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Author(s): Therese Dolan
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Fringe Benefits: Manet's Olympia and Her Shawl

Therese Dolan

"Fabrics speak a silent language."—Charles Baudelaire, "La chambre double," in *Spleen de Paris*, 1869[1]

Émile Marcelin's cover for the June 28, 1861, edition of the *Journal Amusant* depicts a crowd at the Salon of 1861 (Fig. 1). Dominating the forefront of the image is a woman who looks at a painting on the wall while checking her Salon *livret* for the name of the artist and the title of the work. It is clear that the caricature relies on the comic contrast of her heavily swathed body, with her hat, gloves, enormous crinoline dress, and lengthy lace shawl showing virtually no skin, as she confronts the portrayal of the scantily clothed woman who raises her arms to expose more fully her naked breasts to the male viewer contemplating her. Most likely the image that she stands before is a variant of Jean-Léon Gérôme's *Phryne before the Areopagus*, an academic painting illustrating the disrobing of the accused Greek courtesan before her all-male jury. Marcelin attached a caption that reads: "Why do our artists persist in only painting Roman woman in chocolate, Gothic women in wood and Etruscan women in zinc, WHEN THERE ARE PARISIENNES!"[2] Marcelin's female figure would get her wish, but not in the manner she may have wanted, when Édouard Manet's *Olympia* hung on the wall at the Salon of 1865 (Fig. 2). After its exhibition, Manet became known as the painter of the scandalous woman with the black cat. From the beginning she was recognized for what she was—a courtesan, according to the critic Jules Claretie.[3] Two gendarmes had to be posted in front of the painting to prevent its defacement, and shortly before the closing of the Salon the painting was relocated to one of the last rooms of the exhibition, hung very high behind a door in the corner, where, as Claretie claimed, one was unsure whether the image was a packet of nude flesh or a bundle of laundry.[4] Most of the reviewers dispatched the painting with a sneering sentence or two, characterizing the work as a visual prank. The jury should have rejected the work, they maintained, but decided to accept it to teach the painter a lesson in humility, convinced that its offensive subject matter and poor craftsmanship would finally quell the heated discourse that surrounded the painter whose reputation had grown since his *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* had divided opinion at the Salon des Refusés two years previously.

Debate about the painting continues to the present day, although opinion has reversed, and the work is now hailed as one of the masterpieces of the Western tradition and a watershed moment in modern art. Beth Archer Brombert asserts that not one detail of the painting has escaped critical discussion,[5] and it is true that almost every aspect of the painting has been inventoried. The identity of the object in Olympia's hair has been contested: Is it a ribbon or an orchid, a hibiscus, a camellia? Different interpretations have ensued from a reading of this ambiguous element. The mules slipping off Olympia's feet have been linked, in the argot of the day, to *chausson* (slipper), which referred to an "old prostitute," while the expression "putain comme chausson" (whore like a slipper) alluded to a "real debauchée."[6] Manet's cat has been spoken of repeatedly as a Baudelairean symbol, and Griselda Pollock has thoroughly addressed the racial and sexual meanings of the maid holding the large bouquet.[7] We even know that the bracelet adorning Olympia's wrist belonged to Manet's mother and contained a lock of his baby hair.[8] T. J. Clark, in his landmark study of this work, sees Manet's painting as marked by a circuit of signs that offers clues to Olympia's sexual and social identity.[9]

One of these signs is the floral shawl on which Olympia reclines, which she holds in her right hand, that loops beneath her body and spills over the lower edge of the bed in front of the infamous black cat. Figures lying on shawls were not uncommon in images of nudes in nineteenth-century France. Odalisques lounged on them in Oriental splendor in paintings and in photographs of nudes that were used as models by painters. In these, the shawl was employed as a decorative motif and sign of exoticism, as can be seen in Julien Vallou de Villeneuve's 1853 photograph (Fig. 3). Pollock, in her book *Differencing the Canon*, noted the shawl's potential as a signifier in Manet's painting when she wrote that the

> large silk shawl ... implies a possible narrative. It could have clothed her, and possibly, we are to presume that it recently did, before being slipped off to reveal her to whoever stood, might stand, or stands now in the place the painting constructs beyond its immediate frame as a necessary part of its semantic proposition.[10]

In 1864, Ernest Chesneau identified Olympia's shawl as cashmere, even though it is impossible from Manet's paint handling to discern the consistency of the material, as he does not indulge in technical virtuosity of replicating textures.[11] Manet's modernist agenda contravened this type of simulation, as he sought to foreground the materiality of paint and the illusionism of its facture. Nonetheless, the shawl was an article invested in Manet's time with a gendered, classed, and economic heritage that the artist drew on to imbue his painting with a deepened socially symbolic context. The shawl in nineteenth-century France had a narrative of its own as a fashion commodity that became an eroticized object of desire and a supplementary signifier of class status in the specularity of feminine allure. Clark argued that the features defining "the prostitute" were losing whatever clarity they had once possessed, as the difference between the middle and the margin of the social order became blurred.[12] I believe that the shawl played its role in this issue through the meanings accorded it during Manet's time. By demonstrating that Olympia's nude body was not the only socially and economically exchangeable object on display in Manet's painting, I address how Manet choreographed the shawl in his painting to authenticate the painting's contemporaneity.

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N° 287. — 1861. Prix du numéro : 45 centimes 28 Juin

JOURNAL POUR RIRE,

JOURNAL AMUSANT

JOURNAL ILLUSTRÉ.

Journal d'images, journal comique, critique, satirique, etc.,

CH. PHILIPON, fondateur de la maison Aubert et Cie, du Charivari, de la Caricature politique, du Musée Philipon, des Modes Parisiennes, etc.

ON S'ABONNE chez le successeur d'AUBERT et Cie.

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LE PUBLIC AU SALON DE 1861, — par MARCELIN.

...... Et d'abord pourquoi nos artistes ne nous peignent-ils jamais que des femmes romaines en chocolat, des femmes gothiques en bois et des femmes étrusques en zinc, QUAND IL Y A DES PARISIENNES!

1 Émile Marcelin, cover of *Journal Amusant*, June 28, 1861 (artwork in the public domain)

At the same time, he used it to allude to the painting as an artificially colored surface that reflects his own awareness of his canvas as circulating in a market driven by fashion and finance.

Juliet Wilson-Bareau's X-ray analysis of the underpainting of Manet's canvas indicates that the shawl was an afterthought, as Olympia's right hand, with the index finger pointing down, does not appear to be holding anything.[13] Neither of the 1862–63 red chalk preparatory drawings includes any of the props of the painting; the model remains completely nude, with her right leg raised and her right hand posed beneath her chin (Figs. 4, 5). I propose that compelling social and aesthetic issues caused Manet to add the shawl to the final painting in 1863, the year he married Suzanne Leenhoff on October 28. As a proper bourgeois, Manet most likely presented Suzanne with a *corbeille de mariage*, the traditional cache of gifts given to the bride-to-be in exchange for the dowry on the day that the marriage contract is signed. The *corbeille* most often contained fans, lace, jewelry, and other luxury items, but the true pièce de résistance was a shawl whose fabric, with cashmere trumping silk and merino wool, signaled the aspirations of the engaged couple.[14] The *corbeille* was traditionally exhibited in the fiancée's home, and guests were invited to view its contents. When a trousseau was exhibited, the suppliers gave a discount of 2 percent for each one hundred francs spent on their bill, and the press even commented on the value of the merchandise. An article in the April 10, 1858, issue of the *Courrier de Paris* noted the disappointment of the fashionable women of Paris—not to mention of the suppliers—who expected to view the trousseau of Princess Stéphanie de Hohenzollern, fiancée of King Pedro V of Portugal. Contrary to the custom with the announcement of royal, princely, or millionaire's forthcoming marriages, her *corbeille* was not on view. Nevertheless, before being packed away, the ensembles of silk, cashmere, and lace, which cost 638,000 francs without the jewels, were displayed in a vast salon.[15] During the three or four days necessary for this preparation, hundreds of fashionable women rushed to the Faubourg St-Germain and the Chaussée d'Antin to see the luxuries. Registered among the contents were seven cashmeres: one from the Orient embroidered in gold for 22,000 francs; three from India at 10,000 francs each; and three from France at 3,000 francs apiece.[16]

Jules Janin commented in *L'Artiste* that a woman might be capricious in choosing a lover or a husband, but she chose her shawl with the utmost care because it connoted the esteem of the prospective husband for his bride-to-be and foretold the future of her household: "if [the shawl] is beautiful, if it has an attractive color, if it is original without being bizarre, you will have a wife content for many years."[17] Frances Trollope observed in her book *Paris and the Parisians in 1835* that a dainty shawl "makes a part of every woman's trousseau, and is, I believe, exactly that part of the *présent* which often makes a bride forget the *futur*."[18] As Susan Hiner has remarked in *Accessories to Modernity*, the *corbeille* was a "receptacle for the accessories deemed essential to the production and performance of the feminine—whether items associated with a woman's role as wife, with her social function as the artfully embellished inscription of her husband's wealth, or with her position as eroticized body in the gendered economy of modern 19th-century France."[19]

Nancy Locke has written that what is noteworthy in Manet's art is his multiplication of the possibilities of reading positions of gender, sexuality, and power in his highly charged images.[20] The shawl plays a role in this discourse because in nineteenth-century France it relayed a specialized view of the body and its place in social practices. Its colorful surface was laden with cultural connotations that can be recuperated through visual and literary texts, which I will rely on to explicate the significance of its presence in Manet's painting. Satirical cartoons and popular illustrations of the time also provide telling glimpses into social perceptions of the shawl by capitalizing on stereotypes. Their deft notation of contemporary mores, their graphic shorthand and focused messages, along with an ingrained opposition to traditional standards of aesthetic beauty, operated at the farthest remove from history painting, and it is well known how much these images influenced the painting of Manet's era.[21] Social parodies on the shawl and the women who wore them summarized conventional attitudes circulating in society, distilling in their pictorial communication the shifting premises of power between the classes. Charles Blanc pointed out in 1859 that fashion was more than a garment; it also clothed a person's ideas.[22]

The shawl became animated in discourse as a vexed metonym of respectability as well as venality in nineteenth-century

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2 Édouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1863, oil on canvas, 51⅛ × 75¼ in. (130 × 191 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Patrice Schmidt, © RMN–Grand Palais, provided by Art Resource, NY)

3 Julien Vallou de Villeneuve, *Étude d'après nature, nu,* 1853, print on salted paper from a paper negative, 4⅞ × 6½ in. (12.3 × 16.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1993, 1993.69.1 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, provided by Art Resource, NY)

4 Édouard Manet, Study for *Olympia*, 1862–63, red chalk, 9⅝ × 18 in. (24.5 × 45.7 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Michèle Bellot, © RMN–Grand Palais, provided by Art Resource, NY)

5 Édouard Manet, Study for *Olympia*, 1862–63, red chalk, squared for transfer, 8¾ × 11¾ in. (22.5 × 30 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (artwork in the public domain)

French culture. It was a fashion accessory that was replete with connotative associations that played a role in the study of cultural production and the construction of women in French modernity. As Georg Simmel has perceived, few phenomena of social life possess such a pointed curve of consciousness as fashion does.[23] Manet's inclusion of the shawl in *Olympia* allowed him to conjure up a host of multivalent visual, literary, and sartorial signs that alerted the nineteenth-century French viewer to the social and sexual status of the reclining nude who holds the shawl in one hand while using her other hand to cover her pubic area. Both hands, it will be seen, concern the vexed terms of a sexually negotiated cash transaction.

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6 Baron Antoine-Jean Gros, *Napoléon Visiting the Pest House of Jaffa*, 1804, oil on canvas, 17 ft. 1⅞ in. × 23 ft. 5½ in. (5.23 × 7.15 m). Musée du Louvre, Paris (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Thierry Le Mage, © RMN–Grand Palais, provided by Art Resource, NY)

The Shawl in French History and Early Nineteenth-Century French Art

Paris had been the capital of fashion well before the nineteenth century. The political advantage of sartorial splendor had been noted by Jean-Baptiste Colbert, chief minister of Louis XIV, when he declared, "Fashion is to France what the gold mines of Peru are to Spain."[24] Clothing marked one's position in the social hierarchy of the royal court, and sumptuary laws maintained the easy identification of class structure and social privilege within society. A visual cohesiveness of dress served to maintain the durability of authoritative structures and constituted a visual marker of political prominence. Dress clearly indexed social distances between positions in the aristocratic order along with regional origin. All of this would change with the French Revolution. The National Convention, the constitutional and legislative assembly of France during the First Republic, eradicated these dress laws in 1793, and an allegedly new classless society, free of the monarchy and rigid etiquette regulations, began to use fashion as a barometer of social mobility at the end of the eighteenth century. Clothing became less a cipher in rank than a material prop in the display of gender, class, and economic status when individuality of appearance became legitimized. Aesthetic distinction in dress rather than bloodlines would indicate elite status. Shawls in the modern period came to be an accessory that denoted a range of values that could be read across its surfaces.

The cashmere shawl took its name from its Indian region of origin, Kashmir, and was fashioned from the delicately soft wool of the Tibetan goat that was raised in its fertile valley. Shawl production began in the fifteenth century and remained a major source of income for the area. Great Britain first developed the European taste for cashmere shawls when they arrived in the ships of the East India Company.[25] The shawl's popularity in France can be dated to Napoléon Bonaparte's trip to Egypt in 1799, which he claimed was an effort to protect French trade and to damage Great Britain's commercial interests by thwarting its access to India. In March he attacked the city of Jaffa, a major route into Syria. Among the spoils of war brought home from the Ottoman Empire were luxurious cashmere shawls worn around the waist as belts, as can be seen in Baron Antoine-Jean Gros's painting *Napoléon Visiting the Pest House of Jaffa* (Fig. 6).

Empress Joséphine became enamored of the beauty of Oriental shawls, and the colonial booty of marauding men soon became a fashion statement for elegant women. Napoléon made history while Joséphine wore the insignia of his plunder. Mme de Rémusat, one of Joséphine's *dames du palais*, estimated that the empress possessed three to four hundred shawls, most likely an exaggeration, but also an indication of indulgence. Rémusat also reported that Napoléon sometimes pulled a shawl from Joséphine in order to see her bare shoulders. When he flung the shawl into the fire Joséphine simply sent a servant to fetch another one from her vast collection to cover her.[26] As the fashion world followed Joséphine's lead, shawls became the rage, with the *Journal des Dames et des Modes* showing each year's latest designs. Pierre-Paul Prud'hon painted Joséphine in the park at Malmaison in 1805 and took great care in detailing the luxurious shawl that she pulls over her knees, allowing its vibrant red color to become the keynote of the painting (Fig. 7). Joséphine owned so many shawls that she had them made into quilts, pillows for her dogs, and also dresses, as can be seen in Baron Gros's portrait of her painted about 1808 (Fig. 8). In this work Joséphine wears an underdress so that the delicate fringe of the cashmere shawl skirt will not be soiled or damaged. Draped across her left shoulder and flowing gracefully behind her, another red shawl provides an analogue to a royal train. Here Joséphine looks lovingly at a sculpted bust of her son from her first husband, who was guillotined during the Reign of Terror in 1794. By the time Gros painted this work, Joséphine had failed to produce an heir for

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7 Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, *Joséphine Beauharnais,* 1805, oil on canvas, 96⅛ × 70½ in. (244 × 179 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Daniel Arnaudat, © RMN–Grand Palais, provided by Art Resource, NY)

8 Baron Antoine-Jean Gros, *Joséphine Beauharnais,* ca. 1808, oil on canvas, 84⅝ × 55⅛ in. (215 × 140 cm). Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Nice, Palais Massena (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Erich Lessing, provided by Art Resource, NY)

Napoléon, and a year later he divorced her. A painting commemorating the official divorce decree includes Joséphine and her weeping daughter Hortense de Beauharnais, who have just risen from chairs draped with their shawls (Fig 9).

Anxious to remarry and produce an heir, Napoléon wed Archduchess Marie-Louise of Austria by proxy on March 11, 1810. She met her new husband at Compiègne sixteen days later and quickly informed him that he was much better looking than his portrait. Their civil ceremony took place at St-Cloud on April 1, 1810, and the next day the religious ceremony sealed their covenant in the Salon Carré of the Palais du Louvre. A pen and watercolor drawing by Benjamin Zix recorded the bridal procession, with many of the women in the privileged cortege either wearing or carrying a coveted shawl (Fig. 10). It is uncertain whether these were true cashmeres from the Orient or French shawls, because Napoléon had established the Continental System in 1806 to prevent the import of foreign goods carried by British ships in order to support the manufacture of French products. Napoléon presented Marie-Louise with seventeen shawls as a wedding gift and also provided her with an allowance of eighty thousand francs designated for the purchase of lace and shawls. Most likely these shawls were produced by Guillaume Ternaux, who established factories throughout France. He hired

9 Henri-Frédéric Schopin, *The Divorce of the Empress Joséphine,* 1846, oil on canvas, 22 × 31¾ in. (55.8 × 80.5 cm). The Wallace Collection, London (artwork in the public domain; photograph by permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection, London, provided by Art Resource, NY)

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10 Benjamin Zix, *Wedding Procession of Napoléon and Marie-Louise of Austria,* 1810, pen, brown ink, and wash, 9½ × 67¾ in. (24 × 172 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Gerard Blot, © RMN–Grand Palais, provided by Art Resource, NY)

the painter Jean-Baptiste Isabey to make designs that would differentiate them from Oriental patterns and mark them with a French cachet. An article in the February 1 edition of the *Moniteur Universel* in 1813 chauvinistically proclaimed the superiority of Ternaux shawls:

> The designs are the work of our best artists and are a welcome change from the bizarre and muddled ornamentation of foreign shawls. The pines of the latter have been replaced by bouquets and garlands copied from Europe's most exquisite flowers and their glowing and well-shaped colors have something of a painting about them.[27]

The name "French Kashmir shawls" was bestowed on the first French shawls woven with pure cashmere warp and weft in 1816.[28] Incorporated into the weave of the border were the words "IT IS FRENCH" to assert the superiority of the French-made product. Napoléon and Joséphine visited Ternaux's workshops in Sedan and Reims in 1803, whereupon the empress immediately removed the Kashmir weave she was wearing in favor of the one Ternaux offered her.[29] Ternaux imported goats from India and tried to crossbreed them with French goats, but the initiative failed, and the silk weavers in Lyons reaped the benefit. Every effort was made to make these shawls the equal of imported Indian examples, to the point that the fringes were woven separately and sewn on as shawl ends, because silk fringes had a sheen and sparseness that indicated the shawl's European provenance. Wool fringes endowed the product with the appearance of an authentic Kashmir shawl.[30] The fashion writer for *La Mode* in 1839 called the cashmere "the king of shawls and the shawl of queens."[31] In the early part of the nineteenth century a cashmere could cost as much as the annual wages of a laborer. In 1839 Janin reported that a French cashmere shawl cost more than an imported Indian one and declared that it had identical design and fabrication, but that the French product had more art and taste. Shawls were treated like paintings at the 1839 *Exposition Publique des Produits de l'Industrie Française* and Parisian women snatched them up at any price.[32] French-designed shawls began to lead manufacturing in Europe; historians of the shawl have observed that from 1840 on the French cashmere, rather than the original Indian one, was taken as the model in Britain, the other major center of shawl production.[33] Important shawl industries in Germany, Austria, and Russia also looked to Paris as a model for their designs and productions.[34]

Prior to the French Revolution sumptuary laws dictated social privilege and indicated class status. When fourteen-year-old Marie Antoinette arrived at the French border from her native Austria, she was stripped of her native clothes and dressed in French garments to symbolically mark her political transferal to her new country. Her wide panier dresses with their yards of expensive fabric festooned with bows and lace connoted the decadent waste of the monarchy and contributed to the enmity of the French people, who disdainfully named her "Mme Déficit." The reaction against her fashions can be detected soon after her demise, when the female silhouette deflated from gargantuan proportions and ostentatious colors to the slim silhouette of the Empire-style gown inspired by the ancient attire of classical Greece and Rome, whose political systems became the model for the new regime. These gowns were usually white with short sleeves that bared the arms and thus required shawls in cooler weather. As decoration on the plain dress was kept to a minimum, the shawl came to play a decorative role in enhancing portraits during the early 1800s, as can be seen in Merry-Joseph Blondel's *Portrait of Félicité-Louise-Julie-Constance de Durfort, Maréchale de Beurnonville,* shown at the Paris Salon of 1808 (Fig. 11). The wife of a man who rose from humble beginnings to the rank of maréchal and peer of France, she poses like a classical sculpture, with her luxurious cashmere shawl cascading down her right side and drawing the eye to the staircase that leads to the Château de Balincourt, purchased by her husband two years prior to their marriage in 1805. Blondel's careful delineation of the intricate pinecone pattern on the shawl and its delicate fringe, the most minutely detailed part of the portrait, indicates the shawl's status in communicating the owner's wealth. The shawl's similarity in pattern to the dress worn by Joséphine in Baron Gros's painting of the same year also registers the newly acquired equalities and leveling of classes among the elite regarding public dress.

The artist who best excelled at deploying the shawl to pictorial effect in his female portraits is undoubtedly Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres.[35] Ingres's 1805 portrait of Mme Rivière is a symphonic performance of white and cream, with the right arm manneristically elongated to allow the virtuoso folds of the Oriental shawl to fall across her lap and partially repeat the pinecone pattern shown more fully beneath her left arm (Fig. 12). The lush, red Renaissance-style velvet gown worn by Vicomtesse de Senonnes in her 1816 portrait is accented by a patterned Indian shawl whose fringe seductively brushes her lap (Fig. 13).[36] Edgar Degas once owned the portrait by Ingres of Mme Leblanc, whose shawl has been identified by Aileen Ribeiro as a gift from Elisa Bonaparte, for the design incorporates a capital *E* in the gold stripe down center above the flowers beneath the decorative lozenges (Fig. 14).[37]

Ingres's prodigious ability to evoke velvet, lace, and the sumptuous textures of cashmere and silk enhanced the

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11 Merry-Joseph Blondel, *Portrait of Félicité-Louise-Julie-Constance de Durfort, Maréchale de Beurnonville*, 1808, oil on canvas 76⅜ × 51⅛ in. (194 × 130 cm). Formerly the Matthiesen Gallery, London (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Matthiesen Gallery)

12 Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Marie-Françoise Beauregard, Mme Rivière*, 1805, oil on canvas, 46⅛ × 32¼ in. (117 × 82 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Thierry Le Mage, © RMN–Grand Palais, provided by Art Resource, NY)

image of his sitters as the precious possessions of husbands wealthy enough to swathe their wives in such costly attire. With the rise of capitalism and the bourgeoisie, the manipulation of appearances became a prime marker of social identity and sexuality. The financial burden of keeping a wife in style often weighed heavily on the spouse, as can be seen in an 1814 print, where bills for clothes and fashion journals fabricate a paper shawl instead of a cloth one (Fig. 15). A married woman's construction within the patriarchal order of society depended largely on her husband's ability to provide the visual accouterments of prosperity. An unmarried woman often silently communicated her social aspirations through the sartorial signs of dress and accessories, creating a seductive persona through visual refinements in order to attract a financially secure spouse. As Honoré de Balzac wrote in *Illusions perdues*: "The question of dress is nevertheless enormous with those who wish to appear to have what they do not have; because this is often the best means of possessing it later on."[38] Women counted on the signalizing function of their clothing to connote the content of their station in life. The shawl as an accessory played an essential role in a fashionable wardrobe, as we can see from Jean-Jacques Grandville's 1844 woodcut from his book *Un autre monde*, where fashion is personified as an elegant woman spinning a wheel of fortune (Fig. 16). La Mode towers over a group of miniaturized men from a variety of centuries who gaze up at her. From behind her wide skirt a lush shawl cascades off her high-perched chair to puddle in a pile of colored pattern and golden fringe on the floor below. She becomes a visual cipher of Walter Benjamin's claim that the "enthronement of the commodity, with its glitter of distractions, is the secret theme of Grandville's art"[39] by the collection of fabrics that constitute her skirt and connote the different eras in which they were popular, underlined by the richness of the Oriental shawl.

Gustave Courbet clearly understood fashion as a sign of class distinction and highlighted it significantly in several paintings to convey a social message. In his *Young Ladies of the Village* (1851–52), he posed his three sisters in the countryside giving bread to a shoeless young peasant girl (Fig. 17). As Petra ten-Doesschate Chu has pointed out, Courbet borrowed for his compositional grouping the protocols of the fashion plates of the era, where figures are shown frontally, in profile, and from behind to display details of clothing.[40] Courbet wrote to his friend Champfleury that he intended to paint something graceful that year, but critics reacted archly to the portrayal of country types, unable to shake the memory of chic Parisiennes posed in a similar manner. Eugène Loudun erupted with the remark: "... and the young ladies!

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13 Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Marie Mancoz, Vicomtesse de Sennones,* 1816, oil on canvas, 41¾ × 33⅛ in. (106 × 84 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Gerard Blot, © RMN–Grand Palais, provided by Art Resource, NY)

14 Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Françoise Ponselle, Mme Leblanc,* 1823, oil on canvas, 47 × 36½ in. (119.4 × 92.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection, Wolfe Fund, 1918, 19.77.2 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, provided by Art Resource, NY)

My God! One can understand why they would search out this lonely place! They are so unattractive, so ungraceful, with a manner so common, so badly dressed that they should hope they don't meet anyone! Surely Courbet is unfortunate if he doesn't know any prettier girls!"[41] Most of the critics saw the girls as shabbily dressed, and Théophile Gautier characterized one of the sisters as "a cook in her Sunday best."[42] Dominique Clément de Ris, covering the Salon of 1852 for *L'Artiste,* came to the defense of the artist, who intended to paint country women truthfully: "Humble bourgeois women of a tiny provincial village, or the daughters of artisans habituated to woolen or organdy dresses, could not be expected to show the free and easy manner of a Parisian woman long accustomed to enveloping herself in the folds of a cashmere shawl or a cloud of fancy lacework."[43] Country culture versus Parisian haute couture became a point of contention in Courbet's painting.

Courbet's major work, his 1854–55 *The Artist's Studio,* which he subtitled *A Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic and Moral Life,* depicts his friends and art lovers on the right and types from all classes of society on the left (Fig. 18). The artist portrays himself painting a landscape in the center of the huge canvas while a young boy in wooden sabots and a model barely covering her nudity with a white sheet gaze silently at his canvas. Among the wretched figures on the left one finds a woman seated on the ground almost leaning into the easel, wrapped in a ragged shawl and nursing a baby. Courbet explained in a letter that she was modeled on an impoverished Irishwoman he had encountered on the London streets. Her disheveled appearance, with her tattered black shawl dragging on the ground, her bare legs, her featureless face covered by a dusty shadow, and her degraded position contrast strongly with the well-lit female figure wrapped in a colorful shawl who stands on the right with her head turned in profile in elegant self-assurance. Courbet said that this figure was a society woman with her husband, although she has also been identified as Apollonie Sabatier, a society courtesan known as La Présidente.[44] She is deliberately posed to display the full effect of her luxuriously patterned shawl, worn doubled, as was the fashion of the day, in an effort to show off the different patterns; it might even imply having the wealth to be wearing more than one of them.[45] The shawl is the most detailed piece of clothing in the entire painting, and its artificial plant forms echo the organic landscape scene on which the artist works in the middle of the canvas. Both the shawl and the canvas serve as analogues for the contemporaneity of beauty and the high commercial viability of goods produced for a market.

Courbet wrote in his letter to Champfleury that the society woman on the right side of his painting was "dressed in great luxury," and she would have been very much in style in 1855.[46] Courbet exhibited the massive *Artist's Studio* in his

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15 Louis-François Charon, *La charge d'un mari, ou le fardeau du ménage, dessiné d'après les mille et un modèles du jour*, 1814, hand-colored etching, 11⅜ × 7½ in. (29 × 19.2 cm). The British Museum, London (artwork in the public domain; photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum)

16 Jean-Jacques Grandville, *La Mode*, from *Un autre monde: Transformations, visions . . . et autre choses*, Paris: H. Fournier, 1844 (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Cally Iden)

Pavilion of Realism, which he built next to the grounds of the Universal Exhibition being held that year in retaliation for having this work rejected by the jury. Those who saw the female figure in her lavish shawl might have come from the section of the exhibition where both imported cashmere and French-made shawls were displayed and received medals, and where a lace shawl designed for Napoléon III's wife Empress Eugénie was declared a masterpiece of execution.[47] Augustin Challamel, in his *History of Fashion in France*, claimed that following the exhibition, shawls became universal garments.[48] With its image of women crowding the entrance to a shop where a female customer fingers shawls on a counter while another woman leaves the premises draped in her elegant purchase, Jean-Alexis Rouchon's 1856 poster bears out Challamel's assertion (Fig. 19). Even the British journal *Punch* in August 1855 used an image of French shawls to signify the cooperation between France and Britain in the Crimean War (Fig. 20).

The entrepreneurial Monsieur Laurent Biétry began exhibiting shawls in 1823 at industrial expositions, and by the early 1850s he had won six medals and had been decorated with the cross of the Légion d'Honneur.[49] His name became synonymous with costly elegance, and the gift of one of his precious commodities to a woman became a declaration of true love, as can be seen in an 1847 caricature from *Le Charivari* (Fig. 21).[50] Women knew that showing off their shawls made them the object of envy. An article on cashmere in the November 7, 1846, edition of *L'Illustration* asks: "Haven't you noticed the looks a woman without a cashmere gives a woman in the street with one? . . . 'What a schemer! says the man. —How did she get that cashmere?' says the woman,"[51] an attitude that seems to have been captured in Gustave Doré's strutting women from his book of lithographs *La ménagerie parisienne*, in which the street becomes a type of visual mercantile mart where the value of women was assessed by their apparel (Fig. 22). Another lampoon from the October 30, 1846, issue of *Le Charivari* shows a woman peering at someone who has come to her house to pay her a social call. "It's a woman . . . quick!—my shawl" she commands her maid, as she counts on the social cachet of showing off a costly accessory for competitive self-promotion. Had the caller been a man, she might have appeared without one and used the occasion to wheedle one from her suitor, as seen in the caption from a December 4, 1857, print also from *Le Charivari*: "It's true that I promised you a shawl for your birthday . . . , but understand that Indian affairs have not been settled and one can count on nothing in the way of shawls . . . Let's put off this purchase to next year. . . ."[52] The

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17 Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies of the Village,* 1851–52, oil on canvas, 76¾ × 102¾ in. (194.9 × 261 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Harry Payne Bingham, 1940, 40.175 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, provided by Art Resource, NY)

meaning of the gift of a shawl was so well understood that Paul Gavarni could put it in the hands of a husband who is beginning to realize that the shawl he holds was not one he purchased. Alphonse Karr, in his 1853 book *Les femmes,* touched on the competitive nature of fashion: "It is curious to see women arrive one after another in a salon and quickly look the others up and down; they seem to be combatants who seek beforehand their enemy's weakness. Each piece of clothing is, in effect, an offensive and defensive weapon; offensive against men, defensive against women."[53]

The reclining figures in Courbet's *Young Women on the Banks of the Seine (Summer)* apparently have successfully negotiated for their shawls, as the foreground figure uses hers as a cover over her petticoats, while the other figure appears to have tossed her red one, which would have complemented her dress, behind the tree against which she leans (Fig. 23). Languishing on the ground in sensual abandon, the women located by Courbet's title on the "bords de la Seine" were instantly read as the denizens of bordellos near the Seine by the critics when the painting was exhibited at the Salon of 1857. Maxime Du Camp saw the women as having left that morning a hospital that treated venereal disease, to which they would return in a week.[54] To him they were little more than a bundle of fabric, and when he noted that the shawl covered the unseen part of the body of the reclining figure, he deliberately called attention to her erogenous zones. Gustave Planche read the painting as a challenge to delicate sensibilities,[55] whereas Edmond About could see the sweat forming on their bodies, thus upping the erotic ante of the subject matter.[56] Gautier commented on the thickness of Courbet's facture, and this allusion to the materiality of paint could easily extend by analogy to the depiction of the heavily commodified bodies of the reclining women.[57] The social philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon claimed that the true title was "Two young women of fashion under the Second Empire," because the Seine had nothing to do with this painting.[58] He described the reclining woman as satanically seductive and vampiric, advising the male reader of his text to flee this Circe, the mythological enchantress who turned men into animals. He thought that the woman behind her wondered why she had not yet become a princess or wife of a multimillionaire and believed she could still pull this off without a dowry. Love would not distract her as she coldly plotted her ruse to trap a rich man.[59]

Proudhon's linkage of fashion and carnality essentialized the women as objects of financial and sexual commerce. To viewers of the painting, the women's passive postcoital torpor implied an active deviant sexuality, and it is not surprising that the shawl spilling into the foreground of the painting plays a major role in the visual context of the work. The shawl's function as an agent of negotiation and deception can be seen in an illustration from the same year that Courbet painted his *Young Women on the Banks of the Seine.* In the February 27, 1856, issue of *Le Charivari* a young woman holds a shawl as her friend fingers its texture to confirm its worth. The dialogue between them is telling: "'If Alfred knew that Paul gave me this shawl'! —'And Edmond, of course!' —'Edmond is gullible, which proves to me that he never suspected my history with Francis'" (Fig. 24). Pierre Véron titled a section in the 1862 edition of his book *Paris s'amuse* the "Quartier Bréda," denoting the arrondissement frequented by the demimonde. The entire anecdote concerns a dialogue between a woman who received two shawls the same day from two lovers and her interlocutor, who tries to help her figure out which man would be the better catch.[60] The etymological connection between the *chic* and *chicanerie* is well illustrated. Arnould Frémy observed in his 1858 article "La victoire des cachemires" that "when you offer a cashmere to a woman, it goes without saying that you have previously offered all sorts of dresses, flowers, jewels, lace: the cashmere is only *the*

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18 Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio: A Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic and Moral Life*, 1854–55, oil on canvas, 11 ft. 10⅛ in. × 19 ft. 7½ in. (3.61 × 5.98 m). Musée d'Orsay, Paris (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Gerard Blot and Hervé Lewandowski, © RMN–Grand Palais, provided by Art Resource, NY)

crowning point of all this."[61] The nature of a decorous commodity whose true function was to provide warmth had been subverted to an artifact of capricious beguilement and sexual treachery through its economic and class status. As Christophe perceived in his article on cashmere, "between women with cashmeres and those without there seems to be a distance that separates two castes. In fact, doesn't the cashmere come from the land of castes? The perfidious fabric which cost the pariahs so much sweat, carries across the Ocean their vengeance in the folds of its capricious arabesques."[62] A full-page woodcut measuring ten by seventeen inches in *Le Monde Illustré* published in November 1858 illustrates Christophe's observation and reminds the viewer that the shawl, which had originated as an article of Napoleonic war plunder, had been transformed into a potent weapon in the female arsenal of fiscal entrapment (Fig. 25).

Olympia and Her Shawl

A year before Manet began painting *Olympia* a writer for the April 1862 issue of *L'Illustration* snidely remarked: "Woman has become a type of ostentatious display. . . . The cashmere cries out: I cost ten thousand francs. . . . Woman has become a stock whose price can be quoted on the Exchange."[63] The shawl had become an article of clothing that more than ever conjured up an entire image of profligate spending and competitive display. Two women holding babies in a comic image from the May 10, 1861, issue of *Le Charivari* cast envious glances at the woman who has just passed them by, their plain shawls a contrast to her lavishly decorated and fringed one (Fig. 26). In a lithograph from January 15, 1861, a well-dressed woman on an outing with her lover refuses any refreshments because she wants him to save for a cashmere shawl. In another image appearing on July 17, 1862, a woman implores her lover, an aspiring writer, to buy her a shawl from the proceeds of his forthcoming work. Both his publication and her shawl, however, belong to the land of their pipe dreams. Heralded as the ultimate article of luxury clothing, the shawl possessed a semiotics of adornment that signified a high level of extravagance and female desire.

19 Jean-Alexis Rouchon, *Au Paradis des Dames*, 1856, colored wood engraving, 55⅛ × 39⅜ in. (140 × 100 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (artwork in the public domain)

This sartorial drive was largely fueled by the Second Empire court of Napoléon III and Empress Eugénie. The numerous state balls, ambassadorial receptions, visits from heads of state, and gala performances of the arts earned the reign the title of

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20 *French Shawls for 1855,* from *Punch,* August 25, 1855, wood engraving (artwork in the public domain)

22 Gustave Doré, *Petits lions, lions adultes (alias lions sots),* from *La ménagerie parisienne,* Paris, 1854, lithograph, 10⅜ × 13¼ in. (26.3 × 33.7 cm) (artwork in the public domain)

21 "*Comment ne pas croire à la pureté de cet homme là. . . . pas un brin de laine . . . . . . un vrai Biétry !. . .*" from *Le Charivari,* December 8, 1847, lithograph (artwork in the public domain)

the *fete impériale.* One man in particular, Charles Frederick Worth, known as the father of haute couture, helped make Paris the fashion capital of the world during this period. Worth came from London to Paris in 1845 and found employment with Gagelin, a firm that specialized in shawls and ready-made dresses. He set up his own fashion house in 1858 and catered to the flamboyant tastes of Second Empire society. Royalty and rich courtesans alike went to him to be dressed, and a fierce visual competition for fashion supremacy ensued. As Hollis Clayson has observed, the rivalry between moral and immoral women of means was often fought on the battleground of high fashion: by "using the weapon of lavish, highly styled clothing, the courtesan could undermine the stability of the social order by driving moral women to imitation."[64] When Manet added the shawl to his portrayal of Olympia, he depicted a visual accessory that alluded to a token of exchange whose significance had been animated by a lively and politically nuanced discourse involving class, gender, and economics. He put in the figure's hand a commodity whose mute surface had been invested with desire and demand; its implication as a gift was mediated by a logic of consumption that sent a message about socially regulated mobility and class distinction. Olympia's shawl is the object that is closest to the viewer of the painting, overlapping the sheet of the bed and supporting the naked body. It announces its commodity value and thus her elevated price as an article of merchandise to be purchased.

The shawl's function was to cover the body and provide warmth. Its surface clung to the body, outlined it, hid it while simultaneously revealing it, thus crossing easily from docility to venality, as noted in the literature of the time. Balzac, in his novel *Ferragus,* capitalized on its erotic associations as he described Mme Jules emerging from a carriage: "The shawl clung tightly around the outlines of her bust, vaguely moulding its exquisite contours; but the young man had seen those white shoulders in the ballroom, and he knew what a wealth of beauty was hidden beneath the shawl."[65] Gustave Flaubert's protagonist Frédéric Moreau in *L'éducation sentimentale* falls in love with Mme Arnoux as he grabs her shawl, preventing it from slipping into the water as they first encounter each other on a boat. Its surface becomes a second skin for her about which he fantasizes: "How many times, out at sea, on damp evenings, she must have wrapped it around her body, covered her feet with it, or slept in it."[66] Even Janin lapsed into sensuous prose when

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23 Gustave Courbet, *Young Women on the Banks of the Seine (Summer)*, 1856, oil on canvas, 68½ × 81⅛ in. (174 × 206.1 cm). Musée du Petit Palais, Paris (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Agence Bulloz, © RMN–Grand Palais, provided by Art Resource, NY)

reviewing an industrial exhibition where shawls were on display, calling them the friend of white shoulders, of plump arms, of young breasts, of supple and fine figures, the protector of all that is young and fresh. Show me your shawl, he wrote, and I'll tell you who you are.[67] Beneath these descriptions lurks the barely concealed desire to remove the shawl, reveal the body, and indulge in the pleasures of female flesh. As Sigmund Freud commented in his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, the "progressive concealment of the body which goes along with civilization keeps sexual curiosity awake."[68]

In Manet's painting, the shawl's creamy color and tactility act as a complement to and analogue of the illusion of Olympia's own skin, extending along the lower half of her body and thus underlining the site of her sexuality. François Gérard alluded to this aspect of the shawl's function in his 1805 portrait of Mme Récamier (Fig. 27). She had become famous for a shawl dance, which was memorialized in Alexandre Dumas's novel *The Last Cavalier*, where he described her putting on her show for Napoléon as First Consul. She "performed her invention with no want of modesty yet without a hint of constraint as no theater bayadère or professional actress has demonstrated since. Beneath the undulations of the supple cashmere cloth, she was able to reveal her charms at the same time she was pretending to hide them."[69] Gérard allowed the striking gold shawl to dominate the painting as it covered Mme Récamier's lap rather than her naked shoulders and barely concealed breasts, which are exposed to the chill of the air in the open room in which she sits. Gérard depicts her as casting a seductive look at the viewer of the painting, poised to fling the shawl aside and reveal herself through the thin gauze of fabric that covers her lower body. Olympia's shawl functioned in a similar manner. Rather than enveloping her shoulders and the upper part of her body, as was the custom of the time, it plays a role in a gradual striptease if we read it as having covered her loins. The customer's first sight of the nude would thus have been head, shoulders, and breasts. As the encounter progressed, the shawl was lowered, but instead of full revelation, there was still more to be negotiated. The shawl's role as an artifact of sexual negotiation had been implied earlier in Nicole-Eustache Maurin's lithograph *Le cadeau* (Fig. 28). A woman and her presumed lover meet in a bedroom, where she has removed her bonnet and is in the act of trying on a shawl while they exchange glances. That the shawl is a gift is implied by the other shawl beneath the bonnet on the chair, with its fringe hanging limply off to the side. The bed behind them has a distinct inverted delta-shaped canopy and a suggestive slash of a vaginal opening, while the woman's phallic foot beneath her skirt also alludes to the presumed sexual encounter that awaits. Like the fringe on the gift she has just received, there are strings attached.

Critics of Manet's time reacted to the image as if it were less a combination of strokes on a canvas and more as if they were in the presence of a real person. They addressed the figure as "she" and implied that her existence was less a fiction on the walls of the Salon than a menacing presence on the streets of Paris.[70] Although women attended the Salon, in the nineteenth century the viewer of the painting was presumed male, especially when the figure was a nude.[71] He thus became a plaything in her hands, one of which holds an expensive luxury item and the other of which still hides the true commodity he has come to purchase. By holding the shawl in her right hand, the figure of Olympia implies to her

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24 *"Si Alfred savait que Paul m'a donné ce châle! —Et Edmond, donc! —Edmond est crédule, ce qui me le prouve c'est qu'il ne s'est jamais douté de mon histoire avec Francis,"* from *Le Charivari*, February 27, 1856, lithograph (artwork in the public domain)

25 *Fabrication des cachemires*, from *Le Monde Illustré*, November 13, 1858, wood engraving (artwork in the public domain)

client—the Monsieur Arthur that the critic C. Postwer claimed was in the antechamber waiting[72]—that she will not come cheaply, that she has previously been able to bargain for an expensive accessory, that the shawl with which she has just uncovered her nakedness will recover her body if the price to be settled on does not prompt her to raise her left hand to reveal the ultimate article of merchandise that he covets. Manet does not hide the fact that he has represented a commercialized object of desire and gratification, a fleshy cognate of her shawl.

Clark read Olympia's shawl in such a manner when he found "an equivalent, a metaphor [for hair], in the frothing yellow fringe which hangs down the fold between pillow and sheet. . . ."[73] Alexandre Cabanel's Venus, purchased by Napoléon III from the Salon of 1863 and so often cited as the ideal nude of the time, reclines on hair that unfurls beneath her and acts as a sensuous substitute for her depilated pubic area. She offers her milky body willingly to the viewer under the guise of allegory, thus providing ample libidinal pleasure to the male viewer as demonstrated in the sumptuous prose of Gautier, which betrays his arousal: "Her divine body seems kneaded by the snowy foam of the waves. The tips of her breasts, her mouth and her cheeks are lightly tinged with an imperceptible rose nuance: a drop of ambrosian purple spreads on this silvery and vaporous surface."[74] Manet virtually hides Olympia's hair twice—by merging it with the background color of the wall behind her to make it almost imperceptible and by covering her pubic area with her hand.[75] Manet puts the shawl with its metonymic fringe in Olympia's right hand because it reveals the body that it had just veiled and, like her left hand, it draws attention to what it had concealed. The shawl becomes an agent of seduction when it hides the body and, like the hand, it constitutes a further obstacle to desire. Fringe was de rigueur for the most expensive shawls,[76] and here Manet uses it as a visual correlative of the hair being covered by Olympia's other hand. Both of her hands hold onto costly and desired commodities that can be acquired for the price of a cash transaction and are signs of a profligacy that is both sexual and economic.

When Chesneau identified Olympia's shawl as a cashmere, he may have been projecting his own experiences onto the garment. With its soft surface known for its sensuous tactility, which provided warmth without weight, its ability to be slipped on and off the body without the heavy encumbrance of harsher wool, it served as a vestimentary equivalent of the sexual experience sought by Olympia's client. That a prostitute could own such an extravagance would have added to the offense of the painting. Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet's landmark study *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris,*

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26 *"Est-elle heureuse, c'te Françoise!..... son militaire qui lui a rapporté toutes ces belles choses de la Chine!.....,"* from *Le Charivari*, May 10, 1861, lithograph (artwork in the public domain)

published in 1836, explored the social and economic causes of prostitution in the city. He blamed the competitiveness of the fashion scene for the degraded state of women:

> When simplicity of dress and even more strongly shabbiness of any kind are a source of absolute opprobrium, it is not surprising that so many young girls slide into seduction for the sake of a costume they long for, and even more to the extent that this outfit enables them in a manner of speaking to escape from the station in life to which they were born and permits them to mingle with a class by which they might otherwise think themselves despised.[77]

Gavarni's print from his series *Les lorettes vieillies* highlights this aspect when the older *lorette*, a type of kept woman whose beauty (and therefore source of income) has faded, confronts her elegantly dressed younger counterpart with the accusation: "Pamela, your mother was my chambermaid." F. F. A. Béraud identified the lust for luxury as a specifically urban cause of prostitution. In his 1839 study *Les filles publiques de Paris et la police qui les régit*, he claimed that if the female provincial woman without means tried to appear above her class by wearing extravagant clothes, she would damage her chances of marriage. But in Paris, where the poorest desired to appear rich, the anonymity of the crowds allowed the seamstress to dream of cashmere and the florist to dream of a carriage. The subterfuge might enable them to believe they were taken for women of distinction because of their toilette, but soon enough their disordered life would lead them away from their work and make them fall into prostitution.[78]

27 François Gérard, *Madame Récamier*, 1805, oil on canvas, 100⅜ × 57⅛ in. (255 × 145 cm). Musée Carnavalet, Paris, P. 1581 (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Agence Bulloz, © RMN–Grand Palais, provided by Art Resource, NY)

Prostitution threatened the sanctity of the family and the institution of marriage; the inclusion of the shawl in Manet's painting may have been his way of indicating this problematic through reference to his major source, Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (Fig. 29). As Clark has noted, only two of Manet's critics mentioned Manet's reference to Titian, but this does not imply that Manet did not think the reference was crucial in numerous ways, as has been discussed in the literature on the painting.[79] Manet had copied Titian's work in 1857 when he visited the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence. The duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo II della Rovere, is believed to have commissioned the painting in order to celebrate his 1534 marriage to the young Giulia da Varano. Titian's carved wooden bridal chests, known as *cassoni*, the myrtle plant above it, the roses in Venus's hand, and the dog faithfully sleeping at her feet have been read throughout the ages as symbols of marriage and domestic fidelity. The *cassone* was traditionally given to the bride on her wedding day by her

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28 Nicole-Eustache Maurin, *Le cadeau,* ca. 1840, lithograph from Louis Baron, *Paris pittoresque 1800–1900,* Paris, 1899 (artwork in the public domain)

groom's family, while her family provided her trousseau. The custom in sixteenth-century Florence entailed processing the *cassone* through the streets to the marital home and placing it in the nuptial bedroom of the couple.[80] Symbolically, this marked the transition of the bride as property from the household of her father to that of her husband. The gesture of the hand in Titian's version, according to Rona Goffen, anticipates consummation and fulfillment of the marital act.[81]

By eliminating the background of Titian's painting, Manet deliberately eradicated any reference to the legitimacy of marriage and alludes to its obverse in the realm of prostitution by moving referents to it to the foreground. He converted the myrtle bush to a bouquet of flowers, their stems cut rather than planted in soil that would foster their continual growth. He wrapped them in cheap newsprint rather than embedding them in an elegantly durable planter. Rather than thriving in a marital bower, Olympia's flowers would fade quickly, not long after the sexual encounter itself was completed and the client departed. Like the remains of a consumed meal, they would be soon be discarded as their beauty vanished. Manet replaced Titian's contented dog, symbol of fidelity, with a screeching cat whose aggressively phallic black tail left no doubt about its reputation as a promiscuous creature prowling in the night. Joseph Félon's *Taquinerie,* with its prepubescent reclining nude teasing a cat sprawled on a cascading fringed shawl, provided a visual forerunner of Manet's cat with its erotic cavorting (Fig. 30), while in another print from the time, an odalisque uses the fringe of her shawl to taunt the cat whose front paw covers her pubic area in an overt phallic gesture.[82] Venus of Urbino's silky blond locks flowing down her shoulder become the hanging fringe of Olympia's shawl. Manet also omitted the *cassone,* the wedding chest, which in many upper-class homes in nineteenth-century France became the *corbeille de mariage* and often was an elegant piece of furniture. By placing the culturally encoded shawl in Olympia's hand, Manet transformed the *corbeille* from a material signifier of matrimonial respectability to a Pandora's box of prostitutional disorder. Clearly no Madonna, Olympia becomes Manet's material girl. What was meant for the housewife now belonged to the harlot. Like the shawl she fingers, Olympia is constructed and decorated by a male fabricator as an object even more than a subject. This parodic enactment of marital legitimacy turns the tables on the male viewer/customer of Olympia, as Manet now makes him the true fashion victim—the target of her excessive demands, the prey of her rapacious appetite for alluring markers of whimsical indulgence.

Manet's subversive revision of key details from Titian's painting facilitated a variety of coded messages on the academic teaching of reverence for old masters and on the way that the nude appeared on the walls of the Salon. Manet seemed to take on directly Baudelaire's challenge put forth in his essay "The Painter of Modern Life" when he wrote: "If a painstaking, scrupulous, but feebly imaginative artist has to paint a courtesan of today and takes his 'inspiration' (that is the accepted word) from a courtesan by Titian or Raphael, it is only too likely that he will produce a work which is false, ambiguous and obscure."[83] Manet used Titian's Venus as his major source but updated the image by framing her body with trappings that would resonate with contemporary usage. Fashionable accessories might have been dismissed as fripperies, but their surfaces carried moral weight. Baudelaire focused his essay on the art of Constantin Guys and the artist's ability to distill the eternal from the transitory through attention to contemporary fashion. One of Baudelaire's constant complaints in his culminating essay on fashion centered on painters who were content to dress their figures in the costumes of the past, too lazy to extract the mysterious beauty contained in modern dress. Fashion's obsession with newness and change made it the ideal marker of modernity and a key element of his definition of beauty.

In browsing through fashion plates from previous eras, Baudelaire claimed that, "Living flesh imparted a flowing movement to what seems to us too stiff. It is still possible today for the spectator's imagination to give a stir and a rustle to this 'tunique' or that 'schall.'"[84] The only other time the shawl appears in his essay is in his section on prostitutes, where he describes them "ostentatiously sweeping the floor with their trains and the fringes of their shawls,"[85] thus commingling fashion, class, and the filth with which the prostitute world was associated. When he compared fashion to the "enticing, appetizing icing on the divine cake,"[86] he alluded to the devouring aspect of consumable goods that whetted the visual appetite and suggested the craving stimulated by the flow of commodities.

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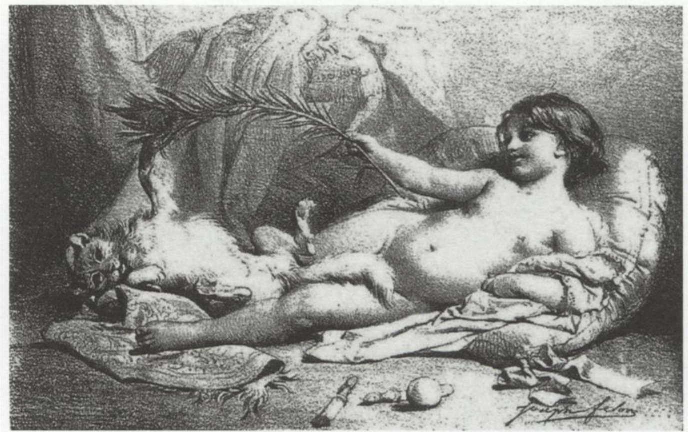
29 Titian, *Venus of Urbino,* 1538, oil on canvas, 47 × 65 in. (119.4 × 165.1 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY)

One of the major criticisms of Manet's painting was the artist's emphasis on the materiality of his paint, his denial of the fictions of illusionism. Clark has commented that these

> passages ... insist on something more complex than a physical state, or at any rate the state of a medium. They put in question how the world might appear in a picture if its constituents were conceived—it seems they may be—as nothing but material; and how paint might appear as part of that world, the ultimate dry sign of it.[87]

What better sign of painted materiality with all of its associations of commercial investment than the shawl, its off-white color mirroring the flesh above it and thus suggesting itself as an emblem of the marketability of the naked body that it visually underlines to emphasize that the body lying on it is also an object of consumer desire? As a neutral, flat, anti-illusionistic surface onto which colors have been applied, the shawl functions as a surrogate of Manet's canvas itself. He embellished the shawl's surface with floral decorations that are simulated versions of the bouquet in the servant's hands, itself a fictional replication of nature, just like the body of the prostitute. Manet here played on the notion of the real and the artificial as he tipped the bouquet in the maid's hands down toward the shawl at Olympia's feet, where the artificial flowers on the shawl do nothing to hide their substance as flat two-dimensional colored imitations of nature on a woven object, thus replicating what his paint performs on its own cloth support—a product that reproduces reality but whose origin is a material commodity. His paint, this body, and that shawl are all visible signs that the artist has manipulated his oils in imitation of artifacts that, like his painting, are merely commercial objects whose worth has been set by market values in a fickle capitalistic system.[88] Held in Olympia's clenched hand, the shawl marks Manet's painterly hand by underscoring artistic artifice.[89]



30 Joseph Félon, *Taquinerie,* mid-19th-century, lithograph. Private Collection (artwork in the public domain)

Manet situated his *Olympia* within the visual culture of modernity, where everyday objects resonated with the forms of political and social practice. By including the shawl in his painting, Manet merged the culturally coveted object with the illicitly desired body.[90] As Charles Bernheimer observed, the

> courtesan's performance was a matter of surface exhibition. She did not signify the sexual body so much as its production as elaborate spectacle. She was artfully constructed according to the codes defining modern desirability. Her appeal was thus largely a function of her ability to dissolve the beastly immediacy of the female animal in a play of intriguing signs and changing masks, all of them lavish and expensive.[91]

The shawl played its part as it evolved from an object of warmongering booty aggressively snatched from the male

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enemy in the first Napoléon's campaign to an aestheticized weapon of class destruction in the reign of Napoléon III. Its function can be seen in the words of the Goncourt brothers, who in March 1862 went to the apartment of Anna Deslions on the Champs-Élysées to witness the sale of furniture and jewels belonging to one of the Second Empire's most famous courtesans. They detail the Bavarian crystal vases, the white satin love seat, the reflection of gold everywhere throughout the rooms. The sight of her jewelry makes them recall its luster against her amber skin, and they finish their lush description by noticing that she was not selling her dresses or her cashmeres: "she is keeping her tools."[92]

The Aesthetics of Fashion

Manet's inclusion of the shawl in *Olympia* corroborates Kaja Silverman's claim that clothing is "one of the most important cultural implements for articulating and territorializing human corporeality—for mapping its erotogenic zones and for affixing a sexual identity."[93] A fashion accessory is most often an object that enhances a decorative construction of social identity and denotes a distinctly individual sense of style. It signals its part in coding the encultured body. The shawl played its part as a complex signifier of socially specific values; its sumptuous floral surface, stretching three-quarters the length of Manet's composition and hanging over the right edge of the canvas where an artist traditionally signed his work, contained within its looping folds a projection of desires that conflated respectability and marriage with connivance and capitalism. Its mute surface became vividly animated by the polysemic discourse of the period at the same time that its suppleness accentuated the hard outlines of a body that contravened expected portrayals of nude flesh. Desire and demand were inscribed into its display on or beneath women's bodies, and its commodity status alluded to social practices and classifications of women manipulated by the post-Revolutionary culture of Europe, especially in Paris, which became the capital of fashion in the nineteenth century. It is not surprising that Emma Bovary tried to satisfy her fantasies in her provincial town by buying a map of Paris and with the tip of her finger shopped the streets of Paris.[94] She clearly perceived the system of relations that exist between the fashion object, the wearer, and the cultural field that endowed it with meaning.

As a form that privileges surface allure and expresses what is novel, innovative, and contemporary, fashion served as a major impetus in turning Manet and the Impressionists toward a radical new style of painting and subject matter.[95] The cut of a cloak, the flounce of a skirt, the ribbon on a chic chapeau all came to have more importance than narratives from mythology and history that had been the staple of academic painting in the annual Salon. Manet's alertness to fashion from his earliest days was recorded in letters he wrote home that described the clothing of the women in Rio de Janeiro. His studio mate and lifelong friend Antonin Proust remembered the young artist contradicting Denis Diderot's assertion in his *Pensées détachées sur la peinture* that contemporary dress would soon look outdated and should be avoided in art, to which Manet replied that this was nonsense and that an artist had to be of his time and paint what he sees.[96]

He insisted late in his career: "The latest fashion, you see, is absolutely necessary for a painter. It's what matters most."[97] The former pupil of Thomas Couture became a true connoisseur of haute couture. Two of Manet's closest literary friends, Baudelaire and Stéphane Mallarmé, were also deeply involved in the aesthetics of fashion,[98] and it is perhaps not coincidental that when painting began to consider its material surface as a primary indicator of value, fashion, with its multiple textures and new colors invented from aniline dyes, was in its ascendancy. Modern art does not hide the fact that it is made and produced from purchased materials; neither does fashion.

Clark claimed that "Olympia ... looks out at the viewer in such a way which obliges him to imagine a whole fabric of sociality in which this look might make sense and include him—a fabric of offers, places, payments, particular powers, and status which is still open to negotiation."[99] Manet relied on the semiotic virtuosity of the fabric of the shawl and its contemporary allusions to give the figure of Olympia a sexual agency embedded in the economic and cultural practices of the time. By framing Olympia's lower body with a shawl, he fixed her body with a price tag attached to a vestimentary code, a commodified hieroglyphic that called attention to an individual body that threatened the collective body of society and art. As Benjamin later observed in *The Arcades Project*: "Love for the prostitute is the apotheosis of empathy with the commodity."[100]

Therese Dolan has authored Manet, Wagner and the Musical Culture of Their Time *(2013) and edited* Perspectives on Manet *(2012). She has published in* The Art Bulletin, Word & Image, Print Quarterly, Nineteenth Century French Studies, Women's Art Journal, Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide, *and* La Revue de l'Art *[Department of Art History, Tyler School of Art, Temple University, 2001 N. 13th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19122, tdolan@temple.edu].*

Notes

For Barbara Wright, Trinity College, Dublin.

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I began collecting information on the shawl as a graduate student at Bryn Mawr after Charles Dempsey challenged my reading of a caricature that I had written about in my master's thesis on Gavarni. Clearly, I had not adequately made my point, and I was determined one day to prove my argument in an article that eventually evolved into this essay, following from the invitation by the Royal Academy. So a final thanks to Charles Dempsey and my apologies for it taking me forty years to answer his pertinent question.

Unless otherwise indicated, translations are mine.

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1. Charles Baudelaire, "La chambre double," in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Claude Pichois (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), vol. 1, 280.: "Les étoffes parlent une langue muette."
2. Émile Marcelin, *Journal Amusant*, June 28, 1861, cover: "... Et d'abord pourquoi nos artistes ne nous peignent-ils jamais que des femmes romains en chocolat, des femmes gothiques en bois et des femmes étrusques en zinc, QUAND IL Y A DES PARISIENNES!"
3. Jules Claretie, "Deux heures au Salon," *L'Artiste*, May 15, 1865, 226: "Une courtisane sans doute."
4. Jules Claretie, "Échos de Paris," *Le Figaro*, June 25, 1865, 6: "... l'on ne savait à peine si l'on voyait un paquet de chairs nues ou un paquet de linge."
5. Beth Archer Brombert, *Edouard Manet: Rebel in a Frock Coat* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1996), 144.
6. Margaret Mary Seibert, "A Biography of Victorine-Louise Meurent and Her Role in the Art of Édouard Manet" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1986), 17.
7. Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (London: Routledge, 1999), see esp. 257–89. See also Mary Mathews Gedo, *Looking at Art from the Inside Out: The Psychoiconographic Approach to Modern Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
8. Alain Clairet, "Le bracelet de l'Olympia," *L'Oeil* 333 (April 1983): 36–41.
9. T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 79.
10. Pollock, *Differencing the Canon*, 283.
11. Ernest Chesneau, "Les excentriques," *Le Constitutionnel*, May 16, 1865, 1.
12. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, 79.
13. Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *The Hidden Face of Manet: An Investigation of the Artist's Working Processes* (London: Burlington Magazine, 1986), 45.
14. One writer, in an article on cashmere, called it "the dream of all fiancées, adornment of all expensive wedding baskets [*rêve de toutes les fiancées, parure de toutes les riches corbeilles*]." Kauffmann, "Les cachemires de l'Inde," *Le Monde Illustré*, November 13, 1858, 314. See Susan Hiner, "Unpacking the *Corbeille de Marriage*," in *Accessories to Modernity: Fashion and the Feminine in Nineteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 45–76. I have benefited greatly in the preparation of this paper from Hiner's scholarship.
15. André, *Courrier de Paris*, April 10, 1858, 210.
16. Ibid.
17. Jules Janin, "Exposition des produits de l'industrie," *L'Artiste* 3 (1839): 146: "Une femme peut prendre au hasard son amant ou son mari; mais à coup sûr elle choisira son châle avec le plus grand soin; car du soin de ce châle dépend sa vie, dépend sa gloire, dépend surtout l'avenir de son ménage; car si le châle est beau, s'il est d'une belle couleur, s'il est original sans être bizarre, voilà une femme contente pour bien des années." This is corroborated by the satire in an 1823 issue of *Le Règne de la Mode*: "What is the first desire of a young woman as soon as she has reached the age of coquetry, which precedes the age of reason? / A cashmere. / What does a woman desire more than a husband and always prefers to him? / A cashmere." Quoted in Aileen Ribeiro, *Ingres in Fashion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 188.
18. Frances Trollope, *Paris and the Parisians in 1835* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1836), 222.
19. Hiner, *Accessories to Modernity*, 210.
20. Nancy Locke, *Manet and the Family Romance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 98.
21. "By the 1860s caricatures and journalistic illustrations were such well-established modes of interpreting urban life that their graphic devices began to penetrate the oil paintings, as well as the drawings, of Manet, Degas, and others." Robert Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 40.
22. "Le costume est quelque chose plus que l'habillement de l'homme. C'est aussi le vêtement de ses idées." Charles Blanc, "Considérations sur le costume," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, year 1, vol. 2 (June 1, 1859): 257.
23. Georg Simmel, "Fashion," in *The Rise of Fashion: A Reader*, ed. Daniel Leonhard Purdy (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 295.
24. Jean-Baptiste Colbert, quoted in Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 21.
25. Monique Lévi-Strauss, *The Cashmere Shawl* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1988), 16.
26. John Irwin, *Shawls: A Study in Indo-European Influences* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955), 32.
27. *Moniteur Universel*, February 1, 1813, quoted in Lévi-Strauss, *The Cashmere Shawl*, 25.
28. Ibid., 28.
29. Betty Werther, "Paisley in Perspective: The Cashmere Shawl in France," *American Craft* 58 (February–March 1983): 7.
30. Ibid.
31. *La Mode*, August 1839, quoted in Henriette Vanier, *La mode et ses métiers: Frivolités et luttes des classes 1830–1870* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1960), 48–49: "Aujourd'hui on ne rencontre des femmes avec un châle pareil; la même femme met souvent trois châles différents dans la même journée, à cause des variations de la température. Quand la température n'est pas chaude, c'est le cachemire de l'Inde, le roi des châles et le châle des reines, qu'elle prend pour sortir" (Today one does not meet women with such shawls; the same woman dons several shawls throughout the day, due to changes in temperature. When it is not hot, it is the Indian cashmere, the king of shawls and the shawl of queens, that she puts on).
32. Janin, "Exposition des produits de l'industrie," 146: "[Le châle] est traité comme un tableau de Decamps à l'Exposition: les Parisiennes se l'arrachent à tout prix."
33. Irwin, *Shawls: A Study in Indo-European Influences*, 34.
34. Lévi-Strauss, *The Cashmere Shawl*, 10.
35. See Ribeiro, *Ingres in Fashion*; and Madeleine Delpierre, "Ingres et la mode du châle cachemire d'après ses portraits féminins dessinés et peints," in *Actes du colloque: Ingres et Rome* (Montauban, France: Société des "Amis du Musée Ingres," 1986), 75–83.
36. For a thorough discussion of this painting, see Tamar Garb, *The Painted Face: Portraits of Women in France 1814–1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 19–57.
37. Ribeiro, *Ingres in Fashion*, 114.
38. Honoré de Balzac, *Illusions perdues* (Paris: Flammarion, 1966), 182: "La question du costume est d'ailleurs énorme chez ceux qui veulent paraître avoir ce qu'ils n'ont pas; car c'est souvent le meilleur moyen de le posséder plus tard."
39. Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1999), 18.
40. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, *The Most Arrogant Man in France: Gustave Courbet and the Nineteenth-Century Media Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 87.
41. Eugène Loudun, *Le Salon de 1852* (Paris: L. Hervé, 1852), 8–9, quoted in Patricia Mainardi, "Gustave Courbet's Second Scandal: 'Les Demoiselles de Village,'" *Arts* 53 (1979): 97.
42. Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1852," *La Presse*, May 11, 1853, 2, quoted in ibid., 97.
43. Clément de Ris, "Salon de 1852," *L'Artiste* 8 (May 1, 1852), 99, quoted in Albert Boime, *Art in the Age of Civil Struggle, 1848–1871* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 193.
44. See Hélène Toussaint, *Gustave Courbet, 1819–1877* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978), 266–68.
45. Mainardi, "Gustave Courbet's Second Scandal," 97, has pointed out the similarity of the shawl worn in this painting to a fashion plate in *Le Magasin des Demoiselles* of August 25, 1856. A wood engraving in the June 9, 1857, issue of *La Mode Illustrée* shows the fashion of the double shawl from behind.
46. Gustave Courbet to Champfleury, November–December 1854, in *Letters of Gustave Courbet*, ed. and trans. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 132.
47. H. Tresca, *Visite à l'Exposition Universelle de Paris en 1855* (Paris: Hachette, 1855), 771. See also Philippe Perrot, *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie: A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 111.
48. Augustin Challamel, *The History of Fashion in France; or, The Dress of Women from the Gallo-Roman Period to the Present Time* (London: Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1882), 229.
49. Thomas Southey, *The Rise, Progress and Present State of Colonial Sheep & Wools* (London: Effington Wilson, 1851), 91.
50. A frequently run advertisement in multiple issues of *Le Charivari* in 1856 for Biétry claimed, "M. Biétry a l'honneur d'être fournisseur brevet de leurs majestés impériales; il est filateur et fabricant.... La matière de cachemire employée pour leur fabrication est en tout point la même que celle des plus beaux châles de l'Inde, et par le progrès de la filature les cachemires français sont plus doux." In the June 28, 1862, issue of *Le Charivari* an unsigned notice commented on the current exhibition of shawls at Biétry's, calling special attention to Empress Eugénie's most recent purchase.
51. "Avez-vous remarqué de quels regards une femme sans cachemire poursuit dans la rue une femme à cachemire ? . . . 'Quel intriguant! dit

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l'homme.— Comment a-t-elle eu ce cachemire ?' dit la femme." Christophe, "Le cachemire," *L'Illustration*, November 7, 1846, 151.

52. It is not surprising that many of the topical shawl references are found in lithographic prints. As Abigail Solomon-Godeau has observed: "Unlike traditional 'popular' prints, which can be considered a conservative form (owing to their themes, conventionality, and relatively fixed formats), lithographic prints—in keeping with their own modernity and rapidity of production—specialized in fashion, topicality, ephemerality; their references were to up-to-date styles, fads, and décor. To the extent that print culture repetitively, ceaselessly staged its erotic feminine display—indeed femininity *as* display—in direct contiguity with the modern and the modish, the eroticism of the feminine infused its setting and, by extension, the new world of consumption of which the print itself was a talisman." Solomon-Godeau, "The Other Side of Venus: The Visual Economy of Feminine Display," in *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, ed. Victoria de Grazia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 122–23.

53. Alphonse Karr, *Les femmes* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1853), 344: "Il est singulier de voir les femmes arriver successivement dans un salon et la faire subir réciproquement un rapide et sûr examen de la tête aux pieds: il semble des combattants qui cherchent d'avance le défaut de leurs adversaires. Chaque pièce de parure est, en effet, une arme offensive et défensive: offensive contre les hommes, défensive contre les femmes."

54. Maxime Du Camp, *Le Salon de 1857* (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1857), 102.

55. Gustave Planche, "Le Salon de 1857," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 15, 1857, 396.

56. Edmond About, *Nos artistes au Salon de 1857* (Paris: Hachettte, 1857), 153.

57. Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1857," *L'Artiste*, September 20, 1857, 34.

58. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *Du principe de l'art et de sa destination sociale* (Paris: Garnier, 1865), 244.

59. Ibid., 245–46.

60. In the Bréda quarter: "Two cashmeres in one day! ... Paul's is beautiful, but Léon promised me a suite of rosewood furniture. Paul's is only mahogany. It's true that Léon does not have a rich uncle like Paul does; on the one hand, Paul doesn't have a thrifty seventy-year-old cousin. On the other hand Paul ... yes, but Léon ... My God! how unhappy a poor woman is when she doesn't have a business manager to direct her heart's desires. Which one should I choose? ... Come on now! how stupid I am to rack my brains over this ... I choose ... both of them!" Pierre Véron, *Paris s'amuse* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1862), 9–10.

61. Arnould Frémy, "La victoire des cachemires," *Le Charivari*, July 28, 1858, n.p.: "Quand vous offrez un cachemire à une femme, il va sans dire que vous lui avez offert préalablement toutes sortes de robes, de fleurs, de bijoux, de dentelles: le cachemire n'est que *le couronnement* de tout cela." In 1853 the Goncourt brothers published *La lorette* in the periodicals *L'Éclair* and *Paris* before bringing it out in book form. A section entitled "Monsieur l'Amabassade des cachemires" notes that the male lover always has a cashmere on hand and that no matter if he has only given perfumes and bracelets, he remains, in the eyes of the *lorette* (a type of kept woman), the living symbol of cashmere. Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, *Les lorettes* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1883), 40.

62. Christophe, "Le cachemire," 151.

63. *L'Illustration*, April 26, 1862: "La femme est devenue une façon de vaniteux étalage.... Le cachemire crie: je coute dix mille francs.... La femme est une plus-value que l'on pourrait coter à la Bourse."

64. Hollis Clayson, *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991; reprint, Los Angeles: Getty Trust, 2003), 61. On prostitution in France, in addition to Clayson, see Charles Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989); Jann Matlock, *Scenes of Seduction: Prostitution, Hysteria, and Reading Difference in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Susan Buck-Morss, "The Flâneur, the Sandwichman, and the Whore," *New German Critique* 13, no. 39 (Fall 1986): 99–140; and Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).

65. Honoré de Balzac, *Ferragus*, 1833, quoted in Hiner, *Accessories to Modernity*, 27.

66. Gustave Flaubert, *L'éducation sentimentale*, 1869, quoted in ibid., 99.

67. Janin, "Exposition des produits de l'industrie," 146: "Le châle est l'ami des blanches épaules, des bras rebondis, des jeunes seins qui commencent à battre, des tailles souples et fines.... Dis-moi quel est ton cachemire, et je te dirai qui tu es."

68. Sigmund Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, 1905, quoted in Valerie Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideas of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian Era to the Jazz Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 42.

69. Alexandre Dumas, *The Last Cavalier: Being the Adventures of Count Sainte Hermine in the Age of Napoleon*, trans. Lauren Yoder (New York: Pegasus Books, 2007), 158–59.

70. For example, "The majestic young woman is a courtesan, with dirty hands, with wrinkled feet; she is reclining, dressed in Turkish slippers and a red knot of ribbons; her flesh has the livid tone of a cadaver displayed at the Morgue ...." Ego, "Courrier de Paris," *Le Monde Illustré*, May 13, 1865, 291. Another example: "Olympia awakens, tired ... of dreaming. It was evidently a bad night. Insomnia, accompanied by a stomachache, disturbed her serenity, her coloring indicates it." C. Postwer, *La Fraternité Littéraire, Artistique et Industrielle*, June 1, 1865, quoted in Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, 285 n. 32.

71. "A nude ... is a picture for men to look at, in which Woman is constructed as an object of someone else's desire." Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, 131. "The hand of Titian's Venus folds inward, fading from view as it elides with her sex. The gesture carries a certain autoerotic suggestion, but that suggestion, as I read it, in no way excludes a male viewer, serving rather as an invitation, a sign of willing receptivity." Bernheimer, 117. Scholarship is replete with suppositions from Manet's time and our own that the painting was addressed to a male viewer, and these need not be reintroduced here. See Edward Snow, "Theorizing the Male Gaze: Some Problems," *Representations* 25 (Winter 1989): 30–41. On the question of female spectatorship in this painting, see Charles Harrison, *Painting the Difference: Sex and Spectator in Modern Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 52ff.

72. "Arthur est certainement dans l'antichambre, qui attend." Postwer, *La Fraternité Littéraire, Artistique et Industrielle*, June 1, 1865, quoted in Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, 285 n. 32.

73. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, 136.

74. Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1863," *Le Moniteur Universel*, July 13, 1863: "Son corps divin semble pétri avec l'écume neigeuse des vagues. Les pointes des seins, la bouche et les joues sont seules teintées d'une imperceptible nuance rose; une goutte de la pourpre ambroisienne se répand dans cette substance argentée et vaporeuse."

75. A sharp crease of brown paint defines the armpit, but it is difficult to determine if this was meant by Manet to indicate underarm hair.

76. Lévi-Strauss, *The Cashmere Shawl*, 42.

77. Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet, *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris* (Paris: J. B. Ballière, 1836), quoted in Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City, Urban Life, the Control of Disorder and Women* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 50.

78. As F. F. A. Béraud writes in *Les filles publiques de Paris et la police qui les régit* (Paris: Chez Desforges, 1839), 236–37: "in big cities, and principally in the capital, in the midst of an immense agglomeration of individuals, unknown to each other, the poorest want to appear rich, and the most indigent do not want to tolerate any deprivation. The seamstress dreams of cashmere, the florist of a baby carriage, and one realizes at what price these young women achieve the height of their ambition, if it happens to them at all, after numerous false steps. For several days they gratify their spendthrift tastes, fool themselves into thinking that they are taken for women of distinction, because they have the fine apparel, and that no one knows where they come from; but soon enough the inseparable disorder of the courtesan's existence, causes them to fall beneath their primitive sphere; their new habits distance them from their old work, and they are inevitably lost in prostitution."

79. See especially Beatrice Farwell, *Manet and the Nude: A Study in Iconography in the Second Empire* (New York: Garland, 1981), 199ff.; and Theodore Reff, *Manet: Olympia* (New York: Viking Press, 1977), 48–58.

80. Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 163.

81. Rona Goffen, "Sex, Space, and Social History in Titian's *Venus of Urbino*," in *Titian's "Venus of Urbino"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 79.

82. Reff, *Manet: Olympia*, 98.

83. Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, trans. Jonathan Mayne (New York: Da Capo Press, 1964), 14.

84. Ibid., 2.

85. Ibid., 35.

86. Ibid., 3.

87. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, 138.

88. The shawl becomes almost a caricature of painterliness, much like the matador's cloak held up in Manet's 1862 *Mlle V ... in the Costume of an Espada*. See Carol Armstrong, "Manet at the Intersection of Portraits and Personalities," in *Manet: Portraying Life*, ed. MaryAnne Stevens (London: Royal Academy, 2012), 42–49, at 47.

89. See James H. Rubin, *Manet: Initial M, Hand and Eye* (Paris: Flammarion, 2010).

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90. As Solomon-Godeau, "The Other Side of Venus," 113, has observed, "In becoming not only the commodity's emblem but its lure, the feminine image operates as a conduit and mirror of desire, reciprocally intensifying and reflecting the commodity's allure."

91. Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute*, 96.

92. Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, *Journal: Mémoires de la vie littéraire*, vol. 1, *1851–1865* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1989), 768: "elle garde ses outils."

93. Kaja Silverman, "Fragments of a Fashionable Discourse," in *Studies in Entertainment*, ed. Tania Modleski (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 146.

94. See Agnès Rocamora, *Fashioning the City: Paris Fashion and the Media* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), xv.

95. See Ruth E. Iskin, *Modern Women and Parisian Consumer Culture in Impressionist Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); and Gloria Groom, ed., *Impressionism, Fashion, & Modernity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

96. "Voilà qui est fort sot, s'écria Manet, il faut être de son temps, faire ce que l'on voit, sans s'inquiéter de la mode." Manet, quoted in Antonin Proust, *Édouard Manet Souvenirs* (Paris: L'Échoppe, 1996), 10.

97. Quoted in Justine De Young, "Fashion and the Press," in Groom, *Impressionism, Fashion, & Modernity*, 246.

98. Stéphane Mallarmé single-handedly edited *La Dernière Mode*, a short-lived fashion periodical in 1874, the same year he wrote his essay on Manet. He, too, was interested in the *corbeille* and the shawl, even after it had gone out of style in 1870 after the introduction of the bustle: "All this that we must have been glimpsing must for various reasons have its place in the *corbeille* and an Indian cashmere shawl, of a certain price—indispensable, even if only very rarely worn. (Fashion having declared it not to be formal dress.) Let it [this shawl] slip from the shoulders, with its Oriental folds, and envelop other marvels—all that jewel box which, stone by stone or pearl by pearl, we have been recounting." Mallarmé, *La Dernière Mode*, quoted in Hiner, *Accessories to Modernity*, 45.

99. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, 133.

100. Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, 375.

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