MAKING SENSE OF EDOUARD MANET'S *LE DEJEUNER SUR L'HERBE*

In late summer 1959, some ninety-six years after Edouard Manet completed his ambitious painting depicting a group of contemporary men and women picnicking and bathing in a lush forest glade, Pablo Picasso began a series of variations on his elder's famous image (Figs. 1 and 2). It was hardly the first time the Spaniard had devoted his energies to reworking a specific Old Master painting; he had plundered the past for most of his career. In the fifteen years prior to his engagement with the *Déjeuner sur l'herbe,* he actually had done variations on nearly half a dozen major canvases, from Nicolas Poussin's *Triumph of Pan* of 1635 (National Gallery, London) and Eugène Delacroix's *Women of Algiers* of 1834 (Louvre, Paris) to Diego Velázquez's *Las Meninas* of 1656 (Prado, Madrid), producing no less than forty-five paintings of the latter alone.[1]

This "window opening" process, as Picasso called his practice, was prompted as much by Picasso's advancing years and his desire to measure himself against recognized masters as by his rightful sense of the importance of those paintings to their respective artists and the contributions those individuals made to the advancement of Western art. The paintings also often held specific meanings for Picasso, confirmed interests he had long expressed, and challenged him to rethink his aims as an artist, "to get behind the canvas," as he put it, in the hope that "something will happen."[2] The series devoted to Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe,* or *Luncheon on the Grass,* while part of Picasso's personal campaign, would be decidedly dif-

Figure 1. Edouard Manet, *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe,* 1863. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. (Photo R.M.N.)

ferent, as Douglas Cooper sensitively pointed out shortly after Picasso completed it.

First, the group was enormous in size, totaling one hundred and fifty drawings, twenty-seven paintings, five concrete pieces of sculpture that were preceded by eighteen cardboard studies, several ceramic plaques, and three linoleum cuts. This constituted the single largest concentration of material prompted by any individual work of art that the twentieth-century master had ever produced.[3]

Picasso also devoted more time to this series than to any other; he worked on it off and on for more than three years in three different locations.[4] In addition, the group was more diverse than any previous ones. Besides employing different media, Picasso has the figures change clothing, appearance, and location; the landscape shifts, slides, and disappears; the accouterments – fruits, breads, canes, boats, and birds – are featured in some paintings and drawings and edited in others.

Figure 2. Pablo Picasso, *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe after Manet,* Vauvenargues, March 3–August 22, 1960. Musée Picasso, Paris. (Photo R.M.N.)

Most poignantly, perhaps, particularly for this volume of collected essays on Manet's picture, Picasso offers an unprecedented number of ways to interpret the original scene by devising variation after variation on the action Manet depicted. At one moment, the protagonists in Manet's reformulated picture are engaged in what appears to be a normal conversation; at another, they are embroiled in an interrogation or are admonishing one another. In some scenes, the women offer themselves to the viewer and their male companions; in others, they withdraw or become involved in forms of self-examination. Occasionally, all of the figures appear casual and relaxed, at other times, stiff and uneasy, at still others, blank-faced or terrorized. They vacillate between being humorous

and horrible, intimate and indifferent, childlike and mature. They also change identity – from bourgeois student to Jewish intellectual to arcadian shepherd to Grecian bard and from model to seductress to heroine to victim.

One could say that all of this has more to do with Picasso than with Manet. And in part that is correct. After all, it was Picasso who created the series, conceiving it both as an homage to an artist he admired (one who also had appreciated the art of Picasso's own Spanish past) and as a way to test his powers against a renowned figure. Given Picasso's competitive nature, the series also was a means to bury the achievement of his predecessor under the onslaught of Picasso's own inventiveness.

But for whatever it tells us about Picasso, the series affirms even more the incredible complexity of Manet's picture. For it clearly was the painting's insolence and enigmas, its historical resonance and aesthetic idiosyncrasies that pushed the aging twentieth-century artist to such iconographic and painterly extents, encouraging him to be as contradictory as he was consistent, as impenetrable as he was straightforward, just like his nineteenth-century counterpart.

It is precisely these dialectics – so typical of the modern age from Manet's moment to our own – as well as their relation to contemporaneous issues that have contributed to the iconic status of Manet's inimitable canvas.[5] That Picasso would have noted many of these oppositions – and suggested many more – is a sign of his keen sensitivity to Manet's intelligence and skill and to the *Déjeuner's* powers of suggestion.

His series, however, like Manet's painting, presents us with a host of unresolved questions because Picasso had little to say about the group. This is not surprising. The ever-evasive master was essentially confirming what Manet and his nineteenth-century avant-garde friends had often suggested: that the language of painting is fundamentally different from most written or spoken forms, just as the artist's stylus or brush is not the same as the critic's keyboard or pen.[6]

The exclusivity of those tools, just like the mutual compulsion of most artists to let their art speak for itself, forces the historian to search for whatever meanings a painting like the *Déjeuner* may possess in a variety of tangential, if not sometimes contradictory, realms, as the essays in this volume reveal.

This has always been the case. Writers in Manet's own day, struggling to make sense of his baffling canvas, looked to a number of sources for assistance – contemporary art and events, past images and art-historical hierarchies, Manet's training or lack thereof, writings on the artist, friends' statements about the picture, Manet's own references to it.[7] Many of these authors may have felt they were privy to something that approached the truth – about the picture and their observations. Some of them knew the artist personally; others knew of him; most were at least vaguely familiar with his work. All of them lived at the same moment as he, in the same country and city. Many came from the same middle-class background if not the same Parisian neighborhood.

For all of their advantages – and they were considerable – these observers unfortunately prove to be only partially reliable guides. The meanings they found in the *Déjeuner,* the problems they felt compelled to enumerate, even the pleasures they derived from the picture or their reading about it depended as much on their point of view – or on their editor's – as on the painting itself. Dispassionate assessments were rare, if they existed at all. This may be self-evident to readers who are accustomed to divergent voices, but it is worth repeating, particularly in the late twentieth century when similacrum often poses for the real and differences easily evaporate in the homogenizing process of globalization. The comments of all of these contemporaries, therefore, while important grist for the mills of later historians, nonetheless cannot be taken at face value.[8]

The same must be said of statements made by or attributed to Manet himself. Like the critics, the artist and those who may have recorded his observations clearly were not unbiased observers. Manet in particular had a very specific agenda – to become one of the leading French painters of his day. To be sure, he did not hold exclusive title to that desire; every aspiring artist laid claim to it in one form or another, which meant the Parisian art world of Manet's day was nothing if not competitive, again not so dissimilar, in that respect at least, to the art centers of our time.

What then can we rely on to make sense of Manet's painting? The picture itself, one might think. But even here much remains unknown. We are not certain, for example, exactly when Manet began the canvas, where he painted it, or when he declared it finished. We don't know who all the models were, how he had the idea of posing one of them stark naked and the others in their own

worlds, seemingly oblivious to everything around them. We don't know how many preparatory works he may have done for the picture, what other works of art from his own hand or by others he may specifically have been thinking about as the picture evolved, or what relation he wanted to establish between this picture and others he planned to exhibit with it. We don't even know why he gave it the title he did; he originally called it *Le Bain,* or *The Bath,* not *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe.*[9] Most surprising, perhaps, we have no assurances about the meaning of the picture. It offers us so many possibilities – just like Picasso's series – that it is virtually impossible to separate one from the others and declare it definitive.

It is, therefore, an ideal candidate for a book such as this, the timing of which also could not be better. That is because the ways in which we can understand Manet's painting have been increased in recent years by the happy expansion of art-historical inquiry to include methods derived from the criticism of other media, most notably literature and film, from gender and philosophical studies, and from more textured probes based on revised notions of the interrelation between history, biography, and the production of art. The following essays, all written exclusively for this volume by leading scholars of nineteenth-century art, were chosen to provide the reader with a sense of the discipline's present breadth and the range of opinions it can generate.

Limitations of time and space prevented the inclusion of many other voices; every project has its boundaries. This collection, therefore, does not claim to cover all of the problems the picture raises or represent all of the methods presently used by art historians. It thus does not pretend to be the last word on the subject. The number of things we do not know about the picture should be sufficient caution about the latter. Nonetheless, it is hoped that these essays prove to be sufficiently satisfying or, conversely, challenging – both individually and as a group – that they reap their rightful praises and prompt further probes of Manet's painting.

There is an obvious question, however, that should be posed before we turn to those discussions – namely, why have we singled out this particular picture? What makes it so important?

In order to answer these questions, we need to ask others. For example, did the painting mark a radical change in Manet's work or reorientate the evolution of modernist art? Did Manet invest so much in it intellectually or emotionally that it provides us with unique access to his thinking as an artist? Was it sold for some fabulous amount of money like so many celebrated pictures today and thereby reveals something special about the passions or peculiarities of Manet's collectors? Or was it a painting that was rediscovered after a period of neglect and deemed worthy of attention on the basis of its obscurity or formal qualities?

The answer to all of these questions is no. The painting did not drastically affect the development of Manet's art or that of his modernist contemporaries. Manet did not endow it with the kind of emotional or intellectual weight that would make it the sole key to his mind-set (though it certainly tells us much about him). Nor did he sell it for any spectacular sum. In fact, it remained in his hands until 1878 when the opera singer and active collector of Impressionist art, Jules Faure, purchased it for 2,600 francs, a respectable price but far below the 25,000 francs that Manet had claimed to be the painting's value in 1871.[10]

Part of its claim to fame comes from the clamor it caused when it was first exhibited in Paris in 1863 – it attracted considerable attention from contemporary critics – and from the fact that it almost immediately became a touchstone for avant-garde painters; Claude Monet, for example, did a monumental version of the picture (Fig. 3) only twenty-four months after it appeared, cleansing the original of its nudity and ambiguities in an apparent effort to make it even more modern and believable. Paul Cézanne painted several variations on it shortly thereafter (Fig. 4), and Paul Gauguin revisited it for the most important painting of his career, *Where Do We Come From? Who Are We? Where Are We Going?* of 1897 (Fig. 5), which includes various references to Manet's picture, the most apparent being the Tahitian girl seated on the right who is based on the *Déjeuner's* foreground nude. Henri Matisse borrowed the picnic theme and the combination of clothed and nude figures for his *Luxe, Calme, et Volupté* of 1904–5 (Fig. 6), and Picasso exploited the foreground nude again for the masked female on the right in his groundbreaking *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* of 1907 (Fig. 7). That Picasso would come back to Manet's picture nearly half a century later is ample testimony to its continuing powers and to the prodigious line of artistic responses that it produced.[11]

What attracted avant-garde artists to the picture and what made

Figure 3. Claude Monet, *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe,* 1865–6. Pushkin Museum, Moscow.

Figure 4. Paul Cézanne, *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe,* c. 1870–71. Private collection, Neuilly-sur-Seine.

Figure 5. Paul Gauguin, *Where Do We Come From? Who Are We? Where Are We Going?,* 1897. Tompkins Collection. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

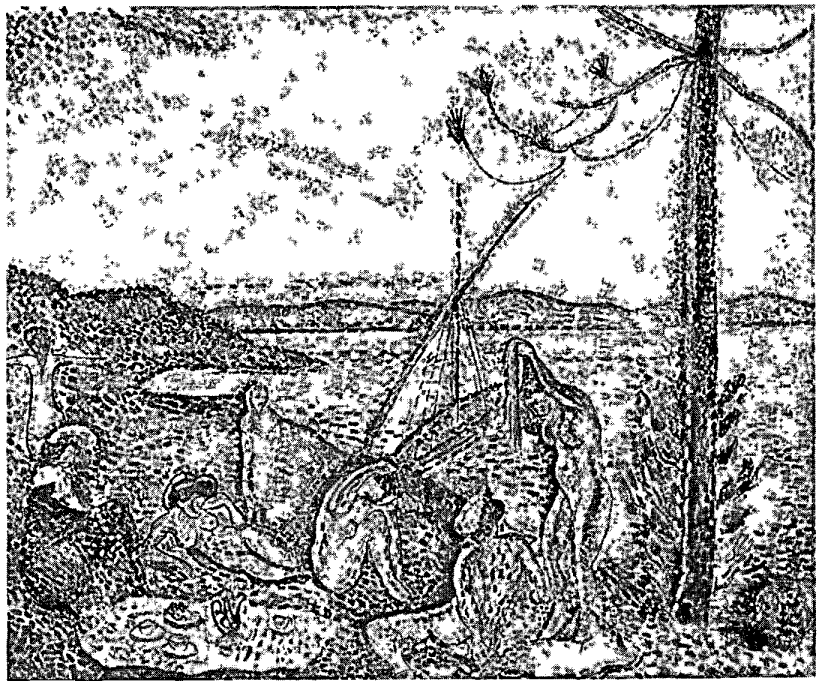

Figure 6. Henri Matisse, *Luxe, Calme, et Volupté,* 1904. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. (Photo R.M.N.)

Figure 7. Pablo Picasso, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon,* 1907. Museum of Modern Art, New York. Acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest. (Photo © 1998 The Museum of Modern Art, New York)

it so controversial when it was first exhibited are not necessarily what viewers today generally find so startling – namely, the boldness of the female figure who sits without a stitch of clothing on in front of us and her male companions and who has the audacity to stare at us in such a self-conscious, unflinching manner. She knows that we know she is naked. She also is fully aware that we are staring at her with the same directness that she foists upon us. This curious exchange makes most people feel slightly uneasy or at least a bit perplexed, particularly because Manet offers no clues as to what is occurring in the picture or what our relationship is supposed to be to the scene as a whole. Have we stumbled upon some

kind of intimate sexual encounter? Are we implicated in some way? Why does the woman look at us so unabashedly, and why are the men beside her so disengaged with her and each other?

Mystery does not make for immortality, however, just as it does not automatically elevate the mundane to the meaningful. For all of the interest these unresolved relationships can generate – one of the more astute critics in Manet's day could "not imagine what made an artist of intelligence and refinement select such an absurd composition" – they were not the only nor even the primary point of contention for Manet's contemporaries.[12] The power of Manet's painting then as well as now lies beyond these enigmas; it has something to do with that naked female, to be sure, but also with the size and subject of the painting, the way Manet conceived and executed it, the environment in which he wanted to display it, and the ways in which it relates to past precedents as well as to the art of Manet's time.

To appreciate the profundity of these issues, let us turn to the picture and those facts about it that we can more or less corroborate. First, it is large – 208 × 264 cm – and is painted on a twill woven canvas. The support was standard; the size was not. From the eighteenth century onward, canvases were available in standard sizes, from 21.6 × 16.2 cm or 8 × 6 inches up to 194.4 × 129.6 cm or 72 × 48 inches. They were all referred to by number; a number 10 canvas was 20 × 17 inches, a 20 was 27 × 22 inches, a 30 was 34 × 27 inches, and so on. By the 1840s, artists could purchase these canvases prestretched and primed. If an artist wanted a canvas larger than 194.4 × 129.6 cm or a number 120, it had to be specially ordered or stretched by hand in the artist's studio.[13] Given the expense of the labor and materials, it is unlikely that Manet would have had a fresh canvas this size on hand. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that this was a custom affair, that the size of the final painting was determined long before Manet began work on it, and that its dimensions were dictated by the scene Manet had in mind.

It so happens the *Déjeuner* is about the same size that history painters frequently used for their re-creations of noble events. This was not a coincidence. Artists were not required to use specific formats for specific subjects, but they were expected to follow guidelines, and generally they did. Big canvases were reserved for subjects deemed important, which meant those drawn from history, religion, and mythology. More modest canvases were for subjects of

corresponding significance – that is, still lifes, portraits, genre paintings, and landscapes – in other words, for subjects of lesser standing.[14] Manet's choice reversed these norms because his scene was decidedly lower on the hierarchy, but it was painted on a scale that implied the opposite. That Manet elevated a commonplace subject to a level it did not warrant is crucial to understanding his picture because it underscores his knowledge of the contemporary codes of artistic conduct and his determination to undermine at least one of their basic premises. As we shall see, he was out to challenge many others as well.

The size of the painting attests to Manet's ambition not only in relation to prevailing norms but also in terms of Manet's own efforts; it was the largest painting he had attempted since entering the profession in January 1850 as a student of the respected academician Thomas Couture. He clearly was out to make a name for himself, though he may not have foreseen – or appreciated – the notoriety that his name would earn him.

Some of Manet's contemporaries asserted that he could predict the reactions his pictures would provoke and that he specifically knew the *Déjeuner* would draw negative blasts even before he began it. The primary source for these assertions is his boyhood friend Antonin Proust, who became minister of the interior in 1870 and minister of fine arts in France in the early 1880s. In his often cited memoirs, Proust describes a day when he and Manet were lying on the banks of the Seine at Argenteuil, a suburb of Paris, watching some boats under sail when they spotted women bathing in the river, which made Manet think of the Italian Renaissance artist Giorgione's painting *Pastoral Concert* (Fig. 8). "When we were in [Couture's] studio," he apparently confided to Proust, "I copied Giorgione's women, the women with musicians. It's black that painting. The ground has come through. I want to redo it and to re-do it with a transparent atmosphere with people like those you see over there. I know it's going to be attacked, but they can say what they like."[15]

Whether Manet actually said this or not is difficult to determine. Proust is relatively reliable, but this combination of clairvoyance and defiance smacks of the prejudice of the author and the advantages of hindsight. It allowed Proust to trumpet his friend's cunning and intelligence and to support his contention that the

Figure 8. Giorgione, *Pastoral Concert,* c. 1508. Musée du Louvre, Paris. (Photo R.M.N.)

Déjeuner was uniformly criticized, which, as we shall see, it was not. To cast further doubt on the matter, Proust did not publish his memoirs until the 1890s, more than ten years after Manet's death and more than thirty after the supposed conversation. In addition, as even Edgar Degas pointed out in the 1890s, the *Déjeuner* does not have the kind of atmospheric effects that would lead one to believe it had been painted outdoors or inspired by the sight of women actually emerging from the Seine. It is a contrived, studio picture with the nude in the foreground for all she may represent acting like a model in an artist's atelier. Degas claimed Manet may have made this statement but only after seeing later paintings by his younger challenger Monet.[16]

Regardless of these discrepancies, the connections Proust made between the *Déjeuner* and Giorgione's painting are important and are ones Manet certainly must have made himself at some point

during the gestation of his picture, whether in Argenteuil or back in Paris. After all, the *Pastoral Concert* was one of the treasures of the Louvre, a museum Manet stalked. Moreover, Manet had already copied other celebrated works by Old Masters such as Titian, Velázquez, Tinteretto, and Rubens. And he had developed an interest in appropriating motifs from his predecessors' pictures for use in his own. He even had a copy of the Giorgione by his friend Henri Fantin-Latour hanging in his studio at the time. That he may have been interested in modernizing Giorgione's scene, therefore, would have been in keeping with his own interest and practice.[17]

The ultimate proof lies in Giorgione's picture, which shares an undeniable number of similarities with Manet's. The two males in the Giorgione, for example, are dressed in clothing typical of their day, as are the two in Manet's picture. They sit in an idyllic landscape like the lush setting Manet provides. The two seem equally unaware of the females in their company, which is all the more surprising since both are contrastingly naked. The primary figures in both pictures occupy their respective foregrounds, with the space behind them receding in planes that run parallel to the picture plane, enlivened by a similar scattering of strong lights and darks. Finally, Manet's canvas is linked to its antecedent by its size; it is almost exactly twice the height and length of Giorgione's – 208 × 264 cm versus 109 × 137 cm – suggesting Manet took his proportions from Giorgione but challenged his Venetian compatriot by enlarging the latter's scene by almost three and a half times its surface area.

The ambitiousness of Manet's enterprise – his desire to take on a recognized master of Renaissance art and to rework a famous painting in the Louvre on a scale he had never attempted before – was remarkable for an artist who was just beginning a public career. It also is a bit unusual given his less than auspicious debut. Although he spent more than six years in Couture's studio (January 1850 to February 1856) and then passed three years working independently in Paris with two trips to various countries in Europe thrown in (in 1853 and 1856), Manet did not openly test his mettle against his peers and his nation's artistic traditions until the end of the decade when he decided to enter the competition for the biannual Salon. The Salon was a state-sponsored exhibition held in the Palais de l'Industrie on the Champs-Elysées in Paris, near the present-day site of the Grand Palais.[18]

From those who ran it to those who read about it, this immense gathering of paintings, sculpture, prints, and drawings – it was intended to contain 2,000 to 5,000 works – was universally acknowledged as the most important venue in nineteenth-century France for established as well as aspiring artists. Those lucky enough to survive the scrutiny of the jury composed of their peers could demonstrate their talents, make a name for themselves, and perhaps attract collectors or commissions, thereby earn a living and call themselves professional. Thousands of people from all walks of life traipsed through the exhibition every day during its multimonth run. The numbers swelled five- to tenfold on Sundays, when the government eliminated the entry fee and admitted everyone without charge.

During the 1850s, thanks to the generosity of his parents, Manet was able to avoid this stringent system of judgment and supermarket-like display of work and devote himself exclusively to developing his art as a perennial student. His father had risen to a serious post in the Ministry of Justice in the 1830s and then had been appointed a judge in the Court of First Instance of the Seine in Paris. Between salary and investments, he had the means to support his eldest son's aspirations to become an artist despite his initial resistance to Manet's chosen profession. (He had hoped Edouard would follow him into the law.)

Perhaps in an effort to justify his decision to his parents, perhaps to confront the inevitable, Manet abandoned his student status in 1859 and presented one of his paintings to the Salon jury for the first time. Entitled *The Absinthe Drinker* (Fig. 9), the picture depicts a local ragpicker leaning rather tipsily against a stone wall in an undefined space. The painting was rejected without explanation, typical of the jury's proceedings. Manet reworked the painting twice later in his career, thus making it difficult to assess the jury's decision. However, its subject alone would have been grounds for dismissal because art in France was serious business. It was not a place for drunkards rendered on the scale Manet had achieved here, especially when his picture so strongly recalled the disturbing poetry of his contemporary and friend Charles Baudelaire.[19]

Manet's fortunes changed when he submitted two other paintings to the jury for the Salon of 1861, *The Spanish Singer* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and the *Portrait of M. and Mme. Auguste Manet* (Musée d'Orsay, Paris). Both were accepted. Again, this is not

Figure 9. Edouard Manet, *The Absinthe Drinker,* 1859. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. (Photo R.M.N.)

surprising because both display a greater degree of decorum. The brushwork in each is more restrained, the color more localized, the shading more gradual. In addition, the subjects, although undistinguished, at least are more palatable, the former appealing in particular to the vogue for things Spanish that swept Paris at the time.

Gaining admission to the Salon was triumph enough for the then twenty-nine-year-old artist, but Manet did even better; he received positive notices in the press for his submissions, and best of all, from the jury, an honorable mention for *The Spanish Singer.* This was a coveted award, particularly for an artist who was just starting out. It not only confirmed Manet's talent but it also portended a successful future.

The latter was not to be, at least not immediately, since the com-

Figure 10. Edouard Manet, *Mlle. V . . . in the Costume of an Espada,* 1862. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. H. O. Havemeyer Collection. Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929. (29.100.53)

bination of his achievements in 1861 undoubtedly led Manet to consider painting the *Déjeuner.* The canvas did not pass the jury when Manet submitted it in March 1863; nor did the two other paintings he offered for the jury's consideration – *Mlle. V . . . in the Costume of*

an Espada (Fig. 10) and *Young Man in the Costume of a Majo* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.) This was a serious setback that must have disappointed the promising artist despite what he may have confided to Antonin Proust about the *Déjeuner.*

Manet was not the only painter to feel the pangs of rejection. The jury was especially severe that year and had refused to admit more than half of the nearly 5,000 canvases that had been submitted: 2,783 to be precise. This provoked such outrage among artists and critics that Napoleon III, Emperor of France since his coup d'état in 1851, himself announced the creation of a special exhibition that would be devoted to the rejected pictures. Artists who had been denied entry to the regular Salon could decide for themselves whether they wanted to participate in what soon became known as the Salon des Refusés; no jury would screen their resubmissions. Not every rejected artist took up the invitation, with good reason. There was the very real possibility that the public would agree with the official Salon jury, which would make the Refusés exhibition a double mockery for the participants.[20]

Several hundred artists accepted, however, Manet among them. He showed all three works that had been rejected, hanging the two costume pieces on either side of the *Déjeuner.* The trio attracted considerable attention, with most critics focusing upon the central canvas. Contrary to what is often written about these critics, they did not uniformly attack the picture. To be sure, they made plenty of disparaging remarks: "Not one detail has attained its exact and final form," railed Jules Castagnary, one of the more astute apologists for the realist movement.

> I see garments without feeling the anatomical structure which supports them and explains their movements. I see boneless figures and heads without skulls. I see whiskers made of two strips of black cloth that could have been glued to the cheeks. What else do I see? The artist's lack of conviction and sincerity.[21]

But there were many positive things said as well. One critic actually claimed Manet "will triumph one day, we do not doubt, over all the obstacles which he encounters, and we will be the first to applaud his success."[22] Even Castagnary felt Manet's pictures possessed "a certain verve in the colors, a certain freedom of touch which are in no way commonplace."[23]

Figure 11. Marcantonio Raimondi, after Raphael, *Judgment of Paris,* c. 1475–before 1534. Bequest of Mrs. Horatio Greenough Curtis in memory of Horatio Greenough Curtis. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Besides the relatively balanced reception the picture enjoyed, what is surprising is the fact that no critic noticed the now often cited appropriations that Manet had made from earlier art. The most rehearsed concerns Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving after Raphael's now lost *Judgment of Paris* (Fig. 11). In Manet's day, this print was widely considered to be Raimondi's best work and would have been known to Manet by its currency in artistic circles as well as from his own interest in graphics.[24] With characteristic deftness, Manet took the three figures in the lower right of Raphael's image – two river gods and a water nymph sitting by the marshes at the foot of Mount Ida during the mythical selection of the most beautiful woman in the world – and transposed them into the two Parisian men about town and their naked female compan-

ion. While retaining the general disposition of the classical figures, Manet not only altered their identities and poses but he also changed their trappings, attitudes, setting, and relationships, giving them greater individuality and presence than they possessed in the original. He maintained their enigma – they make no clear contribution to Raphael's story, nor do they appear to interact among themselves. At the same time, he injected plenty of wit into the scene, substituting the cane for the reed in the dandy's hand on the right, the overturned fruit basket and ribbon-wrapped bonnet for Athena's discarded helmet and shield, and the frog in the lower left corner – a symbol of lasciviousness as well as of France – for Raimondi's reference to Raphael directly below the seated nymph. (It was precisely this kind of imaginative plundering and recasting that must have appealed to Picasso.)

Scholars have offered a host of other artists and images as additional sources for the *Déjeuner.* Michael Fried, for example, has claimed that "Watteau's art presides over the conception of the *Déjeuner* as a whole" in an extended argument about the importance of French precedents for Manet's development.[25] Anne Hanson and Beatrice Farwell have rightfully pointed to lesser-known nineteenth-century painters and printmakers who produced Watteau-like subjects of picnics and outdoor revelry through the 1860s, thus diminishing Manet's reliance on a single eighteenth-century figure and at the same time emphasizing the importance of popular imagery and the social practices of Manet's own day.[26]

There is general consensus that Gustave Courbet was one of Manet's most significant touchstones for the *Déjeuner.* The champion of the palette knife and subjects drawn from real life, Courbet had often put the art of the past at the service of his own needs; he even pillaged the same Raimondi print twice before Manet had set upon it.[27] With good reason, therefore, his *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine (Summer)* of 1856–57 (Fig. 12) is often held up as an important antecedent for the *Déjeuner.*[28] It had stirred similar emotions when it was first exhibited at the Salon of 1857, primarily because of its scandalous subject matter – two working-class girls lying on the mossy edge of the river in quite unladylike poses. The one in the foreground has even doffed her dress; she stretches out on top of it, wearing nothing but her undergarments. As contemporaries noted, these women are of questionable repute, although it

Figure 12. Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine (Summer),* 1856–7. Musée du Petit Palais, Paris. (Photo © Phototèque des Musées de la Ville de Paris)

is not certain whether they are prostitutes or lesbians. They may even be both; their sense of mutual satisfaction is reflected in their languid bodies and bleary expressions, and the top hat in the boat laces the scene with the scent of a man. Manet has simply pushed beyond his elder colleague's initiatives, forcing, as Françoise Cachin has argued, in a more "impudent" fashion all of the issues Courbet had raised down to Manet's bolder application of paint and his audacity in depicting such a starkly nude figure.[29]

It is also quite possible that Courbet's *Hunt Picnic* of 1858 (Fig. 13) served as an additional precedent for Manet, as Linda Nochlin pointed out more than twenty-five years ago.[30] In addition to its own references to eighteenth-century prototypes, such as Carle van Loo's *Halt in the Hunt* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), which Manet would

Figure 13. Gustave Courbet, *Hunt Picnic,* 1858. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne.

have appreciated, Courbet's painting contains numerous details that reappear in Manet's scene. For example, there are the prominent still life elements in the foreground, the highly stylized poses of the figures, even the curious relationships that Courbet establishes between several of the protagonists – the central hunter with his elbow on his knee, for instance, who appears completely detached from the group as a whole, or the woman behind him to the left who seems to be reacting to the entreaties of the young wine steward by the river, unbeknownst to anyone else in the picture.

These and other details in the *Déjeuner* have been seen as deriving from other possible sources. Cachin, for example, has noted the correspondence between the picnic paraphernalia in the lower left of Manet's picture and the still life complete with similar basket that appears in the same location in Titian's *Virgin with a White Rabbit* (Louvre, Paris), a painting Manet copied in 1854.[31] Various scholars have pointed to the fact that the boat in the *Déjeuner* recalls the craft in Courbet's *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine (Summer)* and is reminiscent of the one in Manet's own *Fishing* of 1861 (Fig. 14).

Figure 14. Edouard Manet, *Fishing,* c. 1861. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Richard J. Bernhard, Gift, 1957. (57.10)

They also have noted the similar pose of the bather in the *Déjeuner* and the bending fisherman in the center of Manet's *Fishing.*[32] That same bather has also been linked with the figure of Saint John in an engraving after a tapestry cartoon by Raphael, *The Miraculous Draught of the Fishes* of 1515 (Victoria and Albert Museum, London) as well with the wading woman in Watteau's now lost *The Village Girl.*[33] Wayne Andersen has drawn attention to the bird that appears in the top center of the *Déjeuner,* identifying it as a bullfinch, which symbolizes promiscuity and naturalness. In addition to complementing the general suggestiveness of the scene (much like the frog in the lower left, another symbol of lasciviousness), the bird, Andersen claims, may be poised to perch on the extended finger of the reclining figure on the right.[34] Finally, the female in the foreground is often seen as a more defiant, contemporary version of the biblical Suzanna, surprised during her bath by her lusty elders, a subject Manet had treated in *The Nymph Surprised,* likewise of 1861 (Museo Nacional de Bellas Artas, Buenos Aires).[35]

In addition to the world of art, the *Déjeuner* is firmly rooted in

Manet's personal biography. The landscape, for example, is generally assumed to recall the Ile Saint-Ouen up the Seine from his family's property at Gennevilliers: The female nude is recognizable from *The Nymph Surprised* as well as from many other paintings Manet executed during this early moment in his career. She was Victorine Meurent, Manet's favorite model, who, after the *Déjeuner,* would be transformed into Manet's equally renowned *Olympia* (Fig. 15).[36] The two male figures are also identifiable: the one on the right is based on Manet's two brothers, Eugène and Gustave, and the one in the center on the Dutch sculptor Ferdinand Leenhoff, brother of Manet's future wife Suzanne Leenhoff.[37] Thus, as Nancy Locke in this volume rightfully asserts, the painting is a kind of family portrait.

Physically, the painting yields other pertinent facts. From x-rays taken in the Louvre's conservation laboratories, for example, we know that Manet made numerous changes while painting the picture.[38] Victorine's discarded blue dress, for instance, lies on top of leaves that once littered the left side of the scene; her hair has been reworked, as have the trees on the left, their trunks swollen so they could act as more substantial foils to the similarly entangled figures. To set those figures off even more, Manet added the bush behind Victorine and Ferdinand; it covers the trunks of thinner trees along the river's edge while providing a darkened backdrop for Manet's models. The bush also breaks the band of water in the background, enhancing the discontinuities of the picture and the difficulties of determining if the pool to the right is on the same level as the water to the left.

Given the formal complexity of the picture, it is surprising that there are not more such changes or pentimenti. Manet must have meticulously prepared the painting with numerous drawings and sketches so that he knew exactly how to proceed. Curiously, however, none of those preliminary works have survived.[39]

This paucity would have played right into the hands of those critics at the Salon des Refusés who did not like the picture and whose biggest concern was Manet's apparent lack of forethought and skill. By this they meant that Manet did not plot out carefully enough all of the relationships in the picture – the placement of the foreground figures, for example, or the spatial recession in the scene that becomes quite implausible behind the trio. These critics also claimed that Manet did not control the paint with adequate rigor, that he frequently allowed too much paint to be on his brush

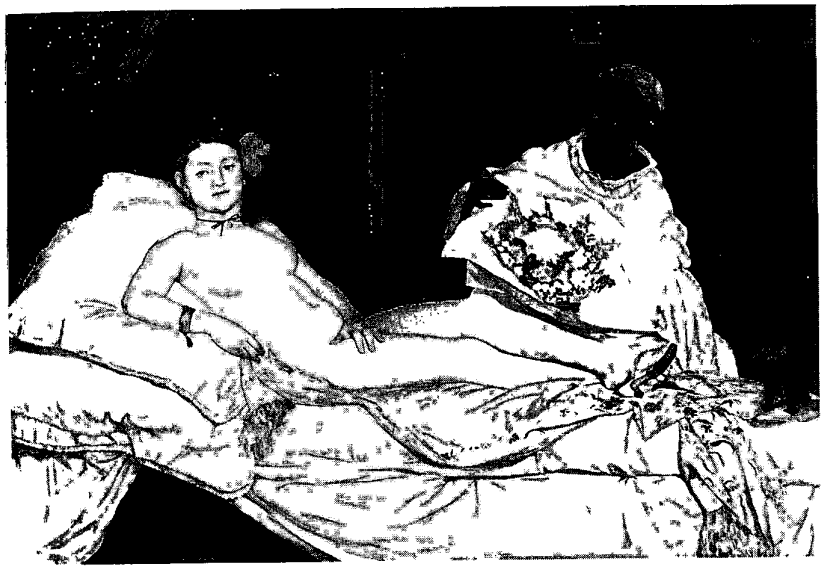

Figure 15. Edouard Manet, *Olympia,* 1863. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. (Photo R.M.N.)

at one time, resulting in a surface with caked or roughened areas. Moreover, Manet's "troweling" of his medium left too much evidence of the passage of the brush over the canvas. Restraint was supposed to be the operative method, not bravado.[40]

That is because the art of painting to the mid-nineteenth-century critic was predicated on illusionism; thus, impasto had to be minimized or put to the service of description, which meant the paint and the bristle marks had to be disguised or made synonymous with the contours of the form being evoked. In addition, wherever strong contrasts were not needed, transitions between light and shade had to be carefully modulated, with colors traversing the tonal scale at almost imperceptible gradations. Drawing also had to be clear and precise, not the broadly applied lines that crudely declared the edges of things in Manet's picture – the folds in Victorine's abdomen or neck, for example, or the fingers of her companion on the right.

The emphasis Manet places on these basic elements of art –

line, color, light, shade, surface, form, and space – was as intentional as his choice of subject. Indeed, he conjoined the two in order to draw attention to the fundamentals of his practice and his skill at manipulating them. To conservative observers, he appeared to be mocking or compromising long-held premises about painting. To more liberal contingents, he was boldly attempting to expand those norms, removing the veils of illusionism and revealing painting's ability to speak on many levels, just like the sister arts of poetry, music, drama, and literature.

This emphasis upon painting's capacities and on "art" in the broadest sense of the word was one of the subtexts of Giorgione's *Pastoral Concert,* just as it informed Raphael's *Judgment of Paris* – the former exploring the relative merits of poetry, the latter the eternal quest for beauty – which may explain some of their appeal for Manet.[41] But Manet seems to have had other issues in mind as well. For his painting was central to his ongoing project of making art that was beholden to his time. This meant not only choosing subjects that engaged modern life but also rendering those subjects in ways that befitted the complexity of his enterprise.[42] These dictates were not of his making; they had been initiated by romantic artists earlier in the century whose rallying cry *"il faut être de son temps"* – "it is necessary to be of one's time" – became the contemporaneous imperative of avant-garde French culture.[43] In literature, it gained formal expression in the novels of Honoré de Balzac and Gustave Flaubert; in drama, in the plays of Henri Murger; in poetry, in the verse of Charles Baudelaire; in music, in the songs of Jacques Offenbach; and in painting, in the canvases of Courbet.

Manet declared his allegiance to this project at the very beginning of his professional career as *The Absinthe Drinker* took its cues from this modernist credo. *The Spanish Singer* and the portrait of his parents continued that commitment, albeit in more tempered form, perhaps as a coy way to circumvent the jury and get in front of the public. But the *Déjeuner* sealed the pact as it cast serious doubts on notions of aesthetic decorum and parodied pictorial traditions that had been in place since the Renaissance.[44] Nothing appears to be sacred, fixed, or verifiable in the picture despite the palpitating presence of many of the elements. Even the fruit that spills out of the basket, while virtually three-dimensional, is totally incongruous – cherries ripen in June, figs in September.[45]

The problems the picture posed – about subject, style, and meaning – had their counterparts in the challenges French society itself was experiencing at the time. Those challenges were the result of monumental forces: the rise of industry and technology, major shifts in population, and the growth of urban areas, particularly Paris, which doubled in size between 1830 and 1850 and almost doubled again between 1850 and 1870. These changes profoundly altered people's perceptions of the world and of themselves, creating as much excitement as uneasiness, as much substance as veneer. What once had been relatively clear or comprehensible, stable or reassuring suddenly had the potential of becoming the opposite. Relationships, for example, roles and performances, spaces and definitions, class affiliations, even gender categories, all became surprisingly unstable as capital and mobility encouraged slippages and uncertainty, parody and confrontation while at the same time breeding opposite yearnings for order and conformity.

Manet's painting operated in this larger complex of competing ideologies and identities, a world in which truths collided with fictions and the past could be revered one moment and reviled the next. It is perhaps largely because of its immersion in this fluid, unpredictable moment that the painting so successfully defied definition. Its contradictions are its truths; its stubbornness and self-consciousness, its inventiveness and dexterity are the sources of the rage, puzzlement, and admiration it has provoked.

It therefore is not surprising that the following essays diverge so widely even though they take this one painting as their starting point. Like modern life, the *Déjeuner* is pluralistic and polemical, filled with contingencies yet appearing vivid, solemn, and self-sustaining, all of which makes it resistant to simple explanation. Thus, like the long line of protégés the painting has inspired, these essays remind us of the richness of Manet's achievement and the challenges that a single picture can continue to pose, especially one as smart as the *Déjeuner.* "Painting is a thing of intelligence," Picasso once said. "One sees it in Manet . . . in each of his brushstrokes."[46]

NOTES

1. On Picasso's *Déjeuner* series see Douglas Cooper, *Pablo Picasso. Les Déjeuners* (New York: Abrams, 1963); and Susan Grace Galassi, *Picasso's Variations on the Masters: Confrontations with the Past* (New York: Abrams, 1996), pp.

185–203. This campaign is also intelligently discussed by Klaus Gallwitz, *Picasso at 90* (New York: Putnam's, 1971); Jean Sutherland Boggs, "The Last Thirty Years," in Sir Roland Penrose, ed., *Picasso in Retrospect* (New York: Praeger, 1973); Mary Mathews Gedo, *Picasso. Art as Autobiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 236–9; Marie-Laure Bernadac, "De Manet à Picasso, l'éternel retour," *Bonjour Monsieur Manet,* exhibition catalogue (Paris: Musée d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, 1983), pp. 33–46; Richard Wollheim, *Painting as an Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 244–8; Rosalind Krauss, "The Impulse to See," in Hal Foster, ed., *Visions and Visuality,* Dia Art Foundation Discussions in Contemporary Culture, No. 2 (Seattle: Bay Press, 1988), pp. 51–78.

On Picasso's engagement with other Old Masters, see Hélène Parmelin, "Picasso and Las Meninas," *Yale Review* 47 (June 1958), 578–88; Leo Steinberg, "The Algerian Women and Picasso at Large," *Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth-Century Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 125–234; and John Anderson, "Faustus/Velásquez/Picasso," in Gert Schiff, ed., *Picasso in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), pp. 158–62; Marilyn McCully, ed., *A Picasso Anthology: Documents, Criticism, Reminiscences* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 247–58; Jannie L. Cohen, "Picasso's Explorations of Rembrandt's Art, 1967–1972," *Arts Magazine* 58 (October 1983), 119–27; Marie-Laure Bernadac, "Picasso: 1953–1972: Painting as Model," in *Late Picasso,* exhibition catalogue (London: Tate Gallery, 1988), pp. 49–94.

2. Cooper, as in note 1, pp. 32–3.
3. Picasso did fifteen paintings, two lithographs, nine etchings and aquatints, and some seventy drawings after Delacroix's *Women of Algiers* between December 1954 and April 1955. He completed the forty-five variations on Velásquez's painting between August and December 1957. Poussin's painting prompted just one version after France was liberated in 1944. Works by Cranach, Altdorfer, El Greco, Courbet, and Rembrandt all spawned equally modest responses – one or two paintings and a handful of drawings or prints for each executed between 1947 and 1960.
4. Technically, one could say Picasso's *Déjeuner* series began in 1954 when he painted four variations on Manet's picture between June 26 and 29 (Zervos 16, 316–19). It also could be argued that it did not end until the concrete sculptures were installed at the Moderna Museet in Stockholm in 1966. But the period of greatest activity were the three years between August 1959 when the drawings and paintings began in earnest and August 1962 when Picasso completed the maquettes for the pieces of sculpture. During this fertile moment, Picasso carried the project with him from Vauvenargues to la Californie to the mas de Mougins.
5. Manet's painting has always been central to an understanding of his achievement and thus figures in all serious studies of the artist, the most important of which, in order of their publication, are Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Manet raconté par lui-même,* 2 vols. (Paris: H. Laurens, 1926); Adolphe Tabarant, *Manet et ses oeuvres* (Paris: Gallimard, 1941); Nils Gösta Sandblad, *Manet: Three Studies in Artistic Conception* (Lund: G. W. K. Gleerup, 1954); John Richardson, *Manet* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1967); Michael Fried, "Manet's Sources: Aspects of His Art 1859–1865," *Artforum* 7 (March 1969), 28–82; Theodore Reff, "Manet's Sources: A Critical Evaluation," *Artforum* 8 (September 1969), 40–8; George Mauner, *Manet peintre-philosophe: A Study of the Painter's Themes* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975); Anne Coffin Hanson, *Manet and the Modern Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Beatrice Farwell, *Manet and the Nude: A Study in the Iconology of the Second Empire* (New York: Garland, 1981); Theodore Reff, *Manet and Modern Paris,* exhibition catalogue (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1982); Françoise Cachin and Charles S. Moffett, *Manet 1832–1883,* exhibition catalogue (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983); T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (New York: Knopf, 1985); Kathleen Adler, *Manet* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1986); Juliet Wilson Bareau, *The Hidden Face of Manet,* exhibition catalogue (London: Courtauld Institute Galleries, 1986); Vivien Perutz, *Edouard Manet* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1993); and Alan Krell, *Manet and the Painters of Contemporary Life* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996).

Manet's work also has been the focus of serious attention in more general texts such as John Rewald, *The History of Impressionism,* 4th ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1973); H. W. Janson and Robert Rosenblum, *19th Century Art* (New York: Abrams, 1984); and Robert L. Herbert, *Impressionism. Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

And it features in a number of important articles, including Linda Nochlin, "The Invention of the Avant-Garde in France 1830–1880," *Art News Annual* 34 (1968), 11–18; Wayne Andersen, "Manet and the Judgment of Paris," *Art News* 72, no. 2 (February 1973), 63–9; Eunice Lipton, "Manet: A Radicalized Female Imagery," *Artforum* 13 (March 1975), 48–53; Beatrice Farwell, "Manet's Bathers," *Arts Magazine* 54, no. 9 (May 1980), 124–33. For the best discussions of its critical reception see note 7 below. Also see the bibliography at the end of this volume.

6. Picasso made his contempt for critics clear in a conversation with Daniel Henry-Kahnweiler in Marilyn McCully, as in note 1, p. 252.
7. For the best discussions of contemporary writings on the *Déjeuner,* see McCauley in this volume; David Carrier, "Manet and His Interpreters," *Art History* 8 (September 1985), 320–35; Alan Krell, "Manet's 'Déjeuner sur l'herbe' in the 'Salon des Refusés': A Reappraisal," *Art Bulletin* 65

(June 1983), 316–20; and the groundbreaking study by George Heard Hamilton, *Manet and His Critics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954).

8. It should be pointed out that visiting an exhibition in the nineteenth century was not a prerequisite to writing a review of the same show; nor was being an art expert considered obligatory. One of the sharpest observers of the Parisian art world in Manet's day, for example, was the poet and writer Charles Baudelaire, who had no formal art training and actually admitted to writing about works of art he had not seen.
9. Manet submitted the painting to the Salon des Refusés as *Le Bain*. He changed the title to *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* in 1867 when he included it in a one-man show he staged by the Pont d'Alma. It is likely that he changed the name to give the painting a more contemporary ring, perhaps in response to Monet's huge *Déjeuner sur l'herbe,* which remained unfinished at the time. It also may have become a title friends (and/or critics) had used for the picture. When Manet compiled an inventory of his studio in 1871, he listed the painting as *La Partie carrée,* or *The Party of Four.* The latter has a number of meanings, like the painting itself. Beyond indicating a social gathering of two men and two women, it suggests a parody of classical types in the manner of the popular contemporary songwriter Offenbach. It also had more base connotations as it was common parlance for sexual activity between consenting couples. On these meanings see Krell, as in note 5, pp. 33–4, and Cachin, as in note 5, p. 170; for the inventory of 1871 see Dennis Rouart and Daniel Wildenstein, *Edouard Manet: Catalogue Raisonné,* vol. 1 (Lausanne: Bibliothèque des Arts, 1975), p. 17.

   The fact that Manet's original title referred not to a picnic but to bathing helps to explain the figure in the river in the background and partly justifies the nude in the foreground. It also may have been a coy reference to Gustave Courbet's *Bathers* of 1853 (Musée Fabre, Montpellier), a painting that had caused a stir when it was first exhibited. The whole issue of nineteenth-century bathing practices and artists' depictions of them would benefit from further scholarly attention; happily, it is the subject of present research by Linda Nochlin. For earlier investigations of the issue see Eldon N. Van Liere, "Le Bain: The Theme of the Bather in Nineteenth Century French Painting," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1974; Eldon N. Van Liere, "Solutions to Dissolutions: The Bather in Nineteenth Century French Painting," *Arts Magazine* 54, no. 9 (May 1980), 104–14; and Farwell, as in note 5.

   The *Déjeuner's* original title adds some credence to Antonin Proust's suggestion that the painting was partly inspired by the sight of women bathing in the Seine at Argenteuil, although one should approach that suggestion with considerable skepticism. See note 15 in this chapter.

10. The painting remained in Faure's hands until 1898 when he sold it to Durand-Ruel for 20,000 francs, 5,000 francs less than Manet had originally asked. The dealer sold it shortly thereafter to Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, who donated it to the nation in 1906. On the painting's provenance see Cachin, as in note 5, pp. 172–3, and Gary Tinterow and Henri Loyrette, *The Origins of Impressionism,* exhibition catalogue (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), p. 401. On Faure and Manet see Anthea Callen, "Faure and Manet," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 83 (March 1974), 157–78.

    Manet's asking price was overly ambitious. One could buy Old Master paintings for that amount. It also was completely out of line with his own pricing system. Just a year or two before, he had asked 1,000 francs for *Boy Holding a Sword* and admitted he would let it go for 800 francs. (See Manet's letter to his dealer Louis Martinet of c. 1860–61/1863, as cited in Bareau, as in note 5, p. 29.) In addition, 25,000 francs had little relation to prices for paintings by contemporary French artists. Between 1838 and 1857 the average price for a contemporary landscape painting was 1,432 francs, for a genre painting, 2,861, and for a history painting, 6,637. (See Harrison C. White and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and Careers. Institutional Change in the French Painting World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 38–41. To be sure, prices for certain contemporary works by sought-after artists could fetch more than 25,000 francs, but they were the exceptions. Manet may well have wanted to place his picture on a par with such pinnacles as a sign of his competitiveness. It also may have been a more innocent, though no less telling, indication of how much he invested in the work.
11. On Matisse's interest in Manet see Pierre Schneider, *Matisse* (New York: Rizzoli, 1984), pp. 40–4. Gauguin copied Manet's *Olympia* in 1891 and carried a photograph of the painting with him to the South Seas, using it as a touchstone for many of his nudes of the 1890s; see Richard Brettell et al., *The Art of Paul Gauguin,* exhibition catalogue (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1988), pp. 202–3. Late in his life, Gauguin fondly remembered the compliment Manet paid him when "the master," as Gauguin referred to Manet, first saw his work; see *Paul Gauguin's Intimate Journals,* by Van Wyck Brooks trans. (New York: Liveright, 1949), p. 132. Cézanne was no less impressed with Manet and did variations on many of his works; see, for example, Lionello Venturi, *Cézanne, son art, son oeuvre,* 2 vols. (Paris: Paul Rosenberg, 1936), #107, c. 1870 [private collection]; #238, 1875 [Musée de l'Orangerie, Collection Jean Walter and Paul Guillaume]; and #377, 1877–82 [Collection Janet Traeger Salz, New York]; on Monet's huge picture see Joel Isaacson, *Monet: 'Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe'* (London: Penguin, 1972).
12. W. Bürger [Théophile Thoré], "Salon de 1863," *L'Indépendance belge*

(June 11, 1863); reprinted in his *Salons de W. Bürger,* 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Internationale, 1870), vol. 1, p. 425, as cited and translated in Hamilton, as in note 7, p. 50.

13. On artists' materials in the nineteenth century see David Bomford et al., *Art in the Making. Impressionism,* exhibition catalogue (London: National Gallery of Art, 1990), especially pp. 44–7 for information about canvases. Also see Anthea Callen, *The Techniques of the Impressionists* (London: Orbis, 1982).
14. This association of size and subject matter dates back in France at least to the beginning of the French Academy in the seventeenth century just as the formulation of the hierarchies of what artists might paint was set down at the same time by André Félibien, among others. See Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art Past and Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), p. 95.
15. Antonin Proust, "Edouard Manet: Souvenirs," *La Revue blanche* (February–May 1897), pp. 171–2, reprinted in *Edouard Manet: Souvenirs* (Paris: A. Barthélemy, H. Laurens, 1913), p. 43. This often cited conversation has been vigorously questioned in recent time. See, for example, Perutz, as in note 5, p. 96, who rejects it as "nonsense." The first person to link the *Déjeuner* and Giorgione's picture was Manet's friend Zachaire Astruc in "Le Salon de 1863," *Le Salon de 1863, feuilleton quotidien,* no. 16 (May 20, 1863), 5. Also see the sensitive reading of the relationship between the two pictures offered by Meyer Schapiro in "The Apples of Cézanne," *Art News Annual* 34 (1968), 34–53; reprinted in Schapiro, *Modern Art, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Selected Papers* (New York: Braziller, 1978), pp. 1–38.
16. On Degas's comments see Daniel Halèvy, *Degas parle* (Paris: La Palatine, 1960), pp. 110–11, cited and translated in Mina Curtiss, *My Friend Degas* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1964), p. 92; and Tinterow, as in note 10, p. 131. Proust's memoirs began in serial form in *La Revue blanche* (February–May 1897), pp. 125–35, 168–80, 201–7, 306–15, 413–24, and became a book in 1913. Manet died in 1883. Eunice Lipton was one of the first to emphasize the studio nature of the painting, especially the fact that we are forced to confront the nude figure in the foreground not as a representation of some mythological goddess but merely as a model posing for the artist. See Lipton, as in note 5. This reading of the painting has been amplified by Hanson, as in note 5, and rethought by McCauley and Armstrong in this volume.
17. On the Fantin copy see Perutz, as in note 5, p. 216, note 97. Hanson, as in note 5, pp. 75, 92–3, asserts that Venetian painting would have been seen by Manet's contemporaries as realistic. Thus, his remaking of Giorgione's painting with contemporary figures would have been appropriate not only for his personal interest in contemporaneity but also for the painting itself. Francis Haskell makes similar points in his review of the history of Giorgione's painting. See Francis Haskell, "Giorgione's 'Concert champêtre' and its Admirers," in *Past and Present in Art and Taste. Selected Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 141–52. Among the many nineteenth-century copies after the Giorgione, Haskell notes ones by Bonnat, Cabanel, Cézanne, and Degas, placing Manet and Fantin in appropriate company.

18. On the Salon see Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon. Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); and Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Phaidon, 1971). On Manet's student days see Jean Alazard, "Manet et Couture," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 35 (1949), 213–18. On Couture see Boime, *Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980).
19. On *The Absinthe Drinker* see in particular Anne-Brigitte Fonsmarck, "'The Absinthe Drinker' – and Manet's Picture-making," *Copenhagen Papers in the History of Art* 2 (1987), 76–92; Ewa Lajer-Burchart, "Modernity and the Condition of Disguise: Manet's 'Absinthe Drinker'," *Art Journal* 45 (Spring 1985), 18–26; and Hanson, as in note 5, pp. 54–5, who suggests it was the picture's close connection with Baudelaire's verse that made Thomas Couture react so negatively to Manet's canvas. On Manet's relation to Baudelaire see Lois Boe and Frances Hyslop, "Baudelaire and Manet: A Reappraisal," in Lois Boe Hyslop, ed., *Baudelaire as a Love Poet and Other Essays* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Press, 1969), pp. 87–130. Hamilton, as in note 7, p. 30, first noted the connection of *The Absinthe Drinker* to Baudelaire's *Fleurs du mal.*
20. On the Salon des Refusés see Ian Dunlop, "The Salon des Refusés," in *The Shock of the New* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972), pp. 10–53; Albert Boime, "The Salon des Refusés and the Evolution of Modern Art," *Art Quarterly* 32 (Winter 1969), 411–26; Rewald, as in note 5, pp. 69–92; and Daniel Wildenstein, "Le Salon des Refusés de 1863 – Catalogue et Documents," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 66, no. 1160 (September 1965), 125–52. The catalogue lists 687 works; the supplement, printed later, contains an additional 94, making a total of 781 entries. It is quite possible there were more given the timing of the event. There was at least one estimate of 1,500. See *La Revue artistique et littéraire* (May 1863), p. 247, as cited in Krell, as in note 7, p. 319.
21. Jules Castagnary, "Le Salon des Refusés," *L'Artiste* (August 15, 1863), p. 76, as cited and translated in Hamilton, as in note 7, p. 48.
22. Edouard Lockroy, "L'Exposition des refusés," *Le Courrier artistique* (May 16, 1863), p. 93, as cited in Krell, as in note 7, p. 318.
23. Castagnary, as in note 21.
24. On Raimondi's stature see Albert Boime, "Les Hommes d'affaires et les

arts en France au 19ème siècle," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* no. 28 (June 1979), 62–3, cited in Cachin, as in note 5, p. 168. Also see Beatrice Farwell, "Manet's 'Espada' and Marcantonio," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 2 (1969), 197–207. Ernest Chesneau recognized the reference to Raphael, but his insight did not appear until 1864. See Ernest Chesneau, "Le Salon des Refusés," in *L'Art et les artistes modernes en France et en Angleterre* (Paris: Didier, 1864), pp. 188–9. His book must not have circulated very widely or his observation given much credence because no one mentions the connection to Raphael until 1908. See Gustave Pauli, "Raphael und Manet," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 1 (January–February 1908), 53–5.

25. Fried, as in note 5. This essay has been reproduced in its entirety in Fried's recent book, *Manet's Modernism or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), which also contains Fried's reconsideration of his thesis as well as rejoinders to scholars who had critiqued it. Chief among the latter was Reff, as in note 5.
26. Hanson, as in note 5, pp. 94–5; Farwell, as in note 5; also see Farwell, *French Popular Lithography 1815–1870* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).
27. Courbet appropriated the three contestants for Paris's apple for the three figures in *Young Ladies of the Village* of 1852 (City Art Gallery, Leeds), first noted by Theodore Reff, "Courbet and Manet," *Arts Magazine* 54 (March 1980), 98–103. He also used the figure of Athena (who has her back to us in the print) for the foreground woman in *The Bathers* of 1853 (Musée Fabre, Montpellier).
28. Fried, as in note 5, p. 43, was the first to point to Courbet's *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine (Summer)* as a touchstone; subsequent scholars have largely agreed.
29. Cachin, as in note 5, p. 168. On the scandalous nature of Courbet's picture see Sarah Faunce and Linda Nochlin, *Courbet Reconsidered,* exhibition catalogue (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1988), pp. 133–4; Patricia Mainardi, "Gustave Courbet's Second Scandal: 'Les Demoiselles du Village'," *Arts Magazine* 53, no. 553 (January 1979), 95–103; Suzanne Kahn and Martine Ecalle, "Les Demoiselles des Bords de la Seine," *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Gustave Courbet,* no. 19 (1957), 1–17; and Hélène Toussaint, *Gustave Courbet (1819–1871),* exhibition catalogue (Paris: Grand Palais, 1977), 126–9.
30. Linda Nochlin, *Realism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), pp. 145–7. Also see Tinterow, as in note 10, pp. 128–9.
31. Cachin, as in note 5, p. 169.
32. On the ties to Manet's *Fishing* see Sandblad, as in note 5, and Anne Coffin Hanson, *Edouard Manet (1832–1883),* exhibition catalogue (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1966), pp. 47–9.

33. For the connection to "The Village Girl," see Fried, as in note 25; on the link to Raphael's *Miraculous Draught,* see Reff and Mauner, as in note 5.
34. Anderson, as in note 5.
35. On the *Nymph Surprised* see Rosalind E. Krauss, "Manet's 'Nymph Surprised'," *Burlington Magazine* 109 (November 1967), 622–7; and Beatrice Farwell, "Manet's 'Nymphe surprise'," *Burlington Magazine* 127 (April 1975), 224–9.
36. On the elusive Victorine Meurent see Eunice Lipton, *Alias Olympia. A Woman's Search for Manet's Notorious Model and Her Own Desire* (New York: Scribner's, 1992). On the association of the landscape with Saint-Ouen see Hanson, as in note 5, p. 94, and Cachin, as in note 5, p. 167. On the use of Saint-Ouen as the setting for other paintings see Hanson, as in note 31.
37. There had been a long-standing argument about which brother may have posed for the right-hand figure. Moreau-Nélation claimed it was Eugène; Tabarant said it was Gustave. Proust made the compromise and asserted it was a combination of the two. See Moreau-Nélaton, as in note 5, vol. 1, p. 49; Tabarant, as in note 5, p. 61; and Proust, as in note, 15, p. 172. The bathing figure remains unknown. Cachin says it may have been "Victorine again, or some composite figure," whereas Proust insists it was a young Jewish girl that Manet met on the street. See Cachin, as in note 5, p. 170, and Proust, as in note 5, p. 31.
38. The technical examination of the painting is thoroughly reviewed in Bareau, as in note 5.
39. A watercolor in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, was long thought to have been a preparatory drawing for the Orsay painting. See Rouart and Wildenstein, as in note 9. However, it is too close to the final version of the painting to have come before it. Bareau, as in note 5, proposed it may have been done between the Orsay canvas and the only other related work, a painting presently in the Courtauld Collection, London, that Manet gave to Hippolyte Lejosne. She also suggested that parts of it may have been traced from a photograph of the painting due to the stiff and awkward quality of the outlines of many of the elements in the scene.

    Although the Courtauld painting also was once considered a study, it now is widely believed to be a copy done after the Orsay canvas. This opinion is based on x-rays of the Orsay picture first published by Bareau. They reveal that Manet made numerous changes while working on the picture. The Courtauld painting in contrast is set down without any alterations.

    The Courtauld painting is not an exact replica of the Orsay version. The figures are not in precisely the same positions, the foliage varies, and certain details are different. Victorine's right foot, for example, is flatter on the ground and closer to the crotch of the figure on the right, whose

right hand, on the surface of the painting, touches his companion's jacket. This figure's left hand is bent at the wrist, is longer than its counterpart in the Orsay picture, and holds what seems to be draping gloves, which do not appear in the Paris version. The position of this figure's cane is also different; it overlaps his vest as opposed to his pants. In addition, his head is below the boat in the background. Finally, there are fewer cherries in the still life on the left, the silver flask is less prominent, the tree in the foreground on the right is shorter, and Victorine's hair is red.

Despite their number, these differences are relatively minor. They also are reasonable if the Courtauld version is understood to be a freehand rendering of the original. Arguing against the likelihood of it being a study is the fact that it follows the lines of the Orsay canvas too closely and, most tellingly, contains all of the changes Manet had devised for that version. On the Courtauld painting as a study see Paul Jamot, "The First Version of Manet's 'Déjeuner sur l'herbe'," *Burlington Magazine* 58, no. 339 (June 1931), 299–300; Douglas Cooper, *The Courtauld Collection. A Catalogue and Introduction with a Memoir of Samuel Courtauld by Anthony Blunt* (London: Athlone Press, 1954), no. 32; and Alan Bowness, "A Note on Manet's Compositional Difficulties," *Burlington Magazine* 103 (June 1961), 276–7. On it as a copy see Bareau, as in note 5, and *Impressionist and Post-Impressionist Masterpieces: The Courtauld Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 36.

Henri Loyrette rather ingeniously suggested the Courtauld painting may have been a canvas in which Manet explored the changes he was contemplating for the Orsay picture. However, he also asserted that the painting could just as easily have come after the Orsay canvas, believing it more successfully integrates the figures in the landscape. See Tinterow, as in note 10, p. 402.

40. For some of these negative criticisms see Ernest Chesneau, "Salon de 1863," *Le Constitutionnel* (May 19, 1863); J. Graham [Arthur Stevens], "Un Etranger au Salon," *Le Figaro* (July 16, 1863), p. 3; and Adrien Paul, "Salon de 1863: Les Refusés," *Le Siècle* (July 19, 1863), p. 2. Paul in particular referred to the caked or slabbed surfaces of Manet's submissions and to the lack of nuances and range of shades; cited in Tinterow, as in note 10, p. 399, and in Krell, as in note 7, p. 317. Once again, as Krell points out, Manet's submissions prompted quite a number of positive responses. Even Stevens, despite his reservations, felt that Manet "will make enormous progress for the next Salon." Manet also was not the only artist singled out for criticism. His colleagues in the Salon des Refusés were the brunt of similar complaints. "Instead of looking for outlines which the Academy calls drawing," observed Théophile Thoré, "instead of slaving over details which those who admire classic art call finish, these painters try to create an effect in its striking unity, without bothering about correct lines or minute details." See W. Bürger, as in note 12, cited and translated in Hamilton, as in note 7, p. 49.

41. On Giorgione's picture see Patricia Egan, "Poesia and the 'Fête Champêtre'," *Art Bulletin* 41 (1959), 302–13; and Schapiro, as in note 15.
42. Manet's modernist project was first articulated by Meyer Schapiro in "The Nature of Abstract Art," *Marxist Quarterly* 1 (January–March 1937), 77–98; reprinted in Schapiro, as in note 15, pp. 185–211. It subsequently has been the subject of numerous studies, the best of which include Clark, Crow, Hanson, Herbert, and Reff, 1982, as in note 5.
43. On *"il faut être de son temps"* see Nochlin, as in note 30, pp. 103–78. As one writer of the period noted, "L'oeuvre du romancier est donc peindre la vie comme elle est; il serait souverainement immoral et dangereux de la peindre autrement; ce serait induire en erreur une masse de lecteurs et conseiller implicitement l'hypocrisie." See Antonio Watripon, "De la moralité en matière d'art et de littérature," *Le présent* (August 16, 1857), p. 246, as quoted in part in Gabriel Weisberg, *The Realist Tradition: French Painting and Drawing 1830–1900*, exhibition catalogue, Cleveland Museum of Art (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), p. 125; and in Perutz, as in note 5, p. 210, note 10.
44. Sandblad, as in note 5, was the first to draw attention to the issue of parody in the *Déjeuner*, something Nochlin, as in note 5, took up with verve. More recently, this point is made by Cachin, as in note 5, pp. 170–2; and quite differently by Pointon in this volume.
45. Cachin, as in note 5, p. 169, was the first to point out this incongruity.
46. Picasso as quoted in Dore Ashton, ed., *Picasso on Art: A Selection of Views* (New York: Viking, 1972), p. 16.