of the Parisian *demi-monde* to which she belonged. Her gender is clearly signaled in her clothing, even though the loose, trapeze cut of her jacket and the bell shape of her skirt completely hide the contours of her body. Her stance, as far as it can be made out, is not particularly theatrical: she seems to be caught, somewhat undecidably, between full frontality and a slight three-quarter turn. Indeed, she is depicted as if in a casual moment, apparently just emerging from a bar-café, trailing her guitar in one hand, snacking on some cherries, before, after, or in between performances. Thus the persona, pose, and costuming of *The Streetsinger* are all "native" to who and what Victorine herself was.

Victorine's features are rendered sharp and slim, chic and somehow urban, not unlike their rendering in the portrait, but now contextualized by the picture's full-figure presentation. Even though the countenance-defining contours of her lips and chin are obscured by the knuckles and cherry-wielding fingers of her right hand held up to the lower part of her face, one feels sure of the jawline, the contour of the lips, and the pointed chin – as given by the silhouette of her cheek on the right just before the chin is hidden by her hand, and the edges of her upper lip just barely visible along the line of her knuckle and between the round red gleams of the two cherries. One surmises the shape of her face and features from the hide-and-seek, "beholder's share" clues that are

provided by the picture.[6] The broad, low baldness of her forehead, for instance, is both hidden and hinted at by the low, straight line of her hat. Her nose is barely distinguishable from her cheeks, marked only by the shadow beneath it, and her eyebrows are hardly indicated at all, suggested by the two parentheses-shaped shadows between her eyes, marking the beginnings of two winging lines, but one is led to fill in the line of the nose and the arcs of the eyebrows, to arrive at something like the face given in the portrait. (When the painting was shown at Martinet's in 1863, Paul Mantz remarked on the eyebrows, saying: "All form is lost in his great portraits of women, and notably in that of the *Singer*, where, by a singularity which troubles us profoundly, the eyebrows renounce their horizontal position in order to be placed vertically alongside the nose, like two shadowy commas; there is no longer anything there but the loud battle of chalky tones with black tones."[7])

So in *The Streetsinger* Victorine is recognizable as Victorine. And yet those characteristics that seem to make her more "herself" in *The Streetsinger* than in the other full-figure renderings of her are also those that are the most tied up in a series of odd color relationships and factural variations. For all the picture's appearance of graphic and coloristic boldness, its palette is peculiarly narrow, inspired by Velasquez's subtle colorism: the white of the waiter's apron in the background and Victorine's petticoat in the foreground tying together near and far, background and underneath, underpainting and highlight; the flesh tones of Victorine's strangely bald face, her shadowed and delineated left hand, and her limp and brushier right hand; the russet of Victorine's hair and the highlit, sonorous wood of the guitar, and the lighter brown of the ground upon which Victorine stands; the variegated red of the mass of cherries framed by the yellow wrapper and the flesh of the hand, underscoring the red tinge of the guitar's highlight, which in turn leads one to notice the pinkish quality of the gray of the loosely painted skirt; the red of the two highlit cherries held up to Victorine's lips, picking out the reddish cast of her skin, hair, gleaming earring, and even the slightly dead black-brown of her eyes; and the red of the two vertical strips of wall next to the swinging doors of the café.

The enframing red of the strips of wall marks and emphasizes the reddish range of the entire painting, and serves to join and elide the painting's outermost edge to its innermost contents, its "support" and frame to its literal surface and its illusionistic representation of a woman. Interrupting that connection between edge and interior of the painting is the dark bottle green, barely distinguishable from black, of the swinging doors – it stands in stark contrast to the red tendencies of the rest of the painting. Yet it also enhances the enframedness, as well as the connectedness of edge and surface, that characterizes the painting in its entirety. For it too is echoed elsewhere in the work. Its contrast function, blackness, and virtual absence of color are all picked up in the manifold edges and limits of the surfaces of Victorine's person and costume: the black piping of her jacket, the black strap of her guitar, the black shadow cast by the guitar, the shadows inside her right sleeve, marking off outer from inner sleeve and emerging hand, the black of her hat at the apex of her figure, the black of the shadow beneath her skirt at the base of her figure, and the lower part of the swinging doors themselves, where they turn most to black and silhouette Victorine's figure. These blacks are tonally related to the light gray of Victorine's costume, the dark gray of the waiter's suit, and the range of light and dark gray of the upper part of the background. At the same time, because of the pinkish

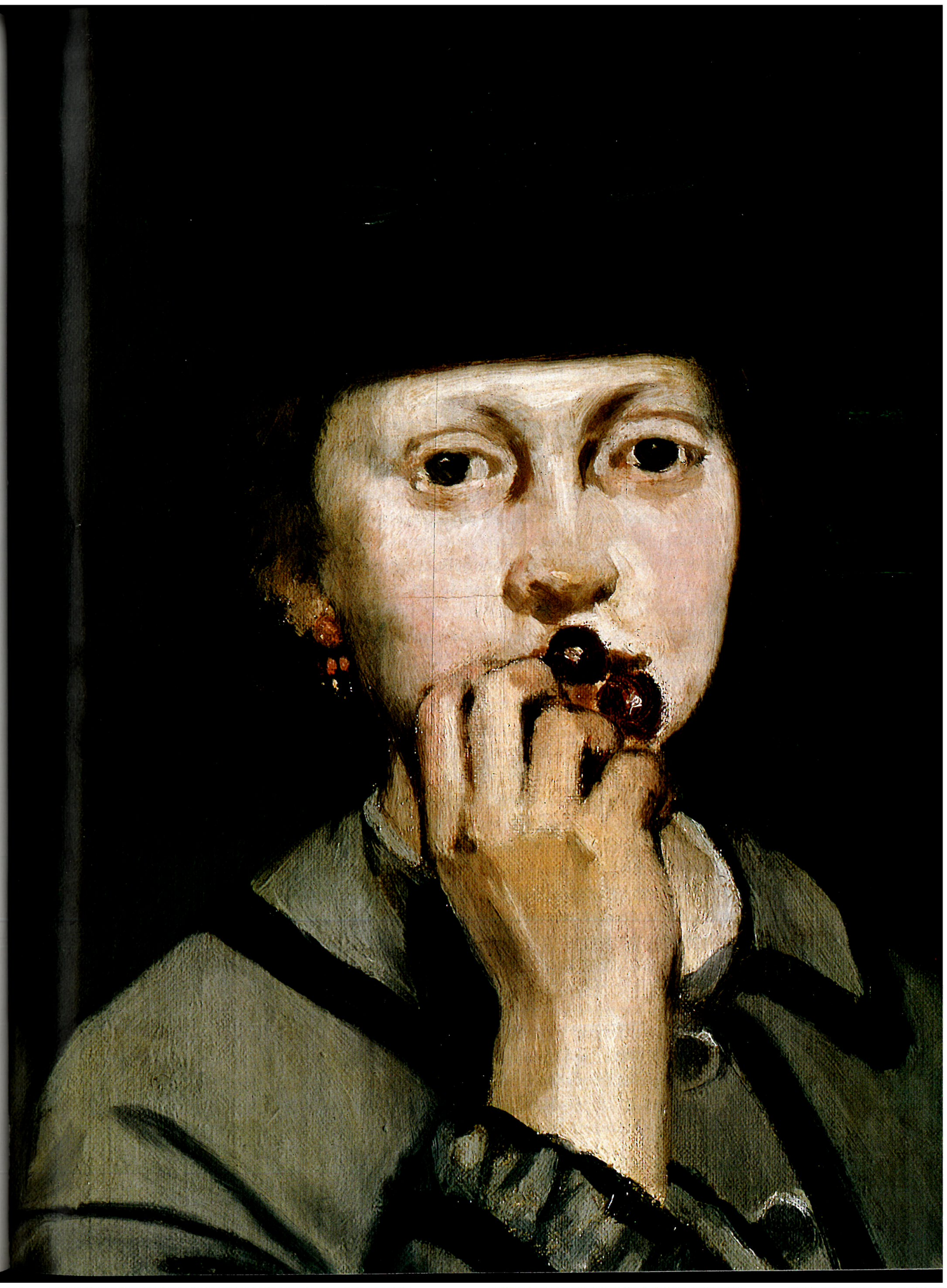
cast of the gray skirt, and the fading of the background into the pinkish brown of the floor both fore and aft of Victorine, what begins as strong coloristic contrast ends as a close, subtly dissonant harmony of colors, while color saturation and virtual absence of color begin to lose their difference, and framing edge, literal surface, and painted illusion begin to lose theirs.

The instance of strongest contrast is the yellow wrapper, which joins edge to surface in its contact with the thin line of yellow of the guitar string (or glimpsed guitar front – here the same yellow pigment convincingly does double duty as cheap rustling paper and either stretched metallic wire or gleaming laminated wood). The wrapper stands out from the ensemble, announcing its paintedness, and by extension the paintedness of the whole, while also insinuating the undecidability of the relationship between the literal and illusionistic dimensions of the painting of which it is the very heart. It is situated between the two hands, the one articulated and volumetric, the other flat and peculiarly shapeless, and between the opaque, flat slickness of the painting of the *pelisse*, a kind of quick caricature of traditional finish, and the increasing looseness and brushiness of the painting of the skirt, with the greater tonal variation of its more complicated folds, its hint of transparency and coloristic variation (there is the barest whisper of stripes in or beneath the skirt), its definite suggestion of lift, drape, and buoyancy, and the sketchy glimpse of petticoat beneath it. As the eye moves down Victorine's dress, the descent from layered overclothing to glimpsed underclothing is matched to a slide from *fini* to *non-fini* effect. So the yellow wrapper serves also as a kind of juncture between different factures, the different illusionisms they enact, the different clothing surfaces they represent, with the different kinds of concealment and exposure they provide for the figure of Victorine.

The wrapper in *The Streetsinger* is the crux of the picture's painted assertion that the inherently undecidable illusionisms of facture and color are precisely what constitute the persona of Victorine. They are what constitute her stance, her appearance of casual naturalness as well as professional posedness, her accouterments and costume, her model's involvement in dress and undress, her *demi-mondaine* doubling of identity. They are, in short, what constitute the painting's fundamentally ambiguous effect of "Victorine herself." This painting sends us searching for the line dividing frame, form, and content, the boundary between the literal and illusionistic, the frontier between the "natural" and the artificial, the threshold between what is "native" and what is foreign to a person. And what that search yields is the realization that while these oppositions are all of a piece, cut from the same cloth, made from the same substance – oil paint – their double nature and elusive color shifts are absolutely essential to the constitution of a person in painting.

The other painting of the 1862 pair, *Mlle V. . . . in the Costume of an Espada*, begun in the spring of 1862, was probably not finished to Manet's satisfaction in time for the exhibition at Martinet's the next March. In this full-length view of "Mlle V." in Spanish, masculine costume, with its screen of references to a Raimondi print and Goya's *tauromaquia* images, Victorine's salient features are presented to the viewer – red hair, milky skin, and expressionless gaze. Her red hair, however, is almost all hidden by her dusty pink bandana, peeking out beneath her black Spanish hat in one fat curl, glimpsed behind her ear and beneath the bandana. Victorine's face, still somehow recognizable, is

Detail of fig. 65.



very different from the way it was depicted in *The Streetsinger*: plump and Rubensian, with the suggestion of a double chin, fleshy nose, appley left cheek, and on that side of her face, very little hint of bone beneath the padding of her fatty skin. (The right side of her face, by contrast, is more defined: even the brow and bone above her eye socket are more articulated, in sharp though subtle distinction from the flatness of her left brow. It is almost as if two different faces had been joined at the nose, as if the three-quarter view were interesting because of its potential for ambiguous differentiation between sides and views of the same face.)

Victorine's body is also more ample and female than it seems to be in *The Streetsinger's* body-concealing dress, and its theatrical presentation in male drag emphasizes that. Although her bolero jacket and the crossing of her left arm across her chest both succeed in hiding the curve of her breast, the profile view of her skin-tight pantaloons emphasizes the female line of her belly and slope of her buttock, and the plump, unmuscled curve of her thighs. The shiny white of her stockings, in stark contrast to the flat black pantaloons above them, emphasizes the plumpness of her calves, while at the same time echoing the flesh tones of her plump face, and declaring the paintedness of both, since hosiery and naked skin are both of the same pigment, deriving, one sees, from the same palette. This blatant, painted artificiality is enhanced by the coloristic sameness of Victorine's left hand and stockinged calves, and punctuated by the contrast between her two hands, the one white with the suggestion of linear detail, the other yellowish, as if gloved, picking up the hue of the brighter yellow slash of cloth beneath her arm.

And that loop of cloak held in her left hand, framing its whiteness and detail with a swatch of salmon-pink paint, is no cloak but blatantly paint, an odd, brushy shape which sits atop the canvas like a blob of off-color icing,[8] edged by the cloudy bluishness beneath it, in flat profile on the whitish ground. As the right hand almost picks up the color of the underarm slash, the face and left hand almost pick up the color of the legs, the eyes almost pick up the flat black of the hat, jacket, and tasseled pantaloons, the russet curl almost picks up the colors of the wall, one of the horses, the horseman's jacket and his trousers, Victorine's shoes, and even parts of the thin, Davidian lower part of the ground, so this piece of salmon paint is almost picked up in the stroke of paint beneath the feet of the group of spectators in the upper right-hand corner of the painting. And as the russet, flesh, and rose tones in and around Victorine's face almost clash with one another, so that salmon patch of paint clashes in turn, almost, with that ensemble of pigments forming and framing the face. Finally, that slightly gauche pairing of rose and russet is picked up and emphasized behind Victorine, in the mahogany color of the wall, and set off by the meeting between the pink of her bandana and flesh tone of her face, with its cheek's hint of a different rose tint, turning the bandana, by association, into a more purplish hue.

What begins to become clear about this painting, then, is the close association between the play with pigment and the exploration of the ambiguities of identity; between the changeability of colors and the instability of a model's personality and physicality; between the declared literalness of paint and the enactedness of gender, professional role, and self-presentation, of personhood in short. As Thoré said about this picture: "to the right, a young Parisian woman in the costume of a *matador*, agitating her purple coat in

the bullfight ring . . . There are some astonishing fabrics . . . but, beneath these brilliant costumes, the person herself is a bit lacking; heads should be painted differently from drapery . . ."[9] Thus it was possible at the time to point directly to the bold but ambiguous colorism – a pink can be called a purple – as well as the paintedness, quotational quality, costumed character – *parisianisme* dressed up as Spanishicity – and the central absence of the model's self from this picture, or at least the equation of her selfhood with color, paint, quotation, and costume. The salmon swatch of paint is the sign – and again the crux – of that correlation between the ambiguities and artificialities of pigment and personality. It also announces that confounding the eye of the viewer, as the "red" cape is meant to confound the eye of the bull, is the way illusionism works, and that the indeterminacies of color and the deliberate confusions of optical illusionism are as inseparable from one another as they are from the illusionistic constitution of a "person."

In sum, between *The Streetsinger* and *Mlle V.*, Victorine is rendered very differently, in two paintings that present her as alternately close to and far from who she was in life. In the one, she wears the streetclothes of a *demi-mondaine* performer, those clothes are appropriately feminine and French, and as a "streetsinger" she is identified as a modern vocational type in the tradition of the physiognomic print. In the other, she is rendered not "after life" but after the art of Goya and others, she wears the theatrical costume of another kind of performer, and that costume is masculine and Spanish – as distant from who Victorine "really was" as the streetclothes are proximate to it. And yet it is the latter picture that has her own (abbreviated) name in the title, while at the same time announcing that she is appearing in costume and playing a role, that she is precisely not herself. In the one, Victorine's body is covered and indistinguishable; in the other it is revealed (as feminine) by her (masculine) attire. In the one she is shown against a more or less convincing contemporary background; in the other she appears pasted onto a tipped up, spatially unconvincing ground, demonstrably lifted from mechanically reproduced images: for all the figure's roundedness of face and figure, *Mlle V.* is curiously flat, in contrast to the illusionism of ballooning, layered bulk and the hint of a volumetric underneath offered in *The Streetsinger's* dress. Together *The Streetsinger* and *Mlle V.* form an odd couple, pairing several sets of terms – female/male, slim/plump, Parisian/Spanish, clothed/costumed, concealed/revealed, street/hippodrome, from "life"/from art, volumetric/flat, and so on – disordering the binary logic of those terms somewhat so that they cannot quite be neatly aligned on clearly opposed continuums. And the same unstable binaries operate throughout these mismatched pendants, in Manet's exploration of the two-sidedness of the human face and figure, and the possibilities for internal division and lateral differentiation that it offers: it is condensed in the contrasts between hands worked out in almost all of these paintings.

Thus the coupling of *The Streetsinger* and *Mlle V. . . . in the Costume of an Espada* pursues the problematics of personhood in paint that the stripped-down face of the *Portrait of Victorine Meurent* had begun to open up. But *The Streetsinger* and *Mlle V.* were uncoupled when Manet showed them in 1863 and were brought together again only in 1867, as numbers 19 and 12 in Manet's retrospective, gathered with all the other Victorine "pendants" toward the beginning of the catalogue list. In 1863, *The Streetsinger* kept company at Martinet's with *The Gypsies*, *The Old Musician*, the *Young Woman Reclining*

in Spanish Costume, Lola de Valence, Music at the Tuileries, and the rest. In that context, she served as a kind of shifter between the genres of the physiognomic type and the costume piece, the subjects of the *chiffonnier*, street musician, and exotic performer, the "pretty Parisian" and the *Espagnole*, and the themes of bohemianism and demimondanity, Velasquez-style courtliness and Baudelairean modernity organizing the other paintings on view at Martinet's, where the problematics of painting personhood wer more diffusely presented than they were in Manet's own studio.

In May of 1863 *Mlle V.* went on view separately at the Salon des Refusés, re-paired in two directions, with her male companion, the *Young Man in the Costume of a Majo*, and her alter ego in the *Luncheon on the Grass*, such that she served as a middle term between the Spanishicity of the one and the quotational Italianicity of the other, between costuming and nudity, masculinity and femininity, contextlessness and context, tight and loose facture, the single-figure and multiple-figure composition, the family member that the *Young Man* portrays and the circle of alterity and familiarity that the *Luncheon* represents. I shall come to the Salon des Refusés positioning of *Mlle V.* and the *Luncheon on the Grass* as two points of the triangle made by that trio of paintings. But first I turn to the next of Manet's studio pairings of the face and figure of Victorine, that of 1863, in which, prior to being exhibited, the *Luncheon on the Grass* was the pendant of the soon-to-be notorious *Olympia* (figs. 8, 9).

1863 (AND 1865)

The 1863 pair of paintings in which Victorine Meurent's features appear is distinguished by two facts: Victorine is rendered naked in both (all the other paintings of her show her clothed) and she appears in company; whereas all the other images of her are essentially single-figure pictures, both of these are multi-figure compositions. Moreover, the 1863 duo is the most dramatically quotational of all of the pairs; each is a direct citation from Venetian painting, the one of Giorgione/Titian's *Fête champêtre* in the Louvre, and the other of Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, which layered together with other quotes, Manet had copied in the Uffizi on an early trip to Italy. Because of the furor that developed around them when they were exhibited in 1863 and 1865, the *Luncheon on the Grass* and *Olympia* quickly became the best-known of Manet's paintings of Victorine, the ones with whom his reputation as a *succès de scandale* was most identified. Yet they are anomalous in these regards.

At the same time, in *Luncheon on the Grass* and *Olympia*, Victorine's face and figure undergo the same subtle changes as found in the 1862 pair of *The Streetsinger* and *Mlle V. . . . in the Costume of an Espada*. As in those paintings, Victorine's Titian hair and the quality of her stare continue to suggest that it is the same model in each. In this pair of pictures, that sameness is both asserted and questioned, this time by matching a certain indeterminacy in the rendering of Victorine to a movement between different factural manners. In the *Luncheon* we find those different manners assigned to two separate renderings of the female figure, one smooth, hard, and unmodulated, rendering Victorine large-bodied and whitely naked in the front plane, the other soft, light-handed, and loosely sketched, depicting a smaller, more recessive female figure in her chemise in

Detail of fig. 8.

the middle distance, whose folded over posture is a tilted variant of the foreground C-shape of Victorine. These two renderings have the air of two views of the same woman (although my guess is that Victorine did not pose for both: the sketchy Watteau-derived figure is clearly lifted from art rather than life). In *Olympia*, on the other hand, those two manners are collapsed into the single rendering of her face, distinguishable only when one moves back and forth in front of the painting, from the hard, slicked back, resistant flatness of Olympia-Victorine's face from a medium distance, to the softer, more yielding painterliness of her mouth, chin, and loosened hair up close.[10] Thus *Olympia*, which extends the hard–soft, determinate–indeterminate contrasts, and even the tight–loose rendering of the hair of the little portrait of Victorine of the year before, is a bit like the two women of the *Luncheon* collapsed into one – one, however, who is also two.

Between the *Luncheon* and *Olympia*, it is not only the identity of the model's face but also the rendering of her body that is brought into question. For in these two paintings the body takes part in Manet's play with painted personhood, and in running the gamut between large, heavy, and inert, at once flattened and rounded on the one hand, and small, pert, and recalcitrantly angular on the other hand, the two pictures, taken together, seem to tread the line between the body's essential anonymity and its taking part in a person's personality – or in this case, multiple personalities. Moreover, that the locus of pictorial interest and painterly pleasure is not the female body per se – is everywhere but the female body – is observable in both paintings. It is clear that the sensuous rendering of naked female flesh was neither Manet's forte nor his fascination. In each painting a stark, unmodulated body is framed by and contrasted with a deliciously and variously painted world, including a rich assortment of colored accessories.[11] Given the traditional function of the female nude as the object of the "male gaze," which naturalized the gendered splitting of visuality into the to-be-looked-at-ness of (unclothed) femininity and the (clothed) masculinity of the bearer of the "look," a reading begins to suggest itself of Victorine's twice-painted body as a meditation on the gendering of subject–object relations and the differentation between self and other so fundamental to the construct of the "person."

With her frank stare, the bouquet of flowers from a client, and her play on the *Venus of Urbino* as well as on seductive contemporary nudes like Cabanel's *Birth of Venus*, *Olympia* has always been understood as unmasking the logic of the gaze at work in the tradition of the female nude. To a lesser extent, and for similar reasons, the *Luncheon on the Grass* has been understood in the same way.[12] Put together, the two paintings go to work on the problem in a more complicated fashion. Where the *Luncheon* shows two white women, one large and the other small, in different states of undress, *Olympia* poses the small white body of the nude next to the more ample, clothed figure of a black servant, both differentiating between their othernesses and the classed services they perform, and associating, doubling, and underscoring the alterity of femininity with that of negritude, thereby reiterating a longstanding tradition.[13] On the one hand, the *Luncheon*'s odd sociability groups two views of the same Other – two women of the same culture, race, and class – in a familial circle made up Manet's male familiars – Ferdinand Leenhoff, the sculptor brother of his soon-to-be wife, posed for the clothed male figure looking out at us, while both of Manet's brothers are said to have taken turns posing for

Detail of fig. 9.

the gesturing male figure at right. On the other hand, *Olympia*'s alienated little *fille* keeps company with an Other who others her more completely.[14] And while the *Luncheon* includes the implied (and doubled) male consumer of the female body within its frame, *Olympia* excludes him, at the same time implicating and addressing him as the viewer of the painting. Thus in the latter, same and other, subject and object, male and female, are clearly opposed terms, while in the former they are linked and combined, found together on the same side of the pictorial divide.

In *Luncheon on the Grass*, Eugène/Gustave's index finger points our gaze to the way Victorine Meurent and Ferdinand Leenhoff are as much alternates as they are opposites: which is underlined by the close pairing of their two heads, feminine and masculine, smooth and bearded, *roussâtre* and *brunâtre*; and their two bodies, unclothed and clothed, white and black, the line of Ferdinand's arm duplicating that of Victorine's leg, while his oddly painted white trouser-knee joins with the opposite gray knee of Eugène/Gustave. Male and female are twice opposed, but they are also twice twinned, to form a double Janus figure. The same pointing gesture also indexes some other things concerning the same and the other, *soi-même* and *autrui*. For in the *Luncheon* alterity intrudes into the family circle: Manet sets his favorite model and two or three family members next to one another, folding them out, side to front to side, so that female model and male family members together form a closed, self-referential circle, broken only by Victorine's white body and the loose facture of the bent over figure in the middle distance between the two men. Thus, in the *Luncheon on the Grass*, gendered identity functions much like the gravure – in a series of varied replications and reversals, dark to light, left to right, masculine to feminine, intimate to other. In short, the *Luncheon* proposes a system in which the female body mirrors and partners the "male gaze," rather than being opposed to it. Victorine's outward stare (matched by Ferdinand's similarly directed but more inward-feeling look) is the emblem of that system.

As she appears in the *Luncheon* Victorine is a two-fold figure of the gaze itself, as well as of its object. She untidies the neat old binarisms of gender and the gaze; rendering them together, she alters them. The same may be said of *Olympia*, in that Victorine's deadpan look, at once bold and blank, dominating and affectless, reciprocal and unreceptive to the viewer's ogling glance, and yet sensuously vulnerable up close under the touch of the painter, may be understood as at once subverting and combining the subject and object terms of the gaze. And in *Olympia*, Victorine is stared at by her other Other, from within the picture, whose visible black hand is so oddly similar to the pubic hand of her mistress, and who brings her the bouquet that is simultaneously the sign of her prostitution, the flower of her femininity (if we are to believe those caricaturists who blew up the bouquet to outsized proportions and collapsed it with her body, in close juxtaposition to the equally exaggerated pussy-cat, transforming *Olympia* into an extended play on genital substitution and signification *à la* Baudelaire), and the emblem of her constitution in paint, her displacement of erotic and aesthetic pleasure from the body to its painted surrounds, to all that frames, complements, attends, attributes, and responds to it.

Yet, if Victorine refuses to submit to the gaze in *Olympia*, she seems also to be more clearly its object and opposite term than she is in the *Luncheon*. She is much more single than she is in the *Luncheon*, where she is circled by companions in relation to whom

69 Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin, *The Ray*, c.1727, oil on canvas, 114.5 × 146 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

her disruptive separateness is defined and diffused. And, as Zola remarked, she is a still life. Where in the *Luncheon* she is seated next to an array of objects that form a still life in its own right, in *Olympia* it is the ensemble of Victorine's body, accouterments, and setting that is the *nature morte*: the vaginal-pink bloom in her hair; the bunch of flowers with its white chrysanthemum at the center, its white wrapping similar to the white sheet on which she rests; her gold bangle; the shawl that she fingers with its scattered, embroidered blossoms and bit of fringe echoing the fall of the locket from her bangle, in turn echoing the locket hanging from her neck ribbon; her blue-edged satin slippers, one off and one on (like the gloves in other pictures); her white bedlinen suggesting the ubiquitous white napkin of the still life genre; and even the black cat, irresistibly recalling the rearing, rigidified cat at the left of Chardin's 1728 reception piece, *The Ray*, then in the La Caze collection (fig. 69).[15]

Thus in *Olympia*, Victorine figures another conflation of terms – corporeal substance and decorative supplement, predicate and attribute, the genres of nude and still life, the categories of human figure, animal life, and inanimate object.[16] The genre of the female nude, from Titian's *Venus of Urbino* to Cabanel's *Birth of Venus*, had always made a still life of the human body – a luxury commodity, an object of appetite, exchange, and imaginary consumption, rather than a bearer of narrative value, or a sign for human

subjecthood. The female nude, that is, had always played still life to the history painting function of the male body. But *Olympia's* novelty lies in her confronting of that fact, and in her locating of subjective effect in her obdurate, impassive objectness. Indeed, this seems to have been a consistent disturbance for Manet's critics, in that they all, almost to a man, spoke of Manet's treatment of people (mostly female people) as objects; *Olympia* was simply the public focus and flashpoint of that disturbance.

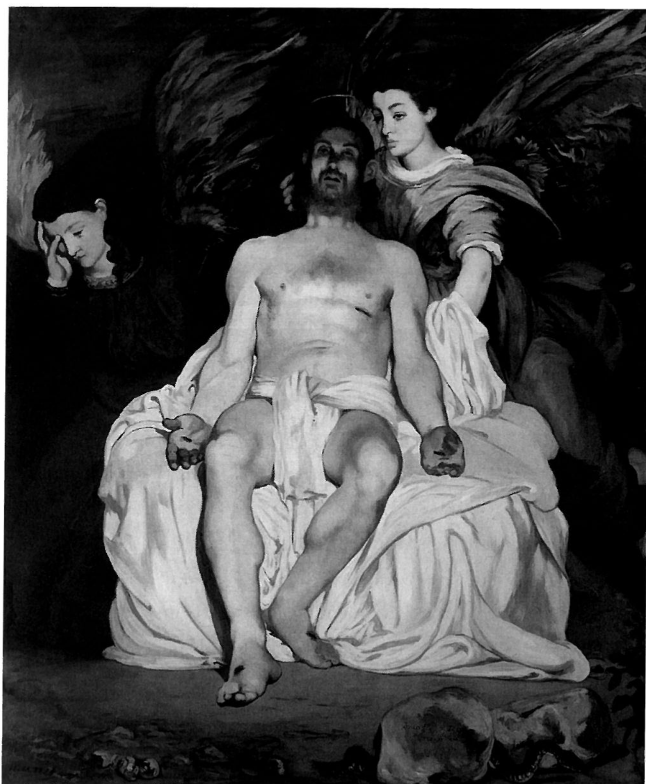
If we imagine the *Luncheon* and *Olympia* side by side in Manet's studio, then, the two paintings enter into dialogue with one another on the subject of the otherness and objecthood of the female person. And each riffs contrapuntally on Baudelaire's observation that "for the artist woman is not . . . the female of man . . . everything that adorns woman . . . is a part of herself . . ."[17] For the two paintings' conversation on the subject of femininity points directly to Baudelaire's tract on "l'autrui, la femme," in which he opposed the representation of contemporary woman to the image of the female body mediated by the museum and the print. Twice Baudelaire spoke of precisely those old masters most prominently cited in Manet's two paintings, Titian (*Olympia*) and Raphael (the *Luncheon*).[18] Although it might seem that he was castigating his friend Manet (in advance) for aping the past masters of art in the *Luncheon* and *Olympia*, at the same time the oppositions between contemporaneity and art history found in his essay match the tensions built into Manet's 1863 quotations from the Louvre and the Uffizi. Titian and Raphael versus the modern *impure*, the museum versus the chic *fille entretenue*, the old master gravure versus the up-to-the-minute *lorette* and state of the art *biche*: these were exactly the oppositions mobilized by Manet in his two pictures of Victorine dating from 1863. Except that Manet collapsed the oppositions, pictorially demonstrating that the old masterpieces of Titian and Raphael were enacted by an *impure* whose modern job it was to do such acting, and that the museum and the gravure, rather than the boudoir and the forest, were the habitat of his *fille entretenue*. For Manet it was in the artificial habitat of the studio museum, with all its costume changes (nudity was just another one of those), that Baudelairian femininity could best be performed in painting.[19]

The *Luncheon* disputes its own alibis in contemporary culture and *plein-air* nature more obviously than *Olympia* does. As in the other pictures of Victorine, the *Luncheon's* assertion of the artificiality of its own fiction seems to reside most of all in the obstinate opacity of Victorine's gaze. But to that gaze it adds also the manifest illogic of its naked women and clothed men and their patently false updating of the Renaissance court pastorale and mythological beauty contest, the implausibility of the quickly brushed in background, the narrative emptiness of the one man's pointing gesture, and the plethora of art historical images to which that gesture seems to refer while also directing us to Victorine. Moreover, added to the *Luncheon's* equation is the fact of mechanical reproduction, most prominently found in the central gesture of Eugène/Gustave's arm, lifted from Raimondi's engraving after Raphael's *Judgment of Paris* (and then copied again by Manet himself in an ink and watercolor version of his painting).

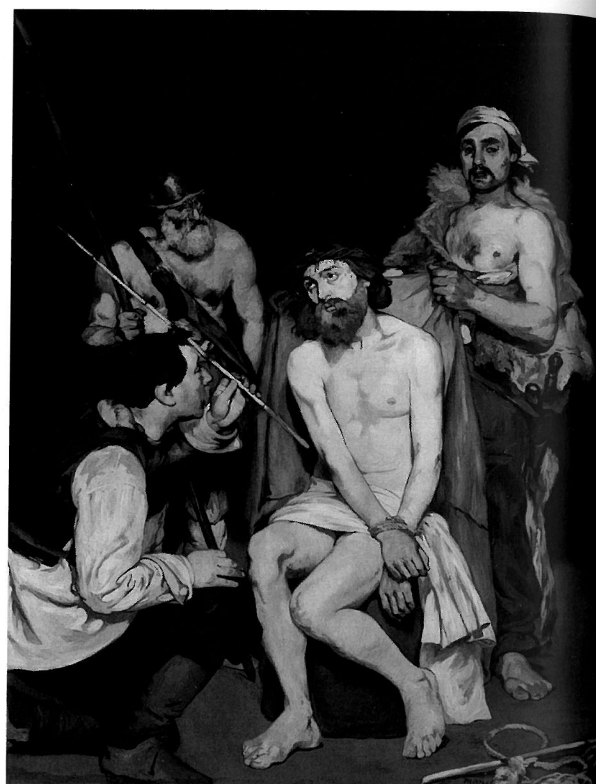
Olympia, for her part, was not only a variation on Manet's painted reproduction of the *Venus of Urbino*, a redoing of the *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume*, and the end product of a fairly traditional series of studies, she was also reproduced as an etching (it was thus that she figured in Zola's pamphlet) and as a painted photograph hung on the wall in his portrait of Zola of 1868.[20] Thus both the *Luncheon on the Grass* and *Olympia* added Manet's already well established problematic of the reproduction of originality to their dialogic investigation of the Baudelairean dialectic of femininity, in which authentic modernity is mediated by reference and reproduction. Although Manet seemed to go against Baudelaire's censuring of the academic habit of "separat[ing] woman from her costume," at the same time he followed Baudelaire's dictum in both paintings of 1863, proposing that femininity is costuming, and that "the painting of pleasure" lies in everything that frames and supplements the female body, rather than in that body itself – in its artifice rather than its "nature," its fashionability rather than its animal corporeality, its changeability rather than its stable essence. In other words, in the 1863 pair Victorine is yet again *Mlle V. in the Costume of . . .* , twice over. Seen together, the *Luncheon* and *Olympia* inflect each other with their different statements to this effect: that the woman they depict plays several characters from the history of art and that, rather than the street or the boudoir, her real context can only be the studio in which her persona is variously constructed, through the screen of the museum and the print.[21]

The couple formed by the two Victorines in 1863 was again divorced when the time came to exhibit them – and this time the separation was more pronounced, with two years and one Salon coming between them. In the Salon des Refusés, Manet's trio of pictures positioned Victorine in a related but different way from the studio pair in which her features appeared in 1863. As in that pair, her features appeared twice, but in the Salon des Refusés, the anomaly of her nude, Italianizing presence in the *Luncheon on the Grass* (or *Le Bain*, as it was then titled) was highlighted, while the fact of her identity as the studio model "Mlle V." seemed to be underlined, both by the doubling of her features and the similarity of her face and body in the two pictures in which she appeared. The related fact of her costuming was also stressed, by the "in the costume of" found in the titles of both *Mlle V.* and the picture of Gustave Manet as a *majo*. The etchings were displayed separately, in the prints section of the Salon des Refusés, but with the inclusion of the print after Velasquez's *Philip IV*, the print after Velasquez's *Little Cavaliers*, and the print after Manet's *Lola de Valence*, the quotational quality of both of the Victorine pictures in the painting section was redoubled, if anyone chose to notice. Finally, *Mlle V. . . . in the Costume of an Espada* and the *Young Man in the Costume of a Majo*, sharing their featured models with those of the *Luncheon on the Grass*, slyly pointed to the latter's mixing and matching of otherness and the family circle, and its refusal to describe the functions of alterity and identity as opposite terms. Thus, if the studio pair of 1863 was parted, the dialogue on the model's personhood in which it engaged was nevertheless maintained, in the company that Victorine kept in the Salon des Refusés, both in the already conversational picture *Luncheon on the Grass* and in its companions.

It was otherwise in 1865, when Manet gave Victorine a partner altogether different from herself, and thus removed her completely from the studio thematics in which her features seemed to be involved. We can only speculate as to why Manet decided to hold *Olympia* back rather than submitting her with her alter ego to the Salon in 1863. Perhaps he did not feel that *Olympia* was finished to his complete satisfaction, and therefore was not sure that he was ready to put it on public display. By 1864, with the painting of *The Dead Christ and the Angels* (fig. 70), it may have occurred to him that, if he held *Olympia*



70 Edouard Manet, *The Dead Christ and the Angels*, 1864, oil on canvas, 179.4 × 149.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929. (29.100.51).



71 Edouard Manet, *The Mocking of Christ*, 1865, oil on canvas, 190.3 × 148.3 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago. Gift of James Deering, 1925.703.

back one more year, he could finish another religious picture that was a more overt Titian quotation and present them together, thus underlining his bid to be considered Titian's descendent, a kind of latter-day court painter working in two of the most ambitious and traditional genres associated with the Venetian school. Perhaps by that time, after the fact of the Salon des Refusés, he was disappointed in the critics' failure to understand the *Luncheon on the Grass* as a great picture in the tradition of the old masters, and then wished to stress the quotational dimension of his practice in a more consistent way. If so, the ploy did not work, for *Olympia's* reference to the *Venus of Urbino* went largely unnoticed and, even more insistently than the *Luncheon on the Grass*, it came to be situated within contemporary discourse on the female body – that of the prostitute.[22]

Indeed, the exhibiting of *Olympia* together with *The Mocking of Christ* (fig. 71), with its address to the abused male body, seemed to reinforce the critics' understanding of her within a contemporary thematics of the body, articulated in terms of references to the corpse and the morgue. Visually speaking, however, of the two religious pictures with which she could have been associated, the *Christ with the Angels*, with its similar presentation of the body to the viewer by retainers (the angels), and its similar still life arrangement of that body against a sheet in such a way as to emphasize the coloristic meeting of blue-ish white and dirty flesh, makes a better companion for *Olympia*, underlining the pairing of male and female bodies, the gendered alibis for making those bodies objects of the gaze, and the mortified aspect of *Olympia's* flesh. His pairing of *Olympia* with *The Mocking of Christ* instead of *Christ with Angels* suggests that his references to the museum were more important to him than any reading of the body as corpse, or woman as "the female of man."[23]

It suggests also that, after 1863, Manet no longer thought the Salon was an appropriate venue for putting his studio meditation on the personhood of the model on view. It was the place, not to question the structure of his own persona as a painter, but to garner and bolster a reputation by claiming an updated version of old master status for himself, and by reinforcing his own consistency rather than his inconsistency. *Olympia*, at the same time, is the prime example of Manet's constant misunderstanding of the audience whose admiration he courted, and of the mismatch between his interests as a painter and its expectations and discursive limitations. For the dialogue that Manet worked out between paintings in his studio was simply unavailable to most of his audience in his time. As in 1864, so in 1865: Manet's critics selected one painting for their incomprehension and ridicule, focusing on *Olympia* by herself rather than her pairing with *The Mocking of Christ*, not only ignoring her updating of Titian, but insisting on reading her, against the visual evidence of her setting and her accouterments, as the poorest and meanest of prostitutes. It was a case of misreading on both sides: Manet of his public and his public of his paintings.

The proper place to put the thematics associated with Victorine was not the Salon but the studio – to which Manet returned all of his Victorine pictures after exhibiting them in the various Salons in which they showed up. It was in the studio that he assembled them for display, and in that context that Zola and others saw them in 1867, before the Universal Exposition. It was in the studio that he rehearsed his retrospective, and then out of the studio, in the Place de l'Alma site, that he reassembled his Victorine pictures, producing what amounted to an off-site studio display for the same wrong public that frequented the Salons, and headlining it with the re-paired Victorine duo of *Luncheon on the Grass* and *Olympia*. This time the public was more indifferent than indignant. No matter; all the other Victorine pictures were gathered too, after the 1863 pair and toward the beginning of the retrospective list, to stand for the experimentation in multiple personal styles and self-presentations that the rest of the monographic "exposition particulière" enacted across its disordered spectrum of genres and art-historical references. And by 1867, the list of Victorine pictures had grown to include another pair, painted in 1866 and included among those on view in the retrospective – *The Fifer* and the *Young Woman in 1866*.

* * *

1866 (AND 1868)

After the 1862 and 1863 pairs of Victorine pictures and their divided exhibition in 1863 and 1865 came another pair sporting Victorine's features, *The Reader* and the *Woman Playing the Guitar*. Executed between 1865 and 1866, *The Reader* was not exhibited at all and the *Woman Playing the Guitar* only at the 1867 retrospective, where it was number 26. Each represents Victorine in profile, in modern clothing, engaged in an activity – reading or guitar playing. In that they naturalize their model, they fall outside the logic of the Victorine series so I shall not address them, except to point out that they conform to the pattern of pairing pictures in which Victorine's face appeared. (And to remark that Manet's 1869–70 portrait of his acolyte Eva Gonzalès returned to the guitar playing pose of his favorite model of the first half of the 1860s, substituting a paintbrush for the guitar, and that he also returned to the theme of the female reader several times. Thus this unusual Victorine pair pointed the way toward, and resurfaced in, the shift in Manet's pictorial preoccupations that occurred after the retrospective of 1867.) I close this chapter, instead, with the last pair of Victorine pictures painted by Manet. In 1866, between *The Fifer* and the *Young Woman in 1866*, he returned to Victorine's alternation between performing someone else and performing herself – Victorine even further from herself than she was in *Mlle V. . . . in the Costume of an Espada*, playing at being a little boy with whose features her own are merged; Victorine *chez elle, en déshabille* in a pink *peignoir*, playing herself even more intimately than in *The Streetsinger*.

The first painting of the pair to be completed, *The Fifer* (see fig. 67), was rejected from the Salon of 1866 before Manet showed it the next year, first in his studio and then at the Place de l'Alma as number 11 (immediately followed by *Mlle V. . . . in the Costume of an Espada*). I begin with its conflation of Victorine and Léon Leenhoff.[24] Although Zola mentioned Léon's mother in the biographical section of his essay, stating that she and Manet were married in 1863, he specified Léon's identity even less than he did Victorine's, which is to say not at all. It goes without saying that Zola also avoided mentioning the indeterminacy of Léon's paternity: the fact that he might have been the illegitimate son of Manet himself, of Manet's father, or of Manet's brother, does not arise. But Léon's identity was as indissoluble from Manet's obsession with the studio masquerade as Victorine was. His features are recognizable in pictures shown in the retrospective, such as the *Boy with the Sword*, whose modeling and "narrow, contrived delicacies" Zola contrasted unfavorably to the "frank stiffness, the accurately and powerfully painted patches of the *Olympia*"[25] (thereby contrasting Léon to Victorine). Léon's features are present as well, diminutively and therefore less readably, in another picture shown in the retrospective, listed as number 50 – the little pastiched *Paysage*, in which Léon, Manet, and Suzanne are fantasized together in domestic harmony, seventeenth-century style. (And yet even there Léon is set apart, on the farther shore.) And the same features are recognizable in pictures painted after the retrospective, as in *Soap Bubbles* of the same year (fig. 72), and the *Luncheon in the Studio* of a year later, to which I shall turn in the next chapter.

Where Victorine's features change a bit inconsistently from picture to picture – from the plump, rosy contours of the *Espada*, the thinner, flatter face, and slightly winged brows of *The Streetsinger*, the straight brows, pointed chin, slight insolence, and subtle

72 Edouard Manet, *Soap Bubbles*, 1867, oil on canvas, 100 × 81 cm. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

undecidability of the *Olympia*, to the slimmer face of the *Young Woman in 1866* – and where her physiognomy is often half obscured by an object held up to her mouth or the line of a hat across her forehead, Léon's usually unobstructed features are shown to progress in a more linear way, maturing from those of a child to those of an adolescent and young man. It is these two, the Parisian *demi-mondaine* model (and perhaps mistress), and the half-French, half-Dutch son, nephew, or half-brother, who keep cropping up in Manet's paintings, and it is their features that are blended in the squat, boyish face, winging brows, snub nose, blank gaze, rose-tinted, milky skin, prominent ears, and short body of *The Fifer*. (Curiously, in addition to the quality of the gaze and the parenthesis-shaped brows – criticized earlier in *The Streetsinger* – it is the occluded parts of the face – the obscuring of the mouth by the fife, and the low framing of the forehead by the cap – that most evoke the Victorine of several years before.) For here Manet increases the ambiguities of personhood that preoccupied him throughout the 1860s, particularly underlined in his picturing of Victorine.

In *The Fifer*, Manet conflates the woman of changing identity and the child of uncertain origins in a manner that calls to mind the layering together of musket-toting *gamin*, Renaissance youth, and exotic woman in Manette Salomon's face and figure, in the Goncourts' novel of a year later.[26] Thus he underlines his celebration of the indeterminacy and mutability fundamental to personhood – to a woman whose job it is to play roles, adopt poses, and assume guises, and to a child as he grows – and also

fundamental to paternity, and to the constitution of a gentleman painter's signature style. For the conflation of the features of Léon and Victorine, and the simultaneous maintenance of their individual recognizability (not unlike the way parents' separate features can remain recognizable in a child in their altered, because combined, state; or the way an infant's face, when a fleeting expression passes over it, will remind one briefly but vividly of one relative and then of another), joins the chameleon qualities of Victorine the model, Léon the child, and Manet the painter. At the same time, that elision seems to be a demonstration of the fine line trod by age, sex, and individual differences – the way those differences verge on sameness, the way sameness hedges on differences, and the way indeterminacy is fundamental to the very distinction between sameness and difference. And finally, when *The Fifer* is linked to the other pictures of Victorine and Léon, the linear development of a (masculine) individuality is intermixed with and undermined by the "inconsistency" of the (feminine) masquerade.

The painterly vehicle of *The Fifer*'s elision of different genders, ages, and selves with different relations to Manet is the doubling of liveliness and flatness, illusionistic subjecthood and flat-out objecthood that is suggested in Zola's oscillation between the evocation of "a child of a musical troupe who blows in his instrument with all his breath and all his heart" and the "costumer's sign" description of "[t]he yellow of his galloons, the black-blue of his tunic, the red of his breeches . . . here no more than large patches."[27] It was the signboard aspect of Zola's description that held sway, such that *The Fifer* came to stand as a pattern card of modernist flatness. Later, when Manet's first posthumous retrospective was mounted, Paul Mantz wrote about *The Fifer* in similar terms, describing the "young musician" as "a playing card" "pasted on monochrome gray background," "glued to a chimerical wall," "a Jack of Diamonds posted on a door," with "no terrain, no air, no perspective" and no "positive atmosphere" behind and around "bodies," as, in short, adhering to "the system of the cutout."[28] Although Mantz's vocabulary was by then predictable, recycled from some twenty years' of Manet criticism, its collage-like account of the gluing, affixing, and posting of crudely readymade popular images to flat surfaces underwrites later Greenbergian accounts of Manet's modernist flatness.

Mantz's posthumous review of *The Fifer* speaks of it as one of an 1866 series of gray-background paintings, of which the *Young Woman in 1866* is another example. It is in that grayish ground, shared by the Victorine pair of 1866, in which the manner of Velasquez is referred to, and the efforts at contextualization found in the earlier Victorine pairs are relinquished. According to Mantz, it is that blank ground that is responsible for *The Fifer*'s cutout look. And indeed, as if to underline its elided illusionism, there is that little joke of a shadow cast by the fifer's foot, similar to the shadow cast by Victorine's foot in *Mlle V.*[29] *The Fifer* is more of a flat shape and silhouette against a wall of gray than the *Young Woman in 1866*, whose fade from the light gray of the floor to the dark gray of the background is more coherently shaded. Nevertheless, with his/her black pant stripes, here and there confounded with the outer contour of the trousers, the flat black shoes run together with the flat black shadows beneath them and sharply contrasted with the stark white of the spats, and the dead-black cap not quite distinguishable from the brown-black of the short hair beneath and contrasted with the red of the cap's apex, there is an oscillation between elision and clear separation in the

Detail of fig. 67.

fifer's figure, and the ground against which it is silhouetted fluctuates between the effects of optical "atmosphere" and flat "chimerical wall." Perhaps it was that that Zola hinted at when he described the simultaneous liveliness and flatness of the picture, its vivid coming to life and frank status as an image. For it is precisely this illusionistic ambivalence, together with the "beholder's share" elements of the fife that cuts off the chin and the hat that cuts into the forehead, that constitutes the "chimerical" personhood of *The Fifer*.[30]

The relationship between the somewhat confounded flatness of *The Fifer* and the indeterminately constitutive illusionism of the *Young Woman in 1866* (see fig. 68) is complementary: together the two pictures assert the reciprocity of the founding and undermining of Manet's brand of coloristic illusionism, which together "constitutes all his talent," as Zola put it.[31] In "*La Femme en rose*," as he called it, Zola saw "that native elegance that Edouard Manet, man of the world, has at the heart of himself." He described her "breathing the perfume of a bouquet of violets," and claimed that "the temperament of the painter [had] placed the imprint of its austerity on the ensemble."[32] Mixed into Zola's characteristic treatment of a painting by Manet as a picture of Manet, in which the charming *demi-mondaine* serves as a representation of the austerely elegant *homme du monde*, there is an accent upon apparel and attributes, as well as on the illusionism of movement. But Zola paid unusually scant attention to the colorism of the *Young Woman in 1866*. Thoré, by contrast, when he saw the painting in Manet's studio prior to its exhibition at the Place de l'Alma, did attend to its *coloris*:

> There was . . . a study of a young girl in a pink dress . . . These rose tones against a gray background would defy the finest colorists. It is a sketch, it is true, as is, at the Louvre, the *Island of Cythera*, by Watteau. Watteau would have been able to push his sketch to perfection. Manet still struggles against the extreme difficulty of painting, which is to finish certain parts of a picture in order to give the whole its real worth . . . One hardly pays attention to the head, even though it is frontal and in the same light as the pink cloth; it is lost in the modulation of the coloring.[33]

Thoré noted the Rococo, Watteau-like qualities of the "study of a young woman in a pink dress," its subtle color harmonies, its leveling of costume and visage and the coloristic tailoring of one to the other. Writing in response to the picture when it was exhibited later in the Salon of 1868, other critics also concentrated on its colorism and criticized its rendering of Victorine's facial character. In 1868 Gautier wrote, "This young woman has been painted, they say, after a model whose head is fine, pretty and witty, and adorned by the richest Venetian hair that a colorist could wish . . . The ugly head which he presents to us has surely been subjected to reverse flattery."[34] And Mantz wrote, "The intention of Manet was, one must suppose, to engage in a symphonic dialogue, a sort of duo beween the young woman and the rose tints of her face. He has not succeeded at all, because he does not know how to paint flesh."[35] Whether attributing it to an inability to paint flesh, a sort of "devenustation,"[36] or a failure to pick out the head, all the critics were agreed that Manet had somehow failed to render Victorine's face properly, and all were agreed in their assessment of his status as a (failed) Venetian colorist. Their judgments nonetheless pointed to the coloristic ambivalence of Manet's project of constituting a persona, and Gautier, at least, was alive to the "young woman"'s status as painter's

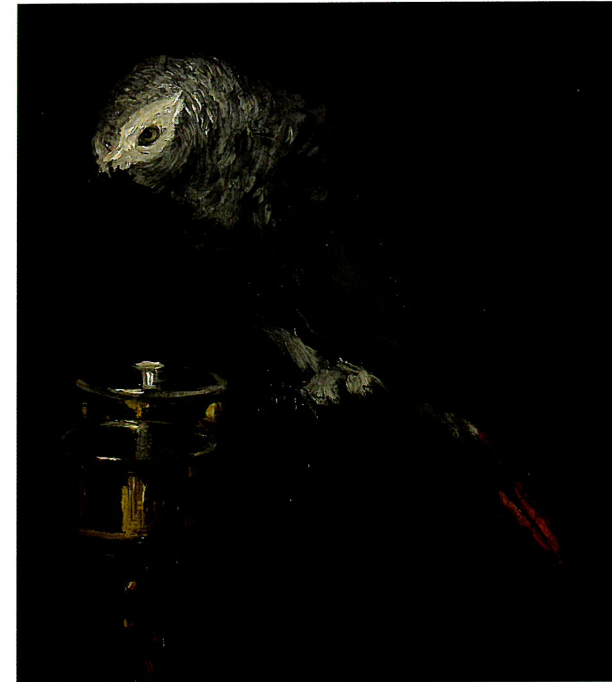
Detail of fig. 68.

model, and the vexed relationship between painting and model, painted and "real" persona.

The coloristic gambits of the *Young Woman in 1866* are both more obvious and subtle than those of the other Victorine paintings: the critics were right, they are what the picture is about. At the center of the colorism of the *Young Woman in 1866* is the gown. And what is most noteworthy about the *peignoir*, beyond its status as a piece of undress and its paradoxical hiding of Victorine's figure in a shapeless mass of pink paint, is the way it combines the colors adjunct to it within its illusionism of shadow and highlight and Watteau-like satin material, bringing together the red of Victorine's lips, the white of the lace at her neck and cuffs, the gray of the background, the gold of the locket, the similar gold of the sand at the base of the bird-stand with the neighboring and slightly differing orange of the orange, the almost "titian" brown of the stand itself, highlit with pink and similar to Victorine's hair, and so on: in the *peignoir* these colors are joined and arrayed, announcing the color constituency of the Rococo effects of flesh, fashionable fabric, and femininity too. Indeed, with the tip of her slipper emerging from the bottom edge of the mass of intermixed pink paint of which she is made, this Victorine is reminiscent of Frenhofer's "chef-d'oeuvre," in which "they perceived in a corner of the canvas the tip of a naked foot which emerged from a chaos of colors, tones, indecisive nuances, a kind of mist without form . . . There is a woman underneath . . . the layers of color that the . . . painter had successively superimposed in the belief that he was perfecting his painting."[37]

As in *The Streetsinger*, here is a series of carefully calibrated color indeterminacies. First, there is the violet hair-ribbon, compared with the nosegay of violets held up to Victorine's face, harmonized oddly with Victorine's "titian" hair, mediating closely between the gray of the background and the rose of Victorine's robe. The nosegay with which it is compared is linked to the lorgnette, through the similar though differentiated gestures of the two hands – the one palm up and more open, the other back-of-the-hand and more closed. The formal relationship between the two hands, set in play by a neighboring color comparison and enhanced by another sequence of formal relationships – hair-ribbon, neck band with locket, and pendant lorgnette (opacity converted into transparency and back again) – is strongly reminiscent of *The Streetsinger*. Indeed, the whole pose is virtually the same, along with the bell-shaped gown and the hand holding something colored up to the mouth, suggesting that we might want to recall the earlier picture of Victorine as "herself." Certainly Manet's retrospective would have reinforced the relationship between the two pictures, as well as among all of the Victorine series (in which the differentiation between hands and sides of the face and body is reiterated).

In addition to the series of coloristic ambiguities established by the nosegay of violets and the rose *peignoir* (whose color name is also a flower name), there is another series of important relationships indexed by what became the titular accessory, the parrot. And again, color plays a constitutive role in the play of indeterminacy, so that the supplementary (namely, both the parrot accessory and color itself, which still in the nineteenth century was thought to be superficial and differential, not to mention feminine, in relation to the masculine essentialism of drawing) becomes foundational.[38] Most obviously, the parrot's range of grays mimics the range of grays found in the painterly elision of background and floor: an elision that is both outwardly referential – to Velasquez, as is



Detail of fig. 68.

the subtle colorism of the painting more generally – and self-referential – referring to what was by then a signature of Manet's oeuvre, and to the flat surface of painting, as constitutive of painterly illusionism as it is undermining of it. The simultaneity of flatness and illusionism is all but emblematized in the parrot stand, with its three perches, the top oriented to match the picture's flat plane, the bottom turned in space and foreshortened. The parrot stand then points to the half-unpeeled orange, with its general reference to Dutch still-life painting and generic Spanishness and to the orange in Manet's earlier *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume*.[39] As for that orange (another color-named object, or vice versa), it suggests a simultaneous connection between the pink and white painterliness of Victorine and the demonstrable paintedness of its own orange outer surface and white inner pith, between her state of undress and its own half unpeeled condition, such that the clothing of a body in layers of fabric and the building up of an object in layers of pigment is linked and rhymed, while the oscillation among surface, substance, and depth effect is reiterated and renewed.

To return to the parrot, its differential play of grays is picked up in the grays rendering the reflective silver edge of the base, just as that edge picks up the orange of the orange in its reflection, just as the water glass, similarly constituted out of whites and grays, similarly picks up the gold of the sand at the base in its reflection, at the same time differentiating the transparency of its reflective surface from the opacity of that of the base, and announcing the unitary constitution of the illusionisms of transparency, reflection, and opacity in yellow-orange paint. So the parrot's pink tail, mimicked in the pink of the stand, also mimics the pink of Victorine's *peignoir*, and at the same time declares its constitution in pink paint through its double existence as parrot's tail and

stroke of pigment. In short, the gray and pink of the parrot are a condensation of the constitutive colors of the painting in its entirety. They drive one to notice the only bit of color that falls, though only barely, outside of that color range: the violet of the nosegay and hair ribbon. Barely, because the color violet (yet another flower-named color or color-named flower) is not so distant, after all, from the color rose. That violet is different from the rest of the color scheme only because of its blueness, a blueness, however, that is not so distant from the green of the nosegay's leaves and stems, or from the gray of the parrot, the background, and the edge of the base. Again the color game turns in a circle. A mediating point in the triangulation of color-named surfaces and objects – violet, rose, and orange – the parrot stands as a sign of the constitutive game of colors played out in the *Young Woman in 1866*, alias the *Woman in Pink*, alias the *Woman with the Parrot*.

Victorine's accessories always point back to their own referential, indexical function, their job of pointing, framing, and referring both inward to the painting itself and outward to other paintings. Such was very evidently the case of the *Young Woman in 1866*, especially when she was dubbed *Woman with the Parrot* by another critic in 1868:

> The *Woman with the Parrot* was much attacked: M. Manet, who was not able to forget the panic caused several years ago by his black cat in the picture of *Ophelia* [sic], has borrowed the parrot of his friend Courbet, and placed it on a perch next to a young woman in a pink *peignoir*. These realists are capable of anything! The trouble is that this parrot is not stuffed like the portraits of M. Cabanel, and that the pink *peignoir* is of a too rich tone. The accessories even keep us from remarking the countenance; but one does not lose anything by that.[40]

Chaumelin links Victorine through her title attribute to three other paintings: to *Olympia* (whom he calls "Ophelia"), Courbet's painting of a nude with a parrot of 1866 (fig. 73), shown in Courbet's pavilion of 1867, and Cabanel's clothed portraits. Thus he implies a connection to another, more famous image of Victorine. (If the painting itself makes any reference to *Olympia*, it is through another accessory, the nosegay, which, with its attachment to the domain of gentlemanly compliments, gallant gifts, and elegant dalliance, echoes in much diminished form the great, profuse bouquet, that calling card of the client, in the earlier picture.[41]) Chaumelin proposes a different order of quotation from that of *Olympia*, this time from current painting, in the form of an accouterment, directly announcing Manet's rivalry with his model Courbet and indirectly pointing to the relationship between the two men's retrospectives. And by referring to other paintings, the critic inserts the *Young Woman in a Pink Peignoir* (as he might also have called her) into a dialectics of dress and undress, in which color continues to play its part.

Olympia's quotation from Venetian Renaissance painting was a matter both of accessories and the pose of her body, pulled up short out of the voluptuous languor of Titian's *Venus*. The *Young Woman in 1866*, by contrast, is a quotation only by accessory: located completely in the accouterment of the parrot and nowhere in her body, which despite the *peignoir's* suggestion of undress, is lost in its morass of pink paint. Indeed, hers is more a gesture to another painting than a quotation of it. For the two paintings do not resemble one another at all: Manet's figure is upright and the painting vertical where

73 Gustave Courbet, *Woman with a Parrot*, 1866, oil on canvas, 129.5 × 195.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929. (29.100.57).

Courbet's reclines within a horizontal space; Manet's "young woman" is draped from neck to toe while Courbet's abandons herself to ecstatic nudity; Manet's "femme" is pointedly contemporary (so declares her original title) and, despite her blank background, evidently *chez elle*, while Courbet's nude is perfumed with the remote odor of the Orient; and even the parrots of the two pictures differ markedly, the one primly, drably, and vertically perched to the side of its vertical mistress, the other brilliant green, with wings dramatically outstretched, alighting on the beckoning finger of its equally outstretched owner. Finally, for all the grayness of its parrot and surrounding gray tonality, Manet's painting is vividly colored and factured, where Courbet's is a dark, licked-surface *grande machine*. In every way, the *Young Woman in 1866* departs from the painting she refers to; in every way she constitutes a dialectical response to both its thematics and its appearance, defining Courbet's nude as a *pompier* production in relation to the new *nouveauté* of Manet's *jeune dame*. And with its equation of color, femininity, and supplementarity, its response to Courbet's painting substitutes a demonstration of the painter's coloristic vocation and the location of the painter's *jouissance* in the pleasures of paint for Courbet's turning of the "male gaze" on the depicted body of woman, the "female of man," as Baudelaire put it, replacing the baroque Orientalism of Courbet's painting with a more subtle, identificatory otherness.

74 Alfred Stevens, *Young Lady in Pink*, 1866, oil on canvas, 87 × 57 cm. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.

There was another painting besides *Olympia* and the *Woman with the Parrot* with which Manet's *Young Woman in 1866* entered into dialogue. That was an alternative rendering of Victorine, the *Young Lady in Pink* (fig. 74) by Manet's friend Alfred Stevens. Painted likewise in 1866, it had been a hit first in Belgium and then in the Belgian section of the Exposition, where it was shown as part of a series of eighteen "femmes de qualité" extensively described by Thoré, just before Manet showed his painting at his *exposition particulière* and then in the Salon of 1868.[42] In 1866, when Stevens's painting showed up too late to be hung in the Paris Salon, Thoré quoted a Belgian critic at length:

> The *Lady in Pink* is another young woman, standing, in an elegant interior. Her hair, of a chestnut blond, is thick, rebellious to the comb, with the light curls that distinguish the beautiful Venetian women of Paul Veronese; the face is full, with delicate and witty lineaments, and it breathes that familiar grace by which the Parisian woman is recognized; her long, plump, tapering hands are marvels; her toilette is a deshabille of the most fantastic and charming taste. A pink dress, loose and yet flirtatious, like that of Watteau's women; atop it lots of gauze and lace . . . The type is so well rendered that it succeeds in being the expression of a character. One can see, as if through a transparent medium, the situation, the habits, the tastes, the life of the person represented; one discerns all the refinements of a century mad for luxury, all the liberty inherent to elevated social circles, all the natural amiability of a country where woman is queen. Each feature stirs up a whole little world of thoughts.[43]

The next year, Thoré wrote about the painting himself, more briefly, together with the seventeen other color and clothing-identified paintings in Stevens's series, one of which he compared with "the colorist Velasquez." After describing the paintings in detail, Thoré concluded with a curious physiognomic paean to the painted "woman of quality": "You can see very well that what they do is fairly indifferent. Theirs is the life of "women of quality." Smelling flowers, amusing themselves with knick-knacks, putting on their gloves or taking off their jewelry, reading or writing a note, reclining on a divan, looking at the color of the sky, growing restless or dreaming, that is the existence of these lovely ladies. The insignificance of the subjects in these pictures by Alfred Stevens has, therefore, its signification, it is perfectly expressive of aristocratic and even bourgeois society." Thoré, the champion of Dutch painting, cited Dutch painters of the seventeenth century, such as "Terburg, Metsu, Frans Mieris, Pieter de Hooch, Vermeer," as other examples of painters who painted women doing nothing, where the insignificance of their activities was physiognomically signicant, and claimed that "no one paints better than he the fresh and rich fabrics, the cashmeres, the carpets and all the little objects of luxury dwellings . . ."[44]

Stevens's *dame en rose* is much closer than Courbet's *Woman with a Parrot* to Manet's picture in its verticality, its presentation of a figure fashionably clothed in pink, and its presentation of the features of the same female model. Yet it is also different from Manet's painting in its finicky, hyper-detailed rendering of the frills and frippery decorating Victorine's gown, its anecdotal elaboration of luxury and idleness, and its effect of transparency, thus lending itself to the specificities of Thoré's descriptions and his physiognomical emphasis – his theorization of a paradoxical, *l'art pour l'art* physiognomics, in which the Baudelairean aesthetic of modern femininity meets the positivist theory of the *milieu*, and of which the *femme de qualité*, in all her modern uselessness, meaninglessness, and superficiality, and her willingness to turn herself into a luxury commodity like those she handles, is emblematic. But however much the thematization of modern woman, the references to Watteau, Velasquez, Terborch, and others, and the celebration of the colorism of costume tie Stevens's paintings to Manet's, it was impossible for Thoré to describe Manet's painting in the same physiognomic way. Rather, in a much briefer treatment, he located Manet in the camp of the colorists, and complained of the diminishing of the importance of the physiognomy of the *Young Woman in 1866* in the face of the pink facture of her dress, repeating much the same complaint in 1868, when the painting was shown again in the Salon. And indeed Manet distinguished his painterly *tons brisés*, his painterly Velasquez gray and Watteau pink, from Stevens's minute

precision, his constitution of a person in paint from Stevens's reportage. He also distinguished his equation of color and costume from that of Stevens – specifically, his loosely handled "peignoir" for Stevens's "loose and flirtatious" morning dressing gown.[45] The *Young Woman in 1866*'s answer to Stevens's picture, in other words, substituted caricatured Velasquez colorism and overt paintedness for the transparent reproduction, anecdotal repleteness, and stable, readable physiognomics that Thoré so treasured.

And thus Manet differentiated his painting doubly, from two pictures, one of a clothed and heavily accessorized *femme de qualité*, and the other of a naked and barely accessorized odalisque, and from two kinds of finicky, *pompier* colorism. In that way he positioned himself and his painting in a complex field of reference to other paintings, stressing the differentiality of the singularity he put on display in 1867. That within his *exposition particulière* he differentiated also between the *Young Woman in 1866*, the *Fifer*, his other Victorine paintings, and all his other various productions too meant that his singularity came in many different guises, and that it was achieved through differentiation, not just from Courbet's and other people's paintings and painting styles, but also within and between his own. The connection between the latest and one of the earlier of them – the *Young Woman in 1866* and the *Luncheon on the Grass* – was noted at least once more (by the caricaturist Randon in *Le Journal Amusant*).[46]

Too few came to the retrospective, however, and few were the comments about it. Perhaps Manet regretted his refusal to attach his name to Zola's then, for the next year he showed the *Young Woman in 1866* with his portrait of the art critic and naturalist writer.[47] Once again removed from her studio context of differentiation among many pictures of her variable but always recognizable features, the 1866 Victorine who appeared in 1868 now seemed to give the nod to Zola, and agree to his positive view of Manet's singularity. This face of Victorine was selected from the rest in the post-Exposition Salon; according to Zola, this was the feminine face of Manet. But if this face was Manet's *Manette*, in its singular presentation it reduced to one the many Manettes that the Goncourts had allegorized and the many Manets that Manet had displayed the year before. Even the split double style evident in such works as the *Luncheon on the Grass* was woven back together. And after that, the Victorine of many faces, guises, and manners disappeared, to reappear one last time as a nanny (or mother) minding her childish charge in front of the Gare Saint-Lazare,[48] and then to be replaced many times by the image of Berthe Morisot, several up-to-date, but slightly frowsy suburban *demoiselles*, and a series of elegant Third-Republic *demi-mondaines*. It was a turning point: the end of Manet's pitting himself against the museum over and over again, the end of such artist-individuating, Salon-alternative organizations as the Société des Aqua-fortistes and the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, and soon the end of the Second Empire as well. It was also, for a while, the end of Manet's efforts to represent himself monographically.

Part Three

AFTER 1867

Clay's set of concerns are identified with the historical category named "postmodernism." But postmodernism is a rubric put in place by culture critics and historians in order to group together a set of disparate, contemporaneous phenomena in the arts and in the arenas of politics, economics, and culture. And it is a rubric whose logic derives from its dialectical relationship to that which is said to precede it historically, the era designated as "modernism," itself a rubric invented to cover another set of disparate phenomena and used retrospectively to describe a "line" of a hundred years' duration. So it is only if one accepts as a given the historical truth of this periodization and its linear, dialectical sequencing, as well as the internal unity of each of the periods that punctuate the "line" from modernism to postmodernism, that notions covered by the latter category rather than the former will come to seem so indisputably ahistorical.

But no cross-section of the history of cultural discourse was ever as total a shape as that. Like stylistic categories such as "Romanticism," "Realism," and "Impressionism" (into none of which does Manet's art fit very neatly), often treated as chronological sequences describing more or less fixed blocks of historical time, both "modernism" and "postmodernism" are unifying constructs which paper over the divergence of voices, opinions, and cultural products that marks any cut in time and socio-cultural space. It is true, I think, that the discursive configuration that we label "postmodernist" is what allows us to gain some purchase on concerns with which "modernist" criticism either has no truck or that it suppresses; at the same time, however, it is possible to see the seeds of that discursive configuration in any number of cultural statements exceptional in but contemporaneous with what has been defined as early modernism. In the field of contestation that was nineteenth-century French art criticism and aesthetic discourse, one finds not only Hippolyte Taine, Théophile Thoré, Théodore Duret, Emile Zola, and others on the positivist side, but also Baudelaire (and the Goncourt brothers and Stéphane Mallarmé), whose deliberate perversity as an art writer describes a view of the "modern" much at odds with the positivist model, and which, rather than containing the embryo of "modernist" formalism, as positivist art history and criticism does, predicts many of the ingredients of the "postmodernist" attitude – though, within the more dialogical model of historical progression that I am proposing, the "post" in "postmodernist" ultimately makes little sense.

SIX "MLLE V. . . . IN THE COSTUME OF . . ."

1 Zola, "Une nouvelle manière en peinture," p. 95, cited in Chapter Two above.

2 "Une femme sortit d'un cabaret louche, relevant sa robe, retenant sa guitare. Il alla droit à elle et lui demanda de venir poser chez lui. Elle se prit à rire. 'Je la repincerai, dit-il, et puis, si elle ne veut pas, j'ai Victorine.' Victorine Meurend, dont il a fait le portrait, était son modèle de prédilection. Nous montâmes à l'atelier" – Antonin Proust, *Edouard Manet, Souvenirs*, Paris, Librairie Renouard, 1913, pp. 39–40.

3 " L'atelier vit arriver quelque temps après, pour créer la *Chanteuse des rues*, une jeune femme qui va tenir dans cette histoire une place considérable, car elle sera jusqu'en 1875, non sans de longues éclipses, le modèle attitré de Manet: Victorine-Louise Meurent. Elle ne comptait guère vingt ans, en cette année 62, mais on lui en eût donné vint-cinq, tant ses trait se marquaient de gravité. Il est vrai que si le profil était plutôt dur, la face entière démentait cette impression de dureté, une face où vivaient de beaux yeux et qu'animait une bouche fraîche et souriante. Avec cela, le corps nerveux de la Parisienne, délicat en chacun de ses détails, remarquable par la ligne harmonieuse des hanches et la souplesse gracieuses du buste. La poitrine était d'une pâte ferme et fine. D'où venait cette blonde fille? Nous doutons que Manet l'ait rencontrée, comme le veut Théodore Duret, au Palais de Justice, où il aurait été 'frappé de son aspect original et de sa manière d'être tranchée'. Elle n'était pas une inconnue sur la rive gauche. Sur son Carnet de notes et d'adresses, que nous avons, Manet a tracé cette mention: 'Louise Meuran, rue Maître-Albert, 17'. Il s'agit certainement d'elle, qui se faisait appeler tantôt Louise et tantôt Victorine, et c'est précisement rue Maître-Albert, près de la place Maubert, que Manet venait faire mordre les cuivres de ses premières eaux-fortes. Tres fantâsque, elle se piquait d'être artiste et grattait de la guitare. Même, elle dessinait et, plus tard, elle peindra.

Manet la représenta – toile de 1 m.74 × 1 m. 18 – telle qu'elle était, ouvrant de grands yeux hardis dans une face fatiguée. Chapeau toque, mantelet, robe grise. Tenant en main sa guitare, elle serre sous le bras des cerises enveloppées dans du papier, et qu'elle porte à sa bouche. Mais ce n'aurait été là qu'un portrait de genre entre tant d'autres, si Manet ne s'était avisé de donner comme fond à son tableau une salle de cabaret où s'entrevoient des buveurs attablés, l'un de ceux-ci coiffant un chapeau de haute forme, et dos tourné, un garçon en tablier blanc. Signé en bas, à gauche: ed. Manet." – A. Tabarant, *Manet et ses oeuvres*, Paris, Gallimard, 1947, pp. 47–48. See also A. Tabarant, "La fin douloureuse de celle qui fut l'Olympia," *L'Oeuvre*, July 10, 1932; Margaret Seibert, *A Biography of Victorine-Louise Meurent and Her Role in the Art of Edouard Manet*, Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1986; and Eunice Lipton, *Alias Olympia: A Woman's Search for Manet's Notorious Model and Her Own Desire*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1992.

4 Only once did he show a straight portrait at the Salon, and that had not been particularly successful: the portrait of his parents in 1861.

5 "Une jeune femme, bien connue sur les hauteurs du Panthéon" – Zola, "Une nouvelle manière en peinture," p. 95, cited in Chapter Two above.

6 See E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, Princeton University Press, Bollingen Series XXXV: 5, 1960, esp. p. 39 on the "beholder's share."

7 "Toute forme se perd dans ses grands portraits de femmes, et notamment dans celui de la *Chanteuse*, où, par une singularité qui nous trouble profondément, les sourcils renoncent à leur position horizontale pour venir se placer verticalement le long du nez, comme deux virgules d'ombre; il n'y a plus là que la lutte criarde de tons plâtreux avec des tons noirs." – Paul Mantz, "L'Exposition du blvd. des Italiens," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, April 15, 1863, p. 383, cited in Cachin, 1983, p. 106.

8 There is, for example, the later *Argenteuil*, with the "wild twist of tulle" on the woman's hat, "piped onto the oval like cream on a cake, smeared on like a great flourishing brushmark, blown up to impossible size" – Clark, *Painting of Modern Life*, p. 164: I find it difficult to improve on that description, or to substitute other terms for its pastry-chef vocabulary and its summoning up of Roy Lichtenstein's jokey brushstroke paintings.

9 "à droite, une demoiselle de Paris en costume d' *Espada*, agitant son manteau pourpre dans le cirque d'un combat de taureaux . . . Il y a des étoffes étonnantes . . . mais, sous ces brillantes costumes, manque un peu la personne elle-même; les têtes devraient être peintes autrement que les draperies" – Thoré, "Salon de 1863," *Salons de W. Bürger 1861 à 1868*, vol. 1, pp. 424–25, quoted in Cachin, *Manet 1832–1883*, pp. 111–12. Thoré directly linked the three paintings that were shown together in the Salon des Refusés: "Au milieu, une scène de *Bain*; à gauche, un *Majo* espagnol; à droite, une demoiselle de Paris en costume *d'Espada*" (this is the same quote in which he spoke of Manet adoring Spain, cited in Chapter Four above).

10 This is T. J. Clark's observation: see *Painting of Modern Life*, p. 137: "There are *two* faces, one produced by the hardness of the face's edge and the closed look of its mouth and eyes; the other less clearly demarcated, opening out into hair let down." Clark attaches the doubleness of *Olympia's* face to the discourse on prostitution that ran rampant through the critical and caricatural reception of her when she was shown in 1865; I wish, instead, to reinsert *Olympia* into the Victorine series to which she belongs, and to treat her doubleness as an aspect of Manet's probing of the problem of rendering the model's person in paint. My understanding of Manet's *Olympia* depends on Clark's reading of the painting at many points, but it shifts the slant away from the reception of *Olympia* and the question of class, and changes the object of interpretation, from the battle of representations that constituted French culture in 1865, to the painting per se and the logic of the production to which it belongs. That is, my rereading of the *Olympia* is predicated at least in part on the principle of looking at the artist's larger oeuvre – not for its unified, developmental logic or for its expression of the psychology of Manet but rather for its particular series of pictorial fascinations and recurrences. See also T. J. Clark, "Preliminaries to a Possible Treatment of 'Olympia' in 1865," *Screen* Spring 1980, pp. 18–41.

11 Clark has argued that the subversiveness of *Olympia* resides largely in the naked rendering of the body, which he sees as "a strong sign of class" (*Painting of Modern Life*, p. 146), and that the painting's refusal to fit that body to its accouterments and its art-historical references in large part accounts for the critics' reading of *Olympia* as a painting of a low-rung prostitute (rather than the courtesan that her adornment and surroundings suggest), and for their missing the obvious reference to Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (pp. 93–96). But rather than an account according to class – rather than

discovering a proletarian corporeality in Victorine's bluntly painted, discrepant body – I wish to offer a reading of her body, as it is rendered in both paintings, as participating in Manet's serial questioning of the problem of painting personhood.

12 See John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, London, British Broadcasting Corporation, and Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1977, esp. p. 63, for a succinct version of the classic view of *Olympia* as confronting and questioning the role of woman as the object of the male "spectator-owner." On the *Luncheon*, see Anne McCauley, "Sex and the Salon: Defining Art and Immorality in 1863," in Tucker, *Manet's Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, pp. 38–74.

13 On the black servant in *Olympia*, see Sander Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Towards an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth Century Art, Medicine, and Literature," in Henry Louis Gates Jr., ed., *'Race,' Writing and Difference*, University of Chicago Press, 1989, pp. 223–61; Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories*, London, Routledge, 1999, esp. pp. 277–306; and Theodore Reff, *Manet: Olympia*, New York, Viking, and Harmondsworth, Allen Lane, 1976, pp. 91–95. See also Griselda Pollock, *Avant-garde Gambits: Gender and the Colour of Art History*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1992.

14 If I were given to biographical speculation, here I would wonder about Manet's painting of these pictures around the time he married Suzanne Leenhoff (the marriage occurred in October 1863, after the couple had lived together since 1860, when Manet, Suzanne, and Léon moved into an apartment in the Batignolles together). I would also be inclined to speculate about his use of Suzanne's brother as well as his own next to a *fille entretenue*, and particularly about his use of Léon as a model, over and over again. Obviously convenience was an issue – these were the people most available to Manet, whose modeling came cheap. But it seems likely that other considerations may have been at work as well – that Manet may have been, albeit elliptically, working out such things as the ordering of his domestic life, its relationship to his vocational life, the intrusion into the French high-bourgeois home of those alien to it, the exact nature of paternity, and so on.

15 *The Ray* was part of the La Caze bequest to the Louvre in 1869. See John McCoubrey, "The Revival of Chardin in French Still-Life Painting, 1850–1870," *Art Bulletin* XLVI:1, March 1964, pp. 39–53. Fried notes the similarity among the cats in *The Ray*, *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume*, and *Olympia* – *Manet's Modernism*, p. 62, no. 85.

16 On the *Luncheon* as a compendium of the genres, see Fried, *Manet's Modernism*, p. 403. See also Norman Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still Life Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1990, pp. 136–78, on the "femininity" of the genre of still-life painting.

17 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," pp. 487–89, cited in Chapter Five above.

18 See *ibid.*, pp. 360, 374, cited in Chapter Five above. The references to "Titian and Raphael" also resonate with the *Luncheon* by itself, with its quotations of a painting by Giorgione/Titian and of a print after Raphael. Twenty pages later ("Le Peintre de la vie moderne, p. 393), Baudelaire returns to the same theme, this time with a comment about "Winckelmann and Raphael."

19 Anyway, Baudelaire's ideas on femininity were everywhere mediated through the gravure – the pornographic print, the fashion plate, Guys's reportorial images, opposed yet at the same time perversely linked to the high-art museum reproduction. Although the balance of museum reproduction and modern-life rendering was not the same for Manet as it was for Baudelaire in 1863, his presentation of modern femininity was similarly mediated.

20 Moreover, the missing half of Manet's quotation of the *Venus of Urbino* – the background handmaiden – makes her way into the left background of Manet's portrait of Zacharie Astruc of 1866, as if to reinforce the reference to the *Venus of Urbino* ignored by the critics when *Olympia* was shown in 1865, and to index Manet's relationship with Astruc, whose Baudelairean five-line verse had been appended to *Olympia's* title in the 1865 Salon booklet, just as Baudelaire's quatrain had decorated the frame of *Lola de Valence* in 1863.

21 See my essay, "To Paint, to Point, to Pose: Manet's *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*," in Tucker, *Manet's Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, pp. 90–118, in which I treat the *Luncheon on the Grass*, with Manet's other Victorine paintings, as a picture exhibiting the presence and processes of the studio. Svetlana Alpers has remarked, in *Rembrandt's Enterprise*, p. 56, on the similarity between Manet's staging of Victorine Meurent and Rembrandt's theatrical uses of the model. There are many other overlaps, too, between

the practices of the two painters, and between Alpers's and my treatments of them: in both, the studio looms large. However, my approach to the studio is much less anthropological than Alpers's: I have not attempted to reconstruct the social structures embodied in Manet's studio or the conditions surrounding and informing it; rather, I have simply attempted to read the studio's presence in the paintings themselves.

22 See Clark, *Painting of Modern Life*, pp. 93–96, on the fact that all but two of the critics who responded to the *Olympia* either missed or ignored the connection to the *Venus of Urbino*.

23 In 1864, Thoré wrote about the pastiche effects of *The Bullfight* (*The Dead Toreador*) and *The Dead Christ and the Angels*, remarking on the Hispanicism of both paintings, declaring that for the former Manet had directly copied a work by Velasquez in the Pourtalès collection while also recalling Goya, and that the latter was marked with the more general influence of El Greco. At the same time he compared the *Dead Christ* with a range of other old masters that included Rubens and Carracci – Thoré, "Salon de 1864," *Salons de W. Bürger*, vol. 2, pp. 99–100. In 1865, Thoré returned to the same themes, emphasizing *The Mocking of Christ* of that year over *Olympia*, underlining pastiche as the retrograde logic of Manet's practice, and straining to see if pastiche and "original" modernity could thrive together: "Il arrive aussi que pastichant une vieille idée vous êtes entraînés à imiter de vieilles formes et de vieilles pratiques. Si vous peignez Vénus, Diane, Galatée, des nymphes ou des naïades, comment ne pas songer à la statuaire grecque et à la renaissance italienne qui en ressuscitait le style? Si vous peignez des martyrs chrétiens, qui donc a plus cruellement dramatisé la torture et la douleur que les Espagnols mystiques et surtout que Ribera . . . ? /C'est fatal, irrésistible: il ne paraît pas que Manet veuille être pris pour un routinier de l'art pensif; néanmois, ayant eu la malheureuse idée de peindre un Christ dans le prétoir, bon! voilà que cet original copie presque la célèbre composition de Van Dyck! L'autre année, faisant un sujet espagnol qu'il n'avait jamais vu, bon! voilà qu'il copiait le Velazquez de la galerie Pourtalès!" – Thoré, "Salon de 1865," *Salons de W. Bürger*, vol. 2, p. 193.

24 See Cachin, *Manet*, p. 243. The hypothesis that Victorine modeled for *The Fifer* was first made by Paul Jamot, "Manet, 'Le fifre' et Victorine Meurend," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* LI (May 1927), pp. 31–41; while the suggestion that Léon Leenhoff also modeled was made by Tabarant, in *Manet et ses oeuvres*, p. 119. Supposedly, a young boy from the Imperial Guard was also sent to pose for Manet by Commandant Lejosne.

25 Zola, "Une nouvelle manière en peinture," p. 94, cited in Chapter Two above.

26 See Goncourt, *Manette Salomon*, pp. 206, 207, cited in Chapter Three above.

27 Zola, "Une nouvelle manière en peinture," p. 98, cited in Chapter Two above. Zola contrasts *The Fifer* to *The Tragic Actor*, but then immediately segues into the *Young Woman in 1866*, with which he concludes.

28 "En 1866, la note grise sert de fond à diverses figures, au *Fifre* par exemple, qui, pendant quelques années a passé pour un type définitif et un classique. C'est un jeune musicien d'un dessin quelconque, enluminé de couleurs vives parmi lesquelles le rouge du pantalon parle avec audace. Il est appliqué sur un fond gris monochrome: pas de terrain, pas d'air, pas de perspective: l'infortuné est collé contre un mur chimérique. L'idée qu'il y a positivement une atmosphère qui passe derrière les corps et les entoure ne peut pas entrer dans la tête de Manet: il reste fidèle au système de la découpure; il s'incline devant les hardis faiseurs de jeux de cartes. Le *Fifre*, amusant spécimen d'un imagerie encore barbare, est un valet de carreau placardé sur une porte." – Paul Mantz, "Les Oeuvres de Manet," *Le Temps* Jan. 16, 1884; cited in Cachin, *Manet 1832–1883*, p. 246.

29 There are similar shadows cast in *The Tragic Actor*, the *Philosophers*, *Saluting Matador* – all of them referring to Velasquez and all from the same period.

30 See Jacques Lacan, "Qu'est-ce qu'un tableau," *Les Quatres Conceptes fondamentaux de la psychanalyse (Le Séminaire, livre XI)*, Paris, Seuil, 1973, pp. 97–109, on the psychoanalytic interest of pictorial illusionism. See also Richard Wollheim, "The Spectator in the Picture: Friedrich, Manet, Hals," *Painting as an Art*, London, Thames and Hudson, and Princeton University Press, Bollingen Series XXXV:33, 1987, on Manet's blank backgrounds as spaces of projection.

31 Zola, "Une nouvelle manière en peinture," p. 94.

32 *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99, cited in Chapter Two above.

33 "Il y avait . . . une étude de jeune fille en robe rose, qui sera peut-être refusée au prochain Salon. Ces tons rosés sur fond gris défieraient les plus fins coloristes. Ebauche, c'est vrai,

comme est, au Louvre, l'Ile de Cythère, par Watteau. Watteau aurait pu pousser son ébauche à la perfection. Manet se débat encore contre cette difficulté extrême de la peinture, qui est de finir certaines parties d'un tableau pour donner à l'ensemble sa valeur effective. Mais on peut prédire qu'il aura son tour de succès, comme tous les persécutés du Salon. . . . La tête, bien qu'elle soit de face et dans la même lumière que l'étoffe rose, on n'y fait guère attention; elle se perd dans la modulation du coloris" – Thoré, "Salon de 1868," *Salons de W. Bürger 1861 à 1868*, vol. 2, p. 318; cited in Cachin, *Manet 1832–1883*, p. 256.

34 "Cette jeune femme a, dit-on, été peinte d'après un modèle dont la tête est fine, jolie et spirituelle, et ornée de la plus riche chevelure vénitienne qu'un coloriste puisse souhaiter . . . La tête qu'il nous montre est, à coup sûr, flattée en laid." – T. Gautier, "Le Salon de 1868," *Le Moniteur Universel*, May 11, 1868; cited in Cachin, *ibid.*, p. 256.

35 "L'intention de M. Manet était, on doit le supposer, d'engager un dialogue symphonique, une sorte de duo, entre la robe rose de la jeune femme et les teintes rosées de son visage. Il n'y est nullement parvenu, car il ne sait pas peindre la chair." – Paul Mantz, "Le Salon de 1868," *L'Illustration*, June 6, 1868; cited in Cachin, *ibid.*, p. 256.

36 The term is Leo Steinberg's in "The Algerian Women and Picasso at Large," *Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth Century Art*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 189.

37 See Balzac, *Le Chef d'oeuvre inconnu*, pp. 69–70; already cited in the Introduction above. See also Damisch, *Fenêtre jaune cadmium*, p. 26, who ties Balzac's image of the foot emerging from the chaos of the "unknown masterpiece" to Manet's paintings of Victorine: "ce fragment . . . ce pied fasse ainsi retour, *sous la peinture*, à travers les décombres du tableau, là où Manet fera bientôt surgir sous la robe de ses modèles la pointe incongrue d'un soulier."

38 See Jennifer L. Shaw, "The Figure of Venus: Rhetoric of the Ideal and the Salon of 1863," *Art History* 14:4, December 1991, pp. 540–57, on the nineteenth-century maintenance of the opposition of drawing, the fixed ideal, and men's mastery of women, versus color, effeminacy, and the fluctuant, out-of-control bodies of women. Shaw cites Charles Blanc's *Grammaire des arts du dessin* on the association between color and femininity.

39 In his 1867 essay on bullfights in Spain, Zacharie Astruc mentioned the orange as a kind of coloristic emblem of Spanishness: "Des marchands d'oranges trottent dans l'arène, offrant leurs produits . . . Les oranges arrivent, décrivant leurs paraboles dorées . . . Madrid, du reste, est friand d'oranges . . ." – Astruc, "Madrid l'hiver: Courses de jeunes taureux," pp. 547–48.

40 "On attaqua beaucoup la *Femme au perroquet*: M. Manet, qui n'aurait pas dû oublier la panique causée, il y a quelques années, par son chat noir du tableau d'*Ophélie* [sic], a emprunté le perroquet de son ami Courbet, et l'a placé sur un perchoir à coté d'une jeune femme en peignoir rose. Ces réalistes sont capables de tout! Le malheur est que ce perroquet n'est pas empaillé comme les portraits de M. Cabanel, et que le peignoir rose est d'un ton assez riche. Les accessoires empêchent même qu'on remarque la figure; mais on n'y perd rien." – M. Chaumelin, "Le Salon de 1868," *La Presse*, June 23, 1868, cited in Cachin, *Manet 1832–1883*, p. 256.

41 See also M. Hadler, "Manet's 'Woman with a Parrot' of 1866," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* VII, 1973, pp. 115–22.

42 See Peter Mitchell, *Alfred Emile Léopold Stevens 1823–1906*, London, John Mitchell and Sons, 1973, p. 10; William A. Coles, *Alfred Stevens*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1977, pp. xvi, 12; and Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire*, pp. 97–99, 112, 168, 184. Stevens had also been a success in the 1855 Exposition, where his art, like that of the rest of the Belgians, was seen as a subdivision of the French school.

43 "La *Dame en rose* est encore une jeune femme, debout, dans un intérieur élégant. Les cheveux, d'un blond châtain, sont épais, rebelles au peigne, avec ces frisures légères qui distinguent les belles Vénitiennes de Paul Véronèse; le visage plein, avec des formes délicates et spirituelles, respire cette grâce familière à laquelle la Parisienne se reconnaît; les mains longues, grasses et effilées sont des merveilles; la toilette est un déshabillé du goût le plus fantasque et le plus charmant. Une robe rose, lâche et pourtant coquette, comme celle des femmes de Watteau; là-dessus des flots de gaze et de dentelles . . . Le type est si rendu, qu'il arrive à être l'expression d'un caractère. On perçoit, comme sous un eau transparente, la situation, les habitudes, les goûts, la vie du personnage representé; on discerne toutes les recherches d'un siècle affolé de luxe, toute la liberté inhérente aux sphères élevées, toute l'amabilité naturelle à un pays où la femme est reine. Chaque trait remue un petit monde de pensées." – Théophile Thoré, "Salon de 1866," *Salons de W. Bürger*, vol. 2, p. 299.

44 "Vous voyez bien que tout ce qu'elles font est assez indifférent. Elles font la vie des "femmes de qualité." Sentir des fleurs, s'amuser avec des bibelots, mettre ses gants ou ôter ses bijoux, lire ou écrire un billet, s'étendre sur un divan, regarder la couleur du ciel, s'impatienter ou rêver, c'est l'existence des belles dames. L'insignifiance des sujets dans ces tableaux d'Alfred Stevens a donc sa signification, parfaitement expressive des moeurs de la société aristocratique et même bourgeoise"; "personne ne peint mieux que lui les fraîches et riches étoffes, les cachemires, les tapis et les menus objets des demeures luxueuses" – Thoré, "Exposition Universelle de 1867," *Salons de W. Bürger*, vol. 2, pp. 378–81.

45 See Philippe Perrot, *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie: A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth Century* (Richard Bienvenu, trans.), Princeton University Press, 1994, pp. 91–31, on morning *peignoirs*.

46 See Chapter One above, pp. 11–13, 324, n. 24.

47 That year, Thoré stressed the connection between the two portraits, suggesting that what linked them was a way of seeing, a vividness, and an illusion of air circulating through the interior space of each, and a levelling of face, figure, and accouterments, of portrait and still-life functions. He looked back to *Olympia* (identifying her by one of her accessories, as the *Black Cat*), and announced his partisanship with Zola: "Je me risque à dire que M. Edouard Manet voit très bien . . . Manet voit la couleur et la lumière, après quoi il ne s'inquiète plus du reste. Quand il a fait sur sa toile 'la tache de couleur' qui font sur la nature ambiante un personnage ou un objet, il se tient quitte . . . Son vice actuel est une sorte de panthéisme, qui n'estime pas plus une tête qu'une pantoufle; qui parfois accorde même plus d'importance à un bouquet de fleurs qu'à la physiognomie d'une femme, par exemple, dans son fameux tableau du *Chat noir*, qui peint tout presque uniformément, les meubles, les tapis, les livres, les costumes, les chairs, les accents du visage, par exemple dans son portrait de M. Emile Zola, exposé au présent Salon./ Ce portrait de notre confrère Zola, qui écrit sur les arts et la littérature avec une vive indépendance, et néanmoins triomphe de l'animosité des âmes délicates! On ne l'a pas trouvé trop inconvenant ni trop excentrique. On a concédé que les livres, surtout un livre à gravures, grand ouvert, et d'autres objets encombrant la table ou accrochés au lambris, étaient d'une réalité étonnante. Mais le mérite principal du portrait de M. Zola, comme des autres oeuvres d'Edouard Manet, c'est la lumière qui circule dans cet intérieur et qui distribue partout le modelé et le relief./ L'air impalpable, comme nous disions tout à l'heure, il est aussi dans le portrait de jeune femme en robe rose" – Thoré, "Salon de 1868," *Salons de W. Bürger*, vol. 2, pp. 531–32.

48 In the interim between the *Young Woman in 1866* and *The Railway*, the last painting by Manet in which Victorine's features appeared, Victorine had been away in the United States. See Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *Manet, Monet, and the Gare Saint-Lazare*, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, and New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1998, pp. 41–42.

SEVEN MANET, MORISOT, AND THE GONZALÈS AFFAIR

1 Paul Valéry, "The Triumph of Manet (Manet et Manebit)," *Degas Manet Morisot* (David Paul, trans.), New York, Pantheon, Bollingen Series XLV:12, 1960, pp. 112–14. The original French essay, "Triomphe de Manet," in *Manet*, Paris, Orangerie, 1932, pp. XIV–XVI, is quoted extensively in Cachin, *Manet, 1832–1883*, pp. 334–36:

"Avant toute chose, le *Noir*, le noir absolu, le noir d'un chapeau de deuil et des brides de ce petit chapeau mêlées de mèches de cheveux châtains à reflets roses, le noir qui n'appartient qu'à Manet, m'a saisi.

"Il s'y rattache un enrubannement large et noir, qui déborde l'oreille gauche, entoure et engonce le cou; et le noir mantelet qui couvre les épaules, laisse paraître un peu de claire chair, dans l'échancrure d'un col de linge blanc.

"Ces places éclatantes de noir intense encadrent et proposent un visage aux trop grands yeux noirs, d'expression distraite et comme lointaine. La peinture en est fluide, et venue facile, et obéissante à la souplesse de la brosse . . .

"Mais ici, l'éxécution semble plus prompte, plus libre, plus immédiate. Le moderne va vite, et veut agire avant la mort de l'impression.

"La toute puissance de ces noirs, la froideur simple du fond, les clartés pâles ou rosées de la