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**The image of desire: Gender and representation in France from
the Revolution to the Second Empire. (Volumes I and II)**

Solomon-Godeau, Abigail, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1993

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THE IMAGE OF DESIRE:
GENDER AND REPRESENTATION IN FRANCE
FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE SECOND EMPIRE
by
ABIGAIL SOLOMON-GODEAU

VOLUME I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
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1993

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Abstract

THE IMAGE OF DESIRE:
GENDER AND REPRESENTATION IN FRANCE
FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE SECOND EMPIRE
by
ABIGAIL SOLOMON-GODEAU

Advisor: Professor Linda Nochlin

This study identifies and analyzes a decisive shift in the ideology of gender manifest in French visual culture, a shift galvanized by the French Revolution and effectively secured by the middle of the following century. Specifically, I examine the nature and terms by which the incarnation of ideal physical beauty, codified in the notion of the *beau idéal*, was transferred from the masculine to the feminine. Thus, where once it was the perfect male body which served as the vehicle of the most elevated civic and aesthetic values, by the time of the July Monarchy it was the female body that had become the principle vessel of physical and eroticized beauty, a monopoly it has more or less retained to this day.

In the period between the undisputed dominance of the male body--cresting in the Revolutionary moment--and the subsequent hegemony of the female one, there is a

period of transition which is characterized by the appearance of drastically "feminized" masculinities, exemplified by Girodet-Trioson's *Sleep of Endymion* and succeeded by numerous variants. These I interpret as a liminal stage in the transformation of gender ideologies, signaling both the eclipse of an older model of masculinity associated with the *ancien regime*, and the emergence of a new bourgeois model which effectively proscribed masculine exhibitionism and bodily display.

Such a transition, however, involves not merely a substitution of one body for another, but as well, a change in the meanings conveyed by the body. Hence, as the female body became the dominant signifier of and for desire, it ceased to represent elevated public values, becoming instead a figure for modernity, consumption, and sexuality. To a considerable extent, this quintessentially modern construction of femininity is effected through the agency of mass culture, and it is one of the arguments of this thesis that the lithographic production of the Restoration, and from the mid-1840s on, photography, should be understood as constituting the early history--not the prehistory--of mass cultural forms. It is these forms, moreover, that operate to widely disseminate, and in part constitute, modern ideologies of gender.

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Introduction

This dissertation began its life as a study of the representation of femininity and has ended up, several years later, almost equally concerned with the representation of masculinity.

Retrospectively considered, this appears to have been--like most of the cultural phenomena I discuss--a vastly overdetermined transformation. Certainly it seems to be frequently the case that as soon as a period of time is isolated--century, decade or year--the cultural phenomena one is attempting to understand seem to extend ever backward, an eternal regress that itself signals the futility of locating an "origin." Thus the recognizably modern ideologies of gender current in the Second Empire on closer inspection appear to be established in the July Monarchy. But a consideration of what I will be calling mass culture in the period of the July Monarchy in turn suggests an even earlier moment for the consolidation of these ideologies in the later years of the Restoration. Similarly, the intensely chauvinistic masculinity of

1789-1793 seems to be fully anticipated in Cleisthenic Athens. One needs to pull back, of course; such flamboyant time travel in the archeology of gender risks a decontextualizing essentialism or useless overgeneralization. Nevertheless, it is in the very nature of work on the cultural construction of gender, as it is manifested in visual culture, to attempt to link periods (or styles) that the art historian (or historian) is usually more concerned to distinguish. Consequently, the distinctions that are traditionally made between the visual culture of neoclassicism and that of early romanticism (sometimes called preromanticism) dissolve when the object of inquiry is the image of idealized masculinity. I will return to questions of style and periodicity below, but there are several other determinations that seem relevant.

Although I began with the assumption that femininity, as a cultural construction produced within representational systems, could be made the discrete object of analysis, such an assumption was itself belied by my own critical and theoretical apparatus. Which is to say that to the degree that my interpretations of images, literary texts and criticism are informed by psychoanalytic theories of subjectivity, symptom formation, and sexual difference (theories which have

been modified through feminist revision) I must logically consider femininity as a precipitate of masculine fears, desires, and projections. In this respect, if not in others, I am persuaded by those French feminists such as Michèle Montrelay who, in designating woman as "the ruin of representation," signal the absence of women (as empirical subjects) from the designated space of the feminine.¹ In this respect, too, the displayed femininities of romantic ballet, of salon painting, of erotic lithography and pornographic photography are for the most part collective chimera. Hence, whatever correspondences obtain between the lived realities of working-class rat, artist's model--or even the official court beauty--and the fantasia of femininity purveyed in nineteenth-century France are largely adventitious.

That the imagery of femininity was overwhelmingly produced by men for male consumers further suggests that the nature and terms of femininity, however defined, is in no way separable from the vicissitudes of masculinity. Masculinity, however, is no less a cultural construction than femininity, and my reading of the (elite) representations of the male nude in the revolutionary and post-revolutionary period stresses the phantasmatic structures that underwrote both versions.

Interrogating visual culture for what it says about

the formation or transformation of gender ideology has therefore led inexorably to its master term. Perhaps this too is a symptom of infinite regress, just as an examination of the symbolic forms of patriarchy can lead one back centuries or to practices among aboriginal peoples. But in fact, it is also the case that masculinity and femininity are always reciprocally defined; they are instrumental mythologies that are both structurally interdependent and inherently hierarchical. Consequently, the feminized masculinities of the post-revolutionary period take on their significance in relation to meanings that have been already assigned to both genders.

At the same time that the historical consideration of femininity (as opposed to the historical study of women) is in the final instance a consideration of the mechanisms of patriarchy, it is one of my central arguments that large concepts such as patriarchy and gender must themselves be historicized and periodized. Thus, if one strand of the argument appears to orient itself to the overweening determinations of patriarchy in the formation of the cultural Imaginary, another is concerned with the specificity of, for example, revolutionary or post-Thermidorian culture.² Like capitalism, patriarchy is always in crisis, but like the

phoenix--phallic allegory *par excellence*--it rises again, retooled and refurbished for its next historic turn.

From such an optic, the temporal movement from David's bristling Horatii to Girodet-Trioson's swooning ephebe to Flandrin's mummified Theseus irresistibly suggests something like "stations" in the progression of the masculine Imaginary from the heady moment of Jacobin self-fashioning to the specular constraints of *juste-milieu* manhood. Historically, this period marks the transition from the culture of the *ancien régime* to the bourgeois culture of the July Monarchy and with it, the recasting of ideal masculinity. It is, however, precisely this evidence of the change in gender ideologies (even, I hasten to add, if not necessarily for the better) that suggests the shortcomings of a too monolithic or too-static model of patriarchy.

A further determination has been the evolution and development over the past ten years or so of that vaguely-termed entity women's studies (or women studies, or even woman studies). The incorporation of certain aspects of feminist theory (particularly theories of representation) into a broad array of disciplines and methodologies--poststructuralism, the so-called new historicism, sociology, anthropology, ethnography--these latter three the historical "sciences of man"--not only

typifies the interdisciplinarity of feminist scholarship, but its profound epistemological, conceptual, and historical influence. As feminist scholarship has itself broadened and diversified, its insights and formulations, theoretical models and empirical research, have come to infuse--indeed, often inspire--new disciplinary entities: cultural studies, gay studies, *men's* studies.

This latter, which may initially seem a profoundly oxymoronic concept, is in fact an intellectually provocative approach.³ In its most dire manifestations (memorably identified in Elaine Showalter's scathing essay "Critical Cross-Dressing")⁴ the "masculinization" of feminist scholarship can signal the risks of the academic institutionalization of feminist theory, a process in which feminist scholarship becomes an academic end in itself and hence, fully "disciplined." And although it may often be the case that it is only a thin line that separates so-called male feminist research on the construction of masculinity from the fatuousness (and reaction) of the so-called men's movement, the very notion of "men's studies" suggests the contingency and historicity of masculinity itself, and it is in this sense that "men's studies" is another tributary of feminist inquiry.

In this regard, it is a critical commonplace to

note that historical reflection is inevitably couched in contemporary terms; the historical past is thus constantly reinvented. Accordingly, the art historical past that I am considering is molded and shaped by my own historical present and it is this present's new figurations of masculinity that have undoubtedly provoked both my fascination and my recognition of the erotics of masculine display.

All these determinations and considerations have therefore functioned to transform this study from one exclusively concerned with the articulation of modern femininity to one concerned with the more inclusive category of gender as such. Nevertheless, with respect to the ways that the visual production of femininity has shaped conceptions of modernity, femininity must be considered the dominant topos of nineteenth-century French culture. And indeed, one of the most significant features of that culture is the prominence and ubiquity of images of women, both in mass and high cultural forms of expression. Paralleling the production of Venuses, Andromedas, Phrynes, and Odalisques that featured regularly in Salon exhibitions, was a lithographic, and, after 1851, a photographic output whose scale may be justly described as industrial. In quantitative terms alone, the implications of this "media explosion" are

considerable, although there yet exists no book length study of this development in all its media incarnations.⁵ It is a working assumption of my thesis that a central issue within this large-scale image production pertains to the formation of sexual identity within the emerging culture of modernity. More specifically, I am concerned to examine how the production and diffusion of images of women, especially in their mass media incarnations, function to construct and secure new--that is to say, modern--conceptions of gender.

In keeping with those arguments advanced in recent feminist theory and feminist art history,⁶ my thesis is less oriented towards the analyzing of images of women as such, as it is with the historical and cultural implications of what Griselda Pollock has termed "woman-as-image." Such an approach has the advantage of detaching the field of representation from its ostensible referent--real women--and permitting the art historian to better investigate the permutation of the sign, whether graphic or photographic. Insofar as I am focusing on the multiple determinations of the ideology of gender in nineteenth century France, and the way it was given form in visual representation, my approach is necessarily multi-disciplinary. Thus, in taking gender as, in

effect, a disciplinary object, and in attempting to historicize the conditions of its articulation in a specific place and cultural moment, it is neither desirable nor possible to separate it out from the larger set of discursive, economic, and political determinations that collectively shape it. On the contrary, it seems evident that concepts of femininity and masculinity must be understood as mediated by social as well as psychic factors. Accordingly, an investigation of the agency of visual culture in the production of gendered subjectivities must attend to the specific ensemble of cultural, political, and economic forces which collectively determine how, at any given point, gender will be thought, spoken and lived. And since any historical moment is always in flux and mutation, always in a state of becoming, such an inquiry must be equally cognizant of what Raymond Williams distinguished as residual, as well as emergent, forms of culture and identity.⁷

My conceptual understanding of Second Empire France has been greatly influenced by Walter Benjamin's work on the subject, and my political understanding by Karl Marx and later scholars working in a Marxist tradition.⁸ In all these accounts, the emergence of a complex, multi-valent, and fully evolved commodity culture is viewed as

one of the principal shaping and defining characteristics of French modernity, molding consciousness as it restructures and transforms relations of production and social relations. In Benjamin's interpretation of July Monarchy and Second Empire culture, Marx's phantasmagoria of the commodity is enlarged to characterize the fundamental nature of modern, urban life.⁹ The radical dislocation of modernity, the "tremendous shattering of tradition," the alienation of self, and self from other, the colonization of social space, processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization--these are the dominant terms that structure modernity.¹⁰ But where a substantial bibliography addresses these aspects of French modernity, it is only relatively recently that scholars have begun to examine the construction of both gender and sexuality that traverses all these processes. This lacuna is particularly striking in respect to the historical evolution of commodity culture. For the culture of consumption is not only progressively pitched to women as consumers, but includes as well concomitant processes such as the eroticization of the commodity, and the manufacture of desire upon which commodity culture depends. These are, in turn, profoundly implicated in various constructions and mobilizations of the feminine.¹¹ But to date these relations have not been

charted specifically in terms of the widespread circulation of images of femininity and their deployment within the burgeoning commodity culture of mid-century France.

Among the various figures of femininity dispersed throughout nineteenth-century French culture, it would seem as though it is the image of the prostitute--herself a potent symbol of modernity--that has captured, if not monopolized, the attention of most recent scholars. Yet the image of the prostitute occupies only one position on the spectrum of femininity. An exclusive focus on the *discours prostitutionnelle* of the period obscures other avatars of femininity no less instrumental in the forging of modern subjectivities and ideologies of gender. There is still no full-length study of the place and figure of femininity--what might be termed the specularization of femininity--in the visual culture of mid-nineteenth-century France.

At the time of writing "The Legs of the Countess" several years ago, I had thought to approach the construction of femininity in the Second Empire through a primary concentration on its photographic expressions, taking them as a microcosm of ideological production in and through representation. Additionally, I was concerned to explore the conditions and limitations of

self-representation for women. Photography seemed an especially useful model because of its indexical status and, hence, its popular perception (particularly in the nineteenth century) as an image-making technology with a privileged claim to the real. By purveying cheap and readily available images of femininity during the Second Empire, photography--the quintessential realist medium--operated to naturalize the cultural in an apparently seamless way and to effectively disseminate modern conceptions of femininity in a way no other medium could. Furthermore, because photographic practices quickly colonized a representational spectrum that ran the gamut from high art discourses and institutions to the iconographic underworld of hardcore pornography, and all visual uses and markets in between, its very purview was--and is--such as to permit examination of a broad range of sites in which conceptions of femininity are both posited and secured. For both reasons, I had originally intended to limit my study to photographic imagery, but have since broadened it to include lithographic, wood-engraved, and other mass-produced pictures, as well as the loftiest sphere of visual culture; the *tableau d'histoire*. This modification has been prompted for a number of reasons.

To begin with, photographic conventions for

representing the feminine, with some few but important exceptions (e.g. hardcore pornography) depend on already existing prototypes. The circuit of visual dependencies, however, runs in two directions. While much of the photographic production of the Second Empire and Third Republic looks backward to certain forms of July Monarchy lithographic or engraved imagery for motif, pose, and decor these in turn were frequently themselves appropriated from high art models; women at their toilettes, mistress and maid, women in bed and bath--all have numerous prototypes in nineteenth-, eighteenth-, and seventeenth-century painting, as art historians such as Beatrice Farwell have demonstrated. These formulas, extensively taken up in print production, were then subsequently adapted to photography. But while this thematic progression, from high art to mass culture, traces one familiar trajectory, by the middle of the century, the process is just as frequently reversed. Thus, in the work of Courbet and Manet, to take two familiar examples, it is the vulgar (in the sense of commonplace, as well as culturally degraded) photograph and lithograph that is elevated into the discursive sphere of high art, an elevation which may be used for critical purposes. On the other hand, the circuit may move in the other direction; for example, when easel

paintings were engraved for a mass market. To examine Courbet's "Woman With a Parrot" or "A Spanish Lady" in their engraved forms is to see at once how readily they assimilate back into the aesthetically undistinguished image-bank of mass culture. Such imagery, where the figuration of the feminine is only loosely, if at all, operating within conventions of either portraiture or narrative, are part of an iconographic system that functions to secure the equivalence of the feminine with the sexual--an equivalence whose legacy is most clearly seen today in popular film and advertising.

While the unstable and shifting boundaries between high and mass cultural images and forms have been explored by art historians at least since Meyer Schapiro's 1941 essay on Courbet, (and more recently in essays by Thomas Crow, Norma Broude, Beatrice Farwell and Joel Isaacson), the place of femininity--as image--in relation to these practices has received far less attention. Such a consideration prompts further questions about the connections between the visual culture of modernity and the aesthetic discourse of modernism, the latter here understood as a distinctive set of art practices and theories constituted, largely retrospectively, in some relation to the former. And if, as some scholars have suggested, mass culture is itself

discursively positioned as feminine,¹² we may ask too how this inflects the image of femininity contained within it. Finally, if the examination of the formation and mechanisms of mass culture in nineteenth-century France is inseparable from an interrogation of the role of femininity within it, and if we allow that femininity (and masculinity) are in large measure constructed through the agency of representation, a dissertation of this nature needs to examine the imbrication of sexuality and the formation of gendered subjectivities within the visual culture of the period. Consequently, I have organized this dissertation along thematic and synchronic, as well as chronological, lines.

The first section is concerned with what T.J. Clark has termed the "crisis of the nude." For Clark, this crisis is described as an essentially aesthetic one, dating from mid-century and later and turning on the diminishing authority, or conviction, of the "classic" nude, as exemplified by the work of Ingres. There is reason to think, however, that this crisis has broader implications. First, there is the sheer quantity of female nudes produced in the period 1830-1900, a production that itself requires analysis. Originally, the prestige of the nude was contingent on the crucial role of the male body within history painting; its subsequent

shift of gender and its contraction to a genre in and of itself (although there are numerous prototypes) prompts questions about its eclipse.

Second, the hegemony of the female nude in this period needs also to be analyzed and interpreted. In this respect, it is necessary to first consider the "last stand" of the eroticized male nude during the Napoleonic and Restoration years, and attempt to understand the function of paintings such as Girodet-Trioson's *Endymion*, Broc's *Death of Hyacinth*, Guerin's *Iris and Morpheus*, Dubufe's *Apollo and Cyparissus*, and so forth. What would seem to be at stake here are the disturbances provoked in the wake of what J.C. Flugel called the "Great Masculine Renunciation."¹³ In Flugel's interpretation, the emergence and subsequent dominance of bourgeois definitions of masculinity, fostered the repression of male narcissism and exhibitionism, which thereafter were projected into the sphere of femininity. To this eclipse of the male nude, one needs also take account of an expanding notion of the purview of feminine sexuality, which by mid-century was widely believed to entirely determine and define all aspects of the female human being.

Another element to be considered in relation to the crisis of the nude concerns the way that realism--both as

aesthetic theory and a set of practices (including photography and its status as the realist form)-- intersects with and complicates the aesthetics of the nude. Insofar as the aesthetic category "nude" presumes both a transformation and sublimation of the naked human body, the "realist" female nude, so prominent in the work of Courbet, Manet, Degas and Renoir, is fundamentally and profoundly oxymoronic. Thus, for all the putative realism of these artists' rendering of female flesh, none dared, for example, to depict pubic hair.¹⁴

The second part of the thesis examines the relation between images of femininity and modernity. I am especially interested in the way that images of femininity in nineteenth-century French culture can be deployed, on the one hand, to "stand for" a threatening modernity, as in the figure of the prostitute, the *Parisienne*, the working woman, and, by the end of the century, the *garçonne*. But equally, and clearly in some kind of dialectical relationship to it, is an alternative construction of femininity, embodying both a repudiation and flight from modernity, which was couched either in terms of a feminized primitive (or a primitivized feminine) which climaxes, so to speak, in the *fin de siècle* and is perhaps most famously incarnated in the Tahitian work of Gauguin.¹⁵ Thus, if there is any one

obvious conclusion to be drawn from Clark's crisis of the female nude, it is the fact that it is perpetually salvaged, whether in the progressively more salacious incarnations of late nineteenth-century academic painting, in symbolist guises, or in its far more complex resurrections in the art of the historical avant-garde.

These representations too must themselves be factored into the context of mass cultural expression, avoiding the implicit or explicit valorization or condemnation of mass and high cultural forms. Insofar as the disciplinary object is defined as the construction of modern gender, and the critical methods to analyze it derived from recent feminist theory, an exploration of both mass and high cultural forms of nineteenth-century French culture cannot be structured along monographic, aesthetic, or aesthetic/modernist lines. It is my hope and ambition to begin the process of exploring the place of femininity in the convergence of modernity and modernism, and within the visual culture that in complex ways, structures and embodies them all.

The visual production that I examine throughout this dissertation consists of paintings, prints, and photographs. My emphasis on two-dimensional forms of visual production has a certain logic insofar as the chronological compass of this study parallels the

decreasing discursive visibility of sculpture in relation to that of painting. Moreover, the development of modern reproductive technologies (i.e., lithography and photography) logically operated to privilege the dissemination of images rather than sculpture.

Nevertheless, this is an acknowledged lacuna as the immensely influential work of Wincklemann, the towering figures of Canova, and later, Thorvaldsson, and the paradigm of the *beau idéal* are all predicated on the model of sculpture. Furthermore, the particular type of masculine iconography I examine in Chapters One and Two--the androgynous and passive nude--is not only a common type in French sculpture but, as well, is encountered earlier and extends far later into the century than is the case with its painted equivalent. In part, the persistence of this type is attributable to the actual presence of those very antiquities on which the *beau idéal* was based. Further, to a much greater extent than was the case with painting, sculpture was conceived virtually by definition as the depiction of the ideal nude figure.¹⁶ Nevertheless, it seems evident that one can track the shift in beauty's gender through its two-dimensional representations; the durability of the male type in sculpture, moreover, does not really contradict either the terms or the periodicity of my account. A more

inclusive account, however, might well feature an entire chapter on Canova and his patrons, examining the terms by which he so influentially defined both the discourse and appearance of the eroticized ephebic nude.

Some final words need be addressed to the issue of artistic style and periodicity. Throughout this thesis, I have tended to use historical, rather than art historical designations; i.e., prerevolutionary, post-Thermidorian, Restoration and July Monarchy, etc. In part, this has followed from a consideration of the visual artifacts themselves. In other words, to the extent that, for example, the annihilated ephebe is as frequently encountered in neoclassical incarnations as preromantic ones, conventional stylistic categorizations have tended to obscure important continuities and similarities. In contrast to conventional stylistic differentiation, in my reading of post-revolutionary art, Prud'hon and Girodet do not represent opposing camps, but are equally representative of a shared cultural Imaginary. Similarly, to designate the lithographic production of the Restoration and July Monarchy under the rubric of romanticism (even in the more precise terminology of James Smith Allen's "popular French romanticism")¹⁷ is to assimilate it to a philosophy, or an aesthetics, or a sensibility with which it demonstrates only the most

tenuous connections. More pointedly, however, my use of historical rather than stylistic periodizations signals my conviction that the tidal shifts in discourses of gender (which include their visual manifestations) are far more dependent on historical and cultural changes than they are on internal aesthetic developments. While the femininity displayed in Manet's *Olympia* is obviously not the same as that purveyed by Cabanel's *Birth of Venus*, both are recognizable as productions of Second Empire discourses on Woman. Accordingly, the visual (and libidinal) economy of both modernity and modernism is not fully grasped without a consideration of the ideology of gender as it was embodied in both elite and mass cultural forms.

Insofar as these ideologies are, *grosso modo*, with us still, their interrogation has a certain political urgency. But perhaps even more important, investigations of this kind may bring us closer to understanding the agency of visual culture in securing those fantasies of gender which historically it has managed so successfully to naturalize.

1. Michèle Montrelay, "Inquiry into Femininity," in Parveen Adams and Elizabeth Cowie, eds. The Woman in Question (Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1990).
2. The sense in which I use the term "Imaginary" derives from Jacques Lacan. In Lacan's tripartite mapping of the psychoanalytic field, the orders of the psyche are the Real, the Symbolic, and the Imaginary. This latter formulation develops out of Lacan's model of the mirror stage, in which the constitution of the ego is understood as having been cumulatively built upon (specular) misrecognitions of the self and the perceptions of that self as the ego are reflected back by others. The relation of the subject to his or her ego is therefore inherently narcissistic. A cultural (or social) Imaginary is therefore an aggregate representation of the culture's self image. The relevant texts are Jacques Lacan, "The mirror stage as formative of the Function of the I" and "Aggressivity in psychoanalysis," both in Jacques Lacan, Ecrits: A Selection, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1977).
3. See for example, Alice Jardine and Paul Smith, eds., Men in Feminism (New York: Methuen, 1987).
4. Elaine Showalter, "Critical Cross Dressing: Male Feminists and the Woman of the Year," Raritan 3/2 (Fall 1983) pp. 130-149.
5. A few individual books do exist on particular media forms. Studies of lithography are cited in chapter 4. But see as well, Elizabeth Ann McCauley's E.A.E. Disdèri and the Photographic Carte-de-Visite (New Haven: Yale University Press: 1985).
6. For example, Elizabeth Cowie, "Woman as Sign" in Adams and Cowie, Woman in Question, p. 117-133 and Griselda Pollock, "What's Wrong with 'Images of Women'" in Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, eds. Framing Feminism: Art and the Women's Movement (London: Pandora Press, 1987) pp. 132-138.
7. Raymond Williams, Marxism and Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); The Sociology of Culture (New York: Schocken Books, 1982); and Problems in Materialism and Culture (London: Verso Editions, 1980).

8. For example, Marshall Berman, All that is solid melts into air: the experience of modernity (New York: Viking Penguin, 1988).

9. Walter Benjamin, Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Age of High Capitalism (London: 1973).

10. See especially Berman, All that Rises.

11. These relations between femininity and consumption have been explored in such recent studies as; Michael Miller, The Bon Marche: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store (New York: 1981); Rachel Bowlby, Just Looking: Consumer Culture in Dreiser, Gissing, and Zola (London: 1985); Remy Saisselin, The Bourgeois and the Bibelot (New Brunswick: 1984); and Rosalind Williams, Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France (Berkeley, 1982).

12. Andreas Huyssen, "Mass Culture as Woman: Modernisms Other," in Huyssen After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986) pp. 44-62; Tania Modleski, in Studies in Entertainment.

13. J.C. Flugel, The Psychology of Clothes (London: 1955)

14. Courbet's *Origin of the World* is an obvious exception, but its status as a singularly "private" and sequestered image makes it effectively irrelevant in the larger terms of the public construction of femininity.

15. Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Going Native: Paul Gauguin and the Invention of Primitivist Modernism," in Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History (New York: Harper Collins, 1992).

3. Alison West, "From Pajou to Préault: The development of Neo-Classicism and the Sublime in French Sculpture 1760-1830," (Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, NYU, 1985).

1. James Smith Allen, Popular French Romanticism: Authors, Readers and Books in the 19th Century (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1981).

Chapter One

Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation

La grâce, dans les ouvrages de l'art, regarde
principalement la figure de l'homme.
Count de Caylus

La nudité est réputée être une sorte de costume.
Quatremère de Quincy

Somewhere between the last decades of the eighteenth century and the end of the third decade of the nineteenth, the heroic male nude, alpha and omega of academic art practice and foundation stone of history painting--the most exalted and prestigious form in the hierarchy of genres--lost its privileged position *in practice*, to be increasingly eclipsed and supplanted by the female nude. I emphasize this qualification because one of the many interesting contradictions attending this historical shift is the fact that throughout the nineteenth century, the male nude retained its theoretical priority in pedagogy and art theory and its literal primacy in certain highly specific arenas, such

as the yearly Prix de Rome competition at the École des Beaux-Arts.¹ Apart from such institutional preserves, as the century progressed the male nude came to symbolize the obsolescence of academic precepts and values although, as I will argue, the eclipse of the male nude was itself vastly overdetermined.

Be that as it may, a survey of the titles of paintings in the salon *livrets* at approximately ten year intervals beginning in 1793 is sufficient to indicate that even as the total number of works displayed proliferated enormously, paintings featuring the male nude consistently diminished while female nudes figured ever more prominently.² Even more suggestively, whereas male nudes had been traditionally embedded in narratives, their nudity itself a signifier of their ideal and heroic status, the female nude effectively became a genre in and of itself, detached from narrative, myth, or allegory.³ So thoroughly was the male nude supplanted by the female in the course of the nineteenth century and so deeply rooted the ideological shift that both attended, enabled, and naturalized this transformation that even those contemporary scholars concerned with the problematics of the nude tend automatically to assume that the referent for the aesthetic category "nude" is self-evidently the female body⁴. In fact, the female nude, whose classical

lineage is considerably less venerable than the male's, has historically occupied a far more equivocal and unstable position, one, moreover, rarely the object of critical and theoretical justification and commentary until its final and definitive hegemony in nineteenth-century French visual culture.⁵

In seeking to account for the eclipse of the male nude and the ascendancy of the female nude it would be absurd to pretend that a transformation of this kind is ultimately to be explained by reference to internal developments in the history of art, be they stylistic, institutional, or discursive. On the contrary, it is one of my working assumptions that the image of the body is itself a historical matrix, marked and molded in a crucible of social, cultural, and psychosexual circumstance. Furthermore, the image of the nude--a discrete aesthetic category if not, strictly speaking, a genre--is itself a palimpsest of aesthetics and sexuality, locus and producer of cultural and psychic meanings that are themselves inseparable from ideologies of gender.⁶ And while the individual artist's imaginative and formal work of representing is obviously crucial to the appearance of any given image, it must also be acknowledged that artists operate within what Hans-Robert Jauss described as a "horizon of

expectations."⁷ As such, the appearance, meaning, codes, connotations and significance of visual imagery at any given historical moment is jointly produced and received against a background of shared assumptions and conventions with determined boundaries and parameters. In this regard, the thirty-year period in which the male nude was displaced by the female, a period roughly bracketed by the French Revolution and the July Monarchy, is one in which this horizon was gradually, perhaps imperceptibly altered, but as it altered it cast forth symptomatic images of a profound reorganization of sexuality and desire in visual representation.

These include distinctive avatars of masculinity, some of them well known, some of them not, and it is these artifacts that I want to consider as symptomatic of "male trouble"--a crisis in and of representation, precipitated in the wake of revolution and large scale political, social and cultural transformation.⁸ In this reading, the production of imagery featuring retooled iconographies of masculine passivity, debility and distress (in tandem with representations of masculinity that are striking in their feminization and/or androgyny,) are by no means to be considered as purely aesthetic or stylistic manifestations. Which is to say that the crisis of the male nude is itself inseparable

from a wider phenomenon, namely, a post-revolutionary crisis of masculinity, even if one circumscribed by factors of age and class. As Carol Duncan and more recently, Lynn Hunt have persuasively demonstrated, high cultural representations of masculinity may well be implicated in larger political struggles.⁹ By the same token, the body politics of what is traditionally and stylistically designated as neoclassicism or preromanticism are no less ideologically freighted than the explicitly political bodies of the revolutionary moment. And while it has been an assumption of feminist art history that the western easel painting tradition thematizes the sovereign male gaze of possession and mastery (often directed at a female object) there have been relatively few discussions of the dynamics of the male gaze as it falls on beautiful male bodies.¹⁰ In focusing attention, therefore, on the iconographic swan song of ideal masculinity, we must ask what spectator is being addressed (and produced) in these images, and what kind of gaze is being solicited? How is masculinity being discursively constructed and represented and what has happened to the immediately anterior model of virile, stoic manhood? It is with respect to these questions that the history painting of the revolutionary and post-revolutionary decades offers a singular optic, presenting

as it does two highly contrasting (but equally idealized) models of masculinity. In the pages that follow, I am concerned to recover the connotative web within which these images of masculinity were charged with meanings; meanings, moreover, that spanned the public realm of the speakable and as the private, psychic realm of the *non dit*, the unspeakable.

1. The Body Politics of Homosociality

One of the most curious passages in E.J. Delécluze's classic memoir Louis David: son école et son temps¹¹ occurs when "Étienne," the eponymous young student of David, admires the pretty white neck of Mme de Noailles, an aristocratic woman of fashion who has recently entered David's atelier as a student. Observing her as she works, he wonders how David, "ancien ami de Robespierre" has now become "nouveau protecteur des émigrés."

Pensif, il tenait son regard machinalement fixé sur Mme de Noailles, qu'il ne voyait que par derrière. Ses cheveux châtain foncé, entourés de bandelettes rouges à la manière antique, faisaient ressortir la blancheur de son cou, qui était elancé et fort beau. Ce rouge et ce cou blanc frappèrent tout à coup l'imagination d'Étienne, excitée déjà par les réflexions que la visite de David lui avait suggérées, et il lui sembla voir tomber la jolie tête de cette jeune femme. Ce ne fut même qu'en faisant un grand effort sur lui

qu'il parvint a se rendre maitre de l'agitation
intérieure qu'il éprouva en ce moment. (pp 41-42).

He then immediately goes on to recall a day in 1793--29 Germinal, year II of the republic--when as a very young child, he and his mother were caught in the route of a convoy to the scaffold, obstructed by the crowd of spectators pressed between them and the Pont-Neuf. Among the 25 or 30 condemned persons in the wagons, he sees "pour la première et la dernière fois" M. de Laborde, banker to the court, and father of Mme de Noailles.

The associative train produced in Étienne's contemplation of Mme de Noailles is as suggestive psychologically as it is historically. While the latter element leaves open as a question the nature of David's biographic trajectory from radical and regicide to protector of émigrés and imperial court propagandist, the recollection of the Terror serves to instate the political dimension of David's activities that the text will only explore much later. But the implications of the metonymic train that starts with the dark brown hair of Mme de Noailles, and moves from her red bandelettes and snowy neck to the decapitation of her father are perhaps of even greater interest, not merely in the textual contiguity of femininity and death, or, for that matter, sexuality and castration, but in the fact that Mme de

Noailles thereafter disappears from the text, only to be briefly resurrected more than a hundred pages later. In this respect, the abrupt disappearance of Mme de Noailles as artist, or even as amateur, is consistent with Delécluze's treatment of virtually all women artists, which is to say that they have been effectively conjured away.¹²

The elision of women from the atelier of David is by no means an idiosyncratic foible of the elderly Delécluze, looking back on his period as *rapin* from a distance of half a century. Paintings and graphics illustrating David's atelier from the revolutionary or post-revolutionary years (e.g., J. H. Cless, *L'atelier de David*, ca.1804 [fig. 1], L. M. Cochereau's *L'atelier des élèves de David au College des Quatre Nations*, 1814 [fig. 2]) typically show no women in the atelier, neither Constance-Marie Charpentier nor Marie-Guilhelmine de la Ville (later, the Comtesse Benoist), nor Cesarine Mirvault, Angélique Lavol, Nanine Vallain, Mme Mongez nor Aimée Duvivier.

Whatever the reasons for this erasure of the feminine it has a structural equivalent in the contemporaneous silencing and exclusion of women from the public sphere, a process begun under the Jacobin dictatorship and legally formalized with the promulgation

of the Napoleonic Code. I will explore the implications of this historical development further on, but in the context of Delécluze's memoir there is yet another line of inquiry prompted by the treatment of Mme de Noailles; namely, the mechanisms and determinations of homosociality both in the atelier of David, and in the contemporary artistic culture at large. For it will be one of my contentions that the iconography of post-revolutionary painting and the lived social relations of the artistic milieux that produced it are charged with a singular admixture of homosocial, if not homosexual, eroticism accompanied by an anxiety that symptomatizes the "uneven development" of gender ideologies in historical transition.

The sense in which I will be employing the term "homosocial," or "homosocial desire" is taken from Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's groundbreaking study Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire.¹³ As Sedgwick employs the terms, they are as much to be understood politically as sexually; indeed, their utility lies precisely in their integration of both elements. Although Sedgwick nowhere gives a hard and fast definition of homosociality as such, it is clear from her discussion that homosociality describes a network of relationships that are themselves a derivative of

patriarchal social and sexual organization. Citing Heidi Hartmann's definition of patriarchy, "relations between men which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women,"¹⁴ Sedgwick elaborates some of the modalities and circuits by which male power is secured and perpetuated. Drawing upon the triangulated model of desire proposed by René Girard, Sedgwick interrogates the ways in which the woman "between men" may operate as a kind of switching station between the trajectories of male desire. In situations, sites, and relations where no women are present, relations between men are in a sense doubly charged, both along the vertical axis of hierarchy and the horizontal one of peer relations. Homosociality is thus distinguished from homosexuality not because of the absence of erotic liens between men--on the contrary, homosocial relations may be intensely eroticized--but primarily through the shaping agents of explicit homosexual proscription and the accompanying homophobia that functions to enforce it. Thus while certain historical forms of patriarchy, for example, that of classical Greece, may exhibit both homosocial and homosexual structures and relationships, societies that proscribe the latter do not on that account dilute or

mitigate the powerful determinations of the former.

Returning to David's atelier as it is recalled by Delécluze, and with Sedgwick's model of homosociality in mind, we may identify certain aspects of its social organization as conforming to Sedgwick's model. Most obviously, the retrospective erasure of women from Delécluze's account ensures that the various hierarchies, rivalries, factions and friendships described are exclusively masculine and variously articulated in relation to David himself, the charismatic master who structurally occupies the position of father/teacher and (elusive) object of desire.¹⁵ Despite the fact that one of the historically interesting features of the organization of David's atelier was its relative democracy (for example, students drew lots for their positions before the model in contrast to the Academy's traditional system of ranked placement), Delécluze's reconstruction foregrounds the network of homosocial relations that run the gamut from awed hero worship (e.g., the youthful Etienne himself), Oedipal rejection (cf., Girodet's description of his *Endymion*: "ce qui m'a surtout fait plaisir c'est qu'il n'y a eu qu'une voix pour dire que je ne ressemblais en rien a M. David.")¹⁶, to open aesthetic rebellion (e.g., the Barbus or the *penseurs*¹⁷). Relations between students were

occasionally marked by strong rivalry in relation to David; the tensions between Girodet and Drouais, Fabre and Gauffier are cases in point. There were, as well, political divisions between these men. Added to which was the occasional practice of having the most attractive and well formed students themselves pose nude in lieu of the professional model, which one may reasonably assume contributed its own erotic *frisson*, however disavowed.¹⁸

Although one must be cautious about projecting the atmosphere of David's atelier onto those of others', there are enough echoes and resemblances in the memoirs and accounts of other studios--Hippolyte Flandrin and Amaury Duval's descriptions of Ingres', or descriptions of the ateliers of Girodet, Guérin, Gros, Horace Vernet or Géricault--to suggest that the intense identifications, passionate friendships and rivalries between students and masters, enacted in an entirely masculine environment, have some bearing on the nature of the cultural production that was there fabricated.¹⁹ Furthermore, whereas in eighteenth-century art practice, women artists such as Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, and Angelica Kauffmann could and did (although rarely) achieve considerable fame and success, and while important ateliers usually contained some women students among their members, by the post-revolutionary

period, at least some of the most prominent artists, for example, Girodet and Abel de Pujol, were running separate art schools, or separate art classes for women.²⁰ This provides additional support for the perception that there was a trend toward the isolation of women artists contributing to a more exclusively masculine environment in the principal ateliers. In this respect, Horace Vernet's 1821 *Studio of the artist* (fig. 3) is of more than anecdotal interest, depicting as it does a scene more reminiscent of a men's sporting club than the aesthetic and professional space of high culture. Surrounded by the accoutrements of "nature" (a horse, a dog, a doe) and Napoleonic military memorabilia, the assembled artists fence, box, smoke, read the newspaper and make art. Whatever the putative documentary value of the painting as a record of Vernet's atelier, no less suggestive is its Boy's Life ambience, an environment somewhat approximating that of the fashionable men's clubs of the period.²¹ Louis Léopold Boilly's studio paintings too--particularly the 1798 *Studio of Isabey*--are consistent in depicting an exclusively male membership and clubby, *mondaine* atmosphere. Nothing could be further from Henri Murger's July Monarchy evocation of the *bohème* of the artist's studio, with its (heterosexual) romantic entanglements and dramatis

personae of grisettes, seamstresses, and working class female models.

I do not mean to imply that the homosocial structure of artists' studios constituted a particularly dramatic departure from previous or later incarnations. Rather, I am suggesting that the psychosexual economy of post-thermidorian culture (at least in the spaces of art and art production) manifests forms of homosociality inflected, on the one hand, by an increasing segregation and exclusion of the feminine--part of the ongoing masculinization of most social space outside the *domus*, and, on the other, a colonization or an appropriation of it. Both of these interpretive claims will be developed further, but at this juncture it is nonetheless relevant to take note of the homosocial organization of the site of production. Thus, even if it proves difficult to reconstruct historically the psychosexual climate of the most prominent Parisian ateliers, there remains the visual evidence of the paintings that emerged from them. And in this respect, it is the iconographic and/or thematic specificity of the paintings of this period that supports the interpretive utility of Sedgwick's concept of homosocial desire as well as the perception of profound shifts in the symbolic figuration of masculinity.

Leaving open for the moment the connections between the social relations of the studio, those of the culture at large, and the imaginary and symbolic components of the art itself, I want to orient the discussion towards a series of individual works that collectively establish the meanings and terms of what I have designated as "male trouble,"--the symptomatization of a radical instability in the imagery of masculinity in the decades before its resolution. I begin with Ingres' 1801 Grand Prix de Rome winner, Achilles receiving the ambassadors of Agamemnon (fig. 4). The subject of the painting, determined by a committee of École academicians, was by no means a particularly esoteric one; Homeric themes, particularly those drawn from the *Iliad*, were immensely popular at the turn of the eighteenth century. While Homeric subjects had emerged thirty years earlier under the revived state arts administration of d'Angiviller, the Homeric vogue intensified noticeably in the revolutionary and post-revolutionary period.²² Among the most favored Homeric figures were Achilles, Patroclus, Hector and Paris, all of whom figured far more frequently than, for example, Odysseus and Ajax.

These latter two are, however, present in Ingres's painting; it is they who are the messengers from

Agamemnon, accompanied as well by the elderly Phoenix, in front of the two heralds. These emissaries have come to beseech Achilles, seated with his lyre, to return to battle. The *Iliad* in fact begins with Achilles's stormy departure from the field, Agamemnon having taken from him the woman Briseis--part of Achilles' booty--to console himself for the loss of his female booty Chryses.

Chryses has already been dispatched to her priest father, the Greeks having been struck by plague, in punishment of their impiety. Briseis, the object of exchange, who by rights should not be figured in the scene, has been depicted by Ingres as a kind of shadowy phantom; a dim and insubstantial presence in the dark recesses of the tent, witness to sets of relations that in every sense can be described as taking place between men. For it is Achilles and Patroclus, who are compositionally and diegetically coupled, the messengers of Agamemnon with whom they interact, and the background group of four nude warriors observing the scene who constitute the active players, the agents in the narrative. More to my point, and to state the obvious, where Briseis is a cipher of femininity, of minimal interest either to the actors in the scene or, I would submit, to the spectators of it, the erotic interest, the libidinal economy of the picture, is entirely focused on the beautiful bodies of

the men.

One of the reasons that the painting was so well received by the academicians and indeed by many of Ingres's own peers, was its assured demonstration of total mastery over the codes of masculine beauty. At least three distinct body types are being showcased here, as well as Ingres's own erudition as to their significance, an erudition largely based on Winckelmann, fostered in David's atelier and strictly congruent with Davidian practice and theory. The more muscular, virile and articulated bodies of Ajax and Odysseus are closer to Phidian or Polykleitian types and Ajax himself is a more sinewy relative of David's Romulus. The brooding Phoenix is equally conventionalized; in keeping with the aesthetic decorum of history painting, his body is recognizably older than the others' but still quite presentable. Achilles and Patroclus, however, are made of somewhat different stuff; smoother, lissome, graceful, less muscular and whiter-skinned than the others, their pedigree is Praxitelean, and they are closer morphologically to the ephebe than to the mature warrior type as codified by Winckelmann. But it is Patroclus's strikingly exaggerated *déhanchement*--even more than skin color or body proportions--that signals one of the forms by which erotic differentiation could be incarnated in

male bodies. Although far more pronounced than its classical prototypes, Patroclus's pose, the swell of hip and overall presentation of the body alludes to its ephebic prototype which always retained some trace of the eroticism with which it was originally invested. Between men, in other words, there is itself an array of masculinities, ranging from what we might term the feminized masculine to the masculinized masculine, a spectrum that a single artist, such as David or Ingres, could confidently negotiate.

The ethos, the aesthetics, the erotic sensibility of Ingres' Prix de Rome winner is echoed in David's Leonidas at Thermopylae (fig. 5), a colossal painting on which he and his students--Ingres included--worked from 1800 to 1813. Here, the array of beautiful male bodies ranges from the massive-chested Leonidas, whose torso invokes the Belvedere's--to the graceful ephebe who fastens his sandal. Notwithstanding Delécluze's ingenuous assertion that the embracing couple to Leonidas's left represent "a father and son," we are squarely in a universe of homosocial and homosexual relations, one in which, as Alex Potts has described it, "the ideal male body takes over the whole panorama of ideal selfhood in a radically short-circuited economy of identity and desire. He needs no female supplement, or only one that exists

quite apart from the heroic testing ground of the male subject's struggle for freedom."²³ What he further calls the "hysterical masculine monism" of this universe has probably little, if anything, to do with David or Ingres' sexual proclivities, even if they could be known. On the contrary, the ease with which Ingres went from male to female nudity in his career, or David's facility with icons of male or female desirability suggest that an examination of Jauss's horizon of expectation will be more useful in this context than psychobiography. In the discussions that follow, therefore, I bracket altogether the question of individual psychology insofar as I am more concerned with the erotic sensibility of an epoch than with that of any given individual.

The evacuation of femininity, or, alternatively, a heightened emphasis on the erotics of masculinity is given even more extreme expression in two works that precede the *Achilles* and the *Leonidas*; Girodet-Trioson's *Sleep of Endymion* (fig. 6), (painted in 1791 and exhibited in the Salon of 1793) and David's *Death of Joseph Bara*, also of 1793. For Girodet, 19 years younger than David and one of his most valued students, the choice of subject as his *envoi* from Rome was itself remarkable, conceived as it was on the stylistic crest of the uncompromisingly virilized neoclassicism of the

revolutionary period.²⁴ On the other hand, Girodet's desire to differentiate himself from Davidian precepts, if not from David himself, as expressed in his letter to Dr. Trioson, helps to account for the choice of subject and its treatment. For in choosing a mythological subject possessing neither any obvious moral/political/nor ethical exemplarity, and inverting the prevalent model of active and public masculinity, Girodet was presaging a new avatar of desirable masculinity that would subsequently compete with, if not altogether replace, the previous one.

However one wants to account for it, the *Sleep of Endymion*, exhibited two months after the fall of the Gironde on June 2, and just prior to the decree of 5 September making Terror official government policy, was enthusiastically received and immediately established Girodet's reputation, although his later career was subject to distinct ups and downs, relative dry spells, and periodic--perhaps neurotic--illnesses. The painting seems to have occupied a talismanic place for him:

Girodet persistently refused to sell the painting, either to Polish princes for a large sum of money or to the king of Holland, in spite of the honor involved. *Endymion* received the first prize in the concours de l'an VII, and the artist exhibited the painting in practically all the salons throughout his life, using it almost like a commercial sign. Girodet's name became so intimately associated with this work that he did

not hesitate to sign as Endymion in a letter addressed to Gérard."²⁵

However, in terms of the larger problematic of post-thermidorian erotic sensibility, it is equally important to note that *The Entombment of Atala* of 1808 created at least as much of a sensation, one fueled by the immense popularity of Chateaubriand's novel. In a certain sense, where Girodet's *The Sleep of Endymion* illustrates one modality of homosocial desire, *The Entombment of Atala*--the eroticized feminine corpse suspended between two men--can be viewed as its historical, structural and psychosexual counterpart.²⁶ Like *Endymion*, *Atala* inspired a wide range of visual progeny (more than a dozen salon paintings in the twenty years after the novel appeared) in various media. More important, however, *Atala* anticipates what would become a new erotic paradigm of nineteenth-century French culture, displacing the eroticized ephebe Endymion (and his equivalents) as a culturally sanctioned figure of desire.

In addition to the lithographs produced after the painting or based upon the individual figures and heads (a number of versions exist made by Girodet's students Aubry-Lecomte and Chatillon [fig. 7]), Girodet's *Endymion* inspired numerous reprises in the following fifteen to twenty years. As late as 1822, for example, there were

two paintings of the subject in the salon. The *Endymion* (Musée d'Art Moderne, St. Etienne) of Louis-Edouard Rioult (1790-1855) (fig. 8) appropriated as well the device of the moonlight as surrogate for the goddess' bodily presence. Although modestly draped at the groin, Rioult's version is no less eroticized in its spectatorial address. Compositionally distilled to the sleeping youth alone, with its elaborate sfumato effects and Correggesque modelling, it borrows as much from Prud'hon as from Girodet. The engraved version of Langlois' interpretation of the subject (fig. 9) features both the goddess and the amor figure. Although upright, the position of Endymion's head and arms is roughly identical to Girodet's figure, but what is striking in Langlois' iconography is the amor's gesture of unveiling, drawing back the youth's mantle to better display him for the goddess's admiration. These are pictorial tropes whose prototypes are traditionally found either in sacred and religious subjects, especially the display of the child Christ, or conventionally used to reveal the sexualized and desirable feminine, as in so much rococo and Restoration erotica.

Certainly one of the most interesting aspects of the *Sleep of Endymion* is its disembodiment of the female presence--the goddess Diana or Selene; earlier treatments

routinely included her in the narrative. Comparison with rococo treatments of the subject, such as François Boucher's *Diane and Endymion* (1755-1756) (fig. 10), are themselves instructive. Boucher's *Endymion*, for example, despite his milk and rose complexion and silken blonde curls, is given a body that is still closely related to that of the sinewy and muscular model who posed for the initial académie. Although asleep, he is depicted in a semi-upright position, and in fact, I have located no eighteenth-century versions of the subject where *Endymion* is represented entirely supine, body open to the gaze as in Girodet's version. Typically, as in an engraving of 1655 by the seventeenth-century artist Michel de Marolles (fig. 11), *Endymion's* body is positioned in a manner closer to a sitting than a sleeping position and typically too, he is given some attribute of actual or potential agency; in this instance, the arrows he still grasps firmly in his hand. For rococo painters such as Fragonard and Boucher, there appears to be no perceptible difficulty in presenting their *Endymions* or *Cepheles* as deliciously beautiful specimens for visual delectation. On the other hand, in treating a subject in which conventional sexual roles are reversed, they often seem to be attempting a kind of equivalence and balance whereby, despite the narratively motivated passivity of

the shepherd, his body is given some degree of autonomy and self-possession. Similarly, it is often the body of the goddess that is more emphatically displayed so that despite her greater agency there is an effective disarticulation of her power.²⁷

In contrast to such earlier prototypes, however, Girodet chose to evacuate the goddess altogether and in fact, his use of moonlight to signify her presence was considered by the critics of the time to have been one of the painting's happiest and most original features.²⁸ The elision of the goddess, however, ensures that the erotics of looking, exposure and bodily display are exclusively enacted between the two male figures and the implied [male] spectator. Although different versions of the myth exist, and certain among them ascribe a more active role to the shepherd (in one version, he fathers while sleeping, a hundred children to the goddess), Girodet chose to emphasize his passivity. Depicted in a languorous swoon of sleep, Endymion, object of the goddess's desire, becomes in Girodet's version the principal object of the viewer's look. Diegetically speaking, although Endymion should be positioned towards the striking moonlight, he is instead positioned towards the viewer (a familiar pictorial structure for the presentation of the female body) thereby providing

maximal visual access to his limp, marmoreal and attenuated body, a body composed entirely for display. The pose, in fact, predates the final composition and was conceived and fixed before Girodet worked through his conception of the goddess's implied presence.²⁹

Physiognomically, Endymion's head is startlingly stylized; the swelling neck enlarged, the profile strangely compressed. Much attention is lavished on the glossy mantle of curls, limned by the light and touched by a ribbon.³⁰ Finally, and most important, there are two male bodies here; the Amor figure, prepubescent and fully as eroticized as Endymion, gazes directly at Endymion, a surrogate both for the invisible goddess and the unacknowledged spectator. That look, playful and knowing--even salacious--troubles those recent readings of this work (I refer here to Thomas E. Crow's)³¹ that want to recover a political, indeed a Jacobin meaning for the image, but in so doing pass far too quickly over considerations of its insistent--insisted upon--sexual dynamics. Even if one wishes to argue, as does Crow, that Endymion is the symbolic representation of the Ideal, tailored to the needs of Jacobin political discourse, it is still necessary to reckon with the implied relations between Amor and Endymion, which are, after all, what the painting actually depicts. Furthermore, a coherent

reading of the painting must reckon with the accentuated carnality of the figure of Amor, who incidentally invokes a lengthy art history of seductive or licentious ephebes, Ganymedes, amors and angels garnered from classical, renaissance and mannerist prototypes. The oneiric atmosphere of sensual plenitude, moreover, and the erotic self-sufficiency of Amor and Endymion trouble as well an earlier reading by Roland Barthes, who suggested that the painting thematized the aporia of sexual difference, an anxious evocation of castration that made it the apt emblem of Balzac's castrato Zambinella.³² Rather, and as I will argue below, it seems more plausible to read the painting in terms of a fantasy that turns on the desire to escape from sexual difference altogether, evident in the erasure of the primary representative of that difference.

Castration, however, may seem a more obvious term in considering David's *Death of Joseph Bara* (fig. 12), the unfinished third and last of his revolutionary martyr paintings, commissioned by the Convention after the fourteen-year old boy's death in a Vendéen skirmish as part of the propaganda program of the Committee of Public Safety.³³ Like the *Endymion*, the *Bara* seems to have also been a personally significant work for David; it remained in his studio until his death. Whether Girodet's

painting was a primary "influence" on David's astonishing conception of the boy martyr is no more important for my purposes than any other of David's possible sources, for example, the Borghese Hermaphrodite that David knew from his years in Rome (which was later triumphantly installed in the Louvre with Napoleon's other artistic booty in 1798). Unlike the Borghese hermaphrodite, however, much admired by David's contemporaries, Bara has no sex, which is not, of course, to say that he isn't highly sexualized. Rather, it is more to the point to consider the implications of depicting Bara in so emphatically feminized a manner, even to the extent of eliding the genitals, a feminization further accentuated by the opulent curve of hip, the swooning ecstatic face. But like the "hermaphroditic" connotations of Bara's body, his manifest emasculation is not necessarily a visual sign of impotence. As Tania Modleski has suggested, the appearance of masculine weakness and vulnerability may be another ruse of power.³⁴ Thus, the delicacy and vulnerability of the girlish martyr is itself generated from a locus of political power and if nothing else, we can assume that if David indeed intended the work to function in a ceremony of public mourning and patriotism he wished it to be an empowering icon.

Since *Bara* was not a salon painting and thus not

subject to aesthetic (as opposed to political) commentary it is hard to reconstruct the responses of the painting's contemporary viewers.³⁵ For Delécluze, there seems to have been nothing especially shocking about the figure: "Cet ouvrage, que le peintre n'a jamais achevé, est, sans contredit, un des plus délicats qu'il ait faits, et le plus gracieux."³⁶ For P.-A. Coupin, David's biographer of 1827, Bara was simply "un chef d'oeuvre de sentiment et d'expression."³⁷ It is only relatively recently that the sexual and affective specificity of the painting has been directly confronted. Thus, analogously to the way he has argued for the political meaning of *Endymion*, Crow insists that Bara's virginal but violated body can be politically interpreted as the sensual envelope for the utopian aspirations of Jacobin ideology. Approached in such terms, Bara's emasculation is given a quite intentional motivation:

But when it came to the suppression of the genitals--doubly imperative in the light of the mandate that David represent outraged innocence and the special object of a *mother's* love [Crow's italics]--the overall illumination and blonde light deprived him of the device of veiling shadow. David's response was to take the boy's body and break it in two, simultaneously to figure its suffering and to downplay its sex.³⁸

Although I find neither boyish innocence nor mother love a convincing explanation for Bara's emasculation or

his feminization, discussions such as Crow's unwittingly operate to normalize their object, that is to say, rationalize it, while simultaneously presuming its deviance. What is here at stake in the art historical encounter with the *Bara* (and in similar encounters with Girodet's *Endymion* or Guérin's *Morpheus*) is the assumption of an unproblematic or normative model of masculinity against which "perverse" models need be reconciled. This is as much an investment on the part of the interlocutors as anything else. Following the model of feminist interrogations of femininity in representation, it would seem more useful to assume that masculinity is equally a construction, an image, a fiction, a mask and therefore one which is variously inflected by the needs, the desires, the context, and the political unconscious of the moment of its making.³⁹ Thus, while it is certainly true that David's conception of *Bara* fits the propaganda needs of the Committee of Public Safety (for whom dictatorship, the suppression of the *sections*, and not least, the Terror itself, was justified by the plight of a besieged and vulnerable France, threatened by hostile states without and counterrevolution within)⁴⁰, this by no means accounts for *Bara*'s exaggerated feminization. But from whatever vantage one might want to interpret the treatment of the

figure, I think it is far more important to reject at the outset an implicit assumption that the *Bara*, even granted its morphological singularity, is an integrally perverse, i.e. non-normative, representation as opposed to a putative norm represented by, for example, *The Oath of the Horatii*, the *Brutus* or the *Socrates*.

For example, if *The Oath of the Horatii* (1785) is to be taken--as it has been--as a noncontradictory norm in David's oeuvre--David at his most Davidian--much of his other work, *Bara* included, becomes the problem. The hermeneutic task becomes one of reconciling those paintings such as the 1789 *Loves of Paris and Helen* deemed *excentric*, to this norm.⁴¹ And while the perceived contradiction between such paintings and either the revolutionary or the Napoleonic David is certainly in part due to the biographical facts of David's political life, or to the determinations of patronage or specific purpose, the contrast between the masculinist ethos of say, *The Death of Socrates* and the "Anacreonic" universe of *Paris and Helen* is hardly to be indexed to David's political activities or patronage alone. The need to resolve this contradiction is further accentuated by the desire to preserve, if not create, a coherent and satisfying authorial unity. But the figure of Paris in 1789, or of *Bara* in 1794, or the *Telemachus* of 1822

suggests, on the contrary, that the aggressively virilized masculinity of the *Oath* or the *Brutus* should not be assumed as normative, nor, for that matter, paradigmatic. This is not to deny that the latter works are *intended* as paradigms nor to dispute the fact that they functioned as powerful icons of Jacobin manhood--the pictorial incarnation of *le vertu mâle*. Images of heroicized and idealized masculinity operate, obviously, as much on the psychic level of narcissistic identification as they do on the level of homosocial desire, but these investments in the image can be coextensive. In any case, like the "contradictions" that can be identified within David's imagery of masculinity, the ideology of masculinity at any given moment is itself internally divided. Furthermore, in the fulcrum of revolution and counterrevolution, the terms for and of an idealized masculinity are neither fixed nor stable. What I have called the feminized masculine and the masculinized masculine are therefore both available possibilities within the organization of homosocial desire whether simultaneously or alternatively manifested. And subtending their distinctive incarnations in both the revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods is the intensifying masculinization of the public sphere, one of whose justifications was the association of

femininity with the corruption of the *ancien regime*. In other words, the repression of [female] femininity in the symbolic order may promote its reinscription under the aegis of an idealized masculinity. An excessive masculinity, as in the *Oath* or the *Brutus*, and, on the other hand, a feminized version, as in *Endymion* or the *Bara*, are in both cases equally symptomatic of an internalized division within the patriarchal imaginary. What needs to be explained are the circumstances and determinations that variously promote one fantasy of masculinity over the other.

2. Ephebic Masculinity: The Difference Within

Crucial to my claim that an important aspect of post-revolutionary history painting lies in its colonization of sexual difference is the rejection of the absolute singularity of the erotic address of the *Endymion* and the *Bara*. Aesthetic, formal and stylistic issues aside (granted, a lot to put aside), two years before Girodet painted his *Endymion*, François-Xavier Fabre (1766-1837), his fellow pensioner in Rome, completed his *Death of Abel* (fig. 13), which created something of a sensation when it was exhibited in the Salon of 1791.⁴² And while this latter work observes

the codes and styles of Davidian classicism far more closely than Girodet's--indeed, is in no obvious way concerned to subvert them--the dramatically isolated image of a beautiful annihilated male body has more than an adventitious resemblance to later variations on this theme. Furthermore, one might well make the argument that this [relatively] de-narrativized and polymorphously desirable body, distilled to an icon of passive beauty can be thought of as the iconographic ancestor of the nineteenth-century female nude, presaging its characteristic codes of presentation, display, and address.

One of the most strikingly innovative features of Fabre's painting resides in its elevation of an *académie* into a *tableau d'histoire*, an audacious move signaled not only in the reduction of diegetic elements and mise-en-scène within the painting, but by the patch of pubic hair as well. The daring of such a compositional reduction was apparently not lost on his fellow pensioner Girodet and had, in any case, been anticipated by Jean-Germain Drouais with his *Dying Athlete*, 1786, Louvre [fig. 14] and succeeded by others, such as Louis Lafitte (*Dying Warrior*, Salon of 1795 [fig. 15]). David had himself evidenced a tendency to dramatize and animate his academies as in the so-called *Patroclus* of 1778 (Musée

Thomas Henry, Cherbourg [fig. 16]) and the *Hector* (Musée Fabre) of 1778 (fig. 17) whose titles derive not from David, but from later commentators' projection of a narrative that their sense of drama readily implies. Similarly, the earlier work by Drouais and the later one by Lafitte were not only given specific narrative identities (i.e. "Wounded Athlete" or "Dying Gaul") but were as well intensely psychologized, suggesting that the male body is not only, or not merely, the fleshy envelope of the ideal, but an intensely cathected and emotionally freighted representation that exceeds considerably the terms of the conventional *académie*.⁴³ In these respects too, the aggrandisement of the male nude at the expense of diegetic context anticipates and prefigures the female "display" nude of the nineteenth century.

That Fabre should make his official artistic bid in the most exalted realm of sacred history, but with such a minimum of plot and *décor* thus supports the argument that *The Death of Abel* is structurally closer to the female nude of the later nineteenth century than it is to a classical prototype such as Poussin's *Death of Narcissus*. (Interestingly, Poussin's version of the myth includes the pining nymph Echo; later versions, particularly from the neoclassic period, often eliminate her). Detached from the frame of classical antiquity which provided for

the possibility of political or moralizing interpretations geared to a broad contemporary audience, *Abel* occupies a different discursive space from a painting such as *Bara* and furthermore, the spectator addressed by the *Endymion* or the *Abel* is not identical to the one addressed (and constructed) by *Bara*. As a devotional patriotic image, *Bara* was designed to speak to *le peuple*, not to the more elite salon goer or arts administration bureaucrat; its appeal was presumably calibrated for collective rather than individual consumption. Consequently, Fabre's painting operates on a far more subjective, even privatized realm of reception despite its official status and reception (i.e. an obligatory *envoi* from a Prix de Rome recipient, subject to the approval of the academicians and the institution they represented).

Another interesting aspect of Fabre's painting is its departure from the prevalent antique scenography; it manifests a kind of primitivism *avant la lettre* which in a curious way accentuates its atmosphere of revolutionary *chic*. The smoldering "primitive" altar in the wilderness of a (nonetheless) still Claudian landscape provides both the backdrop and rationale for the exquisite young corpse, whose slender white fingers, curled up in death, provide the element of pathos on which the painting's

emotional effect in part depends. Insofar as the other protagonists are absent, the immediate effect of the picture depends on the drama of the lifeless but beautiful male body. In this sense, it manifests its affective similarity to the *Bara*; pathos and sexuality are integrally linked and together mobilize the paintings' affect. Where the absence of genitalia draws attention to the sexuality of *Bara*, in Fabre's painting, the fur between Abel's loins, like a stripteaser's boa, draws attention to what it is supposed to veil.

The tendency to dramatize or implicitly narrativize what begins as an *académie* (as in the examples of Drouais, Lafitte, David and Fabre) is possibly far more widespread than my examples might suggest. Whether or not this is the case, Fabre's model, or Fabre's rendition of the model (he obviously employed the same one in his *Saint Sebastian* [fig. 18] of the previous year) has a certain morphological specificity. While not conforming to the protocols of the ephebic body (the musculature is more developed and articulated--even more so in the *Saint Sebastian*; the ephebic body is generally smoother and delineated or, as French critics routinely described it, characterized by the quality of *moellesse*, the gallic equivalent of the Italian *morbidézza*) it is not exactly a warrior's body either. As

a type, it is finally more closely related to the Praxitelean model of the Apollo Belvedere, although here rendered passive, vulnerable and poignant.

The significance of Fabre's *Death of Abel* is therefore twofold. First, given its date--1789--there is reason to suppose that there may well have been other paintings anterior to the *Endymion* and the *Bara* that give comparable expression to the vision of a superb but powerless male body that is structurally or narratively, if not morphologically, feminized. And second, if we integrate Fabre's painting with a wider discussion of other contemporary works, we may conclude that these works should be approached less as idiosyncratic personal statements by the individual artists Fabre, Girodet and David, or as anticipations of the sensibility designated as "romantic," but rather, as expressions of a collective cultural and psychosexual configuration which these artists were among the earliest to (literally) embody.

It is with respect to this phenomenon that it is especially important to attend to the noncanonical works of the period as well as to related cultural phenomena. For in the wake of *Abel*, *Endymion*, and *Bara*, French history painting provides numerous examples of masculinity which are connotative of effeminacy, passivity, debility, helplessness, impotence, and, at the

same time, charged with an eroticism that is rarely matched in contemporary images of femininity. In designating these visual articulations of masculinity under the rubric of male trouble, and linking them to both the libidinal economy of homosociality and to a specific historical crisis in the evolution of modern masculinity, I do not wish to imply that the trouble they express can be located in their feminization *as such*. To make such an argument would be to assume that the historically anterior model of virile, phallicized and purposeful manhood is somehow more normal, whereas my argument assumes that both models and both ideals are equally fictive and equally conventionalized.

Nevertheless, there is a point at which contradiction can be understood as crisis, and in this respect, the widespread production of imagery of inactive and feminized masculinity following hard on the heels of the revolutionary model warrants such a characterization. Whereas the Jacobin imagery virile, stoic manliness explicitly conforms to its own discourse, the passive ephebes of the postrevolutionary era have no political, civic, or otherwise acknowledged ideological justification. What is at issue here is the contextual specificity of the imagery of disempowered masculinity. Hence the contradiction between the period's official

discursive construction of masculinity and its simultaneous production of imagery that seemingly belies it; hence, the contradiction between a masculinity that is supposed to represent public, civic, and transcendent universal values and an imagery that suggests private, interiorized, and subjective ones; equally, the contradiction between emerging terms of a bourgeois masculine subject position that prohibits that very position--object of the gaze--that much post-revolutionary art appears to promote. The gap between an officially sanctioned masculine subjectivity and the one that appears in, for example, the *Sleep of Endymion*, is thus itself testimonial to dissonance, if not to conscious protest.

It may well be the case that the post-revolutionary treatment of the ideal male nude is itself a liminal phenomenon, incorporating the femininity that is elsewhere being expelled. At the other side of this crisis, by the middle years of the July Monarchy, subject positions are anything but mobile and the representation of gender conforms to and confirms and confirms its discursive rationalizations.

Returning to the painting of the period, one can identify at least two basic categories that present various manifestations of male trouble. On the one hand,

paintings whose relevance to this problematic lie in their narrative content and those where the singularity of their depictions of masculinity are morphological. The first category can itself be organized into three thematic groupings; those that feature role reversals in which the male subject is the passive object of female desire (e.g. Salmacis and Hermaphrodite, Hylas and the Nymphs, Aurora and Cephalus, Iris and Morpheus, and Diana (or Selene) and Endymion; narratives in which the male figure is gravely menaced, wounded, expiring or dead, but not in military or heroic contexts (e.g. Leander, Daphnis, and Mazeppa), and lastly, narratives that are more or less homoerotic in their implications; Apollo and Hyacinth, Apollo and Cyparissus and Ganymede.

The second, morphological category devolves on body type; specifically this is to do with the increasing popularity--and increasing seductiveness--of the ephebe figure itself. Thus, the feminized ephebe could play a sexually active role (as in the enormously popular representations of the myth of Psyche and Amor⁴⁴ (figs. 19 and 20), an entirely passive one, as in Guérin's *Iris and Morpheus* (1811) a purely allegorical role--a genius as in Regnault's *Liberty or Death*, Gagnereaux's *The Spirit of Peace Halting the Horses of Mars* (1794) (fig. 21) or Prud'hon's *Young Zephyr* (1814) (fig. 22), an image

particularly disturbing to modern eyes in its unstable and contradictory sexual address. As one might expect, the figure of Narcissus was popular as well, but since Narcissus had appeared regularly in renaissance, baroque and rococo art, it is more difficult to interpret his specificity in post-revolutionary culture.⁴⁵ But despite their typology these ephebic bodies are themselves erotically differentiated; they range, for example from the prepubescent to the just pre-virile; the plumper juvenile body of the faun, as in Prud'hon's disturbing *Zephyr*, to the more lithe, slender and attenuated forms of Amor or Cephalus.

Addressing the first category--that of a particular narrativization of masculinity (I will treat the latter, morphological category in the second chapter)--it is significant that certain of these narratives, especially Hylas and the Nymphs and Salmacis and Hermaphrodite, were rarely treated previously despite their availability in popular classical sources. The story of Hylas, for example, comes from Apollonius, from the *Argonautica*. Hylas, the squire of Hercules, (his beloved, in Bullfinch's version) is sent to fetch water for his shipmates on the island of Cius. When he approaches a fountain inhabited by the Naiads, they are so overcome by his beauty that they pull him into the

water to be their companion. Hercules vainly searches for his friend and the ship departs without him. In Baron Gérard's version of the subject (fig. 24) (Musée Baron-Gérard) which was intended to be a pendant to his *Daphnis and Chloe*, only one nymph is depicted. Her gesture--forceful, insistent--is contrasted with Hylas's panicked helplessness and disarray. The aggressive nymph is, however, of secondary psychological interest: it is Hylas' face, a scrupulous rendering of Lavateresque *passion*, mixing fear and surprise, that is presented to the viewer; the nymph's face is reduced to *profile perdu*. The pictorial drama therefore resides more in Hylas's distress than the nymph's transgressive violation of his autonomy. In the version by Pierre Jerome Lordon (1760-1838) (fig. 25) in the Musée d'Angers, there are several nymphs involved in this male rape although the victim seems more complicitous. As the three nymphs pull at his arms and billowing cape, Hylas, whose lissome, slender body is that of the androgynized ephebe, gazes meltingly at the nymph who embraces him.

Lenepveu's 1863 treatment of the same subject (fig. 26) (Musée d'Angers) provides a striking contrast to the earlier versions. Here, it is the central nymph whose body is most prominently displayed; one finger hooked into Hylas's clothing, the other fondling his

curls, the nymph has now been metamorphosed into the Second Empire's *lorette* and Hylas has become her foil. Effectively, by the time Lenepveu painted his salon entry, the graceful ideal of Winckelmann and the school of David had been usurped by the re-eroticization of femininity; the erotic focus of the myth has been reversed.

Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, whose story comes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (4:285-388) is an especially rare motif, possibly because it thematically poses the issue of a sexuality neither male nor female, but an amalgam of both. This amalgam--the origin of the mythic hermaphrodite--is itself constituted as a violent collapse of genders, mobilizing, like the myth of Hylas, such culturally transgressive fantasies as male rape, castration, and the elision of difference. In Ovid's version of the myth, Hermaphroditus, the beautiful son of Hermes and Aphrodite, comes upon the spring of Salmacis, presided over by the nymph of the same name. Hermaphroditus is, however, already configured in the myth as androgynous: "...in his face he showed/Father and mother and took his name from both..."⁴⁶ Seized by irresistible desire for the youth, Salmacis offers herself to him and is rejected. Mortified, she hides herself and when Hermaphroditus shortly after bathes in

the waters of the spring, she wraps herself around him, draws him beneath the depths of the waters and prays that they never be parted. The two beings are instantaneously merged, becoming the eponymous hermaphrodite. The spring is thereafter associated with softening, emasculating properties.⁴⁷ Although rare, there were other treatments of the subject through the Napoleonic and Restoration periods. François Joseph Bosio, for example, sculpted a *Salmacis*, exhibited in the Salon of 1819, a pendant to his 1817 *Narcissus* (sans nymph).

That myths such as Hylas and the Nymphs or Salmacis and Hermaphrodite gained currency in the post-revolutionary period is itself suggestive of a shift in erotic sensibility. Insofar as the *Metamorphoses* had served as an artistic breviary from the Middle Ages on, the adaptation (or neglect) of its various myths raises the question of why, at any given time, a subject from Ovid is given currency or not.⁴⁸ Admittedly, Salmacis and Hermaphroditus was almost as rarely treated in the post-revolutionary period as in earlier ones. In this respect, there is some justification in considering its appeal specifically in relation to Girodet's own aesthetic and psychological orientation. Nevertheless, while the myth itself was rarely treated, post-revolutionary culture evidences a clear fascination with

the blurring of sexual boundaries. For example, in pornographic literature, Faublas was one of the most popular texts of the epoch (there is also a substantial amount of "Faublasian" visual pornography); it features, as does much pornography, a beautiful young man disguised as a woman. Fragoletta, by Henri de Latouche, was an immensely popular novel of the period which recounts the career of a beautiful hermaphrodite who loves both a sister and brother and surely influenced Balzac in his Sarasine and Séraphita (Latouche, in addition to being an occasional art critic--an enthusiastic Davidian--was Balzac's first publisher) and was likely an influence on Gautier's Mademoiselle de Maupin.⁴⁹ With this additional context provided, and given the widespread appearance of other role reversal myths such as those of Aurora and Cephalus, Diana and Endymion or Iris and Morpheus--subjects for which there were numerous prototypes in baroque and rococo painting--it seems evident that narratives expressing a feminization of the masculine protagonist spoke to neoclassical sensibilities in a quite unprecedented way.⁵⁰

Pierre-Narcisse Guérin's (1774-1833) two pendant paintings of *Aurora and Cephalus* (1810, Louvre) (fig. 28) and *Iris and Morpheus* (1811, Hermitage) (fig. 29) are perhaps the most extreme examples of both the iconography

of role reversal and the morphological effeminacy of the male figure.⁵¹ That contemporary critics found what to our eyes seem remarkably androgynous male figures by no means shocking or disturbing can be attributed either to the workings of self-censorship or repression, or, alternatively, as an index of their acceptability, indeed their appeal.⁵² Cephalus in particular is given a strikingly effeminate appearance; while as dependant as Guérin's *Morpheus* on the prior example of Girodet's *Endymion*, Cephalus is given a plumper more undulant body which floats weightlessly on its billowing cushion of clouds. While Cephalus floats horizontally, unconscious and inactivated, Aurora springs up, pushing back the veil of night, while gazing languidly down at the supine body beneath her. With her hubcap breasts, metallic curls and enameled face, Aurora is a somewhat alarming presence, but it is worth noting too that while the painting's narrative content concerns a sexual role reversal, and where the body of Cephalus is radically feminized, Guérin has also phallicized the figure of Aurora whose taut and upright body can be read as a displacement of the potency that Cephalus lacks.⁵³ A preparatory drawing (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes) (fig. 30) makes this even more explicit. Holding a limp hand in hers, Aurora not only appears to surmount the unconscious Cephalus, but to be

poised to mount him as well. Guérin's preparatory studies for the painting (figs. 31 and 32) indicate how he progressively feminized the initial *académie*; the bony structure of the mandible in the drawing becomes rounded and fleshy in the painting, the pectorals are smoothed out to a waxy planar surface, the flexed right arm repositioned not only to enable the putto to grasp the hand, but to expose the torso as well.⁵⁴

In Guérin's *Iris and Morpheus*, both figures are nude, the Iris given the doll-like features and chic coiffure of Gérard's *Psyche* of 1798, the Morpheus figure positioned (as with Girodet's *Endymion*) towards the spectator rather than towards the goddess. Like the iconography of Cupid and Psyche, highly stylized versions of masculine and feminine desirability are put on display, consistent with a libidinal economy that, as I am suggesting, while privileging the erotics of masculinity, is equally able to purvey its feminine analogue. Here again, contemporary critical commentary deploys a highly conventionalized language that gives no hint that such imagery constitutes a dramatic departure from either earlier prototypes or from more typical representations of gender: ("Céphale livré au sommeil est mollement étendu sur un nuage, paraît s'élever doucement vers les cieux...La figure de la déesse est svelte et

gracieuse...La composition du tableau est pleine de goût, le dessin en est correct, les carnations en sont brillantes..."etc. etc.⁵⁵). On the other hand, when one encounters criticism written in a spirit of strong partisanship and with enthusiasm, criticism that can fairly be called Winckelmannian, it is clear that the voluptuousness and sensuality of Guerin's male figures could be openly celebrated:

C'est ce bon sens, vivifié par un sentiment poétique, ennobli par un goût élégant et pur, que je trouve et qui me charme dans les compositions de M. Guerin: il y a de la raison, de la poésie et de la beauté dans son tableau l'Aurore enlevant Céphale; le beau chasseur endormi est porté sur des nuages; ses bras, l'un pendant, l'autre soutenu par un petit Amour pleine de grâce, annoncent bien l'affaissement du sommeil; au dessus de lui s'élève la figure svelte et céleste de l'Aurore, qui écartant des deux mains les voiles de Nuit, laisse tomber sur le jeune homme les fleurs dont elle a l'heureux pouvoir de parsemer la terre. Je ne connois rien de plus beau que Céphale: sa tête penchée conserve au milieu du sommeil une expression de noblesse et de douceur; ses cheveux sont arrangé avec une négligence pleine de grâce; son corps offre une réunion admirables des beauté juvénile et des formes héroïques. Ici le nu n'étoit point déplacé: l'artiste, loin d'en profiter pour livrer à des détails d'anatomie faciles à étaler sur une poitrine qui se présente en face, a fondu, adouci, mariée avec un sentiment exquis, les articulations et les muscles dans la rondeur à la fois pleine et nerveuse des chairs: point de mollesse, rien d'indeterminé; mais point de dureté, rien de tranchant ni de pénible; ce sont des beauté mâle et des graces féminines: cela rappelle le Méléagre, l'Hermaphrodite...⁵⁶

I quote at length to demonstrate that what can seem (and could in fact actually be) an erotic investment in the

male body can also be a rhetoric, a form of literary speech, that is highly conventionalized. Between the Scylla of Davidian "dureté" and the Charybdis of Prud'honian "mollesse," the post-revolutionary art critic, imbued with the *beau idéal*, could find in Cephalus juvenile beauty and heroic forms harmoniously joined.

In contrast to the sharply differentiated and enameled forms of Guérin's version of the myth, Pierre-Claude-François Delorme's treatment of the subject (1822, Musée Municipal, Sens) (fig. 33) is organized to produce a softer, more tender, more patently emotional effect, one further reinforced by the darker, shadowy palette and diffused and mysterious lighting. In this respect, Delorme occupies that segment of post-revolutionary painting that was critically identified with the school of Correggio (*sfumato*, eroticism, "painterly" effects, etc.). Prud'hon was, of course, the most notable representative of this revivalist style, but many of its adepts, like Delorme himself, had been students of Girodet.⁵⁷ In keeping with the more explicitly emotional address of such works, Cephalus is posed Pieta-like on the lap of the goddess who cradles him tenderly while surrounded by a bevy of putti. The figure of Cephalus derives more than a little of his physiognomy and body type from Girodet.⁵⁸ Like Girodet's *Endymion* too, the

head of Cephalus was separately lithographed in larger than life size.⁵⁹ That these beautiful male heads were produced as lithographs is a likely index of their popularity; presumably lithographers purchased the rights to make and sell such images only if they had some idea of their likely success in the print market. In this instance as in the many other examples of mythic role reversals produced after the revolution, the image of an unconscious and seductive youth suggests that Laura Mulvey's famous formulation of femininity as to-be-looked-at-ness is no less applicable to these highly charged icons of passive masculine beauty. It is precisely this aesthetic/erotic economy--the androgynous and graceful male subject displayed for the gaze--that constitutes one of the most distinctive topoi of post-revolutionary art. These topoi, moreover, are as much in evidence within those stylistic formations that modern art history equates with neoclassicism (linear, archaizing, influenced by Pompeii and Herculaneum) as with those designated as preromantic (painterly, expressive, individualistic, psychologized, etc.). However useful such designations might be for formal or descriptive purposes, they have nonetheless functioned to obscure what I am arguing constitutes a thematic unity of psychosexual preoccupations that render problematic or

explicitly reverse an ideology of masculinity that revolutionary discourses collectively promulgated.

In this respect, it is especially useful to consider an oeuvre such as Girodet's in its entirety. In much the same way that the "preromantic" sensuality and introversion of *Endymion* is at once succeeded by the strictly Davidian *exemplum virtutis* of *Hippocrates Refusing the Gifts of Anatarxes* (1795), so does Girodet's Flaxmanian style manifest in, for example, his drawings for the Odes of Anacreon (figs. 34 and 35) or the Loves of the Gods coexist with the dramatic chiaroscuro and emotionalism deployed in his illustrations for the Didot editions of Virgil and Racine (fig. 36).⁶⁰ In other words, the increasingly diversified stylistic options available to artists of this period and their ability to negotiate these ostensibly opposed pictorial rhetorics should not obscure the cultural bedrock that consistently underpins the work of artists irrespective of their individual politics, affiliations, formations, and psychologies.

The second thematic grouping within the category of narrative are those that are quite literally expressive of male trouble. Garnered from classical, renaissance and romantic sources, this is an iconography in which beautiful young men are variously drowned (e.g.,

Leander), wounded by arrows (e.g., Médor), blinded (e.g., Daphnis), frighteningly menaced (e.g., Mazeppa) or simply dead (e.g., Atys, Agis, Patroclus, Hector, and Abel). With the exception of Plutarchian or Homeric heros, in almost none of these instances are the mortal wounds, tragic deaths, or menacing situations the consequence of military or heroic actions; rather they are the poignant dénouements of doomed love paralleling the historic shift from an aesthetic discourse of public and civic values to a more eclectic and multivocal one that included, if not privileged, a variant form of sensibility, typified by the ubiquity of *sujets gracieux*. Encompassing different stylistic affiliations, and deriving from different ateliers with their particular pedagogies and aesthetic philosophies (David, Guérin, Girodet, Regnault, Gros), one common denominator is the troping of pathos. In other words, the psychological address of paintings such as Jean-Pierre Franque's *Angelique and Medor* (1822, Musée d'Angers) (fig. 37)⁶¹ or Jean-Joseph Taillasson's *Hero and Leander* (1798, Musée de Blaye) (fig. 38) or Jacques-Louis Michel Grandin's *The Blinding of Daphnis* (1804, Nice, Musée des Beaux-Arts) (fig. 39) are in all their particulars distinguishable from the virile manhood--dead or alive--that characterizes the revolutionary period.⁶² In this respect, the death by drowning that figures in

the stories of Hylas, Leander, and (in a certain sense) Hermaphroditus is a highly suggestive motif; such deaths, given the traditional feminine associations of water, imply an extinction of self in a regressive return to the maternal body. Indeed, certain artists, such as Delorme in his *Hero and Leander* or Jean-Nicolas Laugier (1785-1875) (fig. 40) in his *Death of Leander* portray the hero's death as a near-ecstatic abandonment to the element.⁶³ While there is some temptation--and more than a little justification--to read these images of masculine surrender through the prism of their political moment (e.g. the repression and eventual repudiation of radical Jacobin aspirations; the failure of the sans-culottes uprisings of Ventose Year II and Germinal and Prairial Year III; the new political order of Empire, etc.), this is but one tributary to these new articulations of masculinity. For whatever the relation between the prevalence of images of feminized and annihilated masculinity and the political mutation from republic to empire (and the stages between), such images must be considered in a dialectical relation to their immediate predecessors--the virile and purposeful manhood of the revolutionary moment, which in turn must be considered as a departure from the cult of sentiment and *sensibilité* associated with prerevolutionary culture.

The third and last thematic in the narrative troping of feminized masculinity is the explicitly homoerotic subject, exemplified by Jean Broc's *Death of Hyacinth* (1801, Musée Sainte-Croix, Poitiers) (fig. 41) and Claude-Marie Dubuffe's *Apollo and Cyparissus* (1821, Musée des Beaux Arts, Avignon) (fig. 42), Jean-Pierre Granger's version of the same subject (Salon of 1817, Museum der bildenden zu Leipzig) (fig. 43). Girodet (or a follower) also painted a version of the subject (Musée d'Angouleme) (fig. 44), exhibited in the salon of 1817. Other artists who depicted the subject include Claude-Marie Dubuffe (Salon of 1822) and Merry-Joseph Blondel. Sculptors of the myth include François-Joseph Bosio (Salon of 1812) and Charles-Antoine Callamard (Salons of 1812 and 1814). There were also numerous depictions of *Ganymede*, such as Granger's 1812 version (Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux Arts) (fig. 45)⁶⁴. While Broc's painting is self-consciously primitivizing in its stylistic construction, alluding to Peruginesque prototypes with its high-keyed color, relative flattening of the figures and decorative linearity (deemed "Etruscan" by a number of the salon critics)⁶⁵, Dubuffe's remains recognizably within a neoclassical framework (the Apollo himself a two-dimensional translation of the Apollo Belevvedere). This is equally the case with Granger's *Apollo and*

Cyparissus, whose Apollo is likewise modelled on the same source. That said, all painters chose rarely illustrated subjects from Ovid that unabashedly presented the male loves of Apollo, orchestrating the pathos of the dying ephebes with the meltingly tender ministrations of the sun god. As with the circulation of the Endymion figure, once an artist had established a successful new version of the subject, it was frequently subsequently appropriated for the same or a related narrative.

Granger's Apollo and Cyparisse, for example, was clearly modelled on Broc's *Death of Hyacinth*, even though he has rejected Broc's *Barbu* stylistics. Consistent with most of the salon commentary on paintings depicting sex role reversals, critics did not demonstrate any particular discomfort with an explicitly homoerotic subject.⁶⁶ By the Restoration, however, certain critics such as Kératry were beginning to distance themselves, if not specifically reject, from the more blatantly effeminate interpretations of the male nude.⁶⁷ Suggestively, his rejection of the feminized masculine was founded on the insistence that the natural difference between the sexes be strictly observed in the interests of good morals.

Although sodomy laws had been repealed in the

constitution of 1791, as part of the general abrogation of existing ecclesiastical legislation, this does not mean that homosexuality (in the modern sense of the term) was particularly tolerated, much less sanctioned. On the contrary, Jacobin discourse regularly evokes the specter of effeminacy and its corollary corruption in denunciations of the *ancien régime* and its associated evils. On the other hand, it is not at all clear whether effeminacy necessarily designates, or even connotes, homosexual behavior; needless to say, homosexuality is a modern, i.e., late nineteenth-century concept. In the late eighteenth century, there exists pederasty and sodomy--even tribadism--but these concern activities, not essences or identities. But on the basis of the visual culture of the period, it seems clear that the representation of erotic love between men, at least in its antique and literary manifestations, was both acceptable and pleasing, either in its feminized ephebic version, or in its more machiste and martial guise (e.g., Achilles and Patroclus). Girodet and Prud'hon were exceptional artists in many respects, but part of their critical and commercial success was due to their skill in fashioning icons of desire that played with visual codes

of sex and gender, undoing the fixities that had been so conspicuous a feature of the revolutionary moment.

The engraved and lithographed versions of Girodet's "antique" female nudes are in this regard especially interesting. For example, a lithograph by Aubry-Lecomte after Girodet's original (fig. 46) depicting a sleeping bacchante reposing on a leopard skin plays with both feminine and masculine allusions. In the same position as Endymion, but reversed, she too is struck by moonlight, which illuminates her upper torso and face. The leopard skin is the same as in the Endymion; effectively, Girodet has made a feminine equivalent of his dreaming shepherd that seems intended to recall its male prototype. A black chalk drawing of another bacchante, also on the leopard skin (fig. 47), evokes the Borghese hermaphrodite. But in a third work--another Aubry-Lecomte lithograph (fig. 48), Girodet has remarkably anticipated the kind of upscale pin-up of eroticized femininity associated with Achille Devéria and other lithographers of the restoration and July Monarchy. Even more apposite is the production of engraved or lithographed imagery in which the "elevated" iconography of antiquitized ephebes yields to a modern-day

equivalent. In Aubry-Lecomte's *Young Neapolitan Shepherd* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes) (fig. 49), for example, a pretty Italian boy napping on the ruins of the classic world (indicated by the fragments of columns on which he reclines) makes clear reference to Girodet, but must nevertheless be understood as an index of the transformation of the motif into a broader and more popular syntax. One might say the same even for engravings such as Vinchon's Cyparissus (fig. 50) which retain the antique narrative, but are likely geared to a less elite audience. In this regard, print culture operated both to disseminate the critically lauded works in the salons (as in the engraved version of Gérard's *Psyche and Amor* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes) (see fig. 20) or could generate its own, more "modern" versions of these themes and subjects.

Imagery of this kind brings us to a consideration of the nature of that overarching cultural formation within post-revolutionary culture that has traditionally gone under the designation "Anacreonism."⁶⁸ In its most specific sense, this refers to the vogue for that aspect of classical literary culture concerned with pastoral, romantic and erotic themes; the revival of sixth-century

poets such as Bion and Moschus; the great appeal of texts such as the Abbé Barthélémy's Voyage of Young Anacharsis; new editions of Ovid, Pausanias, Apollonius, Longus's immensely popular The Loves of Daphnis and Chloe, etc.⁶⁹ but especially, the vogue for the sixth-century poets Sappho and Anacreon. The popularity and influence of these texts on the visual culture of the period should not be underestimated. For example, Les Voyages d'Anténor en Grèce et Asie, manuscrit grec trouvé à Herculaneum translated into French by E.-F. Lentier, (Didot l'ainé 1798) was reprinted no less than sixteen times between 1798 and 1823. It contained an engraving representing Sappho hurling herself from the rock (a subject of which no less than eleven painted or sculpted versions appeared in the salons of 1802, 1806, 1812 and 1814). Modeled on the equally popular Voyage of Anacharsis, it became a much-used source book of themes and subjects for artists of the period.

Anacreonism is, of course, the stylistic derivation of Anacreon whose popularity after his eighteenth century revival continued through the mid-nineteenth century,⁷⁰ acknowledged even by Gautier and Baudelaire, both of whom wrote homages to the poet.

Although Baron Gérard, A.-E. Fragonard and Prud'hon, among others, all illustrated Anacreonic themes at various times, it is Girodet who is the artist most closely associated with the poet's neoclassical revival in visual culture as well as the revival of other pastoral poets.⁷¹ In addition to illustrating the Firmin Didot edition of the Odes, as well as illustrations for Les Amours des Dieux, Girodet himself composed poetry in the Anacreonic manner. As a pastoral poet, Anacreon's themes are essentially bucolic, romantic, and sensual, but more to the point, they are sexually polymorphous; within the cycle, the poet addresses himself to both male and female lovers. Ode XXIX, "Sur Bathylle," and Girodet's accompanying illustration (fig. 51), produced in his Flaxmanian style (lithographed by Chatillon) provides some notion of the nature of Anacreon's appeal.

Peins-moi le portrait de mon jeune ami, de
 Bathylle,
 comme je vais te le décrire. Que sa brillante
 chevelure,
 dont la sombre noirceur se dore à l'extrémité,
 retombe
 naturellement en boucles onduyantes; que son
 sourcil,
 d'un noir bleuâtre, orne son front gracieux et
 tendre
 comme la rosée; que son oeil, à la fois fier et
 serein,

participe de Mars et de Vénus, et inspire aussi bien la crainte que l'espérance. Donne à sa joue rosée et véloutée l'éclat des plus beaux fruits, et fais, s'il se peut, que l'on y entrevoie cette rougeur qui sied à la pudeur. Quant à sa lèvre, je ne sais comment tu pourras t'y prendre; il l'a tendre, pleine de persuasion; enfin, dans la peinture, que le silence soit éloquent. Après avoir peint le visage, fais en sorte que son col d'ivoire surpasse en blancheur celui d'Adonis. Sa poitrine et ses bras doivent être ceux de Mercure; ses jambes, celles de Pollux, et son corps, tel que celui du jeune Bacchus. Enfin, que tout en lui dévoile les désirs à cet âge heureux des premières amours. Mais que ton art est jaloux! Il se refuse à nous montrer ce qu'il y a de plus parfait: le dos de Bathylle; quant à la grace de ses pieds; je ne saurais te la décrire. Le prix que tu a fixé t'est bien dû; prends-le. Mais voici un portrait d'Apollon, dont tu pourrais, en le transformant, faire celui de Bathylle; du même que, si tu allais à Samos, du portrait de Bathylle tu pourrais faire celui d'Apollon.⁷²

The relations implicit in the poem are those between the *erastos* and the *eromenos*; the older, more powerful man and the youthful object of his desire.⁷³ These were entirely conventionalized relations in classical Athenian culture, fully codified by the fifth century B.C. and as well known to French artists as they were to Winckelmann. In Girodet's illustration, the artist is positioned as the mediating figure between the adult and the beloved youth. While the poet prompts the

artist to produce the image that will speak his desire, Love himself in the person of the winged putto collaborates in its production. Ode XXIX appears to have been particularly popular among critics and artists; Winckelmann makes reference to it in The History of Ancient Art Among the Greeks, and both Kératry and Droz allude to it as well.

In a more general sense, however, Anacreonism refers to the continued enthusiasm for all things Greek that by the last years of the eighteenth century had significantly replaced the previously dominant preoccupation with Republican Rome, a shift paralleled by the revival of Racine and the relative eclipse of Corneille.⁷⁴ It is further associated with the prevalence of romantic, or erotic subject matter as opposed to civic or martial themes:

L'alexandrinisme est pour nous, dans un sens très large, le goût de la mythologie gracieuse, tendre et voluptueuse, et par conséquent de la forme jolie, jolie souvent jusqu'à la manière. L'inspiration en vient de la Grèce d'Orient, soit de celle d'Anacréon de Teos et de Sapho de Lesbos, qui vivaient au VI^e siècle, soit des époques hellénistique et gréco-romaine, où domine l'esprit proprement alexandrin.⁷⁵

Predictably, this shift in taste and sensibility has been attributed to the cultural influence of feminine

power, patronage or proclivities:

Naturellement, c'est chez des femmes surtout que sévit la contagion; Canova, Chinard, Prud'hon, sont les favoris de Mme de Groslier, Récamier et Régnault de St.-Jean d'Angely. Gérard exerce sur elles une égale séduction. Pour Mme Talien il peint en 1804, en dix tableaux que grava Potrelle, des Amours qui figurent le Départ, et l' Arrivée, l' Attaque et le Succès, le Regret et le Repos... En somme, par toutes ses tendances, l'alexandrinisme est féminin. C'est la femme, qui a retenu l'art de l'empire sur la voie où l'entraînait, tambour roulant, le triple caporalisme, militaire, romain, et davidien.⁷⁶

The assertion that the "contagion" of Anacreonism is the direct reflection of feminine patronage is, of course, extremely questionable (This is, of course, a familiar claim found in considerations of rococo art and what is judged the problematic influence of women patrons). In fact, the paintings, (as opposed to book illustrations and interior decorations) that comprise a substantial part of this stylistic and/or thematic phenomenon are salon paintings--i.e. commissioned by no one; for the most part, they were purchased by the state after their exhibition, and while women like Juliette Récamier or Josephine Beauharnais did commission individual artists--occasionally on an important scale, few of them were patrons on the level of, for example, the Count Sommariva. During the Empire, the power of patronage

outside of the Napoleonic court itself was largely concentrated among the newly wealthy *fournisseurs* and the important financiers of the Empire.⁷⁷ The charge of effeminacy and decadence in post-revolutionary art, for which the influential women of the Directory, Consulate, and Empire are held accountable, operates to obscure the far more complicated issue of the appeal of these themes and treatments to a male audience and to male patrons. Likewise, the conventional art historical explanation of the profound differences between the art of the revolution and that which succeeded it is largely based on the assumption that the former "reflects" the progressive and manly values of 1789-1793, while the latter "reflects" the reactionary politics of Thermidor, and the exigencies of Napoleonic patronage. What tends to be elided in such accounts is not only the ideologically productive role of visual representation, but more specifically, the many shades of meaning and significance in the shift from the fantasy of Republican Rome to that of Hellenistic Greece. A third interpretation of the shift, suggested by Diane Kelder, views the defection from the "philosophic" and explicitly republican values of revolutionary art as following from the failure of the

revolution to sustain and enlarge the civic faith that provided an alternative to religious and sacred subjects.⁷⁸ But while this accounts for the demise of the stoic and patriotic imagery of the 1780s and early '90s, it doesn't account for the specific features of Anacreonic production, particularly its erotic subtexts.

In this respect, there is reason to think that this literary and iconographic replacement of Republican Rome by ancient Greece as a locus of fantasy and desire is inadequately explained by invocations of the primitivizing and purifying urges of French neoclassicism, or the politics of Thermidor. Republican Rome, so prominent in the imaginary of revolutionary culture, signifies not only the *vertu* of masculinity and the masculinity of *vertu*, but as well, a construction of masculinity that is closer to Rambo than, say, to Alcibiades. Which is but another way of saying that one of the associations of Greece was, of course, "Greek love"--an association entirely familiar and available to artists of the epoch. In one sense, Greece stands to Rome as feminine to masculine, but Greece itself could be internally gendered; the warlike Sparta of Rousseau and St. Just's desire operating as the masculine counterpoint

to the feminized Hellenism of Anacreon and Longus. In its most general configurations, however, where "Rome" signified the heterosexual casting of homosocial desire, (its later "effeminacy" associated with the corruption of empire) "Greece" could represent, nowhere more memorably than in David's *Leonidas at Thermopylae*, an idealized vision of both. Acknowledgement of the internal gendered divisions within these fantasies of ideal male societies provides an interpretive schema by which the distinctive qualities of the works I have discussed begin to make sense. For the cultural fantasies that seem to be given form in these paintings are either those in which the feminine is conjured away altogether--as are women from Delécluze's memoir or the goddess Diana from the *Sleep of Endymion*--only to be reinscribed and recuperated *within* a masculine representation, or, alternatively, through diegetic role reversal, the masculine is repositioned so as to occupy the conventional place of the feminine. In either case, the motifs and thematics of post-revolutionary history painting--whether stylistically categorized as neoclassical or preromantic--reverse, even refuse, the terms of the intensely virilized masculinity hypostatized in revolutionary discourse and iconography.

More suggestively, these narratives and the morphologies of idealized masculinity suggest a colonization of femininity, so that what has been rendered peripheral and marginal in the social and cultural realm is effectively incorporated within the compass of masculinity. This incorporation of femininity has several implications. On the one hand, it permits for the psychosexual "monism" that Potts described in David's *Leonidas*, thus lending support to the argument that the feminized masculinities of post-revolutionary culture represent the ultimate flight from sexual difference and are, if anything, the logical extension of the "real" historical event of women's expulsion from the public sphere. Alternatively, one could venture that insofar as it was the artists, writers, and poets who gave form to these socially symbolic articulations of masculinity, their artistic expressions reflect their own changing status in the emerging free market of cultural production. Lastly, one could claim that the resurgence of a poetics (and erotics) of feminized masculinity represents a repudiation of a previous model of masculinity that is not only experienced as oppressive, but more important, no longer conforms to the needs of a new or changing

collective imaginary and symbolic order.

In this respect, it is interesting to refer back to the prerevolutionary cult of *sensibilité* and the *âme sensible*, the models of ideal masculinity promoted by writers such as Richardson (Clarissa Harlowe was translated into French in 1751; Sir Charles Grandison in 1777), Bernardin Saint-Pierre, and most famously in the figure of Goethe's Werther (translated into French in 1776).⁷⁹ As for Rousseau, it would be difficult to overestimate the extraordinary influence of Rousseau's own mythic self representation, and the astonishing identifications it provoked, within both pre- and post-revolutionary culture.⁸⁰ Saint Preux especially provided an immensely appealing model of ideal masculinity, one that was considered by readers (of both sexes) to be an alter ego of Jean-Jacques himself. in Richardson's novels and in Goethe's Werther "La sensibilité devint la vertu de l'honnête homme, et le goût de la morale, de la rêverie, de la nature, en furent les signes. Mais à ces sentiments, dont les mœurs, les idées, les croyances nouvelles, les modes littéraires avaient enrichi l'âme française, il manquait encore d'être réalisés en des types, populaires: ce fut l'oeuvre de Rousseau."⁸¹

Although elements of prerevolutionary *sensibilité* remained part of the cultural environment of the nineties, largely through the legitimating and mediating presence of Rousseauism, one of the shaping determinations of revolutionary culture was its uncompromising repudiation of that aspect of *sensibilité* associated with the feminine. As Dorinda Outram has argued, the revolutionary veneration of exemplary Stoic figures (e.g., Cato and Brutus) implies, among other things, an overthrow of a once-shared (by men and women) emotional universe of affect:

What is also at stake in these stories is the physical and psychic autonomy of the male actors. And this takes us back to the point that the struggle for the new political body of the revolutionary 'Stoics' was also a struggle for psychic autonomy. This was a struggle against *sensibilité* in all forms, and in particular against the fusion of subject and object, reaction and occasion, which was its hallmark and which women, contemporaries felt, displayed in such high degree. What the Revolution did was decisively to force the abandonment of the *sensibilité* which had united men with women in their reactions to novels, to drama, and to real-life events in the late eighteenth century. Men and women had sighed and wept together over the novels of Rousseau, Richardson and Goethe. Now that kind of reaction was confined to one sex only. Whatever 'feminization of the public realm' had been accomplished before 1789, by these means were decisively reversed after 1789.⁸²

Accordingly, the post-revolutionary reappearance of

literary and iconographic manifestations of sensibility and sentiment, of sensual, erotic and homoerotic themes, and most significantly, the phenomenal popularity of Chateaubriand's René (1801) and its literary progeny in the successive production collectively expressing the *mal de siècle* lend support to two interpretive formulations. On the one hand, these "soft" masculinities of neoclassicism and preromanticism may represent a return of the repressed; a cultural reinscription of that part of masculinity foreclosed in the revolutionary period. It is as though the very excess of the prior model of Jacobin *vertu* engendered its own antithesis whereby the repression and denigration of the feminine, the puritanical rejection of the erotic, returns in the culture of Thermidor and Empire but in a form of classicizing drag. On the other hand, when the iconographic expressions of male trouble are integrated with literary productions that similarly thematize masculine debility, impotence, distress and failure to take an effective, active (and procreative) role in society, it seems possible to argue that the roots of male trouble in its representational arena lie in a crisis of masculinity itself, a crisis both generally

historical in the sense of the *longue durée* (i.e. the delegitimation of the aristocratic model of manhood and the birth pangs of the refurbished bourgeois model), and specifically historical in terms of the new economic and political realities of Empire and Restoration. For as Margaret Waller has argued, "the malady (*le mal*) that is said to characterize an entire age (*le siècle*) afflicts only the male segment of the population...the *mal de siècle* novel recounts a son's alienation from the patriarchal status quo as a tragic tale of male disempowerment."⁸³ Whereas Pierre Barbéris and other scholars of literary romanticism have seen its texts as indices of the economic and class dislocations and conflicts attendant on the rise of the bourgeoisie and the new social relations of capitalism, Waller has persuasively demonstrated the equal importance of sexual politics within these texts. The problematic masculinities of René (or Constant's Adophe, Senancour's Oberman, Stendhal's and Musset's Octaves, Balzac's Félix, etc.) are therefore symptomatic not only of the uncongenial political and professional realities of the Restoration period, but as well, of a profound uncertainty about the nature and terms of masculinity

itself. The official and elite visual culture of this period thus presents a Janus aspect; in one sense, its designated cultural "work" is to give expression to a public, institutionally sanctioned, and elevated statement of ideal masculinity; in another sense, it cannot but manifest the internal contradictions, the fissures, the difficulty of a cultural fantasy that is as much subverted by external circumstance as it is by its psychological impossibility; this latter, as I will argue, devolves upon the denial of sexual difference. For insofar as revolutionary discourse worked to exteriorize, contain and expel a femininity deemed inimical to the free and autonomous expression of masculine subjectivity, it may be seen to have reappeared--symptom-like--in the culture's most exalted and prestigious representations of the masculine.

This "symptomatic" eruption of the feminine within ostensibly masculine imagery is obviously more evident in some artists work than in others, but it seems especially prevalent in the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century. Guérin's pendant portraits of the Rochejaquelein brothers--heros of the Vendéen counterrevolution--provide a good example of how the

feminine may be covertly inscribed within the most "manly" themes and subjects. The earlier of the two paintings, *Henri du Vergier, Comte de la Rochejacquelein*, salon of 1817 (Musée Cholet) (fig. 52), depicts the wounded count in the midst of battle. On his left and behind him are two fighting Vendéens, musket and pitchfork poised in such a way that the left edge of the painting consists of a ladder of weapons, starting with de Rochejacquelein's pistol and descending to the points of the bayonets and then to the wielded musket and pitchfork of the fighters. On the right and behind the count is the standard bearer, evidently in the act of planting the billowing white flag--vive le roi--of the counterrevolution. In the background and along the edges of the hill they mount is the fiery glow of battle fire and above, the massing clouds of smoke and dust. In the midst of this manly world of warfare and weaponry is La Rochejacquelein himself, whose delicate porcelain features and silken blonde curls, white sash, rose ribbon and tight yellow trousers operate to transform the rough soldiers behind him and the furor of battle into a scenic backdrop altogether unrelated to his graceful and elegant figure. Quite suggestive here is Guérin's attentiveness

to his crotch: defying anatomical verisimilitude, two separate bulges are carefully delineated, and may possibly be interpreted as an (unconscious) compensation for the lapidary prettiness of the hero himself. Flanked compositionally by flagpole, and a bristling network of bayonets and musketry, La Rochejacquelein remains nonetheless a kind of pin-up to whom the martial masculinity of the painting refuses to attach.

In the later portrait of *Louis du Vergier, Marquis de la Rochejacquelein* (fig. 53), the image of combat, and indeed the Vendéen fighters themselves, have become even more disembodied and distinct from the hero. As doll-like and prettified as his brother, the marquis, looking towards his right, gestures to the dark and indistinct clump of soldiers. Given the ghostly flag that floats above them and their decorporealized depiction, one may surmise that Guérin intends an allegorical commemoration of the defeated Vendéens rather than an actual battlefield representation. But whether allegory or (contemporary) history painting, here too one finds on the body of the hero the marks of femininity; specifically, the vagina-like fold above the right thigh, cohabiting, as it were, with the sword and scabbard.

In the work of Guérin and in that of so many of his contemporaries, the male spectator can be said to have it all ways; the culturally sanctioned universe of male vertu and beauty, but leavened, as it were, with a femininity both contained, interiorized, and incorporated. To identify signs of femininity's inscription upon or within the male body is one thing, to interpret the reasons for such an inscription is another. On the most fundamental level, the task of understanding why such feminized masculinities become prevalent in the post-revolutionary period is inseparable from the task of excavating the symbolic system in which ideal masculinity is both agent and vessel of the patriarchal imaginary.

NOTES

1. For example, of all the winning Prix de Rome entries from 1793 to 1863, most of which feature nude or partially draped male figures, there is only one painting depicting a female nude, Jean-Jacques Henner's 1858 *Adam and Eve finding the body of Abel*. See in this regard Philippe Grunhech's indispensable Les Concours des prix de Rome: 1797-1863: (Paris: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1986).

2. While a survey of this type is necessarily approximative, deduced from the titles of paintings alone, the evidence is nonetheless overwhelming. In the Salon of 1793, of 627 paintings exhibited, there would seem to be 20 paintings featuring male nudes and 13 featuring female nudes. In the Salon of 1814, of 970 paintings exhibited, 24 male nudes, 26 females.

3. Obviously bathing, dressing and undressing, preparation for the toilette, etc, can be considered a form of narrativization, providing a rationale for the nude itself. This is very much the case for the "realist" female nude of the nineteenth century where a realist alibi is required to justify the nudity in the first place. However, the sense in which I distinguish the earlier narrativized nude is to do with the protocols of its context; i.e. religious or classical myth and history, in which the character's nudity is altogether conventionalized and expected.

4. For example, one finds in Liam Hudson's study Bodies of Knowledge: The Psychological Significance of the Nude in Art, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1982) the following: "My text contains more female bodies than male bodies. This results not from leering chauvinism, but from historical fact...ours is a culture in which it is predominantly women's bodies that have been used as a symbolic means of expressing desire." (p. 7). This is, of course, one of the central arguments in John Berger's Ways of Seeing (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972). The automatic assumption that the nude is primarily female is also found in Marcia Pointon, Naked Authority: The Body in Western Painting 1830-1908, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Of the standard references on the subject, only Kenneth Clark gives the male body equal

time; The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956).

5. In Greece, no sculpture of a female nude appears before the sixth century and is quite unusual in the fifth. "So rare are nude figures of women in the great period of Greek art that to follow the evolution of Aphrodite before Praxiteles we must not look for absolute nudity..." Clark, The Nude, p. 119. Even more important, the overwhelming number of tracts, traités, pattern books and theoretical and critical disquisitions on the nude are predicated on the ideal male body. Winckelmann, for example, or his most influential exegetes in France--Quatremère de Quincy, Eméric-David, Kératry, Chaussard, Joseph Droz, etc., have very little to say about the female nude.

6. In her introduction to Naked Authority, Pointon argues that the nude as such has never been theorized as a genre. This is true insofar as French classical art theory posits the idealized human (read male) figure as the most important element within a history painting which, of course, is a genre. One might also argue that in the form of the *académie*, however, the nude does achieve generic codification. For the theorization of history painting and the role of the nude within it see the following: Jean Locquin, La Peinture d'histoire en France, (Paris: H. Laurens, 1912); Renssellaer W. Lee, Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967), Nicholas Pevsner, Academies of Art: Past and Present, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), Andre Fontaine, Les Doctrines d'art en France: peintures, amateurs, critiques de Poussin à Diderot, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970); François Benoît, L'Art français sous la révolution et l'Empire (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1975).

7. Hans-Robert Jauss, "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory," New Literary History 2 (1970) pp. 7-37.

8. The term "male trouble" is borrowed from a special issue of Camera Obscura 17 (May 1988), concerned with (contemporary) male subjectivity, including the sexual persona of Peewee Herman. For my purposes, the usefulness of the term lies in the way it brackets masculinity itself, enforcing the recognition that it is not only

femininity that is constructed (or subverted) within representational systems.

9. Carol Duncan, "Fallen Fathers: Images of Authority in Pre-Revolutionary French Art," Art History 4 (June 1981) pp. 186-202; and Lynn Hunt, "The Imagery of Radicalism," in Hunt, Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1984) pp. 87-119.

10. The work of Alex Potts, to whose work I am deeply indebted, is a conspicuous exception. See especially the important essay "Images of Ideal Manhood in the French Revolution," History Workshop Journal 30 (Autumn 1990) pp. 1-21.

11. E.J. Delécluze, Louis David: son école et son temps, (Paris: Editions Macula, 1983).

12. Delécluze provides a list of David's students through the year 1816, but only last names are given. Without additional research one cannot determine how many of them were women.

13. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

14. Sedgwick, Between Men., p. 3.

15. In a thoughtful and provocative critique of Thomas E. Crow's essay "Revolutionary Activism and the Cult of Male Beauty in the Studio of David" in Bernadette Fort, ed., Fictions of the French Revolution, (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1991), Whitney Davis points out that rivalries within David's studio are not about pairs, but triangulated: "(Exactly why Drouais should be ideal, rival, and obstruction [for Girodet], however, remains unclear so long as Crow considers the circuit of relations in binary pairs, David-Drouais, Drouais-Girodet, Girodet-David, and so forth; instead of the irreducibly triadic, "Oedipal" circuit itself.)" See Davis, "The Renunciation of Reaction: On Thomas Crow on Girodet's Sleep of Endymion," unpublished manuscript, p. 4.

16. "Enfin, on n'a pas été mécontent de ma besogne; ce qui m'a surtout fait plaisir, c'est qu'il n'y a eu qu'une voix pour dire que je ne ressemblais en rien à M. David." Letter dated Oct. 24, 1791, cited in P.-A. Coupin, Oeuvres Posthumes de Girodet-Trioson, suivie de sa correspondance, (Paris: Jules Renouard Librairie, 1829), vol. 2, p. 396. In an earlier letter to Dr. Trioson, Girodet described the project thus: "Je fais un Endymion dormant; l'Amour écarte les branches des arbres auprès desquels il est couché, de manière que les rayons de la lune l'éclairent par cette ouverture, et le reste de la figure est dans l'ombre. Je ne crois pas la pensée mauvaise; quant à l'effet, il est purement idéal, et par conséquent très difficile à rendre. Le désir de faire quelque chose de neuf et qui ne sentît pas simplement l'ouvrier, m'a peut-être fait entreprendre au-delà de mes forces; mais je veux éviter les plagiats." Ibid., p. 387.

17. See especially George Levitine, The Dawn of Bohemianism: The Barbu Rebellion and Primitivism in Neoclassical France, (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978) and the two essays on Maurice Quai and the Barbis by Charles Nodier in Délécluze, David.

18. I have not been able to determine if David's women students joined the men working from the male model. In Délécluze's account Mme de Noailles is entirely separated from the other students, only Étienne shares her work space. In the absence of information, I would suspect that women students did not draw from the nude model.

19. On Ingres's studio see Amaury-Duval, L'Atelier d'Ingres, (Paris: Bibliothèque Dionysienne, 1924); and Henri Delaborde, ed., Lettres et Pensées d'Hippolyte Flandrin (Paris: Plon, 1865); On Girodet's atelier see Jean Adhémar, "L'enseignement académique dans l'atelier de Girodet," Bulletin de l'art français ancien et moderne, 6 (1933) pp. 123-159.

20. The standard modern sources for information on women artists and women artists' relation to academic training are Linda Nochlin and Ann Sutherland Harris, Women Artists 1550-1950 (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1976); Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981) and

Germaine Greer, The Obstacle Race (New York: Farrar Strauss Giroux, 1979). On Girodet's school for women artists see J.-L. Bruel, "Girodet et les dames Robert," Bulletin de la Société d'histoire de l'Art français (1912) pp. 76-93. A painting by Adrienne Marie-Louise Grandpierre Deverzy depicts the atelier of Abel de Pujol in which women artists draw from a fully clothed female model. In 1803, Mme Frère de Moutizon opened an École Gratuite de dessin pour les jeunes filles, which was supported by the state. Although there was, at the start of the century, some lobbying on behalf of women artists, generally speaking the move was towards segregation of women artists, both in training, in institutions, and by genre. See Benoît, L'Art français, pp. 245-6.

21. Exclusively male clubs in Paris began to appear as early as 1783, but increased significantly (and along the lines of the British model) after the Napoleonic wars, fueled further by fashionable anglomania: "Nous commençâmes aussi à avoir des clubs: les hommes s'y réunissaient, non encore pour discuter, mais pour dîner, jouer au wisk [sic] et lire tous les ouvrages nouveaux. Ce premier pas, alors presque inaperçu, eut dans la suite de grands, et momentanément, de funestes conséquences. Dans le commencement son premier résultat fut de séparer les hommes et des femmes, et d'apporter ainsi un notable changement dans nos mœurs." Louis Philippe, comte de Ségur, Mémoires ou souvenirs et anecdotes (Paris: Eymery, 1827) vol. 2, p. 32. Cited in John C. Prévost, Le Dandysme en France (1817-1839) (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz) 1957) p. 45. The emergence of men's clubs has thus to do with the larger general shift from the more sexually integrated social world of the ancien régime to the increasingly segregated one of the early nineteenth century. See in this regard, Maurice Agulhon, Le Cercle dans la France bourgeoise: 1810-1848: étude d'une mutation de sociabilité (Paris: Armand Colin, 1977).

22. See Dora Wiebenson, "Subjects from Homer's Iliad in Neoclassical Art," The Art Bulletin, XLVI/1 (March 1964) pp. 23-34.

23. Potts, "Ideal Manhood," p.16.

24. Girodet won the Prix de Rome in 1789, arrived at the Villa Medici in 1790 and painted the *Endymion* the following year. It was one of the great successes in the Salon of 1793, held during the Terror.

25. George Levitine, Girodet-Trioson: An Iconographical Study (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1978) p. 119.

26. Margaret Waller and Naomi Schor have both written fascinating and highly suggestive essays on the social and sexual implications of Chateaubriand's *Atala*. Waller's essay includes a discussion of the kinds of imagery, souvenirs and knickknacks--even clocks--that were manufactured bearing the image of *Atala*. Her argument elaborates the ways by which René functioned as a subject of empathetic (masculine) identification, whereas *Atala* became a wholly commodified (and possessable) image of sanctified (and inactive) femininity. In a complementary discussion Schor discusses the figure of *Atala* as a neutralized and disempowered pendant to the now-dethroned revolutionary Marianne, the "chaining" of the female heroine that is one of the staples of French nineteenth-century literature. See Waller, "Being René, Buying *Atala*: Alienated Subjects and Decorative Objects in Postrevolutionary France," in Sara Melger and Leslie Rabine, eds., Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) and Naomi Schor, "Triste Amérique: *Atala* and the Post-Revolutionary Construction of Woman," in the same volume. For a discussion of *Atala* in visual culture see Susan J. Delaney, "Atala in the Arts," in The Wolf and the Lamb: Popular Culture in France from the Old Regime to the Twentieth Century (Saratoga: Anima Libri, 1977).

27. In an excellent essay on the representation of femininity in Boucher and David, Erica Rand discusses some of the pictorial strategies by which feminine power and agency is effectively neutralized; Rand, "Depoliticizing Women: Female Agency, The French Revolution, and the Art of Boucher and David," Genders 7 (March 1990) pp. 47-68.

28. See the following in the Deloynes Collection, Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale: "Exposition au Salon du Palais National des ouvrages de

peinture...etc.," t. XVIII, no. 459; François, "Epître au citoyen Vien par François, peintre," Journal encyclopédique, t. XVIII, no. 460; Pio, "Observations sur le Salon du Louvre, Courrier français, no. 243.

29. See George Levitine, Girodet-Trioson: An Iconographical Study, Ph.D. diss. (New York: Garland, 1978).

30. On the occasion of the Endymion's first public reception, there is no recorded commentary on its effeminacy as such. In 1814, however, on the occasion of its reexhibition, the issue is raised only to be resolved. See Anon., Dialogue raisonné entre un anglais et un français, ou revue des peintures, sculptures et gravures exposées dans le musée royal de France, le 5 novembre 1814, Deloynes Collection, Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, V. 24562, p. 14: "L'Anglais: ...La tête d'Endymion ne ressemble-t-elle pas trop à celle d'une femme? Le Zéphire n'est-il pas trop lourd, et d'une pose trop maniérée? Le Français:...je ne suis pas de votre avis sur le reproche que vous faites à la tête d'Endymion; elle est belle et bien susceptible de charmer une divinité, qui, comme nos femmes, se laissait plutôt prendre par les yeux que par le coeur: Girodet me paraît être parvenu à rendre le beau idéal, aussi-bien que les premiers artistes grecs du siècle de Péricles, et vous admirez dans leurs productions ce que vous vous croyez en droit de blâmer dans celles-ci; soyez conséquent."

31. Thomas E. Crow, "Revolutionary Activism."

32. Roland Barthes, S/Z, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill & Wang, 1974).

33. In the past ten years or so there has been a great deal of interesting work done on the *Bara* beginning with William Olander, "'Pour transmettre à la postérité': French Painting and Revolution 1774-1795," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1983). See as well the exhibition catalog La Mort de Bara (Avignon: Musée Calvet, 1989), especially the essay "Bara: du martyr à l'éphèbe" by Régis Michel; and the essays by Alex Potts and Thomas E. Crow already cited. Michel has taken issue with the notion that *Bara* is unfinished; he argues that the nudity, the lack of *fini*, the scale, and the dramatic

reduction of the composition to the image of the boy and a loosely sketched suggestion of landscape was exactly what David intended, given its proposed use in a revolutionary fête. Be that as it may, he also argues--and Crow elaborates this in his essay--that the feminization and the nudity of Bara is to be understood politically as well as affectively: "la grâce asexuée de Bara ne fait qu'ajouter à sa nudité abstraite. Il y a du Rousseau dans cette quête radicale de la pureté primitive. Bara nu, c'est le retour à l'enfance de l'humanité, avant la corruption sociale. C'est la promesse d'un monde affranchi du despotisme, où la nature est enfin réconciliée avec elle-même, c'est-à-dire avec la démocratie, selon le mot de David. C'est la vertu de l'homme nouveau." (p. 68)

34. Tania Modleski, "The Incredible Shrinking He(r)man" in Modleski, Feminism Without Women: Culture and Criticism in a "Postfeminist" Age (New York: Routledge, 1990).

35. Régis Michel makes a persuasive case for thinking that the Bara, (along with two other images of the boy martyr by David's students Gérard and Serengeli) were intended to be made into banners and to lead the funeral corteges for the fête organized for the pantheonization of Bara and Viala. The fête was originally scheduled for 10 Thermidor, (1794) by which time David was under arrest and most of the Committee of Public Safety already executed. For Michel, Bara is, above all else, a robespierriste icon, submerging contingent political realities into atemporal myth. "Le Bara n'est pas un tableau de chevalet aux raffinements picturaux dignes du Salon. Mais un tableau votif pour un public populaire, entre la propagande et la religion." Michel, "Bara," p. 65.

36. Delécluze, David, p. 160.

37. Coupin, Oeuvres, p. 16.

38. Crow, "Revolutionary Activism," p. 80.

39. The term "political unconscious" is, of course, derived from Frederic Jameson, specifically his important book The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981). While Jameson's task in this book is to excavate a historical (i.e. Marxist) telos in nineteenth-century French and British culture through a careful analysis of some of its literary mediations, what has been most helpful for me in his work is its hermeneutic dimension. It is thus the recovery of a hidden or repressed story, "a hidden master narrative" in Jameson's terms, that motivates my own inquiry, which assumes, moreover, that the investigation of the tidal shifts (and dislocations) in representations of masculinity are integrally related to questions of power and politics.

40. Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, "Jacques-Louis David and Republican Culture in France after Thermidor 1794-1795," (Ph.D diss., The Graduate Center, City University of New York, 1992)

41. Dorothy Johnson, however, has proposed extremely interesting readings of certain of David's post-revolutionary paintings that stress their subversive and/or reforming strategies. See "Desire Demythologized: David's *l'Amour quittant Psyche*," Art History 9/4 (December 1986) pp. 450-70.

42. Fabre was the second of David's students to win the Grand Prix de Rome, in 1787. The *Death of Abel* was one of the four required works painted for the Academy during his Roman residency. Variousy a portraitist, a landscape painter, and more rarely a producer of history paintings, Fabre was for many years the close friend of the great Italian poet Vittorio Alfieri and his mistress, the Countess of Albany. An assiduous art collector, he returned to his native Montpellier in 1825 and assumed the management of the museum that now bears his name. See the catalog entry on Fabre in French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution (Detroit: The Detroit Institute of the Arts, 1975) pp. 410-411. A great deal of the following discussion is indebted to Régis Michel's "Bara," not so much for the interpretation I am hazarding, but for his historical contextualization of the work of artists such as Fabre, Meynier and Landon.

43. In his discussion of Drouais' Dying Athlete in "Revolutionary Activism and the Cult of Male Beauty," Crow makes large aesthetic claims for the work including its priority to both Girodet's and David's supine and extinguished male figures. The existence of Lafitte's painting, however, or Fabre's *Abel* reinforces my argument that there are rarely definitive "firsts" in visual culture, but rather, a somewhat haphazard emergence of new (or retooled) types that coalesce into a recognizable convention at a given historical moment. The argument made for an individual artist's priority, in Crow's case and others', is undoubtedly underpinned by an authorial investment in the topos of the original and self-created artist/genius.

44. Between 1797 and 1814 there were no less than 27 paintings and sculptures representing the story of Amor and Psyche in the salon exhibitions, and this figure does not include the even more copious production of prints and illustrated books. Gérard's rendition of the subject in the salon of 1798 was a popular and critical triumph and immediately established his reputation. The popularity of the theme increased in the salons of the Restoration (salons of 1819, 1822, 1824, and 1827, including David's *Cupid and Psyche* of 1817, Pradier's *Psyché* of 1824 and Picot's *Amor and Psyché* of 1819. This popularity has many causes, but the one which concerns me here is the obvious appeal of the Amor figure to neoclassical sensibilities. In this regard, the adulation accorded Antonio Canova's various renditions of the subject is also important. The expropriation of the Capitoline *Eros and Psyche* by Napoleon and its exhibition in the Louvre (9 Thermidor, year VI) gave yet a further boost to the theme. David had made his homage as early as 1789, when he inscribed it (*en abyme*) in The Loves of Paris and Helen. See too Régis Michel's remarkable essay in David e Roma, exh. cat., (Roma: Academia di Francia à Roma, 1982). See also René Schneider, "Le mythe de Psyché dans l'art français depuis la révolution," Revue de l'art français ancien et moderne, 32 (July-December 1912) pp. 240-254.

45. In fact, Narcissus remained a motif throughout the nineteenth century. Jehan-Georges Vibert's *Narcissus* of 1864 (Fig. 23) is, if anything, even more extravagantly eroticized and spectacularized than most earlier

versions. In this respect, it must be considered as a fairly exceptional example of the male nude in the Second Empire.

46. Ovid, Metamorphosis, trans. A.D. Melville (Oxford and London: Oxford University Press, 1986) p. 83.

47. The brilliant interpretive reading given Ovid's recounting of the myth by Georgia Nugent is suggestive not only in relation to the Ovidian text, but for the neoclassical representations of the myth as well. See Nugent, "This Sex Which Is not One: De-Constructing Ovid's Hermaphrodite," Differences 2/1 (Spring 1990) pp. 160-185.

48. The most common role reversal narrative in prerevolutionary French painting is that of Hercules and Omphale, a subject, interestingly enough, somewhat rare in the period under discussion. Why this should be the case is a question I am unable to answer, but it is nonetheless worth mentioning that baroque and rococo representations of the subject (see, for example, fig. 27, engraving by Dorigny after Simone Vouet) stress the virility and self-possession of the male protagonist. In François Boucher's stunning version of the subject of 1731-2, depicting the two figures in passionate embrace, without knowing the story, one would never suspect that Hercules is here Omphale's slave.

49. Henri de Latouche (pseudonym of Hyacinthe Thabaud de Latouche, 1785-1851) is an interesting figure with respect to both the cultural politics and the erotic sensibility of the post-revolutionary period. A journalist, playwright, novelist, poet, translator, and plagiarist (of Goethe's King of the Aulnes) and art critic, Latouche was both an ardent republican and apostle of Davidian classicism. As a translator of Schiller and other German Romantics, Latouche was, along with Mme de Stael, one of the conduits of northern romanticism. As an art critic, he was probably the primary author of Lettres à David sur le Salon de 1819 par quelques élèves de son école, the author of a Salon de 1817, and a study of Canova, Les Oeuvres de Canova in 1825. Latouche incarnates the period's characteristic combination of liberal politics, eroticized aestheticism, and fascination with sexual ambiguity. All are manifest

in Latouche's writings on the Fualdès affair of 1818 which featured, among other things the star witness Mme Manson who had been disguised as a man when Fualdès was murdered. See Frédéric Ségu, Un Journaliste dilettante, H. de Latouche et son intervention dans les arts (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1931) and the fascinating essays by Helen O. Bordowitz, "The Man Who Wrote to David," The Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin (October 1980) pp. 256-274 and "Critique and Canard: Henri de Latouche at the salon of 1817," Gazette des Beaux-Arts (September 1980) pp. 63-74. I am much indebted to Robert Simon for bringing these essays to my attention.

50. René Schneider provides an encapsulated list of the kinds of mythological subjects so prevalent in the neoclassical period: "Nos artistes empruntent à ce recueil [Ovid's *Metamorphosis*] ou aux Herodes les fables tendres et plaintives de Narcisse, de Cyparisse, d'Adonis, de Salmacis, la nymphe de la source carienne, d'Hylas, dont la légende asiatique fut grécisée par les alexandrins Apollonios et Apollodoros...Le joli roman de Musée leur fournit le mythe voluptueux d'Héro, prêtresse d'Aphrodite, et de Léandre d'Abydos, poème que Passow après Aldo Manuce et Lascaris a édité à Leipzig en 1810." Schneider, "L'art anacréontique et alexandrin sous l'Empire," Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes, t. II (November-December 1916) p. 264.

51. *Aurora and Cephalus* was originally part of the collection of Giovanni-Battista Sommariva, whose influence as a patron and collector in the neoclassical period was considerable. See Francis Haskell, "An Italian Patron of French Neo-Classical Art," in Haskell, Past and Present in Art and Taste (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987).

52. For example: "...la beauté de Céphale, le dessin de ses formes, qui ont l'agrément de celles d'une femme..." (Antoine Dupuis, Lettres impartiales sur l'exposition des tableaux en 1814, par un amateur, Deloynes Collection, V. 24563, pp. 15-16); "Les formes de Céphale, quoique d'un dessin pur et correct, ont l'attrait de celles d'une femme..." (Anon., Lettres impartiales sur l'exposition de l'an 1810 par un amateur, Deloynes Collection, V. 44875, p. 31). I am indebted to Mechthild Fend for providing me

with these citations.

53. It is, however, a part of my argument that however singular or sexually transgressive paintings such as Guérin's, or any of the other works I discuss appear to contemporary eyes, in their own time they did not violate their "horizon of reception." Thus, the salon criticism which pertains to them is consistent in its bland acceptance of such subjects, which are typically generically categorized as "sujets gracieux." C.P. Landon, for example, comments on the work thus:

L'Aurore accompagnée de l'Amour, soulève le voile étoilé de la nuit et répand des fleurs sur la terre. Dans sa course rapide, elle a vu Céphale endormi, elle en devient éprise et ravit le jeune chasseur à la tendresse de son épouse. Céphale livré au sommeil et mollement étendu sur un nuage, paraît s'élever doucement vers les cieux. Une étoile qui brille au-dessus de la tête de l'Aurore éclaire d'une lumière douce et paisible cette scène de volupté...Ce sujet charmant, digne des pinceaux du Corrége, se prêtait moins peut-être au talent de M. Guérin, qu'un programme purement historique où tout doit vigoureusement prononcé...La composition du tableau est pleine de goût, le dessin est correct...[etc., etc.]" Annales du Musée et de l'école moderne des Beaux-Arts, Salon de 1810 (Paris: 1810) p. 15.

Where negative criticism is made in relation to effeminized male figures (and it is, in any case, rare) it is usually because the individual critic conceives of the particular character as a more virilized type. Thus, P.M. Gault de Saint Germain finds fault with Guérin's Aeneas in the following terms:

C'est encore une faute grave que de donner à ce héros, alors dans son neuvième lustre environ, les traits efféminés de la nature adolescente. (Choix des productions de l'art les plus remarquables exposées dans le salon de 1817 (Paris: Didot l'Ainé, 1817) p. 6.

54. See the catalog entries on Guérin's studies for Iris and Morpheus and Aurora and Cephalus in the exhibition catalogs Autour de David: Dessins néoclassiques du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lille (Lille: Musée des Beaux-Arts,

1983); The Age of Neo-classicism: The Fourteenth Exhibition of the Council of Europe (London: The Royal Academy of the Arts, 1972) and French Painting 1774-1830, (Detroit: The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1975).

55. Landon, Salon de 1810, p. 19.

56. François Guizot, "De l'état des Beaux-Arts en France et du salon de 1810," Deloynes Collection, V. 41208, pp. 61-62.

57. There is a lengthy art critical and art historical tradition of viewing Prud'hon's work, for example, as representing a kind of rococo revival albeit clothed in the more elevated (and fashionable) trappings of the grand style signified both by the antique and by Michelangelo. Such a reading depends, however, on a prior assumption that the neoclassic *proprement dit* can be neatly distinguished from this putative neo-rococo.

58. Landon both recognized and criticized this influence. See C.P. Landon, Annales du musée et de l'école moderne des Beaux-Arts, Salon de 1822, t. 1 (Paris, 1830) p. 5.

59. Several of these lithographed heads are in the collection of the Musée Municipal in Sens.

60. See in this regard the exhibition catalogs Girodet; Dessins du Musée (Montargis: Musée Girodet, n.d.) and Régis Michel, Le beau idéal, ou l'art du concept (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1989).

61. Franque was one of the two brothers adopted as official sons by the Convention in 1792 and trained in David's atelier. Both brothers were associated with the dissident sect of Maurice Quai within David's studio. Interestingly, the choice of the subject of Angelique and Médor (from Ariosto's Rolando Furioso) bears no relation to the Barbu program of a return to pure (Greek) antiquity. Furthermore, the painting manifests little in its formal or stylistic elements that would associate it with the programmatic archaism of the Barbus.

62. The popularity of Daphnis in post-revolutionary painting is particularly suggestive. In Longus' novel, which went through six editions in the years between 1780 and 1820 including an illustrated version published by Didot l'ainé in 1802, Daphnis' sentimental and erotic education is undertaken by an older woman. Furthermore, it is Chloe who is the more sexually precocious. For a discussion of the Daphnis/Chloe theme in Gérard see Monique Moulin, "Daphnis et Chloé dans l'oeuvre de François Gérard (1770-1837)," Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France 33/2 (1983) pp. 100-109.

63. Delorme's painting is evidently lost, but an engraving by Ambroise Tardieu is reproduced in C.-P. Landon's Annales du Musée et de l'école moderne des Beaux-Arts, Le Salon de 1831 (Paris: 1831) p.37. Landon severely criticized the work: "Elève de Girodet, M. Delorme procède de son maître. Composition froide, sentant la statuaire; dessin correct; mais de la passion, point; du coloris faux; de la vérité, jamais." p. 34.

64. Figures of Ganymede were sculpted by, among others, Thorvaldsen, Canova and Bosio during this same period. James M. Saslow has traced the use of the Ganymede figure in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although Ganymede could be employed to symbolize a neoplatonist transcendence of sensual desire, his more characteristic identity lay in his androgynous appearance and homoerotic appeal: "Particularly revealing is the youth's androgynous appearance. The ambiguity of gender draws on a tradition, continuous since classical antiquity, that set forth the androgyne or hermaphrodite as a distinctive ideal of beauty and frequently associated or conflated androgyny with effeminacy...bisexuality, and homosexuality." James S. Saslow, Ganymede in the Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986) p.65. Similarly, the figures of Hyacinth, Cyparissus and Narcissus were traditionally associated with the homoerotic, the two former linked to erotically to Apollo.

65. Broc was of course one of the principle members of Quai's sect of *primitifs, penseurs, mediateurs, or barbus* (all three terms are conventionally employed in the literature). Although scholars such as George Levitine

and James Henry Rubin have argued for a more or less coherent aesthetic program among the *Barbus*, the degree of stylistic variation one can identify in the extant works of artists such as Broc or Franque would seem to support my argument throughout this chapter that post-revolutionary history painting is best approached in terms of its shared thematics and symbolic content rather than its various stylistic manifestations. On the Franque brothers see George Levitine, Dawn of Bohemianism; and James Henry Rubin, "New Documents on the Médiateurs: Baron Gérard, Mantegna, and French Romanticism Circa 1800," Burlington Magazine, 117 (Dec. 1975). Franque and Broc are discussed by Delécluze in David. Contemporary discussions of Broc include those of Rubin, "New Documents"; and George Levitine, "'L'école d'Apelle' de Jean Broc: un 'primitif' au salon de l'an VIII," Gazette des Beaux-Arts (November 1972) pp. 286-294 and Levitine, Dawn of Bohemianism. See as well the catalog entries for both artists in French Painting; The Age of Revolution (Detroit: Detroit Institute of the Arts, 1975).

66. The language of salon criticism is itself highly conventionalized, and certain meanings are communicated by standard formulas, some of which I've indicated within brackets. "C'est avec tout l'abandon de l'amitié que Cyparissus s'est jeté dans les bras d'Apollon, où il expire... Cette composition est simple et touchante; elle n'a rien de ce fracas qui attire la foule [this is an art for gentlemen] elle n'obtiendra pas un succès d'engouement: mais lorsqu'on la contemple avec attention, on se sent ému et pénétré [critical language is itself implicated in the erotic]. L'unité du sujet fortifie l'intérêt qu'il inspire; il y regne une grâce et une naïveté qui rappelle l'école d'Italie. Toute la partie supérieure du jeune Cyparisse est digne des plus grands éloges. Le col est peut-être un peu gonflé; Mais la poitrine, mais la ligne qui détermine le contour du torse, mais celle qui indique la direction du bras, offrent toute la perfection du modèle.

Le corps d'Apollon n'est pas exempt d'une certaine raideur; peut-être même est-il un peu lourd; les hanches aussi me paraissent fortes; [this inventory of the body parts indicates familiarity with the *beau idéal*] avec autant de plénitude, la statue antique est plus svelte [here, the predilection for the ehebic body]..." [Then

follows a list of some imperfections in the depiction of the body.]

Edme-François-Antoine-Marie Miel, "Essay sur le salon de 1817," Deloynes Collection, V. 46806, p. 51.

67. In Kératry's reconsideration of the *beau idéal*, for example, we find the following:

...appliquant les notions philosophiques des anciens à quelques-unes des chef-d'oeuvres de statuaire que les siècles ont laissé parvenir jusqu'à nous, ils ont cru y démêler un type particulier de beauté. Celle-ci leur a semblé avoir, pour principal moyen de succès, de faire disparaître tout effort dans le mouvemens (sic), toute asperité dans les formes mais ils n'ont pas vu que la suite de ce procédé devait être de confondre ce que la nature avait rendu distinct; les Mercure, les Apollon, les Dianes, les Cyparisse et les Daphnés des Grecs, n'offrent que les différences légères, l'intervalle destinés à les séparer a disparu sous le ciseau qui invite l'imagination à les franchir avec audace; ainsi avons-nous justement observé qu'après être arrivés à l'Hermaphrodite, par une dégradation morale, dont l'origine leur est peut-être échappée, les artistes appelés à Rome sous le règne d'Adrien descendirent à l'Antinous, car l'altération des signes, qui établissent sans équivoque la distinction des sexes, a ce grave inconvenient qu'elle conduit à corrompre le goût, destinées à plaire dans un seul. Certes les Ganimedes et les Bacchus antiques avaient trop de rapports avec les plus belles femmes, mortelle ou déesses copier par le ciseau grec, pour que le spectateur ne se passionât pas également à leur approche....Envisagé d'un certain point de vue, ce que nous nommons 'beau idéal' dans les formes a été l'effet d'une dégénération dans les moeurs, s'il n'en a été la cause, tandis que le 'beau moral' dans l'expression qui, à quelques égards, a été le correctif de cette aberration, a pris sa source dans la dignité du caractère.

Kératry, Chapter XI: "Quelques doutes et conjectures sur le beau idéal," Du Beau dans les arts d'imitation, Tome Second (Paris: 1822)

68. See the excellent discussions of this cultural formation in Régis Michel and Philippe Bordes, Aux Armes et aux Arts! 1789-1799 (Paris: Adam Biro, 1989).

69. The literary manifestations of Anacreonism, or, more broadly, the literary terms of neoclassicism in France are inseparable from the productions and influence of the publishing house of Didot (successively Pierre Didot, Didot l'Aîné, Didot le jeune, Firmin/Didot). Through their translations, reeditions, and lavishly illustrated books--many of them containing commissioned engravings by the most celebrated artists of the period--the firm of Didot did much to both popularize and disseminate the new sensibility. In addition to editions of antique authors (including, in 1798, a folio edition of Virgil's complete works with engravings after illustrations by Girodet and Gérard) the Didot firm published illustrated editions of La Fontaine, and a complete edition of Racine (1801-5), a revival of which followed the revolution. This was judged by the juries at the national exhibition of 1806 and the London Universal Exhibition of 1851 as the most perfect typographical production of all countries and of all times). Girodet, Gérard, Prud'hon were among the many artists who were commissioned to illustrate their books. See Albert J. George, The Didot Family and the Process of Printmaking (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1961).

70. "Dès les premiers temps de l'antiquité, le nom d'Anacréon rappelle ce que la poésie a de plus gracieux. 'La poésie d'Anacréon est considérée toute entière à l'amour,' a dit Cicéron; et le nom d'Anacréontique s'attachera toujours à ce genre aimable, cher surtout aux Français, peuple heureux, vivant sous un climat tempéré, où la vigne prospère, et qui, comme le peuple d'Athènes, par l'enjouement, la facilité et les grâces de l'esprit, a le don d'agréer infus avec la vie." D'Ambroise Firmin Didot, introduction to Odes d'Anacreon (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1864) p. 5.

71. For example, Girodet provided the illustrations for Sappho, Bion, Moschus: Recueil de Compositions, dessiné par Girodet et gravé par M. Chatillon (son élève) et une notice sur la vie et les oeuvres de Sappho par Coupin, (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1819).

72. Anacreon, Odes (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1799) p. 54.

73. Full a full discussion of these roles see K.J. Dover, Greek Homosexuality (New York: Vintage Books, 1980).
74. Girodet also illustrated the Didot edition of Racine, in a style altogether different from that which he employed in his illustrations for the Odes. Surely one of the terms in Racine's new popularity lay in Racine's exploration of more psychologized, interiorized emotional conflicts and the corollary emphasis on female characters. See James Henry Rubin, "Guérin's Painting of Phedre and the Post-Revolutionary Revival of Racine," The Art Bulletin, 59 (Dec. 1977) pp. 601-618.
75. Schneider, "L'art anacréontique," p. 259.
76. Schneider, "L'art anacréontique," p. 260
77. See R.G. Saisselin, "Neo-Classicism: Images of Public Virtue and Realities of Private Luxury," Art History 4/1 (March 1981) pp. 14-36.
78. See Diane Kelder, Aspects of "Official" Painting and Philosophic Art 1789-1799 (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1976).
79. Louis Hautecoeur, "Le sentimentalisme dans la peinture française de Greuze à David," Gazette des Beaux Arts (1909):

La sensibilité se développe dans la littérature française dès la fin du règne de Louis XIV. Fénelon restera pour le XVIII^e siècle un homme "sensible" et la présidente Ferraud écrivait alors: "Etes-vous aussi tendre et sensible que moi?" La Motte regrette les bergers de l'Astrée, "purs enfants, époux sensibles". Cet état d'esprit naquit chez les uns de l'exaltation religieuse, chez les autres du déreglement des moeurs qui, succédant aux majestés de l'agonie d'un règne, amollissait les caractères. Avec la sensibilité s'affina la sensiblerie. Ajoutez à cela le goût de l'analyse psychologique: a disséquer leur âme chez Mme de Lambert où dans les romans de Marivaux, les Marianne du temps finirent par s'attendrir au spectacle de leur délicatesse. La philosophie vint à son tour enseigner que le sentiment prime l'intelligence. Les tendances, ces

théories, ce n'est pas seulement dans les comédies larmoyantes de la chaussée que nous les découvrons, mais chez tous les contemporains. Les interjections, les cris, le silence, les évanouissements, deviennent l'apanage des âmes d'élite. Mme du Deffand exalte l'exaltation: "Ce que vous appelez roman dans votre lettre, les souvenirs, les clairs de lune, l'idée des lieux où l'on a vu quelqu'un que l'on aime, une situation d'âme qui fait que l'on pense plus tendrement, tout cela ne me semble pas si ridicule." (18 Juillet 1744). Mme de la Popelinière, brisée de trop aimer Richelieu, s'écriait: "Je suis d'une sensibilité à me jeter par la fenêtre." (1742).

80. Carol Blum has described some of the elements in the Revolutionary assimilation of "Jean-Jacques," particularly by Robespierre and Saint-Just. Interestingly, the Jean-Jacques conscripted in revolutionary culture was not the political author of The Social Contract or the other works of political theory, but the Jean-Jacques of La Nouvelle Heloise, the Confessions (published in 1789, eleven years after Rousseau's death), and Emile. See Blum, Rousseau and the Republic of Virtue: The Language of Politics in the French Revolution (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1986). The revolutionary epoch, moreover, witnessed a significant increase in illustration of Rousseau's novels; following the editions illustrated by Guyot, Mayer, Moreau le jeune, Chapuy, Janinet, Gravelot and Cochin, came illustrators such as Martinet, LeFevre, Duchamel, Duclos, Marillier, Trunquesse and Prud'hon.

81. Louis Hautecoeur, "Le sentimentalisme, p. 159

82. Dorinda Outram, The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 87.

83. Margaret Waller, "Cherchez la Femme: Male Malady and Narrative Politics in the French Romantic Novel," PMLA, 104/2 (March 1989) p.141.

Chapter Two

Chapter Two

The Political Economy of the Male Nude

Le Nature y respire partout: malheur à qui la trouve qui la trouve idéale. J'aime à croire et je sens alors avec orgueil que je suis homme, j'aime à croire qu'il a existé des êtres aussi parfait.

- Chaussard, in front of the Musée Napoléon¹

A man who has exchanged his narcissism for the worship of a high ego-ideal has not necessarily on that account succeeded in sublimating his libidinal instincts...As we have learnt, the formation of the ideal increases the demands of the ego and is the most powerful factor favoring repression; sublimation is a way out, a way by which the claims of the ego can be met without involving repression.

- Sigmund Freud, "On Narcissism: An Introduction"

That the penis and the phallus must not be confounded is a foundational assertion in both Lacanian psychoanalytic theory and (certain) psychoanalytically informed feminist theory. In the context of eighteenth and early nineteenth century visual culture in France, the non-congruity of the two terms derives, on the one hand, from the unquestioned--unquestionable--authority of patriarchy as a symbolic structure, and on the other, the

contradictions (historical and psychic) of masculine subjectivity. Such a distinction, however, underpins as well the story--possibly anecdotal--of the day that the Metropolitan Museum of Art decided it was time for the fig leaves to depart and the penises to return to the classical statues on exhibition. Dr. Gisela Richter (so the story goes), curator of Greek sculpture, had for years kept all the detached penises in a shoe box, each one numerically labeled to match it with its body. At a certain point, Dr. Richter's assistant (a man) who was doing the actual reattachments, protested that one of the statues had been given a wrong part. Dr Richter, taken aback by this challenge to her scholarship and *kunstwissenschaft*, insisted that her numbers were accurate, her matches correct, until the assistant showed her that the part in question was, in fact, a thumb.

True or not, the anecdote points to one interesting but politely unacknowledged aspect of the classical male nude which is the modest size of the genitals, a convention firmly established by the fifth century B.C. and never modified, neither by those artists, like Michelangelo who so powerfully imprinted the nude with their own idiosyncratic and visionary imagination, nor those like David, who sought to reanimate the antique model through the devoted study of

nature. Penises, while obviously not as individuated as faces, do come in various sizes, colors, and shapes, and while the standardization of the representation of genitalia can be considered part of the standardization of all body parts that is conceptually integral to the *beau idéal*, that this particular attribute of the ideal should have been determinedly modest in size requires explanation.

Insofar as the phallus is by definition a symbolic construction and the penis an anatomical reality, an interrogation of the codes of the idealized male nude is necessarily concerned with the mis-fit between the overweening authority of the phallus--possessed by no one--and its corporeal representative. For notwithstanding the distinction between penis and phallus, it would seem far more reasonable to expect that the desirable male body of the patriarchal imaginary, in whatever epoch, should be equipped with more prominent organs.

It is of course precisely the difference between the penis and the phallus that accounts for such an apparent contradiction. To whatever extent the penis can be said to *represent* the phallus, its somatic equivalence is almost an epiphenomenon. The authority of the phallus may well be vested in the image of ideal masculinity but

the power of patriarchy is so much in excess of its anatomical representative that the actual organ scarcely carries its symbolic weight. Doubtless for this reason French history painting of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century provides numerous examples of penises busily "supplemented" by scabbards, swords, and the like. This is, of course, a hypothetical explanation of the apparent anomaly between the authority of the patriarchal order and aesthetic codes that require diminutive genitals. Another, more empirical response to this anomaly might lie in the absolute and unquestioned authority of the antique model. This, after all, is the literal meaning of a canon, and for the artists of the eighteenth century, as for those of the Renaissance or Imperial Rome, the Greeks had once and for all discovered the immutable laws and proportions of ideal beauty. In much the same way that the basic protocols of the female nude (elision of the vagina, no body hair, small round breasts) were rarely altered, so too were the aesthetic protocols of the male nude respected. Unlike its later manifestations, however, Athenian sexual aesthetics governing the representation of male sex organs were themselves structured by the beliefs, preferences and social and sexual practices specific to Attic culture and society. Thus, it was uniquely the

ithyphallic satyr that was provided with an exaggerated, even caricatured, penis, almost always in a state of erection. For the male god, hero, or athlete the small, pointed and dainty penis was the rule, reflecting the cultural/sexual preferences of aristocratic Athenian men:

As K.J. Dover has shown, the Athenian taste in male genitalia ran to small and taut...Large sex organs were considered coarse and ugly, and were banished to the domains of abstraction, of caricature, of satyrs, and of barbarians. In the inexhaustible genital vocabulary of Aristophanes, diminutives denoting small penises are used as words of endearment -- as, for example, *posthion*, which might be rendered as "little prick"...Aristotle, feeling obligated to provide a scientific explanation for this Athenian predilection for small genitals, argued that the small penis is more fertile than the large one, because the seed, while passing through it, has a shorter distance to travel and hence doesn't cool off as much." ²

Furthermore, the heroic size of the satyr's genitals was an index of his animality not his masculinity, cause for mockery rather than admiration, as François Lissarrague elaborates:

The Greek aesthetic prefers discreet genitals, small in size. Images on vases show this clearly. The ephebe has a quite small penis. This is considered true elegance as Dikaios Logos in the Clouds of Aristophanes indicates when he describes the ideal young man at the gymnasium..."You will have a robust chest, a clear complexion, broad shoulders, a short tongue, and a small penis..."Thus large genitals are not the attribute of the superman, and it is not Herakles whom we find provided with a huge phallus, but rather Geros--decrepit old age--or the Pygmies--monstrous creatures, barbarious and misshapen. It would also be a mistake to see in the satyrs'

ithyphallicism a positive sign of hypervirility. Their extraordinary sexual energy brings them closer to animals than to men and, if it provokes laughter, it is in fact hardly enviable, for it devalues them.³

But where the depiction of penises may have been relatively unproblematic for the classical world, this was surely not the case for Christian Europe. Debates--ecclesiastical, aesthetic and institutional--about the propriety or justification of nudity recur regularly in European history, most famously perhaps in the deliberations of the Tridentine Councils. In the postclassical world, the body itself is a problematic entity, and the cultural desire to invest it with the most elevated and exalted values exists always in a certain tension with its potential to disrupt or trouble them. Just as Freud argued that the products of civilization result from the sublimation and rechanneling of primitive drives and desires, so analogously is the nude the aesthetic/cultural sublimation of the *informe*⁴ of the human body. The reluctance of post-classical artists to modify the canonically fixed dimensions of male genitalia is thus an index not only of the remarkable and enduring power of aesthetic convention, but as well, an index of the anxiety that attends to the genitalia itself and its iconographic representation.⁵

My initial anecdote about the statues' penises is

thus intended to frame several issues under the rubric of the political economy of the [male] nude; first, the ways in which the distinction between penis and phallus is variously negotiated in revolutionary and post-revolutionary art; second, the roles played by images of ideal masculinity (mature or youthful) in bridging the symbolic space of the phallus and the contradictory political realities of the post-revolutionary period; and third, the vicissitudes of ideal masculinity in the wake of the new political and cultural order of bourgeois civil society.

It goes without saying that the classical body is a male body, and it also goes without saying that it is a body intensely ideologized. It receives its characteristic attributes through a series of differentiations; from the female body, obviously, but no less definitively from the grotesque body. For Bakhtin, these two radically opposed fantasies of the body corresponded to the worlds of elite and popular culture. The distinction between classical and grotesque bodies was, as we have seen, already operative in the ideal Greek nude, whose small genitals, in contrast to the satyr's, were a marker of its ideality; its transcendence of the bestial or "low." As Peter Stalleybrass and Allon White gloss Bakhtin's vocabulary of "classical" and "grotesque," "the 'classical body' denotes the inherent form of the high official culture and suggests that the

shape and plasticity of the human body is indissociable from the shape and plasticity of discursive material and social norm in a collectivity."⁶ Thus the classical male body is "the radiant centre of a transcendent individualism, 'put on a pedestal', raised above the viewer and the commonality and anticipating passive admiration from below."⁷ As such, the classical body eventually becomes the signifier of reason and law:

Vasari's codification of Vitruvian categories, the famous list of *regola*, *ordine*, *misura*, *disegno* and *maniera* is an interesting example of some of the governing principles of the classical body. Taking formal values from a purified mythologized canon of Ancient Greek and Roman authors...the classical body was far more than an aesthetic standard or model. It structured, from the inside as it were, the characteristically 'high' discourse of philosophy, statecraft, theology and law, as well as literature, as they emerged from the Renaissance. In the classical discursive body were encoded those regulated systems which were closed, homogeneous, monumental, centred and symmetrical...Gradually these protocols of the classical body came to mark out the identity of progressive rationalism itself.⁸

In French classical art theory, and most specifically in the corpus of theory that cumulatively and collectively elaborated the terms of the *beau idéal*, the ideal male nude is the very linchpin of the system.⁹ As such, it represents a corporeal equivalent of abstract proportions and regularized relationships that have once and for all been established and are thus teachable and perpetually reproducible:

Maintenant, que sont ces "règles", "ce systeme" que l'Ecole nationale des Beaux Arts a mission de conserver et d'enseigner? Tout simplement un recueil de formes et de proportions, ce qu'on appelle un "canon" et une collection de recettes d'exécution. Plus de recherches, plus d'effort, plus d'initiative individuelle. Tout ces cas seront prévus: dans chaque catégorie de sujets, pour chaque sexe, chaque âge, chaque tempérament, chaque condition, la consultation du formulaire "la perfection de l'ensemble" ou de chacun des détails du corps selon la multiplicité de leur emploi.¹⁰

Academic teaching was basically divided into two types of exercises; practical and theoretical. Practical studies were themselves grounded in the body; the student began by copying the academies of the masters, moved on to "*l'étude d'après la bosse où l'antique*," and eventually graduated to the living model.¹¹

One of the crucial elements of an artist's formation was therefore the assimilation of schemata for the depiction of bodies; these were supplied by the traités, pattern books and design textbooks which included engraved plates of the body taken from antique statuary, or modern masters (e.g. Raphael). The engraved plates of the human body that one finds in collections such as those by Audran, Sebastien Le Clerc, Charles-Nicolas Cochin, Louis Bonnet Gilles Demarteau, Gerard de Lairese, and others are striking in their conventionality. Which is to say that even as the artist

positioned himself in front of the living model, the body had a *priori* been posed and apprehended as an antique sculpture or an engraving from a Renaissance master; the referent, in other words, was the world of art, which mediated between the artist and the world of real bodies.

Herein lies one central paradox of academic theory; the representation of the human body is the centerpiece, so to speak, of the system, both theoretically and practically, but that body is itself always already absent, displaced by an abstraction that is always anterior to the living model.¹² Invocations to "nature"--one of the rallying cries of Davidian theory and practice, which, it is crucial to note, derived its polemical force from what was then understood as its profound anti-academicism--has little to do with a brute nature incarnated in, for example, the living model. "Nature" is, on the contrary, an ideal which is deduced and extracted from its individual representatives; it is a *derivation* from the individual type and exists in no single representative.¹³ Nevertheless, the zeal with which access to and control of the model were jealously guarded by state institutions gives some notion of the symbolic stakes involved. After 1663, even private life classes were forbidden by the government and although the Academy of St. Luc managed to acquire the right to the

model in 1730, in 1776 Turgot dissolved the guild altogether.¹⁴

The crucial role of the living model within French academic theory and practice and the Academy's consistent efforts to maintain its monopoly on life drawing suggests the strength of the institutional investment in the body, which like Bakhtin's classical body, incorporates the entire panoply of law, authority, culture, and so forth. In this respect, we may recall one of Foucault's central arguments in Discipline and Punish:

But the body is also directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs. The political investment of the body is bound up, in accordance with complex reciprocal relations, with its economic use; ...the body becomes a useful force only if it is both a productive body and a subjected body.¹⁵

It is in this profound sense that the Academy can be said to inhabit the *académie*; the values and beliefs of the institution are quite literally embodied and inscribed in the image of ideal and universalized manhood.

Given this freight, it is hardly surprising that the living model was male, and remained so until almost the end of the nineteenth century. Female models were actively and rigorously proscribed from the very inauguration of the École Royale des Beaux-Arts and were

not admitted to the precincts of the Ecole (although they were employed in ateliers) until almost the end of the century. Even for the competitions, such as the Prix de Rome, where the works were produced *en loge*, female models were strictly forbidden; for the depiction of female figures in their work students had recourse only to their own previous sketches or to engravings.¹⁶ Furthermore, at the acme of the Academy's power, the male model was himself invested with the *mana* of kingly power:

Quant au modèle lui-même, l'homme qui a reçu la mission de personnifier la nature devant cette foule attentive (400 élèves à partir de 1764) tout concourt également à lui donner une haute idée du rôle important qu'il joue dans l'Ecole. Choisi pour faire figure d'Apollon ou d'Hercule, 'le Modèle', comme on l'appelle, est un vrai personnage. Ce n'est point un homme de rencontre, cherchant sa vie, qui vient poser d'une façon passagère et intermittente, et qu'on rétribue à la fin de la séance. Il est fonctionnaire royal. Il porte l'épée et la livrée du Roi, il est logé au Louvre où il occupe deux chambres, et il reçoit une pension variant de 200 à 500 livres, réversible sur la tête de sa veuve. C'est un homme de confiance, qui peut, comme 'le bon Deschamps', être attaché pour toute son existence au service de l'Académie.¹⁷

Insofar as it was uniquely the male body which could furnish the point of departure for a distillation and sublimation of "nature," the use of male bodies for the depiction of female bodies was a staple of academic practice, and once one is made aware of the fact, it becomes strikingly obvious that many images of female

nudes are effectively male bodies modified with the addition of breasts and a supplementary upholstery of flesh. I will return to the implications of this practice further on, but it is nevertheless interesting to remark on the inadequacy of the institutional rationale supplied for this proscription:

Jean Restout 'se vantait même de prendre le modèle homme de l'Académie pour faire les nymphes, les Arianes, les Vénus et toutes les autres femmes de ses tableaux'...Et la chose ne doit pas nous étonner, car, non seulement les modèles femmes étaient 'd'une cherté horrible', comme dit Taillasson, [à moins six francs par matinée] qui essayait de s'en passer 'à l'aide des bosses', mais--si étrange que cela paraisse aujourd'hui,--un préjugé de 'décence' interdisait formellement de poser des femmes à l'Académie...'On ne sert point, dans les écoles publiques, de femme pour modèle, comme plusieurs le croient', lit-on dans l'Encyclopédie, au mot *Académie*. Par extension, même vêtus, les modèles féminins n'y étaient point en usage, ou plutôt ils le furent exceptionnellement, à partir de 1759, mais juste le temps prescrit pour le concours de la 'Tête d'expression', c'est-à-dire, trois heures par an.¹⁸

The classical codes determining the depiction of the male body are themselves suggestive:

L'image idéale de l'idéal de l'homme possédera "tous les genres de régularité qu'elle comporte." Les formes seront modelées avec ampleur, simplifiées, épurées de tout détail individuel, de tout défectuosité accidentelle; les proportions et les rapports des parties seront fixés avec toute la rigueur d'une construction mathématique. Enfin, tout caractère essentiel sera placé en évidence par l'accentuation, voire même par l'exagération de ses traits et mis en valeur par la subordination des ses annexes et de ses voisins secondaires.

...Sa mission, si l'on peut dire, est de distiller la réalité, pour nous en montrer l'essence. Il se gardera donc bien d'essayer, sous le vain prétexte d'animer ses figures, de leur imprimer les caractères qui dans la réalité dénotent la vie: la souplesse des chairs vivantes, la moiteur de la peau, l'élasticité des muscles. Il évitera de laisser deviner les dessous de l'enveloppe extérieure, les affleurements de la charpente osseuse, des muscles et des veines, car tout cela n'est que détail "animal."19

But the classic male nude is never only an embodiment of elevated cultural values, nor are its meanings entirely circumscribed through its discursive difference from the grotesque body. Inhering in both are psychosexual investments that operate on both conscious and unconscious levels. Within the homosocial and homosexual (visual) codes of fifth century Athenian culture, the ideal male nude was an acknowledged nexus of sexual desire and pleasure, whereas in post-classical culture and within the constraints and proscriptions of Judeo-Christian sexual morality, masculine sexual investment in the male body must be, for the most part, disavowed.

Hence, the volatility and difficulty of the male nude *qua* nude is amply documented in the history of debates it engendered in French academic discourse and theory. French artistic culture, from the reformist arts administration of d'Angiviller through the Restoration of

the Empire, was founded on the classical male body as the privileged signifier of both sensual and purely aesthetic appeal. As such, it was a fulcrum of contradiction; not only was heroic nudity a by-no-means uncontested aesthetic value, but its sensual appeal was permeable to sensations, desires, and fantasies in excess of its "official" and nominally transcendental representational task. Throughout the eighteenth century there were periodic challenges to the propriety of the nude *per se*. And later, the controversies that erupted around Dejoux's monumental nude statue of General Desaix erected in the Place des Victoires,²⁰ the justificatory pamphlet published by David to accompany his *Intervention of the Sabines*, the defenses of heroic nudity in statuary produced by the likes of Vivant Denon and Alexandre Lenoir and a veritable host of neoclassical propagandists all attest to the existence of conflict and controversy around the subject.²¹ Furthermore, the address of the beautiful painted or sculpted male body, in principle geared to a universal spectator, was in fact geared to a rather specific one; an adult white male subject usually, but not exclusively, a member of the dominant class. In other words, the male nude, whether of Athenian or Parisian origin, was in most instances, produced, received, commissioned, sold, discussed, celebrated or

criticized within entirely male formations. The effective exclusion of women artists from this highly specialized cultural arena further guaranteed that visions of ideal masculinity would be articulated only by men. In other words, the male nude, no less than the female one, is an artifact produced, circulated, and received between men and it is thus to the requirements and the expression of both homosocial male desire and narcissistic identification that we must look in attempting to make sense of the kinds of images I have discussed rather than casting the opprobrium of effeminacy and decadence on the artists (or period, or style) and attributing this phenomenon to the power and patronage of women.²² Even, perhaps especially, when the male nude is given an undeniably effeminized appearance or role, there is no particular justification in supposing this to cater to female rather than male desire. On the contrary, it seems indisputable that the appeal of the ephebic male body is in the first instance directed to men.

This is one of the reasons why the cult of heroic nudity, the ubiquity of the ephebe, and the intensely eroticized atmosphere of post-revolutionary painting must be integrated into a consideration of the framing terms of masculinity operative in the post-revolutionary period. Acknowledgment of the historically specific

viewer of the ideal male nude therefore suggests that the viewing relations between (post)classical spectator and idealized masculine effigy must themselves be interrogated with reference to the operations of homosocial desire and narcissistic identification. And once these considerations have been introduced it becomes immediately apparent why the male nude, no less than the female, is a fulcrum of contradiction. Which is to say that the production and consumption of desirable images of masculinity takes place within a (changing) social and cultural context that can hardly afford to acknowledge its own erotic economy whether on the register of the individual artists' or that of the culture's. For this reason too, the male nude in post-classical culture functions as a sensitive register of those distant rumblings in the sex/gender system that presage shifts in the status quo. In this respect, Alex Potts has provocatively explored one aspect of this contradiction, namely, "recurring tensions between the voluptuary aestheticism surrounding the 'beautiful' marble bodies of ancient art, and the 'manly' phantasies about a heroic public life supposedly exemplified in the 'free' republics of Greece and Rome"²³ but with the assumption that this complex dynamic loses its charge in the aftermath of Thermidor. My own mapping of this territory

differs somewhat from his insofar as I interpret the imagery of male trouble as, among other things, constituting both a repudiation of the excessive masculinity of Jacobin republicanism, a reprise of earlier models, and lastly, the provisional appropriation of the femininity that will become a hallmark of romantic (male) subjectivity.²⁴

It is the coding of the male body on the side of the feminine that has most concerned me in the period under discussion. As we have seen, a French painter schooled in any of the important ateliers who had passed any time in the École des Beaux-Arts possessed a mental pattern book of ideal bodies, which preexisted his direct work from the living model.²⁵ Thus, the *beau idéal* as aesthetic/pedagogical system, the reverence for antiquity, and the substantial visual reservoir of prototypes of antique beauty collectively insured that a history painter, aspiring or established, had a range of possibilities that were however, to be used in more or less prescribed ways. Thus, the body of Ganymede or Narcissus would not be employed for Cato or Brutus or vice versa.

In other words, the feminized masculine, as I have been designating it, was merely one of a number of available types in the lexicon of ideal bodies,

appropriate to, for example, the representation of ephebic *characters*, or alternatively, for geniuses, amors, Saint Sebastians, etc. This feminized male body had a venerable pedigree in antiquity: hermaphrodite, androgyne, faun, *eromenos*, all of which comprised overlapping categories on a spectrum that fell within the genus *ephebe*; all are modalities of the feminized masculine and each had its own myths, associations, and representational history.²⁶

Within this array, it was only the hermaphrodite that had a distinctive--indeed a defining--somatic specificity. However, the Hellenistic hermaphrodite--available to French artists in both Florence and Rome, and after 1798, in Paris, and one of the most venerated works of antiquity--seems to have been the least frequently employed type in painting. Girodet, for example, illustrated the mythic origin of the hermaphrodite, but not its metamorphosis. The subject, however, logically requires a three dimensional form; the visual expression of the hermaphrodite turns on ambiguity of appearance and fluidity of identification. The spectator is lured in consequence of an identification that is almost immediately reversed as he moves from one side of the statue to another. In his discussion of the Louvre Hermaphrodite, R.R.R. Smith makes an interesting

point as to why the hermaphrodite is given a female body with male genitalia, rather than the reverse:

The back view of the Hermaphrodite seems to be a loose quotation from a late Classical painting (known in good copies from Pompeii) of the sleeping Ariadne about to be rescued by Dionysos. Thus, the viewer is conditioned to expect in the statue not just a sleeping bacchant or nymph, but a sculptured version of the sleeping Ariadne, a familiar and seductive image of the naked heroine. The head, also visible from behind, reinforces this expectation...It both arouses the expectation of a heroine and raises the 'level' of the Hermaphrodite once discovered...As we saw...the relative merits of a male versus female erotic ideal were vigorously debated by the ancients. 'Technical' arguments from physical form were very important, and as objects of male desire only boys or women qualified. It was natural then that the Hermaphrodite, which at one level represented a Utopian amalgam of the sexes, should have a female body with male genitals. A man's body with female sex parts would have held no interest, would have 'lost' on all counts.²⁷

For Winckelmann, whose rhapsodic descriptions of antique art were a major influence in post-revolutionary sensibility, and whose History of Ancient Art Among the Greeks functioned as a virtual breviary for the history painter, the image of desire was principally drawn from the ephebic ranks. It was the ephebe that most perfectly embodied his notion of grace, and it was this quality of grace that above all else constituted the beautiful. On the other hand, Winckelmann's concern with classical female nudes was unapologetically perfunctory and it is clear from those passages that do address the female nude

how comparatively lukewarm and unenthusiastic were his responses to it:

...For the same reason that I find less to notice in the beauty of the female sex, the study of the artist in this department is much more limited and easy; even nature appears to act with more facility in the formation of the female than of the male sex, since there are fewer male than female children born. Hence Aristotle says, that the operations of Nature tend to perfection, even in the formation of human beings; but if a male cannot be produced, owing to the resistance of matter, then a female is the result. There is also another reason, not less easy to be understood, why the consideration, as well as the imitation of beauty of shape in female statues may require less labor, which is that most of the goddesses, as well as all the heroines, are draped...²⁸

For Winckelmann, both the perception of the beautiful and the beautiful itself was therefore pretty much the exclusive domain of men:

Since human beauty, in order that one may obtain a knowledge of it, must be included in one general idea, I have observed that those who pay no attention except to the beauties of the female sex, and are little moved, or not at all, by those of our sex, are not likely to have an innate, general and lively feeling for beauty. For them, beauty in the art of the Greeks must necessarily be imperfect, for the greatest beauties of that art are more frequently to be found in the masculine than in the feminine sex. Moreover, greater feeling is required for a consciousness of beauty in art than of beauty in nature, for beauty in art is like tears in the theatre, without grief and without life, and must be aroused and supplemented by the imagination. Since, however, the imagination is more ardent in youth than in the adult period, so the capacity of which we are speaking must be exercised early and must be directed towards the beautiful, before we reach the age when we confess with horror that we feel

nothing.²⁹

But, for Winckelmann, it was not merely the beauty of male adolescents that exceeded all other forms of beauty, it was an explicitly androgynized version of it. His florid descriptions of various fauns and Bacchuses as well as his commentary on individual works such as the Vatican Antinous dilate on those aspects of form, expression and modelling that are most expressive of effeminacy, and in fact Winckelmann claimed that the most beautiful among them had been modelled on eunuchs.³⁰

Winckelmann's obsessive attention to the minutiae of bodily delineation--e.g., the articulation of kneecaps, the depth of navels, the indication of nipples, the undercutting of testicles, and so forth--inescapably suggest the fetishist's gaze. Indeed, Winckelmann's taxonomy of ideal body parts extended to the size and shape of the genitalia.³¹ But however great the temptation to read Winckelmann's sexuality through his texts, it is far more apposite to note that the passionate intensity with which Winckelmann scrutinized every aspect of the statues and reliefs he examined was shared by his contemporaries as well as his post-revolutionary successors³².

By the time of the Revolution, Winckelmann's writings on antique art had been given a political

interpretation.³³ Insofar as Winckelmann had directly linked the cultural achievement of Classical Greece with its political democracy, his writings had an immediate relevance for those concerned with the creation of a revolutionary culture. Despite the fact that Winckelmann's periodization of the finest period of Greek art did not correspond to the period of greatest democracy, the equating of political freedom with artistic excellence was a valuable argument for the aesthetic left. In this respect, the strong political reading of Winckelmann, propounded, for example, by Jacobins such as Détournelle and the other members of the Revolutionary Society of the Arts, made of Winckelmann a kind of authorizing patriarch *cum* prophet.³⁴ And despite the fact that Winckelmann privileged the "beautiful style" over the "severe style," grace over muscular strength, ephebic youth over virile manliness, what mattered was that Winckelmann's vision of antiquity and the superb bodies with which it was supposedly populated was a world untroubled by sexual difference. It was thus the homoerotic and homosocial aspects of Winckelmann's texts that, as much as their celebration of Athenian freedom, made him so profoundly influential in the revolutionary and post-revolutionary period, providing the authorizing *political* terms by which the

ephebic body was integrated into French visual culture.

The *aesthetic* cult of the beautiful male body has now to be considered in relation to its political connotations, and images of masculinity contextualized with reference to their constitutive ideology. Thus, in much the same way that David's *Oath of the Horatii* or his *Brutus* have recently come to be read through the prism of gender politics,³⁵ so too must other--and later--articulations of masculinity be related to this shifting terrain. To grasp the appeal of the eroticized ephebe, we need, however, to consider its virilized "other." In this regard, we must therefore return to one of the most conspicuous features of revolutionary culture, namely its celebration of a constellation of values and attributes associated with manliness and a concomitant segregation (and devaluation) of those associated with femininity. Broadly stated, this political and moral division is itself related to the ways in which the bourgeois civil sphere, forged in the revolution itself, was in part constituted by and through the exclusion of women from public space and public life.³⁶ As Joan B. Landes and others have argued, the collapse of a premodern patriarchal organization, symbolized by the overthrow of the monarchy and the abolition of divine rule, inaugurated a far more pervasive gendering of the public

sphere. Ideologies of gender were in fact inscribed throughout the revolution, most obviously in the constant association of the corruption of the *ancien régime* with the (unnatural) power and depravity of women.³⁷ Further, the insistent masculinization of the concept of *vertu*, one of the dominant terms in revolutionary (and Rousseauiste) discourse, did much to insure that when the time came to juridically and institutionally eliminate women from the political arena, the philosophical and moral justification was already fully established:

It was through the word 'virtue', so crucial to the discourse of the Revolution that power was taken from women both in the interior of that discourse, and as users of that discourse. It is also no accident that many of [the] stock adjectives of the revolutionary discourse--'chaste vertu', 'probité austère', 'vertu mâle et républicaine'--should enforce this impression of a discourse heavily weighted in gender terms. The accepted historiography of the Old Regime ascribed enormous power to women, power partly defined as sexual evil. The necessary conclusion was that political revolution could only take place if women were excluded from exercising power, and the niche formerly occupied by women's powerful vice was taken over by male virtue.³⁸

The credit for much of this lies with Rousseau who perhaps more than any Enlightenment figure provided the philosophic rationale for the elimination of women from the nascent civil sphere. By promoting a highly seductive vision of breast-feeding and compliant women and virtuous and sensitive men (incarnated by Jean-Jacques himself)

whose diametrically opposed roles were consecrated by the very imprimatur of Nature, Rousseau provided the philosophical infrastructure that underpinned successive elaborations of this position from medicine, physiology, psychology, and jurisprudence. Rousseau's passionate conviction that virtue and happiness could be achieved by women only through submission to Nature's intent, i.e. exclusion from intellectual and civic life and exclusive devotion to children and family was, in Carol Blum's phrase, "a bold and daring provocation in the eighteenth century, where an egalitarian attitude toward women had become fashionable in enlightened and aristocratic circles."³⁹ This is perhaps to overstate the case; with the exception of a few *philosophes* such as Cordorcet, De Laclos, or (arguably) Helvetius, theoretical discourse on women can hardly be characterized as egalitarian.

Nonetheless, even before the establishment of the Jacobin Republic, the status of women as citizens was already equivocal; the constitution of 1791 had distinguished between active and passive citizens and women (along with the insane, minors and condemned criminals) were relegated to the latter category. Hence, "'In the Declaration,' [Leopold Lacour] observed, 'man means 'homo' and not 'vir.'" The history of the next four years was marked by government efforts to apply the word

'man' as 'human' in some spheres, such as those of taxation and criminal justice, where women were equally liable, and 'male' in others, namely those concerned with political, educational, and social rights."⁴⁰ The symbolic languages of republicanism were thus virtually preordained to hypostatize masculinity despite the fact that from 1789 until 1793 the symbolic figure of the revolution (i.e. Liberty, the Republic, or Marianne) was a female effigy.⁴¹ However, the use of a female allegory, either in its prerevolutionary applications (where, for example it could symbolize the monarchy) or after, implies little or nothing with respect to the actual status of women. The utility of female allegories, in fact, lay precisely in the non-relation of an attribute such as "Justice" or "Fortitude" to actual women.⁴² To the extent that the members of the Convention were predisposed towards a female allegorical representation, they may well have been motivated by the desire to chose a symbolic form as far removed as possible from physical form of the deposed male monarch.⁴³

As the Revolution mobilized languages of individual freedom, rights and popular sovereignty, so too did it foster the active and militant participation of women, who in certain instances--particularly in the

journées of 1789, 1792 and 1793 were the spearheads of direct revolutionary action. Animated by both the languages of revolution and the actions of revolutionary women, what might arguably be described as the first modern (that is to say both pluralist and internally divided) feminism was generated. Throughout the revolutionary years, however, as women increasingly established their political presence, either through direct action or through various political entities such as women's political clubs, they were simultaneously effaced in history painting. The climax, so to speak, of these parallel developments occurred at the very crest of Jacobin political consolidation as women were definitively expelled from the space of public speech and action.⁴⁴

It is for this reason that the project to establish a colossal statue of Hercules as the official emblem of the Republic, replacing the now well-established Marianne has such resonance. The specific proposal, made in early November of 1793 was David's-- then a deputy to the Convention--and its initial form was to be a colossus:

Je propose donc de placer ce monument sur la place de Pont-Neuf. Il représentera l'image du peuple géant, du peuple français. Que cette image, imposante par son caractère de force et de simplicité, porte en gros caractères sur son

front: *Lumière*; sur sa poitrine: *Nature, Verité*; sur ses bras, *Force, Courage*. Que sur l'une de ses mains les figures de la Liberté et de l'Egalité, serrées l'une contre l'autre et prêtes à parcourir le monde, montrent qu'elles ne reposent que sur le génie et la vertu du peuple! Que cette image du peuple debout, tienne dans son autre main cette massue terrible dont les anciens armaient leur Hercule.⁴⁵

This was a newly resurrected emblem (Hercules had hitherto functioned as the mythological representation of French kings, the *Hercule gaulois*, and in classical iconology was a figure linked to the rhetorical arts) but its utility as a radical effigy had multiple determinations:

It is impossible to know exactly what the deputies of the Convention had in mind when they chose Hercules for the seal, because the choice aroused little official comment. They may have been struck by his iconographic history, especially since that history had been attenuated in the last generations of the Old Regime. However, they were almost certainly attracted to the masculinity of the figure, since they had already voted to replace the female goddess of Liberty on the seal. This decision was in the first instance political: choosing Hercules enabled the Jacobins to distance themselves iconographically from their opponents, the Girondins. Hercules stood for the people on whom the Jacobins were dependent for their precarious superiority in national politics. More was involved here, however, than just a straightforward political message. David's Hercules recaptured and rehabilitated a distinctly virile representation of sovereignty, a concept that had connotations of domination and supremacy in any case...the masculinity of Hercules reflected indirectly on the deputies themselves; through him they reaffirmed the image of themselves as the band of brothers that had replaced the father-king. In addition to supplanting the king, Hercules dwarfed his female companions. In this way, the

introduction of Hercules served to distance the deputies from the growing mobilization of women into active politics.⁴⁶

During the relatively brief period of Hercules' currency as a revolutionary emblem (for all intents and purposes he disappeared from the scene by the end of the century⁴⁷), he was deployed in both classical and popular guises. For example, in classicizing form (derived from the Farnese Hercules) he appears as Joseph Chinard's terra cotta *Project for a Monument of the French People* (Louvre) produced for the competition of the Year II (November, 1793) to replace the statue of Henri IV on the Pont-Neuf. Equally classicized, he draws the chariot of the Republic in Joseph-Marie Vien's ink and wash drawing *The Triumph of the Republic* (Louvre, Cabinet des dessins) also produced for the competition of Year II. As well, he featured in David's monumental tableau for the Festival of the Supreme Being (June 8, 1794) where he held two tiny effigies of Liberty and Equality in his hand. In his popular incarnation, Hercules appeared as a brutish sans-culotte (the People as pure force) in prints and engravings. And from the evidence of at least one contemporary print, he was the giant personification in David's tableau for the festival of 10 August.

That the Hercules--a man for all seasons--could be

articulated as Praxitelean ideality or as "low" image of militant populism was a measure of its adaptability, but more interesting is the way the masculinization of dominant representation could overarch conflict between different classes of French (male) citizens. The worship of chimeras of masculinity--ephebic or virile, classical or plebeian--has historically functioned to paper over a broad range of differences and conflicts *between* men; one might well be a starving artisan rioting for bread and *le maximum*, but one was nevertheless allied in fraternity with one's brethren in the Convention. The honorific of male citizen, in revolutionary French culture as in classical Athens, could thus function to invoke a specious equality symbolically ratified by the shared prerogatives of masculine supremacy and feminine subordination.

In this respect, the work of John J. Winkler and David M. Halperin on the sexual politics of classical Athens provide an important explanatory model for the intensified phallicism of revolutionary French culture exemplified by the reinstitution of the Hercules figure.⁴⁸ In his discussion of the disenfranchisement of male prostitutes and the polis's provision of female prostitutes that accompanied the democratization of Athens in the sixth century BC., Halperin draws

conclusions that seem equally applicable to the psychosexual and political organization of France in the 1790s. He points out, for example, that the Athenian production of a democratic political body was accompanied by an increasingly strict demarcation of the public realm as a male preserve. Furthermore, the disenfranchisement of male prostitutes and the official support of female prostitution may be taken as twin correlates of an masculinist ideology that elides social and economic distinctions between male citizens:

If, among the Kabyle, an adult male can express his sense of inalienable and irreducible masculinity (that is, his basic social and sexual identity), by saying, "I, too, have a moustache," in classical Athens, it seems, the symbolic language of democracy proclaimed on behalf of each citizen, "I, too, have a phallus."...As such, the disenfranchisement of male prostitutes and the cheap provision of female prostitutes belong to a series of developments in the cultural poetics of Athenian manhood that took place during the era of the emerging democracy. Among these developments might also be numbered...the invention of the ithyphallic herm as the tutelary doorkeeper and guardian of the household...The erection of the herms may be another symptom, in other words, of the growing sense of masculine assertion and the new pride in masculine egalitarianism that accompanied the consolidation of the democracy at Athens.⁴⁹

The herms (quadrangular posts with a carved head of Hermes and an erect penis carved at the base) did not appear on vase paintings until 520-500 BC, the same period from which the earliest surviving stone herms are dated. Winkler interprets them as "levelling signs,"

tokens of both democracy and masculine hegemony:

In a political community whose atomic units are representatives of family groups, the herms express the notional equality of each household, represented in the person of its patriarch and symbolized by the simplified image of the man--a bearded face and an upright phallus...The herm is thus a levelling sign, or came to be such when it was widely used under the fuller democracy of Kleisthenes.⁵⁰

While it would be hardly accurate to strictly analogize the Attic herms with the Herculean emblem, or, for that matter, with the exaggerated virilism of Jacobin aesthetics, what matters here is the congruity between an expanded democracy for male citizens, the strategic use of phallocratic symbolism and the more stringent confinement of women, all of which combine to sustain and foster the bonds of homosocial organization. It was Joan Kelly, in her classic essay "The Social Relations of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History," who pointed out that the historical periods singled out by liberal historians as those marked by progressive developments--e.g., the expansion of individual freedoms--and exemplified by Athenian democracy, the Renaissance, and the French Revolution--were those in which women's estate, if anything, worsened.

Let me merely point out that if we apply Fourier's famous dictum--that the emancipation of women is an index of the general emancipation of an age--our notions of so-called progressive developments...undergo a startling re-evaluation. For women, "progress" in Athens meant concubinage

and confinement of citizen wives in the gynecaeum. In Renaissance Europe it meant domestication of the bourgeois wife and escalation of witchcraft persecution which crossed class lines. And the Revolution expressly excluded women from its liberty, equality and "fraternity."⁵¹

In the context of what Jane Abray termed the "world historical defeat of women" at the apex of Jacobin consolidation and the cultural dominance of virile and stoic models of masculinity, how do the passive and androgynized masculinities of post-revolutionary painting factor in? Here it is important to reiterate that within the spectrum encompassed by the rubric ephebe, there is a considerable typological range.

By way of example, we may take three works by artists who spanned two artistic generations and emerged from somewhat different academic formations. The paintings, in chronological sequence, are as follows: Charles Meynier, (1768-1832), *Adolescent Amor weeping over a portrait of Psyche whom he has lost*, 1792 (Quimper, Musée des Beaux-Arts) (fig. 54); Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829), *Liberty or Death*, salon of 1795 (Hamburg, Kusthalle) (fig. 55); and Prud'hon (1758-1823), *Young Zephyr*, salon of 1814 (Louvre) (fig. 22).

Of the three, it is Meynier's startlingly effeminized Amor who is, as it happens, the product of the revolutionary moment. Meynier dated the painting 1792

when he was then a pensioner at the Villa Medici, although it was only exhibited in the salon of 1795. If Meynier's own dating is to be believed, it is almost exactly contemporary with Girodet's *Endymion* (fig. 6). In his brief discussion of the work, and in the absence of any documentation on the genesis and completion of the painting, Régis Michel assumes that the painting is directly modelled upon Girodet's, although strictly speaking, there seems no reason not to assume the reverse influence.⁵² For the purposes of my own argument, it matters little whether Meynier's work was earlier or later than Girodet's. Rather, I want to consider these works as a grouping that both individually and collectively illustrate the visual modalities of homosocial desire and/or narcissistic investment. Insofar as these icons of grace and beauty are both generic and specific, their narrative or allegorical functions obviously determine how they are viewed. Thus, Amor is nominally, i.e. diegetically, understood to represent the sorrow of romantic loss and bereavement. With his serpentine contours and prominent déhanchement, Love gazes at the cameo of Psyche, his embroidered mantle secured between his smooth and undulant thighs. It is, needless to say, an arrangement of the body that is entirely feminine. What is interesting here is that the

cameo image of Psyche is a virtual double of Amor's own "Greek" head; the tight curls and the top part of the coiffure, as well as the profile are almost identical. In spite of the narrative, it is as though the look at the cameo is the look in the mirror; the absorption in the image of the beloved woman belying an amorous fascination with the self. Sexual difference, supposedly represented by Psyche, is in fact a doubling of the same. Like Endymion's attendant Amor, the two putti on the right inject their own set of allusions, possibly to the diabolical and salacious putti of Bronzino's *Venus, Cupid, Time and Folly*, possibly to other mannerist prototypes. Although seated on the rocks (or bank), the Amor figure appears to float; this weightless quality is itself a code of ephebic ideality; weight, mass, and gravity belonging more to the province of the real.

The affective elements of weightlessness are demonstrated even more clearly in Regnault's *Liberty or Death* where the genius representing the human spirit is isolated spatially and is suspended against the intense blue of allegorical non-space. Isolated and frontal, with arms extended, the genius occupies a quite different place on the ephebic spectrum. Arms outstretched, confronting the viewer (to whom the "choice" of the painting's title is narratively addressed) rather than

engaging with either Liberty or Death, the genius subliminally evokes the image of the crucified Christ. He possesses in any case a far more "normal" and virile body; it is the boyish and idealized features of the head that mark him as ephebe. As with so many representations of the male nude, the diminutive size of the genitals is compensated for elsewhere; thus, the erect flame that sprouts from the head can be seen to "vehicle" the phallic power that is manifestly absent from the body.

Prud'hon's *Zephyr* (illustrated here in its engraved version, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes) belongs to yet another category of ephebe, ostensibly the pre-adolescent child. Prud'hon however has complicated this model; the torso has been given a far more articulated musculature than the rest of the body would lead one to expect, and the left arm is also inappropriately developed. The figure is thus a morphological pastiche in which the *douceur* of the child's head and face (stamped with the Prud'honian trademark of "Correggesque" expression) contrasts disturbingly with the "mature" appearance of the chest and arm. As a personification rather than a narrativized character or an allegorical emblem, *Zephyr* represents not only a third morphological specimen, but a third representational type. What I want to consider, however,

are the (possible) tracks by which contemporary male spectators might relate to such imagery.

In the case of Meynier (who like so many of the artists thus far discussed was as adept in producing images of heroic manliness as ephebic grace), we must not discount the ways by which what we consider to be the manifest eroticism of the painting was itself invisibly inscribed within the presiding terms of the *beau idéal*.⁵³ Nevertheless, even if we assume this to be a given in *Amor weeping*, and the others' as well, we require some kind of schema of spectatorial identification that accounts for their appeal. This, I would suggest, resides in a form of empowerment by which the male viewer is affirmed in *his* masculinity vis à vis the effeminacy and beauty of the youth. For surely that attenuated and swanlike body evokes the feminine it has somatically incorporated. In other words, the viewing relations produced in the various incarnations of male trouble are structurally similar to the more familiar ones of male spectator and image of femininity. At the same time, there is operative a recuperative possibility for the iconographic presentation of masculine effeminacy. For insofar as elite culture provided precedents that linked debility, impotence and passivity with the most venerated forms of male subjectivity

(notably, that of Jean-Jacques himself), what seems to be symptomatically expressed is an interiorization, and as well, a colonization of a femininity then in the process of being expelled from an increasingly masculinized public sphere.

Leaving aside all question of individual sexual proclivities, we confront in such works an economy of homosocial desire which in this period still allows for a libidinal investment in the male body. This investment, however, is provided with an alibi that is constituted through a set of equivalences: spiritual and moral beauty = physical beauty = idealized masculinity (of whatever complexion). The erotics of the look, and indeed, the erotics of the image have in a sense always and already been sublimated into the edifying terms of idealist aesthetics.

There is here at work a structural homologue to Freud's theorization of mechanisms of the ego-ideal:

The formation of the ego-ideal is often confounded with sublimation, to the detriment of clear comprehension. A man who has exchanged his narcissism for the worship of a high ego-ideal has not on that account succeeded in sublimating his libidinal instincts. It is true that the ego-ideal requires such sublimation, but it cannot enforce it; sublimation remains a special process which may be prompted by the ideal but the execution of which is entirely independent of any such incitement... Further, the formation of an ego-ideal and sublimation are quite differently related to the causation of neurosis. As we have learnt, the

formation of the ideal increases the demands upon the ego and is the most powerful factor favouring repression; sublimation is a way out, a way by which the claims of the ego can be met without involving repression.⁵⁴

As I have been suggesting throughout, ideologies of gender, like ideology *tout court*, are historical complexes and therefore may manifest their own forms of uneven development. New models of sexed subjectivity, spawned in the revolution, are nonetheless in process, manifesting in some aspects the emerging order of bourgeois hegemony, in others, the residual traces of the old. If, on the one hand, the stoic masculinities of Cato and Brutus, the Horaces and Socrates were briefly proposed as ego-ideals, they may well have proved too oppressive to masculine subjectivity to long endure. The erotic and androgynous ephebe therefore comes to serve several overlapping functions: as masculine representatives of the *beau idéal* they could evoke narcissistic identification (along the track of what the subject would like to be); as feminized (or infantilized) images of masculinity, they could mobilize fantasies of possession and mastery, standing in, so to speak, for the absent feminine; as "unstable" images of ambiguous gender they could generate a phantasmatic free play, an escape from the uncompromising fixities of revolutionary gender

ideology. In all cases, however, the masculinity of the spectator is effectively shored up and affirmed.

Equally germane to these arguments is the fate of femininity--its constitution as pure difference--in the forge of revolution:

The Revolution can thus be seen as a contestation between male and female, in which the result of the middle-class revolutionary creation of images of heroic masculinity was often drawn, as we have seen, from the Stoic movement in classical antiquity... Eighteenth-century clothes were designed for artifice, display and disguise; Revolutionary styles for authenticity, simplicity and transparency to the gaze of others. No longer seducing the eye of the beholder with artifice, they emphasized the actual gender of the wearer. Dress practices, like the use of make-up, jewellery, artificial hair and facial patches, which had been common to both sexes before 1789, began to be rigidly differentiated by gender and their use confined to women. The new "minimalist" clothes of the Revolution, and the forbidding to men of disguise, display and artifice in dress and body adornment, meant that Revolutionary fashions echoed the new political culture's emphasis on sharpening differentiation between the sexes and insisting that members of each sex appear for what they "really" were. At the same time, it is interesting to note, *class* lines in dress were often deliberately blurred, as ardent male middle-class revolutionaries donned the trousers identified with the working man and escaped the knee breeches associated with the aristocracy. The clothes expressed the profound truth that while the line between middle-class men and working-class men might, on strategic occasions be blurred, that between men and women had at all costs to be made visible.⁵⁵

Outrams' description of the way that clothing operated to accentuate sexual difference but lessen class difference conforms to another development in the revolutionary

refashioning of gender ideology; namely, new epistemological, medical, and psychological models of gender that insisted on the absolute alterity of the female body. Thus, as women were expelled from the public sphere, femininity itself was retheorized as pure difference. As Thomas Lacqueur has shown, the gradual replacement of a one-sex model for reproductive and genital biology (wherein female anatomy was understood to be an internalized and, needless to say, less perfect analogue of the male's) had enormous implications for the conceptualization of gender across the board. In other words, once science had empirically established a biological paradigm of utter incommensurability and difference, all other discourses in the human sciences would be correspondingly organized around this unbreachable divide:

By around 1800, writers of all sorts were determined to base what they insisted were fundamental differences between the male and female sex, and thus between man and woman, on discoverable biological distinctions and to express those in a radically different rhetoric...Not only are the sexes different but they are different in every conceivable physical and moral aspect. To the physician or the naturalist, the relation of woman to man is "a series of oppositions and contrasts."... Doctors claimed to be able to identify "the essential features that belong to her, that serve to distinguish her, that make her what she is": 'All parts of her body present the same differences: all express woman; the brow, the nose, the eyes, the mouth, the ears, the chin, the cheeks. If we shift our view to the inside, and with the

help of the scalpel, lay bare the organs, the tissues, the fibers, we encounter everywhere...the same difference.'⁵⁶

As Lacquer thus concludes, the prior, venerable paradigm of sexual difference, "whose telos was male, gave way by the late eighteenth century to a new model of radical dimorphism, of biological divergence. An anatomy and physiology of incommensurability replaced a metaphysics of hierarchy in the representation of woman to man."⁵⁷

To the extent that a Declaration of the Rights of Women, the militancy of the women of the *sections*, or the rioting market women of Les Halles were psychologically and politically threatening to the men who struggled to control the forces unleashed in the revolution itself, it is not that surprising that the fantasies mobilized involved flights to the never-never land of the Ossianic mists or the Anacreonic pastorage. Nor is it surprising that the *pur et dur* exigencies of Jacobin manhood could not long survive the revolution itself.

In this respect, the Napoleonic myth, the reinstitution of monarch as emperor, and not least, the charismatic power of Napoleon himself, can be said to have also contributed to the depletion, indeed the deflation, of the mythic masculinity of the revolutionary moment. The "band of brothers," in Hunt's terms, was replaced again by the governing patriarch. In this

respect, the relative impotence and narrative passivity of Chateaubriand's René or Stendhal's Fabrizio del Dongo and Julien Sorel (constantly described in Red and Black as physically "girlish" and "delicate") contrasts tellingly with the overweening stature of a mythologized Napoleon, whose phallic *manna* overshadows the age. Similarly, following fast upon the heels of Thermidor, new masculinities can be seen to emerge, masculinities that would seem to occupy the feminine side of the spectrum in their characteristic exhibitionism and sartorial display.

In fact, contemporary descriptions--textual and iconic--of the *merveilleux* and the *incroyables*, (themselves descendants of the *fats* and the *muscadins*)⁵⁸ convey the sense of a masculinity articulated as essentially specular. Specular insofar as the men who devoted their personal fortunes to their tailors, laced themselves into corsets and, in general, cut a figure in drawing rooms or boulevards were behaving in ways that by the time of the July Monarchy would be stereotypically attributed to women. Contemporary prints of the period such as *Le Sérail Parisien ou le bon ton de 1802* (fig. 56), *La Valse* (fig. 57), and *Le Sérail en boutique* (fig. 58) (all Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale) provide a vivid sense of these new styles of comportment and self-display. Consistent with Outram's description of

the heightened emphasis on sexual difference, the women's clothing reveal all or part of their breasts, their arms, and the light transparent fabric of their dresses reveal the body underneath. And while the men's clothing expose less flesh, the cut of the trousers (tight in the leg, dropped and baggy at the seat, and drawn high at the waist in order to accentuate the crotch) is in its way no less revealing. Furthermore, their elaborate coiffures, complicated neckcloths, and delicately shod feet are not so much markers of sexual difference as they are equivalents of feminine display. Thus, even as costume can be said to stress secondary sexual characteristics, masculinity is nonetheless still consistent with exhibitionism and display. Although mocked as "effeminate" in contemporary graphic imagery and literary and epistolary accounts, there was as yet no "homosexualization" of these *fashionables*, *jeunesse dorée* or dandies. Portraits such as Louis Gauffier's *Prince Koudacheff* (1796) (fig. 59) are even more revelatory of this transitional period in masculine self-representation. Despite the somewhat portly trunk of the prince, the tight silk trousers, dainty slippers, and "supplemental" snowy handkerchief are aspects of his physical appeal. Similarly, the come-hither expression and the aristocratic posing of the body bespeaks the

prince's actively seductive and highly self-conscious identity as *fat* or *fashionable*. Nor was such self-fashioning the exclusive purview of the aristocracy, the Thermidorian right and the *jeunesse dorée*; the Barbus themselves were spectacles, parading through the streets of Paris in antique costume and sporting beards and sandals.

Following the stylish reign of the *incroyable* and with the end of the Napoleonic wars came the new avatar of dandyism--a British import--whose various incarnations would reverberate throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. In keeping with Baudelaire's classic characterization of dandyism--"Le dandysme apparait surtout aux époques transitoires quand la démocratie n'est pas encore toute-puissante, quand l'aristocratie n'est que partiellement chancelante et avilie"--historians and literary critics have interpreted the phenomenon largely in strictly materialistic terms. But dandyism and its earlier incarnations demand to be understood within the larger framework I have described; like the desirable male nude of the post-revolutionary salon, dandyism too is the last gasp of an archaic model of masculinity, already marginalized and destined for extinction.

In J. C. Flugel's account of what he termed the

"great masculine renunciation," the tidal shift from aristocratic to bourgeois masculine subjectivity occurred by the middle of the eighteenth-century, at least in England. Remarking on the shift in British male fashion that originated in the 1740s, Flugel reasoned that as the components of what might be termed the collective ego-ideal were altered historically, so too were masculine subjectivities correspondingly adjusted. In abjuring previously masculine prerogatives such as lavish and richly decorative clothing, wigs, make-up, high heels, and instead accepting "bourgeois" garb (more closely linked to the dress of the working man; hence, a signifier of equality) the well-to-do men of Europe and America had also to repress their exhibitionism and narcissism--two fundamental drives in all human subjects (hence the renunciation). These qualities could, however, be massively projected outward upon women, the "muted other" and masculine exhibitionism transformed into voyeuristic scopophilia:

Thus we can see that, in the case of the exhibitionistic desires connected with self-display, a particularly easy form of conversion may be found in a change from (passive) exhibitionism to (active) scopophilia (erotic pleasure in the use of vision)--the desire to be seen being transformed into the desire to see. This desire to see may itself remain unsublimated and find its appropriate satisfaction in the contemplation of the other sex, or it may be sublimated and find its expression in the more general desire to see and know.⁵⁹

In essence, Flugel is here describing the transition from the visual economy of pre- and post-revolutionary elite culture in which the masculine occupies--perhaps for the last time--the position of specular object of desire, to the new order of bourgeois gender ideology in which this position may only be occupied by the feminine. The domain of specularity, exhibitionism and display comes therefore to be both designated and identified as the domain of femininity, an association for which there was, in any case, venerable cultural and religious precedents.

There is one last strand in this variegated tapestry of visual culture which can also be said to fall beneath the sign of male trouble and that is to do with the image of masculinized femininity. This too is an avatar of androgyny, and post-revolutionary art provides numerous examples. As I indicated earlier in my discussion of academic pedagogy, the figures of men and women in the vast majority of history paintings were based on professional male models. Even more important, the mental, that is to say, the intellectual model for and of the body was male. For this reason, one must be cautious about drawing conclusions from the historical prevalence (in almost all styles and schools) of what are clearly male bodies that have been subsequently modified to represent female ones. Nevertheless, the incidence of

masculinized images of the feminine in post-revolutionary art suggests that this iconography is part of the larger psychosexual formation I have been describing.

Like the vogue for beautiful ephebes, the apparent appeal of an androgynous femininity is attested to in print culture as well as salon painting. Girodet and Prud'hon were adepts of this form of sexual ambiguity and it seems likely that this in part accounted for their appeal. Girodet's double portrait of himself and his presumed mistress Julie Candaille (Musée Girodet) (fig. 60) speaks for itself, both subjects crowned with identical short-cropped coiffures and displaying similar profiles. Girodet's work provides other examples as well such as a massive-necked amazon (fig. 61) lithographed by Aubry-Leconte in 1828. Charles Meynier's glowering Cybele in his study for *The Death of Atys* (fig. 62) is given the musculature of a tennis pro. Although female figures are conspicuously rare in the work of Géricault, it is suggestive that when they were treated, as in the extraordinary wash and ink study *Leda and the Swan* (fig. 63), they are for all intents and purposes male figures furnished with breasts.⁶⁰ And just as female figures could be masculinized with strong and developed bodies, so too could they be "ephebized" as adolescents, as in Guérin's head and bust of a young girl (Louvre) (fig.

64). But it was preeminently Prud'hon who made of such disturbing figures a kind of subspeciality producing massive, Michelangelesque female figures exemplified by the somewhat nightmarish Venus in *Venus, Hymen and Love* (1815-20, Louvre) (fig. 65). Insofar as female figures of this type are generally allegorical or mythological figures they were often paired with feminized ephebes over whom they compositionally dominate as in *Venus, Hymen and Love* or in *The Abduction of Psyche* (fig. 66), so that a contrast is established between the powerful weighty form of the female figure and the dwarfed figure of the ephebe.

That the manifestly weird and sexually ambiguous art of Prud'hon should have had the admirers it did, including partisans like T.C. Bruun Neergard (who was as enthusiastic a Davidian as a Prud'honian) is yet another index of the way that post-revolutionary art was critically received in vastly different terms than modern commentators have presumed. In reading contemporary criticism, particularly salon criticism, the difficulty lies in trying to grasp the latent meanings beneath the normalizing discourses of neoclassicism. Thus the invocations of Correggio and Leonardo so frequent in the writing about Prud'hon operate at the most superficial level of stylistic description and categorization but

indicate little about his appeal as such.⁶¹

Considering these images of masculinized femininity in tandem with the (far more prevalent) images of feminized masculinity as related phenomena suggests at least one inclusive generalization which hinges on the way both types actively destabilise the fixities of sexual difference, fixities that revolutionary discourse was intent to secure. For male spectators, a category to be strictly distinguished from a mythic and universal "beholder," the pleasures of paintings and graphic works such as those I have discussed throughout these two chapters are doubtless related to their various elisions of sexual difference. Ironically enough, these pleasures are integrally related to their narrative and iconographic "pains." Thus, the representation of male trouble, which in many instances constitutes their manifest content (e.g., expiring or otherwise hapless ephebes) can be interpreted at one and the same time as both the expression of the problem and its phantasmatic solution. Whether femininity is effectively banished and expelled, assimilated and interiorized within the image of masculinity, or itself metamorphosed into a hybrid gender, the common denominator remains the flight from difference and its recuperation under the sign of the same. It is in this sense that the uneven development of

gender ideology is given visual expression. Insofar as these icons of homosocial desire look backward to the *sensibilité* of the mid-eighteenth century--backward too to the hypostatisation of masculinity of the revolutionary moment--they anticipate as well the new division of iconographic labor in which it is uniquely femininity that can serve as spectacle and lure for desire. Thus, the swooning youths of Broc, of Girodet, of Dubuffe, of Guérin, the graceful Amors, Ganymedes and Narcissuses are alike inhabitants of a liminal space in which homosocial desire is (visually) articulated in relation to the masculine. When this paradigm shifts, as it does in the period between the Restoration and the July Monarchy, the attributes of an idealized and erotically cathected masculinity will henceforth be projected onto femininity, minus, of course, all the heroic, ethical, and institutional values that had been mapped upon the classical male body.

While there is obviously no strict line of demarcation dividing these two iconographic regimes, I would propose by way of symbolic closure two works from the July Monarchy that respectively signal the decisive collapse of the older paradigm. The first, an artifact of elite culture, is Hippolyte Flandrin's Prix de Rome winner of 1832, *Theseus recognized by his father* (fig.

67). The distinction between penis and phallus with which I opened this chapter is given here a particularly delirious manifestation in Flandrin's unfortunate use of the rib roast to mask Theseus' genitals and the contiguity of the knife to both. Although some critics made pointed reference to this device ("Nous dirons aussi que le plat de côtelettes employé pour cacher les parties naturelles de Thésée, debout devant le table, est une idée bien ridicule, un moyen d'agencement bien grotesque."⁶²), the reservations that were widely expressed about the painting as a whole concerned its coldness, the stiffness of the figures, their lack of expression and/or their lack of "nobility". In effect, the lack of enthusiasm for the painting, even by those like Délécluze who were most committed to a continuation of Davidian neoclassicism, or by the partisans of Ingres, Flandrin's teacher, suggests that what was subliminally perceived as absent in the work was precisely the sensual and erotic investment in the male body that had animated history painting previously. Indeed, the pedantic dryness of Flandrin's painting, its uninspired correctness and dutiful antique reference, its desiccated and leaden color--all emblemize the crisis of history painting lamented by academic critics throughout the century. And while the lengthy death agony of history painting had

multiple components, not the least important one derived from the "de-cathecting" of the ideal male body.⁶³

The second example derives from a broader cultural formation and is mobilized by a politics (and aesthetics) altogether hostile to the values of classicism, neo- or otherwise. Specifically, I refer to Daumier's hilarious send-ups of history painting and its myths collected under the title Histoires Anciennes (figs. 68 and 69) (1842). With its potbellied heros and lumpy goddesses, Daumier was obviously intent on subverting all aspects of heroic myth while simultaneously dismantling the premises of history painting. Nevertheless, when we consider his no less hilarious re-visions of Endymion and Narcissus, it seems clear that one important target of his satire is what he deems the absurdity of male pretensions to purely physical and sensual beauty. A conception of masculinity that encompasses the narcissistic, the exhibitionistic, and the passive, and which itself may serve as ego-ideal, as well as *beau idéal*, is now worlds, not decades, removed from Daumier.

Notes

1. Chaussard, Sur le tableau de Sabines, An VIII, p. 2. Cited in Annie Becq, "Esthétique et politique sous le Consulat et l'Empire: la notion de beau idéal," Romantisme, 51-54 (1986) pp. 22-37.
2. Eva C. Keuls, The Reign of the Phallus (New York: Harper & Row, 1985) p. 68.
3. François Lissarrague, "The Sexual Life of Satyrs," in David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, Froma I. Zeitlin, eds., Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) p.56.
4. The term is George Bataille's.
5. Leo Steinberg's The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion (New York: Pantheon, 1983) is to my knowledge, the only art historical consideration of issues and problems posed in the representation of genitalia. Obviously, Steinberg's discussion hinges on the fact that the genitalia to be depicted are Christ's, but the rarity of such investigations in the first place is itself confirmation of my initial point.
6. Peter Stalleybrass and Allon White, The Politics and Poetics of Transgression (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 21.
7. Stalleybrass and White, Politics and Poetics, p. 21.
8. Stalleybrass and White, Politics and Poetics, p. 22.
9. See in this regard the important essay by Régis Michel in the catalog Le beau idéal, ou l'art du concept (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1989). The standard summarizing accounts of the *beau idéal* in French academic theory are Benoit and Fontaine. Primary sources underpinning my discussion are those of Quatremère de Quincy, probably the most influential of Winkelmann's later exegetes.
10. Quatremère de Quincy and A. Leroy fils, Nouvelles des Arts, t. II; cited in Benoit, L'art français, p. 50.

11. This system was codified well before the eighteenth century. Its practical exposition may be found in Roger de Piles, Premiers elements de la peinture pratique (Geneva: Minkoff reprint, 1973).

12. Quatremère de Quincy's formulation may be taken as paradigmatic: "Vous vous abusez étrangement quand vous prenez l'étude du modèle ou l'étude de la nature. Le modèle est bien dans la nature, mais il ne s'ensuit pas de là que la nature soit dans le modèle. La nature est l'espèce, le modèle n'est qu'un individu de l'espèce. A coup sûr, cette étude ne sauroit se renfermer dans un seul individu, à moins que cet individu ne se suppose le type de toutes les beautés et de toutes les perfections...La nature, dans la génération des êtres, est exposée à trop d'accidens. Joignez y ceux de l'éducation et de toutes les circonstances qui environnent l'homme en société, vous aurez la preuve que la perfection dans un modèle est une chimère, que par la réunion de toutes les beautés éparses dans les individus de l'espèce, et cette recherche où l'étude de ce qui peut opérer cette réunion qui est la perfection, est véritablement l'étude de la nature." Quatremère de Quincy, Considerations sur les arts du dessin, (Paris: 1791; Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970).

13. The debates around this issue--the status of "nature" within the concept of the *beau idéal*--are the very heart of neoclassical art theory. Benoit, L'Art français, provides the classic summarizing account, drawing on the texts of Quatremère, Emeric David, Kératry, Droz, Ponce, and others. See as well Régis Michel's discussion in the catalog, Le beau idéal, and Annie Becq, "Esthétique et politique."

14. The relevant clause, which dates from 1654 reads as follows: "Sa majesté veut et étend que doresnevant il ne soit posé aucun modèle, faut monstre, ni donné leçon en public, touchant le fait de peinture et de sculpture qu'en la dite Académie Royale." Cited in Pevsner, Academies of Art: Past and Present (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940) p. 87. See as well Locquin, Peinture d'histoire en France; Grunheer, Prix de Rome; and the essays in the London Royal Academy catalog France in the Eighteenth Century.

15. Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish (New York: Vintage Books, 1979) p.25-26.

16. For an detailed account of these academic practices including the competition's organization, see Grunchev, Prix de Rome.
17. Locquin, Peinture d'histoire en France, p. 78-79.
18. Locquin, Peinture d'histoire en France, pp. 79-80.
19. Quatremère de Quincy, cited in Benoit, L'Art français, p. 34.
20. The debates that erupted around Dejoux's colossal statue of Desaix are themselves a useful index of the instability and difficulty of the male nude in the nineteenth century, particularly when that nude was supposed to represent a real person (analogous problems were raised by Canova's nude statue of Napoleon). For the statue of Desaix, Marie-Louise Biver, "La Statue de Desaix sur la Place des Victoires," Le Paris de Napoléon (Paris: Plon, 1963).
21. Winckelmann is, of course, the locus classicus of these debates, and subsequent arguments by French critics and arts administrators are all to a greater or lesser degree derived directly from him. The most influential critic here is Quatremère de Quincy; see his Sur L'Imitation, 1832 (Brussels: Archives d'Architecture Moderne, 1980). See as well Nicolas Ponce, "Sur le nu et le costume--la verité au salon de 1812," no. 1043, Decade, an IX, t. XXXIX; Joseph Droz, Etudes sur le Beau dans les arts (Paris: Antoine-Augustin Renouard, 1815) p. 43; Reverony St. Cyr, "Sur l'imitation du Beau" in Lettres impartiales, an XIII; and Amaury-Duval, "Polyscope," (1796, and thereafter: La Decade philosophique, litteraire et politique. Paris, 1794.)
22. James Rubin's view is characteristic of this unexamined assumption: "In another sense this view [Chateaubriand's] represents a retreat from that of the Enlightenment in which heroic masculinity was demanded in reaction to the so-called decadence of Rococo art. Guerin's interpretation is part of a consistent and characteristic context I can only begin to evoke here; the stirrings of a more "feminine sensibility" were present in early French Romanticism from Rousseau through *Atala* and *René* and the troubadours; and the parallel between the dominance of women in this literature and in Racine should now be evident. Following the Revolution, moreover, French fashion and the social scene were

subjugated by les merveilleuses and by the salons of Madame de Staël and Madame Récamier." Rubin, "Guerin's Painting of Racine and the Postrevolutionary Revival of Racine, The Art Bulletin 59 (Dec. 1977) pp. 601-619. Rubin's interpretation has an ancestry that goes back at least as far as the Goncourts, if not before: "La révolution de Thermidor a été la victoire de la femme. La Terreur était une tyrannie toute virile et elle était l'ennemie personnelle de la femme, en ce sens qu'elle lui prenait son influence et ne lui donnait que des droits. La Terreur détronée, les femmes ont recouru à leur rôle éternel: elles ont apitoyé les coeurs, pour mener les esprits; elles ont fait de la révolution politique une révolution sentimentale." Edmond and Jules Goncourt, Histoire de la Société française pendant le Directoire (Paris: Charpentier, 1880) p. 293.

23. Potts, "Ideal Manhood," p. 1.

24. See in this regard Alan Richardson, "Romanticism and the Colonization of the Feminine," and Marlon B. Ross, "Romantic Quest and Conquest: Troping Masculine Power in the Crisis of Poetic Identity," both in Anne K. Mellor, ed., Romanticism and Feminism (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988).

25. This was in fact literally the case. See for example, Gerard de Lairesse, Cours de peinture par principes (Paris: 1708) and Lairesse, Les Principes du Dessin ou Méthode courte et facile pour apprendre les arts en peu de temps, first ed. (Amsterdam: 1719); second edition, (Amsterdam et Leipzig: 1748); and C.-A. Jombert, Méthode pour apprendre le dessin, avec gravures de Cochin (Paris: 1755).

26. A thorough discussion of these categories and the iconography of the androgyne in French painting is provided by Mechthild Fend, "Die Androgynie in der Französischen Malerei," (Ph.D. diss., University of Hamburg: 1992).

27. R.R.R. Smith, Hellenistic Sculpture (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991) p. 133-4.

28. J.J. Winckelmann, The History of Ancient Art Among the Greeks, trans. G. Henry Lodge (London: John Chapman, 1750) pp. 121-122.

29. Cited in Mario Praz, On Neoclassicism, trans. Angus Davidson (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1969), p. 45.

30. A few examples: "The second kind of ideal youth is drawn from the conformation of eunuchs. It is represented, blended with masculine youth in Bacchus. He appears under this form at different ages, until he attains his full growth, and, in the most beautiful statues, always with delicate, round limbs, and the full expanded hips of the female sex, for according to the fable, he was brought up as a maiden...The forms of his limbs are soft and flowing, as though inflated by a gentle breath, and with scarcely any indication of the bones and cartilages of the knees, just as these joints are formed in youths of the most beautiful shape, and in eunuchs." Winckelmann, trans. Lodge, op. cit., p. 93. "The head of Bacchus which possesses the highest beauty belongs to a restored statue, somewhat larger than nature, which has gone to England. The face exhibits an indescribable blending of male and female beautiful youth, and a conformation intermediate between two sexes, which will be recognized, by any one who looks for it in its present location, by the filet around the forehead, and by the absence of the usual crown of vine-leaf or ivy." Winckelmann, Ancient Art, pp. 95-96.

31. "I cannot comprehend how the great artist of the Antinous, wrongly so termed, in the Belvedere, happened to make a small incised circle about the right nipple, which consequently appears as if inlaid, and as large as the part inclosed within the circle. It was probably done for the purpose of denoting the extent of the glandular portion of the nipple..." Winckelmann, Ancient Art, p. 241. "Even the private parts have their appropriate beauty. The left testicle is always the larger, as it is in nature; so, likewise, it has been observed that the sight of the left eye is keener than the right...I leave it to the reader, and to the seeker after Beauty, to turn over coins, and study particularly those parts which the painter was unable to represent to the satisfaction of Anacreon, in the picture of his favorite [i.e. Bathyllus]." Winckelmann, Ancient Art, p. 283. In fact, Winckelmann was wrong about testicular asymmetry; in nature, as opposed to classical sculpture, it is the right testicle that is larger. I am indebted to Bettina Bergmann for providing me with I.C. McManus's, "Scrotal asymmetry in man and ancient sculpture," Nature,

259/5542 (Feb 5, 1976) p. 47.

32. "We sense [Winckelmann's] influence immediately when we read in Goethe of a group of German art students discussing the Apollo's ears, or when we hear of a French connoisseur pointing out that the merit of the Capitoline Antinous was demonstrated by the fact that the undercutting of the testicles was so fine that a paper slipped between them and the thigh would be held in place..." Cited in Haskell, Taste and the Antique (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981) p. 102.

33. See in this regard Edouard Pommier's important essay, "Winckelmann et la Vision de l'Antiquité Classique dans la France des Lumières et de la Révolution," Revue de l'Art 83 (1989) pp. 9-20; and Potts, "Ideal Manhood."

34. See Michel and Bordes, Aux Armes.

35. See, for example, Norman Bryson's discussion of the paintings in his Tradition and Desire (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

36. This argument provides the central thesis of Joan B. Landes, Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988). Other works which support Landes' interpretation and on which I draw in this discussion are as follows: Carol Blum, Rousseau and the Republic of Virtue (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); Carole Pateman, The Disorder of Women (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989); Dorinda Outram, The Body and the French Revolution (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989); and Lynn Hunt, Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984).

37. The trial of Marie Antoinette was at least in part a ritual enactment of this associative train. Where Louis XVI was accused and tried on grounds of treason, that is to say, on political charges, the trial of the Queen was marked by accusations of incest (with her son), lesbianism (with her companions) and promiscuity. See Lynn Hunt, "The Many Bodies of Marie Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution," in Hunt, ed., Eroticism and the Body Politic (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991) pp. 108-131.

38. Dorinda Outram, "Le Langage mâle de la vertu: Women and the Discourse of the French Revolution," in Peter Burke and Roy Porter, eds. The Social History of Language (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

39. Blum, Rousseau, p. 41.

40. Blum, Rousseau, p. 208.

41. For the history of this allegorical figure see Maurice Agulhon, Marianne au Combat: l'Imagerie et la Symbolique Républicaines de 1789 à 1880 (Paris: Flammarion, 1979).

42. The standard text on this subject is Marina Warner, Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form (London: Picador, 1987).

43. Maurice Agulhon, Marianne au Combat.

44. The specific pretext for this expulsion was the market riot that occurred in early October 1793 when the Jacobin women of the *Club des citoyennes républicaines révolutionnaires* led by Théroigne de Méricourt marched on the market women in Les Halles with the intention of enforcing the decree that citizens wear the cocarde upon their person. The ensuing riot, including the beating of de Méricourt by market women, was used as justification by the Jacobin delegates to officially ban the women's political clubs and to prohibit their speech in the Convention. In his *discours* in the name of the Committee of Public Safety given on 9 Brumaire 1793 (addressing the questions "1) Must political assemblies of women be accepted? 2) Can women exercise political rights? and 3) Can they deliberate in political or popular gatherings?," the deputy J. B. Andre responded thus: "This question is tied to morals, and without morals, no republic. Does the reputation of a woman allow her to show herself in public? In general, women are hardly capable of lofty conceptions and serious meditations; and if, among the ancient peoples, their natural timidity and modesty did not let them appear outside the family, do you wish, in the French Republic, to see them in court, at the podium, in political meetings like men, casting aside reserve, the source of the sex's virtues, and the care of the family?" (Cited in Blum, Rousseau, p. 214).

The ban on women's political activities may be taken as the dress rehearsal for the eventual suppression of the sections and the concomitant attempts by the

Jacobins to curb the more radical demands of the sans-culottes, particularly those that devolved on the *prix juste* and the *maximum*. In this respect, it is significant that political groups to the left of the Jacobins--I am thinking here particularly of the *Enragés*--made common cause with the radical women. Jacques Roux, for example, was closely linked to both Claire Lecombe and de Méricourt. On the specific issue of women and women's rights in the Revolution see the following: Darlene Gay Levy, Harriet Branson Applewhite, Mary Durham Johnson, eds., Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1795 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979); Jane Abray, "Feminism in the French Revolution," American Historical Review 80 (1975); Elisabeth Roudinesco, Théroigne de Méricourt: Une femme mélancolique sous la Révolution (Paris: Seuil, 1989); Marie Cerati, Le Club des citoyennes republicaines révolutionnaires (Paris: 1966); Claire Moses, French Feminism in the Nineteenth Century (Albany: SUNY Press, 1984); and Dorinda Outram, "Le langage mâle de la vertu." On the alliances between revolutionary feminists and the *Enragés* see Gwyn A. Williams, Artisans and Sans-Culottes (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1969).

45. Delécluze, David, p. 134.

46. Hunt, "The Imagery of Radicalism," in Hunt, Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) p. 104.

47. In history painting, Hercules makes one of his last appearances in Hennequin's *Triumph of the French People*, salon of 1799, which survives in fragments. The livret describes the figure thus: "Le Peuple armé de sa massue, et tenant la balance de la justice, vient de renverser le colosse de la royauté, dont la chute est exprimée par ses attributs brisés." For a discussion of the painting see Stefen Germer, "In Search of a Beholder: On the Relation between Art, Audiences, and Social Spheres in Post-Thermidor France," The Art Bulletin, 74/1 (March 1992) pp. 18-36.

48. Here I have drawn on the following work: David M. Halperin, "The Democratic Body: Prostitution and Citizenship in Classical Athens" and John J. Winkler, "Phallus Politikos: Representing the Body Politic in Athens," both in the special issue of Differences on "Sexuality in Greek and Roman Society," pp.1-28 and 29-45, respectively; and David M. Halperin, One Hundred

Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love (London: Routledge, 1990). I have also drawn on arguments from Nicole Loraux, "Herakles: The Super-Male and the Feminine" in David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, Froma Zeitlin, eds., Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 21-52 and John J. Winkler, The Constraints of Desire (London: Routledge, 1990).

49. Halperin, "The Democratic Body," pp. 16-17.

50. Winkler, "Phallus Politikos," p. 36.

51. Joan Kelly, "The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History," in Kelly, Women, History and Theory (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984) p. 1. Equally germane to this argument is her essay "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" in the same volume.

52. Michel, "Bara," pp. 70-71.

53. Here, for example, is Canova's formulation: "The nude, when it is pure and instinct with exquisite beauty, takes us away from mortal perturbations and transports us to those early days of blessed innocence: all the more so because it comes to us as a spiritual and understood thing, and lifts our soul to the contemplation of divine things, which, since they cannot be made manifest to the sense by their spirituality, can only be indicated to us by excellence of form, to kindle us with their eternal beauty and detach us from the imperfect and fleeting things of this earth..." Cited in Mario Praz, On Neoclassicism (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1969) p. 148.

54. Sigmund Freud, "A Note on the Unconscious in Psychoanalysis," in Freud, General Psychological Theory (New York: Collier Books, 1963) p. 75.

55. Outram, "Langage mâle," p. 156.

56. Thomas Lacqueur, Making Sex: Body and Gender From the Greeks to Freud (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990) p.5.

57. Lacquer, Making Sex, p. 6.

58. The history of these terms is sketched in John C. Prévost, Le Dandysme en France (Geneva: Slatkine, 1982) and Marylène Delbourg-Delphis, Masculin Singulier: Le Dandysme et son histoire (Paris: Hachette, 1985). For Delbourg-Delphis, the historical succession moves from *muscadin*, *fashionable*, *lion*, *decadent*, and finally dandy. After the fall of Robespierre, the *jeunesse dorée* and the *muscadins* symbolized the counterrevolution. The term *incroyable* was introduced in 1796-7 "au moment du retour en foule des émigrés et des prêtres déportés." (p. 22). Although Prévost argues that dandyism is not fully assimilated into France until after 1830, Delbourg-Delphis locates its origins in Thermidorian culture: "Le dandysme français naît sous les auspices de la Contre-Revolution et sous le signe d'une elegance musclée souvent macabre, incarnée par les muscadins, phénomène essentiellement jeune qu'on designait aussi sous le nom "jeunesse dorée de Fréron." (p. 19).

59. J.C. Flugel, The Psychology of Clothes (London: The Hogarth Press, 1930) p. 118.

60. Obviously the influence of Michelangelo is at issue here, but that Michelangelo's female nudes--probably those from the Medici tombs--should have suggested themselves as a model is the main point to be made.

61. See for example, T.C. Bruun Neergaard, Sur la situation des beaux-arts en France ou Lettres d'un Danois à son ami (Paris: Dupont, 1801).

62. Journal des Artistes (Sept. 30, 1832) pp. 241-245, cited in Grunhech, Prix de Rome, p. 139. Art journalism, or more rarely, criticism, tends to be detailed about things we do not consider as important and silent about those which we do. Nonetheless, one can identify characteristic displacements, as when Delécluze protests about using a sword to carve the roast, but then attributes the poor quality of the paintings that treated the theme to the change in "mœurs" which itself subverts the themes of history painting:

Dans le sujet proposé cette année, par exemple, Thésée tire son épée pour découper le mets qui est sur la table, et c'est à la vue de cette arme, que le père du héros reconnaît son fils. Ces extrêmes se touchent, comme l'on sait, et en vérité pour des français du XIX^e siècle, il n'y a rien de si proche au ridicule et de l'affectation, qu'un homme tout nu

qui va découper une hure de sanglier ou un carré de mouton avec son épée. Comme dans nos moeurs, cette circonstance, lorsqu'elle se rencontre, est ordinairement comique, nous ne le tournons guère autrement. En effet, l'embarras des concurrents a été sensible...aussi la plupart, dans la crainte de tomber dans le ridicule, sont restes froids et intelligibles. [Delécluze, Journal des débats (27 Sept. 1832) p. 387.]

63. For an inclusive discussion of the causes of the death of history painting in the later part of the nineteenth century see Patricia Mainardi, "The Death of History Painting in France, 1867," Gazette des beaux-arts, Dec. 1982, pp. 219-26 and Art and Politics of the Second Empire (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

Chapter Three

Chapter Three

The Other Side of Venus

"Money has sex appeal" one hears, and this formula itself gives only the crudest outlines of a fact which reaches far beyond prostitution. Under the domination of commodity fetishism, the sex appeal of [every] woman is tinged to a greater or lesser degree with the appeal of the commodity.

Walter Benjamin, from the Passagen-Werk ¹

Reflecting back on Girodet's *Sleep of Endymion* more than forty years after its making, Théophile Gautier acknowledged that its particular erotic economy as well as its spectatorial address belonged to a time past, to a different order of aesthetic and erotic assumptions:

Nous aimons beaucoup de *Sommeil d'Endymion*. L'idéal de la beauté, chez les modernes, se porte vers la femme et il est rare qu'un peintre de nos jours l'ait cherché dans l'expression du type viril le plus parfait. Chez les Grecs, l'idéal n'avait pas de sexe, et l'homme le représentait aussi bien que la femme. Apollon n'est pas moins beau que Vénus; Paris peut lutter avec Hélène.²

By the time of the Second Republic, when Gautier was writing his "Guide d'amateur," the beautiful nude male body was rarely encountered. While the numbers of paintings in the Salons had reached daunting numbers, those featuring the male nude continued to dwindle. With the exception of the mandated subjects for the *Prix de Rome* competition and certain official commissions, the beautiful male body, virile or ephebic, rapidly lost its

once commanding position.

Baudelaire's exasperated cry of 1846, "who will deliver us from the Greeks and Romans?" had been decisively addressed by Daumier in his Histoire Ancienne. But the eclipse of antique subject matter and its overarching context of the *beau idéal* implied as well the eclipse of the male body as the container of ideals of corporeal as well as moral perfection. It thus happened that as femininity became the primary signifier for the sexual and the erotic, as well as the new vehicle for the ideal, it became a battleground between a defensive (and effectively defeated) classicism and the stylistic ideologies of "realism" or later, "naturalism." Hence, the female nude was recruited by those who still adhered (in principle) to classical paradigms (i.e., critics such as theorists such as Charles Blanc, academic painters as well as more complex figures such as Ingres) and lastly, by those who recruited the female nude under the banner of realism, such as Courbet. In either case, the image of femininity as image of desire is a fully modern one; not because there were not numerous prototypes for such articulations of the feminine (obviously there were many), but because its masculine analogue was now for all intents and purposes effectively precluded. It is thus the female body's "monopoly" of the role of image of

desire that is characteristically modern.³

However, in the process of becoming the unique cultural locus of aesthetics, sexuality, and difference, the female body became the bearer of other contemporary meanings, especially, but not limited to, the concept of modernity. The supine lithographic nudes of Achille Devéria (fig. 70) or Eugène Le Roux (fig. 71), if not the Odalisques of Ingres, are thus the vessels of a modernity perceived as both menacing and seductive. Thus, on one side of the divide, the prevalence of the prostitute as a trope of nineteenth-century French culture; on the other, a growing corpus of imagery of the modern Parisienne (fig. 72) which sprung from lithography and was later adopted by painters as a high art subject.⁴

The prevalence of the graceful and androgynous ephebe in the post-revolutionary period is therefore perhaps best understood as a historical coda, ringing down the curtain, so to speak, on a masculine subject position that was for the most part no longer countenanced in the most prestigious forms of visual culture, or for that matter, in the less exalted forms of popular or mass culture. Although there are exceptions (see for example, fig. 73) Parisian print culture from the Restoration period and after has relatively little to do with the celebration of masculine beauty. Fops,

fashionables, dandies and *beaux* are more frequently mocked than admired⁵ (fig. 74). Furthermore, the foreclosure of an exhibitionistic and narcissistic variant of masculinity is by no means a phenomenon limited to the visual arts. In theater, in opera, and above all, in the ballet, masculinity was reconfigured as femininity became the gender elected to exclusively represent the erotic, the beautiful, and indeed, corporeality itself.

In keeping with Gautier's acknowledgement of the change in beauty's gender, even the most cursory familiarity with French painting from the Restoration on is sufficient to communicate the fact that "chez les modernes" physical beauty had become the undisputed province of femininity. Indeed, it is not an overstatement to characterize nineteenth-century French visual culture--high and low--as dominated by images of femininity. Whether it is a question of those paintings deemed paradigms in the evolution of modernist art, such as Manet's *Olympia* of 1863 or official academic painting of the Salon such as Alexandre Cabanel's *Birth of Venus* of the same year (condemned even at the time for its salaciousness and fatuousness) the point to be made is that representations of femininity provide a central motif in the work of avant-gardist and salonnière

alike.⁶ This iconographic dominance is no less evident in non-elite forms of visual culture; photography, lithography, wood engraving, book illustration, *imagerie parisienne*, and so forth. The historical question to be asked therefore about the eclipse of idealized masculinity in elite culture and the concomitant rise of femininity has two components: what were the meanings (cultural, social, sexual) carried by this profuse dissemination of feminine imagery (and an accompanying prolix discourse on "Woman"), and how does this latter production intersect with the burgeoning culture of modernity including the artistic production we designate as modernist?

In using the term "Femininity," I am referring less to a gender than to a concept; a concept as much cultural and social as sexual. It is a concept, moreover, that is inflected differently at different historical moments. Like the equally protean concept of "woman," which I also place within quotation marks, femininity needs to be detached from its ostensible referent--real women in the real world--and instead considered as a representational category, a sign system with no necessary mooring to its putative referent.⁷ For what is at stake in various notions of femininity--or masculinity, for that matter--is a diverse and shifting array of cultural

representations, purveyed across a range of texts, images, discourses, and practices. Collectively, these representations operate to determine how, at any given historical moment gender will be thought and spoken, if not actually lived. As a feminist historian of art and photography, I am thus concerned to examine the conditions, terms, and determinations by which recognizably "modern" notions of femininity have been posited, articulated, and secured. And in nineteenth-century France, a country that witnessed a "media explosion" of unprecedented proportions, it is through the agency of visual representation, (among other semiotic systems) by which femininity--itself the ideological representation of gender--was widely--and powerfully--disseminated.⁸ And when it became a question of *photographic* representations of femininity, as was the case from the 1840s on, we are confronting an especially potent form of ideology production, one whose persuasiveness is a function of photography's putative transparency to the real. But even before the camera's arrival on the historical scene in 1839, mass produced imagery of the feminine was itself a production of industrial scale. Consequently, whether we turn our attention to the massive output of lithographic illustration that began just before the 1820s under the

Bourbon Restoration, or at the high cultural representations destined for salon walls and luxury trade, the prominence of the feminine in all aspects of nineteenth-century French culture requires address and analysis.

In this respect, my initial comparison of Manet's *Olympia* and Cabanel's *Birth of Venus*--a cliché art historical pairing if ever there was one--is intended to redirect the argument from the familiar set of oppositions--good painting vs. bad painting, realism vs. idealism, nascent modernism vs. an official but bankrupt classicism, transgression vs. affirmation, to a consideration of the role of femininity in the visual (and psychic) economy of nineteenth-century France. In much the same way that the familiar stylistic distinctions between neoclassical and romantic painting impede rather than facilitate an understanding of the epoch's articulation of masculinity, so too does an overemphasis on the stylistic and qualitative distinctions between avant-garde and official painting of the later nineteenth century obscure their shared agency in the modern construction of femininity. While in no way disputing the superiority of Manet's painting to Cabanel's, aesthetically, conceptually, or, indeed politically, I am here interested in examining the ways

in which the feminine, notwithstanding the different ways it may be inflected and articulated, is both defined and mobilized within the cultural domain.

This is by no means to say that a preoccupation with imaging femininity is unique to the nineteenth century. As we have seen, the aristocratic and courtly art of the rococo has been both lauded and condemned for its preoccupation with femininity; in fact, the very terms by which it *has* been condemned from the eighteenth century through the twentieth have much to do with it being thought to have been infected--debauched, so to speak--by its own subject matter. As I have indicated in Chapter Two, rococo painting, an art which purports to be about pleasure and sensuality (we must always, of course, ask whose) has thus been traditionally and negatively associated with femininity; female patronage--notably Mme de Pompadour, the mistress of Louis XVI--"intimate" scale and subject matter, "feminine" color and seductive facture. "Van Loo, rococo, Pompadour!" was the battle cry of the Davidians making explicit a connection between the powerful women of the *ancien régime* and the decadence for which they were held accountable.

But as we have also seen, the presentation of the female body, wholly detached from narrative, myth, or allusion to antiquity, was not all that common in the

eighteenth century. Furthermore, the notion that a painting of a woman, nude or clothed, divorced from any narrative context whatsoever, *could* be a subject for an ambitious, important, or public painting, was utterly uncounatenanced in classical art theory. Artists like Fragonard and Boucher who specialized in such subjects were operating within a private, rather than official aesthetic sphere, producing work for their various patrons that was considered closer to the decorative arts than to the more exalted purposes of painting as a liberal art as exemplified by the *tableau d'histoire*. It was to be the work of the nineteenth century to make of the female figure, nude or clothed, a subject deemed important and significant in and of itself, a motif, moreover, that was deployed for many of the "manifesto" paintings of the historical avant-garde.

As we have also seen in the previous chapters, by the beginning of the July Monarchy, if not before, the ideal male nude had become largely limited to the institutional preserve of École and Academy and was thus largely sustained by the cultural apparatus of the state. And while studies from the male nude remained the basis of academic training throughout the century, and although female models remained proscribed in the École des Beaux-Arts until 1886, in every other arena of visual culture

the male nude was displaced by a veritable deluge of images of femininity. The explicitly heterosexual erotics of art production as they became mythologized (e.g., the artist and his model, the female nude as genre, the mythos of bohemian sexuality) are in fact nineteenth century formations, fully coalesced by 1848.

We confront here two simultaneous developments with respect to women's actual estate and the vicissitudes of femininity; namely, as women were banished from the public sphere, images and discourses of femininity proliferated enormously. It is as though the real absence of women as actors in the bourgeois civil sphere was filled by compensatory fantasies--or constellations of fantasies--about femininity. Whereas law, medicine, the church and state all operated to "contain" women and to police female sexuality, the image world of high and mass cultural forms conversely manifested femininity's untrammelled expansion even as it demonstrated the radical instability of the epistemology of containment.⁹

Simultaneously, the new theorizations of sexual difference derived from anatomy, biology, physiology, and psychology collectively functioned to define femininity as the zero degree of difference--pure alterity--replacing prior models of femininity as an imperfect if not defective version of masculinity.¹⁰ Lastly, the

theorizations of sexual difference that gained currency throughout the century and collectively defined femininity were those that operated to effectively pathologize both female biology and psychology.¹¹ In this respect both medico-scientific discourse and its popularizations posited femininity as in and of itself a state of infirmity and debility. Thus, Jules Michelet, hero of Second Empire Republicans, from the vantage point of 1854, in his book on the women of the French Revolution--revolutionaries, rioting market women, feminists--had this to say: "It is not our fault if nature has made women, if not feeble, at least infirm, subject to periodic illnesses"--this is a euphemism for menstruation--"creatures of emotion, children of the sidereal world, hence unfitted by their uneven constitutions to undertake the functions of political societies."¹² All these elements had implications for visual culture, and were in any case an important tributary to the French nineteenth century discourse on "Woman."¹³

The question of why femininity came to occupy such an extensive discursive position is the large, overarching one, and any thoughts I can offer at this point are more speculative than otherwise. But the question of how is somewhat more concrete, and in this

chapter I want to examine some of the visual circuits by which femininity was discursively produced, disseminated, and received in nineteenth-century France. Somewhat more specifically, I want to look at the double circuit between forms of mass and high visual culture, tracking the signifiers of femininity, so to speak, from one image world to another. It is not then simply a question of examining how femininity is discursively produced by, for example, both Manet and Cabanel, but more historically speaking, to examine this discursive production in a range of different sites, none of which are independent of one another. Furthermore, if Venus can be said to prevail in the salons of mid-century France, we are all well acquainted with her other side; not goddess, but whore, not ennobled in easel painting or marble, but reduced to lithograph or photograph, not the vehicle of the ideal, but the emblem of carnality and corruption.

While both classes of imagery are equally fantasmatic and reciprocally dependent on each other's terms, what needs to be explored is the traffic between them. For if one orthodox account of modernism insists on the absolute and irreducible difference between forms of mass and high culture, another perspective, one more attentive to the nature of subject matter--and, furthermore, attentive to femininity as itself a crucial

term within modernity--reveals a complex web of interdependencies and relationships. What is thus at issue is not so much the art historical notion of "source," but the more suggestive one of intertextuality. And it is here that we need to examine the relationships between high and mass culture in order to trace how both the idealized and explicitly eroticized images of femininity function within the visual and psychic economy of modernity.

Consequently, the particular form of intertextuality I want to examine has two aspects. On the one hand, there is the intertextuality of forms, of media, and of genres that is operative within both elite and mass cultural production. On the other hand, there is an intertextuality of the signifier whereby femininity, imprinted with meanings in one discursive site, carries them into others. Hence, the image of femininity can function as an emblem of urban modernity and embody equally well a changeless and eternal Nature; inflected in one direction, femininity becomes an incarnation of the modern; inflected differently, an atavistic escape from it. And as the penultimate floating signifier, it could be readily adapted to either one.

It is one of my arguments that the formation and emergence of what I will be calling mass culture and the

prominence of images of femininity within it are integrally related phenomena. However, before returning to the imagery of femininity itself, it is necessary to argue the case as to how lithographic production of the Restoration and July Monarchy is to be defined as a mass cultural form. Having been severely criticized by Henri Zerner for my use of the term "mass culture" to characterize lithographic production of the period 1820-1848, there is clearly a need to justify its use. Indeed, invoking the term "mass culture," as opposed to the term generally employed in the art history of nineteenth-century France, i.e. "popular culture," is to risk the charge of anachronism. Definitions of the two terms are themselves debated, nowhere more so than in the field of cultural studies. On one side of the debate, there are those such as Robert Muchembled who would argue that the denomination "popular culture" is rightly limited only to that segment of culture which is not only the direct emanation of the people, but, more important, expressive of values, behaviors, and beliefs that are more or less explicitly oppositional to those of the dominant culture.¹⁴ In this Bahktinian interpretation of popular culture, it is the upside down world of carnival, the transgressive speech (songs, curses, billingsgate) of fair, marketplace and tavern, and in the realm of

religion, the "people's religion" of witchcraft that collectively constitute the domain of the popular. For historians such as Robert Muchembled (or Robert Mandrou), cultural forms such as the *imagerie d'epinal* or the *bibliothèque bleue* of Troyes, far from being paradigms of popular culture, are rather the impositions of a cultural and class elite.¹⁵ Insofar as such artifacts are generated by the lettered, and disseminate values in conformity with the ideology of church and town, they may be said to operate as "colonizing" arms of a centralized (and centralizing) culture. Moralizing and Christianizing, didactic or patriotic, such forms are permeated by the values and ideology of the dominant and are thus to be fundamentally differentiated from authentic, anti-hierarchical, and local expressions of popular culture.¹⁶

Mandrou and Muchembled's models are perhaps somewhat extreme formulations and do in fact represent a minority view within the field.¹⁷ Nonetheless, such arguments have the merit of providing at least some armature for a conceptual distinction between the very different compass of popular and mass cultural forms. For my purposes this is a crucial distinction, insofar as the "media explosion" of the early nineteenth century in France can only with difficulty be factored into a model

of popular culture.¹⁸ Thus, the quantum increase in print media, such as newspapers, revues, journals, canards, broadsides, and of course, books; the emergence of characteristically modern forms such as publicity, as well as the massive output of visual imagery (preeminently through the medium of lithography, wood engravings, and by the Second Empire, via the medium of photography) does not in and of itself translate into an unmediated expression of *le peuple*. Furthermore, the class of images collectively designated as *imagerie parisienne*, whose distinctive subjects and forms were fully developed by the eighteenth century, does not conform to the kinds of print production that historians would classify as popular, nor to the kinds of print production traditionally included in the honorific "high art" and the attendant aesthetic discourses of elite culture.¹⁹

The terms of my general argument are further supported by James Smith Allen's important book on what he designates as French popular romanticism.²⁰ Although he specifically insists on the impossibility of using the term mass culture to discuss the romantic period, the terms of his own analysis suggest the contrary:

Of course, it is impossible to speak of *mass* culture in the romantic period; nearly all the elements necessary to the phenomenon, at least as

sociologists define it, were lacking. Universal literacy, consumer-society leisure, post-industrial material standards of living, electronic media, etc.--none existed in Paris of the early nineteenth century. But evident then was an increasingly standardized literature making a socially heterogeneous appeal in less expensive books and newspapers. A new popular culture, resembling in certain crucial ways the mass culture of the twentieth century, has its origins in the romantic period.²¹

Although there seems no particular reason to insist on either universal literacy (which can hardly be said to prevail in the contemporary U.S.) or electronic media as the defining preconditions of mass culture, a little further on Smith suggests why mass culture is an apposite term:

Romanticism also marked the crucial shift from traditional folklore to a more modern form of mass culture, a transition that appeared in the displacement of the *bibliothèque bleue*, canards, and oral literature of the eighteenth century by a standardized literature, appealing to the largest popular audience in the nineteenth...with the rapid spread of literacy and the flow of cheaper books and newspapers in the nineteenth century, this urban middle-class literature began to command a disproportionate share in the book trade. It reached at last the hands of the *menu peuple*--greengrocers, artisans, even journeymen, and domestics--who had been the audience for the traditional almanacs, saints' lives and broadsides. While the neo-classical canon of elite literature was giving way to romantic innovation, the titles in the *colporteur* baskets, in the countryside as well as in the city, increasingly included plebeian imitations of the new urban literature.²²

While Smith deals very little with visual imagery per se, the evolution of literary forms and their democratization

reveal striking parallels with the (visual) print culture of the same period. Accordingly, I will be arguing that at least with respect to the lithographic and wood engraved imagery produced during the Restoration and July Monarchy, (and photography after the 1848 Revolution) we are confronting the early history--not the prehistory--of mass cultural imagery. In fact, it appears as though romanticism (in its popular guise as described by Smith) was largely disseminated by mass culture. For example, troubadour and medieval motifs, heroizing and glamorizing depictions of famous artists of the past, "gothick" and melodramatic themes and hardly least, scenes of harem and seraglio were all staples of Restoration and July Monarchy lithography (see figures 75, 76, and 77) just as they were in the work of Delacroix or Ingres. How this "petit" romanticism compares to its upper case derivation, is another question altogether, but it is worth stressing that Romanticism was the first movement (or style) to be circulated in commodity form--inexpensive books, *feuilletons*, and lithographic prints.

The justification for adopting the label of mass culture is obviously not predicated on a purely quantitative definition of mass culture, although by the 1840s the economic status of both daguerreotype production and the lithographic industry might well

justify such a definition.²³ Rather, the sense in which I employ the term relates to specific characteristics that distinguish mass culture from both elite and popular forms. Most importantly, mass cultural forms, like those of elite culture, disseminate values, beliefs, and ideologies generated by dominant class fractions from a centralized point, although these meanings may be variously negotiated and even transformed by their consumers. A division of labor is also implied, whereby producer and consumer are not the same (a distinction not necessarily the case with popular or folk art). Because mass culture is considered to be one of the hallmarks of modernity, inseparable from the commodity culture that it serves to purvey, it is therefore a crucial shaping factor in the culture of modernity *tout court*. As a corollary feature mass cultural forms reflect, articulate, and to a certain extent actively construct the culture of urbanism and modernity, countering regional, local, or rural specificity with the cosmopolitanism and sophistication of the city, its entertainments, its commodities, its individualism, and mobility. I will also be arguing that it plays an important role in fashioning distinctively modern concepts of gender. Influence thus tends to run in one direction only, from center to periphery, city to

country, Paris to provinces. It was in recognition of this dynamic that Champfleury, connoisseur of the "popular" lamented the "corruption" of what he had deemed the provincial integrity of the prints of Épinal.²⁴

The world of *imagerie* that existed at the advent of lithography was divided into several distinct ranks. Hierarchically, the intaglio print production of master artists occupied the highest rung and descended through the master printers of the eighteenth century such as Moreau le jeune down through the Parisian manufacture of the *imagerie* of the rue St. Jacques to the "popular" production of wood block prints in such centers as Orleans, Le Mans and Épinal. At the higher rung too were certain kinds of book illustrations which, as Diane Kelder has pointed out, were a kind of "bridge" medium between court culture and the upper echelons of the bourgeoisie:

The graphic art of the late eighteenth century is linked to a literary tradition, on the one hand and to political events, on the other. The great masters of graphic art in France during the 1780's and 1790's, Lavreince, Moreau le jeune, Debucourt, produced numerous illustrations for the popular sentimentalizing and moralizing romances of the day, as well as illustrations for the philosophic works of various authors like Voltaire, Rousseau and Raynal. The famous Monuments du costume created by Moreau were really also visual manuals of politeness and elegance directed at a bourgeois audience, as were the Promenades of Debucourt.²⁵

Book illustration too ran the gamut from the most

luxurious production of the bookseller's trade to more popular novelistic (or erotic) fare, leading directly to the illustrated *feuilleton* of mid-century. Imagery derived from specific novelistic sources was later adapted to the market for discrete independent prints, whose subjects were in turn often treated in lithography, a pattern equally evident in Devéria's adaption of scenes from theatrical and novelistic sources. Parallel to the upper tiers were the reproductive uses of prints; engraved translations of paintings were exhibited in the salons and collected as works of art in themselves. The language of print connoisseurship, moreover, was already highly developed by the mid-eighteenth century. In the hierarchy of print culture there was, therefore, an acknowledged distinction between the kind of prints assimilated to elite visual culture, and those which occupied the lower strata.²⁶

Typically, this strata was composed of relatively cheap woodcuts, sometimes colored. Often the woodcuts were accompanied by songs, proverbs, poems, prayers, fables, but they could just as often be a single image or group of images, depicting saints, heroes,--especially Napoleon--folk figures, spectacular figures and events, such as monsters, wild men, comets or fires, *faits divers*, etc. Such imagery played a significant role in

the construction and dissemination of the myth of Napoleon, both during and after the Empire. This was the kind of imagery produced by the large woodcut manufacturers at Épinal and Le Mans, and it was this "popular" imagery that caught the fancy of Second Empire literati, artists and critics. On a higher cultural and economic plane were the traditional varieties of intaglio printing; engravings on steel, wood and copper, mezzotint, aquatint and so forth.

Lithography, however, was a print medium that relatively quickly came to bridge the spaces of both elite and non-elite culture. Thus, it could feature in expensive and prestigious productions such as the Didot editions of classical and modern authors, on the walls of the Restoration salons, or in far less elevated forms, as a staple ware of the merchants of the rue St. Jacques, the *bouquinistes* and the itinerant *colporteurs* of Paris and the provinces.

By the middle years of the Restoration, lithographic imagery was distributed on a considerably greater and far more diversified scale than had ever been the case with older forms of print culture. In this respect, as well as others, it seems legitimate to situate the birth of mass culture with the explosion of cheap and topical imagery, some of which reiterated

traditional motifs and forms, some of which constituted new ones. Whereas an eighteenth century French citizen living in a village or hamlet likely had access only to more traditional forms of imagery, by the early 1830s, mass-produced lithographic imagery, much of it produced in Paris, could be found anywhere. Virtually every major French city had print shops, print sellers and sales-by-mail, as well as itinerant *colporteurs*.²⁷ Insofar as the print industry also represented itself visually (often for publicity purposes) there exist numerous depictions of passersby crowded in front of printsellers' window displays, looking at the newest prints. (see, for example fig. 78) Such prints remind us that the public display of images constituted one of the spectacles of urban life, and until 1835 it was used as a form of political utterance

What the advent of lithography signaled within print technologies had first and above all else to do with quantity; a lithographic stone could generate a far greater print run than any previous print technology. Second, because a lithographic drawing was produced directly on the stone, it provided for a degree of spontaneity of execution unrivaled by any of the other print media. This was itself a factor in its adoption for immediately topical and political purposes. Third, by the

Restoration, the period when lithography had achieved technical perfection (excluding here the development of color lithography; colored lithographs were produced through hand coloring, often a separate specialty) lithography was capable of rendering a broad range of aesthetic effects, from the most linear and detailed effects of pen drawing to the chiaroscuro and *sfumato* effects of broad masses of dark tones achieved with the lithographic crayon. But because lithography could not be integrated with movable type, it was primarily wood engraving that was used for book illustration.

Consequently, lithography was almost from the beginning divided into three principal uses; a medium of translation by which existing images (including high art ones) could be translated into lithography, either by the artist, or more typically, by the lithographer; a commercial medium for the printing of handbills and other commercial products, and an artist's medium in its own right. For this reason, many of the first generation of French lithographers, such as Carle Vernet, Aubry-Lecomte and Chatillon had been trained as artists (the two latter were trained by Girodet), and many of the period's most significant artists--one thinks immediately here of Goya and Géricault--became enthusiastic adepts of the new medium. However, as lithography became more and more

widely employed and as it became the technology of choice for commercial and non-artistic uses, it lost favor among artists until its revival in the Second Empire by realist artists such as Manet and devotés such as Champfleury. As an art medium, lithography was thus at its height in the 1820s and 1830s, where it figured importantly in Romantic production (Delacroix, Boulanger, Vernet and of course Géricault all employed it) and it was the exclusive medium of the enormously popular Voyages Pittoresques of Nodier and Taylor. In its artistic applications, lithography thus encompassed a range of genres from the archetypal romantic views exemplified by the *Voyages*, to the hard-core pornographic fare sold under the counter.

The growth of the lithographic industry in France has not yet been the subject of an inclusive study (nor, for that matter does there yet exist a study of France's media explosion) but Jeffrey Rosen's dissertation on the firm of Lemercier provides an indispensable overview that gives a good idea of the industry's scale.²⁸ In the year 1819, for example, there were two lithographic print establishments in Paris; by 1839, there were more than 90. By 1847 the number of lithographic printers in Paris tripled, to 3,305. In that same year, 305 Parisian establishments sold products worth nearly 8,000,000 francs.²⁹ Classified under the economic rubric

imprimerie, papeterie et gravure, lithography was part of an industry that was then rated eleventh in terms of economic importance. By 1860, the volume of sales for all lithographic products (*ouvrages de commerce* and *ouvrages d'art*) had grown to 12,600,000 France per annum.

Rosen further points out that the growth of the lithographic industry was fostered by its modern--what he terms "proto-industrial"--mode of production. The rationalization of labor in lithographic printing establishments such as Lemercier's led to a division of labor whereby the lithographic print was produced by several hands. While not precisely assembly-line production, this division and diversification of labor made lithography not merely the medium by which the iconography of modernity was widely purveyed, but a medium *cum* technology that was itself one of the prototypes for modern capitalist forms of commodity production. As well, the lithographic print was a new form of commodity. Unlike traditional "popular" prints which can be considered a conservative form (due to their themes, conventionality and relatively fixed formats) lithographic prints specialized in fashion, topicality, ephemerality; their references were to up-to-date styles, fads, and decor.

Lithography made its official debut in the Salon

of 1817, but initially classified as an industrial product. By 1824, however, lithography had been accepted as a fine art medium and had its own section in the Salon livret. It was therefore represented in all the Restoration salons. As we have seen, however, even from its origins lithography had a double identity; a romantic art medium whose technical and formal effects--rich blacks and grays, the ability to convey atmospheric tonalities, adaptability to dramatic chiaroscuro effects, speed and spontaneity of execution--quickly attracted artists and connoisseurs, and an immediately exploitable commercial potential, enabling rapid production, large-scale reproduction, and consequently reduced cost. Because of these latter characteristics, it had a an extraordinary political agency; throughout the Restoration, it was associated with Bonapartist propaganda and, later in the hands of Philipon and his cohorts at his journals *Le Charivari* and its predecessor *La Caricature* it was devastatingly used for critical purposes. The work of the major political and social satirists notwithstanding--Daumier, Grandville, Traviès, and so forth--it is a critical commonplace to associate the "decline" of lithography in the closing years of the Restoration and after with its intense commercialization:

What is clear is that the Salons represent the shift

from incunabula--done by and for a limited audience of amateurs--to an intense period of commercialization with all the inconsequence and inconsistencies implied in such endeavour. The rapid decline in lithographic quality may be said due to draughtsman/practitioners who abused the ease of a procedure the artistic perfection of which is otherwise entirely dependent upon advancements of a purely technical and chemical nature. Even well into the twenties, the pre-eminently social aspects of lithography survive from an earlier day, perhaps assuring some continuity between the Ancien Regime and its ways, and an increasingly technological society to whom higher aesthetic considerations may have been rather irrelevant.³⁰

In fact, this notion of decline seems to be predicated more on the increasing prevalence of non-aesthetic subjects (topical, anecdotal and erotic) than on anything else. On the contrary, the variety and finesse of much of the lithographic production of the 1830s and 40s suggests that such a perception reproduces the initial hierarchical distinctions between the lithography of the salon (often the work of amateurs) and the professional products of the lithographic industry.

In any event, by 1828 there were 223 lithographic establishments in the Department of the Seine alone, with 180 presses operated by 500 workmen producing three million francs worth of prints per year. Needless to say, an industrial enterprise of this magnitude did not escape government control and surveillance.

Like books and newspapers, presses were controlled, printers and publishers were bonded, proofs needed to be

submitted to the government censors before the prints could be legally sold or even published, registration in the government Dépôt Légal was mandatory, and fines and even prison sentences were levied for political and moral offense. Although there were changes and variations in print and press control legislation throughout the Napoleonic, Restoration and July Monarchy periods, some form of control was always in place.³¹ For example, after the ratification of the Charter in 1822, which in proclaiming the liberty of the press recognized that print production equally constituted "la pensée individuelle et son expression" (thus exempting prints from advance authorization), prosecution for the production and sale of offensive prints was possible once they appeared publicly. The charter of 1830, however, reinstated prior authorization before commercial display and sale.

But while politically provocative--that is to say, Republican, Bonapartist or anti-government--propaganda lithographs were carefully monitored, the overwhelming impression produced when one starts examining lithographic production of the period 1820-1848 is that government censorship was far more lax or dilatory in prosecuting sexually suggestive (or explicit) prints than in political ones.

Such a conclusion is suggested by the following.

First of all, on the evidence of the kind of lithographic prints that *did* legally pass muster (i.e. approval by the government censor, registration in the Dépôt Légal, authorized sale by licensed booksellers, print sellers, *colporteurs* and *bouquinistes*, etc.) it seems evident that erotic, if not pornographic imagery was basically tolerated through the Restoration and July Monarchy. (See, for example, the three duly registered lithographs by Octave Taessart, figures 79, 80, and 81, all part of the series *Les Amans et les Epoux*).

Second, while the archives of the police and other dossiers preserved in the Archives nationales are filled with letters from irate citizens deploring the open display and sale of licentious prints there seems to have been remarkably little follow-up on the part of the authorities and relatively few prosecutions in relation to the number of complaints. For example, on March 18, 1832, ten deputies wrote a letter to the Prefect of the Seine protesting the display of obscene and licentious engravings and lithographs displayed "avec profusion" in the most frequented streets, quais and boulevards. This received a sympathetic but formulaic response, but there is no indication in the file that this complaint with its influential signatories received any more attention than were those made by ordinary citizens. Lastly, the sheer

scale of erotic--and pornographic--lithographs extant in the Cabinet des Estampes (and in the Réserve libre, when it concerns pornography) suggests that production on such a scale would not have been possible had the government seriously attempted to curtail it.³²

While it is impossible to empirically establish what proportion of lithographic imagery was consecrated to erotica, on the basis of the many surviving examples it seems evident that it had to have been substantial. To be sure, there were as well massive numbers of topographic views produced--lithography was very much a medium of the Romantic picturesque view--and there was also a substantial commerce in religious, historical, and portrait subjects. Many of the most successful lithographers covered all these genres. Devéria, who in this and other respects exemplifies the diversity of the lithographic industry, produced in great numbers religious, patriotic, and moralizing subjects as well as illustrations from popular literary sources.³³ These were in many cases far less distinguished in either sophistication or virtuosity, Devéria clearly functioned within several discrete print markets. (We must not, however, discount the variations in quality that derived from the lithographic printer; Devéria had several throughout his career.) Notwithstanding variations in

aesthetic quality, prints range from the relatively perfunctory, even crude, to the more deluxe offerings, which were also available in elaborately handcolored versions. But the sheer numbers of lithographs in which the image of explicitly eroticized femininity is central is striking.

Typically classed under rubrics such as *scènes galantes*, *scènes de mœurs*, *scènes de la vie privée*, these run the gamut from the prettified innocuous to the quite strikingly salacious. And in keeping with the formal and aesthetic hierarchy of lithographic production itself, such imagery encompasses both the high art imagery of Girodet and Prud'hon, to the lithographic translations of salon painting by men such as Aubry-Lecomte and Chatillon, to the elegant confections of Devéria and his like (fig. 82), all the way down through to the production of more or less crude (or more or less polished) hardcore pornography (fig. 83).

With respect to erotic print production there are some further points to be made. First, it seems evident that lithography, photography and wood engravings derive their themes and/or motifs from elite cultural sources far more than from popular ones. Just as the lithographed *vue pittoresque* descends from the Claudian landscape, so too do the fashionable femininities that figure so

importantly in the work of nineteenth-century printmakers derive from rococo predecessors in easel painting and elite print culture (figs. 84 and 85). For the iconography of female nudes, odalisques and fashion icons, there may in fact also have been contemporary Salon prototypes. Print production of this kind collectively represents the "poor relations" of elite visual culture, but the point is that they are in fact directly related to high art iconography.³⁴ For example, the more or less eroticized nymphet "portraits" that were one of Greuze's specialties are closely related as types to similar imagery by Devéria and others (fig. 86). But as reproducible and relatively inexpensive imagery, the lithographic equivalents of this type of production circulate in ways (and in quantities) that situate them very differently from the art of the salon.

Like the *maisons de tolérance*, this genre of visual culture which I will call the legal erotic occupied a liminal space; neither criminalized nor aesthetically acknowledged, it constitutes a threshold between the juridically proscribed and the publicly acceptable. Iconographically, such imagery operates by assimilating the prerevolutionary imagery of *galanterie* and other motifs of rococo painting and prints (e.g., the lady at her bath or toilette³⁵) but purveys them in

forms that involve altogether different kinds of address and reception, and to a far larger broader range of consumer.

Here it is worth noting that while it seems entirely appropriate to describe the purchasers of lithographs as "consumers" this is not normally the designation given to salon-goers or print purchasers in the eighteenth century. Its applicability to the former is a measure of the change between pre-modern and modern cultures and further bolsters the legitimacy of considering them as mass cultural artifacts.

Differences between rococo easel painting and inexpensive prints are, of course, inherent in their forms. But aside from the obvious contrast between the painting's status as a unique luxury object (which includes its attributes of scale, color, facture, texture, and demonstration of the artist's virtuosity and style), there are also the differences in the spectator's perception that correspond to the shift from object to image. In this respect, the term *imagerie* serves to remind us that print *Kunstwissenschaft* notwithstanding (and in the case of non-intaglio processes especially) responses to prints tend to be more focused on motif than on formal attributes. This doubtless explains why prints could be sold through catalogs where the only information was the

title, and the price. The second, and equally obvious distinction is to do with the contrasting conditions of consumption. While the price of a Devéria lithograph put it well beyond the means of working class purchasers, it was entirely affordable for the bourgeois patron, to whom, moreover, it was directly addressed.

Drawing upon and condensing Beatrice Farwell's useful classifications of lithographic prints, the imagery I have described as liminal superficially appears to fall into two central groups; those that are in some degree "narrativized" and those that should be considered as the ancestor of the modern photographic pin-up.³⁶ Of the former group, lithographic production from the romantic era that features scenes of courtship and gallantry (including adultery) are direct descendants of the libertine prints of the rococo.³⁷ Similarly, they vary from explicitly narrativized sequences--sometimes composed of multiple prints--to the abstracted form of the pin-up, or what Farwell has described as the "display" nude.³⁸

Between the two poles of visual narrativization and visual spectacle (which may, in any case, be combined or collapsed into each other), there is a fairly diverse range of lithographs of feminine display. Particularly interesting are prints such as Devéria's *Le roman du*

jour/the fashionable novel (fig. 87) which manifest elements of both narrative and spectacle and illustrate as well the specific forms of address manifest in lithographic prints of this genre.

As is the case with many of Devéria's lithographs, the motifs in the print have eighteenth century prototypes. For example, the trope of the woman with a book has itself a lengthy iconographic pedigree and was a frequent motif in eighteenth-century iconography.³⁹ In part, this association was strengthened by the association of femininity with the novel, many of whose consumers and producers were women. Furthermore, as a leisured activity, novel reading was associated with wealth and [feminine] idleness. Consequently, the motif of the young-woman-with-a-book figured not only in the form of the legal erotic, but in pornographic representation as well.⁴⁰

Le roman du jour elicits a narrative reading in several ways. Its *mise-en-scène* is instantly recognizable; the swathe of curtain, silk-covered sofa, embroidered foot cushion and carved table declare the print's setting as the bourgeois home. The *déshabillé* of the girls, their ambiguous relation to each other (lovers? sisters? friends?) is narrativized by the presence of the book; *le roman du jour*--(for the British

consumer, a "French" novel). Simultaneously a corrupter of innocent morals and entrée to worldly knowledge and pleasure, the book thus serves as a narrative "prompt" to justify the erotic display.

This display has two components; on the one hand, the corporeal display of breasts and shoulders; on the other, the solicitous and coquettish gaze of the girl in the nightcap directed out to the viewer. Narrative is relatively minimal, but an important aspect of that narrative is the solicitous look at the viewer, presumed male by artist, lithographer, printer and publisher. This solicitous look is a staple feature of the legal erotic, and to state the obvious, it retains its currency to this day. Although it would be wrong to entirely discount a female consumer or viewer (and there were certainly the latter) it is nonetheless fair to say that the *Le roman du jour's* address is directed to the male consumer who is interpellated by the blonde woman's look. While here too there are prototypes for this mode of address going back as far as the Renaissance [e.g., Lucas Cranach] these newer gazes are addressed to a potential purchaser and emerge from objects that make no aesthetic or intellectual claims. Compliant, chic, titillating, these icons of femininity are significant not only because they are the first mass produced commodities

designed to purvey "the feminine". They are also important because they offer to the purchaser more than the fantasy of possession of the woman (or women) but the fantasy of possession of the world it depicts--mondaine, but private, and above all, profoundly "feminine." In this it presages the mechanisms of modern advertising in which desire is provoked not merely or only *for* the commodity, but for the ambiance or "lifestyle" of which the commodity is a metonym. Lastly, *Le roman du jour* provides as good an example as any of the linking of the feminine to the modern; novel, decor, and the girls themselves are all unambiguously *du moment*, and this is undoubtedly part of such prints' appeal. This combination of elements--eroticized femininity, book, seductive gaze and modern decor--is frequently encountered throughout the century; obviously it was a popular motif (fig. 88). Devéria and his brethren could have depicted nymphs and goddesses had they wanted; it was, on the contrary, the contemporaneity of such images that augmented their eroticism, even as it modernized them. There was, of course, a substantial number of prints published that did feature nymphs, sylphides, bathers in landscapes and the like (figs. 89 and 90). What is significant, however, is that even in the form of *nudités*, hairstyles and ornament intentionally and explicitly declare the contemporaneity

of their subjects, signaling that the scene is fully as modern as those situated in interiors.

In effect, what is being purveyed is the familiar lure of the commodity, "figured" by femininity, but laden with the even greater implications of "having." Although not yet linked to the commodity as such (a process which begins in the Second Empire and fully develops in the Third Republic) lithographic imagery of the 1820s and 1830s appears on the evidence to have played a crucial role in securing (and naturalizing) an association between femininity, eroticism, modernity, and consumption whose epitome--a fetish monument to capitalism and patriarchy--was the monumental statue of La Parisienne, erected, as it were, on the occasion of the triumphant festivities of the 1900 Exposition Universelle.⁴¹

Comparison of rococo prints featuring themes of gallantry with those of Devéria (or Numa, or Maurin, or a host of more or less gifted lithographers) reveals another suggestive shift in iconography; namely, the diminished importance of the gallant. Scenes of flirtation between equally attractive men and women, exemplified, for example, in Moreau le Jeune's *Le souper* (fig 91) or *Le sortie de l'opera* (fig. 92) are as much social as they are private. What is represented is a world in which the erotic is still inseparable from a

courtly notion of *sociabilité*, where eroticism is not yet fully privatized. Furthermore, where rococo prints feature attractive men as lovers, escorts, or as equal accessories to the feminine, lithographic production gradually narrows the focus to boudoir or sitting room and concentrates increasingly on the feminine alone (see, for example figs. 93 and 94).⁴²

Another point to be made about the imagery of the legal erotic is its function as a kind of theater of erotic spectacle where femininity is literally put on display. Scenes of dressing or undressing (as in fig. 93), bathing scenes and the like may in one sense narrativize the display, but the deeper pictorial impulse goes in the direction of the isolation of the feminine motif, a break on narrative in favor of stasis and, I would argue, heightened fetishism.⁴³

Even where these various scenes involve a male protagonist--husband, lover, old lecher, etc.--the men are there as props; in effect, they function as supernumeraries to the display of femininity--often a display of the feminine body--rather than as equal foci of the image (see, for example figures 76, 77, 79, 80, 95, and 96). While it could be argued that the masculine presence within such prints functions as surrogate for the implied male viewer, the men tend to play supporting

roles. But the more important point is that within the context of the erotic print, the male figure becomes progressively less frequent.

This "theatricalization" of femininity has obvious analogues in other cultural forms such as the dance and is reflected as well in shifts in pornographic representation (both discussed in Chapter Four). Here, however, I want to reiterate the observation that it is indeed a fine line that separates the legal erotic genre of print from the illicit and licentious imagery so regularly denounced but so sporadically prosecuted. For example, legal prints such as Nicolas Maurin's *J'en veux! J'en Veux Encore* (fig. 96) or his *Enfin, je te tiens!* (fig. 97) were reworked into pornographic equivalents (figs. 98 and 99).

There is reason to think that the proliferation of more or less eroticized imagery of the feminine follows the rhythms of overtly political censorship. Thus, for example, when the government of King Louis Philippe imposed the draconian press laws of September 1835, political caricaturists such as Daumier and Grandville had little recourse but to shift from explicitly political targets to more generalized social commentary, often devoted to the category of *moeurs*. What I am tentatively suggesting is that the repression of

political discourse, in combination with the traumatic stresses and conflicts of both modernity and modern capitalism, may play a role in both the hypostatisation of the feminine and the terms by which it is discursively defined. And while there is an empirical relationship that can be established between the muzzling of political speech and the relatively unimpeded flow of visual erotica, the more interesting questions pivot on the relations between the birth of commodity culture and the image world of consumable femininities.

In this respect, it is significant that artists like Gavarni, who had not been much involved in political commentary in the first place, went on to specialize in the popular avatars of femininity of the July Monarchy--the *Parisienne*, *grisette*, *lionne*, and last, but not least, the *lorette*. Gavarni's enormous success and renown was based in part on the appeal of these typologies and stereotypes (see figs. 100 and 101). These types, moreover, are instances where femininity is either directly connected to the venal (love for sale) or where the sexualization of the feminine is explicitly classed; i.e., associated with working class women. The *lorette* (thus named by Nestor Roqueplan, after the new quarter of Paris developing around Notre Dame de Lorette which was supposedly populated by prostitutes) provides a good

example of the way sex, class, and desirability was configured as an instance of the modern.

The *lorette* was a figure of femininity that was instantly recognizable as a type in keeping with an already highly developed typological iconography, deriving from Lavater, from the so-called *physiologies*, from *cris de Paris* imagery, etc.⁴⁴ From the eighteenth century on, there was a stream of books about Paris and its residents, its neighborhoods, its metiers, and its idiosyncrasies. Thus, an already highly elaborated system of typologies and stereotypes was, by the 1820s, adapted to the form of the *physiology*; a literary or graphic representation that mimicked the forms of natural history description and classification; a reading of appearance which, like phrenology, professed to read inner essences via external physical signs. The conjunction of the previously established notion of the type with a belief in the legibility of appearance had particular implications in the representation of femininity. Hence, the *lorette* was imagined as a pretty working class woman who unlike the *grisette*, sold her favors.⁴⁵

As the repertory of types grew, particularly in the first decades of the nineteenth century, so too did its feminine cast of *dramatis personae*; accompanying mass-produced imagery of more or less eroticized types of

femininity, such as the *lorette* and *lionne*, were specific working class types as well; the *rat*, the laundress, the flower seller, the modiste, and so forth. Well before these would appear in the high art production of realist and impressionists--that is to say, after the middle of the century--they were staples of mass cultural production, both textual and graphic. Such types operated to eroticize working class women while disavowing the reality of working class women's economic and material circumstances. Another feminine type developed was the Parisienne--unlike the others, not necessarily working class. Pretty, fashionable, fickle, desirable, but venal, one might well describe the Parisienne as an emblematic figure for that Paris being constructed through capitalism as the capital of desire. Although the Parisienne was not specified as a type, as was the grisette or the lorette, it was an identifiable type nonetheless; it received its most intensive elaboration in the pages of the journal La Vie Parisienne, founded in 1863.

Consequently, there exists in the first decades of the nineteenth century an already existing schema for the manufacture of types, new visual technologies for their quantitative expansion and dissemination, and, well before the July Monarchy, a demonstrable proliferation of

images of femininity in both high and mass culture. Schema, technology, and motif come together at a historical moment in which, to use Raymond Williams' useful terms, emergent and residual forms of social and sexual identity are alike subjected to the twin juggernauts of capitalism and modernization punctuated by cycles of political revolution and reaction. Against this larger framework, I want to return again to the pin-up, to focus more closely on its ideological "work."

By pin-up, I am referring to a particular type of image, which could be relatively deluxe or relatively crude, but in either case, was predicated on the relative isolation of its feminine motif through the reduction or outright elimination of narrative, literary, or mythological allusion. As we have seen, this decontextualization, reduction, or distillation of the image of femininity to a subject in and of itself can be easily tracked through high art painting. But in its graphic and mass media incarnations, it seems evident that such imagery trades less on its high art or classical prototypes (even when those may provide the pose or influence the formal treatment), but rather, trades on their contemporaneity; these mass-produced lithographs, as we have seen, are intended to be read as images of every day modern life as well as more or less

images of every day modern life as well as more or less eroticized representation of femininity. Indeed, it is part of the *raison d'être* of such imagery, a crucial part of its function, that it operates to actively produce certain concepts of modernity for which the image of femininity is often a kind of scrim, a screen on which is projected a constellation of desires and anxieties that are themselves the products of modernity. The consumable, possessable aspects of the fetishized image of femininity offer the palliative of "having," a visual plenitude that masks lack, but it simultaneously evokes the threat and corruption associated with venal sexuality. In this respect, a consideration of the mass-produced imagery of the first half of the nineteenth century, particularly in its representation of femininity, entails an analysis of the interlocking mechanisms of spectacle, visual culture, display and commodification and the role played by femininity within each of these terms.

Here it is useful to introduce Griselda Pollock's distinction between image-of-woman and woman-as-image. Implicit in the notion of woman-as-image is not only the separation of signifier and signified that I earlier wished to signal in differentiating the terms "femininity" and "woman," but, particularly important, the idea that what is involved in the construction of

specularity, a condition hypothesized by Luce Irigaray and famously described by Laura Mulvey as "to-be-looked-at-ness." But the solicitation of the look that can be identified in the emergence of new iconographies of the feminine--iconographies that are effectively about the feminine as spectacle--needs to be historicized as well as psychoanalyzed. Grandville's extraordinary wood engraving of *Venus at the Opera* (fig. 102) suggests both avenues of investigation. On the one hand, the aggressively phallicized terms of the male gaze--I am reminded here of Jean Clair's "the gaze is the erection of the eye"--and, on the other, the historic specificity of the social and cultural spaces in which feminine specularity is both promoted and enacted; here, the Opera loge where society women, marriageable daughters, and courtesans participated in intricate rituals of display.

This condition of pure specularity obviously suggests numerous parallels with the emerging culture of commodity fetishism. From the 1830s on, the open display of goods, the construction of the commercial arcades, the invention of the department store, new apparatuses of publicity and promotion, the invention of ready-made clothing, the new public spaces of leisure and consumption--all these historic developments tend to reinforce a visual culture premised on appearance,

display, exposure, and spectacle. Specularity and spectacle, we might say, are a priori inflected on the side of femininity, an inflection established as least as early as Rousseau's "Lettre sur les spectacles." But to the extent that the evolution of gender ideology precluded such a position for men in the nineteenth century, a "natural" equivalence between femininity and spectacle was effectively secured. It is for this reason that there were no masculine equivalents of the pin-up, any more than there were contemporary representations (painted or printed) of men sleeping, disrobing, or reclining naked indoors or out.

What I am suggesting, however, is a kind of homological fit whereby the negative perceptions of capitalism and modernity are projected onto femininity (e.g., the prostitute and her variations) as are the terms of consumer culture in general. Femininity, itself increasingly articulated as visual spectacle, thus becomes effectively identified with the sexual itself, its desirability and its threat associated generally with the modern. This, it seems to me, is one way to think the relentless, indeed obsessive production of images of femininity that possess neither the instrumentality of pornography nor the refinement of high art, but exist somewhere between the two terms. Furthermore, the

associative train that is mobilized by the meshing of femininity and spectacle is subsequently assimilated or absorbed into the structures of commodity fetishism to such an extent that the eroticizing of the commodity and the commodification of femininity may be thought of as inextricably bound processes within the development of modern culture.

In this regard, the nineteenth-century French obsession with prostitution, its nuances, its gradations, its fine distinctions between forms of prostitution, its harlots high and low, its sexualized working class women--modiste, *serveuse*, flower seller, dancer, laundress, its fantasy figures of Bohemian sexuality--*grisette*, *lorette*, *débardeuse*, etc.--are not only the obvious symbolizations of a capitalist society where everything has a price, nor are they merely the expression of patriarchal alarm at the lawlessness and uncontrollability of female sexuality. Rather, the range of fantasies about femininity that occupy such a conspicuous place within cultural production operate to contain--or exceed--complex and ambivalent responses to large scale social transformations.

The advent of the camera into what was an already highly diversified, and quantitatively enormous market in mass-produced imagery therefore had numerous

ramifications. For the first decade of its existence in France, the dominant photographic technology was the daguerreotype. Because daguerreotypes were unique images, usually of small scale, and not mechanically reproducible, their initial commercial application was largely limited to portraiture, although daguerreotypes were early on translated into wood block engravings. Particularly significant, for my argument, is another, albeit historically unacknowledged application of the daguerreotype, which was for the production of deluxe erotica and pornography, often in stereographic format. I will consider this form of production in the following chapter, but a few points may be made here. What is especially interesting in photographic, as opposed to graphic erotica, is the way it augments and ratifies the tendency, already apparent in lithographic prototypes, to articulate the sexuality of femininity in terms of specularity rather than activity. Whereas traditional graphic pornography conceives of the sexual as active, frequently featuring a male participant as the viewer's surrogate (see figs. 103, 104, and 105), photographic pornography, more often than not, devolves on the sight of female body alone (fig. 106). In other words, it is the presentation of the body, or a part of the body, that became the locus of sexualized looking.⁴⁶

By the beginning of the 1850s, positive/negative photographic processes and the attendant mass production they enabled, transformed the cult of images into a veritable flood tide. Photographic pornography itself passed from the status of luxury trade item to mass production; from an artisanal mode of production, to a fully industrialized one. While lithographic imagery of femininity continued to be produced and disseminated--including the reissue of July Monarchy classics like Achille Devéria, Charles Bague, etc., photographic icons of femininity, of all sorts, of all formats, effectively constituted another quantum leap in numbers and breadth of dissemination. It is thus with respect to this image world of mass cultural images of femininity that we need to reconsider certain aspects of modern, as well as modernist, French painting.

To begin with, we need to acknowledge the distinction between popular culture and mass culture. Modern art historians, beginning at least with Meyer Schapiro's classic essay on Courbet have had no problem in relating the activity of the avant-garde or the modernist tradition to sources in popular culture; it is an art historical commonplace to talk about Courbet or Manet's deployment of popular imagery.⁴⁷ And insofar as progressives of the 1850s and 1860s, typically the

apostles of realism, were concerned to celebrate the popular, whether in the form of the marionette theater, the poems of Béranger, the *image d'Epinal*, art historians have frequently limited the discussion of sources to the politically edifying ones of popular culture.

In fact, and as art historians such as Beatrice Farwell, Joel Isaacson and Linda Nochlin have all demonstrated, many of the most distinctive aspects of modernist painting derives its motifs, its thematics, and in a certain sense its agenda, from the debased and industrialized sphere of mass cultural imagery where the imagery of femininity was itself the signifier of modern life. Consequently, in considering a *modernist* painting such as Claude Monet's Camille in a Green Dress of 1866, (fig. 107) we need to acknowledge not only the counter-academic stratagems of the painting (over life size scale, signaling the painting's claim for an importance equal to history painting; the comparatively open and painterly brushstrokes, defying academic notions of "finish" and transparency) but its manifest relationship to comparable mass cultural imagery, such as an 1856 lithograph entitled *Cocotte* (fig. 108). We are again returned to the centrality of the feminine as a figure for modernity, for, if nothing else, the shared enterprise of avant-garde painting, from mid-century on,

was the search for an iconography of the modern that functioned, additionally, as what Richard Terdiman has termed a counter-discourse to the aesthetics (and politics) of the dominant.⁴⁸

It is here that an attentiveness to the intertextuality of the representational systems is especially important, insofar as it contributes to a more complex and nuanced understanding of both the project of the avant-garde artists and the operation of mass culture. Gustave Courbet is a particularly good example for such an examination precisely because art historians have long acknowledged his "sources" in "popular imagery." These include his use of *images d'épinal*, and photographs of nudes, many of them by Vallou de Villeneuve. While the latter were clearly used as artistic aides memoires (figs. 109-112), the former have been interpreted as themselves an integral aspect of Courbet's programmatic, politicized and radical realism; acknowledging and elevating the popular, inventing a pictorial vocabulary signifying sincerity and identification with "the people" and so forth. But as Linda Nochlin and Beatrice Farwell have both demonstrated, Courbet's sources include as well the lithographs of Devéria (figs. 113-115), which, as I have argued, must be reckoned as a mass cultural form.

Furthermore, any work in photography of the Second Empire turns up numerous examples of the kinds of pictures which either connote or denote the contiguity I have been discussing of femininity, sexuality, and modernity. An anonymous studio-made stereo, for example, depicting two partially undressed young women on a river bank (fig. 116) was certainly a familiar type to Courbet. Similarly, many of Courbet's nudes are closely modelled (if not copied) from comparable subjects by Devéria, Tassaert, Félon and others (figs. 117, 118, 119). Once this additional context is supplied, the scandalized responses to many of Courbet's paintings--and those of his successors--become far more understandable. Manet's *Olympia*, to take another example, was shocking not only for its presentation of a contemporary courtesan, its audacious formal strategies, and its uncomfortable positioning of the (male) spectator, but because it would have been perfectly clear to Manet's audience that the painting drew upon an entire genre of erotic photography as well as lithographic prototypes. The issue, in other words, is not one of specific source, but rather, the artists' recognition, assimilation and re-presentation of that more or less debased class of imagery considered altogether outside the boundaries of high art practice, and the use of which--more offensively--could not but

denaturalize and destabilize the very conventions and protocols of high art representations of femininity.

Courbet's direct use of photographs in certain of his paintings is thus possibly of less significance than his appropriation of both lithographic and photographic prototypes constituting an available image repertoire--vulgar, commodified, and having little to do with the politics whose cultural expression was celebrated by the progressives of the July Monarchy and Second Empire.

On the other hand, for a militant realist like Courbet, for whom the classicism of official art discourse was still an issue, the various allusions or outright assimilation of photographic prototypes also had a distinct polemical intent. Marcellin's caricature "*A bas la photographie!*" (fig. 120) effectively encapsulates the stakes in the debate between realism and classicism and the camera's implication in the debates between them. Under the rubric "autrefois" a putto, equipped with oil paint and brushes depicts a graceful goddess or nymph; under the rubric "aujourd'hui" a putto behind a camera takes the predictable photograph of the predictably homely woman. Note the oppositions--yesterday vs. today, art vs. photography, idealism vs. realism, and antiquity vs. modernity--are figured through and upon the feminine. Reference or allusion to photography in Courbet's work,

or in Manet's or Degas', was thus another blow leveled at the tottering authority of classical art theory and an affirmation of realism as itself the expression of modernity.

But perhaps even more suggestive than the artistic avant-garde's conscription of the mass cultural repertoire is the double circuit of visual dependencies to which I earlier alluded. In other words, in the same way that mass cultural imagery could draw its themes and motifs from high cultural artifacts, so too could high cultural artifacts re-enter the mass cultural domain from which they initially drew. Here I am referring to the practice by which the high art paintings exhibited in the Salon had their reproduction rights sold by the artists to commercial engravers for mass cultural reproduction and dissemination. Thus, a certified masterpiece, such as Courbet's *Woman with a Parrot* (fig. 121) takes on a wholly other identity when it is engraved for mass consumption (fig. 122). Similarly, Courbet's *Spanish Lady* once converted into an inexpensive print, (fig. 123) takes its new place in the boundless market of images of femininity where issues of authorship, facture, or aesthetic philosophy are entirely irrelevant.

Accordingly, the engraved version of the *Spanish Lady* is in no way stylistically or formally disjunct from

one of Lasalle's portrait pin-ups of femininity, (fig. 124) any more than *Woman with a Parrot* once engraved, can be distinguished from work by Devéria, Guerard, Bague or Numa. Within this continuous loop of mass and high cultural representation, and from a feminist and historical perspective, the crucial issues to explore have therefore less to do with the singularity of Courbet's style as a painter than with the position of its feminine subject matter within the culture as a whole.

For if the appropriation of mass cultural imagery can be thought of as a weapon of the avant-garde against the ossified values of academicism and classicism, we must take heed of the fact that this war of images is to a very great extent enacted on through the spectacle of femininity. Indeed, it is the feminine body which was with increasing frequency throughout the century employed as the vehicle for avant-garde assertion. In attempting to counter the Venus of the Salon, artists like Courbet, Manet and Degas deployed the other side of Venus--the debased, working class, prostitutionalized image of modern femininity, endlessly reiterated in contemporary mass culture. In such cases, the mass cultural image of the feminine was already coded as "the modern," with all the ambivalence and anxiety that concepts of the modern

culturally evoked. Alternately, and in other avant-garde and academic practice, the image of the feminine could be inflected altogether atavistically, signaling a flight from, a repudiation of, the modern. This, it seems to me, is the case in the symbolist conscription of femininity, whether it is in the work of Gauguin, in Gustave Moreau or Odilon Redon, and--as well--in the delirious and salacious production of Third Republic academic painting. (See for example, fig. 125) From an avant-gardist perspective, this conscription of femininity for counter-discursive purposes has conventionally been presented as part of the heroicism of the avant gardist enterprise itself--a series of manifesto-like paintings unified by a shared repudiation of the values of state and academy and a shared commitment to the invention of a modern syntax for ambitious painting. But when we pause to consider the fact that so many of the monuments of modernist painting, from Courbet's *Baigneuse* to *Olympia* to the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* figure their modernism--and their protest--through and upon the body of woman, and that even when not specifically imaged as prostitutes--Picasso's, Manet's or Courbet's--they are nonetheless always and already eroticized, we may be prompted to reflect again on the nature and terms of the modernist project itself. For if the body of the woman and the

ideology of femininity which surrounds it permits the feminine to "stand for" either an assertion, even an embrace of modernity, or alternatively, an atavistic flight from it, an incarnation of corruption or an icon of desire, what does this say about the status of femininity itself within the visual culture of nineteenth-century France? And what conclusions should be drawn from the linkage made in visual culture between the modern and the feminine?

Glossing Walter Benjamin's Passagen-Werk, Christine Buci-Glucksmann suggests why femininity was such a characteristic trope of nineteenth-century French culture:

Of this we can be certain: the image engraved upon the *flâneur's* body, the Baudelairean passerby barely glimpsed in the intoxication of large cities, this multiplicity of emotions are only specific examples of what is characteristic of modernity: the cult of images, the secularization/sublimation of bodies, their ephemeral nature and reproducibility. Here, the feminine constitutes one of the nineteenth-century's "original forms" (*urgeschichtlichen Formen*), an origin (*ursprung*) where a "prehistory" and a "posthistory" (*Vor- und Nachgeschichte*), the inevitable sign of a new historic regime of seeing and "not-seeing," of representable and nonrepresentable.⁴⁹

Hence, the heightened visibility of femininity, like the profusion of image technologies which both fostered and disseminated it, established--definitively, it seems--the libidinal economy of commodity culture, which retains, in

both Marx's and Freud's characterizations, its essentially fetishistic attributes and structures. And insofar as femininity was everywhere seen and "spoken" by midcentury, we do well to look not only at all sides of Venus, but at all aspects of visual representation. As the late Nicholas Green and Frank Mort have written: "Visual representations need to be seen as a part of an interlocking set of histories which involve multiple relations and dependencies across a range of social fields and practices. It is not longer a question of analyzing an internal field of visual imagery in its relation to a set of external determinations...but of understanding the interdependence and interchange of discourses and practices, with mutually reinforcing results."⁵⁰ It is precisely for this reason that any hard and fast distinctions between mass cultural production and our cherished icons of avant-gardism and modernism are neither tenable nor desirable. Which is not to say that there are no differences between, say, Manet's *Olympia* and Cabanel's *Birth of Venus*, but that these differences need to be reformulated in the light of feminist work on representation itself. Once it is admitted that mass cultural and high cultural forms are both instrumental in the construction of lived subjectivities there seems little justification in maintaining discursive boundaries between the mass-produced imagery pumped out by the millions and the

production of the modernist avant-garde, or, for that matter, the official and sanctioned painter of the art establishment.

Lastly, once we shift the terms of inquiry away from a fixation of the heroicized, mystified, and phallicized figure of the master/artist/genius, and the cultural fantasies with which he is invested, we will be better situated to understand the complexity of the culture in which artists--high and low--produced, and the role their work played in either articulating, securing, contesting or transforming it.

Notes

1. Cited in Susan Buck-Morss, "The Flâneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore," New German Critique 39 (Fall 1986) pp. 99-140.
2. Théophile Gautier, "Guide de l'amateur du Louvre," Gautier, Oeuvres complètes (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1978) p. 14.
3. This visual monopoly has changed quite recently in contemporary culture. Although there have long been male figures--typically entertainers or athletes, in keeping with Johan Flugel's speculations--who have been represented as desirable spectacles, it is only in the past ten or so years that we see masculinity figured in ways associated with feminine display. Interestingly, these new images of a seductive and insistently eroticized masculinity are often given passive poses (sunbathing, reclining, ruminating, etc.). In this respect they recall the ephebic male figures discussed earlier.
4. The dominating position of the prostitute in the nineteenth-century Imaginary hardly requires demonstration, either in her numerous literary incarnations or within visual culture. I discuss aspects of the symbolic construction of the prostitute in Chapter Four. Some recent discussions of this powerful symbol are as follows: Laure Adler, La Vie Quotidienne dans les Maisons Closes 1830-1930 (Paris: Hachette, 1990); Charles Bernheimer, Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989); Hollis Clayson, Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Alain Corbin, "La prostituée," in Jean-Paul Aron, ed., Miserable et Glorieuse: la femme du XIX siècle (Paris: Editions Complexe, 1990); Jann Matlock, "Scenes of Seduction: Prostitution, Hysteria, and Reading Difference in Nineteenth-Century France," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley); Susan Buck-Morss, "The Flâneur." Other relevant texts are cited in Chapter Four. On the subject of the Parisienne, I have profited greatly from Beatrice Farwell's unpublished manuscript "Les Parisiennes," a lecture given at the Columbus (Ohio) Museum of Art in January, 1992.

5. A link may be made here between the satirical eye cast by illustrators and printmakers on the "effeminacy" of the dandies, and those contemporary history paintings that thematized the collision of *ancien regime* and bourgeois masculinities such as the encounter between Dreux-Brezé and Mirabeau (a subject painted, for example, by both Delacroix and Delaroche).

6. See in this regard, Jennifer L. Shaw, "The Figure of Venus: Rhetoric of the Ideal and the Salon of 1863," Art History, 14/4 (Dec. 1991) pp. 536-570.

7. There exists a substantial bibliography in feminist theory concerning the discursive construction of femininity, an approach that for shorthand may be considered social constructionist. In keeping with the inherently interdisciplinary orientation of such theory, this body of work has been influenced by literary theory, history, sociology, film studies, anthropology, etc. I list here only a few texts insofar as they specifically underpin my own arguments and are recognized now as loci of subsequent debate: Denise Riley, 'Am I that Name?' Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History (London: Macmillan Press, 1988); Rosalind Coward, Patriarchal Precedents: Sexuality and Social Relations (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983) and particularly important for my arguments, the collective work of the M/F collective, the essays of which are now anthologized in Parveen Adams and Elizabeth Cowie, eds., The Woman in Question (Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1990).

8. This characterization of the growth of mass media in late Restoration and early July Monarchy France is Beatrice Farwell's. Her pioneering work on this phenomenon has been the point of departure for much of this chapter. See Farwell, The Cult of Images: Baudelaire and the 19th-Century Media Explosion, exh. cat. (Santa Barbara: UCSB Art Museum, April 6 - May 8, 1977); The Charged Image: French Lithographic Caricature 1816-1848, exh. cat. (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1989); French Popular Lithographic Imagery 1815-1870, 12 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981-).

9. See in this regard, Rachel Harrison and Frank Mort, "Patriarchal Aspects of Nineteenth-Century State Formation: Property Relations, Marriage and Divorce and Sexuality" in Philip Corrigan, ed. Capitalism, State Formation and Marxist Theory: Historical Investigations (London: Quarter Books, 1980); Louis Devance, "Femme,

famille, travaille et morale sexuelle dans l'ideologie de 1848," Romantisme, 13/14 (1976) pp 79-103: Yannick Ripa, La ronde des folles: femme, folie et enfermement au XIX siècle (Paris: Aubier, 1987); Erna Olafson Hellerstein, "French Women and the Orderly Household 1830-1870 in Proceedings of the Western Society for French History 3 (1976) pp 378-89; Robert Deniel, Une Image de la famille et de la société dans la Restauration (1815-1830): Etude de la Presse Catholique (Paris: PUF, 1989); Jane Cérez, La Condition sociale de la femme de 1804 à l'heure présente (Paris: 1940); Jean-Paul Aron, ed. Miserable et Glorieuse: La femme au XIX siècle (Paris: Fayard, 1980). On the discursively destabilizing effects of mass media images of femininity, see my "Notes on Erotic Photography; Towards a Project of Historical Salvage" in Solomon-Godeau, Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions and Practices (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991) pp. 222-237.

10. Thomas Laqueur, Making Sex. Here is Michelet on the subject:

Elle ne fait rien comme nous...Son sang n'a pas le cours du nôtre: par moments, il se précipite, comme une averse d'orage...elle ne digère pas comme nous. Sa digestion est troublée à chaque instant par une chose: elle aime du fond des entrailles. La profonde coupe d'amour (qu'on appelle le bassin) est une mer d'émotions variables qui contrarient la régularité des fonctions nutritives.

Cited in Shaw, "Figure of Venus," p. 564, n. 21.

11. In this respect, Jules Michelet was one of the foremost ideologues of mid-century femininity, dwarfing in every way the opposing formulations of Ernest Legouvé. Michelet's L'Amour went through 5 editions by 1861; 54,000 books had been sold since its publication in 1851. See Shaw, "Figure of Venus," p. 564, n. 18.

12. Jules Michelet, Les Femmes de la Revolution (Paris: A. Delahays, 1854) p. 126.

13. Obviously, there were opposing views on "Woman"; notably the philosophy of sexual equality promoted by Fourierist and Saint-Simonian camps (both incidentally the subject of pornographic representation) as well as the appearance of a feminist movement in 1848. But the

influence of feminists and utopians was negligible compared in comparison to "mainstream" discourses such as Michelet's.

14. Robert Muchembled, Culture populaire et cultures des elites dans la France moderne (Paris: Flammarion, 1978).

15. See in this regard the anthology edited by Georges Bollème, La Bibliothèque Bleue: littérature populaire en France du XVII au XIX siècles (Paris: Gallimard; Juillard, 1971).

16. This model has been implicitly countered, by among others, Natalie Zemon Davis and Carlo Ginzberg. Davis' work on literacy and reading in early modern Europe focuses on the "negotiations" of oral culture that occur, for example, when written texts are read aloud to nonliterate auditors. Carlo Ginzberg has explored how literate culture can be altogether transformed and idiosyncratically interpreted by any one "user." See Davis, Society and Culture in Early Modern France (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975) and Ginzburg, The Cheese and the Worms (New York; Penguin, 1980). For a good overview of these debates see the anthology Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies, eds. Chandra Mukerji and Michael Schudson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991).

17. See for example, Peter Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (New York: Harper & Row, 1978) and Burke, "Revolution in Popular Culture," in Mikulas Teich and Roy Porter, eds., Revolution in History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

18. The term "media explosion" is Beatrice Farwell's. See her essay in the exhibition catalogue The Cult of Images.

19. See on this subject Pierre Louis Duchartre and René Saulnier, L'Imagerie Parisienne (Paris: Grund, 1944) and Jean Adhémar, Imagerie Populaire Française (Milan: Electa Instituto Editoriale, 1968).

20. James Smith Allen, Popular French Romanticism, cited in my Introduction, n. 17.

21. Allen, p. 8, n. 5.

22. Allen, p. 9.

23. In 1851, for example, the Catalogue Renaissance (the mail order print listing for the editor Jean-Baptiste Francois Delarue) was advertising individual lithographic prints for anything between 1.6 FF to 4 FF. A salary for a manual laborer in 1848 averaged 2 FF per day.

24. Champfleury, "Introduction," Histoire de l'imagerie populaire, (Paris: Dantu, 1869) n.p.

25. Diane Kelder, Aspects, p. 124.

26. "If, then, the so-called 'popular print (as M. and Mme Seguin readily inform us) does not originate in the provinces, where can one can hope to find the prototypes? We believe the answer to be in Paris, in the rue St. Jacques." See Jean Adhémar, Graphic Art of the 18th Century, trans. by M.I. Martin, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964) p.141.

27. Invented in Germany by Alois Senefelder in 1798, lithography made its appearance in France as early as 1802. In its earliest years, its technical development and first fruits in France were identified with two men: the Count Charles de Lesteyrie and Godefroy Englemann. But its technological perfection and extensive use is generally dated from the Napoleonic period and it is thus the lithographic production of the Restoration through the July Monarchy and after that constitutes the principal body of work which I will be discussing. The standard sources for the history of lithography in France are the following: Henri Bouchot, La Lithographie (Paris: Ancienne Maison Quantin, 1895); Claude and Blandine Bouret, La Lithographie en France des origines à nos jours (Paris: Fondation nationale des arts graphiques et plastiques, 1982); Beatrice Farwell, French Popular Lithographic Imagery, 1815-1870, vols. 1-9 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981-92); Michel Mélot, La Lithographie en France des origines à nos jours (Paris: Fondation nationale des arts graphiques et plastiques, 1982); Michael Twyman, Lithography 1800-1850 (London: Oxford University Press, 1970); Wilhelm Weber, A History of Lithography (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966); W. McAllister Johnson, French Lithography: The Restoration Salons, 1817-1824 (Kingston, Ontario: Agnes Etherton Art Centre, 1977).

28. Jeffrey H. Rosen, "Lemercier et Compagnie: Photolithography and the Industrialization of Print Production in France 1837-1859" (Ph.D. diss.,

Northwestern University, June 1988.) See as well his "The Political Economy of Graphic Art Production during the July Monarchy," Art Journal (Spring 1989) pp. 40-45.

29. All figures from Jeffrey Rosen, "Lemercier". Rosen further indicates that of this total, slightly more than half were classed as *ouvrages de commerce* (lithographically printed invoices, stationary, business cards, publicity, etc.) and the remainder, *ouvrages de l'art*. For the period 1837-40 Blanqui's Dictionnaire du commerce listed 2,000 workers employed by lithographic workshops throughout France, and in 1847-8 the Chamber of Commerce indicated that 2,388 workers were employed in Parisian lithographic firms. By 1860 that number had grown to 321,921.

30. Johnson, "Introduction" in French Lithography, p.9.

31. Irene Collins, The Government and the Newspaper Press in France: 1814-1881 (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

32. My assumption that the traffic in sexual, as opposed to politically provocative imagery was less strenuously policed and prosecuted is based on my reading of the following archives: Archives de la Police, Carton 229, Service des Moeurs 1829-1878; Archives nationales F18*VI-48, Dépôt des Estampes et Planches gravées présentées et non-autorisé (through Sept. 1835), Archive Nationales; F18, 39 and 40, Correspondance, mémoires et rapports sur les ouvrages censurés par la police, rapports des conseurs, hommages d'ouvrages, 1803-1828.

33. Throughout this chapter, I use Achille Devéria as my exemplary lithographer. In part, this is personal preference (the same points could be made with any of a number of his contemporaries). But Devéria is also a good choice because of the sheer number and variety of his subjects (over 3,000 extant lithographs and over 300 books for which he provided the illustrations). There is still only one monographic biography; Maximilien Gauthier, Achille et Eugène Devéria (Paris: H. Floury, 1925). I have drawn as well on the exhibition catalogue Achille Devéria: témoin du romantisme parisien 1800-1857 (Paris: Musée Renan-Scheffer, July-Sept. 1985). Other information has been provided by Farwell, 1977 and 1989.

34. Devéria was, as it happened, at least briefly a student of the academician Louis Lafitte. He gave up the idea of becoming a professional artist in order to help support his younger brother Eugène, considered the more promising of the two brothers after his early triumphant success (1827) with *The Birth of Henri IV*. The derivations from high art prototypes, like Devéria's own draughtsmanly skills, easily explain this aspect of his lithography. These appropriations of elite types and forms are, however, equally a feature in the work of other lithographers.

35. For a case study of two specific motifs, see Beatrice Farwell, "Courbet's 'Baigneuses' and the Rhetorical Feminine Image," in Thomas B. Hess and Linda Nochlin, eds., Woman as Sex Object: Studies in Erotic Art 1730-1970 (New York: Newsweek Books: 1972) pp. 64-79 and Farwell, "Manet, Morisot and Propriety," in T. J. Edelstein, Perspectives on Morisot (Hudson Hills, N.Y.: Hudson Hills Press, 1990) pp. 45-56.

36. Beatrice Farwell, "Pinups and Erotica," introductory text for volume IX of French Popular Lithography, and Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Notes on Erotic Photography."

37. Which is not to ignore the historical and contextual specificity of such imagery. Patricia Mainardi is currently working on the sexual politics of marriage and divorce in the Restoration period and her research indicates that the ubiquity of the themes of adultery in the 1820s is integrally related to these politics.

38. Beatrice Farwell, Manet and the Nude: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Iconography (Ann Arbor: Garland Publishers, 1981)

39. For example, Fragonard and Boucher employed the motif.

40. For example, in the pornographic print series that comprises the *Passe-tems de Julie*, ca. 1830s, Réserve libre, Bibliothèque Nationale.

41. Rosalind Williams, p. 60.

42. I am distinguishing here between prints that are functionally erotic icons and the more "sociological" or satirical work of an artist like Gavarni. Thus, Gavarni's print series that deal with eroticized types of femininity--lorettes, lionnes, débardeuses, etc.--are

less preoccupied with static and fetishistic presentation of femininity.

43. Although I discuss the fetishism of representations of femininity in Chapter Four, a few additional points can be made here: insofar as much of the legal erotic is structured around scenarios of voyeurism (e.g., women sleeping, dressing and undressing, etc.) such prints endlessly enact the masculine desire to "unveil" the enigma of femininity. In this respect, the vogue for *portes-et-fenêtres* (flaps that can be opened to "reveal" a hidden part of the image) is suggestive. These were used in pornographic as well as other types of prints. Second, the erotics of the corset--a frequent theme in print culture--are themselves unambiguous manifestations of fetishism. The point, however, is that such manifestations are culturally embedded; their pathologies are therefore as much social as individual. On the "enigma" of femininity and role of fetishism see Sarah Kofman, The Enigma of Woman: Woman in Freud's Writings trans. Catherine Porter (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985). On the role of the corset in eighteenth and nineteenth century French visual culture see David Kunzel, "The Corset as Erotic Alchemy: From Rococo Galanterie to Montaut's Physiologies" in Hess and Nochlin, pp.91-165.

44. See Judith Wechsler, A Human Comedy; Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th-Century France (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

45. For a good discussion of these distinct types of erotized femininities see Novelene Ross, Manet's Bar at the Folies Bergères and the Myths of Popular Illustration (Ann Arbor, UMI Press, 1982.)

46. Courbet's Origine du monde is in this sense particularly interesting, since it brackets and fragments the female body, focusing the eye on the pelvic region. In this, it is closer to photographic than graphic pornography. By the date of its conception (1866), however, pornographic photographs, including beaver shots, were commonplace.

47. Meyer Schapiro, "Courbet and Popular Imagery" in Schapiro, Modern Art: 19th and 20th Centuries (New York: George Braziller, Inc. 1978) pp. 47-85. For discussions of the relationship between painting and mass cultural imagery see Madeleine Beaufort-Fidell, "L'imagerie

populaire et l'iconographie impressioniste," Nouvelles de l'Estampe 18 (1974) pp. 17-20; Joel Isaacson, "Impressionism and Journalistic Illustration," Arts 56 (June 1982) pp. 95-115; Linda Nochlin "Gustave Courbet's *Toilette de la Mariée*" Art Quarterly 34 (1) pp. 31-54.

48. Richard Terdiman, Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).

49. Christine Buci-Glucksmann, "Catastrophic Utopia: The Feminine as Allegory of the Modern," Representations 14 (Spring 1986) pp. 220-229.

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Chapter 4

The Legs of the Countess

Subjectivity denied to woman: indisputably this provides the financial backing for every irreducible constitution [of her] as an object: of representation, of discourse, of desire.

- Luce Irigaray, "Any Theory of the 'Subject' Has Always Been Appropriated by the 'Masculine'"

Historians of photography tend to divide the staggering number of images that constitute their object of study into two separate but hardly equal realms: that of the typical and that of the anomalous. The photographs of the Countess de Castiglione fall within both. On the one hand, the countess was merely one of thousands of well-to-do clients who passed through the doors of the fashionable Second Empire photographic firm of Mayer & Pierson, official photographers to the emperor and his court.¹ The majority of photographs made of the countess by Louis Pierson are thus neither technically nor formally dissimilar to those of any other aristocratic and elegant woman who engaged his services. (fig. 126) But the frequency with which the countess

presented herself to the camera, and in a certain number of startling instances the ways in which she did this, are exceptional. What are we to make of the countess's having herself photographed in her chemise? Or exposing her legs? (fig. 127) With some justice, one could dispense with these anomalies as the whims of an eccentric, if not deranged, woman. But when considered in the context of her culture and milieu, the very nature of her eccentricity seems remarkable only in degree, and in relation to the fact that she herself was the architect of her own representations. Indeed, much of the significance of these photographs, initially so unclassifiable, resides in their homology with other kinds of photographs, their contiguity with other images, both licensed and illicit. For, as I shall argue, the logic of these images is not only that of a unique expression of the countess's obsessions, but that of a talisman of the culture that produced her.

Accordingly, the photographs of the countess require a contextual examination as much as they do a biographical one. However bizarre or idiosyncratic the appearance of these images, the elements of their construction are to be located in various representational sites whose common denominator could be termed the semiotics of the feminine. Their reading thus

needs to be both symptomatic and dialectical: symptomatic in that they are the personal expression of an individual woman's investment in her images--in herself as image; dialectical in that this individual act of expression is underwritten by conventions that make her less an author than a scribe. Such a reading raises the photographs from the trivial status of historical curios to significant testimonials of the power of patriarchy to register its desire within the designated space of the feminine. This latter reading devolves on the confluence of three fetishisms, a confluence which can also be observed in other social and cultural phenomena of the period: the psychic fetishism of patriarchy, grounded in the specificity of the corporeal body; the commodity fetishism of capitalism, shrouded in what Marx termed the "veil of reification," and grounded in the means of production and the social relations they engender; and the fetishizing properties of the photograph--a commemorative trace of an absent object, the still picture of a frozen look, a screen for the projective play of the spectator's consciousness. That Marx wrote "The Fetishism of Commodities" at the very moment when the countess photographically documented her toilettes and body parts, and also when the photographic industry experienced its own massive commercial expansion suggests

not only the temporal proximity of the three forms of fetishism but the site on which they come together.²

That site is, of course, woman, and the confluence of these fetishisms on the body of woman is everywhere to be found in the Second Empire and Third Republic. But it is above all found within the representations of three types of women: in the image (both textual and iconic) of the prostitute, who unites in her person both seller and commodity; in the dancer or actress--the spectacle within the spectacle--who is perceived as a type of circulating goods; and in the notion of the beautiful, worldly woman, endlessly hypostatized, scrutinized, and dissected. That these three fetishisms converge in and around the representation of the feminine is surely not fortuitous. Luce Irigaray contends that Marx's analysis of commodities as the elementary form of capitalist wealth may be applied to an understanding of women's status in patriarchy. Irigaray's attempt to integrate Marxist and psychoanalytic approaches illuminates one of the problems in much recent literary criticism concerned with the mechanisms and consequences of sexual positioning. In focusing on only the first of three fetishisms, such an approach tends to de-historicize the phenomenon. The structures of fetishism, like the Oedipal scenario which is its source, are presented as transhistorical,

transcultural, and immutable givens, hermetically distinct from changing material determinations. Granted that the nineteenth century culturally manifests a heightened fetishization of the woman's body, it is equally important to acknowledge that it is also the period that witnesses the penetration of the commodity into all spheres of life, experience, and consciousness. Is it not possible to see in the emerging reign of the commodity a correspondence to new forms of the commodification of the feminine?

Examined in this perspective, photography appears to function as a crucial agent in the articulation and dissemination of both forms of commodification. Moreover, insofar as the camera fragments and abstracts its living subject, its mechanisms optically parallel those of reification. In producing and reproducing the image-world of capitalism, photography is simultaneously a commodity and an instrument of commodification.³ Such mid-nineteenth-century cultural developments as an expanded conception of celebrity, with its auxiliary discourses of fashion and publicity, are inseparable from the rise of camera culture. Furthermore, photography plays a critically important role in fostering that condition of modern life which the Situationists have dubbed spectacle. Finally, photography brings into being new

configurations and articulations of the body, new images of masculinity and femininity--especially the latter--which intersect with older modes of representation to produce

their own potent and transfiguring admixtures of modernity. It is within this dense matrix of sexual ideology, economic and social transformation, and the inexorable expansion of commodity culture that the historical significance of the countess's photographs may be glimpsed. To the extent that they also raise questions about the nature of feminine self-representation, they are somber reminders that the psychic determinations of patriarchy and the material ones of capitalism are as inescapable for us as they were for the countess.

1. The Image of Desire

Writing in her journal near the age of sixty, the Countess de Castiglione considered her youthful beauty: "The Eternal Father did not realize what He had created the day he brought her into the world; He formed her so superbly that when it was done He lost His head at the contemplation of this marvelous work."⁴ The extravagant narcissism of the countess's self-appraisal is somewhat startling, but less so than the objectification to which

it attests, evidenced both by the use of the third-person singular and by her designation of herself as a work ("maravigliosa opera").

This hyperbolic praise was echoed by other commentators during the period of the countess's prominence as a Second Empire court celebrity from 1854 until the early 1860s. "There has never been another woman," wrote Gaston Jollivet, "at least not in my lifetime, in whom immortal Venus, as deified by the brushstrokes and chisels of the great masters, was more perfectly incarnate."⁵ Even Princess Pauline de Metternich, who thoroughly disliked the countess, admitted, "I have never in my life seen such beauty and I do not expect to see its like again."⁶

Virginia Verasis, née Oldoini, Countess de Castiglione, has been the subject of two kinds of posthumous acknowledgment, succeeding those contemporary descriptions of her that appeared in the memoirs and diaries produced during the Second Empire and the Third Republic.⁷ In the standard political histories of the period, she figures only as a footnote in the annals of the empire. Briefly the mistress of Napoleon III, she appears to have acted as an agent of Camillo Cavour, to whom she was distantly related, in order to help ensure the emperor's cooperation in King Victor Emmanuel's

designs for the unification under his crown of the kingdoms of Piedmont, Lombardy-Venetia, and the two Sicilies. The countess's second discursive afterlife was a function of her fabled beauty and her brief notoriety as the emperor's mistress. In this guise, the countess was the subject of Second Empire republican propaganda (Benjamin Gastineau's Sottises et scandales du temps présent), Third Republic potboilers (Frédéric Loliée's Le roman d'une favorite), modern historical romances (Jacques Chabannes's Le poison sous le crinoline), and, perhaps most interestingly, a hysterical panegyric by the self-styled "sovereign of the transitory," the epicure and dandy Comte Robert de Montesquiou (La divine comtesse).

One of the pretexts of de Montesquiou's curious book is the collection of photographs of the countess, along with many of their personal effects, letters, jewelry, and memorabilia, which he had purchased at auction after her death in 1899. It is this collection of over 400 photographs that more than anything else suggests the countess's singularity.⁸ For while many of the female celebrities of the Second Empire and Third Republic were frequently photographed, their images reproduced, commercially sold, and widely circulated, the countess's photographs, though taken by a professional photographer,

could with some just be perceived as having been authored by her. Such an attribution would be predicated on the fact that the countess, far from passively following the directives of the photographer, substantially determined her own presentation to the camera, dictating the pose, costume, props, and accessories, and occasionally decided upon the coloring and/or retouching of the photographs. Alternatively, we might consider the hundreds of photographs taken of her by Louis Pierson as a working collaboration--one, moreover, that extended over thirty years.

In whatever proportion we wish to mete out credit for these images, however, what concerns me here are the problematic and contradictory aspects of the countess's attempt at photographic self-creation. Most suggestively, it is the apparent imbrication of narcissism and fetishism, and the subject's collusion in her own objectification, that transform these idiosyncratic artifacts into disturbing problems of the aporia of women and their representations. For what is repetitively played out in the countess's choreography of the self--a choreography she attempts to appropriate for her own ambiguous ends--is the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of the attempt to represent herself. Thus,

in venturing to raise the issue of authorship in relation to these photographs, my intention is not to wrest the honors from Pierson and give them to the countess, or even to demonstrate the complex nature of the issues pertaining to photographic authorship, but rather to emphasize that the singularity of the countess's photographs intersects with the problem of feminine self-representation. (fig. 128)

There is little need to underscore the fact that, historically, women have rarely been the authors of their own representations, either as makers or as models. Prior to the twentieth century there are a few exceptions in literature and letters, fewer in the visual arts, and virtually none in photography. Indeed, even the most cursory consideration of the photographic representation of women reveals that they are typically constructed in photographs in ways scarcely less coded, hardly less "already-written," than they are in other representational systems. Marx's description of the politically and socially disenfranchised--"they do not represent themselves; they must be represented"--surely as applicable to women as to the proletariat or the colonial subject. But the countess did, in a quite literal sense, produce herself for the camera, and in a manner she alone determined. When a nineteenth-century

woman provides us with an example of self-representation we do well to attend to the terms of its articulation.

In addition to the 434 photographs assembled by the Count de Montesquiou, there exist between 250 and 350 negatives of the countess from the photographic firm of Mayer & Pierson, incorporated into the collection of Maison Adolph Braun in 1873, and now in the photographic archives of the city of Colmar.⁹ The great majority of the photographs were made between 1856 and 1865 at the height of their subject's fame and beauty. However, a few years before her death in 1899, the countess commissioned Pierson to make another series of photographs, one set of which is now in the collection of the Gilman Paper Corporation, and another, larger group in Colmar.¹⁰

These photographs--running the gamut from entirely conventional studio portraits, either carte-de-visite or cabinet format, to theatricalised or narrativized tableaux, to stunning and formally unusual full-figure portraits and odd, crudely hand-colored images¹¹ --are exceptional for a number of reasons. First, there is the sheer quantity. Surely no woman of the mid-nineteenth century, irrespective of fame or notoriety, was photographed so extensively, within so short a time span, as was the countess. Moreover, where individual women

were much-photographed (for example, Queen Victoria or the courtesan Cleo de Merode), their images were intended for commercial consumption, whereas the bulk of the countess's photographs appear to have been commissioned for herself. We must also bear in mind that in this period the photographic portrait, made principally within a specialized photographic atelier, was by no means cheap, involving as it did the skills of a number of professionals and technicians; it was, in short, anything but a casual and impromptu affair.¹² The countess's photographs, in which she appears, variously, in extravagant court dress, in masquerade, in narrative tableaux enacting such roles as drunken soubrette, Breton peasant, or cloistered nun, were necessarily elaborate productions. (fig. 129)

No less remarkable are the photographs she commissioned of herself en déshabillé--in chemise or nightgown--or the closeups of her feet in the sandals she wore for the costume of the Queen of Etruria, or the pictures of herself feigning sleep and awakening, terror and rage, or even a photograph where she weeps within the rectangle of an empty picture frame, propped on a table. (fig. 130) The genre of still life was also conscripted to the ends of self-portraiture. There are two prints

that depict a profusion of her personal effects-- photographs of herself shown en abyme, along with shawls, keepsakes, and dried flowers, and half-buried in their midst, one of her lapdogs together with his leashes, collars, and dog clothes. That it was the countess, however, who directed the camera is nowhere more evident than in the extraordinary group of photographs in which she removed her shoes and stockings, raised her petticoats and crinoline, and had her naked legs photographed from several viewpoints.

The shocking impropriety of this gesture, despite the fact that these photographs were in no sense intended to circulate, becomes even clearer when we note that in those contemporary photographs of dancers, actresses, and demi-mondaines produced for public consumption, legs are always sheathed in tights. Tights were virtually the prerequisite for the transformation of carnal flesh into the sublimated, sculptural form of aesthetic, albeit eroticized, delectation. For Baudelaire, the work of the tights was analogous to that of cosmetics:

Anyone can see that the use of rice-powder, so stupidly anathematized by our Arcadian philosophers, is successfully designed to rid the complexion of those blemishes that Nature has outrageously strewn there, and thus to create an abstract unity in color and texture of the skin, a unity, which, like that produced by the legs of the dancer, immediately approximates the human being to the statue, that is,

to something superior and divine.¹³

This conception was so prevalent that the naked leg appears only in the context of the nude or in the specifically erotic gesture of removing or putting on stockings. In the latter case, it is, of course, the stocking that constitutes the supplementary sign that codes the woman's body erotically, whether in eighteenth-century pornographic imagery or in the current Playboy.

That an aristocratic woman, however notorious, would so display her legs to the official photographer of the court breached one of the several boundaries of what was normatively representable in Second Empire photography. This fact alone establishes these photographs' oddity. But the images are neither coded for the erotic (as are the commercially produced erotic or pornographic images in which the fetishistic display of the leg mandates particular modes of presentation) nor purely clinical and evidentiary, although they resemble the latter genre far more than the former. Rather, the countess's desire was to image parts of her body and to reserve those images for her own gaze, an enterprise that suggests the activities of the fetishist.

Freudian theory, however, insists on the impossibility of female fetishism.¹⁴ The fetish is

clinically defined as a substitute object, simultaneously disavowing and commemorating the penis perceived as missing from the maternal body. Accordingly, the significance of the theory lies in its value as a model for simultaneously sustaining two mutually contradictory beliefs. But insofar as it hinges on the threat of castration, the definition effectively forecloses a structural model of female fetishism. Indeed, clinical instances of fetishism (defined as a libidinal investment in an object indispensable for sexual gratification) appear not to exist. Thus, within the terms of psychoanalytic theory, it is not possible to describe the countess's relation to her photographs, at least in a clinical sense, as fetishistic. Symptomatically, one is on more solid ground in describing the countess's captivation with her photographic image as a classic instance of narcissism or, as it would have been understood in her own time, a familiar, if excessive, expression of feminine vanity. But thinking back to her characterization of herself as a "work," it is more suggestive to consider the countess's narcissism within the problematics of feminine subjectivity. For with whose eyes does the countess gaze at images of her face? her legs? her body? Having no culturally privileged organ of narcissistic identification and being positioned outside

the symbolic order of patriarchy, defined only as other in relation to the masculine one, the feminine position, it is argued, precludes an achieved subjectivity--subjectivity here understood as a positively, rather than differentially, defined identity. Consequently, the woman, whose self-worth and social value is contingent on her status as object of desire, has so internalized the male gaze as to produce a near-total identification with it. In this sense, the commonplace desire to see oneself as one is seen--from outside the confines of subjectivity--is complicated by the concept of sexual difference. Because for woman, to see oneself as one is seen is not a supplement to subjectivity, but its very condition. But the conditions that inform the subjectivity of women, including the internalization of the male gaze, are hardly the symmetrical complement of those informing the subjectivity of men. In this light, the countess's obsessive self-representations are less an index of narcissism--although they are that too--than a demonstration of a radical alienation that collapses the distinction between subjecthood and objecthood.

Despite the countess's authorship of her own presentation, then, we confront in these photographs a fundamental contradiction. In the very act of authoring her image--a position that implies individuality and a

unique subjectivity--the countess can only reproduce herself as a work of elaborately coded femininity, a femininity which, as always, derives from elsewhere. "The life of this woman," wrote Robert de Montesquiou, "was nothing but a lengthy tableau vivant, a perpetual tableau vivant."¹⁵

Contemporary descriptions of the countess emphasize the sculptural, marmoreal aspect of her beauty, a quality doubtless heightened by her habitual hauteur. Princess de Metternich, for example, describing the countess's scandalous ball costume as Salammbo, with arms and legs bare and no corset, concludes, "Despite our indignation, I must swear that the sculptural beauty she revealed was so complete that there was nothing indecent about it. One could call her a statue come to life."¹⁶ And the Marshal Canrobert agrees, "Mme de Castiglione was of an incomparable beauty. She resembled at one and the same time a virgin of Perugino and an antique Venus; but she remained always in a state akin to marble or painting, without animation and without life...."¹⁷

This totemic and reified conception of feminine beauty is a leitmotif in French nineteenth-century culture, changing very little between Balzac and Zola. The highly conventionalized language in the descriptions of feminine beauty may be more specific and detailed in

the later period, but what remains the same is their status as already-written texts.¹⁸ Consequently, the discursive formulae employed in conveying the beautiful woman are not only quite generalized, but usually have little to do with the specific attributes of the individual on whom they are inscribed. This accounts for the frequent dissonance between the written accounts and the visual record of famous nineteenth-century courtesans and beauties. For the most part, the faces and bodies of women such as Cora Pearl, La Paiva, Liane de Pougy, Anna Deslions (the first two were the composite models for Zola's *Nana*) seem wholly ordinary. Similarly, looking at the plump and rather flaccid legs of the countess, it is difficult to understand what the fuss was about. To be sure, standards of feminine beauty change constantly: Second Empire canons encompassed both the plump and the slender. Moreover the importance of various body parts waxes and wanes. In her youthful glory, even the countess's elbows were eulogized, were compared to ripe peaches. According to de Montesquiou and several other biographers, molds were made of her feet and arms.

Of course, the terms according to which the countess was perceived, and those through which she came to perceive herself, were so mediated as to make any reference to her corporeal reality almost beside the

point. A historical and feminist examination of her photographs must therefore shift to a consideration of the stereotypical aspect of their construction. In this respect, one of their most striking qualities is their theatricality. In substituting performance for any attempt at presence, the countess may be said to provide a series of representations of the feminine as a form of theater, of masquerade. The impassive face she offers the camera, the utter formality and iconicity of her self-presentation, refuses the viewer any psychological access, whether real or imagined. We are here far from any conventional notion of bourgeois portraiture, and further still from the interest in physiognomy. By her own estimation and that of others, the countess is equivalent to her beauty, and her beauty is itself a form of mask, of disguise. The extravagance of her toilette--extravagant even by the bloated and parvenu standards of the Second Empire court--is the incarnation of a femininity that has become wholly theatrical and impersonal, a tribal mask of idealized display. If the photographs of the countess often suggest the stylized exaggerations of a female impersonator, it is because the spectacle of this elaborated femininity is so overweening as to abolish any impulse in the spectator to imagine a character, a personality, a psychology, behind the mask.

In this regard it is important to recall that femininity has been theorized as an operation of masquerade. Initially formulated by the French psychoanalyst Joan Rivière, this concept has been revived by contemporary feminist psychoanalytic theorists (Luce Irigaray) and feminist film theorists (Claire Johnston, Mary Ann Doane) for its relevance to the project of defining the conditions of feminine subjectivity (or its lack).¹⁹ "Masquerade," as Doane writes, "is not as recuperable as transvestism precisely because it constitutes an acknowledgment that it is femininity itself which is constructed as a mask--the decorative layer then conceals a non-identity.... The masquerade, in flaunting femininity, holds it at a distance."²⁰ Doane's formulation departs somewhat from Rivière's, who had argued that femininity, in a fundamental way, was masquerade. Doane inflects the concept differently, enabling her to argue for the de-stabilizing and de-familiarizing aspects of the feminine as masquerade and thereby imputing to its operations a subversive, or at least disruptive, charge. But taking the case of the countess as a (once) living instance of the mechanisms of feminine masquerade, one perceives less a refusal of patriarchal positioning than a total capitulation to its terms.

Nevertheless, in this psychoanalytic series of masquerade, the fact that many of the photographs of the countess depict her in actual fancy-dress costumes--the Queen of Etruria, the Lady of Hearts, the Hermit of Passy, the Breton peasant, the geisha--is less significant than the more profound sense in which the feminine itself is constituted as an elaborate construction of pose, gesture, dress, or undress. Femininity is not a costume that a woman might remove at will, but a role that she lives. Still, there was something about the rituals of masquerade to which the countess was profoundly responsive. This fascination with the willful transformation was extended to, imposed upon, her only child, her son Georges. In a number of photographs the little boy is sometimes dressed as a girl, sometimes as an eighteenth-century cavalier out of Reynolds or Gainsborough, or, in one startling suite of images, as a little-girl version of his mother: hair identically coiffed and ornamented with flowers, neck and shoulders bare. (fig. 131) There are also photographs in which he is cast as his mother's page, facing the camera while the countess poses in imperious profile.²¹

The countess's enthusiasm for acting out roles, even to the extent of casting her child as supernumerary in her photographic *mise-en-scènes*, can perhaps be read as a

synecdoche for the role of court beauty, a role fully determined before she ever came to occupy it. In other words, the terms of this part, like the standardized and formulaic descriptions of her beauty, were in every sense given in advance. The babble of the popular press, the gushing of her admirers, the ritualistic tributes to feminine beauty are not only overdetermined but serve, crucially, to mask the nonidentity of the feminine position, its nullity in relation to an acknowledged subjectivity. Many of the anecdotes attached to the countess (that she immured herself behind closed doors and shutters, mirrors veiled, to avoid seeing the fading of her beauty; that as she aged she went out only at night) bear witness above all to her textual construction, just as the photographs reveal a persona rather than a person. But the awe, admiration, even panegyrics that La Castiglione inspired in her brief celebrity in the glitter of the Tuileries should not distract us from the material facts that determined her life as a woman. Her relative freedom was a function less of her station and her income than her widowhood, the Count Verasis having died at the age of twenty-eight, five years after their marriage. Moreover, the countess, whose face was truly her fortune, came from a noble but not especially solvent family. The count was wealthy, and

she was given in marriage--the terminology is significant--at the age of fifteen. Neither rank nor beauty exempted the countess from her woman's fate as object of exchange.

In her old age, the countess returned to the studio of Louis Pierson. She had known him by then for more than three decades, and for a number of years they had been neighbors. Given the difference in class and circumstance, it is unlikely that they were friends, but there must have existed the kind of peculiar aristocratic intimacy that women would sustain with their servants, physicians, or corsetieres. She had, after all, exposed her legs to him. By the time these photographs were taken in the 1890s, the countess had become stout and possibly toothless. She seems, as well, to have lost much of her hair. Nonetheless, her face appears unlined (it was probably retouched on the negative), her eyebrows are penciled, her eyelids shadowed. (fig. 132) She had Pierson photograph her in a number of ensembles: in a ballgown she had worn in her youth; in street costume, in what looks like mourning attire. Again, she had her legs photographed, this time from an odd angle. Her legs extended on a chair or hassock, the camera must have been directed down towards her lap from over her shoulder. The dead whiteness of these limbs, along with the shape and

blackness of the hassock that supports them, suggest nothing so much as a corpse in a coffin. (fig. 133) In one photograph she opened the bodice of her dress, revealing not the lace underwear of an aristocrat, but a poor-looking undershirt, an undergarment that might be worn by a beggar woman. Her expression here is hard to pin down, hovering as it does between grimace and smile. Her hands are strangely posed; consciously placed or not, they point to her sex. (fig. 134)

From this photographic session the countess selected a group of prints and sewed the images together with a few stitches. On a slip of paper, in her large sweeping hand, under the heading "Série des Roses," she listed the places she had worn the ballgown between 1856 and 1895 (Tuileries, Compiègne, etc.). With straight pins, she attached slivers of paper to the surface of several of the photographs, as though to whittle down her girth. But in certain of these the pieces of paper are applied with seeming randomness, precluding the possibility that in every instance this was a crude attempt to mask the image for rephotographing.

These last photographs are a somber coda to the several hundred images of the countess. For an old woman to restage the postures, costumes, and attitudes of her youth is a staple of the gothic, the grotesque, or the

comedic. (fig. 135) This too is a text that is already written. Old and fat, forgotten by almost everyone, annotating references to herself in the memoirs of the Second Empire as they appeared in print, the countess looked to the photographer not only to stop time, but to undo it. That she went so far as to tamper with the images suggests the depth of her identification with them. They were herself as much as she was herself, perhaps more so. Having lived her life effectively as a representation, it not so surprising that identity came to be located in the image perhaps even more than in the flesh.

If we are willing to see the countess's investment in her image as pathological only in degree, then her photographic legacy can be read as a melancholy excursus on the conundrum of feminine self-representation. The lack of any clear boundary between self and image, the collapse of distinctions between interiority and specularity, are familiar, if extreme manifestations of the cultural construction of femininity. In this sense, it is tempting to see her relation to photography as a bleak parable of femininity attempting its own representation. Mirror of male desire, a role, an image, a value, the fetishized woman attempts to locate herself, to affirm her subjectivity within the rectangular space

of another fetish--ironically enough, the "mirror of nature."

2. The Bazaar of Legs

The commodity, like the sign, suffers from metaphysical dichotomies. Its value, like its truth, lies in the social element. But the social element is added on to its nature to its matter, and the social subordinates it as a lesser value, indeed as a nonvalue. Participation in society requires that the body submit itself to a specularization, a speculation, that transforms it into a value-bearing object, a standardized sign, an exchangeable signifier, a "likeness" with reference to an authoritative model. A commodity--a woman--is divided into two irreconcilable "bodies": her "natural" body and her socially valued, exchangeable body, which is a particularly mimetic expression of masculine values.

- Luce Irigaray, "Women on the Market"

The photographs of the countess suggest that she is less the incarnation of a reified femininity than a particularly adept medium of it. In this interpretation, the grotesquery of the countess's narcissism moves beyond the individual case history to find its constituent terms in the cultural construction of femininity. Accordingly, if the countess can be understood as actively involved in fetishizing parts of her own body--in this instance, her legs--it makes sense to examine this impulse in its historical specificity. Insofar as femininity (the cultural) is never simply a given, as is femaleness (the

natural), the countess's staging of herself may be seen as an extreme and immensely stylized recapitulation of fetishistic mechanisms dispersed throughout the culture that produced her.²²

It is with respect to the specific fetishism of legs and the more generalized fetishism informing the construction of femininity that I want to consider aspects of the social history of ballet from the romantic period through the Second Empire. My purpose is twofold. On the one hand, the development of the ballet permits us to see sexual ideology in the making: the cult of the ballerina and the corresponding eclipse of the danseur noble are indices of new concepts of masculinity and femininity. On the other hand, the history of ballet provides a particularly clear case of the imbrication of fetishism and commodification on the bodies of women. It is one thing to acknowledge the metastasizing properties of capital as it transforms everything into its own image, quite another to demonstrate its concrete ramifications, particularly in the inchoate realm of cultural production. The ballet is significant in this regard; it provides the elements of a case study of social, sexual, and economic transformations, insofar as it illustrates the relations between the fetishizing of the feminine, the prostitutionalization of the women

workers who represent that femininity, and the imperatives of the market which underpin both developments.

My information on the social history of nineteenth-century ballet is drawn almost entirely from the works of Ivor Guest--the standard references in the field. But the information I have culled from his book and essays, and the emphases I have given it, is in every sense partial. In producing his detailed and indispensable accounts of the French and English ballet, Guest himself appears to be oblivious to the sexual politics enacted not only on the level of ideology but also on the material circumstances of the dancers who literally embody that ideology. Feminist dance historians such as Lynn Garafola, however, have been able to reread Guest's histories with a clear grasp of the hitherto unacknowledged factors of sexual ideology that operated reciprocally both inside and outside the institutional parameters of dance. The importance of both sources for this essay lies in their examinations of a cultural phenomenon from which the countess assimilated the generalized fetishism of legs, as well as the more dispersed mythology of the feminine.

All considerations of the nineteenth-century ballet stress that it produced the most highly articulated and

aestheticized expression of idealized femininity. With the development of pointe in the second decade of the century, the ballerina became an etherealised vision of sublimity. Her airy weightlessness, embodied in the darting, floating movement of her body en pointe, is the emblem of a femininity purged of earthly dross and carnality. Like the fairy spirits, ghosts, and apparitions that populate the libretti of romantic ballet, the ballerina is a figure of another, more rarefied world. At the same time, this new primacy of the ballerina signals, in Lynn Garafola's description, the historical moment in which "femininity itself becomes the ideology of the ballet, indeed the very definition of the art."²³

This spiritualized representation of the ballerina as the incarnation of an idealized femininity is, of course, ballet's own representation to itself and of itself; this is the language and perception of choreographers, librettists, and dancers, of dance critics, aficionados, belletrists, and those for whom the beauty and pleasure of the ballet lay first and foremost in its status as an expressive and rigorous art. But while the internal development of the ballet in London and Paris from the 1820s through the Second Empire hinges on the new primacy of the ballerina, on a range of

technical refinements and elaborations in the dance vocabulary, on the abolition of genres,²⁴ and on the assimilation of romanticism into dance libretti, music, and narrative, what mattered for the new enlarged dance public was legs.

Here, for example, is a wholly unexceptional excerpt from an unsigned article of 1843, a moment considered by dance historians as a benchmark in the artistic and technical evolution of ballet:

When ever we hear that a danseuse is coming out we white-waistcoat, pantaloons, and double-opera ourselves up to the hilt...so that nothing may interrupt our study and deep contemplation of the "new gal's legs." The stage, particularly the stage of Her Majesty's Theatre, is a kind of gallery of sculpture, a studio in which Phidias might have revelled, and the conceptions of Canova have been enslaved. The legs at the opera are reflections from the best masters--we beg pardon--we mean mistresses, yes mistresses is precisely what we mean. We have seen gentlemen, even old gentlemen, deeply affected by this glorious display.... Oh! the legs of Fanny [Elssler] displayed a vast deal of propriety and frightened sober men from their prescribed complacency. Taglioni's legs encompassed a great deal of attention; Cerrito's leg magnified excitement; Duvernay possessed a magic leg, but to dilate is useless--the Opera is a bazaar of legs, and a stall costs ten and sixpence.²⁵

That a significant proportion of the audiences that thronged the ballet in London and Paris were there to ogle the dancers' bodies--and particularly their legs--was a fact of ballet life that varied only in the

outrageousness of its expression. By the 1830s the pit of the Covent Garden Opera House, the part of the house that was popularly referred to as "Fop's Alley," became an unruly debauch in which the dandies from White's and Crockford's loudly commented upon the physical merits and deficiencies of the dancer's bodies, regularly interrupting the ballet with catcalls, obscenities, or the equal furor of their approbation. The salaciousness of the aristocratic male spectators was often baldly repeated in the written accounts and commentaries on various performances.

Thus, from the privileged vantage of the omnibus box, one writer described the ballet in terms of an erotic locus, drawing innumerable glasses to a common center, decked in flowers and a confusion of folds of gauze scarcely secreting that particular part of the leg whereon the fastening of the stocking is generally clasped and smiling and making others smile to see her pirouette as the star of the ballet."²⁶

That the legs of the dancers are the focus of the fetishizing gaze of the male spectator is only the reflection of a far more generalized phenomenon which superimposes a map of (erotic) significance on the woman's body. (fig. 136) In Western culture, women's legs

had been covered by robes, skirts, or dresses until after the First World War. Although hemlines historically migrated from the arch of the foot to several inches above the ankle, no expanse of leg was ever normally exposed, a protocol as applicable to women agricultural laborers as to aristocrats and bourgeois. Still, that women's legs were not normally seen is a necessary but not sufficient argument for the erotic significance accorded them at least from the eighteenth century on. Certainly, the fact that European women did not routinely wear drawers until well after the mid-nineteenth century is relevant. Above the stocking, the leg was bare; under the skirts, underskirts, and petticoats, the woman's body--her sex--was exposed. Yet the persistence of the fetishism of legs as, in Kleinian terms, a part object is such as to trivialise attempts at an empirical understanding. The legs of Betty Grable or Marlene Dietrich, or the prominence of legs in modern advertising, are evidence of the enduring potency of this particular mapping of the erotic. Within the historical period under discussion here, however, the salient fact is that until the twentieth century it was only the legs of dancers or entertainers that were publicly on display.

We confront here the first of the cultural contradictions of the mystique of the feminine inscribed

in the dance. Discursively constructed to represent a purified essence of femininity, enacting the body's transformation into art, the dancers themselves are simultaneously erotic spectacle, bazaar of legs, panoply of potential mistresses.

In this regard, there are two crucial and interrelated phenomena which accompany the ballet's evolution from a courtly art, wholly supported by royal patronage, to a public, increasingly bourgeois spectacle, dependent on sales and subscriptions. First and foremost, there was the prostitutionalization of the dancer; second, there was the eclipse, if not banishment, of the male dancer and his replacement by the female travesty dancer. That these developments are the direct outcome of the ballet's new economic exigencies and its consequent reliance on a free market economy is further substantiated by comparison with conditions of the Royal Ballet in Copenhagen and the Mariinsky Theater in St. Petersburg. Licensed and subsidized by crown and czar, patronized by the court, the ballet in both countries retained its aristocratic status. Consequently, the danseur noble, although certainly rivaled by the ballerina, never lost his position. And the female corps de ballet, underpaid and overworked as were their sisters in France and England, were employees of the court and

thus legally protected by it. But in both England and France the privatization of the ballet led inexorably to the debasement of the female corps and eventually to the trivialization of the ballet itself.

One of the immediate results of privatization was the need for advance subscriptions and private subsidies. This meant that the finances of the ballet were contingent upon the largesse of wealthy men. One of the first acts of John Ebers, appointed director of the Covent Garden Opera Ballet after its bankruptcy in 1820, was to open the passages to the stage to gentlemen and to construct a Green Room where they could mix with the dancers. Almost as soon as it was completed, it became a cruising ground for the members of the private clubs, whose patronage was so crucial to the economics of the ballet. Contemporary accounts make very clear the extent of sexual trafficking within the dancers' world, including the presence of procuresses as go-betweens and erstwhile managers. This is not to say that dancers had not sold themselves prior to the adaptation of the ballet to a market economy. Rather, the new arrangements tended to encourage and institutionalize a situation in which wealthy and powerful men could regard the corps de ballet as a sanctioned flesh market.²⁷ (fig. 137)

The sexual commodification of the dancer was further

facilitated by the disintegration and eventual disappearance of a guild and clan system that had traditionally provided both training, social identity, and protection. While many of the greatest ballerinas of the romantic era were the offspring of theatrical clans, in increasing numbers the girls entering the profession were products of urban slums.²⁸

In Paris, the sexual economy of the ballet, which was privatized in the wake of the 1830 revolution, mirrored that of London. In the same way that the Green Room was made into a site of sexual commerce, so was the Foyer de la Danse under the directorship of Dr. Véron. Albéric Sécond's description of this development is worth quoting at length:

Before the Revolution of 1830, when few strangers were admitted backstage and guards and lacqueys in royal livery were stationed to warn off intruders, the Foyer de la Danse served merely as a room for the dancers to gather and limber up before going on to the stage. But all that was changed by Dr. Véron, who transformed the bare working room into a glittering center of social life. This was an adroit move, which made the Opera fashionable overnight. The dancers were then joined by a select band, consisting of the corps diplomatique, the more important abonnés, and other distinguished men, who found in this hour an added source of pleasure in the evening's entertainment. Many of these men, young men-about-town who were for the most part members of the Jockey Club, acquired the habit of looking on the coulisses of the Opera as their private seraglio. The most fashionable of them watched the performances from the proscenium

boxes which abutted on the stage itself and were known as the loges infernales. "The Opera," it was explained, "provides them with their amorous pleasures, just as the Pompadour stud-farm provides them with their equestrian pleasures; they consider it as a storehouse for remounts, no more." The real nature of the coulisses, in the words of an intelligent dancer, was "bourgeois, which is the worst of natures. No one is too virtuous, because that would be stupid, but no one is too sinful, because that becomes fatiguing. The coulisses of the Opera have, above all, an air of boredom. They have the spleen, like a fat English millionaire, and it would be difficult for it to be otherwise. A large proportion of the abonnes have frequented the Opera for years. For them, the coulisses no longer have any mystery, savour, novelty or poetry. The others, the newcomers, do nothing but look on, being not rich enough to touch."²⁹

But if the bourgeois spectator could only afford to look, he was given more to look at. In the 1840s the ballet skirt was shortened from mid-calf to knee length, although the longer skirt was retained for certain roles. Of much greater significance, however, was the disappearance of the danseur noble and the rise of the travesty dancer as partner to the ballerina.

In large part, this disappearance is a consequence of altered definitions of masculinity engendered by bourgeois culture. An aristocratic, courtly ideal of masculine grace and elegance was incommensurate with a new ideology of gender in which concepts of beauty and grace were coming increasingly to be identified

exclusively with the feminine. The stately adagios of the danseur noble, the gravity and poise of his partnering, were far less appealing to an increasingly bourgeois audience than the athleticism of the leaps and spins performed by the danseur de demi-caractère. Associated with the ancien regime, the art of the danseur noble was politically suspect as well.³⁰

By 1840, these attitudes had solidified to such an extent that even a critic as knowledgeable and sophisticated about dance as Jules Janin professed to find male dancers ridiculous:

You know perhaps that we are hardly a supporter of what are called grands danseurs. The grand danseur appears to us so sad and heavy! He is so unhappy and self-satisfied! He responds to nothing, he represents nothing, he is nothing. Speak to us of a pretty dancing girl who displays the grace of her features and the elegance of her figure, who reveals so fleetingly all the treasures of her beauty. Thank God, I understand that perfectly.... But a man, a frightful man, as ugly as you and I, a wretched fellow who leaps about without knowing why, a creature specially made to carry a musket and a sword and to wear a uniform. That this fellow should dance as a woman does--impossible! That this bewhiskered individual who is a pillar of the community, an elector, a municipal councillor, a man whose business is to make and unmake laws, should come before us in a tunic of sky-blue satin, his head covered with a hat with a waving plume amorously caressing his cheek, a frightful danseuse of the male sex, come to pirouette in the best place while the pretty ballet girls stand respectfully at a distance--this is surely impossible and intolerable.³¹

The rise of the travesty dancer, from the 1820s on, represented more than a technical solution to the problem posed by the shift in the ideology of gender. The thinly veiled prurience in the descriptions of the ballerinas who specialized in travesty roles indicates the extent to which her popularity was inseparable from the spectacle of her body. Her corseted midriff emphasized bosom and hips, the skintight breeches displayed buttocks, hips, and legs. Thus, everything in the costume of the travesty dancer proclaimed her womanliness even as the choreography positioned her as the lover/partner of the ballerina. Accordingly, a *pas de deux* between ballerina and travesty dancer produced its own, distinctive eroticism, subtly evoking a lesbian pairing that the libretto disavowed.³²

During the Second Empire, as the ballet became diminished as art, it became ever more elaborate as spectacle, with great attention paid to lighting, decor, special effects, and an accompanying increase in corps dancers. The number of venues for dance, both popular and balletic, increased; for the period 1847 and 1870, Guest lists seventeen theaters, vaudevilles, and bals where dance could regularly be viewed. This proliferation produced an expansion in the number of dancers who obtained, however precariously, a living from the dance.

The introduction of new popular forms (the cancan, for example, which, although invented in 1832, swept through Paris as a craze in the 1860s) produced a new crop of celebrity dancers, such as the notorious Mlle Rigolboche.³³ The proletarian background of the majority of these women, combined with the now fully sexualized associations of the dance, guaranteed that the dancer was perceived a priori as a sexual commodity. Her lower-class origins presumed, her legs exposed, her favors for sale, the equivalency of the dancer with prostitution had by mid-century become fully acknowledged. The virtuous exceptions, such as the tragic Emma Livry, function dialectically as the necessary virgins in a discourse of whores. In a figure such as Lola Montes (who in the 1840s and '50s was the subject of a number of scandalous or moralizing books, much space in the popular press, and innumerable lithographs and wood engravings), the mythology of the dancer and that of the courtesan are fully united.

To an already substantial market for lithographs and wood engravings of ballet dancers, the advent of the photographic carte-de-visite, by virtue of its relative cheapness, quasi-industrial means of production, and indexical status, guaranteed a second life and even greater dissemination. In her book on carte-de-visite

portrait photography, Elizabeth Ann McCauley stresses the technical determinations governing subject and pose (e.g., exposure time, studio location, etc.) which effectively precluded conveying any real impression of dance choreography or movement.³⁴ If we accept the formulation, however, that the dancer had become, virtually by definition, an icon of the erotic, the massive production of photographs of dancers need not attest to any particular interest in ballet per se. Additionally, the fact that so many of the dance photographs of the Second Empire are of travesty dancers would tend further to substantiate the perception that these were, in some sense, fetish objects.

The traffic in (dance) photographs, like the traffic in (dance) women, is charged in this period with another discursive current: namely, an intensified and expanded notion of celebrity, a phenomenon reciprocally fueled and in part constructed precisely by that traffic in images, particularly carte-de-visite and stereopticon photographs. (fig. 138) McCauley indicates that by 1860, the first, second, third, and ninth arrondissements (the center of the photographic industry) included 207 photographic establishments of which sixteen employed more than ten workers. Although the commissioned portrait was the staple service of all such businesses, celebrity

cartes represented a significant part of the sales of the larger firms.³⁵ Similarly, celebrity stereos were marketed either individually or in thematic ensembles. McCauley indicates that thirty-seven percent of Disdéri's published Galerie des contemporains was devoted to theatrical personalities and entertainers; fifty-three percent of the celebrity cartes advertised in an 1861 issue of the Journal Amusant were likewise of entertainers. While the top of the photographic pyramid was occupied by esteemed tragediennes such as the Rachels, Ristoris, or, for ballet, the Muravievas and Merantes, the bottom was made up of the figurantes, dance-hall girls, cafe-concert singers, and the troupes of the popular theaters and bals. Somewhere between the two were the cartes of the famous courtesans La Paiva, Cora Pearl, Anna Deslions, and so forth.

Accompanying the circulation of these images were hastily run-off books produced by journalists, books with such titles as Ces dames, Les jolies actrices de Paris, Les cocottes, Rigolbochermanie. These were themselves supplements to the extensive coverage of entertainers and demimondaines churned out by the illustrated press, publications such as Le Boulevard (established 1862), La Lune (1866), Journal Amusant (1856), La vie Parisienne (1863).

While it is indisputable that the development of the illustrated press and the celebrity gossip/scandal/fashion ephemera it purveyed were among the results of the draconian press laws imposed after Napoleon III's 1851 *coup d'etat*, this new construction of celebrity in the Second Empire has broader ramifications. For, insofar as this expanded notion of celebrity is predicated on an economy of the spectacle (an image of Ada Isaacs Mencken in tights is not to be understood in the same terms as one of the Duc de Morny with accompanying biography), we are witnessing a shift from an older conception of celebrity defined through power or exemplarity to one of consumable--constantly replenished--evanescence. And insofar as a major part of this spectacular realm is populated by more or less eroticized images of women, the attraction of this new image world is underwritten by fantasies of imaginary possession. Although the image of the woman is not yet conscripted to the marketing of commodities (this would be the accomplishment of the Third Republic), the erotic allure of the commodity and the woman herself as erotic commodity are inexorably moving into a shared orbit. For the bourgeois men at the opera who could not afford to touch, but only to look, the diminutive image of the living woman--sexualized, compliant, immobilized--is the

token of their power.

3. The Legs of the Prostitute

The economy of exchange - of desire - is man's business.

- Luce Irigaray, "Women on the Market"

The nude, the prostitute, pornography--what kinds of relations on the register of representation obtain between these three avatars of femininity? The first, legacy of classical antiquity, had by the nineteenth century all but excluded the male, whose idealized body had originally provided the conceptual model for its expression. The second, the prostitute, whether in the glamorized incarnation of the grande courtisane or the debased and sordid image of the fille publique, is one of the most pervasive and allusive motifs of the Second Empire and Third Republic. The third term of this set, pornography, intersects with and upsets the first category, particularly to the extent that it incorporates certain elements of it within its own conventions.³⁶ And insofar as it is assumed that the women depicted in pornographic and erotic photography are prostitutes, the aristocratic hotel, the bourgeois interior, can be said to have been in some sense penetrated by that which the

entire regalementary system was designed to sequester and contain.

In placing these three terms in relation, what I hope to suggest is the failure of a discursive cordon sanitaire: an attempt at segregating the licit from the illicit that constantly founders, not simply because the various boundaries prove permeable, but because the mechanisms (psychic, social, economic) that underwrite them are ultimately the same. The evidence of this failure of containment shows itself in various guises in the Second Empire. The anxiety cathected onto the image and body of the prostitute is one symptom. The "crisis of the nude"--so termed by T.J. Clark--is its manifestation in the framework of aesthetic discourse. And, finally, the apparently enormous production of pornographic imagery attests to the impulse to master and possess the object of desire while simultaneously debasing it and neutralizing its power and threat.

Of the three terms I am treating, photographic pornography is the most empirically elusive.³⁷ Then, as now, it represented an underground aspect of photographic production, and as such it figures not at all in the standard photography histories. Collectors of pornographic photography tend not to publicize their holdings, a reticence paralleled by libraries, museums,

and other public institutions. Nonetheless, a few generalizations can be made with certainty.

First, almost as soon as there were viable daguerreotypes, there were pornographic ones. (fig. 139) Until the early 1850s, that is to say, until the industrialization of photography, photographic pornography appears to have been a luxury item. Daguerreotypes are, of course, unique images; calotype technologies were not employed much in France until after 1850, and the collodion process, which also produces unlimited prints, was not invented until 1851. Daguerreotype pornography is often exquisitely hand-colored, the models are carefully posed and lighted, and the trappings are often luxurious. Grant Romer of Eastman House describes pornographic daguerreotypes concealed inside watch covers opened by hidden springs, or lining the interior covers of snuff boxes, or made into jewelry. By the early years of the Second Empire, much daguerreotype pornography was stereoscopic.³⁸ Possessing a compelling illusion of three dimensionality and preternatural detail, painstakingly tinted, entirely grainless, the visual effect of the hand-colored daguerreotype stereo is the acme of verisimilitude. Moreover, viewing an image through a stereopticon masks out everything but the image; the illusion of being in

the picture is extremely powerful. The finesse of detail is often striking; in a number of daguerreotypes in the Cromer Collection at Eastman House the necklace and earrings of the model are picked out with a needle on the surface of the plate. Viewed through a stereopticon, they glitter and shine.

Romer suggests that the production of these deluxe examples of the pornographer's art crested at the time of the 1855 and 1867 universal exhibitions, when Paris was packed with wealthy foreigners. By the mid-50s, though, the production of pornography for the discriminating connoisseur was joined by a mass-produced form, with an accompanying decline in quality and craftsmanship.³⁹

What did these images depict? Here is an instance of the ways in which photography either draws on existing representational conventions and alters them or invents its own. Of the former, images of coitus, oral sex, lesbians, and masturbation all have graphic-arts precedents--in many cases, immediate ones, such as in the pornographic lithography of the July Monarchy. These, however, undergo modification. On the level of technique, the intractability of the tripod-mounted camera, the relative slowness of exposure, and the resistance of real bodies to positions possible for the graphic artist all tend to enforce a repertory of pose and display in one

sense more limited, in another more expansive, than existed previously. For example, traditionally pornography had privileged sexual activity; with photography, the emphasis came more and more to be on the presentation of the woman or of parts of her body, a spectacular display for scopic consumption. With the leg as a locus of erotic interest, poses were invented to provide new arrangements for its delectation. Dancers and demimondaines were frequently shown with their legs straddling the backs of chairs. And photography can be credited with the invention of the beaver shot, an image so constructed that its sole purpose is the exposure of the female genitalia.⁴⁰ (fig. 140) Within this genre neither a surrogate for the male viewer nor a simulation of the woman's pleasure--indeed very little of the woman at all--is necessary for the image to do its work. In fact, one of the suggestive tropes of this kind of representation is the disappearance of the woman's face, covered by her thrown-back petticoats or shrouded in veils. (Fig. 141)

But if one representational pole concerns the elimination of everything but the woman's sex, another privileges the specificity of her gaze. It is these photographs--in which the woman model looks directly into the lens of the camera, thus meeting the gaze of the

spectator--that depart so emphatically from traditional modes of pornography. (fig. 142) Inasmuch as it is a real woman so deployed, a real woman who receives and returns the look, pornographic photography detaches itself from an image-world of fantasy and comes to occupy an ambiguous realm between the real and the imagined.

It was around this problem of the indexical property of the photograph that the debate on the acceptability of the photographic nude unfolded. For members of the prestigious Société Française de la Photographie, who actively debated the issue in the 1850s, the photographic nude, almost by definition, could not accede to the aesthetic. Photographic nudes were therefore formally banned from the Société's competitions and exhibitions. This exclusion had two components, one explicitly articulated, the other implicit within the larger framework of the debate. The former hinged on the purported lack of mediation between living model and photographic image; the generalizing, idealizing, and abstracting operations of the artist were voided by the very nature of mechanical reproduction. The absence of these mediations--so the argument went--precluded the metamorphosis from naked to nude. The second, implicit aspect of the debate turned on what could not be said about either category.

Primarily, this devolved on the nature of the conventions that confirm the attributes of the nude as, on the one hand, a sublimation of the erotic, and as, on the other hand, a fetish. In its sublimatory capacity, the nude functions both formally and discursively as an aesthetic grid on which is figured the representation of a woman's body. A field for pleasurable looking, for the free play of desire and imaginary possession, it must nonetheless distinguish itself from the real world of individualized, corporeal bodies. As fetish, the nude must deny or allay the fear that the real female body always risks producing-- hence such conventions as the suppression of the vagina and the elimination of body hair, as well as a prescribed repertory of acceptable poses.

The photographic nude inevitably disrupts these structures of containment and idealization, disrupts, in short, the propriety of the nude. What the painter elided, the photographer showed: not just pubic hair, but dirty feet, and perhaps most disturbingly, the face of the real woman, often including her direct and charmless gaze. (fig. 143) The look of these women is rarely the inviting, compliant expression that signals complicity between the desiring subject and the object of desire. On the contrary, the look is often utterly straightforward,

unflinching, devoid of seduction. Occasionally it is challenging. This is, in fact, the look of Manet's Olympia, and part of the scandal the painting provoked undoubtedly lay in the widespread recognition, albeit unacknowledged, of the covert and illicit imagery that paralleled her representation.⁴¹

In this context, T.J. Clark's discussion of Olympia's reception in 1865, which in most respects is so inclusive, entirely neglects the ways in which the crisis of the nude, the scandal of Olympia, and the intensifying fetishism of women's bodies, were integrally related to the proliferation and dissemination of pornographic and erotic photography. Clark's discussion hinges on the notion that the courtesan--the mythologized, expensive, and publically acknowledged manifestation of commercial sexuality--constituted the horizon of iconographic representability for the Second Empire.⁴² To the extent that Olympia violated that boundary, to the extent that she was anxiously recognized as a denizen of the lower ranks of prostitution--"woman of the night from Paul Niquet's" as she is designated in one of Clark's critical citations--she wrought havoc on the discursive limits within which prostitution could be imaged. The problem with this formulation is that it ignores the extent to which images of prostitutes (or women imagined to be

prostitutes) of all ranks and levels actually circulated. While the courtesan may have been the only prostitutional representative appropriate for salon walls, an iconographic tradition depicting the less privileged members of the profession had produced its own mythologies, conventions, modes of representation. Moreover, the women who posed for the pornographic images (whether the deluxe or mass-market versions), the women who spread their legs, feigned masturbation, engaged in lesbian or heterosexual sex, were surely assumed to be prostitutes--filles publiques--not artist's models. In fact, a broad spectrum of sexualized and more or less venal feminine identities--the grisette, lorette, lionne, biche, cocotte, grande cocotte, grande horizontale--were imaged initially in the lithographic production of the 1830s and '40s and later in photographs.⁴³

These various lexical distinctions in the vocabulary of gallantry warrant discussion, particularly insofar as their variety and ambiguity have some bearing on the iconographic sphere. To begin with the obvious, such a rich and nuanced lexicon for sexually active and/or venal women, like the Eskimo's reputed twenty-seven words for snow, attests to the central importance of women defined by their sexual activity. How that importance was articulated, and what kind of significance was attributed

to it, could, however, be inflected in different ways. Within the framework of the juridical, legislative, medical, or sociological coordinates of prostitution, the crucial issues were surveillance, control and confinement. The terms of this discours prostitutionelle, laid down in encyclopedic detail by the "Newton of Harlotry," A.J.B. Parent-Duchatelet, were largely instrumental.⁴⁴ If the public prostitute could be identified, registered, and confined to certain areas; her activity limited to certain hours, her person segregated in a licensed brothel; if she could be monitored by the madame, the police, the gynecologist, then prostitution, considered by Parent-Duchatelet and his heirs as a necessary evil (which, like the sewer system, was indispensable for public health), could be managed and contained.⁴⁵ The threat to this rationalized system lay in the growing ranks of clandestine, that is to say, nonregistered prostitutes.

But the alarm produced by the increase in clandestine prostitution (reflected in the corresponding decrease in the number of licensed houses both in Paris and London) as well as what was widely perceived as its increasingly "public" manifestations, masked a more fundamental anxiety. For what is ultimately at stake in the effort to define the prostitute--whether through demographic and

sociological analysis, as in the work of Parent-Duchatelet and the British Blue Books of the 1840s, or in the numerous works in the popular press on the subject of the *demimonde*--is the uncertainty of differentiation. How does one distinguish between the honest woman and the prostitute? Or, as Alain Corbin asks: "But is it not precisely the goal of this discourse to create a difference and thus finally to marginalize the registered prostitute as a counter-ideal in order to permit the honest woman to be better defined?"⁴⁶ The urgency of the need to define the nature of the prostitute was further heightened because the work of Parent-Duchatelet and the British researchers had indicated that women frequently moved in and out of prostitution with some fluidity; the loss of employment or other economic factors could propel a woman temporarily into prostitution, but she could leave it just as abruptly.⁴⁷ Thus the encrustation of folklore, legend, and myth that functioned to fix the definition of the prostitute (she was frigid, lazy, improvident, liked sweets, and so forth) was undercut by a body of empirical documentation that put in question the very terms of the discourse itself.

All the more reason, no doubt, that Zola's *Nana*, the *Golden Fly*, the Goncourts' *Elisa*, Huysmans's *Marthe*, or

Balzac's Esther should possess the hard brilliant clarity of archetypes, whether as representatives of the heights of prostitution or of its depths. Not only do they all come to suitably bad ends, but their sexuality is described as deficient or deformed. In this way, the etiology of venal sexuality could be fully explained, either in terms of heredity, malign influence, or moral corruption. Such explanations, like the archetypal cast of the descriptions of the prostitute, provided reassurance; they are apotropaic devices against uncertainty.

This uncertainty is fully built into the language of feminine sexuality and identity. Even as the words proliferate, the slippery, protean reality that the words attempt to govern constantly threatens to overcome them. The word demimonde, which from the very outset referred to a specifically feminine condition, was invented by Alexandre Dumas fils in the 1840s. In the play in which it originally appeared, it referred to those women "become free" (widows, wives separated from their husbands, and foreigners), who, though respectable, were nonetheless "marginal" insofar as their marital status was perceived as ambiguous.⁴⁸

The suggestive vagueness of the term is characteristic of the shifting, unsecured meaning of the

sexualized woman dating between the sturdy fixities of femme honnete and fille publique. Consequently, gray areas in this topography of the sexualized feminine--the kept woman (of high or low station), the lorette, the grisette, the occasional prostitute, the dancer, the actress--all confound the social need to define that is an inseparable component of the power to name, regulate, survey, and control. But the real question underlying the specific debates between prostitutional regulationists and abolitionists, or between the celebrators of the *demimonde* and its Jeremiahs, is perhaps more fundamental than the stated problem of prostitution as such. Rather, the question is the culturally and temporally overarching one of femininity, the enigma of woman, the sphinx without a riddle, the mystery without a solution. Who is she? What is she? How can she be known? What does she want?

Predictably, these are the rhetorical questions asked about the Countess de Castiglione in the popular press. The tone is bantering, sly, insinuating--the cheap sophistication of the journalist/boulevardier. "Paris at this moment possesses a lion and a lionee," wrote a journalist for L'Indépendance Belge in 1856.⁴⁹ The countess is a "mysterious stranger" destined to sow heartbreak and discord in the fashionable salons. Who is

she? What does she want? The lion is the aged Prince Orloff, emissary of the czar, present in Paris for the peace negotiations following the conclusion of the Crimean War. The lioness is the countess, not yet a widow, and in no way associated with the *demimonde*. Nonetheless the Count Orloff is described as a lion, that is to say, prominent and powerful (the term is still current, both in English and French) and the countess is described as a lioness, that is to say, a sexual predator--a courtesan.⁵⁰ That the countess was not protected by her marital status, her title, her reception at court, from being publicly labeled as a courtesan indicates the extreme instability of the epistemological system that attempted to secure the meanings of feminine virtue and vice. The nefarious power of the woman perceived as sexually active was such as perpetually to subvert the taxonomies constructed to label and contain her. The cultural hysteria produced by the courtesan and the prostitute (Zola's notes for Nana or Maxime du Camp's wildly inflated descriptions of the numbers and influence of prostitutes are prime examples) exceeds the conventional categories in which the sexual activity of women is circumscribed. For the anxiety that attaches to the figure of woman is that of a difference that escapes the discourses of containment.

To a certain extent, the nude, erotic and pornographic imagery, and the discourse of prostitution all propose various responses to this threat. In the female nude of Western culture, patriarchy produces a representation of its desire; sexual difference, like the structure of fetishism, is both there and not there. Nothing to see and nothing to hide. Pornography emphatically exhibits the physical sign of that difference, even to the extent of making the woman's genitals the subject of the image. But any potential threat is neutralized by the debased situation of the woman thus portrayed and the miniaturization and immobilization inherent in photographic representation. The mastery and possession accorded the spectator's look, a mastery doubled in the structure of the photograph itself, dispels whatever menace or displeasure the sight of the woman might provoke. Lastly, the discourse of prostitution, in its epistemological rigor and exhaustive typologies, attempts to provide the reassuring edifice of knowledge and power, which, despite its lacunae, is nonetheless, a monument to the possibility of total control and domination.

The failure of the cordon sanitaire to which I earlier referred has implications more far-reaching than the disruption of academic painting conventions or the

perceived failure to contain and control prostitution. Moreover, to the degree that this latter cultural anxiety confuses effect with cause and imputes to the prostitute those destructive and corrosive powers that are everywhere at work in society, it produces a symbolization of social crisis in which woman becomes the figure of guilt, corruption, and decomposition. The barriers between what is deemed licit and illicit, acceptably seductive or wantonly salacious, aesthetic or prurient, are never solid because contingent, never steadfast because they traffic with each other--are indeed dependent upon each another. Hence, an entire system of distinctions, elaborations, signs, and codes--a system that pretends to be founded on differences--is in reality a tendentious elaboration of the same. To the patriarchal norms that govern this wonderland of sexual economics, the court beauty, proletarian dancer, courtesan, or streetwalker are equally subject, if not equally abject.

In other words, for the commodity, there is no mirror that copies it so that it may be at once itself and its "own" reflection.

-Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which is Not One*

Considering the hundreds of photographs that the

countess commissioned of herself, particularly those that feature the use of mirrors, the hollowness of the attempts to claim the countess as author is apparent. Like the conventionalized femininity she was believed to incarnate, the edges of the photographic frame are a Procrustean bed to which body and soul must accommodate themselves. The masks, the disguises, the postures, the poses, the ballgowns, the display of the body--what is the countess but a tabula rasa on whom is reflected a predetermined and delimited range of representations? And of what does her subjectivity consist if not her total absorption of them, her obedience to a scopic regime which inevitably undercuts her pretended authority as orchestrator of the look? It is in this sense that the photographs of the Countess de Castiglione are finally so troubling. (figs. 144 and 145)

In a number of photographs she included within the stagelike space of the studio a similar photograph of herself, doubling her own image en abyme. (fig. 146) Image within image, it is as though the countess were providing a commentary on her own specularization. In another series of photographs--the best-known ones of her--she frames her eye within the oval space of a black passe-partout frame. (fig. 147) In another, she doubles her gaze in a small hand mirror, deflecting it outward

toward the spectator in a manner that permits her to be at once subject and object of the gaze. For whom does the countess effect this framing of the look? Knowing that these images of her were only for her, to what purpose this isolation and emphasis of her gaze?

The profound ambiguity of this gesture, the confusion of subject- and object-positions it occasions, might be said to expose the very reification it enacts. The appeal of such an interpretation lies in its presumption of a critical space, however minimal or problematic, from which the woman can speak herself. But the images of the countess in their entirety do not suggest her occupancy of such a space, nor anything but a total embrace and identification with the look of the other. Consequently, the look with which she fixes herself, and the fixing of herself for the reception of the look, cannot be understood as a disappropriation--a theft--of the masculine prerogative. Nor can it be understood as an act of intentional mimicry, an act which potentially subverts the authority it apes. Rather, a living artifact, the countess has so fully assimilated the desire of others that there is no space, language, or means of representation for any desire that might be termed her own. In its broad implications, the photographic legacy of the Countess de Castiglione--image and object of

desire--confronts us with the question whose urgency is a
function of whatever empowerment women can thus far
claim: whose desire?

Notes

1. Louis Pierson, who began his professional career as a daguerrotypist, joined the firm of Mayer Frères sometime before 1854. The Mayers' commercial success was based on the invention, patent, and sale of various photographic supplies, including fully equipped darkrooms, and the sale of already prepared paints and tints for hand-coloring photographs, a specialty of the firm. Their first commissioned portrait of Napoleon III in 1853, followed by a number of portraits of Eugénie, established their commercial success and social cachet. By 1855 the firm had an address on the Boulevard des Capucines and branches in London and Brussels.

In 1862, Ernest Mayer, the remaining brother in the firm, withdrew from the business, leaving Pierson as sole owner, although the original name was retained. In that year the firm could boast a collection of 1,000 to 1,500 celebrity cartes-de-visite. The same year saw the precedent-setting lawsuit (Mayer and Pierson were the plaintiffs) establishing the copyright protection of photography under the law of July 19, 1793.

In 1873, Pierson's daughter married Gaston Braun, son of Adolph Braun, whose photographic firm, based in Dornach, specialized in industrial photography. The following year Gaston Braun purchased the entire contents of the Mayer & Pierson studio, which was then consolidated into the firm of Braun & Cie. Pierson continued to administer the affairs of the company until his retirement in 1909. Many of the photographs of the Countess de Castiglione have thus been erroneously attributed to Adolph Braun, and the ones taken in her old age to Gaston Braun, because of the studio stamp they bear. I am convinced that all the photographs of the countess that I have seen were taken by Pierson.

The number of extant plates from the firm of Mayer & Pierson now in the collection of the Musée d'Unterlinden, but housed in the Archives du Haut Rhin in Colmar, number 10,000. See Pierre Tyl, "Mayer et Pierson (1)," in Prestige de la photographie 6 (Paris: Editions e.p.a., 1979) pp. 5-30; Pierre Tyl, "Mayer et Pierson (2)," in Prestige de la Photographie 7 (Paris: Editions e.p.a., 1979) pp. 36-63; and the unsigned article, "Pierson's portretten van 'La Castiglione,'" Foto (December 1974) pp. 36-39. For the implications of the Mayer & Pierson lawsuit, see Giselle Freund, Photography and Society (Boston: David Godine, 1983).

2. The structural homologies between the commodity fetish and the woman in patriarchy is the subject of Luce Irigaray's extraordinary essay "Women on the Market." My own essay is to a great extent indebted to her analysis. See Luce Irigaray, This Sex Which Is Not One, trans. Catherine Porter, with Carolyn Burke (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).

3. A thorough discussion of the double role of photography may be found in Judith Williamson, Decoding Advertisements (London: Marian Boyars, 1985).

4. Cited in Frédéric Loliée, Les femmes du second empire (Paris: Talladier, 1954) p. 48.

5. Cited in Alain Decaux, La Castiglione: dame de coeur de l'Europe (Paris: Le Livre Contemporain, 1959) p. 151.

6. Cited in Robert de Montesquiou, La divine comtesse: étude d'après Mme de Castiglione (Paris: Goupil & Cie., 1913) p. 26.

7. These include the memoirs of Count Horace de Viel-Castel, Countess Stéphanie Tascher de la Pagerie's Mon séjour aux Tuileries, and the memoirs of the Count de Maugny.

8. These photographs, assembled by Robert de Montesquiou, are now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

9. Many, but not all, of the prints in the Montesquiou collection exist in the Colmar archives, which in turn contains prints not represented in the Montesquiou collection. The lack of precision in giving the number of photographs of the countess is due to the fact that there are often several exposures on the same plate, with only slight variations.

10. The photographs in the Gilman Paper Corporation are attributed to Gaston Braun; see footnote 1. Quite possibly there exist other photographs of the countess,

but these are the collections I have worked from and are the only ones with which I am familiar.

11. Mayer & Pierson were well known for the quality of their hand-coloring. A number of the countess's biographers claim that she particularly valued the hand-coloring of her photographs by M. Gustave Schad, one of their employees. However, many of the colored photographs in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum are crude almost to the point of defacement. Moreover, the paint applied to them looks more like tempera, or occasionally india ink, rather than the specially manufactured tints used for coloring photographs. Since a number of these photographs are annotated in the countess's hand (usually specifying the color, accessories, and jewelry she wore with the depicted outfit), it seems reasonable to suppose that it was she who painted them.

12. See in this regard Jean Sagne, L'atelier du photographe: 1840-1940 (Paris: Presses de la Renaissance, 1984).

13. Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," in The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays, trans. and ed. Jonathan Mayne (London, Phaidon, 1964) p. 33.

14. That Freud's theory of fetishism is fundamentally predicated on the male subject accounts for at least some of the lacunae and inconsistencies in the theory (for example, the different correlation between vision and significance attributed to boys and girls); see Sarah Kofman, The Enigma of Woman: Woman in Freud's Writing, trans. Catherine Porter (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985). Recently, attempts have been made to theorize female fetishism. See, for example, Mary Kelly's artwork and book Port-Partum Document (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1983). In this work Kelly formulates a woman's fetishism in terms of the mother's relation to her (male) child. See also Naomi Schor, "Female Fetishism," in Susan Rubin Sulieman, ed., The Female Body in Western Culture: Contemporary Perspectives (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986). Theories of the fetish character of the photograph, on the other hand, do not distinguish between

male and female spectators, which tends to beg the issue of how women could have a fetishistic relation to them. See Christian Metz, "Photography and Fetish," October 34 (Fall 1985) pp. 81-90; and Victor Burgin, "Photography, Phantasy, Function," in Victor Burgin, ed., Thinking Photography (London, Macmillan, 1982) pp. 177-216.

15. Montesquieu, Divine Comtesse, p. 81.

16. Cited in Pierre Labrachérie, Napoléon III et son temps (Paris: Julliard, 1976) p. 49.

17. Ibid., p. 48.

18. "Beauty (unlike ugliness) cannot really be explained: in each part of the body it stands out, repeats itself, but it does not describe itself. Like a god (and as empty), it can only say: I am what I am. The discourse, then, can do no more than assert the perfection of each detail and refer "the remainder" to the code underlying all beauty: Art. In other words, beauty cannot assert itself save in the form of a citation..." (Barthes, S/Z, p. 33.)

19. "Masquerade (la mascarade): An alienated or false version of femininity arising from the woman's awareness of the man's desire for her to be his other, the masquerade permits woman to experience desire not in her own right but as the man situates her" (Irigaray, This Sex, p. 220). The problem with such a formulation lies in its presumption of an at least hypothetically "authentic" femininity. For a different interpretation of the concept see, Mary Ann Doane, "Film and Masquerade: Theorizing the Female Spectator," Screen 23/3-4 (September-October 1982) pp. 74-87.

20. Doane, "Film and Masquerade," p. 81. Doane's consideration of masquerade within the problematics of feminine self-representation draws on the work of the French psychoanalyst Michèle Montrelay, who argues that, since some lack the means to represent lack and can never wholly lose or repress the maternal body, they manifest an excessive proximity to their own bodies that precludes

representation. "Woman," writes Montrelay, "is the ruin of representation." See Michèle Montrelay, "Inquiry into Femininity," m/f, 1 (1978) pp. 83-101.

21. Not surprisingly, relations between the countess and her son were deeply troubled from Georges's adolescence on. The countess was perceived, even by her admirers, as a negligent and indifferent mother. This was, in fact, one of the charges made by the Count Verasis when, at one point, he contemplated divorce proceedings. Georges died at the age of twenty-four from scarlet fever.

22. In the nineteenth century the opposition female-nature/feminine-culture is heavily inflected in terms of class. Femininity or womanliness is the purview of the lady, in contrast to the animal femaleness of working-class or peasant women. "Woman," state the Goncourt brothers, "is an evil, stupid animal unless she is educated and civilized to a high degree...Poetry in a woman is never natural but always the product of education. Only the woman of the world is a woman; the rest are females [femelles]" (Entry dated 13 October, 1855, Pages from the Goncourt Journal, ed. and trans. Robert Baldick (London: Oxford University Press, 1963) p. 18. This discursive opposition is reflected in the Goncourts' literary production as well; on the one hand, the historical studies of eighteenth-century aristocratic women, and on the other, the realist novels featuring working-class heroines.

23. Lynn Garafola, "The Travesty Dancer in Nineteenth-Century Ballet," Dance Research Journal 17/2/ and 18/1 (Fall 1985/Spring 1986) pp. 35-40. The ideological structuring of the feminine mystique of the ballerina was further implemented by the division of ballerinas into two categories, an ethereal (Taglioni's legendary quality), and an earthly (Elssler's specialty). This binary opposition was codified by Theophile Gautier in his distinction between ballerinas as "Christians" and "Pagans." See Ivor Guest, The Romantic Ballet in Paris (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1966).

24. The three traditional genres were the noble (in which the male dancer was of special importance), demi-caractère, and comique. See Guest, Romantic Ballet.

25. Illustrated London Life, April 16, 1843. Cited in Ivor Guest, "Dandies and Dancers," in Dance Perspectives 37 (Spring 1969) p. 4. The leering quality of this quotation is particularly striking in that Taglioni was popularly perceived as the incarnation of virginal spirituality.

26. Cited in Guest, "Dandies and Dancers," p. 12.

27. "Poverty, naturally, invites sexual exploitation, especially in a profession of flexible morals.... In the 1830s, however, the backstage of the Paris Opera became a privileged venue of sexual assignation, officially countenanced and abetted. Eliminating older forms of 'caste' separation, the theatre's enterprising management dangled before the select of its paying public a commodity of indisputable rarity and cachet--its female corps of dancers" (Garafola, "Travesty Dancer," p. 36). To this recipe for exploitation must be added the straitened economic circumstances of most dancers after the loss of royal subsidy. New budgetary restrictions in the wake of privatization diminished pensions (when they were not altogether eliminated) and curtailed other benefits. In 1848, with the Paris Opera confronting enormous deficits, the corps's salaries were reduced. With the exception of the immense salaries drawn by the ballet stars, salaries were extremely low. Opera dancers had to pay out of pocket for extra classes and classes de perfectionnement. That so many dancers sold themselves has to do as much with poverty as with the freer sexual mores among professional entertainers.

28. See Garafola, "Travesty Dancer," p. 36.

29. Albéric Sécond, Les petits mystères de l'Opéra (Paris, 1844); cited in Guest, Romantic Ballet, p. 28.

30. See Garafola, "Travesty Dancer," pp. 35-36.

31. Jules Janin, Journal des Débats (March 2, 1840); cited in Guest, The Ballet of the Second Empire (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1974) p. 21.

32. "In the formalized mating game of the travesty pas de deux, two women touching and moving in harmony conveyed an eroticism perhaps even more compelling than their individual physical charms. The fantasy of females at play for the male eye is a staple of erotic literature, a kind of travesty performance enacted in the privacy of the imagination. Ballet's travesty pas de deux gave public form to the private fantasy, whetting audience desire, while keeping safely within the bounds of decorum" (Garafola, "Travesty Dancer," p. 39).

33. Ephemeral celebrities at the intersection between popular dance and the demimonde, women such as rigolboche at the height of her fame, inspired books (e.g., Rigolbochemainie, Mémoires de Rigolboche), numerous caricatures in the popular press, and, of course, photographs. See Ivor Guest, "Queens of the Cancan," Dance and Dancers (December 1952) pp. 14-16; and Francis Gribble, "The Origin of the Cancan," The Dancing Times (April 1933) pp. 19-21.

34. Elizabeth Ann McCauley, A.A.E. Disdéri and the Carte-de-Visite (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

35. The vogue for assembling celebrity cartes-de-visite into bound albums was widespread, indulged in as much by the aristocracy as by the bourgeoisie. What is particularly striking about these albums is the promiscuous mix of images of the powerful, the royal, the fashionable, the notorious, and the ephemeral. For example, an album in the collection of the Museum of Modern Art (Accession #42.135), assembled 1865-75, brings together in its pages the following: victims of the Commune, the British Royal Family, generals of the Second Empire, various crowned heads of Europe, artists (Edwin Landseer, Adolph Menzel, Horace Vernet, Ary Scheffer, Courbet, Corot, Messonier), actresses (Rachel, Ristori), and, finally, freaks (General Mite, Tom Thumb's wedding). Such an ensemble is by no means exceptional.

36. The distinction I am implicitly drawing between erotic and pornographic photographic imagery is neither systematic nor theoretical. I would categorize as erotic a frontal photograph of a female nude, more or less artfully posed. If, however, she were masturbating, or exposing her genitals, I would consider it to be (within the terms of this discussion) pornographic. From the coup d'état of 1851 through the 1860s, censorship of photography was fairly stringent. Académies were legal, but could be sold only within the walls of the Ecole des Beaux Arts. Soft-core erotica, which was openly sold, was subject to the vagaries of the government censors; one man's art was often another's indecency.

37. For most of my information on Second Empire pornography, I am indebted to Grant Romer, of Eastman House, who has generously shared his substantial, and unfortunately unpublished, research with me.

38. See Uwe Scheid, Das erotische Imago (Dortmund: Die bibliophilen Taschenbücher, 1984).

39. Some notion of the scale of the photographic pornography industry of the nineteenth century may be obtained from the following: "The Times of 20 April 1874 reports a police raid on a London shop in which 130,248 obscene photographs were seized, plus 5,000 stereoscopic slides" Stephen Heath, The Sexual Fix (New York: Schocken Books, 1984) p. 110.

40. A conspicuous exception to this is Gustave Courbet's notorious painting "L'origine du monde," recently discussed in Linda Nochlin, "The Origin without an Original," October 37 (Summer 1986) pp. 76-86; Neil Nertz, "Medusa's Head: Male Hysteria under Political Pressure," Representations 4 (Fall 1983) pp. 27-54; and Denis Hollier, "How to Not Take Pleasure in Talking about Sex," Enclitic 8/1-2 (Spring-Fall 1984) pp. 84-93.

41. Gerald Needham's essay "Manet, Olympia, and Pornographic Photography," made this claim in 1972. Needham reproduced a number of photographs in support of the argument that Manet had been strongly influenced by what Needham terms "pornographic" photographs (I would

consider them to fall within the category of erotic imagery). Needham's essay is reprinted in Thomas B. Hess and Linda Nochlin, eds., Woman as Sex Object: Studies in Erotic Art 1730-1970 (New York: Newsweek Books, 1972) pp. 80-89. The essay appears to have had little influence in the field; T.J. Clark, for example, neither cites it nor lists it in the bibliography of The Painting of Modern Life.

42. "The category courtesane was what could be represented of prostitution, and for this to take place at all, she had to be extracted from the swarm of mere sexual commodities that could be seen making use of the streets" T.J. Clark, Painting of Modern Life, p. 109. On this point, I disagree with Clark, although I would wish to add that his chapter on Olympia is brilliant and illuminating. In arguing for the courtesan as representational limit, Clark needs to collapse all sorts of categories of the sexualized and/or venal woman under the sign of the courtesan, whom he characterized as floating either above or below fixed class determinations. However, the grisette of the romantic period and the lorette of the Second Empire (so named by Nestor Roqueplan, director of the Paris Opera), to cite two examples, were associated with bohemia, not with the flashy world of courtesans and financiers. Further, in numerous texts, including Nana, the courtesan is very explicitly linked to commerce and commodification; her glamor and costliness in no way detached her from her position as goods on the market.

43. See in this regard Beatrice Farwell, The Cult of Images: Baudelaire and the 19th-Century Media Explosion (Santa Barbara: University of California at Santa Barbara Art Museum, 1977).

44. Alexandre Parent-Duchatelet's De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris, a demographic study of 12,000 prostitutes who had been registered during the period 1816-31, was published in 1836. Its influence cannot be overemphasized. It provided the model not only for fifty years of French reglementary systems, but also for British laws and investigations. See Alain Corbin's seminal work Les filles de noce: misère sexuelle et prostitution aux 19ième et 20ième siècles (Paris, 1978). In his chapter on Olympia, T.J. Clark provides an

excellent account of the legacy of Parent-Duchatelet.

45. Parent-Duchatelet was additionally a specialist in sewers, drains, and cesspools. For a discussion of the linkage between prostitution, sewage, putrification, and death, see Alain Corbin, "Commercial Sexuality in Nineteenth Century France," Representations 14 (Spring 1986) pp. 209-219.

46. This was taken to its logical conclusion in the substance of the Contagious Diseases Acts, passed in Great Britain in 1864, 1866, and 1869 (the acts were not repealed until 1886). In the interest of controlling venereal disease in garrison cities and ports, any woman could be accosted by a special plainclothes policeman and accused of being a "common prostitute." If she could not prove otherwise, she could be subjected to an internal examination, and, if found to be carrying a venereal disease, interned for up to nine months in a certified lock hospital. Needless to say, men (who were known also to be carriers of venereal diseases) were exempt from medical or judicial control and examination. See Judith Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

47. T.J. Clark cites a forthcoming book by Jill Harsin entitled Crime, Poverty, and Prostitution in Paris 1815-1848, which he says refutes the idea that prostitution was in many cases occasional and temporary.

48. See Novelene Sue Ross's excellent discussion in Manet's Bar at the Folies-Bergères and the Myths of Popular Illustration (Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1982).

49. Jules Lecompte, in the "Courrier de Paris," in L'Indépendance Belge, quoted in Loliée, Les femmes du second empire, p. 226.

50. The lithographer Eugène Guérard, for example, produced a suite of twelve plates entitled Les Lionnes between 1845-48. "This series of lithographs...depicts the activities of the grandes courtisanes who, from

frequent association with the dandies, or lions, derived their appellation lionnes (Farwell, Cult of Images, p. 123).

Conclusion

The chronological span of this dissertation--from the late eighteenth century to the latter half of the nineteenth--marks the transition from the world of the ancien regime to the world of modernity, a world which when viewed from the contemporary vantage point of postmodernity, seems nonetheless familiar enough. In part, this familiarity is a function of a shared ideology of sexual difference in which visual culture, in both elite and mass forms may be said to have played an important role.

In this regard, we do well to interrogate the visual arts with respect to their agency in articulating, promoting and securing conceptions of gender. At the same time that such questioning operates to broaden the compass of art history, refashioning it to embrace the domain that French historians call *mentalités*, it also promotes a more nuanced and complex perception of visual forms themselves. In this respect, the specific modalities of history painting, of lithography, of photography--the three forms discussed in this study--are perceived more clearly in terms of their cultural embeddedness, and even more important, in terms of their instrumentalities.

A

THE IMAGE OF DESIRE:
GENDER AND REPRESENTATION IN FRANCE
FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE SECOND EMPIRE
by
ABIGAIL SOLOMON-GODEAU

VOLUME II

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Figures

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