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A

PAINTED SLANG:
THE CARICATURE ASPECTS OF FRENCH PAINTING, 1850-1880

by

MELINA V. KERVANDJIAN

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 University of New York.

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

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by

Melina V. Kervandjian

Adviser: Professor Carol Armstrong

A complicated relationship between painting and caricature emerged in France in the 1850s and 1860s when writers like Baudelaire and Champfleury, who were known for their work on painting and painters, produced a number of texts focusing on caricature and caricaturists. Such writings legitimized imagery previously relegated to the realm of "low art" by declaring caricature integral to the aesthetic discourses of the nineteenth century.

The legitimization of caricature also involved a concurrent effort by artists like Honoré Daumier, Gustave Courbet, and Paul Cézanne, who incorporated caricatural elements within their *Painted* works. Rather than adopting the traditional strategy of marginalizing their caricatural interests by keeping such endeavors private,

these artists integrated painting and caricature – essentially making “painted caricatures.” These “painted caricatures” redefined a sometimes oppositional relationship between painters and caricaturists established in the press through decades of visual and verbal caricaturing of Salon exhibitors and their works. When painters appropriated the formal terms used to poke fun at their works, they responded to and extended an aesthetic dialogue carried on in the language of caricature to the point where this very language became the subject of their painted discourse. That discourse, which is comprised of the “painted caricatures” produced by French painters from 1850 to 1880, is the subject of this dissertation.

Focusing on the “painted caricatures” of Daumier, Courbet and Cézanne, I argue that painters who employed the formal language of caricature necessarily associated their paintings with the issues integral to the practice of printed caricature in the period – issues including censorship, political and social criticism, and the blurring of artistic boundaries. I also consider the

ways in which "painted caricature" is a distinctly modern phenomenon, noting that the criticism that underscores the process of caricaturing becomes a more viable option in a post-Revolutionary era when Republicanism is alternately a possibility and a reality. Finally, in highlighting the unstable boundary between caricature and other forms of distortion, exaggeration, and manipulation that are part and parcel of much twentieth-century avant-garde production, I argue the significance of "painted caricature" to our understanding of the formation of modernist painting.

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While working on a project such as this, there are times when you feel completely isolated from the world; it is just you and "the albatross." But the reality is that you cannot overcome the beast by yourself. So you emerge from your isolation chamber from time to time, and, if you are especially fortunate, there will be those, as there were for me, who will be willing to fight the battle with you.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Writing in 1863 about the relationship between the comic and various artistic forms including painting and sculpture, Charles L veque first used the term "*caricature peinte*."¹ The term "painted caricature" is significant because it conjoins two forms of visual expression – painting and caricature – traditionally separated, at least until the middle of the nineteenth century, into the realms of "high" and "low" art. L veque's essay and terminology, which succeeds in blurring or at least destabilizing these boundaries, is but one of several significant considerations of caricature and/or caricaturists that were produced by French writers during the second half of the nineteenth century. Notable examples include Charles Baudelaire's essays on laughter and caricature, the latter of which he dubbed *argot plastique* or plastic slang, and Champfleury's three histories of caricature.² It is

significant that critics like Baudelaire and Champfleury, well-known for their writings on painting, also chose to focus their creative energies specifically on caricature, a move that declared such imagery important to aesthetic discourse. In a sense, what Baudelaire, Champfleury and others who wrote about caricature managed to do was to pull it out of the realm of the "low."

This legitimization of caricature by writers could, of course, not occur without a concurrent effort by artists. A complicated relationship between painting and caricature began to emerge in France in the 1850s and 1860s, first with Honoré Daumier, who walked the line between the two forms by turning his attention rather seriously to painting after having made his reputation as a caricaturist, and then with Gustave Courbet, who incorporated the caricatural in such paintings as *The Return from the Conference*, *A Burial at Ornans*, and *The Beggar's Alms* (Figs. 1-3).

By incorporating caricature in their works, painters like Courbet complicated and made reciprocal the relationship between painting and caricature established in printed Salon criticism targeting artists and their

work. Since before the Revolution of 1789, verbal and visual caricatures poking fun at exhibited works appeared first in privately published pamphlets and then in the nineteenth century in newspapers, which were experiencing a marked proliferation.³ This caricatural criticism played an increasingly vital role in the making of the reputations of avant-garde artists like Courbet. When painters began to appropriate caricature, a means used paradoxically to undermine their works while essentially making them famous, they essentially responded to and extended an aesthetic discourse carried on in the language of caricature to the point where this very language became the subject of their painted discourse. That discourse, which is comprised of the "painted caricatures" produced by French painters from 1850 to 1880, is the subject of this dissertation.

Although scholars like Judith Wechsler, Elizabeth C. Childs, and Robert Justin Goldstein have considered the proliferation and censorship of political and social caricature in nineteenth-century France, few art historians have studied what I see as the reciprocal relationship between painting and caricature that

developed around 1850.⁴ We have become more accustomed to studies such as Klaus Herding's considerations of the caricatural responses to Gustave Courbet's work and personae or T.J. Clark's and Theodore Reff's writings that reproduce and comment on contemporary caricatures of the paintings and likenesses of Manet and Courbet.⁵ Although such works go beyond the encyclopedic interest in caricature compilation reflected by a book like Charles Léger's *Courbet selon les caricatures et les images*, they tend to study only limited aspects of the relationship between the two forms of visual expression, focusing almost strictly on what the caricatures reveal about the paintings, the artists, and their contemporary reception.⁶

While historians have considered the caricatures of paintings to some extent, they have glossed over the many instances where artists have incorporated the strategies of caricature *within* paintings. Important exceptions include Carol Armstrong's book on Edgar Degas where a good part of a chapter is devoted to considering the connection of Degas' work to Daumier in particular and caricature in general.⁷ Armstrong's book, which has a

much larger focus than the relationship between Degas and caricature, is one of the most thorough and nuanced examinations of the caricatural aspects of the work of a French nineteenth-century painter. Other scholars who have cited and in some cases expanded on the caricatural aspects in the paintings of this period include Heather McPherson, whose essay on Courbet's *Portrait of Baudelaire* (c. 1848-1849) (Fig. 4) presents the argument that the sketch-like quality of the image "operates like a caricature" and may be a response to Baudelaire's interest in caricature.⁸ Therese Dolan's article on Edouard Manet's portrait of Jeanne Duval (Baudelaire's mistress) suggests lithographic sources for the image featuring an exaggerated figure in a ridiculous crinoline, recalling the fashion-related caricatures of artists like Daumier and Constantin Guys.⁹ In writing about Courbet's *The Return from the Conference*, Petra Chu refers to the painting as a "large painted caricature," which reflects Courbet's desire to "circumvent government rules."¹⁰ Jane Mayo Roos has discussed Courbet's interest in using "a popular medium and a slang voice" for critical purposes.¹¹ And, in her treatment of Paul

Cézanne's *A Modern Olympia* (1873) (Fig. 5) and *The Eternal Feminine* (1877) (Fig. 6), Hollis Clayson notes the caricatural qualities of both paintings, filtering them through the larger concerns of her book which focuses on prostitution and the representation of the female body in this period.¹²

Clayson's reading of *The Eternal Feminine* as a "caricature of the homage paid blindly to sexualized womankind" is an argument with some merit, as I show in my consideration of Cézanne in Chapter Five.¹³ However, Clayson and the other scholars, including those mentioned above who have made comments regarding the caricatural aspects of mid- to late- nineteenth-century French paintings, have generally restricted their ideas about caricatural strategies to a few sentences or a few paragraphs, for neither caricature nor "painted caricature" is the primary focus of these books and articles.

Additionally, the scholarship on nineteenth-century painting has often lumped together all forms of "popular imagery." When Meyer Schapiro or Linda Nochlin write about Courbet's relationship to "popular imagery," for

example, they tend not to distinguish caricature as a separate category.¹⁴ This is problematic because the implications of the appropriation of caricature differ from those of the appropriation of *Epinal* prints or fashion plates. Schapiro and Nochlin can convincingly argue that to borrow from the mass-produced, the affordable, or the "popular," in the case of Courbet for example, is an indication of the artist's democratic sentiments or his affinity for and support of "*le peuple*." However, a different case must be made for caricature, a form that is more complex than an expression of the "popular" in that it perpetuates or sometimes inverts positions of power and powerlessness by distinguishing between the object of laughter and the caricaturist who laughs. Sometimes overtly political and aggressive, caricatures deliberately target individual figures or groups. Baudelaire went so far as to conceive of the formal elements of caricature in terms of the language of violence, referring to the distortions and manipulations of caricature as "*dessin violent*."¹⁵ And certainly the expansion of a belly, the extension of a nose, the enlargement of a forehead – all common

strategies of the caricaturist – can be read in terms of a kind of physical attack on the body – or at least on the visual substitute for that body.

Baudelaire, who used the term “plastic slang” to claim caricature as an accessible language of the people, realized that this language can be used in a propagandistic fashion to manipulate and influence. Baudelaire writes that “with this kind of plastic slang, one can be the *master* of telling or making people understand anything that one desires.”¹⁶ To conceptualize caricature as slang is to suggest that it is a kind of language – bastardized and informal – that has the potential to leave certain groups who may not speak that language on the outside. Moreover, the fact that caricatures are often dependent on a literate and socially engaged readership/viewership who can read captions and identify the figures referenced further distances caricature from the myth of the accessibility or democratic quality of “popular imagery.”

By the 1830s, caricaturists had become important participants in French political discourse and were consequently subject to censorship prior to publication

(a policy that was enforced from 1820 to 1881 with periodic exceptions). Caricaturists who did manage to survive the censors initially sometimes faced prosecution, fines, and/or imprisonment after publication: recall, for example, the famous trial of Charles Philipon who had metamorphosized King Louis-Philippe into "Le Poire" and Daumier's imprisonment for his rendering of the King as *Gargantua* (1831) (Fig. 7).¹⁷ Given the integral relationship between caricature and politics, the appropriation of caricature by French painters cannot be studied without considering its possible political implications.

A study of "painted caricature" also must address the question of the challenging of artistic boundaries dictated by the Academy and the Salon. The idea that to merge the "low" with the "high" undermines artistic hierarchies has not gone unnoticed by scholars. However, the use of caricature must again be distinguished from other subsets of the "popular" in order to fully appreciate its unique relationship to the redefinition of artistic values. For example, to borrow from a type of imagery notorious for challenging and attacking the

French government to which the Salon was ultimately responsible, is in effect to declare a kinship (formally expressed through the appropriation of a shared language or "slang") with the generators of those attacks.

A related point is that the appropriation of caricature in nineteenth-century France also challenged a specific style: classicism. With caricature there is particular emphasis on line – a central component of classicism. However, caricatural line differs from classical line in that it allows the artist to exaggerate and venture into the grotesque rather than serving as a marker of containment or order. When a painter incorporates such a line, he/she essentially usurps the terms of classicism and undermines its general authority, a move that is of course part of a larger trend in the nineteenth century. The oppositional relationship between classicism and caricature that I posit above may be partly conceptual, but it is worth noting that the caricaturist and painter Daumier addressed this relationship directly in the *l'Histoire ancienne* series of prints published in *Le Charivari* that comically revised classical subject matter.

Caricature also suggests connections with the other major stylistic movements of the nineteenth century, including romanticism, realism, impressionism, and the subsequent move toward abstraction. First, romanticism shares with caricature an interest in the grotesque. Second, the contemporary and even the transitory (rather than timeless) focus of caricature is paralleled by a similar focus in realist or impressionist works. Moreover, the sketch-like tendencies of many caricatures, which often visually suggest a quickly rendered technique, recall the looser handling of paint characteristic of many impressionist images. Finally, the manipulations, exaggerations, and abbreviations of form central to the caricaturist's project suggest a kind of reductive practice that to some degree relates it to the process of abstraction.

My dissertation will address the relationships and the issues that I have begun to outline above through the specific lens of the works of three artists: Honoré Daumier, Gustave Courbet, and Paul Cézanne. My project is not meant to be an all-encompassing analysis of the strategies of "painted caricature" during the second half

of the nineteenth century. Instead, I believe that by engaging in case studies of the works of Daumier, Courbet, and Cézanne, I will be able to touch on many of the issues central to the painting-caricature relationship in very specific ways.

For the most part, my examination is restricted to images made between the 1850s and 1880s. The 1850s mark (1) the introduction of caricature into the discourse of aesthetics by writers like Baudelaire, who published his first caricature essay in 1855 and (2) the beginnings of Daumier's serious efforts at painting. The 1880s are an appropriate end-point for this study partly because the abolition of caricature censorship became a reality in 1881. In some senses, the more liberal press laws of 1881 served to neutralize or at least minimize the perception of the oppositional or subversive quality of images that referenced or appropriated the strategies of caricature. The aesthetic legitimization process which began in the 1850s combined with the political neutralization of caricature in the 1880s (facilitated by acceptance rather than censorship) led to conditions in which artists could make images which did not necessarily

have to be defined by a binary or even contradictory term like "painted caricature."

In my conclusion (Chapter Six), I will offer reasons for why the notion of "painted caricature" eventually becomes somewhat archaic as the boundaries between painting and caricature and between "high" and "low" in general become increasingly blurred to the point that the caricatural is institutionalized as part of "high art." However, before considering the after-life of "painted caricature," a useful construct that facilitates the investigation of the various intersections of painting and caricature in images made between 1850 and 1880, I will investigate the images that make such a construct possible, asking what it means for painters to incorporate the caricatural in their works.

I begin in Chapter Two with a brief history of caricature and an analysis of the conditions that led to the development of "painted caricature." It is here that I distinguish "painted caricature" from other related forms, including the grotesque and comic genre painting in the tradition of Jan Steen or William Hogarth. This chapter provides the necessary historical and contextual

groundwork for the case studies in the chapters that follow. This contextual groundwork includes a discussion of the proliferation of caricature texts beginning around the middle of the nineteenth-century and the related, concurrent emergence of discourses on laughter. These early laughter discourses and the somewhat later theories of laughter developed by Sigmund Freud, Henri Bergson, and Mikhail Bakhtin will inform many of the readings provided in the following chapters.¹⁸

Daumier, whose role in the development of "painted caricature" is examined in Chapter Three, is a pivotal figure in the history of caricature who attempted to establish himself as a painter after making his reputation as a caricaturist. Daumier's career marks a reversal in the general practice of "Artists" (the capital "A" is deliberate here) with regard to caricature. Before and even after Daumier's (mostly unsuccessful) attempt at making a career crossover into painting while continuing to produce caricatures, the tendency among painters, like the brothers Carracci for example who have been credited with the invention of

portrait caricature, was to keep their caricatures as private, "studio jokes."¹⁹

Refusing to contain the joke within its "appropriate" arena(s) (on the pages of caricatural journals or within the privacy of the studio), Daumier attempted to reconcile the traditionally distinct practices of caricature and painting meant for public consumption. In examining Daumier's efforts at such a reconciliation, the conflicted, binary nature of "painted caricature" will emerge as a key to understanding the split reputation of Daumier – the construction, which I explain in Chapter Three, of "the two Daumiers."

There are several advantages to focusing on Courbet and Cézanne, whose "painted caricatures" I consider in Chapters Four and Five. The first is that they both fashioned themselves as outsiders and as uncouth *paysans*; such marginalized positions were also occupied by the caricaturists who influenced them. In addition, because questions of style, the emergence of an art that is "modern," and the challenging of artistic hierarchies seem central to the caricature-painting relationship, it is useful to focus on painters who were at the forefront

of major stylistic shifts. Finally, Courbet and Cézanne, two painters who were particularly interested in manipulating their own personae, are good candidates for such a study because the making of artistic reputations is also integral to the caricature-painting relationship.

Courbet is perhaps an obvious choice for such an examination. His persona and his paintings were among the most caricatured of the nineteenth century; he frequently borrowed from "popular" sources such as photographs and *Epinal* prints; he was championed by critics such as Champfleury who attempted to validate caricature and "popular" imagery in general, and, for a while, he was friendly with Baudelaire. Courbet is also one of the first artists to incorporate the caricatural in large paintings clearly intended for prominent placement in the Salon. Courbet's paintings and agenda suggest that one of his central concerns was to take an oppositional stance against a number of institutions, including the Salon, the government, and the Catholic Church. These very institutions were among the targets of contemporary caricature. Moreover, rather than simply running a parallel course with caricature, works such as

The Return from the Conference mingle painting with caricature stylistically as well as in terms of an anticlerical subject matter which previously had been the domain of the "low."

Courbet's relationship with caricature can also shed some light on the questions of artistic boundaries and style central to the strategy of borrowing from this type of imagery. A great deal has been written on Courbet's realism with regard to its political and artistic implications.²⁰ Regardless of the differences between these interpretations, Courbet's realism is often seen as transgressive and related to an interest in the everyday or the modern. Such qualities can also be attributed to caricatural imagery that is often critical, political, and directly relevant to contemporary events.

Cézanne is perhaps a less obvious choice in a study focusing on the response(s) of nineteenth-century artists to caricature. This is partly because Cézanne's later paintings, which show few traces of an interest in caricature, are most often privileged by scholars.²¹ In fact, many of the important paintings from the 1860s and 1870s, among them *A Modern Olympia* and its variants,

bring together paint and caricature. As with Daumier and Courbet, the caricatural in Cézanne's oeuvre is also related to questions of challenging artistic values. Cézanne specifically addresses these questions by confronting, via the use of caricatural strategies, the works and reputations of established artists like Edouard Manet. By the same token, he does not exempt himself or his work from his caricatural "attacks," raising the question of what it means to caricature oneself and to put oneself on a par with artists like Manet whom caricatural critics had made famous. In examining the caricatural and self-caricatural strategies of Cézanne, I will argue that the appropriation of caricature also speaks to the issues of reputation-making and of establishing an alternative lineage to that sanctioned by the state-supported artistic establishment.

Although I have chosen the somewhat arbitrary endpoint of 1880 for this study, I conclude my examination of Cézanne's "painted caricatures" by reading his later, more formally abstract images, which also demonstrate distortions and exaggerations but which are not considered to be at all caricatural, through the lens of

the earlier, more emphatically caricatural paintings. By studying the early and late images in terms of continuities rather than discontinuities and by studying the history of distortion in the work of Cézanne, we can begin to explore the point at which an image starts or stops being a "painted caricature" and consider the conditions that make such a construct applicable. I conclude this chapter with an examination of the after-life of Cézanne and, in particular, the after-life of the caricatural cum abstract Cézanne, in the work of Pablo Picasso. Here I posit a continuation of the dialogical relationship Cézanne establishes with Manet – a relationship that is composed of a partly caricatural vocabulary that serves to challenge and establish reputations while defining and redefining the formal language(s) of painting.

In tracing the caricatural heritage of modern abstract painting as exemplified by the work of Picasso and in highlighting the unstable boundary between caricature and other forms of distortion, exaggeration, or manipulation that are part and parcel of much twentieth-century avant-garde art production, I assert

the significance of "painted caricature" to our understanding of the formation of modernist painting.

¹Charles L veque, "Le Rire, le comique et le risible dans l' sprit et dans l'art," *Revue des deux mondes* 67 (September 1863): 132.

²Charles Baudelaire, *De l'Essence du rire et g n ralement du comique dans les arts plastiques, Quelques caricaturistes franais and Quelques caricaturistes  trangers*, all in *Oeuvres compl tes* (Paris: Seuil, 1968). The term "argot plastique" appears in *Quelques caricaturistes franais*, 381. Champfleury, *Histoire de la caricature antique; Histoire de la caricature moderne; and Histoire de la caricature sous la R publique, l'Empire, et la Restauration* (Paris: Dentu, 1865-1877).

³Bernadette Fort has written on the use of satire and parody in pre-Revolutionary pamphlets which targeted works of art exhibited in the Salons. Although she does not use the term "verbal (or textual) caricature," Fort cites the "carnivalization" of Salon art in these sometimes anonymously published pamphlets. This "carnivalization" essentially makes such parodies textual equivalents to the printed caricatures of art works that would become more prevalent after the development of lithography in the late eighteenth-century and after the concurrent proliferation of newspapers. It should be noted that, although much less common than "verbal caricatures," some caricatural engravings of art works were produced prior to the development of lithography. Bernadette Fort, "Voice of the Public: The Carnivalization of Salon Art in Pre-Revolutionary Pamphlets," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22, 3 (Spring 1989): 368-394.

On the development of lithography, see A. Hyatt Mayor, *Prints and People: A Social History of Printed Pictures*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 612-620, and William M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual*

Communication (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1982), 108-112.

For French newspaper history, see Claude Bellenger, et al., *Histoire générale de la press française* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969). Bob Harris, *Politics and the Rise of the Press: Britain and France, 1620-1800* (London: Routledge, 1996). Richard Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 117-148.

⁴Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th-Century Paris* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982). Robert Justin Goldstein, *Censorship and Political Caricature in Nineteenth-Century France* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1989). Elizabeth C. Childs, ed., *Suspended License: Censorship and the Visual Arts* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997).

⁵Klaus Herding, *Courbet: To Venture Independence*, translated by John William Gabriel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991). T. J. Clark, "Olympia's Choice," *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984) 79-146. Theodore Reff, *Manet: Olympia* (New York: Viking Press, 1977).

⁶Charles Léger, *Courbet selon les caricatures et les images* (Paris: Paul Rosenberg, 1920).

⁷Armstrong argues that Degas both incorporates and then "obliterates" the caricatural—a strategy that leaves the viewer with a paradoxical view of Degas as a draughtsman whose "dissolution of the language of caricature" challenges legibility. Carol Armstrong, *Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 134-156.

⁸Heather McPherson, "Courbet and Baudelaire: Portraiture Against the Grain of Photography," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 6, 128 (November 1996): 232.

⁹Therese Dolan, "Skirting the Issue: Manet's Portrait of Baudelaire's Mistress, Reclining," *The Art Bulletin* 76, 4 (December 1997): 611-629.

¹⁰Petra Chu, "Courbet's Unpainted Pictures." *Arts Magazine* 55 (September 1980): 135.

¹¹Jane Mayo Roos, *Early Impressionism and the French State (1866-1874)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 110. My initial interest in caricature had its roots in a seminar paper I wrote for Prof. Roos. I thank her for her guidance on that project as well as on the current study.

¹²Hollis Clayson, *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), see esp. pp. 16-23. Some of the same comments regarding the caricatural qualities of these works by Cézanne is revisited by Tamar Garb, *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-siècle France* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998) see esp. 178-214.

¹³*Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁴Meyer Schapiro, "Courbet and Popular Imagery: An Essay on Realism and Naïveté," in *Modern Art: 19th and 20th Centuries, Selected Papers* (New York: George Braziller, 1978), 47-83. Linda Nochlin, "Gustave Courbet's Meeting: A Portrait of the Artist as a Wandering Jew," *The Art Bulletin* 46, 3 (September 1967): 209-222.

¹⁵Baudelaire, *De l'Essence du rire*, 372.

¹⁶"Avec cette espèce d'argot plastique, on était le maître de dire et de faire comprendre au peuple tout ce qu'on voulait." My emphasis. Unless otherwise noted,

all translations are my own. Baudelaire, *Quelques caricaturistes français*, 381.

¹⁷On the prosecution of caricaturists, see Goldstein, 23-32.

¹⁸Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, trans. James Strachey (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1960). Henri Bergson, "Laughter," in *Comedy*, ed. Wylie Sypher (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1956). Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).

¹⁹The term "studio joke" is used by Ernst Kris and Ernst Gombrich, "The Principles of Caricature," *British Journal of Medical Psychology* 17 (1938): 338.

²⁰See for example, Michael Fried, *Courbet's Realism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Nochlin, *Realism* (London: Penguin Books, 1971).

²¹Exceptions include, Mary Thompkins Lewis, *Cézanne's Early Imagery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Lawrence Gowing, ed., *Cézanne: The Early Years 1859-1872* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1988). There are also several articles which focus on single images or a small group of images from the early career, see for example, Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "An Artistic and Political Manifesto for Cézanne," *The Art Bulletin* 72, 3 (September 1990): 482-492; Robert Simon, "Cézanne and the Subject of Violence," *Art in America* (May 1991): 120-135; 185-86); Tamar Garb's chapter on *The Eternal Feminine in Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-siècle France* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 178-195.

CHAPTER 2

FROM CARICATURE TO "PAINTED CARICATURE"

In order to fully appreciate the caricatural strategies of the painters I consider in the following chapters, it is useful to outline a framework that relates to the historical, aesthetic, and ideological conditions that made possible the blurring of the boundaries between painting and caricature in the middle of the nineteenth century. In this chapter, I provide a brief historical overview of caricature and its close association with painting (and sculpture), and, in doing so, I want to move toward a working definition of "painted caricature" by associating it with and distinguishing it from related precedents like printed caricature and comic painting. Also, in seeking to provide a contextualized analysis of the specific characteristics that made caricature relevant and useful to French writers and artists beginning around mid-century, this chapter highlights the discourses and

events that marked a shift in the status of caricature – a shift ultimately responsible for the development of “painted caricature.”

The appropriation of caricature by painters beginning in the mid-nineteenth century relates directly to the increased publication of *printed* caricatures and the founding of caricature journals like *Le Charivari* (1832). The proliferation of caricature and caricature journals coincided with and was made possible by an explosion in newspaper publication that began with the relaxation of press laws brought on by the Revolution of 1789.¹ Although the post-Revolutionary press was regularly subjected to government regulations and harassment, the number of journals and their circulation continued to grow at an astounding rate throughout the nineteenth century.² For example, between 1830 and 1845, newspaper circulation grew from about 50,000 to 150,000 copies daily; by 1870, this circulation figure increased almost seven-fold, and, by 1880, the number would double again.³

The proliferation of newspapers also facilitated the expansion of art criticism, which was often relegated in

the pre-Revolutionary period to privately published pamphlets with much smaller circulation numbers. Bernadette Fort has noted that these pamphlets often targeted paintings through the strategies of parody and satire to affect a kind of "carnivalization" of works exhibited in the Salons.⁴ Such "carnivalizing" strategies engendered textual or verbal caricatures partly designed to elicit laughter. Such verbal caricaturing of Salon paintings and exhibitors continued in the nineteenth-century press, serving as one model for the development of the visual caricaturing of artists and their works which had its heyday in this period following the invention of lithography in the 1790s.⁵ When painters began to incorporate caricature in their works around the middle of the nineteenth century, they essentially visualized the verbal terms that had been used in the press to ridicule a range of people and subjects, including the works of these very artists and those of their colleagues.

Although the French interest in caricature reached a high point in the nineteenth century, it is important to note that the history of caricature and its relationship

to painters began well before the appearance of Daumier and company on the caricatural or artistic scenes and even before the "verbal caricatures" of art works produced in the eighteenth century. In their important examination of caricature, Ernst Kris and Ernst Gombrich provide an art historical pedigree for caricature by identifying the brothers Carracci as the inventors of the portrait caricature at the end of the sixteenth century. Kris and Gombrich distinguish the caricatural production of the Carracci, which featured specific or individual "victims," from the more generalized "clowns, ...pictorial satires, ...comic illustrations and... grotesque art" which existed in earlier periods.⁶ In *Art and Illusion*, Gombrich expands on the distinction between portrait caricatures and their related predecessors, noting that "the inventors of the art [of caricature] were not the pictorial propagandists who existed in one form or another for centuries before but those *most sophisticated and refined artists*, the brothers Carracci."⁷ Although caricature is often seen as an example of popular imagery, Gombrich's description of the origins of

caricature associate it, even at its inception, with the practitioners of "high" art.

The acknowledgment of a link between caricature and "sophisticated and refined artists" emerges from the groundwork supplied by the many nineteenth-century writers and art critics who deemed caricature worthy of analysis and study. Charles Baudelaire began to take caricature seriously at least as early as 1845, when his caricature project was announced on the back cover of his *Salon de 1845*.⁸ Baudelaire's writings on caricature, which are comprised of three essays that analyze and define caricature and the comic and provide a brief and selective history of the work of French and foreign caricaturists, were published in the 1850s with an appeal to like-minded critics:

Without a doubt, a general history of caricature which includes its relationship to all of the political and religious deeds, both serious and frivolous, which relate to the national spirit or to fashion [and] which have affected humanity, would be an important and glorious work.⁹

Several writers heeded Baudelaire's call and published often lengthy and exhaustive considerations of caricature (perhaps to attest to the "importance" or "gloriousness" of caricature histories) at a rather regular pace throughout the second half of the century. Most of the works that followed blended analysis and history, though they tended to lean more heavily toward the latter in focus. Adapting the tradition established by Giorgio Vasari, who set out to commemorate and celebrate the lives of Renaissance "masters," writers like Champfleury, Jean Grand-Carteret, Raoul Deberdt, Arsène Alexandre, and Emile Bayard turned to the lives and works of caricaturists and celebrated them in a similar vein.¹⁰ These writers participated in the process of legitimizing caricature by establishing its history and its heroes. If these critics were to succeed in establishing caricature as a legitimate art form, they had to prove that it was not a fad of the moment. This was tricky because caricature is often very much about fads, fashion, and the social and political concerns of the moment. In order to confront potential opposition rooted in caricature's associations to the transitory,

Champfleury, Grand-Carteret and others set out to demonstrate that, like painting for example, caricature had a long history and its own set of masters.¹¹ This strategy was designed to facilitate the blurring of the boundaries between caricature and "Art" to the point where someone like Grand-Carteret could successfully argue that "the masters of humor are true artists who habitually delight in the ideal sphere of great art."¹²

By writing about caricature and caricaturists as they might write about "true artists" exhibiting in the Salon, these critics elevated the status of caricature and rescued caricaturists from potential anonymity, offering them a degree of celebrity previously enjoyed by "high art" artists. Although the histories of caricature allowed the works and the figures in question to be seen in individual terms, it should be acknowledged that the notion of "rescuing" these figures from anonymity is a bit of an overstatement. Unlike the names of the makers of *Epinal* prints, the names or pseudonyms of caricaturists were well-known, as the journals that carried their works regularly published credits for the pictured works. In addition, some caricaturists like

Daumier would, following the example set by the *maître peintre*, sign or initial their images. The result was that regular subscribers to these journals could potentially acquaint themselves with the names and eventually the styles of particular caricaturists, who often became the journals' trademarks. The process of gaining a certain recognizability among subscribers parallels the process of developing a following through Salon exhibition in some obvious ways. In both cases, the availability of an artist's/caricaturist's name (in a guidebook or byline) along with his/her written and stylistic signature contributed to establishing reputations and gaining popularity.

Although the champions of caricature were quick to point out the similarities between caricaturists and "true artists," they were equally willing to admit elements that were unique to caricature. Recall for example Grand-Carteret's comment, quoted above, regarding the tendency for the "master of humor" to "habitually delight in the ideal sphere of great art." The reflexive verb Grand-Carteret uses here, *se complaire* – to delight or take pleasure in something – offers a suggestive

nuance to the caricaturist-as-artist argument.

Certainly, Grand-Carteret's concept of "delight" can reference aesthetic pleasure, however it can also suggest a kind of pleasure that expresses itself in the form of laughter.¹³ The ambiguity is, I believe, deliberate. The proponent of caricature is well aware of the fact that the work of the *maître caricaturiste* differs from that of the *maître peintre* particularly with regard to caricature's associations with laughter and humor.

The focus on laughter by writers on caricature as an element that distinguishes caricature from "Art" deserves more detailed consideration, particularly because there are numerous examples from the nineteenth century and from preceding eras of painters and sculptors incorporating humor or attempting to generate laughter with their works. The well-established tradition of comic painting and sculpture includes the gargoyles placed on the peripheries of gothic structures, Dutch seventeenth-century genre paintings like those of Jan Steen (Fig. 8), the erotic satires of French eighteenth-century painters like Jean-Honoré Fragonard (Fig. 9) or Louis-Leopold Boilly (Fig. 10) and, of course, the work

of William Hogarth (Fig. 11). More pertinent to this study is the marked proliferation of comic painting in the 1880s and 1890s, a period that immediately follows the movement spearheaded by Baudelaire to legitimize caricature. It is not likely a coincidence that painters like Jehan-Georges Vibert, Ferdinand Heilburth, Léo Hermann, Henri-Alphonse Laissement, or Emile Meyer gained considerable popularity with humorous images like *The Wonderful Sauce* (Vibert, c. 1890) (Fig. 12), *The Good Hand* (Laissement) (Fig. 13), and *If I Were Pope* (Vibert, n.d.) (Fig. 14) at a time when laughter and the comic were deemed issues worthy of serious study.¹⁴

Although the above examples demonstrate that a tradition of comic painting and sculpture existed well before and coincided with the invention of lithography and the subsequent proliferation of caricature, it is important to recognize that comic imagery occupied a somewhat marginalized position within the hierarchically organized Academic and Salon systems in France. This tendency to marginalize comic representations also pre-dates the Academic system and can be traced to at least the medieval period. For example, the sometimes

humorous, sometimes horrific sculptural visions of the creators of gothic gargoyles were relegated, in the words of Michael Camille, to the "margins" of the cathedral. Camille, who has written a highly intelligent study of medieval marginalia, demonstrates that grotesque, fantastic, humorous or "profane" representations were physically separated, whether on a manuscript page or on the exterior of a church structure, from more "sacred" or sublime examples.¹⁵ In the case of gargoyles, this separation manifests itself in their placement high on the pinnacles or roofs of the cathedrals, making them barely discernible to the viewer who stands so many feet below the sculptures (while images of holy personages occupy the highly visible portals). This type of placement suggests to viewers that they should value the sacred rather than the profane, the beautiful rather than the grotesque, and the serious and lofty rather than the humorous.

By the same token, this space has also been read by Camille and others as an area of incredible artistic freedom. Like the gargoyles to which they relate with regard to a fascination in the grotesque and an interest

in eliciting laughter, caricatures have also been interpreted as images that demonstrate artistic liberty. Writing about Daumier's caricatures, for example, Emile Bayard notes that "his facility for drawing... allows him to create with more freedom... with more audaciousness."¹⁶

The relationship to freedom established by gargoyles, caricatures, and other forms of comic imagery has parallels in the historical practice of carnival, a ritual during which clowns, written and oral parodies, and comic shows played prominent roles. According to Mikhail Bakhtin,

Carnival is the people's second life, organized on the basis of laughter... As opposed to the official feast, one might say that carnival celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order.¹⁷

Bakhtin's reading of carnival contains a tension that is reflected on the cathedrals featuring the gargoyles - a tension that is relevant to the place that comic imagery has historically assumed in the "established order." Specifically, Bakhtin acknowledges the freedoms implied by carnival and its comic forms, while reminding the

reader that it is all a "temporary liberation."

Carnival's temporary quality and the fact that it is a "second life," as opposed to one's primary life, suggests a historical marginalization of laughter and the comic that is also translated into the traditional treatment of the comic in the visual arts.¹⁸

The long history of marginalizing comic imagery continues well into the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth-century Salon for paintings, comic imagery, a sub-category of genre painting, was also marginalized despite the fact that genre painting enjoyed an increasing change in status throughout this period. This was particularly true among middle class viewers who found these small works affordable and suitable for their homes, while conservative critics tended to be highly critical of such images. In the words of Patricia Mainardi,

[genre painting] was considered a foreign style, an invasion from Northern Protestant and democratic countries, unsuitable for France with its Catholic, classical and aristocratic heritage... Genre painting was widely considered to appeal to the

common people who liked to look at it, as well as to the bourgeoisie who bought it.¹⁹

The association of genre painting and the subcategory of comic painting with "foreign-ness" and the democratic or popular is an association that has obvious parallels with popular imagery and caricature in particular. Specifically, since caricature is fundamentally about criticism, the caricaturist can be seen as an outsider or a (discursive) "foreigner" whose images continually challenge or mock the powers-that-be.²⁰ The mass-dissemination and financial accessibility of caricatures allow them to be important tools of protest or objection within a democratic system. The degree of effectiveness of this particular tool of democracy, however, is dependent on the relative freedom (from censorship) enjoyed by the caricaturist.²¹

Comic painting also shares with caricature (or at least some caricature) a tendency toward narrative or a relationship to text. Hogarth's *Marriage à la Mode* is a classic example of how telling a story (often with the intent of communicating a moral or making a criticism) is central to comic genre painting. In Hogarth's series,

the viewer is offered multiple narratives, including those within the paintings as well as the narrative(s) formed by the series as a whole.²² According to Ronald Paulson, "what emerges as the Hogarthian 'comic history'... [is] an image that offers a verbal substitute, with its own more or less materialized implied verbal text."²³ It should also be said that the relationship between Hogarth and the literary was not always merely implied, as he provided illustrations for the work of novelists like Henry Fielding, an enterprise pursued by many comic image makers/caricaturists including George Cruikshank.

Hogarth is neither the first nor the last painter of comic images to establish a relationship between the comic image and narrative, literary, or textual devices. For example, in writing about the comic painting of Jan Steen, Mariët Westermann explains that "Steen's themes sometimes mirror those of comic literature so closely that his paintings seem to enact texts or texts to evoke his paintings."²⁴ Westermann's view echoes Théophile Thoré's interpretation of Steen's work in 1860: "One always has the desire to convert Jan Steen's paintings into dialogues."²⁵ The same could probably be said of the

work of one of Thoré's younger contemporaries, Jehan-Georges Vibert, a painter of comic images who took it upon himself to provide texts for paintings reproduced from his oeuvre in *La Comédie en peinture* (a two volume text published in 1902).²⁶ Implicit in the story/image relationship established by Vibert's book is the declaration that these comic works are designed, like many captioned caricatures, to be read like a text, even when that text is not literally provided by the artist-writer.

Although these late nineteenth-century paintings certainly share a link with the comic images of earlier periods by artists such as Steen, Hogarth, or Boilly, they are very much products of their historical moment. They are not only manifestations of the larger discourses on laughter, caricature, and the comic that I cite above, but their content also seems to be highly influenced by caricatural imagery. Specifically, many of the images tend to poke fun at the clergy, a strategy that I believe is inherited partly from caricatures like *Capucinade - La pauvreté contente* (*Friarism - Content Poverty*) (Fig. 15). Although such anti-clerical images had been produced for

centuries, the tendency, at least until paintings like Courbet's *The Return from the Conference* (Fig. 1) or *A Burial at Ornans* (Fig. 2) (see Chapter Four), was to relegate such subjects to the realm of caricature or to private sketches, never meant for public consumption.²⁷ This was, after all, a century during which censorship laws and their enforcement were tied closely to the views of both the Church and the State. In his study of the censorship of caricature in nineteenth-century France, Robert Justin Goldstein notes that although censorship criteria were never publicized, there exist documents and letters that suggest a censorship policy based on protecting the state, its officials, and the clergy.²⁸ For example, a letter from the minister of the interior in 1822 urges the censors to examine carefully any image that "could present some character of immorality, irreligion or of outrage against the king and his government."²⁹ In a similar document from 1879, censors were told to "refuse absolutely when a drawing is directed against the head of state" and to be highly circumspect of illustrations concerning the legislative

"chambers, the magistrates, the army, religion, or the clergy."³⁰

On some level, then, it was caricature, and its subsequent legitimization and appropriation by Courbet, for example, that paved the way for the spate of comic paintings in the 1880s and 1890s featuring overindulging or vain clerics.³¹ At the same time, it is important to distinguish these comic paintings from the caricatures of Daumier or the "painted caricatures" of Courbet. Although the content of all of these forms seems to share certain features, it is the differences in their formal qualities that made the work of Vibert, for example, more acceptable (and benign) Salon fare.³² In comparing Vibert to Daumier and Courbet, it is clear that Vibert's work lacks the caricatural line that exaggerates and draws attention to the vices of the clerics in question. It is this line that serves as a sign or a marker for caricature; it is also the line that deliberately exaggerates, distorts, and, in some senses, wages an attack on the bodies of the pictured figures. It is a line that Baudelaire dubs a "*dessin violent*" which communicates "biting and veiled" ideas.³³ The aggressive

subtext of caricature is also affirmed by other writers on caricature, including Gombrich and Kris, who refer to it as a "social weapon" which can unmask pretension... killing it by ridicule."³⁴

As will become clear in my discussions of "painted caricatures" in the following chapters, this aggressive line is often, but not always, a marker of "painted caricature." In cases like Courbet's *The Beggar's Alms* (1868) (Fig. 3), for example, the critics emphatically noted its lack of *dessin*.³⁵ One cannot escape the caricatural heritage of the beggar with an enlarged head, ravaged face, and distorted body. But here again, the composition of the beggar is marked by a series of exaggerations and deformations that are absent in earlier comic painting, where the humor is achieved with more of an emphasis on narrative than on expressive gestures or physical distortions.

The work of Vibert and his comic painting colleagues has more in common with the formal language of genre painting, both in terms of the absence of the caricatural line or the exaggerations described above and in terms of the smaller size of these images. With regard to size,

there is a stark contrast between an image like Vibert's *The Wonderful Sauce* (25" x 32") and *The Burial at Ornans* (10' 3 3/8" x 21' 9 3/8") or *The Return from the Conference* (approximately 10' x 8'). In the nineteenth-century French Salon, size did indeed matter. On the most practical level, a larger painting allowed an artist to manipulate visibility and gain attention in Salons that grew increasingly larger. Even more significant was the fact that a painting on the scale of Courbet's *A Burial at Ornans* declared itself an important piece by associating itself with the only images believed worthy of being conceived in such physically monumental terms — namely history paintings. What is clear then is that by adopting the smaller scale traditionally deemed suitable for genre painting, comic painters, unlike Courbet, were not challenging or attacking the tenets of the French artistic hierarchy.

Interestingly, with regard to scale, the comic painting had more in common with the caricature than with the "painted caricature." The caricature was, after all, also a small image. And although the caricature was more volatile than the comic painting and more obviously about

attack or criticism, like comic painting, it knew its place well, even if that place was perpetually on the margins or on the outside, separated from the institution or figures it mocked.

It was the "painted caricature" that transgressed ideological and physical boundaries, barging into the Salon and forcing it to take notice. Additionally, "painted caricature," in contrast to the comic or grotesque imagery of the past, engaged in dialogue with caricature proper as part of a larger discourse between painting and the press.

¹In the first year of the Revolution, one hundred new journals were established. For more on French newspaper history, see Claude Bellenger, et al., *Histoire générale de la press française* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969). Bob Harris, *Politics and the Rise of the Press: Britain and France, 1620-1800* (London: Routledge, 1996). Richard Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 117-148.

²Caricature, like the written press, experienced periods of intensification and periods of (short-lived) relaxation of government restrictions, censorship, and/or prosecution. However, caricature was distinguished from the written press in that it was subject to censorship prior to publication until 1881. See Robert Justin Goldstein, *Censorship and Political Caricature in Nineteenth-Century France* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1989).

³Terdiman, 118.

⁴Bernadette Fort, "Voice of the Public: The Carnivalization of Salon Art in Pre-Revolutionary Pamphlets," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22, 3 (Spring 1989): 368-394.

⁵Visual caricatures of paintings were produced prior to the invention of lithography, however the development of this medium, in conjunction with the expansion of newspapers, had a marked effect on the increase of art caricatures. On the invention and history of lithography, see A. Hyatt Mayor, *Prints and People: A Social History of Printed Pictures*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 612-620, and William M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1982), 108-112.

⁶Ernst Kris and Ernst Gombrich, "The Principles of Caricature," *British Journal of Medical Psychology* 17 (1938): 319-320.

In my larger discussion of Courbet in Chapter Four, I address the question of the grotesque as it relates to caricature and the comic. On the grotesque, see Wolfgang Kayser, *The Grottesque in Art and Literature*, trans. Ulrich Weisstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957); Geoffrey Calt Harpham, *On the Grottesque: Strategies of Contradiction in Art and Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

⁷Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), 343.

⁸Although Baudelaire's work marks the beginning of an increased interest in caricature and laughter in France, it should be noted that comedy, particularly with regard to literature and theater (rather than visual images), had been the focus of a few romantic writers in the early nineteenth century. Among the earliest manifestations of an interest in the comic and laughter

in France are Stendhal's short essays on comedy (1813-1823) and Victor Hugo's discussion of comedy in his "Preface" to *Cromwell*. As Nina Kallmyer has noted in her book on Delacroix's caricatures, these French examples coincide with a much larger body of work produced by English and German writers (e.g., William Hazlitt, August Wilhelm Schlegel, Jean-Paul (Richter), and Madame de Staël) on the subject of comedy and laughter. Stendhal's conception of comedy is fully realized in *Racine et Shakespeare* (1823), which followed his essays "La Comédie" (1813), "Traité de l'art de faire des comédie ou collection méthodique" (1813), "Du Rire" (1823). Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Eugène Delacroix: Prints, Politics and Satire, 1814-1822* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 100-106.

⁹"Je ne veux pas écrire un traité de la caricature... Sans doute une histoire générale de la caricature dans ses rapports avec tous les faits politiques et religieux, graves ou frivoles, relatifs à l'esprit national ou à la mode, qui ont agité l'humanité, est une oeuvre glorieuse et importante." Charles Baudelaire, *De l'Essence du rire et généralement du comique dans les arts plastiques*, in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Seuil, 1968), 370. *De l'Essence du rire* was published in *Le Portefeuille* on July 8, 1855; the other two essays, *Quelques caricaturistes français* and *Quelques caricaturistes étrangers*, were published in *Le Présent* on October 1 and 15, 1857. For more on Baudelaire's caricature project and its development and publication, see Michele Hannoosh, *Baudelaire and Caricature: From the Comic to an Art of Modernity* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University, 1992).

¹⁰Champfleury wrote extensively on caricature; his works include, *Histoire de la caricature antique*, *Histoire de la caricature moderne*, and *Histoire de la caricature sous la République, l'Empire, et la Restauration* (Paris: Dentu, 1865-1877). Jean Grand-Carteret, *Les Moeurs et la caricature en France* (Paris: Librairie Illustrée, 1888). Raoul Deberdt, *La Caricature et l'humour français au XIXième siècle* (Paris: Librairie

Larousse, 1898). Arsène Alexandre, *L'Art du rire et de la caricature* (Paris: Ancienne Maison Quantin, 1892). Emile Bayard, *La Caricature et les caricaturistes* (Paris: Librairie Charles Delagrave, 1900). Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists* (1550; 1568), trans. Julia Coaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

¹¹It should be noted that a critic like Baudelaire actually celebrated the transitory nature of caricature because it was precisely this quality that made it modern.

¹²Les "maîtres de l'humeur sont les vrais artistes, ce qui complaisent habituellement dans les sphères idéales du grand art." Grand-Carteret, 536.

¹³The double valence of "*se complaire*" is paralleled by a similar doubleness found in caricature, which "delights" in poking fun while also "delighting" its audience.

¹⁴Very little has been written on these comic paintings of the 1880s and 1890s. One exception is the Taft Museum's exhibition and its accompanying catalogue of 1992, which featured the works of the comic painters named above. Eric M. Zafran, *Cardinals and Cavaliers: Nineteenth-Century French Anecdotal Painting* (Cincinnati: Taft Museum, 1992).

¹⁵Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992).

¹⁶"Cette facilité pour le dessin... lui permit de créer plus librement... plus audacieusement." Bayard, 60.

¹⁷Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 8, 10.

¹⁸Despite the "official" marginalization of the comic, it is important to note that the comic is never eliminated entirely. Among the various reasons for such a strategy is the fact that admitting the comic while relegating it to its appropriate place neutralizes its potential threat to some degree.

¹⁹Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 89. On genre painting and its changing status and popularity in the nineteenth century, see Lynne Ambrosini, "Genre Painting under the Restoration and the July Monarchy: The Critics Confront Popular Art," *Gazette des beaux arts* 6, 125 (January 1995): 41-52.

²⁰I return to the concept of the caricaturist as outsider in my discussion of Courbet in Chapter Four.

²¹From 1820 to 1881, with only periodic exceptions, caricaturists in France were subject to censorship prior to publication. Some caricaturists devised strategies to subvert the censors, and such subversions, that effectively drew a line in the sand between the establishment and its critics in the press, further promoted the outsider status of the caricaturist. I return to all of these questions elsewhere in the dissertation and particularly in my discussion of Courbet.

On caricaturists' strategies of subverting the censors, see Elizabeth C. Childs, "The Body Impolitic: Censorship and the Caricature of Honoré Daumier," in *Suspended License: Censorship and the Visual Arts*, ed. Elizabeth C. Childs (Seattle: University of Washington Press), 148-184.

²²In his multi-volume treatment of Hogarth, Ronald Paulson examines the narrative and, more specifically, the literary aspects of Hogarth's paintings and prints. Paulson analyzes Hogarth's contribution to the rise of the "novel" and cites his relationship to the work of Henry Fielding in particular. Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth...*,

vol. I-III (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991-1993), see esp. vol. II, *Hogarth: High Art and Low, 1732-1750*, 185-202.

²³Paulson, "The Tradition of Comic Illustration from Hogarth to Cruikshank," in *George Cruikshank: A Revaluation*, ed. Robert L. Patten (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

²⁴Mariët Westermann, *The Amusements of Jan Steen: Comic Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (Zwolle, Netherlands: Waanders Publishers, 1997), 101.

²⁵Quoted in *Ibid.*, 89. Originally in *Salons de W. Burger*, Vol. 2, 112-113.

²⁶Jehan Georges Vibert, *La Comédie en peinture* (Paris: Arthur Tooth, 1902).

²⁷Martin Luther, for example, arranged the production of anti-papal caricatures by artists like Lucas Cranach the Elder and Hans Holbein. In 1561, King Charles IX, in response to biting caricatures produced as a result of the religious and political discord between Catholics and Protestants, expanded censorship laws to apply to "cards and pictures." Goldstein describes the aforementioned incidents, suggesting a long-standing relationship between religion and caricature, in *Censorship of Political Caricature in Nineteenth-Century France*, 88-89.

²⁸Goldstein, 10-12.

²⁹Quoted in *Ibid.*, 11. Original documents located at the Archives Nationales, Paris, F18 2342, 2363.

³⁰Quoted in *Ibid.*, 11. Original documents located at the Archives Nationales, Paris, F18 2342, 2363.

³¹It could also be argued that such images were also made possible by a larger anticlerical discourse that had begun years earlier by writers like Jules Michelet and would continue through the end of the nineteenth century.

See for example, Michelet and M.E. Quinet, *Jesuits and Jesuitism* (1843), trans. G.H. Smith (London: Whittaker and Co., n.d.). Secondary sources analyzing anticlericalism in nineteenth-century France include, Joseph N. Moody, *The Church as Enemy: Anti-Clericalism in Nineteenth-Century French Literature* (Washington: Corpus, 1978); Geoffrey Cubitt, *The Jesuit Myth: Conspiracy Theory and Politics in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

³²Furthermore, Vibert's priests failed to provoke controversy because, by the 1880s, enough time had passed that "painted caricatures" had become more acceptable. In addition, Vibert's paintings were received in conditions that contrasted sharply with those surrounding the reception of Courbet's paintings. With the ushering in of the Third Republic, the political and Salon systems changed dramatically. I discuss these changes and their implications for "painted caricature" in Chapter Six.

³³"La caricature est double: le dessin violent, l'idée mordante et voilée." Baudelaire, *De l'Essence du rire*, 372.

³⁴Kris and Gombrich, 338.

³⁵I provide a full treatment of the caricatural qualities of *The Beggar's Alms* in my chapter on Courbet. The comments regarding the lack of *dessin* in the image were made Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1868," *Le Moniteur universel* no. 132 (May 11, 1868): 635-636, and by the anonymous author of "Le Salon de 1868," *Le Monde pour rire* (May 13, 1868): 1.

CHAPTER 3

THE "TWO DAUMIERS"

The changing status and legitimization of caricature that was facilitated by writers like Baudelaire and Champfleury as well as by the celebration of Honoré Daumier in his retrospective at Durand-Ruel's in 1878 culminated in a more broad-sweeping acknowledgment of caricature in an exhibition sponsored by the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in 1888 featuring the work of Daumier, Philipon, Cham, Gill, and more than twenty others. However, the title of the catalogue to the exhibition, *Exposition des peintures, aquarelle, dessins et lithographies de des maitres français de la caricature et de la peinture de moeurs au XIXe siècle*, indicates that, in some ways, the more things change, the more things stay the same.¹ In listing the media represented in the exhibition featuring the work of artists who were by and large known primarily for their lithographs, the organizers were guided by the old academic hierarchies,

listing "paintings" first. The strategy can be interpreted in a few ways, including the fact that, by citing painting first, it is easier to validate the use of the term "*maître*" in the title – a term previously reserved for designating the master *painter*. Also, by listing painting in addition to several other media, the title suggests that the represented artists are versatile and therefore worthy of consideration.

Either way, the equivocation suggests that caricature and lithography still faced the possibility of an ambivalent and even negative reception more than thirty years after the publication of Baudelaire's first caricature essay.² The ambivalence regarding the caricaturist-as-artist argument is again alluded to in the preface to the exhibition catalogue. Here, the author Paul Mantz calls Daumier one of the "masters (*maîtres*) and one of the historians of the moment."³ The description exemplifies the split-reputation of Daumier as both a master painter, who explores timeless themes, and a *maître de la caricature*, who is a kind of visual journalist recording the trends of the moment. In other words, Mantz exemplifies a common approach to the work of

Daumier, one that is underscored by the assumption that there are two Daumiers: Daumier the *maître* and Daumier the *historien du moment* (i.e., caricaturist).

In tracing the legitimization of caricature and attempting to understand the conditions that led to its subsequent (yet often barred) entry into the Salon, it is necessary to examine the work and reception of Daumier. Daumier is a pivotal figure in the history of caricature and the development of "painted caricature," partly because he was a caricaturist who attempted to cross the not-so-imaginary boundary between "high and "low" by dedicating himself rather seriously to painting beginning in the 1840s.

Daumier, who was known as the premier caricaturist of the day, was in a unique position to attempt to parlay his fame and success as a caricaturist into a career as a painter. He had only to wait for the right moment to publicly express his interest in pursuing painting. That moment arrived in 1848 with his entry (Fig. 16) into the competition for an image of the symbolic figure of *la République* that would serve as the official "face" of a France which no longer wished to be represented by the

portrait of a monarch. Sponsored by the newly-established government of the Second Republic, the competition of 1848 involved an open call to artists who were asked to submit *anonymously* their versions of the allegorical figure of the Republic. The combination of the open call, the requirement of anonymity, and the general climate of republicanism perhaps facilitated Daumier's decision to attempt to move from the realm of the "low art" of caricature into that of the "high art" of painting.⁴ In other words, the structure of the competition sponsored by a new government that re-adopted the Revolutionary principles of *liberté, égalité, and fraternité* suggested a challenge to the traditional hierarchical organization of the fine arts and, in doing so, opened up the possibility for other similar challenges such as the one offered by Daumier, the caricaturist-turned-painter.

Daumier's *La République* features a massive, Michelangelèsque Marianne, who sits on a huge throne holding the *tricolore* flag of France. She is depicted providing both material and intellectual sustenance to the French people, who are represented symbolically as

three small children; two of the children feed at her ample breasts while the third sits at her feet reading. The painted sketch is characterized by the strategies of exaggeration and simplification that Daumier used regularly in his caricatures. The bodies of the children and Marianne are ridiculously large and muscular and are characterized by elongated limbs. The entire image is a rather simplified interpretation of the Republic, particularly when compared to some of the other more elaborate entries. Daumier has reduced the figures and their accoutrements to the bare essentials. Although simplification is part and parcel of the caricaturist's method, it is unusual and essentially the *opposite* of caricature to apply that simplification to the face, as Daumier does in *La République*. Marianne's face, unlike the *portraits charge* that Daumier regularly produced for the press, remains featureless.⁵

It is interesting to note that although the entries were to be unsigned and anonymous, artists were encouraged to mark their submissions with a personal symbol or image for identification purposes after the jury made its choices. At the bottom right of the

painting, Daumier chooses to use the symbol of the stone-cutters' guild as his identifying mark.⁶ The symbol is a visual reminder of his lithographic roots on an image that represents his artistic aspirations for the future.

Daumier's oil sketch was one of twenty (out of more than seven-hundred) chosen for participation in the last stage of the competition.⁷ The image was also generally well-received by the press. Champfleury wrote, for example, "Long live the Republic; for the Republic has created a great painter. That painter is Daumier."⁸

It is worth considering Champfleury's use of the term "Republic" as it has multiple meanings and speaks to the conditions that made it possible for Daumier to make such an unprecedented career crossover. Specifically, Champfleury refers simultaneously to the government that sponsored the competition, to the image of the Republic itself, and to a new atmosphere of political and artistic freedom.⁹ However, this atmosphere of freedom and the government which engendered it would be short-lived, and the painter Daumier, who was "created by the Republic," would, for the most part, be ignored in his own lifetime. Daumier exhibited only six paintings prior to the

retrospective held less than a year before his death at Durand-Ruel in 1878 (during the first decade of the Third Republic).¹⁰

Daumier's limited success with painting contrasts sharply with the recognition he achieved as a caricaturist. On many levels, this "failure" is not terribly surprising. Connoisseurs have read his paintings in terms of technical deficiencies - deficiencies that have been blamed for the many conservation problems that the works pose to curators.¹¹ The debate over his technique aside, Daumier still faced the rather large obstacle of trying to cross over from the medium associated with the middle- and lower- classes to one watched over by the establishment and, specifically in the case of the Salon, by the French government, a frequent target of Daumier's caricatural endeavors.

Before (and even after) Daumier challenged the boundary between "high" and "low" by simultaneously working in lithography, painting, and sculpture, few painters offered their caricatures for public consumption. Obvious exceptions include Jacques-Louis

David's political cartoons executed in the 1790s, the handful of caricatures Eugène Delacroix produced from 1814 to 1822, and the caricatures made by Claude Monet in his very early career.¹² In the case of all three painters, it is significant that the caricatural oeuvre is rather small. With Delacroix and Monet, the caricatures were produced before the painters' reputations were made, and with David, whose reputation was well-established before the 1790s, the caricatures represented a means for the artist to assert his influence on revolutionary politics.

Because of the relative brevity of their associations with caricature, David, Delacroix, and Monet serve a scholar like Raymond Escholier who interprets the caricatural output of "masters" like Delacroix as aberrations or as the "sins of youth."¹³ In defense of the sentiment behind the rather melodramatic notion of caricature as a youthful "sin," it should be noted that the progress of the careers of figures like Delacroix and Monet seem to perpetuate such readings, as both artists stop producing caricatures after establishing themselves as painters. That strategy is often read in financial

terms.¹⁴ For example, Rudolphe Walter's assessment of Monet's work as a caricaturist is underscored by the notion that caricature was to Monet what waiting tables might be to a struggling actor – a temporary way to pay the bills.¹⁵ The struggling actor analogy is particularly apt because it appears that Monet, who was known in his youth as Oscar and who signed his caricatures "O. Monet," would eventually take Claude Monet as his "stage name," essentially declaring himself not quite the same person who engaged in those "sins of youth."

Despite the cases cited above of painters preparing caricatures for public distribution, the painter's caricature generally remained, to borrow a phrase from Ernst Kris and Ernst Gombrich, a "studio joke."¹⁶ Aimée Brown Price, who has studied the mostly private caricatures of "official" artists like Puvis de Chavannes explains that such images "provided a means of forging and reiterating social cohesiveness within a group, creating would-be conspiratorial viewing."¹⁷ In other words, such private studio caricatures became formal expressions of shared beliefs among colleagues. From this perspective, Charles Baudelaire's conception of

caricature as "plastic slang" is particularly relevant, for slang, like these caricatures, is in some senses a kind of private language that may or may not eventually extend beyond the group from which it originates.¹⁸

Unlike David, Delacroix, Monet, or Puvis, Daumier first made his mark as a caricaturist and continued to work for the caricatural press even after he became financially solvent enough to dedicate a good deal of his time to painting. Since Daumier chose to do the seemingly impossible - to simultaneously follow two apparently divergent paths throughout most of his career - it is not surprising that, in assessing both his oeuvre and its critical reception in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, "two Daumiers" seem to emerge. This construct is made possible because of Daumier's double pursuit of painting and caricature, because his paintings at times carry the markers of caricature, and because he has the potential to conjoin the comic and the serious within a single image.

In his highly intelligent historiography and analysis of the Daumier literature, Michel Melot traces a reception that encourages rather than reconciles the

split between Daumier the caricaturist and Daumier the painter.¹⁹ Depending on a writer's particular agenda, one of the two identities is usually deliberately eclipsed or ignored, in much the same way as the career of Claude Monet the painter deliberately eclipsed that of Oscar Monet the caricaturist. With Daumier, however, neither persona ever completely disappears; each waits patiently in the wings to perform for the critic who chooses to champion him. And according to Melot, there are two specific Daumier camps: the first characterized by the "collector's discourse" and the second adopting the approach of the social historian.²⁰ The "collector's discourse" stresses formal concerns, focusing on issues of draughtsmanship, composition, and Daumier's use of light and shade. Although the collector's discourse does not necessarily give primacy to the paintings, the tendency is to avoid engaging the political or social aspects of the work. The social historian, who tends to focus on the caricatures, studies the lithographs as a window into the classes, types, and social and political mores of Daumier's contemporaries.

This emphasis on doubleness underwriting the construction of the two Daumiers has a long history, beginning as early as the first major public exhibition of Daumier's paintings in 1878.²¹ The retrospective at Durand-Ruel celebrated Daumier the painter, minimizing his significant contributions in lithography with only twenty-five examples (relegated to the very end of the catalogue and categorized as "*Divers*"). Melot's interpretation of the strategy of the organizers of the retrospective is worth quoting both to elucidate the politics of this particular exhibition and to demonstrate the challenges facing a painter who has or seeks a relationship with caricature:

What was on show at the exhibition? Paintings, above all... Hierarchy had been reestablished... With a sense of relief, great art absorbs its opposite, justifies or excuses it, caricature is shaken off as an unfortunate accident or a contingent necessity.²²

Despite the efforts of exhibition organizers, the attempt to establish Daumier as a painter was not terribly successful, perhaps because Daumier's solid

reputation as a caricaturist could not be "shaken off" so easily. The exhibition lost 9,150 francs, and received attention only in the left-wing press.²³ Those who did review the works on display tended to neutralize Daumier's caricatural endeavors, essentially following the model established by the exhibition itself. For example, Emile Bergerat wrote:

It is not necessary to take more than two steps into this exhibition to become convinced that Daumier is a very great artist... Daumier can be an admirable artist even in caricature which is not an art... If he is great, it is for the qualities extrinsic to his drawing, because of his gift as a colorist, because of the force of his observational technique, because of everything that makes a painter great.²⁴

The tendency to split Daumier's work into two diverging paths leads to studies that are wrought with contradictions. For example, K.E. Maison, who is responsible for the *catalogue raisonné* of the non-lithographic aspects of the oeuvre, argues that a clear

distinction must be made between Daumier the painter and Daumier the caricaturist:

Daumier's activities as a social cartoonist on the one hand, and as a painter on the other, were not only *separate entities* in his life; they were *opposed to each other*. The dominant comic element, essential in the lithographic oeuvre, is totally absent in the artist's paintings.²⁵

As the quote above suggests, Maison distinguishes the two aspects of Daumier's career primarily by using content and the presence or absence of the "comic element" as central criteria. However, it is worth noting that Maison's descriptions of the *technical* strategies of the paintings seem to be deeply connected with Daumier's lithographic productions. Her description of the paintings is punctuated by words like "drawing," "lines," "outlines," and "draughtsman"ship:

The paintings were begun by drawing with a brush the rather precise outlines of all important details of the intended composition, and flat colour areas were confined within those lines. The procedure followed

in both these actions was that of a draughtsman and painter in watercolors rather than that of a painter of oils. The substructure, often including the confining lines, was then successively covered with transparent washes or glazes, alternating with layer upon layer of pigment.²⁶

Although admittedly a brief piece with a limited scope, Sarah Symmons' *Daumier* (1979), departs from the approach exemplified by the work of Maison by noting the connections rather than the disjunctions between his lithographic output and his paintings. Her work tends to follow a common tendency in Daumier literature which involves grouping the images by subject in chapters devoted for example to "Don Quixote" or "Railways and Omnibuses." But she focuses on series of images rendered in multiple media, allowing her to argue that Daumier's lithographic background may have influenced the formal qualities of the paintings:

In painting... Daumier may have felt obliged to construct a new set of figure conventions, although he never entirely altered his composition.... The economy of his drawings praised by many critics,

influenced the painting and makes the pictures seem extraordinarily modern.²⁷

Symmons' suggestion that "Daumier may have felt obliged to construct a new set of figure conventions" deserves further consideration. She never clarifies whether the "newness" of these conventions was relative to his past work in lithography or whether the "newness" is related to a strategy to make "extraordinarily modern" paintings. I think that there is a case to be made for both suggestions, although I suspect that Daumier was probably more concerned with the "obligation" to create something different from his lithographs than with creating something "new" or "modern". In other words, I am suggesting that the differences between the paintings and the lithographs were at least partly related to a realization on the part of Daumier that his non-traditional career crossover would be better received if he established some compositional and iconographic distance between his caricatures and his paintings. It is not surprising that *The Miller, his Son, and their Ass* (1849) (Fig. 17), which was rather successful in achieving such a distance, was the first of his paintings

accepted by the (Republican) Salon. The handling of the figures and the large women in the foreground in particular have been compared to Rubens' *The Drunkenness of Silenus* and *Two Nymphs Pursued by Satyrs*.²⁸ Daumier's subject reflected regular Salon fare, and his Rubenesque handling paid homage to Marie de Médici's court painter, a figure whose influence had touched Salon pictures since the beginnings of the romantic movement of the early nineteenth century.²⁹

Symmon's suggestion that the influence of caricature and, more specifically, its formal characteristic of "economy" marked Daumier's work as "modern" seems to be contradicted by the physical evidence of paintings like *The Miller, his Son, and their Ass*, which suggests a certain indebtedness to more traditional painting.³⁰ This is not to say, however, that Daumier the painter never incorporated the strategies he had learned as a caricaturist. Specifically, a work like *Don Quixote and the Dead Mule* (c. 1867) (Fig. 18), seems to embrace the "economy" of form of caricature. Beyond the simplifications and reductions evident in this composition, exaggeration and distortion, evidenced by

the elongated bodies of Don Quixote and his horse in particular, further connect the painting (and others in the series) with Daumier's caricatural practice.³¹

Daumier's preoccupation with the *Don Quixote* theme also suggests his kinship with the romantic artists of the nineteenth century, to whom Miguel de Cervantes' tragic hero particularly appealed. As Devin Burnell has argued, romanticism and caricature may seem on the surface to be incompatible, as the romantics viewed the humor often integral to caricature as too cold and lacking in feeling or compassion; however, caricaturists and romantic artists shared a common interest in the grotesque.³² Burnell's view regarding the kinship between romanticism, caricature and the grotesque in particular is one shared by Nina Kallmyer who has studied Delacroix's caricatures, arguing that

[his] familiarity with the caricatural grotesque may have also provided Delacroix with specific formal solutions in the course of his elaboration of a style that challenged conventions of descriptive illusionism through the use of more abstract, expressive vocabulary.³³

The relationship between caricature, the grotesque, and romanticism is one affirmed in part by the work of Daumier. It is also a relationship that has very specific roots in the writing of early nineteenth-century figures like Victor Hugo and Stendhal.³⁴ Hugo and Stendhal were both associated with the romantic movement and expressed an interest in laughter and comedy well before the publication of Baudelaire's essays and the spate of similar works that followed in the second half of the century. Stendahl shared an appreciation for Shakespeare with his romantic contemporaries, and, in *Racine and Shakespeare* (1823), he focuses on the fact that, in Shakespeare, comedy and tragedy often co-exist; he goes on to discuss the development of a "comédie romantique."³⁵ In his "Preface" to *Cromwell*, Hugo's ideas regarding the concurrent and related development of the grotesque and the comic in literature and art echo Stendhal's interest in multi-dimensional literature which exhibits (binary) tensions such as that between the comic and the tragic. Hugo explains,

The modern muse [is guided by the feeling] that

in all of creation nothing is humanly beautiful, that the ugly exists right next to the beautiful, the deformed close to the graceful, the grotesque on the flip side of the sublime, the bad with the good, shadow with light.³⁶

The caricatural strategies of Daumier's paintings also involve something more, or perhaps it would be better to say something less, than the compatibility between caricature, the grotesque, and romanticism. Specifically, in works like *The Third Class Railway Carriage* (1863-65) (Fig. 19) we see the marked influence of Daumier caricatural draughtsmanship. The very distinct lines that outline and in some cases slightly distort the bodies and in particular the faces of the figures recall Maison's description of Daumier's painting technique as being anchored by drawing. In *The Third Class Railway Carriage*, Daumier reveals to the viewer his process which begins with drawing – a beginning that he refrains from camouflaging with subsequent applications of color. In some ways, his strategy seems to respond to or at least appeals to proponents of caricature like John Grand-Carteret who argued that caricature was about the

revelation of hidden truth. According to Grand-Carteret, caricature "will lift the most secret of veils."³⁷

This notion of caricature or caricatural line serving to unmask "truth" echoes voices from the Poussiniste-Rubensiste aesthetic debate which began in the seventeenth century, dividing the proponents of drawing and line (the Poussinistes) from those who gave primacy to color (the Rubensistes). Jacqueline Lichtenstein has shown that the (often gendered) language of the Poussiniste constructs coloration in terms of deception. Color, she explains, was "accused of hiding the figure, of shrouding the line and corrupting its efficacy."³⁸ Clearly, one nineteenth-century example of this ongoing color-line debate was the conflict between classicism and romanticism.

Caricature and Daumier seem to occupy a strange place in relation to this debate. On the one hand, caricature emphasizes line - a central component of classicism. However, caricatural line differs from classical line in that it allows the artist to exaggerate, distort, and make grotesque - all strategies that contradict the classical tenets of order and ideal

beauty. In a sense, the caricaturist takes a key component of the language of classicism and transforms it into a kind of slang, in Baudelairian terms, that challenges the authority of the language from which it is derived. As if to emphasize the oppositional relationship between caricature and classicism, Daumier produced a number of caricatures for *Le Charivari's* *l'Histoire ancienne* series that comically revised (and therefore attacked) classical subject matter. In *Pygmalion* (1842) (Fig. 20), for example, the mythological Galatea, the sculptor's conception of the ideal woman whose transformation from marble is a gift from the goddess of love, is metamorphosized yet again by Daumier into a fleshy, ill-mannered woman who reaches aggressively for a bit of tobacco. And, in *Baptism of Achilles* (1842) (Fig. 21), Daumier transforms the Greek hero into a screaming baby who serves as a reminder that "a bath is good for everything."³⁹ Klaus Herding has argued that in such images Daumier uses caricature as a messenger of the idea that the vocabulary and conventions of classicism are outdated.⁴⁰ Baudelaire's language of

modernity – the “plastic slang” that is caricature – becomes the ideal vehicle for such an expression.⁴¹

Ironically, in the process of constructing the “two Daumiers” which is/are the protagonist(s) of this chapter, some scholars tend to argue for the “classicism” of Daumier. For example, in his history of caricature and humor published in 1898, Raoul Deberdt explains that Daumier was “nourished on David” and that he “arrived at bringing beauty to ugliness.”⁴² Similarly, caricature is often described as seeking goals that are generally attributed to classicism. Related to Grand-Carteret’s notion of caricature as “truth,” for example, is Louis Philbert’s argument (1876) stressing the didactic qualities of caricature. In Philbert’s words, caricature/comedy “always offers something serious and instructive.”⁴³

A major reason, of course, for transforming Daumier, who was well-known for his caricatural jabs at classicism, into a classicist is to establish him as a rightful heir to a “high art” tradition as part of a larger strategy of legitimizing caricature. A second, more skeptical interpretation of this strategy parallels

Melot's argument, quoted above, that "great art absorbs its opposite, justifies or excuses it, caricature is shaken off as an unfortunate accident or a contingent necessity." In other words, what better way to neutralize the threat Daumier and caricature posed to the authority of classicism than by "absorbing" them or dismissing them as mere variants.

Connecting Daumier to a "high art" tradition was not exclusive to critics who chose to cast him in the role of the classicist. Specifically, certain critics tended to construct a Daumier whose coloration, both in his lithographs and in paintings, made him a worthy heir of the Rubensiste tradition. Duranty calls him a "disciple of Rubens and the Venetians," a description certainly supported by a painting like *The Miller...*, which rather self-consciously announces its influences.⁴⁴ He describes both the paintings and the lithographs in terms that emphasize "the great colorist lurking in the profound draughtsman":

The ensemble is first of all a marvel of color, of vivid, harmonious, and balanced tones, strong in

the softest and lightest shades...the blacks [are at once] thick, transparent, velvety, and the half-shades [are] subtle, neat, modulated...⁴⁵

Similarly, Baudelaire, a champion of caricature, offers a description of Daumier's lithography and drawing that ironically neutralizes some of their lithographic and specifically linear qualities: "His lithographs and wood engravings evoke the idea of color. His pencil contains something other than black to delimit contours. He divines color as if it is thought: this is the sign of a superior art."⁴⁶ His words nearly manage to transform prints into something akin to paintings, as Baudelaire deals with the burden of supporting his argument for Daumier's work as "superior art" by insisting on qualities such as "color" and "thought" rendered, it would appear, with a kind of magical pencil that "contains something other than black." This is not simply praise of Daumier's rather nuanced and sophisticated handling of light and shade, particularly in his lithography. Baudelaire's words seem to emerge from the pressure of making a place for Daumier and caricature in the "high" art tradition that results in

appropriating the language and criteria of that tradition.

In Duranty's and Baudelaire's hands, Daumier may emerge as a colorist rather than a classicist. Yet, the champions of both Daumiers seem to share a desire to legitimize by manipulating or neutralizing the components of the works that are most closely associated with the lithographic or caricatural traditions. Furthermore, it seems that the strategy of neutralization is not limited to addressing the formal elements of Daumier's works. In analyzing the treatment of the content of the images, Melot has correctly noted that critics have perpetuated "the myth of Daumier's sadness," ignoring the very real influence of the comic on his work.⁴⁷ We have already seen how this is transformed in Maison's reading, quoted above, of the paintings which concludes, "The dominant comic element, essential in the lithographic oeuvre, is totally absent in the artist's paintings." In Baudelaire's reading of Daumier, the comic is not totally expunged, instead it has become transformed into a "bloody buffoonery" full of "fury."⁴⁸ Baudelaire, the

philosopher of laughter and caricature, goes on to protest that Daumier's comedy is "involuntary."⁴⁹

On the one hand, Baudelaire and the writers who argue for "Daumier's sadness" echo the arguments for the serious and didactic qualities of caricature that were particularly useful in constructing Daumier the classicist. On the other hand, there is something to be said for the sad, even pathetic qualities of images like *The Third Class Railway Carriage* or *Rue Transnonain, April 15, 1834* (1834) (Fig. 22). It is particularly striking that these images which evoke horror or pity demonstrate certain caricatural tendencies - tendencies that in other contexts serve as uncomplicated signals to laugh. In *Third Class Railway Carriage*, we have already noted the use of a caricatural line that exaggerates. In *Rue Transnonain*, the viewer's attention is first drawn to a working-class figure whose night clothes are drawn up to reveal his bare feet and legs; rendered with a distended belly, he is a figure who, at first glance, appears to have fallen out of bed. In another context, he would be a ridiculous figure whose privacy has been invaded for the viewer's amusement; but the potential

comedy is almost immediately squelched when other details such as the scattered blood, the second fallen figure in the background, and the (at least compositionally) disembodied head in the foreground come into focus. Also, the simple title comprised of the street name and the date of the massacre serves as an anti-comic caption of the commemorative illustration. The most disturbing element is the crushed child who lies beneath the central figure, his small head and hands peeking out from beneath the body of what is probably his father. This detail again demonstrates how Daumier can take the amusing and make it tragic: specifically, a child's game of peek-a-boo has taken on an entirely new meaning in this picture.

Elizabeth Childs has read the "paradox of comedy tinged with tragedy" in Daumier's work in part as a manifestation of his "own double identity as entertainer and serious critic."⁵⁰ What is clear in the images cited above is that, just as Daumier the classicist and Daumier the colorist are not necessarily mutually exclusive, Daumier the entertainer and the critic can also play a hand in the same picture. Injecting signs of the comic within a primarily tragic image can have several, often

paradoxical results. On the one hand, the comic can provide a kind of relief from the emotional or psychological burdens imposed by the tragic. Yet, the sense of "relief" comes at a cost. Laughing during a funeral, for example, is one normal, partly hysterical response to grief; however, that laughter is often met with social criticism, leaving the laughing mourner feeling self-conscious, uncomfortable, or guilty. It is precisely this kind of discomfort that is achieved by the inclusion of caricatural elements in works like *Rue Transnonain*. The response to such an image becomes much more complicated than a simple feeling of pity for someone else - for someone who may seem to have absolutely nothing in common with the viewer. Instead, the "comic" elements that encourage discomfort require a more self-aware response. Therefore the distance between the pictured figures and their middle- or upper-class viewers is to some extent collapsed, at least momentarily.⁵¹

The strategy of mingling the comic and the serious provides works like *Rue Transnonain* with a binary quality that parallels the "doubleness" characterizing the career

and reception of the "two Daumiers." According to Baudelaire, such "doubleness" is the hallmark of the comic artist who is distinguished by his "double nature."⁵² Writing on Baudelaire's theories on the comic, laughter, and caricature, Michele Hannoosh explains that "dualism" is "a distinctive feature of the comic":

Artiste comique is in Baudelaire's scheme a paradox: the artist is defined by self-knowledge, the comic by self-ignorance... The comic artist recognizes his dual nature and exploits it, making himself appear one way while he know himself to be another...

[Creating] the illusion of ignorance, makes others laugh.⁵³

In the course of this argument, I have referred to the construction(s) of the "two Daumiers," and it has become apparent that, while the approach to Daumier can often be described in terms of binary oppositions, the constructs are constantly shifting. Daumier, the painter and the caricaturist, the colorist and the classicist, the clown who laughs *and* cries, is rarely integrated by his critics into a single figure whose multivalent

practice results in complicated images like *Rue Transnonain*.

In the following chapters, I will consider what is in some senses the legacy of Daumier. Certainly, that legacy includes the caricature exhibition at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in 1888 which I have argued asserts the split and the tensions between the practices of caricature and painting. However, the "two Daumiers" also leave behind a second legacy of the integration of the two forms and of the development of "painted caricature." This second legacy, which perhaps better reflects the strategies of an artist who simultaneously and publicly pursued both caricature and painting and created images that are both comic and tragic, is the subject of the pages that follow.

¹*Exposition des peintures, aquarelle, dessins et lithographies de des maitres français de la caricature et de la peinture de moeurs au XIXe siècle*, with a preface by Paul Mantz (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1888).

²Baudelaire's work on laughter/caricature was first mentioned on the back cover of the *Salon de 1845*. It seems that he continually revised it until the first essay, *De l'Essence du rire*, was published in *Le Portefeuille* (July 8, 1855). The other two essays, *Quelques caricaturistes français* and *Quelques caricaturistes étrangers*, were published in *Le Présent* (October 1 and 15, 1857). For more on the publication history of Baudelaire's caricature project, see Michele

Hannoosh, *Baudelaire and Caricature: From the Comic to an Art of Modernity* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 1-2, fn. 1. All of Baudelaire's laughter/caricature essays can be found in Baudelaire, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Seuil, 1968).

¹Mantz, 26.

⁴For a full treatment of the competition, Daumier's entry, and the general artistic and political climate of 1848, see Chantal Georgel, *1848: La République et l'art vivant* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1998).

⁵In her examination of Daumier's allegorical women and the "generic figure of the Republic," Elizabeth Childs notes, "While the figures of Daumier's allegorical women are largely interchangeable, those of his male personae are not." Childs, "Women in the Modern Allegory," in *Femmes d'esprit: Women in Daumier's Caricatures* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1990), 128.

⁶Georgel, 39-40. *Daumier, 1808-1879*, 66.

⁷Daumier's sketch was eleventh out of the twenty chosen. For reasons that are not known, he decided not to submit a larger, finished version of the work for the final stage of the competition.

⁸Quoted in *Daumier, 1808-1879* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1999), 66. Originally published by Champfleury under the pseudonym Bixiou in "Revue des arts et des ateliers," *Le Pamphlet*, 3-6 September 1848.

⁹The artistic freedoms suggested by the structure of the competition was paralleled by a major change in the Salon of 1848. On February 29, 1848, it was announced that all works would be accepted into the Salon without exception. In this "open salon" of 1848, traditional systems of classification were abandoned, as artists determined the placement of their works.

¹⁰In other words, the Second Republic had created Daumier-the-painter, and the Third Republic would attempt to recreate him. It is significant that the exhibition celebrating Daumier, whose career highs and lows were integrally tied to the shifting political climate and his republican allegiances, would coincide with the government's return to republicanism.

¹¹K. E. Maison describes these technical issues at length in the introduction of *Honoré Daumier: Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings, Watercolors, and Drawings*, vol. I (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1968).

¹²On David's caricatures see, Albert Boime, "Jacques-Louis David, Scatological Discourse in the French Revolution and the Art of Caricature," *Arts Magazine* (February 1988): 72-81. On Delacroix's prints, see Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Eugène Delacroix: Prints, Politics, and Satire 1814-1822* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991). Monet the caricaturist is discussed in Rudolphe Walter, "Claude Monet as a Caricaturist: A Clandestine Apprenticeship," *Apollo* (June 1976): 488-493.

¹³Quoted in Kallmyer, ix. Originally in Raymond Escholier, *Delacroix 1798-1863. Peintre, graveur, écrivain*, vol. I (1798-1832) (Paris: 1926), 32, 42-3, 105-106.

¹⁴Although Monet and Delacroix do not pursue caricatural work after establishing themselves as painters, it should be noted that there are remnants of their caricatural interests in their paintings. For example, Monet's impressionist, sketch-like technique has much in common with the process involved in rendering a caricature. See Kallmyer for an introduction to the relationship between Delacroix's paintings and his caricatures.

¹⁵Walter, 488-493.

¹⁶Ernst Kris and Ernst Gombrich, "The Principles of Caricature," *British Journal of Medical Psychology* 17 (1938): 338.

¹⁷Aimée Brown Price, "Official Artists and Not-So-Official Art," *Art Journal* 43, 4 (Winter 1993): 365. See also Price's article which focuses on Puvis' caricatures, "Puvis de Chavanne's Caricatures: Manifestoes, Commentary, Expressions," *The Art Bulletin* 73, 1 (March 1991): 119-140.

¹⁸"Avec cette espèce d'argot plastique, on était le maître de dire et de faire comprendre au peuple tout ce qu'on voulait." Baudelaire, *Quelques caricaturistes français*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 381.

¹⁹Michel Melot, "Daumier and Art History: Aesthetic Judgment/Political Judgement," *Oxford Art Journal* 11, 1 (1988): 3-24.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 16.

²¹On the timing of the exhibition during the period of a return to a republican government, Melot writes, "Thanks to Daumier, republican ideology could even lay claim to its own art." *Ibid.*, 5

²²*Ibid.*, 5-6.

²³*Ibid.*, 5.

²⁴"Il ne faut pas faire deux pas dans cette exposition pour se convaincre que Daumier est un très grand artiste... Daumier peut être admirable artiste lui aussi dans la caricature qui n'est pas un art... S'il est grand, c'est pour la qualité extrinsèque à son dessin, par son don de coloriste, par sa force d'observation, par tout ce qui fait qu'un peintre est grand." My emphasis. Quoted in *ibid.*, 6. Originally in Bergerat, *Journal Officiel*, 26 April 1878.

²⁵My emphasis. *Maison*, 29.

²⁶Ibid., 13.

²⁷Sarah Symmons, *Daumier* (London: Oresko Books, 1979), 13.

²⁸Ibid., 40.

²⁹For more on the relationship between Daumier's work and the romantic movement see Devin Berry Burnell's, "Art and Ambiguity: The Aesthetics of Caricature Considered in Relation to Nineteenth-Century Romanticism and to the Work of Daumier," (dissertation) (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1976). In particular, see his discussion of the connection to the grotesque shared by caricature and romanticism, 104-118.

³⁰Symmons' notion of the "modernness" of some of Daumier's compositions which are influenced by his lithographic background is in part influenced by Baudelaire, who introduced his analysis of Daumier in *Quelques caricaturistes français* by stating that Daumier was not merely one of the most important figures of caricature but also one of the most important figures in "modern art." Charles Baudelaire, *Quelques caricaturistes français*, in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Du Seuil, 1968). I return to the relationship between Baudelaire, caricature, and modernity in the following chapter.

³¹In *Don Quixote and the Dead Mule*, Daumier's interest in elongating the body of Don Quixote is reiterated by an elongation of the canvas itself, which is rather dramatically vertical.

Other particularly caricatural images from the series include *Don Quixote and Sancho Panza* from the Neue Pinakothek, Munich (ca. 1865-70); *Don Quixote and Sancho Panza*, The Bridgestone Museum of Art (ca. 1849-50); *Don Quixote and Sancho Panza*, Courtauld Gallery (ca. 1870); *Don Quixote and Sancho Panza Under a Tree*, Carlsberg Glyptotek. For more on the *Don Quixote* paintings, see *Daumier, 1808-1879*, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2000), 516-540.

³²Burnell explains that romanticism offered a "view of the grotesque which attributed it to the properties of the supernatural and the transcendental." Ibid., 104-118. I address the relationship between the grotesque and caricature more fully in the following chapter.

³³Kallmyer's consideration of the relationship between Delacroix's caricatures and the paintings is never developed in more specific terms nor is it extended to the analysis of caricatural elements/influences of specific paintings. Kallmyer, 112.

³⁴Burnell's view is also supported by Wolfgang's Kayser's work on the history of the grotesque. In his thorough examination of the historically shifting definition of the concept of the grotesque in art and literature, Kayser explains that in the nineteenth century the boundary between the grotesque and the comic becomes increasingly blurred. He explains that in this period, "We have reached a turning-point in the conceptual history of the 'grotesque:' its reduction to the fantastically comic, which ultimately was to lead to its identification with broad humor (*Niedrig-Komisches*) and the burlesque (*Burlesk-Komiches*)." Wolfgang Kayser, *The Grotesque in Art and Literature*, trans. Ulrich Weisstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957) 103.

³⁵Stendhal, *Racine et Shakespeare*, in *Oeuvres* (Tome I), (Paris: Livre Club Diderot, 1974), 371.

³⁶"La muse moderne... sentira que tout dans la création n'est pas humainement beau, que le laid y existe à côté du beau, le difforme près du gracieux, le grotesque au revers du sublime, le mal avec le bien, l'ombre avec la lumière." Victor Hugo, "Preface," *Cromwell* (Paris: Ernest Flammarion, 1827), 9.

³⁷La caricature "soulèvera les voiles les plus secrets." John Grand-Carteret, *Les Mœurs et la caricature en France*, (Paris: Librairie Illustrée, 1888), vii.

³⁸Jacqueline Lichtenstein, "Making Up Representation: The Risks of Femininity," *Representations* 20 (Fall 1987): 2.

³⁹"Comme on trempe une arme de guerre, Thétis de son moutard voulant faire un héros, Le trempa dans le Styx dès qu'il vit la lumière; Ce qui prouve qu'un bain est bon pour tout propos." Caption of "Le Baptême d'Achille" published in *Le Charivari*, April 28, 1842.

⁴⁰Herding further suggests that Daumier's many images of artists and Salon visitors reflect the preoccupation with artistic tradition and the lot of the contemporary artist that is also alluded to in the *l'Histoire ancienne* series. Klaus Herding, "Daumier. Critique des temps modernes. Recherches sur 'L'Histoire ancienne,'" *Gazette des beaux arts* 6, 113 (January 1989): 29-44.

⁴¹Michele Hannoosh has convincingly argued that for Baudelaire the "art of modern life, poetic or pictorial, is necessarily caricatural, an urban *fleur du mal*." I explore this notion further in Chapter Four. Hannoosh, 307.

⁴²"Il est nourri de David... Daumier est arrivé à donner de la beauté à la laideur..." Raoul Deberdt, *La Caricature at l'humour français au XIXième siècle* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1898), 104-105.

⁴³Louis Philbert, *De l'Esprit du comique, du rire*, (Paris: Imprimerie Jules Claye, 1876), 59.

⁴⁴Duranty writes that Daumier is a "...disciple de Rubens et des Venitiens..." Duranty, "Daumier," *Gazette des beaux arts* 27 (May 1878): 439.

⁴⁵"Le grand coloriste reposait en lui dessinateur profond." "L'ensemble est d'abord une merveille de couleur, le tons vifs, harmonisés, équilibrés, ferme jusque dans les teintes les plus douces, les plus

légères... Les noirs, gras, transparent, veloutés, et le demi-teintes, fines, nettes, modulées... Ibid., 430, 439.

⁴⁶"Ses lithographies et ses dessins sur bois éveillent des idées de couleur. Son crayon contient autre chose de noir bon à délimiter des contours. Il fait deviner la couleur comme la pensée: or c'est le signe d'un art supérieur..." Baudelaire, *Quelques caricaturistes français*, 384.

⁴⁷Melot, 6.

⁴⁸He calls the images "bouffonerie sanglante. En effet, ces dessins sont souvent plein de sang et de fureur." Baudelaire, *Quelques caricaturistes français*, 381.

⁴⁹The reference to the "involuntary" results of the creative process is also a common trope in arguments for the "natural," even "unconscious" genius of an artist. "Son comique est... involontaire." Ibid., 383.

⁵⁰Elizabeth C. Childs, "Women in the Modern Allegory," in *Femmes d'esprit: Women in Daumier's Caricatures* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1990), 131.

⁵¹I continue this discussion of the blurring of the boundary between the caricatural and the serious in my discussion of Courbet's *The Beggar's Alms* and *A Burial at Ornans* (Chapter Four).

⁵²Baudelaire, *De L'Essence du rire*, 378.

⁵³Hannoosh, 69.

CHAPTER 4

COURBET: DISCIPLE OF GARGANTUA

The relationship between the work of Gustave Courbet and nineteenth-century French popular imagery has received considerable attention. Among the best-known twentieth-century examinations of this sort is Meyer Schapiro's essay, "Courbet and Popular Imagery," which traces the popular sources of *A Burial at Ornans* (1849-1850) (Fig. 2) to early nineteenth-century *images d'Epinal* and Jean Journet (1850) (Fig. 23) to the *juif errant* figure of popular prints. Schapiro characterizes Courbet's interest in popular imagery as being related to his "insurgent taste for the people," his republicanism, and his "tendencies toward primitivism."¹ The suggestion that underscores Schapiro's work on Courbet is that the painter's affinity for popular sources was at once political (i.e., republican) and modern (i.e., "primitive").

Many subsequent investigations of Courbet's use of popular imagery have more or less followed Schapiro's

model: the approach, more often than not, tends to focus on identifying possible popular sources for the paintings in question and associating Courbet's interest in these sources with his realist agenda, his affection for *le peuple*, and his modernism.²

For the most part, art historians who have considered the influence of popular imagery on Courbet's oeuvre have tended not to break down the popular imagery "category" into component parts (i.e., prints, broadsides, photographs, caricatures, etc.) which would facilitate a more nuanced understanding of the difference, for example, between borrowing from an Epinal print or a caricature.³ I should point out, however, that there are cases of scholars identifying or pinpointing specifically caricatural qualities of some of Courbet's paintings. Petra Chu, for example, refers to Courbet's *The Return from the Conference* (1863) (Fig. 1) as a "large painted caricature," and she goes on to read Courbet's interest in "satirical painting as a means to circumvent government rules."⁴ Similarly, in *Early Impressionism and the French State*, Jane Mayo Roos discusses Courbet's interest in caricature, noting the satirical qualities of *The Return..*

as well as the "slang voice" of *The Beggar's Alms*.⁵ However in Chu's and Roos' work and in other texts that specifically refer to the caricatural aspects of Courbet's paintings, the link between the paintings and caricature is merely introduced and tends to remain suggestive but insufficiently developed as the central focus of these studies lies elsewhere.⁶

This chapter isolates Courbet's appropriation of caricature in order to provide a more nuanced understanding of the specific implications of borrowing from this particular printed form. By focusing on three specific images, namely *The Return from the Conference* (1863), *A Burial at Ornans*, and *The Beggar's Alms*, I will examine both the formal and the conceptual motivations behind the caricatural qualities of Courbet's oeuvre. In some ways, I will pick up where Schapiro, Nochlin, and others have left off, by concurring that the caricatural aspects of these paintings function as signifiers of Courbet's modernity, his interest in cultivating the role of the outsider, and his politics. However, I will approach these issues through a very specific lens – one defined by terms such as laughter and criticism, terms

that for the most part are less relevant to other forms of "popular imagery."

The Return from the Conference

It is apparent in Courbet's letters that he considered *The Return from the Conference* (1863) a "major painting" and an "extraordinary" work which occupied a good portion of his creative and promotional energies for at least five years after its execution.⁷ The philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, an important friend and supporter of Courbet, seems to have concurred, as he used the image as the departure point for a treatise on painting, *Du Principe de l'art et de sa destination sociale* (1865).⁸ Proudhon, who argues for a realist approach to art, asserts that this particular "religious" painting is more true-to-life and relevant to his contemporaries than the "products of fantasy or superstition" featuring Roman soldiers, angels, or gods regularly displayed in the Salon.⁹ He explains that "*The Return from the Conference* is essentially of our time."¹⁰

In contrast to Courbet and Proudhon, twentieth-century art historians have failed to treat the painting as a significant part of the artist's oeuvre or to subject it to a substantial examination.¹¹ The fact that the

original is no longer extant and that the modern viewer knows the painting only through studies, photographs, and engravings may in part account for this neglect.¹² Additionally, *The Return's* caricature-like quality has probably been an obstacle to reading the image as more complex than a straight-forward, anti-clerical lampoon by a notoriously irreverent artist. I would argue, however, that the deliberate caricatural quality of the work is precisely the aspect that should be examined further, as it can be related to and help broaden our understanding of issues that are central to Courbet's entire career, including his relationship with popular imagery, strategies of opposition, the blurring of the boundaries between "high" and "low" art, and realism.

In April 1863, after having sent *The Return from the Conference* to the Salon for consideration, Courbet predicted in a letter to a friend: "If the *Priests* are accepted, there will be an uproar! I expect that so audacious a painting will never be seen."¹³ Clearly, Courbet had a keen understanding of the reception that awaited a painting that made a mockery of the agents of the Catholic Church. Specifically, Courbet understood that by attacking the Church he would also be seen as

attacking its close ally – the French government, the institution to which the Salon was ultimately responsible. Such an attack was obviously not inadvertent. Courbet in fact said of *The Return from the Conference* before it had been rejected by the Salon and more significantly barred from the Salon des Refusés,

"[It] is an opposition painting...it is a wasted effort to exhibit it with the government which is in opposition to me."¹⁴

By 1863, of course, Courbet already had a well-established history of making grand oppositional gestures against the artistic establishment and, by extension, the French government. Recall the mounting of his independent exhibition in response to the rejection of three of fourteen submissions to the Universal Exposition in 1855 – a gesture he would repeat in 1867. In the case of the Universal Exposition, Courbet's plans and initial illustration for his pavilion (Fig. 24) indicate, as Patricia Mainardi has argued, that the circus/circus-tent and the carnivalesque notion of the side-show were among the models for this particular subversive activity and for his exhibition strategies in general.¹⁵

In *The Return from the Conference*, Courbet again adopted a strategy of aligning himself with groups that, like the circus, operate outside of the mainstream. The outsiders Courbet chose as models or at the very least referenced in his so-called "opposition painting," were the practitioners of caricature (e.g., Daumier and Philipon) and opposition literature (e.g., Charles Baudelaire, P.-J. Proudhon, François Rabelais, and Voltaire) – figures who, like Courbet, were often seen as being highly critical of the government or the Church. Although Courbet often depicts his opposition to the government as a battle he wages alone, he is clearly aware of similar battles which had been and were continuing to be fought by caricaturists and by his counterparts in the field of literature, among them close friends like Baudelaire as well as more historically distant figures like Rabelais and Voltaire. The battles fought by caricaturists and opposition writers often resulted in censorship, a move that could be equated with the process of Salon rejection. In fact, according to Patricia Mainardi, the idea to "link the right to exhibit [at the Salon] with the freedom of the press" is one that was frequently suggested in on-going debates about the Salon

system.¹⁶ As early as 1791, the Constitutional Committee of the National Assembly asserted: "The Salon of the Louvre is the press for pictures," and the "public exhibition [of pictures] - this is the permission to publish."¹⁷

I will argue that Courbet made such a connection and that *The Return from the Conference*, which was essentially censored when it was refused by both the Salon and the Salon des Refusés, was partly designed to promote a discourse on censorship.¹⁸ While Courbet was in the process of executing *The Return from the Conference*, he wrote to a friend, "The painting makes everyone here laugh and especially me."¹⁹ Laughter, a characteristic more often associated with caricatures or literary satire than with "high" art, is clearly one of the painting's aims and, interestingly, one of its themes.

Courbet's seven drunken priests occupy the central and largest portion of the composition. Led by a corpulent figure on a donkey, they are priests on parade in various stages of drunkenness. They stagger; they lean on one another; they beat the ground unnecessarily. In contrast to this gay procession, a rather somber group of female servants follows closely behind, carrying food and

drink supplies used in the conference which was probably more about pleasure than about religious discourse or policy. The spectacle is witnessed by a husband and wife who offer opposing reactions. The husband, who is perhaps a surrogate for the laughing artist, laughs hysterically with his hand on his belly and his head thrown back. The wife is on her knees with her hands clasped together, as if in prayer.²⁰ The image also includes a jumping dog, a foil to the priests whom he seems to be taunting and a plaster statuette of the Virgin Mary, placed in the hollow of the tree in front of which the priests pass. The entire spectacle is set against a recognizable landscape which includes a signature motif of Courbet's painting – the cliffs of Ornans.²¹

In a painting clearly intended for the Salon and described by Petra Chu as a "large painted caricature," Courbet blurs the officially determined boundaries between "high" and "low" art by incorporating the visual vocabulary and subject matter of caricatures like those of Honoré Daumier.²² It was to the realm of caricature rather than painting that imagery mocking the officials of the Church traditionally belonged. Painters like Eugène Delacroix, for example, who are known to have pictured

priests in unflattering situations (Fig. 25), relegated these attacks to caricatures rather than to paintings sent to the Salon. And Courbet was well aware of and seems to have set out to challenge the discrepancy between what was deemed appropriate subject matter for caricature versus that which was appropriate for painting. After the rejection of *The Return from the Conference*, Courbet asserts the hypocrisy of distinguishing between the two forms: "I have been accused of immorality. Yet lithographs are permitted of fat priests on horseback, with girls riding pillion, whose dresses are pulled up above their garters."²³

It is possible that the painting might have been allowed into the Salon, or at the very least the Salon des Refusés, if Courbet's "painted caricature" had been a small work that could be classed as a humorous genre picture.²⁴ However, Courbet not only set out to challenge the distinction between caricature and painting; he sought to blur the boundaries between caricature and history painting. In his letters, Courbet stresses *The Return's* monumental scale, saying the work, in the tradition of "important" history painting, is to be approximately ten feet high and eight feet wide. However, he also describes

the imagery using words like "grotesque," "comical," and "critical" – words generally associated with caricature:

It is the most grotesque picture ever to be seen in [the history] of painting. I dare not describe it to you but it is a picture of priests...

The painting is critical and comical in the highest degree.²⁵

In 1868, Courbet reemphasized the link or the blurring of the boundaries between "high" and "low" art in relation to *The Return* when he sent the painting to the Ghent Salon accompanied by a written text, illustrated by a series of caricatural engravings (Figs. 26-27). The pamphlet, entitled *Les Curés en goguette (Priests on a Spree)*, visually and textually expands the narrative Courbet introduced in *The Return from the Conference* in 1863, elaborating on the excessive drinking, licentious behavior, and brawling that characterized the conference from which the painting's central figures return.²⁶

Courbet was not responsible for the pamphlet's text.²⁷

However, given the close correspondence between the words and the images, which were engravings after drawings by Courbet, it is probable that the painter played a role in the development of the text.²⁸ The illustrated pamphlet

established a mutually dependent relationship between "high" and "low" forms by requiring the painting to be considered as part of a multimedia statement which included a large painting, a satirical text, and a series of caricatural prints.

In addition to sharing links with the tradition of caricature both in terms of style and content, the satire of the pamphlet *Les Curés en goguette* also shares a connection with the satirical and oppositional writing of such figures as Rabelais, Voltaire, and P.J. de Béranger. By no means am I suggesting that the text is comparable in terms of quality to the works of these writers, however the ironic tone and criticism of hypocrisy found in the pamphlet echoes the tone and sentiments of the French oppositional literary tradition. Interestingly, critics who visited Courbet's studio, where *The Return* was on view after it had been rejected by the Salon in 1863, invoked the names of subversive writers in describing the outrageous painting of drunken priests. For example, Jules Castagnary writes that the priest who beats the ground in the painting is striking out to "demolish Voltaire as if Voltaire was there"; Théophile Thoré believes that the priests call to mind the nineteenth-

century poet and satirist Béranger's *Le Roi d'Yvetot* which mocks Napoleon's despotism; similarly, the critic Fernand Désnoyers compares the painting with the "Voltaireian" irony of Béranger.²⁹

But it was François Rabelais and his fantastic tales of the giant Gargantua and his equally gigantic son Pantagruel, which are full of bawdy humor and poke fun at all segments of society including the Church, that were most often mentioned by the critics who considered *The Return*.³⁰ Desnoyers, for example, describes the priests as "curés rabelesiens."³¹ Similarly, Thoré first calls the priests a "Rabelaisian group" and then bids farewell to these "escapees from Thélèmes," referring to the abbey established by Rabelais' Gargantua where religious dogma was replaced with the motto, "Do what you will."³² And Courbet himself encouraged the connection between *The Return* and Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel* when he exhibited the painting outside of France at the Salon of Ghent in 1868. The text of the illustrated pamphlet *Les Curés en goguette* echoes critics like Désnoyers and Thoré, describing the featured conference as a "distraction pantagruele," while referring to the priests as

"disciples of Gargantua."³³ In many respects, the image encourages such Rabelaisian comparisons. Like Courbet's painting, Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, first published 1532-35, is characterized by carnivalesque behavior, including excessive drinking and eating. Like *The Return from the Conference*, it too borrows heavily from popular forms and has anti-clerical and anti-establishment tendencies.

But the critical referencing of Rabelais is based on much more than similarities in subject matter and shared anti-institutional inclinations. As Elizabeth Childs notes in her discussion of Daumier's lithograph of King Louis-Philippe as Gargantua (1831) (Fig. 7), the first half of the nineteenth century is characterized by a certain Rabelais revival.³⁴ Between 1820 and 1860, Rabelais' writings were published at least fifteen times.³⁵ In addition, his work was praised and examined by such nineteenth-century writers as Victor Hugo and the vehement anti-clericalist Jules Michelet. Childs' analysis of Daumier's *Gargantua* reveals that the giant became a popular sign for gluttony, material excess, and inflated power in nineteenth-century France.³⁶

Childs also implies that borrowing from Rabelais has a second significance. Specifically, she notes that censorship and prosecution for oppositional activity are integral both to the history of the first appearance of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* and to its long literary and artistic heritage. Upon publication in 1533, the work was officially condemned and censored by the Sorbonne. Similarly, copies of Daumier's lithograph featuring the King as Gargantua were seized, and the artist spent six months in prison and paid a fine of five hundred francs.

For Courbet and the critics who made the link between *The Return* and Rabelais' text, the censorship history of *Gargantua* was as important as its burlesque imagery and anti-institutional tendencies. I have already mentioned Courbet's predictions for Salon rejection. I believe that Courbet not only predicted rejection or censorship, but also sought it. In discussing *The Return from the Conference*, Courbet writes, "I wanted to know the degree of liberty that our times allow us."³⁷ He also explains that the painting is in part a response to a form of censorship, citing the "insult" dealt by the emperor who was rumored to have deliberately eliminated Courbet's name from the list of those decorated in the previous Salon.³⁸

Finally, he admits that the painting is meant to be seen as a sign of provocation, saying, "I do hope the painting has been a slap in the face" of Napoleon III.³⁹

Beyond his personal history of rejection at the hands of the Salon jury, which he once described as "those ridiculous censors," Courbet had seen the influence of the censors applied regularly to caricatures and increasingly to philosophical texts and to the type of literature that I argue the painting and prints reference.⁴⁰ Only a few years prior to the execution of *The Return*, works of friends like Charles Baudelaire's *Fleurs du Mal* (1857) and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's *De la Justice dans la révolution et dans l'église* (1858) had been subjected to censorship and prosecution. The well-known trial of Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* had also preceded the conception of *The Return* by only a few years.⁴¹

Clearly, the censors, in all of their incarnations, were likely to be on the mind of an artist like Courbet who admitted, "I painted the picture so it would be refused. I have succeeded."⁴² Furthermore, there is an interesting parallel between the painting's subject and the wording of the censorship law that was used to prosecute Baudelaire and Flaubert among others.

Specifically, the law was used to indict works that were an "outrage to public and religious morality."⁴³ What better way to outrage religious morality than to make a painting that mocks the Church and challenges its authority by making its primary agents look ridiculous?

It is not a leap, then, to suggest that the painting was conceived to both provoke the artistic censors and Napoleon, whom Courbet sought to metaphorically "slap," and to encourage and expand censorship discourse. Not surprisingly, the painting managed to do just that, as Thoré, Castagnary, and Desnoyers all address or at least allude to censorship in their considerations of the painting. For example, Castagnary, implying a bond between satiric painting like *The Return* and literature like Rabelais' *Gargantua*, writes, "In this country... satiric painting is admitted with difficulty... Why can't the artist, like all writers of sound stock, engage in lampoon?"⁴⁴ Castagnary's comment on the comparative limits experienced by painters as opposed to "writers of sound stock" may seem to ignore the history of censorship experienced by some of those writers. But in fact, Castagnary's words remind the reader that painters (and caricaturists), tended to experience even greater

restrictions than authors or journalists because they had to gain the prior approval of the Salon censors.

In setting out to gauge the "degree of liberty" his times allowed and to provoke a discourse on censorship, it was highly appropriate for Courbet to push the envelope with a "painted caricature." From 1820 to 1881, with only brief periods of reprieve, caricatures were subject to censorship prior to publication where the written press was not. Caricaturists who did manage to survive the censors initially sometimes faced prosecution, fines and/or imprisonment after publication, as in the case of Daumier for *Gargantua*. As Robert Justin Goldstein has shown in his examination of the censorship of nineteenth-century French political caricature, caricaturists often responded to the censors by rendering caricatures meant to provoke censorship discourse (Fig. 28).⁴⁵ Therefore, one of the inevitable results of employing caricatural strategies in a painting such as *The Return from the Conference* is to evoke for the viewer the long, interconnected nineteenth-century history of political caricature and censorship.

In the case of *The Return*, Courbet seems to follow the caricaturists' example of attack and provocation as a

response to the censorship practices of the government. However, this was certainly not the only model of response to censorship provided for by caricaturists. As Elizabeth C. Childs has shown, nineteenth-century caricaturists also developed a "coded argot" of signs and symbols to subvert the censors (e.g., Philipon's *poire*, which came to stand for the King and his policies).⁴⁶ Although Courbet chose the more direct route in mocking the Church and, ultimately, Napoleon III and his censorship policies with his "painted caricature" of drunken priests, it seems that he was aware of and had followed the alternate model of coding and subversion with an earlier painting, namely *The Painter's Studio* (1854-1855) (Fig. 29). Linda Nochlin argues that it is very possible that *The Painter's Studio*, a highly complex and coded painting which Courbet called an "allegory," represents an attempt to bait the Emperor, who is surreptitiously represented as the poacher on the left-side of the painting. The masquerade serves to simultaneously elude and allude to the censors.⁴⁷ In other words, by creating a highly layered allegorical image, Courbet follows the example of the "coded argot...[of] displacement and surrogacy" established by caricaturists to avoid censorship.⁴⁸ The mere existence

of and necessity for the argot calls attention to the censorship practices of the period.

Beyond addressing the issue of censorship necessarily raised by an image that references a highly censored form of visual representation, Courbet's caricatural strategy is also one tied to issues of satire and lampoon. As in the works of caricaturists like Daumier, humor is central to both the *The Return from the Conference* and the pamphlet's images and text. With regard to the painting, I have already suggested that laughter is a response Courbet expects and, in fact, thematizes in the form of the watching male figure. In the pamphlet, the print *Ces Messieurs au dessert* (Fig. 26) and the corresponding text which refers to the episode of the priests' brawl together adopt humor and irony to suggest that the French people have placed the supervision of their faith in the wrong hands:

Ah, religion has valiant champions in these brave men, and by seeing their ardor in combat, we can well understand the tenacity of their convictions... the time seems to have arrived to give [them] a vigorous shove in the shoulders in order to

reverse the official elevation of this ridiculous juggling.⁴⁹

To understand why Courbet would use humor or satire to challenge the Church, the Salon, the government, and the censorship practices all three institutions helped to perpetuate, it is useful to consider Mikhail Bakhtin's discussion of laughter. In *Rabelais and His World*, Bakhtin explains that laughter generated by carnival-type images or by representations of the grotesque body functions to eliminate fear thereby temporarily disempowering the travestied figure(s). He writes that the grotesque image "is noncanonical by its very nature:"

The essential principle of grotesque realism is degradation, that is, the lowering of all that is high, spiritual, ideal, abstract; it is a transfer to the material level, to the sphere of the earth and body...⁵⁰

The Return, considered together with the engraving of the priests at bed-time (Fig. 27), degrades those who associate themselves with the spiritual by linking them to the "material...sphere of the earth and body." Specifically, Courbet forces the priests to be understood in terms of bodily functions. In the tradition of caricature, the

ideal male body is rejected in favor of the malfunctioning, overweight body, which expands, stumbles, and vomits. According to Bakhtin, turning to this type of Rabelaisian or carnivalesque imagery results in an environment where no "dogma, no authoritarianism, no narrow-minded seriousness can [exist]." ⁵¹ In other words, regardless of the specific target of the laughter or travesty, it is in the very nature of carnival to challenge any form of authority.

Yet the problem with such a disruption is that it is temporary. The carnival, which essentially provides a steam valve that contributes to the maintenance of the very order it disrupts, will end; this upside-down world will be turned right-side-up; the priests will inevitably recover from their hangovers (perhaps a little worse for wear, but still presiding over an institution of some authority); and Courbet will still be censored. In fact, it could be argued that the censors, the government, and the Church all managed to have the last laugh. For example, writing in 1864 about *Venus and Psyche*, his Salon entry for the year following *The Return's* rejection, Courbet commented, "It appears that the priests, remembering the *Conference*, are retaliating and that, by

the influence of the empress, they have obtained the refusal of my painting this year."⁵²

In 1867, the censorship history of *The Return from the Conference* continued when the police destroyed a number of photographs of the painting and presumably its negatives when they searched the studio of Courbet's photographer.⁵³ In addition, the painting itself eventually would be destroyed in mysterious circumstances. The only thing that is known or at least continually reported about the destruction of the painting is that the responsible party was a "devout Catholic hand."

Courbet, then, managed only to laugh and to challenge in limited ways: through the supportive critics who saw the painting in his studio and finally when he exhibited the painting outside of France, first in America (1866) and then in Belgium (1868) along with the pamphlet and *La Mort de Jeannot* (Fig. 30), a second anti-clerical painting (with its own illustrated pamphlet).⁵⁴ The point regarding the limited victory he was able to achieve by showing his paintings abroad deserves further consideration. In examining his letters, it is clear that at the very moment he is predicting and, I believe,

designing rejection, Courbet also ponders the possibilities for exhibiting outside of France:

If it is refused, have it withdrawn immediately and put it back in my atelier. Any Barnum can have me earn fifty thousand francs whether in France, England, Belgium, Germany, or Italy.... If it is accepted, [the opportunity for speculation] is lost. The only thing left is the sale of the photograph, but there are still the foreign powers.⁵⁵

Clearly, the attractiveness and pursuit of rejection and outside markets for Courbet is tied intricately with his desire to make a great deal of money.⁵⁶ However, the interest in the opportunities for exhibition abroad also relates to Courbet's history of fashioning himself as the outsider. By 1863 Courbet had mastered the roles of the country bumpkin from Ornans who is out of place in the city and that of the clown who holds his own side-show. In fact, as the letter quoted above seems to suggest with its reference to the circus entrepreneur P.T. Barnum, perhaps exhibiting outside of France is not unrelated to pitching his own "tent"/exhibition outside of the Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867.

Furthermore, the seeking of the freedom to exhibit outside of France is also related to the strategies of circumventing censorship practiced by one of Courbet's models for *The Return*, namely the caricatural press. By turning to Belgium and America, Courbet follows a precedent set by *Le Charivari* in the 1850s which avoided the censorship of certain caricatures by establishing and filtering subversive images to a sister journal in Belgium – *Le Charivari belge*.⁵⁷

By seeking outside markets, Courbet also manages to add yet another outsider persona to his repertoire – he becomes the opposition artist who shares a certain kinship with writers like Voltaire who were forced to leave France after the censorship of their work. If his letter to Victor Hugo, who chose to leave his homeland as a form of protest, is any indication, Courbet partly saw exile in romantic and heroic terms: "All decent people share in the exile you have chosen for the sake of human dignity and your convictions. Allow me to offer you my admiration."⁵⁸ Ironically, the state of exile Courbet had romanticized and even tried to mimic by exhibiting his controversial painting outside of France was one he became intimately familiar with in July of 1873 when he was

forced to leave France for Switzerland because of the fallout from his association with the destruction of the Vendôme Column.⁵⁹

The pursuit of outsider status is also integrally tied to Courbet's relationship with laughter and the comic. Writing on laughter in 1900, Henri Bergson explains:

the comic expresses, above all else, a lack of adaptability to society... Any individual is comic who automatically goes his own way without troubling himself about getting in touch with his fellow beings.⁶⁰

Bergson argues that laughing at comic creations also makes an audience "entitled to laugh at their author."⁶¹ In other words, Courbet's own laughter at the priests facilitates a type of reciprocal ridicule which will isolate the artist and reveal his "lack of adaptability." This painting that hinges on the comic – that thematizes and seeks to provoke laughter in the tradition of caricature – again manages to make Courbet (and his painting) an object of laughter via caricatural responses. In a caricature of *The Return from the Conference* published in *L'Ane* (Fig. 31), for example, the tables are

turned on Courbet: his caricatural counterpart, with his exaggerated Assyrian beard, replaces the painting's fat priest on a donkey. Interestingly, in this caricature of a "painted caricature," very little additional exaggeration is apparent or, for that matter, needed. Courbet has already done much of the caricatural work by painting figures who make large, sometimes puzzling or silly gestures. In the *L'Ane* image, the caricaturist is content with simply adding a bit to the girth of the figure on the donkey, enlarging the head in the tradition of the *portrait charge*, and adding a beard that by this time is firmly associated with Courbet's caricatural persona.

What the caricaturist does not exaggerate or ridicule is precisely the element that, in Courbet's "painted caricature" hybrid is the most painterly – the landscape of Ornans. It is the same landscape – the same cliffs – that Courbet repeatedly uses throughout his oeuvre as part signature, part marker of "truth." It is the specificity of the landscape that allows Courbet to naturalize a scene he also attempts to pass off in his letters as an observed and "real" occurrence that he merely reports in paint and canvas. He describes the painting as both "grotesque" and

"very true to life," noting that the image reflects "what is happening with the clergy today."⁶² And, in a letter which references the two illustrated pamphlets Courbet sent to the Ghent Salon, he explains, "I had someone write two leaflets, or accounts of true occurrences (that I know of) that gave rise to the paintings."⁶³ Similarly, Proudhon, who avoids discussing the painting as humorous or satirical in any way, remarks, "*The Return from the Conference* is essentially of our time."⁶⁴ Castagnary, who reads the painting as a satire, also allows the notion that "here we have a scene that Courbet would have witnessed in the valley of Ornans, at the heart of the beautiful and robust Franche-Comté."⁶⁵

The landscape does not appear to be Courbet's only vehicle for establishing an aura of "truthfulness" or contemporaneity that would connect the painting to the realist aesthetic with which he is often associated and that would make it an acceptable departure point for Proudhon's *Du Principe de l'art et de sa destination sociale*. The incorporation of the dog, who seems to be taunting the priests of *The Return...*, may also relate to a concern for establishing "truthfulness," particularly if one reads this figure in relation to the Rabelaisian

literature to which, I have argued, the painting is connected. Florence Weinberg has proposed that the dog in Rabelais' work functions as the seeker of truth.⁶⁶ In *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Rabelais offers as an exemplar the dog, who seeks "just a bit of marrow" from a found bone: "Just like the dog you ought to be running with your educated nose to the wind... you'll find all sorts of flavors... and secret learning."⁶⁷ In *The Return from the Conference* (as in *Burial at Ornans*, where the dog is positioned between the grave and the clergy) the dog operates as a foil to the priests whom he mocks and as a challenge to all that is hypocritical.

A third visual element, the statuette of the Virgin Mary placed in a niche of the tree before which the priests pass, attests to the modernity of the painting, for it responds to contemporaneous religious practice. In *Miracles and Prophecies* (1983), Thomas Kselman notes that the history of worship in nineteenth-century France is characterized by a proliferation of local and regional shrines and non-orthodox behaviors such as devotion to saints and popular festivals.⁶⁸ Particularly relevant to our discussion is the fact that these local and more independent forms of worship, which proceeded without the

official sanction of the Church, included the use of cheap, mass-produced statues, like that of the Virgin in the painting, known as *art St. Sulpicien*.⁶⁹ The availability of these objects facilitated worship outside of the Church walls, allowing people to pray in the privacy of their own homes or by a special tree, at any time, on any day, and without mediation by the local priest.

And the statuette of the Virgin is only one example of this type of mass-produced devotional object represented in Courbet's work. Specifically, in *La Mort de Jeannot* (Fig. 30), the anticlerical painting that accompanied *The Return...* to the Ghent Salon, Courbet includes a crucifix, a container of holy water, and a bible – small, presumably affordable items belonging to the poor Jeannot and his companion Jeannette.

Appropriately, *La Mort de Jeannot's* accompanying pamphlet explains that the poor, dying Jeannot has led a moral life and chooses to die without the prayers or interference of the money-grubbing curé, whom Courbet pictures making a quick getaway with a bag containing the couple's life-savings. In both paintings, Courbet juxtaposes official and non-official forms of worship and sets out to

deliberately expose the hypocrisies of the Church and its representatives. These mass-produced items seem to represent the possibility for a type of independent spirituality or morality endorsed by the pamphlet *Les Curés en goguette*:

Why a religion of the State?... The only solution is to proclaim the absolute liberty of all cults... each person would be the supreme arbiter of his spiritual interests. This is a point at which we must arrive.⁷⁰

The statuette of the Virgin, then, underlines most of the motivations of the painting, not the least of which is the interest in opposing and providing alternatives for the religious, artistic, and social principles supported by institutions like the Church, the government, or the Salon – institutions that, in nineteenth-century France, were intimately inter-connected. Additionally, the plaster statuette, which is valued by the people who visit it, is a cheap reproduction, not unlike a caricature or a print. By including this “low” art object in a work presented to the Salon – the chief defender of “high” art – Courbet again blurs the imposed boundaries within the artistic hierarchy and challenges the distinctions between

official and popular culture. Finally, as I suggested at the outset of my discussion of the statuette, the plaster Virgin serves as a marker of modernity by representing trends in nineteenth-century religious practice and consumerism.

Beyond such iconographic characteristics as the plaster Virgin or the landscape of Ornans, the painting's thematization of laughter and its caricatural aspects also serve as markers of modernity. In arguing for the "truthfulness" or "modernness" of *The Return from the Conference*, Proudhon refers to the laughing male figure as a "paysan moderne."⁷¹ The peasant's "modernness," as Proudhon understood it, was probably partly related to his anticlerical response – a response that reflects a rhetoric which was gaining much currency in France in the middle of the nineteenth century.

I would argue further that the laughter itself was also quite modern. First, it is significant that Courbet and his "paysan moderne" laugh at a moment that coincides with the rise of the inquiry into laughter made by such writers as Baudelaire (*De l'Essence du rire*, conceived as early as 1845), Léon Dumont (*Des Causes du rire*, 1862) and Charles Lèveque ("Le Rire, le comique et le risible dans

l'ésprit et dans l'art," 1863), among others (see Chapters One and Two).⁷² Furthermore, the relationship between laughter/caricature and the modern can be read in post-Revolutionary terms. In an essay written for an exhibition examining caricatures from the French Revolution, Michel Melot explains, "Caricature and revolution are words that seem to go together. Revolution is indeed a form of satire, and caricature, a form of revolt."⁷³ Moreover, if we accept Bakhtin's argument for laughter as a challenge to authority, the laughter (or the idea to challenge authority) becomes a more viable option in a century where Republicanism is alternately a fact or a possibility.

The caricatural aspects of *The Return from the Conference* also attest to its modernity. Although the history of caricature begins well before the nineteenth century (see Chap. Two), the proliferation of caricature, the development of a rather active caricatural press, and the rise of a discourse on caricature are uniquely tied to the nineteenth century (facilitated by the development of lithography at the end of the eighteenth century).⁷⁴ It is also of note that caricature is primarily an urban phenomenon in that it is produced by the newspapers of the

city, targeting urban dwellers who often found versions of themselves, their habits, mores, and fashions within these images. And even when the caricatures were political rather than social, the issues that were addressed by such images usually focused on political figures living in Paris or events/policies, in one way or another, originating in or relating to the capital.

As an artist who is noted for his interest in incorporating popular imagery, Courbet would have had a general understanding of the implications of borrowing from printed caricature. This understanding may have been further shaped by the ideas of his good friend Baudelaire, who wrote three essays dealing with issues of laughter and caricature.⁷⁵ Baudelaire's aesthetic theories in general, are simultaneously urban and modern in focus – two terms which seem to be virtually synonymous in his work. As Michele Hannoosh has convincingly argued, for Baudelaire the "art of modern life, poetic or pictorial, is necessarily caricatural, an urban *fleur du mal*."⁷⁶ It is the city and its various types of people that inspire Constantin Guys, Baudelaire's quintessential "painter of modern life" and a caricaturist of sorts himself, and the

caricaturists who serve as subjects for his caricature essays.⁷⁷

There are problems, of course, with applying Baudelaire's views on "modern" painting (and its connection with caricature) to Courbet's *Return from the Conference*, particularly with regard to the question of an urban focus. Courbet's painting is set against a decidedly rural backdrop, and the figures are peasants or members of the clergy of the French countryside. The rural makeup of the painting is characteristic of Courbet's oeuvre in general, and his conception of modernity seems on the surface to reject the city for the country. Yet, the city is also an integral part of his project, particularly with regard to the conception and execution of *The Return from the Conference*. Courbet deliberately sends the painting to the Salon so that it can either be seen by urban viewers or rejected by urban officials (in which case he will arrange for it to be seen in his Paris studio and to be sent to large cities outside of France).⁷⁸

A Burial at Ornans

It is perhaps logical to dismiss *The Return from the Conference* and its related images (i.e., the caricatural drawings and the anticlerical *The Death of Jeannot*) as exceptional works in Courbet's career. In *Courbet Reconsidered* (1988), for example, Sarah Faunce argues that *The Return* and *The Beggar's Alms* (1868), which I discuss below, represent instances when "the artist falls, via political propaganda, into a kind of theatricalized caricature that is far removed from his genuine figurative style."⁷⁹ However, as I have shown already, *The Return from the Conference* is informed by many of the same concerns that apply to Courbet's oeuvre in general, including his tendency toward opposition, interest in popular imagery, and desire to be faithful to his own times. Beyond the ideological connections to his other paintings, *The Return* also shares a very specific and formal interest in caricatural strategies with other major works. I have already mentioned Nochlin's association of the allegorical inclinations of *The Painter's Studio* with the coded language of caricature. Courbet also exhibits an interest in the formal language of caricature as early as 1849 with his first major picture, *A Burial at Ornans*.

Even in his own day, the caricatural qualities of *A Burial* were recognized. Invoking the names of Daumier and the caricatural journal, *Le Charivari*, Théophile Gautier describes Courbet's painting of a funeral in the French countryside, calling attention to its relationship to caricature and its ability to provoke laughter:

One doesn't know whether to laugh or to cry. Was it the intention of the author to make a caricature or a serious painting? The two or three women crying, the serious priest, the presence of the casket make it lean toward seriousness; but the two beadles, with their boozy faces rubbed with vermilion, their animated attitude... are comic enough to make Daumier jealous. *Le Charivari* does not offer its readers more bizarre rapidly rendered sketches... [the result is a painting that] leans toward caricature.⁸⁰

Gautier focuses on the two – one might say twin – beadles positioned just left of center to support his argument for the painting as caricature. He astutely recognizes that their red faces (and enlarged noses) are designed to suggest that they regularly overindulge in alcohol. Furthermore, they are rather heavy, suggesting that they

also eat to excess. The two gluttonous beadle have many precedents in (anticlerical) caricatures featuring church representatives who eat and/or drink too much. Daumier's *Capucinade - La pauvreté contente* (or *Friarism - Content Poverty*) (Fig. 15) is just one example of this tradition to which Courbet returns in *The Return from the Conference* and the drawings of *Les Curés en goguette*.

Courbet manages to poke fun at the twin beadle in *A Burial at Ornans* via strategies of exaggeration which are also central to the making of caricatures. He deliberately enlarges and distorts their noses and paints their faces with a shade of red that repeats the red of their hats and their robes. In a painting that is primarily rendered in shades of brown, black, and white, these two figures stand out like the large red noses on their faces. In addition, they are positioned very closely together, making the distinction between the two large bodies very difficult to discern. The result is that the figures nearly blend into one large, hybrid figure - a two headed monster, if you will, that can be associated with the related tradition of the grotesque, a tradition which in the nineteenth century becomes more closely entwined with the comic and with caricature.

For Baudelaire, for example, the grotesque represents "the absolute comic," distinguished from the merely "significant comic" because of its "creative" rather than imitative nature.⁸¹ In his thorough examination of the historically shifting definition of the concept of the grotesque in art and literature, Wolfgang Kayser (1957) explains that in the nineteenth century:

We have reached a turning-point in the conceptual history of the 'grotesque:' its reduction to the fantastically comic, which ultimately was to lead to its identification with broad humor (*Niedrig-Komisches*) and the burlesque (*Burlesk-Komiches*).⁸²

Kayser goes on to explain that one path to the grotesque (or at least the "comically grotesque" as opposed to the "fantastic grotesque") is through satire, caricature or cynical distortions.⁸³

Although Kayser offers elastic and historically contextualized definitions for the grotesque, Geoffrey Galt Harpham (1982) provides several, interconnected definitions:

[1] As a noun it implies that an object either occupies multiple categories or that it falls between categories.

[2] [A grotesque figure] can always move out of the category of the grotesques by being broken down or by being absorbed into a larger group.

[3] The grotesque is always a civil war of attraction/repulsion... Most grotesques are marked by such affinity/antagonism by the co-presence of the... "high" and the "low."⁸⁴

Harpham's argument for a grotesque underscored by dual or contradictory impulses is particularly relevant to Courbet's painting, in which doubling seems to be a central motif both literally and conceptually. To begin to unpack the doubling(s) in Courbet's painting, we should return to the deliberately twinned beadles. On one level, the repetition of the figures allows Courbet to distinguish and draw even more attention to them. In other words, one beadle can be dismissed or perhaps read as an exception, while two beadles suggest a trend. By using repetition as a strategy, Courbet establishes a kind of social group typing that is often found in caricatures.⁸⁵ Bergson's work on laughter and the comic elucidates how repetition and subsequent social typing are key ingredients to the comic: "Comedy depicts characters we have already come across and shall meet again. It

takes note of similarities. It aims at placing types before our eyes."⁸⁶ Daumier's twin clerics in *L'Ane chargé de reliques* (1834) (Fig. 32) and his many caricatures of lawyers and judges (those rather corpulent and haughty figures who are garbed in robes and caps) (Fig. 33-34), all of which seem to share striking visual similarities with Courbet's beadles, clearly illustrate Bergson's argument. Specifically, Daumier can more effectively make his point about these figures by repeating them in a series of similar images (in the case of the lawyers and judges) as well as by continually twinning or doubling them, like Courbet, within single images.⁸⁷

Beyond the comic repetition of the beadles, *A Burial at Ornans* also reflects a kind of conceptual doubling that hinges on establishing paired contrasts rather than similarities. These contrasts are pinpointed by Gautier whose discussion of *A Burial at Ornans*, quoted above, begins with a kind of confusion. Initially, Gautier does not know "whether to laugh or to cry," nor does he know if the image is a "caricature or a serious painting." This is a confusion that is continually perpetuated by a painting that contrasts crying women with inattentive men;

innocent-looking young boys in white with almost sinister clerics in black (whose dark hat brims nearly conceal their faces and expressions); a somber occasion attended by laughable beadles and a dog who turns his head away in disinterest; and, of course, the strategies of painting with the strategies of caricature.

The contrasts between the comic and the serious or between laughter and tears, which occupy Gautier, are similarly addressed in a revealing caricature of the painting by Bertall (Fig. 35). Bertall also sees the painting in the contrasting binary terms of laughter and tears. Echoing Gautier's sentiments, the caption of the caricature reads,

A burial is usually something rather sad. M. Courbet, who does not accept this wormeaten tradition, ... has combined his burial with something that inspires a crazy gaiety when looking at it. In this is a trait of genius.⁸⁸

The caption's contrasting of "sad"ness with "a crazy gaiety" is translated in the caricature to rows of stylized tears juxtaposed with the ridiculous beadles, which Bertall, following Courbet's lead, has merged into a hybrid, two-headed being (and the dog, who is forced to

look at the grave he ignores in Courbet's version).⁸⁹ The caricature also picks up on the tension between religiosity and anticlericalism suggested in *A Burial* as well as in *The Return from the Conference* and its related images. Specifically, the overindulging beards are contrasted with the cross that emerges from the horizon line. In the caricature, as in Courbet's painting, the cross operates in ways similar to the plaster Virgin in *The Return from the Conference*: both objects reveal the hypocrisy of Church officials, while offering the possibility of an independent, non-institutional spirituality.⁹⁰

In introducing the paired contrasts that are central to *A Burial*, I suggested that the tensions described by Gautier and Bertall allow Courbet to engage in a kind of conceptual doubling that, like repetition, is a component of the comic. Clearly, this reading is partly derived from a principle generally agreed upon by most theories of laughter or the comic – namely, that the comic is possible only when its opposite is understood and accepted as the norm. The comic is always a double enterprise: it requires the norm and the laughable deviation from the norm, and it sets up an opposition between the person who

laughs and the object of that laughter. It is perhaps for these reasons that Baudelaire's theory of laughter requires the "condition of being double" or that the (comic) artist have a "double nature."⁹¹ In seeking to elicit laughter, Baudelaire's comic artist must be highly self-aware while cultivating an "illusion of ignorance."⁹²

This pretense of ignorance allows the comic artist to subtly establish a kind of superiority over the viewer while feigning inferiority. Courbet's *A Burial at Ornans* can be seen as a visual, though not necessarily conscious, translation of this idea. The result is an image that deliberately confuses. Shall we laugh or cry? If we laugh, at whom do we laugh? Do we laugh at Courbet or with him? If we cry, is this, as the painting suggests, a strictly "feminine" response? Eventually, we arrive at the question that seems to unsettle us most: if Courbet is laughing, at whom is he ultimately laughing? At us?

The Beggar's Alms

To further complicate the questions posed above regarding Courbet's laughter, I would like to suggest that Courbet, when functioning as the *maître de la caricature peinte*, may not always be laughing – or at least laughing

in a straightforward way. Within the nineteenth-century discourses on caricature, laughter and the comic, there is frequently the acknowledgment that, in the words of Louis Philbert: "The comic always has [within it] something serious and instructive."⁹³ In Baudelaire, the serious aspect of caricature is pushed to the point of aggressiveness or ideological violence: "Caricature is double in nature: [there is] the drawing and the idea: the drawing, violent, the idea, biting and veiled."⁹⁴ This serious, even violent component of caricature or the comic relates to the power relationships Bakhtin sees as central to the process of laughter. Bakhtin's notion of laughter as disempowering or Baudelaire's interpretation of its "violent" or "biting" qualities are echoed by many caricature/laughter theorists. For example, in their important study of caricature, Ernst Kris and Ernst Gombrich continually discuss caricature in similarly aggressive terms, calling it a "social weapon" which can "unmask pretension... killing it by ridicule."⁹⁵

In *The Return from the Conference* and *A Burial at Ornans*, Courbet utilizes caricature as a "social weapon" aimed at the clergy whose "pretension" he sets out to "unmask" and "kill by ridicule." In these paintings,

however, the "killing" is coupled with humor; seriousness is juxtaposed with – one might even say comically relieved by – the ridiculous. In these images, too, we see a "killing" or a mocking of figures of some authority, and the priests who are Courbet's victims are also always victims of their own weaknesses and vices.

In contrast, *The Beggar's Alms* (1868) represents an example when Courbet's caricatural strategies are directed at the powerless and the downtrodden. Here, Courbet paints an ironic image, where a crippled man with tattered clothes and ravaged features becomes the rich man – giving his only sous, probably earned from begging, to a barefoot child, a fellow beggar. Revisiting the theme of almsgiving introduced in *The Young Ladies from the Village* (1852) (Fig. 36), Courbet replaces well-dressed young women wearing bonnets and carrying parasols with the rather elongated figure of a man with a bandaged leg who leans on a crutch.⁹⁶ The barefoot young girl, who looks humbly down at the coins in *The Young Ladies from the Village*, is translated into the little boy who actively reaches toward the man, while either blowing him a kiss of thanks or attempting to cover his nose in order to block the odor that surely must be emanating from his

benefactor.⁹⁷ Behind the scene featuring the man and boy of the foreground, is a poor woman – presumably the boy's mother – who breastfeeds her other child. The almsgiving is witnessed by a rather shaggy dog, which of course recalls the dogs of *The Return from the Conference* and *A Burial at Ornans*. In all three paintings, the dogs play the role of observer or, as in *A Burial*, the role of deliberate non-observer.

The Beggar's Alms is most caricatural in the depiction of the ravaged face of the beggar and the contorted stance of his strangely elongated body. Contemporary reviews of the image, which were rather disparaging, often focused on the beggars' head and face, which share much with a portrait charge. The reviews describe the beggar in ways which firmly place him in the category of the grotesque if not the caricatural. Pierre Petroz, for example, says that the beggar is a "little bit strange" and has a "bumpy, furrowed head that suggests that it has been cut from a block of oak by a capricious sculptor."⁹⁸ Théophile Gautier similarly focuses on the distortions of the head:

The head of the beggar does not sit right, the eye sockets do not fit properly in their place, the

cheekbones are pushed almost to the ears. Nothing fits properly in this figure which recalls a mask made from a half-crushed carton.⁹⁹

Jane Mayo Roos, who has commented at length about *The Beggar's Alms* and the mostly negative reaction it generated when it was exhibited at the Salon of 1868, echoes the reviews in interpreting the painting – or at least the distorted rendering of the features and body of the beggar – as caricatural. Roos, however, believes that Courbet thought the painting to be “a serious image.”¹⁰⁰ The result, in her view, is a painting that “patronizes its subject by caricaturing the beggar and inadvertently reducing him to a figure of ridicule.”¹⁰¹ In this reading of the painting, the double, and Baudelaire would argue, necessary tensions between seriousness and ridicule are “flaws” which demonstrate that Courbet has “lapsed into sentimental stereotype and comes perilously close to a melodramatic image.”¹⁰²

In contrast, I read the caricatural aspects of the image as anything but inadvertent. It is more likely that in 1868 – during a period when caricature occupied a great deal of his creative and promotional energies (i.e., *The Return from the Conference*, *The Death of Jeannot* and the

illustrated pamphlets) – Courbet would have deliberately employed the strategies of caricature in *The Beggar's Alms*. Although the caricatural strategies of the painting can be read as part of a larger pattern in the work of Courbet, it should also be noted that *The Beggar's Alms* departs in significant ways from the artist's other "painted caricatures." Specifically, it would appear that the central target for this particular caricature is a figure of no authority; unlike the overindulging priests, he is in no way a worthy adversary. By employing a visual strategy associated with attack, Courbet seems, at least on the surface, to be rethinking or problematizing the rural-poor-as-hero paradigm that he establishes in works like *The Stonebreakers*. But this reading is not quite right either – because, setting aside the caricatural approach, the moral of the painting seems to be that if a beggar can give, so can the rich man. This theme, of course, serves to counter the effect of the caricature by reinstating the beggar as hero.

The tensions between the ridicule suggested by the caricature and the heroicization suggested by the act of charity can be and have been seen as flaws – as elements that make the painting fall apart. I would like to

counter this interpretation by suggesting that this tension or, in Baudelairian terms, the "double nature" of the painting, creates a confusion or a discomfort in the viewer which Courbet seeks. Specifically, the caricatural cues seem to require laughter; but, within the pitiful context provided, laughter seems a highly inappropriate response. The result is that the viewer is meant to feel self-conscious as he/she tries to reconcile the double impulse to laugh and to feel pity or guilt. I suggest that the ultimate target of the caricature may not be the beggar at all. Instead, the target seems to be the affluent viewer who is being shamed by the beggar and his act of charity. The ridicule, then, lies not within the painting but without. As Charles Lévêque explained in 1863, there is an unstable boundary between the jokester and the target of the joke: "The laughable and the person who laughs are two terms which share a rapport, and this rapport cannot be sufficiently understood by whomever ignores one of the two terms."¹⁰³

I have thus far been reading *The Beggar's Alms* in caricatural terms, in part echoing its critics in 1868 as well as more recent art historical considerations. However, this image, which oscillates between painting and

caricature and seriousness and ridicule, was also seen by its first critics as simultaneously offering exaggerated forms without the line or drawing that is usually indispensable to the caricaturist. This partly caricatural image was seen to have, in Gautier's words, an "absence of drawing" ("absence de dessin").¹⁰⁴ Similarly, a critic for *Le monde pour rire* used the expression "pas de dessin."¹⁰⁵ So, if not with "drawing" or line, how does Courbet achieve the caricatural qualities of the painting? An answer may lie in the fact that the drawing that seems central in the printed caricatural process is not necessarily integral to the painted caricature process. In fact, reviewers like Gautier read the distortions achieved by Courbet in highly plastic, even sculptural terms. Recall Gautier's reference to a "mask made from a half-crushed carton" and Petroz's description of the beggar's face as an oak sculpture made by a "capricious sculptor."

The connection between caricature and sculpture has a tradition that precedes *The Beggar's Alms*. Daumier, for example, had been making caricatural sculptures at least as early as 1832, when it was announced by *La Caricature* that he was working on busts of parliamentarians which

would soon be translated into caricatures published by the journal. Neither the busts nor other caricatural sculptures by Daumier were actually exhibited until 1878 at the exhibition at Durand Ruel. However, Courbet's friend, Champfleury, made note of them in *Histoire de la caricature moderne*, and he also owned several photographs of the busts which were sold at auction after his death.¹⁰⁶ And Daumier is certainly not alone in his attempt to merge caricatural and sculptural strategies; other examples include the work of Jean-Pierre Dantan (1800-1869) (Fig. 37).¹⁰⁷

Even in the unlikely event that Courbet had not seen specific examples of sculpted caricature or photographs like those owned by Champfleury, Courbet most certainly was aware of the caricatures of Daumier that had sculptural counterparts. Jeanne L. Wasserman has called Daumier's caricatures "sculptor's drawings," noting that the prints suggest, in formal terms, a sculptor's understanding of modeling.¹⁰⁸ In other words, regardless of the medium used by Daumier, the sculptural qualities of a work blend almost seamlessly with its caricatural aspects. If Courbet was influenced by Daumier, then it is not a stretch to assume that he was equally influenced by

the sculptural and caricatural qualities of the work which are in some regards inseparable.

Moreover, although I am more inclined to see the sculptural and caricatural influence of Daumier on Courbet in general rather than specific terms, I am struck by the particular rapport shared by the beggar in *The Beggar's Alms* and one of Daumier's most famous inventions, *Ratapoil* (Figs. 38-40). *Ratapoil* was sculpted by Daumier and appeared in caricatural form forty times between 1850 and 1851, and periodically thereafter.¹⁰⁹ A character invented by Daumier to play the role of the hired bully of Louis-Napoleon, *Ratapoil* sought votes and bribes for the King.¹¹⁰ What is particularly relevant to our discussion of *The Beggar's Alms* is that the beggar and *Ratapoil* share a connection to sculpture and caricature. The physical resemblance between the two figures is also worth noting: both are extremely tall, lanky fellows in long coats who wear floppy, top-hat-like accessories on their heads; one leans on a crutch, while the other uses a cane; and both contort their bodies awkwardly to position themselves in an open-legged stance. Courbet's beggar, however, has none of the arrogance of the King's bully, and he gives rather than takes. But, in some ways, he can be seen as

Courbet's bully, who is prodding the French people to follow his charitable example.¹¹¹

The question of whether or not *Ratapoil* served as a specific or conscious model for *The Beggar's Alms* is one that cannot be incontrovertibly answered. Perhaps what is most interesting about the *Ratapoil*-Courbet connection is that Daumier's caricatural bully is emblematic of Courbet's caricatural strategies in general. Like *Ratapoil*, all of Courbet's caricatured figures are simultaneously threatening and threatened; they are ridiculous, yet they are to be taken seriously; they are caricatural, yet their formal qualities incorporate influences from painting and/or sculpture. In other words, they exemplify the "double nature" of the Baudelairian (comic) artist.

¹Schapiro's essay is equally about Courbet's friend and supporter Champfleury, who wrote on popular imagery in general and on Courbet's work and caricature in particular. Schapiro, however, does not distinguish between the types of popular images that influenced Courbet or interested Champfleury. Champfleury is discussed elsewhere in this chapter. Meyer Schapiro, "Courbet and Popular Imagery: An Essay on Realism and Naïveté" (1941), in *Modern Art: 19th and 20th Centuries, Selected Papers* (New York: George Braziller, 1978), 47-83 (esp. 48, 54).

²For example, picking up where Schapiro left off, Linda Nochlin traces Courbet's *The Meeting* (1854), *Jean Journet* (1850), and *The Beggar's Alms* (1868) to popular

broad­sides featuring the Wandering Jew. Although Nochlin's essay focuses primarily on the function of the Wandering Jew motif in Courbet's oeuvre rather than on offering an in-depth analysis of the implications of borrowing from popular imagery, she does state that "the borrowings are meaningfully related to Courbet's conception of realism." And, while she refrains from going as far as Schapiro in connecting Courbet's use of popular sources to "primitivism," Nochlin does suggest that the use of the popular rather than "outworn traditions" says something of Courbet's modernism. Linda Nochlin, "Gustave Courbet's *Meeting: A Portrait of the Artists as a Wandering Jew*," *The Art Bulletin* 46, 3 (September 1967): 213.

³Aaron Scharf and Beatrice Farwell are among those who have discussed Courbet's appropriations of photographs of naked women, produced by such figures as Julien Vallou de Villeneuve, in the conception of paintings like *The Bathers* (1853) or *Woman with a Parrot* (1866). As with Nochlin and Schapiro's consideration of the influence of prints on Courbet, the emphasis of the studies of Courbet's use of photos is on the realism and anti-traditionalism of the strategy. Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography* (London: Penguin Press, 1968), 95-107. Beatrice Farwell, "Courbet's 'Baigneuses' and the Rhetorical Feminine Image," in *Woman as Sex Object: Studies in Erotic Art, 1730-1970*, ed. Thomas Hess and Linda Nochlin. (London: Penguin Press, 1973) 65-79. See also the following by Farwell, *The Cult of Images: Baudelaire and the 19th-Century Media Explosion* (Exh. Cat.) (Santa Barbara: UCSB Art Museum, 1977).

⁴Other suggestions of the relationship of Courbet's work to caricature include Nochlin's work on *The Painter's Studio* (1854-1855), which she calls a "political cartoon writ large." Her suggestion of a relationship between the image and caricature is one concerning strategy rather than form. Specifically, she sees the influence of the coded language of caricature on the complex, layered design of Courbet's *Painter's Studio*. And, Heather McPherson recently suggested that the sketch-like quality of Courbet's *Portrait of Baudelaire* (c. 1848-49) "operates

like a caricature by reducing the subject's face to its essential, most salient traits..." She implies that Courbet's approach to the portrait may in part be a response to Baudelaire's interest in caricature.

Chu, "Courbet's Unpainted Pictures," *Arts Magazine* 55 (September 1980): 135. Linda Nochlin, "Ending with the Ending: The Politics of the Place of Hope," in *Courbet Reconsidered* (Exh. Cat.) (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1988), 38. McPherson, "Courbet and Baudelaire: Portraiture Against the Grain of Photography," *Gazette des beaux arts* ser. 6, vol. 128 (November 1996): 232.

⁵Roos also notes Courbet's other caricatural productions, including the pamphlet inspired by the *Return...*, *Les Curés en goguette* (1868), the illustrations for Etienne Baudry's *The Bourgeois Camp* (1868), and the pamphlet inspired by *La Mort de Jeannot* (1868).

My initial interest in *The Return from the Conference* was prompted in 1995 by Prof. Roos, who encouraged me to think about the image for her seminar on Courbet. I am grateful to her for her suggestions and for her perspectives on Courbet and *The Return* in particular.

Jane Mayo Roos, *Early Impressionism and the French State (1866-1874)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 50-51, 108-110.

⁶Although Courbet's use of caricature has only been touched upon by scholars, the caricaturing of Courbet's work and personae have been relatively well documented and analyzed in such works as Charles Léger's *Courbet selon les caricatures* and in the essays of Klaus Herding's *To Venture Independence*. This kind of documentation or examination partly emerges from the interest in reinforcing the constructs of Courbet as the misunderstood bohemian, the larger than life rebel, or the outsider. This is a strategy that closely parallels the argument for Courbet's modernism that underscores most considerations of his use of popular imagery. Specifically, the caricatures that construct "Courbet as the outsider" confirm his position as the quintessential avant-garde artist who is, by definition, always at the forefront or on the outside.

Charles Léger, *Courbet selon les caricatures et les images* (Paris: Paul Rosenberg, 1920). Klaus Herding, *Courbet: To Venture Independence*, trans. John William Gabriel, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

⁷After its rejection in 1863 by the Salon and the Salon des Refusés, a process which I describe below, Courbet exhibited the work in his studio; encouraged his friend Pierre-Joseph Proudhon to write a pamphlet in which the painting would be featured and defended; made and sold photographs of the image; attempted to arrange its exhibition in England and elsewhere in Europe; exhibited the work in New York and Boston in 1866; exhibited the painting in Belgium at the Ghent Salon of 1868; and made drawings for an illustrated pamphlet, which elaborated on the narrative established by the painting and which was to be distributed in Ghent. I address all of these actions in greater detail within the text and the footnotes below. Gustave Courbet, *Letters of Gustave Courbet*, ed. Petre Ten-Doesschate Chu (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 215, 218.

⁸On July 28, 1863, Courbet wrote to his father about Proudhon's *Du Principe de l'art...* which he envisioned as a joint effort: "Together we are writing an important work that makes the connection between my art and his philosophy and between his work and mine. It is a brochure that will be sold at my exhibition in England..." Contrary to Courbet's stated plans, the text would not be published until after Proudhon's death. P.-J. Proudhon, *Du Principe de l'art et de sa destination sociale* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1865). Courbet, *Letters*, 227-28.

⁹Proudhon goes on to ask about these "produits de la fantaisie et de la superstition": "Qu'importe à notre économie, à notre gouvernement, à nos moeurs?" *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰"Le Retour de la conférence est essentiellement de notre époque..." *Ibid.*, 267.

¹¹Exceptions include Werner Hofmann and Klaus Herding, *Courbet und Deutschland* (Exh. Cat.) (Hamburg: Hamburger Kunsthalle, 1978); Hélène Toussaint, *Gustave*

Courbet, 1819-1877 (Exh. Cat.) (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978), 36-38; Roos, 50-51, 109-110.

¹²I discuss the engravings and the photographs below. There is an oil on canvas study located at the Kunstmuseum Basel.

¹³In a letter to architect Léon Isabey, April 1863. Courbet, *Letters*, 221.

¹⁴From a letter to his family, January 1863. Ibid., 216.

¹⁵Mainardi argues that using carnival as a model was a highly political gesture, particularly after the Revolution of 1848, which had occurred during the period of Carnival. Photographs of the pavilion indicate that the eventual structure was rather traditional and did not physically resemble a circus tent. Mainardi, "Courbet's Exhibitionism." *Gazette des beaux arts* 6, 118 (December 1991): 253-66.

¹⁶Mainardi's discussion of the link between the Salon and the press is historical rather than specifically about Courbet. Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 20.

¹⁷The statement from the Constitutional Committee is quoted in Mainardi, 20, excerpted from "Rapport de Monsieur Barrère de Vieusac sur la pétition des artistes de dix août dernière, 21 août 1791," BN Deloynes Collection, vol. 53, no. 1515, 873.

¹⁸For more on the relationship between Salon rejection and censorship, see John House, "Manet's Maximilian: Censorship and the Salon," in *Suspended License: Censorship and the Visual Arts*, ed. Elizabeth C. Childs (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 185-209. House argues that it would be "simplistic and misleading to equate Salon rejection with censorship," however, he also explains that the barring of *The Return from the Conference* from the supposedly all-inclusive

Salon des Refusés was a form of censorship. Ibid., 185, 192-93.

¹⁹Letter to Isabey, December(?), 1862. Courbet, *Letters*, 215.

²⁰The pious woman is a familiar trope in French nineteenth-century anti-clerical rhetoric. For example, the vehement anti-clerical writer Jules Michelet warns his male reader that he is most vulnerable to the growing influence of the Church through his wife: "Whoever secures the women will be sure in the long run to have the men." With regard to Courbet, the pious (gullible) woman is featured in *A Burial at Ornans*, where the women weep while the men are inattentive, and in *La Mort de Jeannot* (1868), where Jeannot's female companion is duped into giving the couple's life-savings to the malevolent curé rather than to the doctor while Jeannot lies on his deathbed. Michelet, *Jesuits and Jesuitism* (1843), trans. by G.H. Smith (London: Whittaker and Co., n.d.), 4.

²¹*The Return from the Conference* shares certain compositional similarities with Courbet's *The Peasants of Flagey Returning from the Fair* (Salon of 1850-51). Both images feature figures in the process of traveling, positioned moving from right to left across the horizontal plane of the canvas.

Klaus Herding has also suggested a similarity to paintings featuring drunken satyrs on donkey-back. In particular, Herding cites Agostino Veneziano's *Triumph of the Drunken Silenus* (c. 1520-25), an engraving after Raphael. In an image that replaces drunken satyrs with drunken priests, Courbet also manages to bring to mind a Christian image of travelers on donkey-back: Christ's entry into Jerusalem. The result is a conflation of "pagan" and Christian influences.

In my own research, I have found that the assigned subject for the 1861 *Prix de Rome* competition for landscape was the *March of Silenus*. Held less than two years before the conception of *The Return*, the entries to the competition no doubt could have provided food for thought for Courbet, who would have delighted in providing his own version of the "officially" sponsored subject. Hoffmann and Herding, 271-272. For more on the *Prix de*

Rome, see Philippe Grunhech, *Le Concours des Prix de Rome, 1797-1863*, vol. I & II (Paris: Ecole nationale supérieure des beaux arts, 1989).

²²Chu, "Courbet's Unpainted Pictures," *Arts Magazine* 55 (September 1980): 135.

²³In a letter to *Le Figaro*, published May 27, 1863. Courbet, *Letters*, 222.

²⁴See my discussion of comic genre painting in Chapter Two.

²⁵Letter to Isabey, December(?)1862. Courbet, *Letters*, 215-16.

²⁶[Gustave Courbet], *Les Curés en goguette* (Ghent: A. Lacroix, Verboeckhoven et cie., 1868).

²⁷In a letter to Ferdinand van der Haeghen, the head librarian at the university in Ghent and the secretary of the Société royale pour l'encouragement des beaux arts, dated September 11, 1868, Courbet explains, "I had someone write two leaflets, or accounts of true occurrences (that I know of) that gave rise to the paintings." The second painting to which he refers is an anti-clerical satire entitled *La Mort de Jeannot* (also called *Les Frais du culte* or *The Cost of Worship*), which he also submitted to the Ghent Salon along with an illustrated pamphlet. Courbet, *Letters*, 342. Roger Bonniot suggests Jean Vaucheret may have been responsible for the text. Bonniot, *Gustave Courbet en Saintonage* (Paris: C. Kincksieck, 1973), 141. [Courbet], *La Mort de Jeannot* (Ghent: A. Lacroix, Verboeckhoven et cie., 1868).

²⁸Although there is a close relationship between the text and the images, Courbet claims to have been displeased with the pamphlets. In the letter cited above to Ferdinand van der Haeghen, he writes, "The text is not to my liking but that doesn't matter. The drawings will be enough." Courbet, *Letters*, 343.

²⁹"[Il] frappe le sol à démolir Voltaire, si Voltaire était là." Jules Castagnary, *Salons (1857-1870)*, vol. I

(Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1892), 150. (Théophile Thoré) *Salons de W. Bürger, 1861 à 1868 avec une préface par T. Thoré* (Paris: Librairie de Ve Jules Renouard, 1870), 419. Fernand Desnoyers, *Salon des refusés: La Peinture en 1863* (Paris: Azur Dutil, 1863), 24. For more on the connection between Courbet and Béranger, see Robert L. Herbert, "Courbet's *Mère Gregoire* and Béranger," *Museum Studies* 13, 1 (1987): 24-35 and Hélène Toussaint, "Le Réalisme de Courbet au service de la satire politique et de la propagande gouvernementale," *Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (December 1979): 233-244.

³⁰François Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, trans. J. M. Cohen (London: Penguin, 1955).

³¹Desnoyers, 23.

³²"Je veux bien que ce groupe rabelaisien réveille le souvenir du roi d'Yvetot...Bons voyage à ces échappés de Thélèmes." Thoré, 419-20. Rabelais, 159.

³³Courbet, *Les Curés en goguette*, 6, 28.

³⁴Elizabeth C. Childs, "Big Trouble: Daumier, Gargantua, and the Censorship of Political Caricature," *Art Journal* 51 (Spring 1992): 26-37.

³⁵For an introduction to the critical fortune of Rabelais, see Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 1-58.

³⁶Childs, 26-37.

³⁷In a letter to the art and literary critic Albert de la Fizelière, April 23, 1863. Courbet, *Letters*, 220-21.

³⁸Courbet did, however, receive a second-class medal in the Salon of 1861. According to Salon regulations, this medal (which followed similar distinctions in the Salons of 1857 and 1849) should have exempted him from jury scrutiny. *Ibid.*, 220-21.

³⁹To Isabey, April 1863. *Ibid.*, 220.

⁴⁰In a letter to Théophile Gautier, March-April 1846. Chu says that this letter is not in Courbet's hand and suggests Baudelaire as the probable author. Regardless of the actual origin of the words, Courbet would have probably discussed the content of the letter with Baudelaire, and the sentiment is certainly one that appears repeatedly in the artist's other writings. *Ibid.*, 60.

⁴¹Charles Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du mal*, in *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris: Seuil, 1968). P.-J. Proudhon, *De la Justice dans la révolution et dans l'église* (1860) (Paris: Fayard, 1988-1990). Gustave Flaubert, *Madame Bovary* (1857), trans. Mildred Marmur (New York: Penguin Books, 1964).

⁴²In a letter to art and literary critic Albert de la Fizelière, April 23, 1863. Courbet, *Letters*, 221.

⁴³For more on the relationship between censorship and the Church and the Church's influence on the definition of public morality, see P.-J. Proudhon, *La Justice poursuivie par l'Eglise* (Brussels: Librairie de l'Office de Publicité, 1858).

⁴⁴"Dans ce pays...on admet difficilement la peinture satirique... Pourquoi l'artiste ne commettrait-il pas, lui aussi, entre temps, son pamphlet comme tout écrivain de bonne souche." Castagnary, 150.

⁴⁵Robert Justin Goldstein, *Censorship and Political Caricature in Nineteenth-Century France* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1989).

⁴⁶Childs, "The Body Impolitic: Censorship and the Caricature of Honoré Daumier," in *Suspended License*, 149.

⁴⁷Nochlin calls the painting a "political cartoon writ large." Her suggestion of a relationship between the image and caricature is one concerning strategy (as

discussed above) rather than form. Nochlin, "Ending with the Ending...", in *Courbet Reconsidered*, 38.

⁴⁸Childs, "The Body Impolitic," 177.

⁴⁹"Ah! La religion a de vaillants champions dans ce braves gens, et en voyant leur ardeur au combat, on comprend bien toute la ténacité de leurs convictions.... En somme, le moment semble venu de donner un vigoureux coup d'épaule pour renverser ce échafaudage officiel de jongleries ridicules." Courbet, *Les Curés en goguette*, 20, 31.

⁵⁰Bakhtin, 30, 19.

⁵¹Ibid., 3.

⁵²In a letter to the Belgian painter Alfred Verwee, August 15, 1864. Courbet, *Letters*, 245.

⁵³Courbet hired the British photographer Robert J. Bingham to take photographs of his painting. According to his letters, he sent the photos to his family and several friends, and he also arranged for them to be sold "everywhere." In a letter to Castagnary (April 21, 1867), he reports the destruction of the photos: "The police have just arbitrarily destroyed the photographs of the Priests at Bingham's, by what right I do not know." Courbet, *Letters*, 252, 310.

⁵⁴The *Return from the Conference* was exhibited at the Derby Gallery in New York (March 1866) and at the Allston Club in Boston (April 1866). For more on Courbet's paintings in America, see Douglas Edelson's "Courbet's Reception in America before 1900," *Courbet Reconsidered*, 67-75. For more on Courbet in Belgium, see Robert Hoozee, *Paris-Bruxelles, Bruxelles-Paris...* (Exh. Cat.) (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1997), 152-56.

⁵⁵From letters to Isabey in April 1863. Courbet, *Letters*, 220-21. Chu notes that Courbet signed a contract with Felix Ratier and Charles Bataille in July of 1863 to arrange the promotion and exhibition of the painting in

England. However, it appears that efforts to exhibit in England were unsuccessful. Chu, ed., in *ibid.*, 226 fn. 2.

⁵⁶After stating that he designed *The Return from the Conference* for rejection, Courbet writes, "I have succeeded. That way it will bring me some money." Courbet, *Letters*, 220. For more on Courbet's commercial strategies, see Jorg Zutler and Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu, ed., *Courbet: artiste et promoteur de son oeuvre* (Exh. Cat.) (Paris: Flammarion, 1998), and in particular see Patricia Mainardi's essay for the catalogue, "'L'Exposition complète' de Courbet," 101-27.

⁵⁷For more on the establishment of *Le Charivari belge* and caricaturists' strategies for circumventing the censors, see Childs, "The Body Impolitic...," 169-70.

⁵⁸Courbet, *Letters*, 246. Courbet was also touched personally by the self-imposed exile of his close friend Proudhon, who left for Belgium after the censorship of *De la Justice dans la révolution et dans l'église*; the writer Max Buchon was another of Courbet's friends to live in exile. For more on Courbet's relationship with Hugo, see Charles Léger, "Courbet et Victor Hugo: d'après des lettres inédites," *Gazette des beaux arts* 63, 5, 4 (December 1921): 353-363.

⁵⁹For a thorough analysis of Courbet's involvement with the Vendôme Column, see Roos, 152-159.

⁶⁰Henri Bergson, "Laughter," in *Comedy*, ed. Wylie Sypher (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1956), 146-7.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 128.

⁶²From letters to Léon Isabey and Albert de la Fizelière, December 1862 and April 23, 1863. Courbet, *Letters*, 215-216, 220-21.

⁶³From a letter to Ferdinand van der Haeghen, September 11, 1868. *Ibid.*, 342. My emphasis.

⁶⁴Le Retour de la conférence est essentiellement de notre époque...." Proudhon, *Du Principe de l'art*, 2, 267.

⁶⁵"Or, voici ce que Courbet aurait vu dans la vallée d'Ornans, au coeur de cette belle et robuste Franche-Comté..." Castagnary, 149.

⁶⁶ Florence M. Weinberg, *The Wine and the Will: Rabelais's Bacchic Christianity* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1972), 53.

⁶⁷Rabelais, 8.

⁶⁸Kselman notes that such independent activities were seen as threatening to the authority of the Church. Interestingly, to suppress the independent spirit of these practices, the Church gave official sanction to some of these shrines—particularly those on the regional level which attracted pilgrims (and their money). Thomas Albert Kselman, *Miracles and Prophecies: Popular Religion and the Church in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983).

⁶⁹On art St. Sulpicien, see Claude Savart, "A la recherche de l'art dit de Saint-Sulpice," *Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité* 52 (1976): 265-282.

⁷⁰"Mais pourquoi une religion d'Etat?...le seul remède...est de proclamer la liberté absolue des cultes...chacun serait l'arbitre suprême de ses intérêts spirituels. Il faudra bien qu'on arrive là." Courbet, *Les Curés en goguette*, 32.

Courbet's interest in a kind of anti-institutional spirituality has parallels in the ideology of nineteenth-century leftist political groups. St. Simon, for example, urged "a new Christianity," and Courbet's friend Proudhon was interested in a "morale indépendante" influenced by the 1862 resurgence of the Free-Masons. See Phyllis H. Stock, "Proudhon and Morale Indépendente: A Variation of French Secular Morality," in *The Secular Mind: Transformations of Faith in Modern Europe* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982).

⁷¹Proudhon, *Du Principe de l'art...*, 2.

⁷²Baudelaire's work on laughter/caricature was first mentioned on the back cover of the *Salon de 1845*. It seems that he continually revised it until the first essay, *De l'Essence du rire*, was published in *Le Portefeuille* (July 8, 1855). The other two essays, *Quelques caricaturistes français* and *Quelques caricaturistes étrangers*, were published in *Le Présent* (October 1 and 15, 1857). For more on the publication history of Baudelaire's caricature project, see Michele Hannoosh, *Baudelaire and Caricature: From the Comic to an Art of Modernity* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 1-2, fn. 1. All of Baudelaire's laughter/caricature essays can be found in Baudelaire, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Seuil, 1968). Léon Dumont, *Des Causes du rire* (Paris: Auguste Durand, 1862). Charles Lèveque, "Le Rire, le comique et le risible dans l'esprit et dans l'art," *Revue des deux mondes* 67 (September 1863): 107-189. Arsène Alexandre, *L'Art du rire et de la caricature* (Paris: Ancienne Maison Quantin, 1892).

⁷³Michel Melot, "Caricature and the Revolution: The Situation in France in 1789," in *French Caricature and the French Revolution, 1789-1799* (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, 1988), 25.

Albert Boime makes a related point in an article that explores the relationship between sketch, caricature and revolution. He explains that caricature helps construct the "visual vocabulary used in inventing and transmitting a tradition of revolutionary action...[Caricature] is not only the best art form for revolutionary protest but itself a carrier of the new idea." Boime also admits that counterrevolutionary forces can and have appropriated this visual vocabulary in retaliation. And retaliation is the key here: the caricature does not originate in the counterrevolution but is merely a reaction to the caricatures produced by the opposition. Boime, "The Sketch and Caricature as Metaphors for the French Revolution," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 55, 2 (1992): 261.

⁷⁴On the history of lithography, see A. Hyatt Mayor, *Prints and People: A Social History of Printed Pictures*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 612-620, and William M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1982), 108-112.

⁷⁵Heather McPherson has suggested that the sketch-like quality of Courbet's *Portrait of Baudelaire* (c. 1848-49, Musée Fabre, Montpellier) "operates like a caricature by reducing the subject's face to its essential, most salient traits..." She implies that Courbet's approach to the portrait may in part be a response to Baudelaire's interest in caricature. McPherson, 232.

⁷⁶Hannoosh, 307.

⁷⁷Baudelaire's city, which must provide inspiration to the painters (or image makers) of modernity, also shares with caricature a relationship to speed of movement or, in the case of caricature, speed of execution. Baudelaire explains, "there is...in the daily metamorphosis of external things, a rapid movement which commands from the artist an equal speed of execution." "[I]l y a dans la vie triviale, dans la métamorphose journalière des choses extérieures, un mouvement rapide qui commande à l'artiste une égale vélocité d'exécution." Baudelaire, *Le Peintre de la vie moderne*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 550.

⁷⁸For more on the tensions between the city and the country in Courbet's work and in the persona he sought to establish, see T.J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973). Clark is correct in his assessment: "To be in Paris but not of it: that was what Courbet wanted. To use the ideas and inventions of the avant-garde for his own ends... [And to use as] camouflage... obstinate patois, provincial manners..." Clark, 31.

⁷⁹Faunce, *Courbet Reconsidered*, 13.

⁸⁰"On ne sait si l'ont doit pleurer ou rire. L'intention de l'auteur a-t-elle été de faire une caricature ou un tableau sérieux? Les deux ou trois

figures de femmes qui pleurent, la grave figure du prêtre, la présence du cercueil feraient pencher du côté sérieux; mais les deux bedeux, avec leur attitude animée... sont d'un drôlatique à rendre Daumier jaloux. Le Charivari ne donne pas à ses abonnés de plus bizarres pochades, et alors on penche pour la caricature." Théophile Gautier, *Critique d'art: Extraits des Salons (1833-1872)*, ed. Marie-Hélène Girard (Paris: Séguier, 1994), 135-136. The excerpt is from a piece originally published in *La Presse* (February 15, 1851).

⁸¹Baudelaire, *De l'Essence du rire*, 374.

⁸²Wolfgang Kayser, *The Grottesque in Art and Literature*, trans. Ulrich Weisstein, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957) 103.

⁸³*Ibid.*, 173.

⁸⁴The numbering is my own and meant simply to demonstrate the multiple definitions Harpham provides. Geoffrey Calt Harpham, *On the Grottesque: Strategies of Contradiction in Art and Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) 3, 5, 9.

⁸⁵For more on the role of caricatures in social typing, see Judith Weschsler, *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th-Century Paris* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

⁸⁶Bergson also notes that repetition can be comic on its own terms, that is, comic beyond its role in helping to establish social types. He uses the jack-in-the-box and the amusement provided by its continuous springing motions as one example of the comic quality of repetition on its own terms. I would add two further examples, namely the stutter and redundancy. Certainly, stuttering or repeating oneself unknowingly and unnecessarily will not always provoke laughter—especially if the listener is particularly sensitive. However, both types of repetition will, on some level, always be read in terms of a foible or flaw—a kind of irregularity that the comic or the caricaturist can target. Bergson, 166, 107.

⁸⁷Devin Berry Burnell has found that much of Daumier's oeuvre is characterized by "double images." Burnell does not refer to the series of twinned lawyers or judges, rather he notes Daumier's figures are always accompanied by substantive shadows. He suggests that this implies "two different viewpoints, even different moments in time." Burnell, "Art and Ambiguity: The Aesthetics of Caricature in Relation to Nineteenth-Century Romanticism and to the Work of Daumier" (Dissertation) (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1976), 185-187.

⁸⁸Bertall and Gautier are not the only nineteenth century figures to be struck by the contrast between laughter and tears suggested by *A Burial at Ornans*. Joachim Gasquet recalls Paul Cézanne's comments about the painting of the burial that Cézanne much admired: "His caricature is drenched in tears." Gasquet, *Cézanne: A Memoir with Conversations*, trans. Christopher Pemberton (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 202.

"Un enterrement est généralement une chose assez triste. M. Courbet qui n'accepte point les traditions vermoulues, et ne marche pas dans les sentiers battus, a combiné son enterrement de telle sorte qu'on est pris d'une gaieté folle en le regardant—c'est là un trait de génie." Bertall, *Le Journal pour rire*, 7 March 1851.

⁸⁹The stylized tears, which also spot the now attentive dog, are not Bertall's invention. They are derived from the symbols on the exposed cape of one of the officials in black in Courbet's painting; they also symbolically replace the tears of the women.

⁹⁰Klaus Herding argues that Bertall's caricature, like the painting it mocks, suggest that the beadles are "having a good laugh over the reconciliation between Church and Revolution that was widely propagated after 1848." Herding, *Courbet: To Venture Independence*, trans. William Gabriel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 183.

⁹¹Baudelaire, *De l'essence dur rire...*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 378.

⁹²Hannoosh, 69.

⁹³"Le comique a toujours quelque chose de sérieux et d'instructif." Louis Philbert, *De l'Esprit du comique, du rire* (Paris: Imprimerie Jules Claye, 1876), 59.

⁹⁴"La caricature est double: le dessin et l'idée: le dessin violent, l'idée mordante et voilé." Baudelaire, *De l'Essence du rire*, 372.

⁹⁵I explore the question of unmasking or unveiling in my consideration of Cézanne's caricatural strategies (Chapter Five). Ernst Kris and Ernst Gombrich, "The Principles of Caricature," *British Journal of Medical Psychology* 17 (1938): 338.

⁹⁶Linda Nochlin suggests that the beggar may also be a "variant" of the Wandering Jew which Courbet uses as a model in *Jean Journet* and *The Meeting* or *Bonjour M. Courbet*. She also notes that almsgiving is an essential component of the legend of the Wandering Jew. Nochlin, "Gustave Courbet's Meeting," 215. Nochlin, *Realism* (London: Penguin Books, 1971), 127. Nochlin, *Gustave Courbet: A Study of Style and Society* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976), 200.

⁹⁷The gesture was made vulgar by the caricaturists of the painting who depicted the boy picking his nose (Fig. 41). I thank Prof. Jane Mayo Roos for suggesting the gesture of the boy as a defensive response to the man's odor.

⁹⁸"[Il est] un peut étrange...sa tête cahotée, ravinée, ait l'air d'avoir été taillée dans un bloc de chêne par un sculpteur capricieux..." Pierre Petroz, "Le Salon de 1868," *Revue moderne*, 25 May 1868, 543.

⁹⁹"La tête du mendiant n'est pas dans ses plans, l'orbite n'a pas creusée à sa place, la pommette est chassée vers l'oreille. Rien ne se tient dans cette figure qui rappelle un masque de carton demi-ecrusé." Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1868," *Le Moniteur universel* no. 132 (11 May 1868): 635-636.

¹⁰⁰Roos, 106.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 108.

¹⁰²Ibid., 108, 106.

¹⁰³"Le risible et le rieur sont deux termes d'un même rapport, et ce rapport ne saurait être suffisamment connu de quiconque ignore l'un des deux termes." Lévêque, 110.

¹⁰⁴Gautier, "Salon de 1868," 635-636.

¹⁰⁵"Le Salon de 1868," *Le Monde pour rire* (May 13, 1868): 1.

¹⁰⁶Jeanne L. Wasserman, *Daumier Sculpture: A Critical and Comparative Study* (Boston: Fogg Art Museum, 1969), 29-42. Champfleury, *Histoire de la caricature moderne* (Paris: Librairie de la Société des gens de lettres, 1865), 33-34, 47.

¹⁰⁷Very little work has been done on Dantan or sculptural caricature. And although relevant to my project and deserving of further consideration, a thorough study of the relationship between sculpture and caricature is beyond the scope of this dissertation. For an introduction to Dantan, see Musée Carnavalet, *Dantan jeune: caricature et portraits de la société romantique, collections du Musée Carnavalet* (Paris: Maison de Balzac, 1989); P. Sorel, "Busts by Dantan at the Musée Carnavalet: Caricature Portraits Sculpted in the Romantic Era," *Gazette des beaux arts* 107, no. 1404 and no. 1405 (1986): 1-38; 87-102; Richard Walden Hale, *Dantan Jeune, 1800-1869, and his Satirical and Other Sculptures, especially his portrait charges* (Meriden, Conn.: Meriden Gravure, 1940).

¹⁰⁸Wasserman, 31.

¹⁰⁹Benedict Nicolson has located the initial conception of Courbet's *The Beggar's Alms* to 1854, citing comments made in a letter to Bruyas written in the Spring of that year. Nicolson, "Courbet's L'Aumône d'un

Mendiant," *Burlington Magazine* 104, 707 (February 1962): 73.

¹¹⁰For more on Ratapoil, see Wasserman, 161-73 and Wechsler, 91.

¹¹¹The notion of the beggar as an agent of Courbet is further supported by Nochlin's connection of the beggar with the self-portrait of Courbet in *The Meeting or Bonjour M. Courbet* (1854). In other words, there is perhaps a degree of self-identification involved in the conception of the almsgiver.

CHAPTER 5
CÉZANNE'S JOKE(S)

In examining the treatment of the career of Paul Cézanne, it becomes clear that the scholarship follows a path not unlike that described in Chapter Three regarding the construction of the "two Daumiers." For example, Cézanne's early paintings and his late works are often separated and read in terms of disjunctions rather than continuities. The first part of his career, the period of the 1860s and the early 1870s, is often connected with romantic, rococo, and baroque influences, noted for the use of the *couillarde* style, and sometimes dismissed as an era of bad painting for Cézanne. On the other hand, the later works have been connected to the classical (and Nicolas Poussin in particular) and are lauded as being integral to the development of abstraction (and cubism in particular).¹

The early versus the late Cézanne is a division that relates to primarily formal concerns. A second pair of Cézannes emerges in studies that are to varying degrees

guided by interests in biography, personality, and psychoanalysis. Two of the most notable of such studies construct a dysfunctional, tentative, even unsure Cézanne. In "Cézanne's Doubt," Maurice Merleau-Ponty offers an artist who "doubts" his worth as a painter, a tireless, even obsessed worker who "never finished working," and a figure who like (the stereotype of) many great artists (he cites El Greco) is just a little bit mad.² And Meyer Schapiro's Cézanne is plagued by sexual problems, reflected by the "overtly sexual themes" of the early works, which later "disappear" or are sublimated into paintings with a "latent erotic sense."³

Although the views of Cézanne exemplified by the work of Merleau-Ponty and Schapiro continue to be influential, a second, more calculating Cézanne, particularly during the early years in Paris, is suggested in the subtext of many examinations and sometimes posited rather straightforwardly. The more straightforward argument for a shrewder Cézanne is made by Roger Crenshaw and Adrian Lewis who use the term "wilful (sic) ineptitude" to describe the early paintings, and they interpret Cézanne's years in Paris as formative especially with regard to his encounters with

and negotiations of the avant-garde. It is in fact these negotiations that Crenshaw and Lewis see as central to Cézanne's early project:

Cézanne's career is unusual in that the construction of an identity took chronological precedence over the construction of an oeuvre.

The early work was subordinated to the successful pursuit of a 'reputation'....⁴

Crenshaw and Lewis are not off the mark in noting that Cézanne began cultivating a reputation and an artistic persona early. There exist, of course, numerous anecdotes attesting to Cézanne's eccentricities and his escapades at the Café Guerbois in Paris, and many scholars have noted the fact that during his early career he specifically modeled himself after Gustave Courbet in appearance, behavior, as well as artistic style. However, unlike Courbet, Cézanne's interest in provoking attention for his paintings through behavior or the development of a persona achieved limited success in part because these strategies were employed while his work was still relatively unknown. Yet I think it is a mistake to conclude that Cézanne's quest for a reputation subordinated the project of painting or the construction

of an oeuvre. In fact, I will argue that the two projects must be considered in tandem as they are closely related, particularly during the 1870s. After all, the reputation of an artist or an artistic persona is constructed in the art that is produced as much as in the artist's comportment. By focusing on Cézanne's visual encounters with various artistic traditions, the avant-garde, and especially Edouard Manet in a series of paintings that demonstrate both formal and conceptual interests in caricature, I will argue that Cézanne was involved in a complicated experiment where he allied himself with the avant-garde as well as the broader artistic tradition and then undermined such alliances to distinguish himself and his work.

An important element in Cézanne's pursuit of this complicated strategy of alliance followed by deliberate alienation, at least in the 1860s and early 1870s, is the adoption of caricature. Cézanne's "painted caricatures," which include *A Modern Olympia* (1873-74) (Fig. 5) and its variants (Figs. 42-45), *The Luncheon on the Grass* (c. 1870) and its variant (Figs. 46-47), *Achille Empereur* (1869-1870) (Fig. 48), and *The Eternal Feminine* (c. 1877) (Fig. 6), exhibit the distortions, exaggerations, and at

times humor that relate them to the practice of caricature. Additionally, Cézanne's caricatural strategies hinge upon the oppositional and challenging nature of caricature described in the previous chapters.

The element of caricature and its related components of irony and humor in Cézanne's early career have been to some degree acknowledged by other writers. Oftentimes, the acknowledgment of Cézanne the caricaturist or the humorist is relegated to a single word or an aside. Lionello Venturi, for example, notes that Cézanne's *A Modern Olympia, An Afternoon in Naples* (c. 1876-1877) (Fig. 44), and *The Eternal Feminine* are "not without irony," and then does not proceed to explain or elaborate on the comment.⁵ Perhaps the idea of a Cézanne who is a shrewd caricaturist who laughs and therefore criticizes is difficult to reconcile with the "doubting" Cézanne. For example, in examining *Achille Empereire*, Roger Fry seems to question what appears to be his initial instinct that this painting is partly caricatural, "No doubt Cézanne was too serious to be suspected of making fun of his unfortunate fellow artist."⁶

More recently scholars have begun to suggest much more adamantly the caricatural qualities of Cézanne's

work. For example, Nina Kallmyer writes that *Achille Empereur* is part parody and caricature and is evocative of Daumier's manner.⁷ In *Painted Love*, Hollis Clayson argues that *A Modern Olympia* (1873) is a "slightly grotesque caricature" which demonstrates "irony," "humor," and has a "burlesque quality."⁸ Similarly, Tamar Garb writes that *The Eternal Feminine* exemplifies the group of works from the 1870s which involve the "satirizing of the voyeurism implicit in nineteenth-century modes of viewing."⁹ And, speaking more generally about Cézanne's early pictures, Robert Simon asserts that "from the start Cézanne saw the work of travesty as a deeply conceptual enterprise."¹⁰ None of them, however, offers a detailed or developed reading of the caricatural Cézanne because the focus of their work eventually pushes this question to the side.

In this chapter, I shift the focus back to Cézanne's "painted caricatures" to show that Cézanne's appropriations of the caricatural in his early career demonstrate an understanding that the process of caricature involves a jockeying for and an assertion of power. In Cézanne's case, the "victims" of his caricatures include the artistic establishment, the

avant-garde, Manet, Honoré Daumier, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Courbet, Eugène Delacroix, and Cézanne himself. At stake in the caricatural encounters Cézanne devises is his own reputation. In essence, the caricaturing of these artists and these traditions allows Cézanne to enact an almost oedipal rite of passage described by Norman Bryson in *Tradition and Desire*. Bryson argues that the "late-coming" artist:

by accepting the belatedness in which he finds himself exactly at the moment he defines tradition, he turns the pressure of the tradition round, so that he, the latecomer, is seen to know more than any of his predecessors... [Each] artist is depotentiated by making visible the predecessor he had worked hard to overcome...¹¹

Most of this chapter is devoted to a consideration of Cézanne's caricatural strategy of the late 1860s and the early 1870s, focusing in particular on *A Modern Olympia* (1873) and its variants. *A Modern Olympia* serves as a departure point for discussions of related images, including Manet's *Olympia* and Pablo Picasso's *Les Femmes d'Alger (O. J. Version O)* - all images which can be viewed as

voices in diachronic dialogues on issues such as the role of caricature in the making of avant-garde reputations.

Additionally, in an effort to reconcile the "two Cézannes," in the final section of this chapter, I will address the ways in which Cézanne's early strategies of caricature relate to the strategies of abstraction in the later paintings. I will argue that the figural distortions fundamental to both the caricatural early works and the later, more abstract paintings can be read as an extended examination of the unstable boundary between "painted caricature" and abstraction. By identifying the highly contingent boundary between "painted caricature" and abstraction in Cézanne and discussing its afterlife in *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, an image often seen as being a quintessentially modernist work, I will make the case that a significant place be made for "painted caricature" in our understanding of modernist painting.

A Modern Olympia

Cézanne, who the art dealer Ambroise Vollard claims "never talked about Manet in any but a joking or whimsical vein," seems to repeatedly seek an alliance with Manet's caricatural critics in the paintings of the

late 1860s and 1870s.¹² Manet's *Olympia* (Fig. 49) is the target of Cézanne's 1873 "modern" version, as well as his *A Modern Olympia* of 1869-1870, the watercolor *Olympia* (c.1875), and multiple versions of *Afternoon in Naples*, all featuring the nude, the servant, and a figure who bears a striking resemblance to the artist himself (I shall henceforth refer to this figure as "Cézanne"). *The Eternal Feminine* is also often read as a variation on the *Olympia* theme, but its references are not restricted to Manet's painting, as I will show below. Cézanne's constant "joking" or "whimsical" regard for Manet, as suggested by Vollard, extends beyond his encounters with *Olympia* to include the targeting of another of Manet's notorious paintings, namely *Luncheon on the Grass* (1863) (Fig. 50), which he references in his own *Luncheon on the Grass* (c. 1870) and *Pastoral* (c. 1870). In all of these paintings, Manet and his famous images are simultaneously present yet emphatically absent. Specifically, the connection to Manet is relatively tenuous, achieved with the appropriation of titles and basic iconographic similarities. Such iconographic quotations also relate to Manet's own practice of "quoting" from both the larger tradition of old masters and the shorter history of the

avant-garde. The process of reduction, accompanied by Cézanne's own elaborations, exaggerations, or changes, has much in common with the strategies of the caricatural press that repeatedly targeted the paintings of Manet.

In *A Modern Olympia* (1873), which was exhibited in the first Impressionist exhibition of 1874, Cézanne takes on Manet's *Olympia* by referencing the infamous painting in his title and by incorporating the visual elements of the reclining nude, the black servant woman, and the black cat – which he has transformed into an eager lapdog. Cézanne departs from Manet's version by introducing a male figure that has been read as a self-portrait and by opening up the space of the room to include a large curtain, a still-life on a round table, and an enormous vase of flowers. The nude's position has been inverted both in terms of positioning and in terms of her relationship with the black servant, who in Cézanne's version seems to serve the viewer(s) rather than Olympia. Specifically, rather than carrying an offering of flowers from a client as she does in Manet's *Olympia*, the servant strips back a white sheet, making Olympia the offering. Additionally, the nude's crouching, closed, fetal position contrasts sharply with

Manet's nude who is available to the male gaze but who seems to control it to some degree with the emphatic placement of her hand on her thigh and her direct gaze.

The relationship that Cézanne's *Modern Olympia* establishes with Manet's painting is a complicated one. Cézanne's referencing of Manet is not even as obvious as, for example, Manet's referencing of Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (1538). In fact, the connections to Manet's painting are rather few and restricted to the (modified) title of the painting and to certain (modified) motifs. Although Cézanne's title suggests that this *Olympia* is an updated and "modern" version of Manet's vision, the composition seems to contradict the claim to modernness. Also, the colorful palette and certain elements like the rather decorative vase of flowers or the baroque table refer to the past rather than the future by recalling Venetian painting which Cézanne is known to have admired. The result is that Cézanne establishes a link to the past and, in a roundabout way, to Manet, who is well known for his art historical references.¹³ In addition, by offering a "modern *Olympia*" who is in no way "modern," Cézanne engages in irony, a strategy that seems appropriate for an image that I will show is part caricature.

Kurt Badt argues that *A Modern Olympia* is both about "admiration" and "envy" and that it allows Cézanne to "out-do Manet" and to bring "universal attention to himself."¹⁴ Badt's reading suggests that at stake in Cézanne's negotiations with *Olympia* was artistic practice and reputation. Specifically, by referencing Manet, Cézanne affirms the project of the older artist and asserts that it is with this type of practice that the artist who is new on the scene must contend. But it is important to remember that the painting is both about homage and a one-upmanship. Referencing *Olympia* is not the same as copying *Olympia*. Instead, by invoking her name with his title and alluding to Manet's *Olympia* with a few visual clues and then inserting into the painting his own image and his loose brushwork that contrasts sharply with that of Manet, Cézanne manages both to take advantage of and to undermine *Olympia*'s authority and notoriety.

This intricate process of reference and challenge parallels the strategies and working methods of the caricaturists for whom Manet and his paintings (most notably *Olympia*) served as frequent targets. To understand the significance of Cézanne's reference to

caricature, we should return to Manet's *Olympia* and recall that scholars like Beatrice Farwell have convincingly argued that Manet borrowed from both "high art" and popular imagery in his conception of the image.¹⁵ Manet's painting took on a second relationship to popular imagery when it was extensively caricatured by the popular press.¹⁶ Cézanne, I would like to suggest, extends the painting's relationship to caricature by in part allying himself with Manet's caricatural critics.

The alliance between *A Modern Olympia* and caricaturists is also suggested in specifically formal terms. In this painting, as with most of Cézanne's images that exhibit caricatural tendencies (with the exception of *Achille Empereire*), it is the handling of the paint, some of the details, and the bodies (rather than the faces) that tend toward the caricatural. This differs from the "painted caricatures" of Courbet discussed in Chapter Four, for example, which demonstrate an interest in portrait caricature in their focus on exaggerated, distorted and/or highly detailed faces. The only face or head that Cézanne targets with caricature in *A Modern Olympia* and its variants is his own – or at least that of his alter-ego. Even in the rendering of the "Cézanne"

figure's features, he turns him to face away from the viewer, offering only enough details to assure recognition. This obscuring or effacing of the figure on one level suggests the inverse of caricature. Nevertheless, the figure is more portrait caricature than portrait, as the head seems to have been deliberately misshapen and made conical and his baldness emphasized. Rather than covering the physical "flaw," Cézanne targets and exploits it as a caricaturist might, reiterating the fact that something is missing with the discarded, upside-down top-hat which lies empty and serves as a constant reminder of the (bald) head it normally covers.¹⁷

Although the loose handling of the paint in *A Modern Olympia* shares certain characteristics with the impressionist technique, its sketch-like tendencies also recall the style of quickly rendered lithographs that poked fun at pictures like Manet's. In addition to the misshapen head, other exaggerations which tend to be the markers of caricature include: the dog that comically stands on his hind legs; the servant's elaborate gesture of stripping away the sheet; the vase of flowers, huge in relation to the bouquet in Manet's painting; the almost nonsensical horizontal stretching of Olympia's hair in

two directions; the distortions of the woman's body, which the critic Louis Leroy noted is almost "folded up in two;" and the previously mentioned upside-down top hat, which has both sexual connotations (i.e., as an open, vertical form that is vaginal and phallic at the same time) and recalls isolated elements in caricatures that generally have some symbolic meaning.¹⁸

It is significant that Cézanne chose to exhibit *A Modern Olympia* in the first Impressionist exhibition, which essentially served to distinguish participating artists, including Cézanne, from the Salon or the artistic establishment. I would further argue that choosing to show *A Modern Olympia* at the first Impressionist exhibition also allowed Cézanne to distinguish himself from his fellow exhibitors and to position himself as an individual apart from a group.¹⁹ To understand why Cézanne would be motivated to force such a distinction, consider Stéphane Mallarmé's article entitled "The Impressionists and Edouard Manet" (1876). Mallarmé sees the Impressionists in homogeneous terms, while he allots to Manet precedence and individuality:

...MM. Claude Monet, Sisley and Pizzaro [sic] paint wondrously alike; indeed a rather superficial

observer at a pure and simple exhibition of Impressionism would take all of their works to be those of one man – and that man, Manet.²⁰

In *A Modern Olympia*, Cézanne, via his loose brushstrokes and lighter palette, is able to establish some allegiance with the Impressionists, but, by referencing, redefining, and even caricaturing Manet's vision, he can be seen as challenging the position of the figurative "father" of the group or as identifying himself with Manet as opposed to the Impressionists.²¹ A letter Cézanne wrote to Pissarro in 1876 parallels the strategies of undermining his affiliations with the avant-garde that are suggested by the painting and its exhibition. He tells Pissarro that he believes that the fact that his works "contrast with the impressionists" will ultimately help him.²²

The element of caricature also allows Cézanne to subvert "high art" or artistic tradition in ways that departed from impressionist strategies. In fact, the introduction of caricature has more in common with Courbet's oppositional gestures targeted at the Salon in the 1860s. Specifically, Courbet conflated "high" and "low" in large paintings clearly intended for the Salon

to challenge the nature of the distinction between the two forms as well as the arbitrary rules for the proper style and subject of Salon pictures. Cézanne engages in similar conflations when he simultaneously caricatures and references Manet and Venetian painting and when he turns to the traditional subject of the nude and then subverts that tradition by showing Olympia as crouching rather than reclining.²³ Caricaturing Manet, then, allows Cézanne to challenge a representative of the avant-garde as well as the precepts of the traditional artistic establishment.

The aforementioned strategies allow Cézanne to isolate himself from the traditional artistic establishment as well as the avant-garde. But the process of self-isolation takes an interesting twist in *A Modern Olympia*, where Cézanne does not separate or exempt himself from the caricature to which he has subjected Manet. By inserting his likeness in the image, he, too, becomes caricature. In addition, *A Modern Olympia* of 1873 can be seen as a caricature of Cézanne's own *A Modern Olympia* of 1869-70. The earlier composition, which is darker and more thickly painted than the later image, lacks the humor and sketchiness that serve to

connect the second version to caricature. So, with the later *Modern Olympia*, Cézanne, borrowing from the tradition of caricature, takes on Manet **and** himself, via the referencing and exaggeration of the first version.

And perhaps this is yet another place **where** his painting and his reputation meet. Specifically, the use of caricature, a form connected with the "low" or the marginal, suggests certain parallels with Cézanne's Aixois identity. That is, caricature seems to be a particularly appropriate technique for the persona he worked hard to cultivate, namely that of the uncouth Cézanne of the country who, like Courbet, may have had more in common with the consumers of the "low" than with those of the "high." But, as with Courbet, the reality is that the city is Cézanne's audience. Although the use of caricature may establish a relationship with the popular or with his "primitive," Aixois background, the primarily urban roots and dissemination of caricature also firmly connect the paintings to Paris. Thus the tensions between "high" and "low" are paralleled by similar tensions underlying the persona and reputation of the "two Cézannes" – the Cézanne of the country and the Cézanne of the city.

The connection I suggest between Cézanne's reputation and caricature becomes more interesting when considered together with Camille Pissarro's *Portrait of Cézanne* (1874) (Fig. 51). Pissarro presents Cézanne's likeness flanked on either side of his head and shoulders with representations of caricatures that had appeared in the French journals. Theodore Reff has identified the left print as an image by André Gill, while the right print is a caricature of Gustave Courbet which appeared in *Le Hannebon* (Fig. 52).²⁴ The inclusion of the Courbet print is particularly interesting given that Cézanne has been seen as having modeled his early reputation, which involved negotiations with country and city identities, after the older artist. Also, the juxtaposition of Cézanne and the Courbet print supports my argument that Cézanne's caricatural strategies in *A Modern Olympia* are in part artistic responses to Courbet's conflations of "high" and "low." Finally, one cannot ignore Pissarro's treatment of the figure of Cézanne, who seems to have been rendered in a loose, sketch-like style that calls attention to the similarities rather than the differences between the appearance and treatment of the central figure and the small caricature of Courbet. In a way, by

caricaturing Cézanne, Pissarro follows the example Cézanne himself set in *A Modern Olympia* when he caricatured his own likeness. The result is that, here again, artistic practice and reputation meet and parallels are made between Cézanne and Courbet with regard to pictorial strategies and their mutual exaggerations of behavior.

A discussion of the utilization of caricature would be incomplete without considering one response that the humor contained in such images is meant to evoke – namely laughter. To understand why laughter would be a desired response in an image that, as I have argued, encounters multiple artistic traditions, it is useful to consider Mikhail Bakhtin's discussion of the subject. Bakhtin explains:

Laughter purifies from dogmatism, from the intolerant and the petrified; it liberates from fanaticism and pedantry, from fear and intimidation... from the single meaning and the single level...²⁵

Essentially Bakhtin explains that laughter, generated by the grotesque or by exaggeration, serves to disempower the travestied figure(s), which in the case of *A Modern Olympia* include Manet and the avant-garde to whom Cézanne

offers the position of authority previously belonging to the Salon and the Ecole des Beaux Arts.

Sigmund Freud's discussion of the joke also relates the application of humor to the challenge to authority. Freud contends that jokes, caricatures, parodies, etc. are directed "against persons in exalted positions who claim to exercise authority." He continues:

The joke then represents a rebellion against that authority, a liberation from its pressure. The charm of caricatures lies in this same factor: we laugh at them even if they are unsuccessful simply because we count rebellion against authority as merit.²⁶

The interpretations of laughter and caricature offered by Bakhtin and Freud help to illuminate the type of humor involved in Cézanne's *A Modern Olympia*. Here, the humor is of a subtle variety and the laughter is contingent on several factors, including the position of the viewer. Specifically, the viewer may laugh because he/she considers *A Modern Olympia* as an example of the ridiculous – as "bad painting." A different viewer who sees the caricatural aspects of the painting may laugh simply because he/she automatically is conditioned to

connect the technique of caricature with the humorous. One may also laugh at the ironic relationship between the title and the image that I have already mentioned. Moreover, it is possible to find certain elements like the ridiculous dog and the upside-down top hat literally funny. However, Cézanne's various strategies of referring to and then subverting artists and art forms which occupy positions of power indicate that *A Modern Olympia's* humor is designed primarily to address the power relationships between the object and subject of the laughter that Bakhtin and Freud describe. Clearly, laughter, which has the power to challenge authority, is desirable in an image that simultaneously challenges Manet, the Impressionists, and the traditional artistic establishment. Still, a question remains. How does one account for the fact that part of Cézanne's project is to laugh at himself or, in other words, to undermine himself, through the inclusion of the figure of "Cézanne" and through the referencing or caricaturing of his previous version?

One answer may lie in a passage from Emile Zola's *L'Oeuvre*, which may be seen as a work of literary caricature that uses the tactics of the belligerent

critics to poke fun at art and artists that Zola once admired. In describing the reception of the painting of Claude Lantier, a fictional character who can be identified with both Cézanne and Manet, Zola's narrator explains: "It was there that everybody was laughing loudest and longest: in front of *his* pictures... Nobody understood it; everyone thought it 'mad' and 'killingly funny.'" ²⁷ Claude is, of course, devastated by the response, interpreting laughter as failure. But was it not that very laughter, targeted at Manet's *Olympia*, that made the picture a success – that made Manet's reputation? The relationship between laughter and the success of a painter who wants to set himself apart is understood by Zola's Jory: "'There!' cried the triumphant Jory, 'How's that for success?'" ²⁸ So, by laughing at Manet and the others, Cézanne undermines their authority; by offering himself as the target of laughter, Cézanne evokes a response that is reserved for the artist who is certainly distinct from fellow exhibitors. Freud explains how making oneself the object of laughter can have a positive transforming effect with regard to position:

...it is possible to produce the comic in relation to oneself...But one does not in this way make oneself ridiculous or contemptible, but may in some circumstances achieve admiration. The feeling of superiority does not arise in the other person if he knows that one has only been pretending....²⁹

According to Freud the feeling of superiority becomes possible only if the pretense is understood. I would argue that even if the pretense or the strategies of the painting were not understood, Cézanne was, at the very least, able to distinguish himself from the pack by positioning himself as the object of laughter.

An article published by "Stock" in 1870 suggests that Cézanne understood the relevance of laughter to one's success. Stock quotes Cézanne as saying, "he who laughs last, laughs best."³⁰ Even if the writer of the Stock piece never interviewed Cézanne and simply put words in the painter's mouth (which is very likely), it is still significant that a contemporary interpretation of the painting reflects an understanding that Cézanne's *A Modern Olympia* engaged laughter to affect and improve the painter's position. Appropriately, the Stock article was accompanied by a caricature of Cézanne, thus allowing

Cézanne to join the ranks of successful avant-garde painters like Manet and Courbet who were caricatured in the French journals. In this image, Cézanne, looking very Courbetesque, is depicted with two of his works rejected by the Salon of 1870, one which he holds, the other which dangles from his ear.

The notion that Cézanne was fascinated with and in fact sought the laughter and caricatural responses generated by such figures as Courbet and Manet is suggested by one of his encounters with the work of Daumier.³¹ Guila Ballas has noted that Cézanne's *Venus and Cupid* (1870-1873) (Fig. 53) appropriates and then takes as its focus a detail, specifically a small painting featuring Venus and Cupid, from two of Daumier's caricatures (Figs. 54-55) which poke fun at artists and the viewers of paintings.³² In painting the "painting" featured in the caricatures, Cézanne retrospectively creates the caricatured object. In this case, he both anticipates and circumvents caricatural response by creating a kind of fiction of having been caricatured or laughed at by Daumier. In addition, he turns the tables on the caricaturist by caricaturing the caricatures.

Marc de Montifaud's review of *A Modern Olympia* within an article on the 1874 exposition offers at least one acknowledgment that Cézanne was successful in eliciting laughter and perhaps even thematizing it with this painting. The review, which operates partly as a "verbal caricature" of the work, is worth considering in detail because Montifaud moves from discussing the public's response of laughter to reading the image as a drug-induced vision, a connection that, as I will explain below, suggests that *A Modern Olympia* is informed by some of Baudelaire's views on laughter. Montifaud writes:

Sunday's public judged it appropriate to laugh contemptuously in the face of the fantastic figure which presented itself within an opiated sky, in front of a smoker of opium. This apparition of rosy and nude flesh...[is] like a voluptuous vision, this [is] a corner of an artificial paradise... Why look for an indecent joke, a scandalous motivation in the *Olympia*. In reality, it is nothing but one of the extravagant forms loaned by hashish in a swarm of hilarious dreams...³³

Montifaud calls the painting and the crouching nude in particular "a creation inspired by Baudelaire."³⁴ The

references to Baudelaire, opium, hashish, and an "artificial paradise," very emphatically assert the connections Montifaud sees between Cézanne's paintings and Baudelaire's extended inquiry, in works like *Les Paradis Artificiels* and *Du Vin et du hachish*, on the "artificial paradises" achieved through wine and drugs.³⁵ In Baudelaire's work, as in Montifaud's review, laughter is a response woven together with a consideration of the effects of drinking wine or smoking opium or hashish. For example, in the first of a three stage response he outlines regarding the effects of hashish, Baudelaire explains:

First a certain absurd and irresistible hilarity seizes you... You laugh at your silliness and folly; your friends laugh their heads off at you... One laughs a great deal, because the man who has taken hashish, in the first phase, is endowed with a marvelous intelligence for the comic.³⁶

The references to Baudelaire and his work on opium and hashish, which treats drug-induced laughter at length, are designed in part to parallel the public's supposed "contemptuous" laughter with which the review of the painting is introduced. However, since Montifaud is

very specific about the Baudelairian texts suggested as sources for the painting, it is worth considering that the allusions to *Les Paradis Artificiels* and *Du Vin et du hachish* indicate more than the painting's relationship to laughter. In fact, in examining *Du Vin et du hachish*, one begins to entertain the possibility that Montifaud may be *literally* correct that *A Modern Olympia* is a "vision inspired by Baudelaire," both thematically and iconographically. Specifically, Baudelaire's description of a sample scenario involving the smoking of hashish contains almost all of the elements of *A Modern Olympia* and related images like *An Afternoon in Naples*, including the servant, the nude who is a kind of vision or at the very least positioned to be seen, and the man who passively takes it all in. Baudelaire, whom Cézanne is known to have admired and read closely, writes:³⁷

A domestic, burdened with bringing tobacco and refreshments to the people taking hashish, seeing herself surrounded with bizarre heads, enlarged eyes, and almost thwarted by this unwholesome atmosphere, by this collective folly, by an escalation of heightened laughter, throws down her platter... and runs away... Everyone laughs... The

hallucinations begin.... [Everything] becomes deformed, transformed, it enters into your being or you enter into it.... You are seated and you smoke.... The paintings on the ceiling, although mediocre and bad, take on a tremendous life.... The nymphs with their dazzling flesh regard you with large eyes more clear than water.... You assume your place and your role in the most miserable paintings....³⁸

The similarities between Baudelaire's text, *A Modern Olympia* (1873), and the three versions of *An Afternoon in Naples* (which can be seen as variants of the *Olympias*) are striking. For example, in *An Afternoon in Naples* (as in the text), the servant charges in with large, dramatic movements, and a platter of refreshments; in *A Modern Olympia* (1873), she may be escaping in the direction that her arm points while pulling the sheet away. In each case, the servant is a facilitator of the vision, either by revealing the woman or by bringing libations that will further enhance the hallucinations and laughter. And Baudelaire's assertion that everything becomes deformed or transformed during the hashish experience seems particularly appropriate in an image that demonstrates several caricatural tendencies. The theme of seeing in

Baudelaire's text, whether it is in the guise of the nude who looks at "you," the visions brought forth by the drug, or the paintings that come to life, is also a theme explored by *A Modern Olympia*, as "Cézanne" looks up at the woman (or is she just a painting?) who may be looking back at him. Cézanne has even included a silly dog with large eyes who participates in this circuit of looking.³⁹

An important related point is that Cézanne, in the 1860s and 1870s, was particularly interested in the idea of visions, one might even say hallucinations. The images which suggest these themes include both versions of *The Temptation of St. Anthony* (Figs. 56-57), where a woman appears and exposes herself to tempt the saint, *The Eternal Feminine* and *The Feast* (c. 1870) (Fig. 58), which offer a kind of surreal visual cacophony of figures, and the dreamlike renderings of the luncheon paintings, especially *Pastoral* (1870) where "Cézanne" is depicted in a reclining, contemplative pose as a nude seems to emerge from his head (i.e., his imagination).⁴⁰

Interestingly, in a preliminary study for *The Eternal Feminine* (Fig. 59), a figure who may be "Cézanne" is positioned at the lower center of the multi-figured composition; he cranes his bald head up and back, as if

to suggest again that this is a vision that emerges from the head or imagination of "Cézanne"/Cézanne.⁴¹

Cézanne's interest in visions and even visuality can be expanded to include the theatrical components of many of these paintings, which again reconnect the images to the response of laughter central to my argument and to "painted caricatures" like *A Modern Olympia*. On the most basic and visual level, Cézanne relates *A Modern Olympia* to theater and, specifically to a stage set, through certain pictorial details. The first, of course, is the element of the curtain which has been drawn back in the earlier version; in the later painting, there is a less dramatic use of the curtain, and, instead, the drama of revelation has been transformed into the servant pulling back the white sheet to offer Olympia to the gaze of the sitting figure.⁴²

Further evidence of Cézanne's interest in the theatrical is the repeated use of the alter-ego "Cézanne," who, in both *Modern Olympias*, is the pictured observer, allowing the painter to simultaneously play the role of painted figure and maker of the image. "Cézanne" also plays a double role within the painting, as he is at once actor and audience to the revelation that happens

above him. It is important that the observer is positioned below and apart from the "performance" he watches, suggesting an association with the positioning of an audience for a theatrical performance. The physical relation of the "stage" (where Olympia has been placed) to the "audience"/"Cézanne" also recalls the inclined seating available in theaters.

The question of role playing extends beyond the creation of an alter-ego figure in that the caricaturing of a painting is akin to playing out a farce where the original painting and its author are (temporarily) masked by the "modern" version. Cézanne's fascination with role-playing had a history that predated his painted encounters with the works of Manet. There is the example of Cézanne's murals of the *Four Seasons* (1860-1862) (Fig. 60) in his father's *Jas du Bouffon* home which he signed with the name of Ingres instead of his own. Other scholars have noted that the murals parody Ingres' style, but what is more interesting to me is that, by assuming Ingres' name and identity, Cézanne, in a sense, already parodies himself as he would again in *A Modern Olympia*.⁴³

The theatrical, like the caricature and laughter aspects of *A Modern Olympia*, is also part and parcel of

Cézanne's construction of a reputation. Just as Cézanne caricatures himself, he also offers himself as a performer in a comedy that he directs and paints. If *A Modern Olympia* was a performance by Cézanne, it was by no means the only one in which he engaged. In fact, one can describe all the various strategies that he deployed to construct an artistic persona as performative. For example, in describing Cézanne's behavior during the early years in Paris, Vollard suggests a type of role-playing and theatricality which served to distinguish Cézanne from his colleagues: "By way of showing his disapproval, he played the cynic. Once when Manet asked him what he was preparing for the Salon, Cézanne flung back, "A pot of s---." ⁴⁴ He also easily moves from "playing" the cynic to playing Jesus Christ in a review of 1874 by Jean Prouvaire, who writes that Cézanne "presents himself at the Salon, carrying his canvases on his back, as Jesus Christ his cross." ⁴⁵ And Cézanne, in a letter to Zola from 1878, suggests an understanding of the necessity of accompanying one's work with theatricality and spectacle: "It's really regrettable that artistic things aren't more appreciated and that one

needs to attract the public with some sensational event."⁴⁶

Cézanne's preoccupation with the caricatural as it relates to theatrical themes is also relevant to the response – the laughter – that he seeks from the viewers and critics of his paintings and from the audiences who witnessed his "performances" in the cafés. Just as caricature is designed to generate laughter, so the theater experience, unlike the average museum or picture-viewing experience, elicits a variety of *physical* responses such as clapping, tears, and, of course, laughter. It is also worth noting that laughter is the generation of communicative sound that has the potential to link together observers who realize they are experiencing the same response. The shared laughter then becomes a social or communal experience that leaves the target of the laughter on the outside or as an individual distinct from the group. And this is precisely Cézanne's goal.

Freud is useful in understanding the interconnectedness between caricature and theater that Cézanne's painting and caricatural activity in general suggest. Specifically, Freud speaks of caricature as a

vehicle for "unmasking" and bringing "forward something that is concealed or hidden."⁴⁷ In addition, telling a joke or designing a caricature, according to Freud, involves "exhibitionism" and "an ambitious urge to show one's cleverness, to display oneself..."⁴⁸ The notion of the caricaturist as actor or as a figure who is interested in masking and unmasking seems to be in part supported by the many nineteenth-century caricaturists, like Cham (Amédee de Noé), Gavarni (Sulipice-Guillaume Chevalier), André Gill (Louis-Alexandre Gosset de Guines), and Grandville (Jean-Ignace-Isidore Gérard), who "performed" or published their works using pseudonyms or "stage names."⁴⁹ And Cézanne follows suit, taking on the pseudonym of "Ingres," creating his alter-ego "Cézanne," becoming Manet and yet not Manet, an impressionist and yet not an impressionist, a painter-caricaturist.

Beyond the Olympias: Part I

The caricatural strategies that I have attributed to *A Modern Olympia* do not necessarily appear in all of Cézanne's paintings. I do not believe that all of his works, even those contemporary with the *Olympias*, are invested in simultaneously confronting tradition, the avant-garde, and especially Cézanne's own reputation by

engaging caricature and theatricality. On the other hand, the *Olympias* do not stand alone either.

For example, *The Eternal Feminine*, which I have discussed briefly above, also shares some strategies with *A Modern Olympia*. Here, there is again a referencing and even a conflation of the avant-garde, the more traditional, and the "popular." With regard to the avant-garde, Cézanne has privileged once more the type of crude rather than finished erotic nude with which Courbet and Manet had made their reputations in large part due to the exaggerated responses they received in the press. Also, the arrangements of various types and the inclusion of his own likeness, shown painting a landscape when a nude model is available, recalls Courbet's *Painter's Studio* (1854-55) (Fig. 29).⁵⁰ But this image also parodies art associated with the traditional establishment via its classical pyramidal composition and because it can be connected to Ingres' *Apotheosis of Homer* (1827) (Fig. 61). Recall that Ingres is a figure that Cézanne has taken on before in the murals at Jas du Buffon as well as in *Achille Empereur*, which has been compared simultaneously to Ingres' *Napoleon I on his Imperial Throne* (1806) (Fig. 62) and to the enlarged heads which are the markers of

the caricatural portrait charge.⁵¹ In writing about *Achille Empereire*, Nina Kallmyer has noted the confrontations Cézanne deliberately forces between tradition and more modern visual forms like caricature:

Along with the pseudo-Ingrism of its style, the picture's manner evokes Daumier's manner... or as official art viewed through the mockingly distorted lens of dissident - in content and form - caricature.⁵²

It would seem that Cézanne stays true to form in *The Eternal Feminine*, as he again turns to caricature, via the sketch-like style and exaggerations, while he conflates at least two canonical works, one representative of the avant-garde and the other of the Academy. The result is that the laughter generated by the caricature undermines the authority of both groups, leaving Cézanne, who is also being laughed at and therefore being made famous, somewhere on the outside.

By conflating and confronting what seem to be diametrically opposed groups of artists in works like *A Modern Olympia* and *The Eternal Feminine*, Cézanne is able to position himself as an artist without affiliations.⁵³ What is interesting is that the role he has assumed and

directs – namely that of the outsider – is one to which he eventually adds a more literal dimension when he leaves Paris for Aix.

Isolation, however, achieved through the appropriation of caricature and all the associations with opposition, challenge, and laughter implied by such a strategy, is only part of the story of the caricatural Cézanne. In the introductory passages of this chapter, I suggested that the construction of a reputation and the construction of an oeuvre are inseparable in the work of Cézanne – even in the examination of the nature of his early career. On the surface, much of the work from the 1860s and 1870s demonstrating caricatural confrontations with artistic traditions, the avant-garde, and figures like Manet seem to be primarily about reputation – about making a place for oneself. It is only if we look past these confrontations to the later work that we can begin to determine if the caricatural Cézanne goes beyond the performance and challenge involved in reputation-building. In doing so, we must ask what becomes of the caricatural strategies in the later work; is caricature completely dismissed in favor of other formal concerns, or is it integrated into the development of the later

formal principles? To answer these questions, we might re-read the caricatural images of the 1860s and 1870s, which have served as the focal point of this argument, through the lens of the late *Bathers* (Figs. 63-65) – images which have often been connected to the nudes through Cézanne's earlier *Olympias* or *The Eternal Feminine*.⁵⁴

In examining *The Large Bathers* from Philadelphia or the National Gallery, it becomes clear why scholars have noted the formal connections between these later images, distinguished for their *abstract* tendencies, and the earlier figures that I have read as *caricatural*. Specifically, the distortions, elongations, and even the reductive, shorthand approach, which was a bit more sketch-like in the earlier paintings, all have been carried over into the later works. And these distortions in the late works or, in Fry's words, these "deformations," are not exclusive to the bathers.⁵⁵ Rather than reading these physical manipulations as related in part to earlier experiments with caricature, scholars have tended to read them in phenomenological terms, accounting for the distortions, as Merleau-Ponty does, in asserting that they are the visual extensions of

filtering the natural world through the eyes, body, and personal experience of the artist. "The lived perspective, that which we actually perceive," explains Merleau-Ponty, "is not a geometric or photographic one."⁵⁶ Fry offers a related explanation that asserts that Cézanne, who was probably "ignorant of these deformations," was accommodating for the "accident of life" with his tendency toward "instinctively corrected... symmetry... modified by deformations."⁵⁷

Although I do not dismiss such arguments which account for distortions as a kind of corrective that attends to the nuances of visual perception, I suggest that Cézanne's initial interests in caricatural distortion cannot be completely isolated from his later preoccupation with perceptual distortion. In fact, in assessing Cézanne's oeuvre as a whole, it becomes clear that distortion remains a constant, albeit continuously redefined component in his formal vocabulary. To borrow and to some degree recast Fry's understanding of Cézanne, distortion is integrally related to the nuances of Cézanne's "handwriting" and is a key to "his own peculiar and personal method" marked by "habitual

curves," which may become "more restrained and austere" but never truly abandoned.⁵⁸

If distortion is part of Cézanne's "handwriting," the caricatural aspects of the *Olympias* and other related paintings become somewhat more complicated, forcing us to ask what qualifies certain distortions and abbreviations of form as "caricatural" and others as perception-oriented "abstractions." The reading of the distortions and exaggerations as caricature in *A Modern Olympia*, for example, relies heavily on the context(s) for the distortions and the details of the painting and its exhibition. Cézanne's strategy reveals itself as caricatural in *A Modern Olympia* because of the suggestions of humor in the inclusion of the ridiculous dog, the complicated circuit of referencing and self-referencing, the alter-ego figure whose shortcomings (e.g., baldness) are emphasized, the use of ironic titles, etc. Remove the Olympia figure from all of this, and the distortions or exaggerations are no longer caricatural. In a sense, such a removal is precisely what Cézanne does in the later nude compositions in transferring the formal strategies of his "painted caricatures" into more neutral or generalized settings

and situations and in removing the figures "Cézanne," Manet, or Ingres from the equation.

Recognizability and a kind of hyper-individuation are keys to a successful caricature.⁵⁹ A caricaturist will *reduce* an individual or a situation by eliminating certain characteristics and exaggerating a single or small group of traits that are meant to reveal to the viewer the essential (negative or laughable) qualities of the figure(s) in question. But there is a fine line between hyper-individuation and de-individuation, because both are reductive. In other words, the reductive process of caricature or hyper-individuation simultaneously involves abbreviations and exaggerations, and, if the artist goes too far in either direction, the identity of the targeted individual can be lost.⁶⁰ In formal terms, this loss can translate, as it does in Cézanne's late work, into abstraction. In a sense, if Cézanne's preoccupation with distortion is interpreted as a continuous thread that connects the early and the late images, his production as a whole can be read as a kind of contemplation of the highly contingent and unstable boundary between caricature and abstraction.

Beyond the Olympias: Part II (Les Demoiselles d'Avignon)

In reading Cézanne's experiments with abstraction as variations on the formal interests suggested by the earlier, more obviously caricatural works, I am essentially arguing for a place to be made for "painted caricature" in our understanding of the development of modernist painting. This argument is strengthened when we examine the after-life of the caricatural cum abstract Cézanne in the Cubist works of Pablo Picasso and in his *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (Fig. 66) in particular. *Les Demoiselles* has a prominent place in the mythology of modernist painting as "the beginning of Cubism," "the beginning of a new attitude toward the expressive qualities of the human figure," and "the most important single turning point in the evolution of twentieth-century art."⁶¹ Although the emphasis has been on constructing the painting as revolutionary, this strategy has not prevented scholars from identifying connections to earlier paintings, including Manet's *Le Dejeuner sur l'herbe*, the *Olympias* by both Manet and Cézanne, and the latter's *Bathers*.⁶² Given that the nineteenth-century paintings to which *Les Demoiselles* is connected are central to this study of "painted caricatures," we must

consider whether or not Picasso's painting responds to the caricatural discourses underlying this circuit of images.

Les Demoiselles d'Avignon establishes a multivalent relationship to the *Olympia* paintings. Picasso's painting of five prostitutes responds to Manet's version, (which gave rise to Cézanne's responses and later to Paul Gauguin's *The Spirit of the Dead Watching* (1892) (Fig. 67)), by reconstructing a claustrophobic interior and by exaggerating and multiplying by five *Olympia*'s infamous confrontational gaze. The disturbing quality of the enlarged and disturbing eyes that stare at the viewer interminably and from multiple points across the canvas is heightened by the women's distorted, jagged bodies that contradict their potentially titillating poses and placement.

Les Demoiselles also exhibits the theatrical qualities of Cézanne's *A Modern Olympia* with its emphasis on display. In Picasso's painting, the process of display (facilitated by the servant in Cézanne's image) has been transformed into *self-display*, as one woman holds back a curtain and others raise their arms or open their legs to offer better views. The splayed legs and

the confrontational, *femme fatale* quality of the women also recall Cézanne's *The Eternal Feminine*.

In a painting that thematizes (and sexualizes) display, Picasso has built in formal elements that counterbalance this theme. On the surface, for example, the painting's faceted approach to the bodies seems to multiply the viewpoints offered to the viewer. However, the Cubist fracturing of the bodies also breaks them down, disrupting or complicating the intimate visual access that the painting claims to provide. Furthermore, the prominent articulation of the hand pulling up the white sheet near the center of the painting recalls the visually obstructive hand that Manet's *Olympia* emphatically places on her thigh. And the incorporation of African masks simultaneously reasserts the theatrical elements of the painting while further circumventing or redefining access to the women's bodies.⁶³

In more general terms, the exaggerations/distortions versus the reductions of detail that characterize the painting also facilitate *Les Demoiselles*'s juxtaposition of heightened versus hindered display. In my reading of *A Modern Olympia*, I defined similar strategies as caricatural. What must be determined, then, is whether

one can extrapolate and argue that *Les Demoiselles* is also part caricature or, at the very least, a byproduct of the "painted caricatures" to which it partly responds.

The general caricatural and humorous aspects of many of Picasso's drawings have been noted, as has the fact that Picasso rendered pen and ink caricatures of Manet's *Olympia* (1902-1903) (Figs. 68-69) only a few years before painting *Les Demoiselles*.⁶⁴ In one of the caricatures (Fig. 68) that takes on Manet by way of Cézanne's *Afternoon in Naples* (Fig. 43-45), Picasso has included a caricatural self-portrait. The effect is similar to that of the inclusion of the "Cézanne" figure in *Afternoon in Naples* and the other *Olympia* variants. In a discussion of the caricatural drawings, Susan Galassi explains the general referencing of Manet in works like *Les Demoiselles* and Picasso's almost obsessive reworking of Manet's *Le Dejeuner* in a series of more than two hundred works produced decades later (1959-1962): "Picasso moves in and takes a seat at Olympia's bedside," revealing "his grand intentions to unseat the 'father of modernism' by appropriating Manet's own practice of self-conscious appropriation of historical models."⁶⁵ By using Cézanne's "painted caricatures" of *Olympia* to access Manet's

painting, Picasso, like Cézanne, asserts the caricatural nature of appropriating "historical models."

Les Demoiselles has been read in caricatural terms, even by the earliest observers of the painting. For example, Gelett Burgess called the prostitutes "sub-African caricatures" and referenced Picasso's "sense of humor" and "deviltry."⁶⁶ Also, Felix Fénéon is said to have advised Picasso to devote himself to caricature after seeing the painting. (Picasso apparently responded that "all good portraits are, in a sense, caricatures").⁶⁷ More often than not, however, the caricatural aspects of the image and other works by Picasso displaying similar strategies are ignored or dismissed with the assertion that the paintings do not meet the requirement of "humor or parody" to qualify as caricatures.⁶⁸ Such an argument seems to be a bit old-fashioned in that it falls back on the academic requirement that "Art" must be serious; it also suggests that the very obvious humor found in Picasso's sketchbooks has been completely sublimated in the process of transferring ideas with paint onto canvas. Moreover, this approach ignores the playful quality of many of the works, including the collages (Fig. 70) where Picasso admits to playing games through incorporating a

pun on the French word for game (*jeu*) by affixing the first three letters of the word *journal* unto his canvas.

Instead of thinking in terms of a continuity of caricatural strategies from the sketches to the paintings, scholars have often read the distortions and exaggerations of the paintings as expressions of Picasso's interest in the "primitive." Adam Gopnik has made the most concerted effort to re-identify the caricatural aspects of Picasso's paintings and to reconcile them with the "primitive" elements.⁶⁹ Using the Baudelairian metaphor of caricature as language, Gopnik argues that Picasso invents "a kind of creole, a language that assimilates an alien vocabulary [i.e., primitivism] to a familiar syntax [i.e., caricature]."⁷⁰ Gopnik sees caricature as a strategy that must be mediated by primitivism in pursuit of "vanguard portraiture":

The move from low to high, the victory of the notebook over the easel, is accomplished through primitivism... The idea that a style may be made to move from low to high by being made to seem exotic... is in fact very familiar... It was Picasso's genius to turn the simple machine of human folly... into the engine of an extraordinary creative transformation.⁷¹

Gopnik is clearly not alone in identifying underlying connections between caricature and primitivism. Baudelaire, for example, asserts that "primitive nations do not have caricatures or comedies," but he does admit that one variety of the comic, namely the grotesque, is related to the primitive with regard to its relationship to nature.⁷² However, while I agree with Gopnik, Baudelaire, and others who see certain links between caricature and the "primitive" forms appropriated by late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century artists, I would also argue that there are *tensions* between the two forms that deserve further exploration in a future study. Following the example of Bakhtin and others, I have argued, however, that caricature is a strategy that involves the assertion of power and the subordination of objects of ridicule (who occupy positions of power). The appropriation (or colonization) and decontextualization of "primitive" aesthetic forms also involve subordination; in such cases, however, the power is asserted over the powerless "other." In juxtaposing the caricatural and the "primitive" (or is it caricaturing the primitive?), the subordination of the "other," whose

artistic impulses are ostensibly being appreciated, is further complicated and heightened.

The arguments I offer regarding the use of "painted caricature" by Cézanne and other nineteenth-century painters challenges Gopnik's notion that primitivism allowed Picasso to move caricature from the "low" to the "high." I would counter that Picasso had already observed such a transformation of caricature into painting, at the very least, within the visual discourse comprised of the *Olympias* in which *Les Demoiselles* is but one voice. Picasso's responses to this discourse suggest an understanding of the role of caricature in negotiating and establishing a reputation in relation to the avant-garde art of the past. By juxtaposing the caricatural with a vocabulary of "primitive" elements, Picasso's *Les Demoiselles*, like Cézanne's *Bathers*, reasserts the caricatural heritage of modern abstract painting by exploring the unstable boundary between caricature and other strategies of distortion.

¹Lawrence Gowing's notion that, "Comparing Cézanne's art of his thirties and of his sixties, we are in fact comparing two different kinds of rationale," exemplifies this scholarly construction of the "two Cézannes." Still, it should be noted that some scholars do try to reconcile the early and the late work, particularly in

examinations of Cézanne's treatment of bathers and nudes in general. Lawrence Gowing, "The Logic of Organized Sensations," in *Cézanne: The Late Work*, ed. William Rubin (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 55.

The term *couillarde* ("ballsy" or "spunky") refers to the style of a group of Cézanne's early paintings that exhibit a thick impasto technique achieved in part with a palette knife. On the early works, see Mary Thompkins Lewis, *Cézanne's Early Imagery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Lawrence Gowing, ed., *Cézanne: The Early Years, 1859-1872* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1988).

Many secondary sources often quote Cézanne as having claimed that he sought to "do Poussin again after nature." On the relationship between Cézanne and Poussin, see Theodore Reff, "Cézanne and Poussin," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23, 1-2 (January-June 1960): 150-174. On Cézanne and cubism, see William Rubin, "Cézannisme and the Beginnings of Cubism," in *Cézanne: The Late Work*, 151-202.

²Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "Cézanne's Doubt," in *Sense and Non-Sense*, trans. Hubert L. Dreyfus and Patricia L. Dreyfus (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 9-25.

³Meyer Schapiro, "The Apples of Cézanne: An Essay on the Meaning of Still-Life (1968)," in *Modern Art: 19th and 20th Centuries, Selected Papers* (New York: George Braziller, 1978), 10.

⁴Roger Crenshaw and Adrian Lewis, "Wilful Ineptitude," *Art History* (March 1989): 133.

⁵"L'inspiration [d'*Eternel féminin*] appartient au même genre que la *Moderne Olympia*, *L'Après Midi à Naples*, etc., c'est à dire qu'elle n'est pas sans ironie." Lionello Venturi, *Cézanne: son art-son oeuvre*, vol. I (1936) (San Francisco: Alan Wofsky Fine Arts, 1989), 120.

⁶Roger Fry, *Cézanne: A Study of His Development*, (New York: Noonday Press, 1966), 20.

⁷Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "An Artistic and Political Manifesto for Cézanne," *The Art Bulletin* 72, 3 (September 1990): 482-492.

⁸Clayson also acknowledges the caricatural aspects of *The Eternal Feminine*, however in her discussion of Cézanne's caricatural paintings, Clayson is primarily concerned with the caricature as it relates to her central concern for the treatment of the female body. She writes, for example, that *The Eternal Feminine* is "a caricature of the homage paid blindly to sexualized womankind..." Clayson, *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 16-23.

⁹Tamar Garb, "Paul Cézanne's *The Eternal Feminine* and the Erotics of Vision," in *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-siècle France* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998).

¹⁰Simon also sees Cézanne's early paintings and *Achille Empereur* in particular as being "about the whole genre of homage painting and self-congratulatory avant-garde posturing." This is an important idea that remains relatively undeveloped, as the focus of his article is the influence of the *canards* on Cézanne's violent imagery. The analysis that I offer in part echoes and then develops Simon's suggestions. Simon, "Cézanne and the Subject of Violence," *Art in America* 79 (May 1991): 130, 131.

¹¹Norman Bryson, *Tradition and Desire: From David to Delacroix* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 37.

¹²Ambroise Vollard, *Cézanne*, trans. Harold L. Van Doren (New York: Dover Publications, 1984), 35.

¹³Cézanne's references to the past are, of course, more layered than the specific quotes that appear in Manet's paintings. However, Manet's strategies also can be seen as generalizing when one notes that he conflates his specific quotations.

¹⁴Kurt Badt, *The Art of Cézanne* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1985), 102, 111.

¹⁵Beatrice Farwell, *Manet and the Nude: A Study in Iconography in the Second Empire* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1981).

¹⁶The caricatural responses to Olympia are analyzed by T.J. Clark in "Olympia's Choice," in *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 79-146. See also, Theodore Reff, *Manet: Olympia*, (New York: Viking Press, 1977).

¹⁷In a more psycho-sexual reading of the painting, Garb says that his "naked head humbles him. It lays his desire bare." Continuing in this vein, it can be argued that the top hat is a phallic sign that has been neutralized ("castrated") by being turned upside-down to reveal an open, vaginal form. Garb, 183.

¹⁸Leroy also notes the "ugliness" ("laideur") of the "femme pliée en deux" and says that it lacks the "finish" ("fini") of the original Manet version. Reviews such as Leroy's, which are marked by such devices as sarcasm, should be seen as verbal caricatures.

The upside-down top hat, which draws attention to and emphasizes the nakedness of "Cézanne's" head, is a motif repeated in *Luncheon on the Grass* (c. 1870), another of Cézanne's "painted caricatures" targeting Manet's work.

Louis Leroy, "L'Exposition des impressionistes," *Le Charivari* (April 25, 1874): 79-80, reproduced in Ruth Berson, ed., *The New Painting: Documentation. Vol. I: Reviews* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, 1996), 26.

¹⁹John Rewald exhibits a sensitivity to the questions I raise above regarding the timing of *A Modern Olympia's* exhibition, noting: "that Cézanne would have selected precisely this composition... to confront the public for the first time in the company of his friends (whom Manet had refused to join), has an ironic flavor, unless one wants to see it as a provocation." Rewald, however,

stops there, and does not explore the painting's potential to provoke Manet as well as Cézanne's co-exhibitors. John Rewald, ed., *The Paintings of Paul Cézanne: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Abrams, 1996), 164-165.

²⁰Stéphane Mallarmé, "The Impressionists and Edouard Manet," In *The New Painting: Impressionism 1874-1886*, ed. Charles S. Moffitt (San Francisco: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986), 32.

²¹In a review of the show, Emile Cardon called the members of the group "les disciples de M. Manet." Cardon, "Avant le Salon: l'exposition des révoltés," *La Presse* (April 29, 1874): 2-3, reproduced in Berson, 13.

²²Paul Cézanne, *Letters*, ed. John Rewald, trans. Seymour Hacker (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1984), 155.

²³In yet another move that indicates a conflation of the "high" and the "low," Cézanne's entry for *A Modern Olympia* in the catalogue of the first impressionist exhibition is accompanied with the notation, "Esquisse. Appartient à M. le Dr. Gachet." The notation tells the reader that the painting is simultaneously a "sketch," and therefore not quite in the category of "high" (finished) art, and a work that has been deemed worthy enough to be purchased.

²⁴Theodore Reff, "Pissarro's Portrait of Cézanne," *Burlington Magazine* 109 (November 1967): 627-632.

²⁵Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1984), 123.

²⁶Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, trans. James Strachey (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1960), 125.

²⁷Emile Zola, *The Masterpiece* (1886), trans. Thomas Walton (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1968), 128.

²⁸Ibid, 127.

²⁹Freud, 247.

³⁰John Rewald, "Un Article inédit sur Paul Cézanne en 1870," *Arts Spectacles* (21-27 July 1954): 8.

³¹There are striking visual connections between certain paintings by Daumier and some of Cézanne's works from the 1860s. Cézanne's paint handling, dark palette, the subject of violence, and the physicality of the encounters between figures in paintings like *The Murder* (c. 1868) and *The Abduction* (1867) share much in common with the same elements in Daumier's *Two Nymphs Pursued by Satyrs* (Salon of 1850/52) and *The Donkey and the Two Thieves* (c. 1856-1858).

Cézanne's interest in Daumier has been noted by his younger contemporaries, including Joachim Gasquet, who reports that the artist often tacked up on his studio walls images by Daumier which had been cut out from newspapers. Gasquet, *Cézanne: A Mémoire with Conversations*, trans. Christopher Pemberton (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), 128.

For more on Daumier as a source for Cézanne, see Theodore Reff, "Cézanne's Card Players and their Sources," *Arts Magazine* 55, 3 (November 1980): 104-117.

³²Ballas is primarily concerned with identifying sources for the painting rather than exploring the implications of the quotation. The two Daumier caricatures suggested as sources are *A Room of the Hotel Druout* (*Le Monde illustré*, May 10, 1862) and *In the Studios* (*Le Boulevard*, April 20, 1862). Guila Ballas, "Daumier, Corot, Papety, et Delacroix, inspireurs de Cézanne." *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de l'art français*, l'année 1974 (1975): 193-199.

³³"Le public de dimanche a jugé à propos de ricaner en face de la fantastique figure qui se présente dans un ciel opiacé, à un fumeur d'opium. Cette apparition d'un peu de chair rose et nue... [est] comme une vision voluptueuse, ce coin de paradis artificiel... Pourquoi chercher une plaisanterie indécente, un motif de scandale dans *l'Olympia*? Ce n'est en réalité qu'une des formes

extravagantes du haschisch empruntée à l'essai des songes drolatiques..." Marc de Montifaud, "Exposition de boulevard des Capucines," *L'Artiste* (May 1, 1874): 307-313, reproduced in Berson, 29-30.

³⁴It is a "création inspirée de Baudelaire." *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁵Charles Baudelaire, *Oeuvres Complètes*. Paris: Seuil, 1968.

³⁶"D'abord une certaine hilarité saugrenue et irrésistible s'empare de vous... Vous riez de votre niaiserie et de votre folie; vos camarades vous rient au nez... On rit beaucoup; car l'homme qui a pris du hachish est, dans la première phase, doué d'une merveilleuse intelligence du comique." Baudelaire, *Du Vin et du hachish*, in *Ibid.*, 309.

³⁷Gasquet says that Cézanne liked Baudelaire's work very much and that "his copy of Baudelaire, tattered and falling to bits, was always lying handy." Even in Cézanne's later days, Gasquet would hear the painter "reciting twenty lines or so from Baudelaire... He knew *Les Fleurs du mal* by heart." Gasquet, 121, 125, 40.

³⁸Une "domestique, chargée d'apporté du tabac et des rafraîchissements à des gens pris de hachish, se voyant entourée de têtes bizarres, d'yeux démesurément agrandis, et comme circonvenue par une atmosphère malsaine, par cette folie collective, par un éclat de rire insensé, laisse tomber le plateau... et s'enfuit... Les hallucinations commencent... Puis ils se déforment, se transforment, et enfin ils entrent dans votre être, ou bien vous entrez en eux... Vous êtes assis et vous fumez... Les peintures du plafond, même médiocres ou mauvaises, prennent une vie effrayante... Les nymphes aux chairs éclatantes vous regardent avec des grands yeux plus limpides que l'eau et l'azur. Vous prendriez votre place et votre rôle dans les plus méchantes peintures..."

I translate the word *méchantes* above as "miserable," in essence repeating Baudelaire's suggestion that the paintings "on the ceiling" are "bad." A second reading, by way of the caricatural Cézanne, is to interpret

méchante as "mean." And caricatures can certainly suggest attack and can be seen as "mean." An alternate way to see the "meanness" of a painting that features a nude woman is through the lens of the psycho-sexual scholarship on Cézanne (e.g., Schapiro) which often emphasizes his fear of women. Ibid., 310.

³⁹Other parallels between the text and the images include clues such as the knocked off top hat in the *Olympia* and the turned over chair in *An Afternoon in Naples* (1872-1873) which suggest the disorder that Baudelaire tries to capture as integral to the hashishian experience. Moreover, the idea that things begin to blend into one another is suggested particularly in the *Naples* pictures where "Cézanne" and the nude are strangely entangled. Finally, the assuming of a role within the painting by Baudelaire's central male hashish smoker seems to parallel Cézanne's insertion of himself - or at least his alter ego - into the picture.

⁴⁰Roger Fry writes that *The Feast (or The Banquet)* offers "a strangeness and unfamiliarity, which suggests something like a hallucination." Fry, 10.

The "Cézanne" figure in *Pastoral (or Idyll)* has also been compared to Delacroix's figure of Sardanapalus in *Death of Sardanapalus*. The association with Delacroix's work has also been made in considerations of *The Eternal Feminine* and *A Modern Olympia* (1873), which Françoise Cachin calls a "sarcastic vision of Sardanapalous;" Sara Lichtenstein refers to the nude in *A Modern Olympia* as "animal-like, Delacroixesque." Cachin, "Cézanne et Delacroix," *Art de France* 4 (1964): 342. Lichtenstein, "Cézanne and Delacroix," *The Art Bulletin* 46, 1 (March 1964): 58-59.

⁴¹The emergence of figures out of the head of "Cézanne" certainly relates to the painter's repeated themes of visions or even hallucinations. However, the image of a woman in particular springing forth from the head of a man relates to the mythological episode featuring the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus. Other than usurping the reproductive role of a woman, the birth of Athena speaks to questions of masculine creativity. In nineteenth-century French painting, the

female nude serves as the site where masculine creativity is asserted and where a painter can distinguish himself from his colleagues and from those who preceded him. In bringing together the female nude and the allusion to the birth of Athena, Cézanne again affirms some of the themes important to his project, including competition and a consideration of defining a place for himself within the history of art.

The "Cézanne"-like figure who occupies the bottom center of the study has been transformed in the painting into a bald figure who is not recognizably a self-portrait. The rendering of the head and his clothing suggest that he may be a Franciscan friar, which would double the presence of the Church (already represented by the figure in red robes) in the painting. Even more certain is that the figure serves as a surrogate for the viewer, who is encouraged to have the same vision or hallucination. The painter – or at least his alter-ego who is depicted at his easel – becomes part of the painting and the vision, in a kind of merging with objects (and paintings) Baudelaire writes is part of hallucinations resulting from the hashishian experience.

⁴²The curtain and the theme of revelation is in part self-referential, as these are motifs Cézanne uses repeatedly in such images as *Afternoon in Naples* (c. 1875-1877), *The Eternal Feminine* (c. 1877), and the various *Harlequin* paintings. Also, the curtain relates to a long visual tradition, exemplified by Jan Vermeer's *Allegory of the Art of Painting* (c. 1870-75), of connecting painting and performance.

⁴³For more on Cézanne's relationship to and parodies of Ingres, see Kallmyer.

⁴⁴Ambroise Vollard, *Cézanne* (1914), trans. Harold L. Van Doren (New York: Dover Publications, 1984), 31.

⁴⁵Jean Prouvaire, "L'Exposition du Boulevard des Capucines," *Le Rappel* (20 April 1874). Excerpt reprinted in Judith Wechsler, *Cézanne in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1975), 26.

⁴⁶Cézanne, 166.

⁴⁷Freud, 248, 174-175.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹It should also be noted that the taking of a pseudonym by the caricaturists of this period cannot be divorced from the climate of censorship and government scrutiny. The pseudonym, then, can potentially protect the identity of a figure who is printing oppositional materials.

⁵⁰The painting has also been associated with Delacroix's *Death of Sardanapalus*. See, for example, Lichtenstein, 58-59.

⁵¹Kallmyer, 488-489.

⁵²Ibid., 489.

⁵³Appropriately enough, 1877 is the last year Cézanne exhibits with his Impressionist colleagues.

⁵⁴On the continuities in the treatment of nude figures in the early and late works, see Garb, 197. Theodore Reff, "The Enigma of the Nude," *Art News* 58,8 (November 1959): 26-29; 68. Mary Louise Krumrine, *Paul Cézanne: The Bathers*, (Basel: Museum of Fine Arts, Basel, 1989).

⁵⁵Fry, 48, 68.

⁵⁶Merleau-Ponty, 14.

⁵⁷Fry 48, 68.

⁵⁸Ibid., 44-45.

⁵⁹My notion of caricature as involving hyper-individuation is partly informed by the work of scholars in the field of psychology who have argued that caricatures are "superportraits," which have the "paradoxical quality of being more like the face than the face itself." Gillian Rhodes, *Superportraits*:

Caricatures and Recognition (East Sussex, United Kingdom: Psychology Press, 1996), 1.

⁶⁰In writing about the comic as early as 1883, Louis Philbert demonstrates a sensitivity to the fact that the very elements that make an image a caricature can threaten its identification as such: "A flaw begins as a perverted quality, and it becomes little by little a quality that is more or less absent; in taking measure of an individual, the more flaws you assume, [the more] you diminish his being until the point that you almost destroy him."

"Un défaut commence par être une quality pervertie, pour devenir peu à peu une qualité tout à fait absente; à mesure que vous supposez plus de défauts à un individu, vous diminuerez à son être jusqu'à ce qu'enfin vous le détruisez." Louis Philbert, *Le Rire: Essai littéraire, morale, et psychologique* (Paris: Librairie Germer-Baillièrre et cie., 1883), 17.

⁶¹Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler used the expression "beginning of Cubism" in *Der Weg zum Kubismus* (1915), quoted in Leo Steinberg, "The Philosophical Brothel," *October* 44 (Spring 1988): 3. The reference of a "new attitude" toward the human figure is from Edward Fry, *Cubism* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1966), 13-14, quoted in Steinberg, 9. John Golding called the painting "the most important single turning point" in "The *Demoiselles d'Avignon*," *The Burlington Magazine* 100, 662 (May 1958): 155-163, quoted in William Rubin, Hélène Seckel, and Judith Cousins, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), 27.

⁶²Susan Grace Galassi offers an extended discussion of Picasso's and *Les Demoiselles*'s relationship to Manet and Cézanne, among others, in *Picasso's Variations on the Masters: Confrontations with the Past* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), see especially 25-37; 185-203. Galassi also discusses Picasso's *Le Dejeuner* series, which includes 155 drawings, 27 paintings, 5 sculptures, and various works in other media that take on Manet's *Le Dejeuner sur l'herbe*. See also Meyer Schapiro, "Picasso's *Woman with a Fan: On the Transformation of Self-Transformation*," in *Modern Art*, 119, fn. 6.

Theodore Reff provides a discussion of the visual legacy of Manet's *Olympia*, citing *Les Demoiselles* and other paintings, including Cézanne's versions and Courbet's *Woman with a Parrot* (1866), in *Manet: Olympia*, 29-41.

⁶³The use of African masks is certainly an indicator of Picasso's interest in appropriating "primitive" aesthetic forms. But, considered in relation to the dialogue the painting engages with the *Olympias*, the African elements recall the black servant figure who appears in Manet's version and Cézanne's *A Modern Olympia* (1873). The African woman of the older pictures is transformed into Olympia. The facilitator of the gaze and the object of the gaze are conflated by Picasso, who seems to partly follow in Gauguin's footsteps of casting Olympia in the role of the "other." In Gauguin's *Spirit of the Dead Watching*, the brown-skinned "Olympia," here made vulnerable rather than confrontational, is faced down on the white sheet, while the Tahitian "spirit" figure looms over the bed (replacing Manet's and Cézanne's servants).

⁶⁴See, for example, Galassi, 25-37.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 25.

⁶⁶Quoted in Rubin, *Les Demoiselles*, 230. Originally in Burgess, "The Wild Men of Paris," *The Architectural Record* 27, 5 (May 1910): 400-414.

⁶⁷Quoted in Rubin, *Les Demoiselles*, 109. Originally reported by Roland Penrose, who presumably heard the story in a conversation with Picasso. Penrose, *Picasso: His Life and Work* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 126.

⁶⁸Rubin, *Les Demoiselles*, 109.

⁶⁹Adam Gopnik, "High and Low: Caricature, Primitivism, and the Cubist Portrait," *Art Journal* 43, 4 (Winter 1983): 371-376.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 374.

⁷¹Gopnik's essay tends to oscillate between asserting primitivism as a mediator that allows Picasso to bring caricature into the realm of "high art" and reading primitivism and caricature in more equal terms, eventually assessing their relationship in the paintings as a "complex but systematic exchange of ideas." Ibid., 374, 376.

⁷²Nous "voyons que les nations primitives... ne conçoivent pas la caricature et n'ont pas de comédies... [Le] rire causé par le grotesque a en soi quelque chose de profond, d'axiomatique et de primitif qui se rapproche beaucoup plus de la vie innocente et de la joie absolue que le rire cause par le comique de moeurs." Baudelaire, "De L'Essence du rire," in *Oeuvres*, 373-375.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters, I considered the implications of the incorporation of caricatural strategies in paintings by Daumier, Courbet, and Cézanne. All of these caricatural encounters were read within the contexts of specific historical moments, taking into account relevant conditions such as the critical and artistic legitimization of caricature within a period of censorship. The implication of such a contextualized reading of the making of "painted caricatures" is that the relationships posited between the appropriation of caricature and issues of political and artistic opposition or reputation do not necessarily explain intersections of caricature and painting in contexts other than France between 1850 and 1880.

In writing about the appropriation of caricature, I have frequently followed Baudelaire's model of thinking of form as language and caricature as "plastic slang."¹

A slang expression lacks formality, may be vulgar, and tends to originate in a group with common interests or experiences. The use of slang by members of the originating group has the potential to leave others on the outside, sometimes making those who cannot speak this new language targets of a kind of inside joke. However, depending on exposure, interest in, and/or openness to the slang, a slang expression has the potential to be understood and appropriated by those very same outsiders, thereby bringing the expression into the mainstream and possibly transforming it into something less vulgar. Therefore, the significance of using slang, "plastic slang," or even "painted slang" may shift and become transformed, suggesting that it is highly vulnerable to the conditions in which the expression is produced.

The "painted caricatures" of all three figures considered in this study are tied integrally to such historical conditions as the proliferation of newspapers, newspaper art criticism, and the caricatural responses to exhibited art. In fact, the increased verbal and visual caricaturing of art and artists in the press provided a model for the painters of "painted caricature," whose

works responded to this art criticism by appropriating some of its formal terms and, by extension, engaging in the discourses that originated in the newspapers.

Significantly, "painted caricature" emerged in a period where print caricaturists operated under the threat of censorship and prosecution. This connection between caricature and censorship which was continually reinforced by the caricatural press (Fig. 28) and by the prosecution of figures like Daumier was certainly not lost on the artists on whom I have focused (nor on their audiences for that matter). In fact, in Chapter Four, I argue that Courbet addresses and exploits the connection to censorship by incorporating caricatural elements in *The Return from the Conference* – a painting he designed for Salon rejection, a move that he and the critics of the painting equated with censorship.

Although Cézanne and Daumier never address the censorship issues as openly or in as a politically charged fashion as Courbet in their paintings, like Courbet, they understand that borrowing from such a threatening and threatened visual form is a strategy that suggests opposition. Daumier, who was fined and

imprisoned for his printed caricatures, was well aware of the connection between caricature and opposition. In attempting to gain acceptance for his very non-traditional crossover into painting, Daumier, unlike the younger Courbet, often minimized or sought to conceal the caricatural strategies that were key to his development as an artist. Following the example of Courbet whose "painted caricatures" were designed to oppose a triumvirate of institutions - namely the Salon, the Church, and the French government - Cézanne's caricatural paintings of the 1860s and 1870s take advantage of the oppositional nature of caricature to challenge the artistic establishment as well as figures like Manet.

Even within a freer context where caricature, the press, and other forms of visual and literary expression operate unchecked and without restriction, it is important to note that caricature is always to some degree about opposition - about poking fun and inverting positions of power. However, in a period characterized by censorship such as the one that provides the framework for this study, the oppositional quality of caricature is heightened.

In 1881, the French republican government passed press laws which more or less finally abolished the censorship of political caricature.² The result of the lifting of these laws was a proliferation of new caricature journals; from 1881 to 1914, at least 130 such journals were established, most of which failed to survive, in the words of Robert Justin Goldstein, the pressures of an "oversaturated market."³ Goldstein goes on to explain that this new freedom had the seemingly ironic effect of taking the bite out of the caricatures produced and of ushering in a new era where "political caricature declined and played a considerably less significant role than it had enjoyed previously."⁴ In 1898, John Grand-Carteret would lament the decline: "Oh where are you, Caricature of the great days? Where are you, masters of caricature?"⁵

As the spate of caricature journals suggests, it is clearly not that caricature disappears. Instead, it becomes transformed into something much less subversive, much less oppositional. There is inevitably a kind of balancing or leveling of power if the target of the laughter is willing to laugh at him/herself without

threatening retaliation. The relationship between the jokester and the object of the joke necessarily becomes less hostile and less oppositional as does the practice of caricature and, by extension, "painted caricature."

The issues that are addressed by figures like Daumier, Courbet, and Cézanne in incorporating caricatural strategies in their paintings between 1850 and 1880 are contingent on a variety of tensions and oppositional relationships. Beyond being vulnerable to the censors, who carried out the government's policies on caricature, the caricaturist and the maker of "painted caricatures" faced and, in the case of Courbet and Cézanne, cultivated opposition from the fine arts administration and the Salon, which also represented the interests of the State.

However, the oppositional relationship with the Salon exploited by the "painted caricaturists" would soon go the way of caricature censorship. Coinciding with the end of caricature censorship was the decline of the institution of the Salon, which had operated under a hierarchical understanding of the "appropriate" style and subject matter of art and which had deemed as subversive

paintings that deliberately challenged the standards of "appropriateness" by merging "high" and "low."⁶ The last state-sponsored annual Salon took place in 1880, after which control over the event was transferred to the hands of artists. The decline of the Salon system was facilitated by and coincided with a decentralization of power marked by the increased influence of dealers, galleries, and the art market in general.⁷

This shift of power would have inevitable repercussions for "painted caricature," as conceived by artists like Courbet and Cézanne. For a "painted caricature" to be designed as a threat or a challenge to the artistic establishment, that establishment has to pose a reciprocal threat. After all, caricature and laughter, as I have argued, invert positions of power and powerlessness. Such an inversion via caricature, as it relates to confronting the state-sponsored Salon, becomes unnecessary, even impossible in the 1880s.

In addition to the ending of caricature censorship and the decline of the Salon system, the relatively rare instances of "painted caricature," as defined by works made between 1850 and 1880, would in the 1880s and 1890s

face a kind of competition with the marked proliferation of comic genre paintings (discussed in Chapter Two) produced by such artists as Jehan-Georges Vibert, Ferdinand Heilburth, Léo Hermann, Henri-Alphonse Laissement, and Emile Meyer. Such comic genre paintings neutralized the potential subversive quality of humor by integrating it with more traditional or mainstream painting practices.

The maker of "painted caricatures" also faced competition in the 1880s from more avant-garde artists who operated in the cabarets of Montmartre. In these cabarets, groups such as the Hydropathes and the Incohérents, composed of musicians, poets, theatrical performers, and printmakers like Emile Bellot, André Gill, and Eugène Bataille (Sapek), would produce multi-disciplinary visual and performative expressions (Fig. 71) and "proto-Happenings" that, like caricature, relied heavily on the use of humor.⁸ Although an examination of these activities is beyond the scope of this dissertation, the work produced at the cabarets can be seen as yet another indication that the use of humor in

artistic expressions was becoming increasingly commonplace, and therefore less shocking or subversive.

By the same token, in the twentieth century, the use of humor and the related strategies of playfulness or whimsy become some of the markers of the avant-garde. In the previous chapter, I noted the playful quality of Picasso's collages where the artist admits to playing by using puns on the word *jeu* (game). In Dada works, humor challenges the nature of art and other ideas in much the same way that the "painted caricatures" of the nineteenth-century challenged the Salon and its hierarchies. And in the works of Surrealists like Joan Mirò, we witness a quality of whimsy that extends the deconstruction of the traditional notion that art should be serious. This deconstruction is part of the legacy of the "painted caricatures" of artists like Courbet, who, in taking the lead from their caricatural critics in the press, displayed a willingness to laugh at themselves and others in paint.

In this conclusion, I have reiterated the assertion that the development of "painted caricatures" was contingent on certain historical conditions such as the

proliferation of newspapers, the imposition of censorship laws, and Salon policy. The underlying implication of this argument is that if conditions change, so will "painted caricatures." To understand this shift, we have only to look at the career of Cézanne, where we see a transition from selectively applied caricature or "painted slang" to the development of a total language of distortion.⁹ Eventually, "plastic slang" begins to become almost seamlessly assimilated into the language of painting – to the point where "painted caricature," by jettisoning conditionally related tensions or oppositionality, integrates its binary or split identity and simply becomes *painting*. Still, the vestiges of the caricatural strategies of the painters highlighted in this study remain in works produced in the twentieth century. The continued collapse of the boundary between "high" and "low" and the increasing incorporation of caricature, humor, playfulness, or whimsy facilitate the transformation of "painted caricature" into something barely discernible because it has been integrated into the very structure of the avant-garde as well as abstraction itself.

¹Charles Baudelaire, *Quelques caricaturistes français*, in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Seuil, 1968), 381.

²For a more complete understanding of the end of censorship of caricature in France, a process which began in 1879 with the formation of a legislative commission assigned to draft a new press law, see Robert Justin Goldstein, *Censorship of Political Caricature in Nineteenth-Century France* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1989), 231-257. Goldstein notes that, despite the laws, there were "sporadic" cases of government "harrassment" and prosecution of caricature journals after 1881.

³Ibid., 232.

⁴Ibid., 235.

⁵Quoted in *ibid.*, 236. Originally in Grand-Carteret, *L'Affair Dreyfus et l'image* (Paris: Ernest Flammarion, 1898), 19.

⁶For more on the "end of the Salon," see Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

⁷On the influence of the rise of a commodity-oriented culture on the "end of the Salon," see *ibid.*

⁸For more on the groups formed in the Montmartre cabarets, see Phillip Denis Cate and Mary Shaw, ed., *The Spirit of Montmartre: Cabarets, Humor, and the Avant-Garde, 1875-1905* (New-Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996). The term "proto-Happening" is used by Cate, 1.

⁹Rudolf Arnheim argues that caricature gives way to a total or "cosmic" language of deformation in "The Rationale of Deformation," *Art Journal* 43, 4 (Winter 1983): 319-324.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1. Gustave Courbet, *The Return from the Conference*, 1863, oil on canvas, 90 1/5 x 130 in., destroyed.

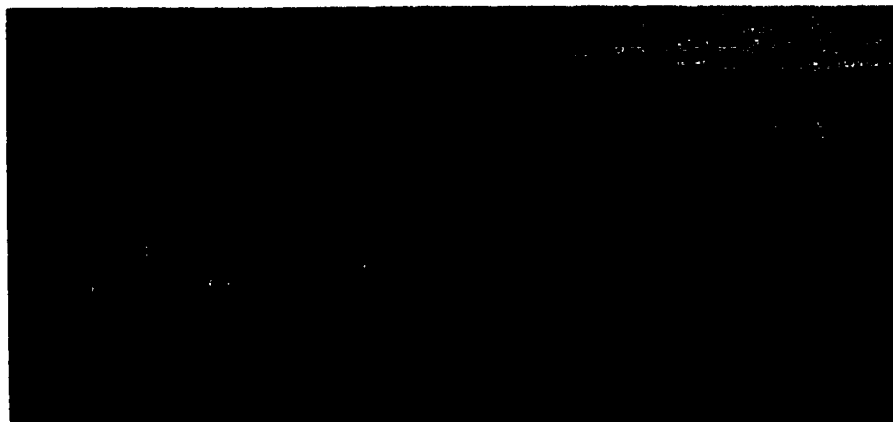


Fig. 2. Gustave Courbet, *A Burial at Ornans*, 1849-50, oil on canvas, 123 ½ x 261 in., Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

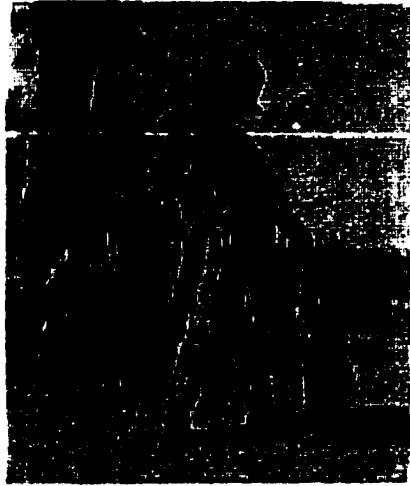


Fig. 3. Gustave Courbet, *The Beggar's Alms* or *The Beggar's Charity at Ornans*, 1868, oil on canvas, 83 x 69 in., Glasgow Museum: The Burrell Collection, Scotland.



Fig. 4. Gustave Courbet, *Portrait of Charles Baudelaire*, ca. 1849, 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., Musée Fabre, Montpellier.



Fig. 5. Paul Cézanne, *A Modern Olympia*, 1873-74,
oil on Canvas, 18 1/8 x 21 7/8 in., Musée d'Orsay,
Paris.



Fig. 6. Paul Cézanne, *The Eternal Feminine*, ca. 1877, oil on canvas, 17 x 21 in., The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.

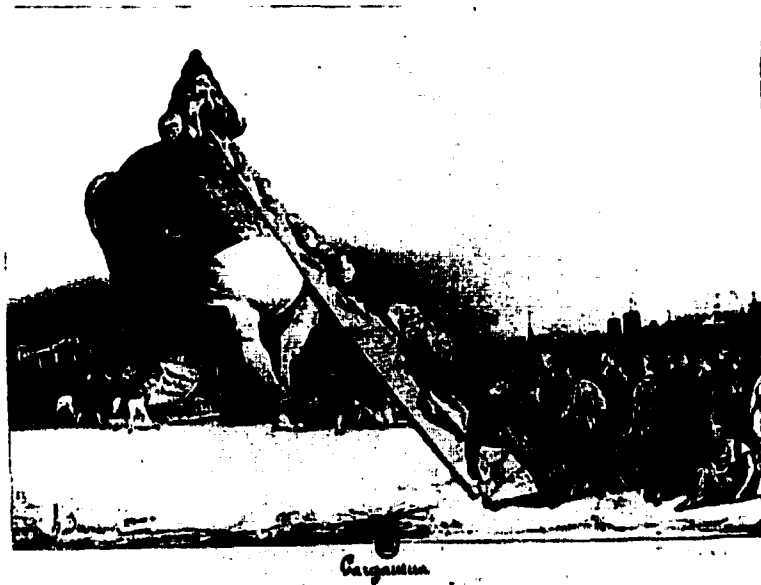


Fig. 7. Honoré Daumier, *Gargantua*, published by La Maison Aubert December 1831, lithograph.



Fig. 8. Jan Steen, *World Upside Down*, ca. 1663, oil on canvas, 41 3/8 x 57 1/8 in., Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



Fig. 9. Jean Honoré Fragonard, *The Swing*, 1766,
oil on canvas, 35 x 32 in., Wallace Collection, London.



Fig. 10. After Louis Leopold-Boilly, *The Favored Lover*, ca. 1780s, engraving by A. Chaponnier, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



Fig. 11. William Hogarth, *Marriage à la Mode: Signing the Contract*, 1743-45, oil on canvas, 28 x 35 7/8 in., National Gallery, London.



Fig. 12. Jehan-Georges Vibert, *The Wonderful Sauce*, ca. 1890, oil on panel, 25 x 32 in., Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York.



Fig. 13. Henri Alphonse Laisement, *A Good Hand*, n.d., oil on panel, 21 x 25 ½ in., Collection of Bill and Cindy Ross.



Fig. 14. Jehan-Georges Vibert, *If I Were Pope*, ca. 1902, pastel on paper, 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., The Art Collection of the Union League of Philadelphia.

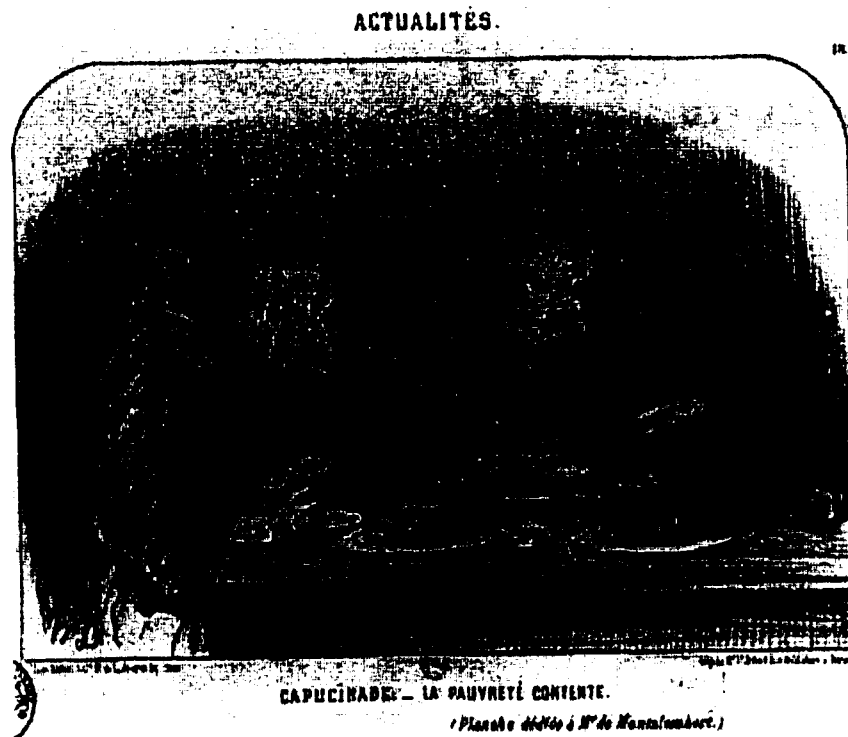


Fig. 15. Honoré Daumier, *Capucinade: La pauvreté contente* (*Friarism: content poverty*), 1851, lithograph published in *La Caricature*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des estampes, Paris.



Fig. 16. Honoré Daumier, *La République*, 1848, oil on canvas, 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 23 $\frac{5}{8}$ in., Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



Fig. 17. Honoré Daumier, *The Miller, His Son and Their Ass*, 1849, oil on canvas, 51 1/8 x 38 3/4 in., Glasgow Museum: The Burrell Collection, Scotland.



Fig. 18. Honoré Daumier, *Don Quixote and the Dead Mule*, ca. 1867, oil on canvas, 52 x 21 in., Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



Fig. 19. Honoré Daumier, *The Third-Class Carriage*, ca. 1862, oil on canvas, 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 35 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 20. Honoré Daumier, *Pygmalion*, "Histoire ancienne" series, published in *Le Charivari*, December 28, 1842, lithograph.



Fig. 21. Honoré Daumier, *The Baptism of Achilles*,
 "Histoire ancienne" series, published in *Le Charivari*,
 August 28, 1842, lithograph.



Fig. 22. Honoré Daumier, *Rue Transnonain, le 15 Avril, 1834*, published in *L'Association mensuelle*, July 1834, lithograph.



Fig. 23. Gustave Courbet, *Portrait of Jean Journet*, 1850, lithograph after lost oil on canvas, 39 $\frac{2}{5}$ x 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (original painting).



Fig. 24. Gustave Courbet, Plans for his pavilion in a letter/drawing to Alfred Bruyas, January 1854, Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologique, Jacques Doucet, Paris.



Fig. 25. Eugène Delacroix, *Priests and Monks*, ca. 1818-20, drawing, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, Paris.



Fig. 26. Gustave Courbet, *Ces Messieurs au dessert* (or *The Gentlemen at Dessert*), 1868, engraving after a drawing by Courbet published in *Les Curés en goguette*, Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 27. Gustave Courbet, *Le Coucher des conférenciers* (or *The Conference Participants at Bed-time*), 1868, engraving after a drawing by Courbet published in *Les Curés en goguette*, Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 28. André Gill, *Madame Anastasie*, published in *L'Eclipse*, July 19, 1874, lithograph.



Fig. 29. Gustave Courbet, *The Painter's Studio*, 1854-55, oil on canvas, 142 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 235 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



Fig. 30. Gustave Courbet, *The Death of Jeannot*, 1868, oil on canvas, 39 2/5 x 55 in., private collection.



Fig. 31. Joudar, Caricature of *The Return from the Conference*, published in *L'Ane*, 1863, lithograph.



Fig. 32. Honoré Daumier, *L'Ane chargé de reliques*, published in *Le Charivari*, May 9, 1834, lithograph.



Fig. 33. Honoré Daumier, *Two Colleagues*, ca. 1862, pen and ink, black chalk, colored washes and gouache on laid paper, 9 ¼ x 8 in., Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.



Fig. 34. Honoré Daumier, *Lawyers*, ca. 1862, crayon and watercolor on paper, 8 $\frac{3}{5}$ x 6 $\frac{2}{5}$ in., Musées des Beaux Arts Reims, Reims.

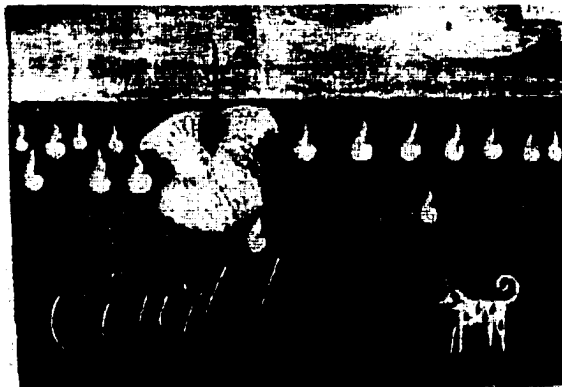


Fig. 35. Bertall, Caricature of *A Burial at Ornans*, published in *Le Journal pour rire*, March 7, 1851, lithograph.

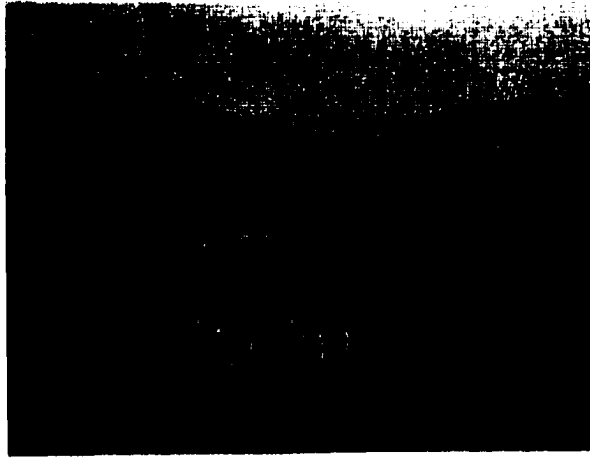


Fig. 36. Gustave Courbet, *The Young Women of the Village Giving Alms to a Cow-Girl in a Valley Near Ornans*, 1851, oil on canvas, 76 $\frac{4}{5}$ x 102 $\frac{4}{5}$ in., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 37. Jean-Pierre Dantan, *Jean-Baptiste-Apollinaire Lebas*, 1836, plaster, h: 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., Michael Hall Fine Arts, New York.



Fig. 38. Honoré Daumier, *Ratapoil*, cast bronze, h: 17 $\frac{3}{16}$ in., The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Fig. 39. Honoré Daumier, *Casmajou and Ratapoil*, published in *Le Charivari*, September 11, 1851, lithograph.



Fig. 40. Honoré Daumier, *Ratapoil and Casmajou*, published in *Le Charivari*, October 11, 1851, lithograph.



Fig. 42. Paul Cézanne, *A Modern Olympia*, 1869-70, oil on canvas, 22 5/8 x 22 3/8 in., private collection.



Fig. 43. Paul Cézanne, *Afternoon in Naples*, 1872-75
oil on canvas, 11 $\frac{13}{16}$ x 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ in., private
collection.



Fig. 44. Paul Cézanne, *Afternoon in Naples*, 1876-77, oil on canvas, 14 ½ x 17 11/16 in., Australian National Gallery, Canberra.



Fig. 45. Paul Cézanne, *Afternoon in Naples*, 1866-67, pencil, watercolor and gouache, 4 3/8 x 6 3/8 in., private collection.



Fig. 46. Paul Cézanne, *The Luncheon on the Grass*, ca. 1870, oil on canvas, 23 5/8 x 31 1/2 in., private collection.

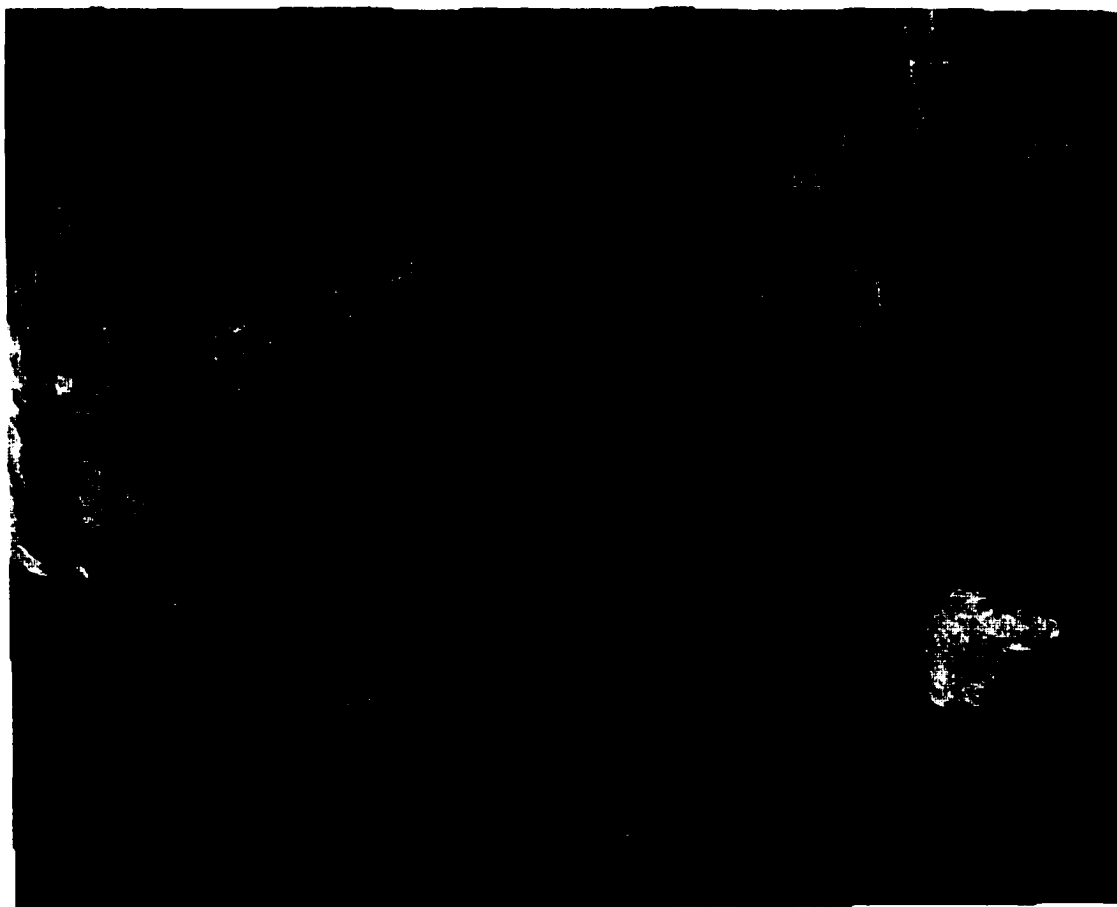


Fig. 47. Paul Cézanne, *Pastoral*, ca. 1870, oil on canvas, 25 5/8 x 31 7/8 in., Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



Fig. 48. Paul Cézanne, *Portrait of Achille Empereire*, 1869-70, oil on canvas, 78 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 47 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



Fig. 49. Edouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1863, oil on canvas, 51 3/8 x 74 7/8 in., Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



Fig. 50. Edouard Manet, *Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, 1863, oil on canvas, 82 x 104 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



Fig. 51. Camille Pissarro, *Portrait of Cézanne*, ca. 1874, oil on canvas, 28 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., private collection.



Fig. 52. André Gill, Caricature of Gustave Courbet
published in *Le Hanne-ton*, June 13, 1867, lithograph.



Fig. 53. Paul Cézanne, *Venus and Cupid*, ca. 1870-72, oil on canvas, 8 ¼ x 8 ¼ in., private collection.



Fig. 54. After Honoré Daumier, *A Room in the Hotel Drouot*, published in *Le Monde Illustré*, May 10, 1862, lithograph by Maurand.



Fig. 55. Honoré Daumier, *Through the Ateliers*, published in *Le Boulevard*, April 20, 1862, lithograph.

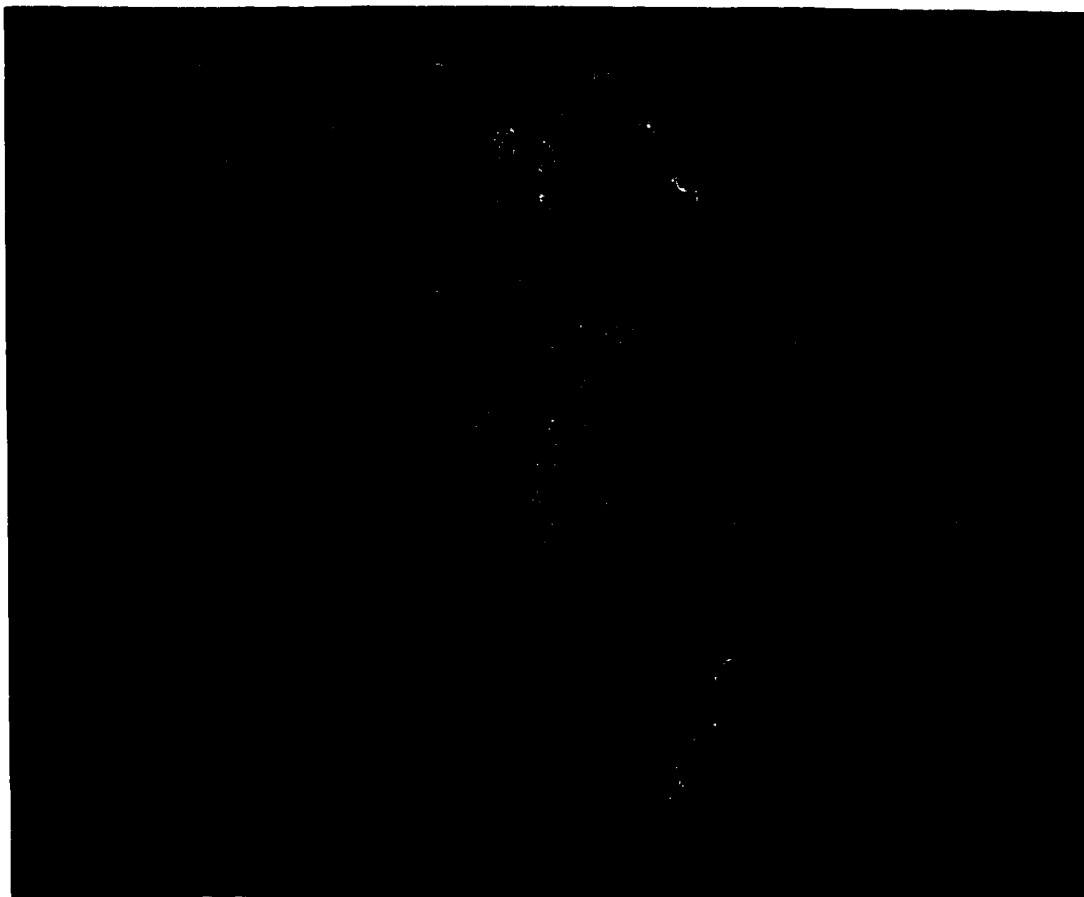


Fig. 56. Paul Cézanne, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, ca. 1875-77, oil on canvas, 18 ½ x 22 1/16 in., Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



Fig. 57. Paul Cézanne, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, ca. 1870, oil on canvas, 21 5/16 x 28 11/16 in., E.G. Bührle Foundation, Zurich.



Fig. 58. Paul Cézanne, *The Feast*, ca. 1867-72, oil on canvas, 50 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., private collection.



Fig. 59. Paul Cézanne, Study for *The Eternal Feminine*, ca. 1877, pencil, watercolor, and gouache, 6 7/8 x 9 in., private collection of Arnold and Anne Gumowitz.

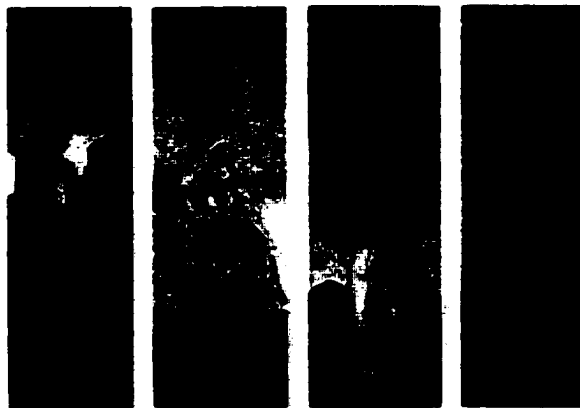


Fig. 60. Paul Cézanne, *The Four Seasons*, ca. 1860-62, oil on canvas (transferred), Musée du Petit Palais, Paris.



Fig. 61. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *The Apotheosis of Homer*, 1827, oil on canvas, 152 x 203 in., Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 62. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Napoleon I on His Imperial Throne*, oil on canvas, 102 x 63 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., Musée de l'Armée, Paris.



Fig. 63. Paul Cézanne, *The Large Bathers*, ca. 1906, oil on canvas, 82 x 99 in., Philadelphia Museum of Art.



Fig. 64. Paul Cézanne, *The Large Bathers*, ca. 1895-1906, oil on canvas, 52 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 81 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., The Barnes Foundation, Merion, Pennsylvania.



Fig. 65. Paul Cézanne, *The Large Bathers*, ca. 1900-1906, oil on canvas, 67 $\frac{13}{16}$ x 77 $\frac{3}{16}$ in., National Gallery, London.



Fig. 66. Pablo Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger (O. J.)*, 1907, oil on canvas. 96 x 92 in., Museum of Modern Art, New York.



Fig. 67. Paul Gauguin, *The Spirit of the Dead Watching*, 1892, oil on burlap mounted on canvas, 28 ½ x 36 ¾ in., Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York.

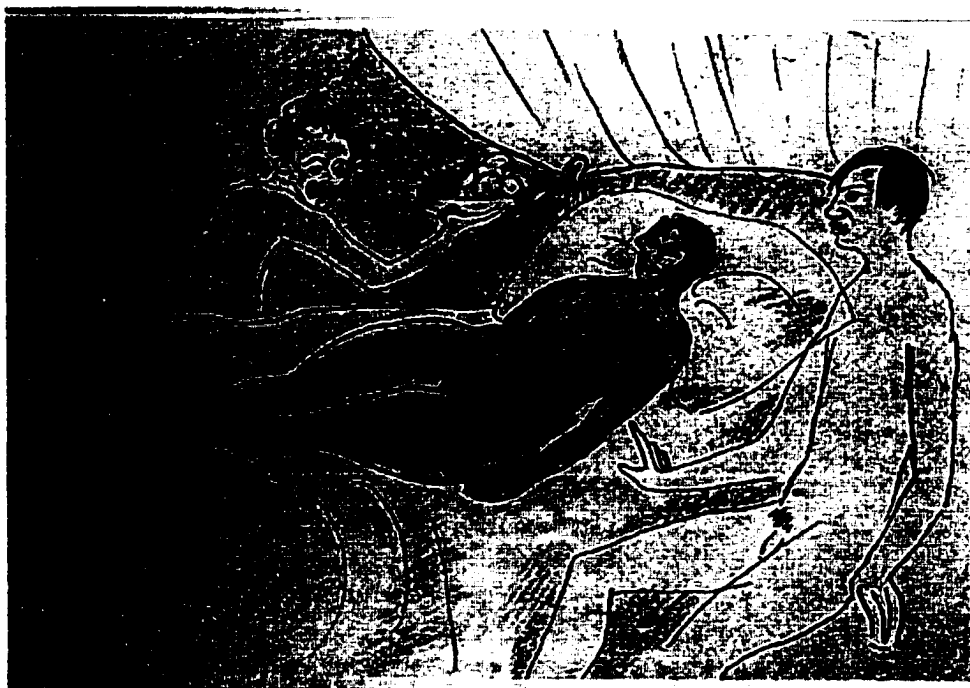


Fig. 68. Pablo Picasso, *Parody of Manet's Olympia*, 1902-1903, pen and ink and colored crayon on paper, 6 x 9 1/8 in., Collection Leon Bloch, Paris.

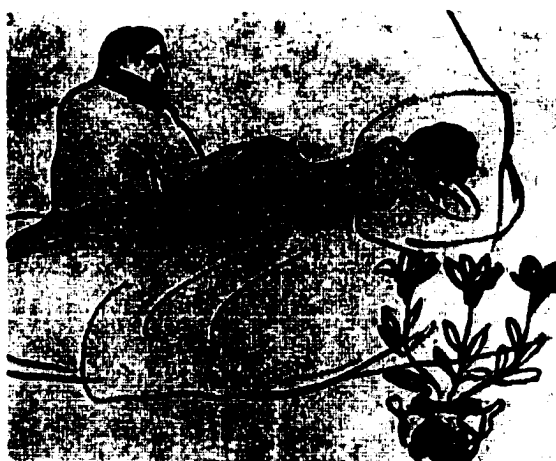


Fig. 69. Pablo Picasso, *Reclining Nude with Picasso at her feet*, ink and watercolor on paper, 6 7/8 x 9 1/8 in., Museu Picasso, Barcelona.

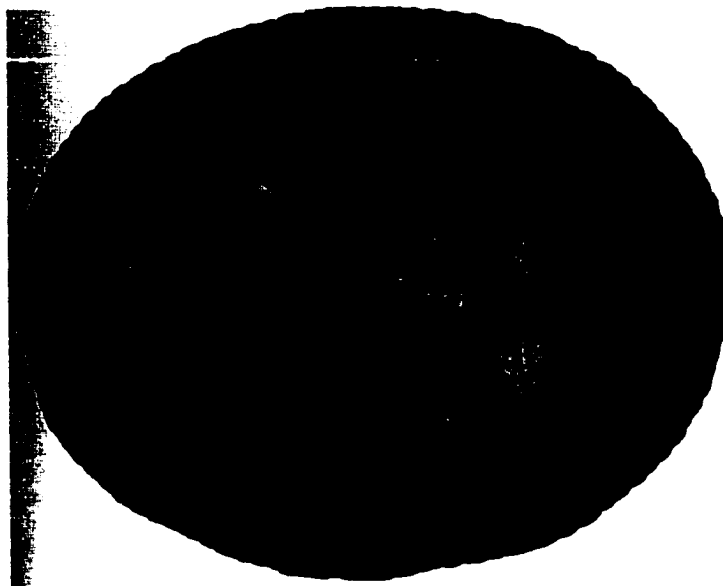


Fig. 70. Pablo Picasso, *Still-Life with Chair Caning*, 1911-12, oil, oilcloth, and paper on canvas with rope trim, 10 5/8 x 13 3/4 in., Musée Picasso, Paris.



Fig. 71. Eugène Bataille (Sapek), *Mona Lisa with Pipe*, photo-relief illustration for Coquelin Cadet, *Le Rire*, 1887, Schimmel Fund.

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