Manet’s “Tableaux Vivants:” A Theatrical Approach to Some of His Portrait Paintings of Women

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Table of Contents

List of Figures iii

Introduction 1

Chapter One: The Road to Spain: French Perception of Spanish Culture from the Seventeenth Century up to the Time of Manet 7

Chapter Two: Costuming Women: Manet’s Appropriation of Spanish Imagery 29

Conclusion 50

Bibliography 52

Figures 58
List of Figures

**Figure 1** Anonymous, *French Artists Crying over the Return of Artworks in 1815*, 19th century. Engraving. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Estampes, Paris

**Figure 2** Eugène Delacroix, *Méphistophélès dans les airs*, illustration for Goethe’s *Faust*, 1828. Lithograph, with lettering. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

**Figure 3** Boulanger, illustration for Victor Hugo’s “Les Fantômes,” 1829. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Estampes, Paris

**Figure 4** Édouard Manet, *The Espada or Mlle Victorine in the Costume of an Espada*, 1862. Etching, lavis, and aquatint. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

**Figure 5** Édouard Manet, *Absinthe Drinker*, 1858-1859. Oil on canvas. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen

**Figure 6** Édouard Manet, *Spanish Singer*, 1860. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

**Figure 7** Édouard Manet, *Lola de Valence*, 1863. Etching and aquatint. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Estampes, Paris

**Figure 8** Édouard Manet, *Lola de Valence*, 1862-1863; reworked after 1867. Oil on canvas. Musée d’Orsay, Paris

**Figure 9** Gustave Courbet, *Adela Guerrero*, 1851. Oil on canvas. Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels

**Figure 10** Édouard Manet, *The Spanish Ballet*, 1862. Oil on canvas. The Philips Collection, Washington, DC

**Figure 11** Édouard Manet, *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume*, 1862-1863. Oil on canvas. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven

**Figure 12** Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Clothed Maja*, c.1803-1806. Oil on canvas. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

**Figure 13** Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres, *Odalisque with a Slave*, 1842. Oil on canvas. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
Figure 14 Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres, *The Turkish Bath*, 1862. Oil on canvas. Musée du Louvre, Paris

Figure 15 Édouard Manet, *Odalisque*, c.1862-1868. Watercolor, ink and gouache. Musée du Louvre, Paris

Figure 16 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *The Parasol*, 1777. Oil on linen. Museo del Prado, Madrid

Figure 17 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *The Marchioness of Santa Cruz*, 1805. Oil on canvas. Museo del Prado, Madrid

Figure 18 Édouard Manet, *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada*, 1862. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Figure 19 Édouard Manet, *Young Man dressed as a Majo*, 1863. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Figure 20 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *La Tauromaquia, No. 22: Valor varonil de la célere Pajuelera en la Plaza de Zaragoza*, 1815-1816. Etching and aquatint. Pomona College Museum of Art, Claremont

Figure 21 Gustave Doré, *Teresa Bolsi, torera andalouse*, c. 1862. Etching

Figure 22 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Portrait of Isabel Porcel*, 1804-1805. Oil on canvas, National Gallery, London

Figure 23 Édouard Manet, *Young Woman with a Pink Shoe*, c.1868-1872. Oil on canvas. Hiroshima Museum of Art, Japan

Figure 24 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Duchess of Alba*, 1799. Oil on canvas. The Hispanic Society of America, New York

Figure 25 Édouard Manet, *Berthe Morisot with a Fan*, 1872. Oil on canvas. Musée d’Orsay, Paris

Figure 26 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Los Caprichos, No.15: Bellos Consejos*, 1799. Etching, aquatint and burin. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Introduction

Édouard Manet prided himself on putting “things down on canvas, as simply as I can, as I see them,”¹ thereby denying the fact that he invented scenes and reiterating that he simply depicted things as he saw them. The same sentiment was expressed earlier by Manet’s older contemporary, Gustave Courbet in the catalogue for his 1855 “Pavilion of Realism” exhibition. He explained that he had no desire to imitate or copy “the art of the ancients and the moderns,” nor was he interested in “art for art’s sake.” Instead, he wanted “to translate the customs, ideas, the appearance of my epoch according to my own appreciation of it.”²

In the context of their art and these statements, both painters may be considered Realists. While both responded to the uniqueness of their time, Manet’s pictures seem to be motivated by his search for identity, not on a national scale, but on a more intimate level. By constructing his pictures from the motifs borrowed from Spanish masters, Manet looked to find and/or create an identity: that of his sitters and especially his own, as an artist. Therefore, Manet’s Realism could be said to derive from the constructed and

somewhat artificial arrangements of his painting, relying on the relationship between the sitter and the accoutrements he bestows upon them.

The pre-arranged setup of some of Manet’s pictures has prompted me to look at his works as a type of inanimate tableaux vivants. The phrase “tableau vivant” has come to mean the representation of a personage, character, scene, incident, etc., or of a well-known painting or statue, by one person or a group of persons in suitable costumes and attitudes, silent and motionless. Historically, tableaux vivants denote posed figures that remain silent and immobile for twenty or thirty seconds, while imitating well-known works of art or dramatic scenes from history and literature. We find the basis for this idea of mimesis or imitation in some of Manet’s portraits. His constructed scenes are a way of alluding to the masters with whom he wanted to be identified, while appropriating their images and re-imagining them into his own depiction of reality. Manet once mentioned: “Our only job is to extract from our own period everything that it has to offer us, not forgetting at the same time to learn from the past.” One could say that Manet’s tableaux vivants are a tool for re-contextualizing the past.

Portrait painting is an inherently social genre that engages with contemporary life while it acknowledges the staged construction of the picture. The artist, sitter and public are aware of this set-up and are accomplices in its construction. Manet’s portrait compositions are bound to a single figure as their central focus; the models are women.

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3 Oxford English Dictionary Online, s.v. “Tableau Vivant: A silent and motionless person or group of people posed and attired to represent a well-known character, event, or work of art. In extended use: a person or group of people forming a striking or picturesque scene;” in.
5 Courthion and Cailler, 6.
6 Leah Rosenblatt Lehmbeck, Manet’s Portraits of Women, PhD diss. (New York University, 2007), 7.
from whom Manet requested sittings. In some portraits, Manet depicts his female sitters in Spanish attire, reinforcing the idea of a constructed scene. Because of his frequent references to Spain, we need to consider the importance that Manet ascribed to Spanish culture in the creation of his art, as well as the theatrical aspect of his work, where by alluding to previous Spanish masters, he created his own interpretation of their reality and, in turn, his own modernity.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, French fascination with Spain, its culture and art grew exponentially, climaxing in the 1830s and lingering for another fifty years. In an 1863 essay on Velázquez in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Charles Blanc described Spanish culture as one whose ancient character remained untainted. Carol Armstrong notes that at the time Spain was seen as a twofold nation that sought to maintain its own identity while assimilating the traits of her colonizers. Since Spain had once been conquered by the Moors, it could be described as “racially pure and colonially invaded, both European and non-European, Western and non-Western, simultaneously close to France and the exotic other to France.” 7 French Romantic writers therefore searched for the exotic experience in and through Spain. For them, it embodied a space somewhat removed and yet accessible, one that could be explored and exploited through their imagination. One could say that for them Spain was reduced to a country of duality, permeated by religious fervor and yet littered with mysterious majas and dangerous rogues, the characters often found in theatrical spectacles, particularly that of the bullfight.

7 Carol Armstrong, Manet Manette (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2002), 94.
In examining Spanish culture through fiction and non-fiction we come across a significant group of writers focused on the art and artists of Spain. Some, such as Théophile Gautier and Charles Baudelaire, called attention to specific artists. For them, Francisco de Goya y Lucientes represented “Spanishness.” Goya, according to Carol Armstrong, was “a model of the modern artist, the proud unassimilability of Spain, the traumatic encounter between modern France and ancient Spain, and modern Spain’s post-Napoleonic decline.”  

Originally, he came to be known mainly through his graphic work, which served as a source of inspiration for artists like Eugène Delacroix and Louis Boulanger. Their generation was attracted to the picturesque value of his work, embracing the sometimes grotesque or fantastic figures that were featured in his *Caprichos*, usually ignoring the satirical message behind such images. It was in part through these men that Édouard Manet came to know of Goya. Although Manet expressed partiality to Velázquez’s technique, especially following his 1865 trip to Spain, thematically Manet can be linked to Goya. Contemporary critics, such as Théophile Thoré and Paul Mantz, for example, compared Manet to Goya in their discussions of his themes, style and even technique.

In the 1860s, Manet launched his career by introducing works with a Spanish flavor to the Salon. And like the Romantics before him, Manet used Goya’s motifs to present his own view and interpretation of a Spanish reality. Goya presented all aspects of Spanish life and character: religion and superstition, bullfights and promenades, games and official events. Manet, coming from a different cultural background, had to mold that

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8 Ibid., 95.
reality, make it fit into his own understanding of Spanish culture in order to present it to French society. He therefore chose to embrace the identifiably real and modern aspects in Goya’s art: the majas, the toreadors, the derelict, and the bohemian; rather than Goya’s dark, nightmarish characters that had inspired the Romantics.

Although Manet wanted to present “the real,” he simply represented a reality. In various early paintings, his figures were generic in the sense that they were displayed as anonymous types, like the ones found in genre pictures. In other cases, he pointed out the fact that the sitter was simply a model dressed in a particular “Spanish” costume. Manet did not want to paint the truth; he simply wanted to play with the idea of a truth, giving the viewer instead an approximation of the actual reality foreign to the public and himself as well. His paintings were inanimate tableaux vivants; his actors were constrained to pose inside a canvas and yet perform the role dictated by the costume they are given to wear.

In the context of the above, I will explore the way in which Manet constructs his scenes and how he handles the motifs he borrowed from Goya. I will provide commentary on the context in which Spanish art was introduced into French culture and how Manet came to be influenced by it. In my analysis of various paintings from the 1860s and 1870s featuring mostly female models dressed either as toreadors or as majas I will consider the construct of identity, the complexities of female femininity and their status in society, focusing on the theatrical aspects of representation of these women. By
questioning Manet’s selection and use of certain motifs borrowed from Spanish sources, we can come to understand the artist’s own version of Realism.¹⁰

¹⁰ I will be using the definition of Realism put forth by Leah Rosenblatt Lehmbeck in her doctoral dissertation where she notes that the “fundamental concern of Realist painting [is] the artist’s negotiation between fidelity to the world around him and his own subjectivity, as expressed via the artifice of picture-making.” Lehmbeck, 7.
Chapter One:

The Road to Spain: French Perception of Spanish Culture from the Seventeenth Century up to the Time of Manet

In order to comprehend one phase of Manet’s Realism, it is imperative to understand how he came to know of Spain and, therefore, be influenced by its artists even before he had visited that enchanting land. Although France and Spain had a history of political and economic connectivity, France did not become enthralled by Spain’s exotic charm until the nineteenth century. It was then that two factors presented themselves: the presence of the French armies in Spain and the juxtaposition of the “voyage pittoresque” with lithography. Diplomats and soldiers stationed there documented their travels, while writers and artists found a new source of inspiration. Spain seemed unusual and eclectic because of its mixed history and ethnicity. Her ancient Moorish sites, such as the Alhambra, provided tourists with an opportunity to experience the “Oriental” lifestyle without having to make an excessively distant and physically demanding journey.

The nineteenth century saw a change in the grande tour. Spain suddenly became one of the destination sites, an untapped resource for those seeking a taste of the exotic. Although France and Spain had been politically linked for centuries, actual travel and
communication were traditionally difficult because of the distance, dangerous routes, and stories of highway robberies. Moreover, the French had viewed Spain as a land of monasteries and churches. The art produced there seemed to mainly reflect a dark and morally oppressed society. However, by the 1830’s this sober kind of art became palatable, even fashionable.

All things Spanish had become fashionable after the Napoleonic Wars, reaching a climax during the 1830s. The Romantics began to think of Spain as exotic. At times, they viewed its Moorish heritage as equivalent to the Orientalism so in vogue at the time. Spanish imagery became inspiration primarily for the writers, who then transmitted their artistic appreciation of the works to the artists in their circle. Romantic writers such as Théophile Gautier, Prosper Mérimée, Victor Hugo, among others, brought forth the artistic heritage of the Spaniards and, yet, mystified it, transforming the real into a sometimes fantastic world.

In Goya, they found a kindred spirit. In his etchings they encountered dark, gruesome, fantastic creatures; dark-haired beauties surrounded by an air of mystery, seducing the viewer through the veils that covered their faces; and scenes of the theatrical art of bullfighting. In his canvases, they were taken by colorful images painted with an unrestrained brush, representing not only important figures of the Spanish royalty, but also scenes of the everyday, whether horrific or playful. These images conformed to the stereotypical views held by the French about Spanish secular culture.

French artists, inspired by such images, imbued their works with certain Spanish qualities. When one thinks of French artists of the nineteenth century who were influenced by Spanish art and clearly embraced it, Édouard Manet easily comes to mind.
Yet, there were other artists who shared these interests with him. Between 1830 and 1850, Pharamond Blanchard, Prosper Mérimée, Eugène Delacroix, Adolphe Leleux, Charles Porion, Eugène Giraud, and Alfred Dehodencq all created works that dealt with bullfighting or Spanish dancers. Although Bartolomé Esteban Murillo and José de Ribera were the artists commonly known in France prior to the late eighteenth century, Velázquez and Goya provided French artists with a new style and new themes: images of fantastic and phantasmagoric creatures based on Goya’s *Caprichos* surfaced as book illustrations; bullfights, balconies and dark-haired, mysterious women flooded the Salons. These images presented stereotypes engrained into the French understanding of Spanish culture, which was based mainly on the plays and novels written in Spain during the *Siglo de Oro*.12

Some of the earliest glimpses of Spain and its culture had originally come through travel accounts of the French aristocracy and later by those of journalists and writers.13 A case in point is the Countess of Aulnoy’s *Relation du voyage d’Espagne* (1691), which focused on her travels through Spain on 1679 and her encounters with the court of Charles II.14 The story is made up of fifteen letters written to a cousin in France during

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12 By the 1820s, French writers had become acquainted with Spanish literary works such as *Don Quijote* by Miguel de Cervantes, as well as plays by Calderón de la Barca and Lope de Vega. Ilse Hempel Lipschutz points out that Ladvocat’s *Collection des chefs d’œuvre des théâtres étrangers*, 25 vols. (1822-23), contained five volumes of works by major Spanish dramatists; in Lipschutz, *Spanish Painting and the French Romantics* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972), 143.
13 Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et en Portugal* (Paris, 1896), mentions over 800 testimonies of trips across Spain from the second century up until 1895. See also Arturo Farinelli, *Viajes por España y Portugal desde la Edad Media hasta el siglo XX* (Rome, 1942).
1679 and 1680. The Countess prefaced the first letter with a note to her readers with respect to the veracity of her tale and as a reply to those who had criticized inaccuracies in her *Mémoires de la cour d’Espagne, 1679-1681* (1690):

I have no doubt that there will be some who will accuse me of hyperbolizing, and composing romances… I write nothing but what I have seen, or heard from persons of unquestionable credit: and therefore shall conclude with assuring you that you have here no novel, or story, devised at pleasure, but an exact and most true account of what I met with in my travels.\(^{15}\)

From 1850 to the present, the historical accuracy of the account has been put into question. Janis Tomlinson describes the account as a “lively tale of manners, aristocratic intrigues and costumes” compiled from other sources.\(^{16}\) Since D’Aulnoy wrote the *relation* about ten years after the fact, she incorporated stories she had read or heard.\(^{17}\) The royal paintings she mentions, supposedly in a historical or allegorical style, were products of her imagination. They were based on no real counterparts, but rather on the description of the events portrayed by the Abbé de Saint-Réal in his short story *Dom Carlos*, which had appeared in Paris in 1672. Bypassing the royal portraits done by Velázquez, she only makes mention of Titian as a famous painter whose portraits could be seen at the Escorial.\(^{18}\) Despite the oversights and inaccuracies, her account contributed to French awareness of Spanish culture and helped establish the fact that there was a

\(^{15}\) Madame D’Aulnoy, *Travels into Spain*, 5.


Spanish school of painting, an understanding that was sustained and reinforced by nineteenth-century writers.

Another important and early account comes from Marie Anne de la Trémoïlle, Princess of Ursins, who had actually played an active role in the daily life at the court of Philip V. Although veritable letters, her Mémoires de la cour d’Espagne, 1679-1681 barely touched upon the subject of art, choosing to focus on court intrigue and people’s actions, rather than the palace and the artistic treasures housed in it. At the close of the century, Jean François de Bourgoing wrote his Nouveau Voyage en Espagne (1788), focusing specifically on Spain’s art treasures and their locations, thus arousing some genuine public interest in the subject.

Before the nineteenth century, Spanish art had been generally ignored in France and other European countries since it did not seem to fit into the grande style of painting revered by the official schools, which especially favored historical or mythological works. Spain, on the other hand, had an affinity for genre subjects, as well as religious imagery, but even those were passed over for Italian and Flemish works in major private and royal collections. The Spanish artist whose name reverberated throughout France early in the eighteenth century was that of José de Ribera. Although a native of Valencia, he left for Italy early in his twenties and spent most of his life in Naples where he became one of the utmost representatives of the style of Caravaggio. He is known to have

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identified himself as a Spaniard, signing his works “lo Spagnoletto.” He was regarded, however, as an Italian artist and is sometimes referred to as Guiseppe or Jusepe.\(^\text{21}\)

During the second half of the eighteenth century, works by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo first began to appear in French collections. His genre paintings, mostly purchased by Flemish costumers in Seville, had become so popular that minister Floridablanca was forced to sign a decree in October 1779 which restricted the exportation of works by deceased masters.\(^\text{22}\) Despite the prohibition against mass circulation, Spanish works slowly made their way into French collections, mostly private, but even then the works were usually ascribed to the Italian schools.

During the Napoleonic period, some of the Frenchmen stationed in Spain became acquainted with the official painter for the Spanish court, Francisco de Goya y Lucientes. In 1800 the French ambassador, Ferdinand Guillemandet, obtained an important acquisition: on his return to France, he brought back a portrait of himself, a small painting of a woman dressed as a *maja*; and at least one complete set of the *Caprichos* (a set that perhaps Delacroix, his godson, consulted twenty years later), all works by the contemporary and fashionable artist, Goya.\(^\text{23}\)

Since direct exposure to Spanish works was limited, those interested in learning about them had to rely on the written word. In 1749, an anonymous translation of Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco’s *Museo pictórico* (1724) surfaced in France. The translator’s intention was to provide real information on Spanish art to a European public

\(^{21}\) Lipschutz, 7-8. See also August L. Mayer, *Jusepe de Ribera* (Leipzig, 1923).
\(^{22}\) Ibid., 7, 266-267.
heretofore either misinformed or uninformed: “Comme l’école espagnole est très peu connue en France et même dans toute l’Europe, on a cru rendre un service aux curieux en donnant ce petit traité. Par là ils pourront se former une idée des richesses de l’Espagne, tant en peinture qu’en sculpture et architecture.”  

This type of account helped spread the knowledge of Spanish art in the continent, focusing mainly on Ribera, Velázquez, and Murillo, although it also featured some minor artists.

In 1752, Jacques Lacombe’s *Dictionnaire portative des beaux-arts* was published and mentioned the three more commonly known Spanish artists, Ribera, Velázquez, and Murillo. Lacombe, however, added a new dimension to his account by describing the style of the artists and commenting on the quality of their paintings, rather than limiting his comments to biographical facts. Soon after, Voltaire produced his *Essai sur les moeurs et l’esprit des nations* (1756). An early admirer of Shakespeare, he credited Spanish theater for having served as a model for the British; yet he dismissed Spanish painting with a few words: “Ils eurent quelques peintres du second rang, et jamais d’école de peinture.”  

Even as knowledge of Spanish art expanded, it was always compared against the standards of Italian or Flemish art. It was not until 1776 when D.P.J. Papillon de la Ferté’s *Extraits des différens ouvrages publiés sur la vie des peintres* that Spanish painting was viewed as distinct from the style of the Italian school. Although there was

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differentiation, Spanish artists and their works were compared and equated with those of the Lombardian and Venetian schools.

Right before the 1789 Revolution, the diplomat Jean François de Bourgoing published his *Nouveau Voyage en Espagne ou tableau de l’état actuel de cette Monarchie* (1788), which helped expand French knowledge of Spain. The revised fourth edition of 1807 served almost as a guidebook for the Napoleonic armies in Spain. The reader could follow the author on a voyage pittoresque and therefore familiarize himself with Spain’s geography, social conditions, as well as the art produced there.

Bourgoing carefully described the paintings he saw during his diplomatic missions while acknowledging that although the Spanish school was less known than other schools, it deserved just as much attention. Along with the famous trio of artists – Murillo, Ribera, and Velázquez—Bourgoing highlighted Navarrete “el Mudo,” Alonso Cano and Francisco de Zurbarán along with others as worthy and deserving of attention.²⁶ He even went as far as to include in his discussion a contemporary artist, the then unknown Goya, noting that “Don Francisco de Goya mérite aussi une mention honorable par son talent, pour rendre avec fidélité et accord les mœurs, les costumes, les jeux de sa patrie.” ²⁷ In the 1807 revised version, most likely prompted by Goya’s newfound fame as a portrait painter, Bourgoing added a note to assert that he also excelled in this genre.²⁸

In 1806, Alexandre Louis Joseph de Laborde’s *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l’Espagne* appeared. The *Voyage* offered something that Bourgoing’s *Nouveau voyage...*
lacked: full-page engravings of monuments, regional costumes, the Spanish countryside and even reproductions of paintings ascribed to Spain’s masters: Velázquez, Murillo, Ribera, Zurbarán, and Claudio Coello. Unfortunately simple line engravings, crosshatched to accentuate the shadows, did not convey the full extent of the atmosphere contained in the original works.

Another important book that came out at that time was J.B.P. Lebrun’s *Recueil de gravures...d'après un choix de tableaux...recueillis...en Espagne* (1809). Although more of an expert on art than Bourgoing or Laborde, his intent was not altruistic; he was planning on acquiring works for his own collection, rather than providing information to potential collectors and the public in general. Reproductions of the fifteen pictures he brought back from Spain appear in his *Recueil*. In discussing Velázquez’s works, Lebrun mentions the fact that Goya had made engravings of earlier master paintings in the Spanish royal collection at the palace in Madrid.

During the Napoleonic campaigns, churches, monasteries and palaces were plundered and the works taken back to France to become part of private collections. Some paintings, however, were destroyed or damaged. One man, Marshal Nicolas Jean de Dieu Soult, took advantage of his tour of duty in Spain and brought back to France quite an impressive number of Spanish works to add to his collection: of the one hundred and fifty seven canvases listed in the sales catalogue for the posthumous auction held in

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29 Of nine illustrations, three paintings by Velázquez, three by Murillos, one by Ribera, one by Zurbarán, and one by Coello. See Lipschutz, 21-23.
30 J.B.P. Lebrun, *Recueil de gravures...d'après un choix de tableaux...recueillis...en Espagne*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1809).
31 Lebrun, *Recueil*, II, 22; also see Lipschutz, 25.
32 L.F. Lejeune, *Mémoires*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1895), I: *De Valmy à Wagram*, 215: General Louis François Lejeune recounts in his *Mémoires* that at times large canvases and manuscripts were used by the troops as part of their improvised shelters. See Lipschutz, 28-29.
Paris in 1852, one hundred and nine belonged to the Spanish school. Works by Murillo in his collection, such as *The Immaculate Conception (La Conception Soult)* and *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Nursing the Sick*, were of outstanding quality and left an impression on the Parisian public.³³

While Napoleon’s military personnel had been confiscating Spain’s national treasures, his brother Joseph, who was placed on the Spanish throne by Napoleon, was trying to establish a national museum of fine arts in Madrid. The two brothers viewed themselves and thus France as the protector and benefactor of Spanish art. Religious institutions, private citizens and even the royal palace were all seen as veritable and legitimate hunting grounds for new acquisitions for the museum as declared in a royal decree.³⁴ The inventoried works, however, were to be shared with France since Napoleon had expressed a desire to showcase some of the paintings in the Musée Napoléon in Paris.

The second article of the royal decree speaks of the union between two nations:

> Se formará una colección general de los pintores célebres de la Escuela española, la que ofrecemos a nuestro augusto hermano el Emperador de los franceses, manifestandole al propio tiempo nuestros deseos de verla colocada en una de las salas del museo Napoleón, en donde siendo un monumento a la gloria de los artistas españoles, servirá como prenda de la unión más sincera de las dos naciones.³⁵

French diplomat and painter-engraver Dominique Vivant Denon, director of the Musée Napoléon since 1804, finally received the fifty paintings originally intended for

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³³ Lipschutz, 33.
³⁴ First Article of Royal Decree by Joseph Bonaparte states: “Se fundará en Madrid un museo de pintura que contendrá las colecciones de las diversas escuelas, y a este efecto se tomarán de todos los establecimientos públicos, y aún de nuestros palacios, los cuadros que sean necesarios para completar la reunión que hemos decretado.” Quoted by Manuel Gómez Íñaz, *Inventario de cuadros sustraídos por el gobierno intruso en Sevilla el año de 1810* (Madrid, 1896), 35-36; reprinted in Lipschutz, 268.
³⁵ Ibid.
the Emperor in July of 1813. Lipschutz remarks that Vivant Denon was disappointed by
the poor quality of the works, yet he did not solely rely upon Joseph’s gift to the emperor
for the enrichment of the museum. Earlier that year, four canvases previously owned by
Soult had been acquired by the museum. By September, Vivant Denon added another 250
paintings chosen by him and by members of the “Commission impériale des séquestres et
indemnités en Espagne” to the collection.\(^{36}\)

By 1815, the collection stored at the Louvre was comprised of almost three
hundred canvases of Spanish origin, although it was never shown to the public. After the
restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy, Louis XVIII issued a decree ordering restitution to
former owners of all artwork taken during the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars.
Collectors, artists and advocates of France’s mission as a cultural repository chastised the
restored monarch for taking this action, as can be seen in the anonymous engraving of a
French artist crying over the return of the artworks (Figure 1).

The campaign of 1823—an effort to restore the Bourbon Ferdinand VII to the
Spanish throne—brought French soldiers into contact with Spain once more, making all
things Spanish fashionable. It is significant to note that during the same period diverse
publications had begun to flourish in France. After 1829, writers such as Prosper
Mérimée, Stendhal, Alfred de Musset and Charles Nodier contributed travelogues,
reports on Spanish customs and romanticized novelettes of life in Spain for the Revue de
Paris, hence expanding French knowledge on the subject. In 1833, the Magasin
pittoresque began publishing brief illustrated articles on Spanish masters, among them

\(^{36}\) Lipschutz, 51.
Murillo and Goya. Private collectors, such as Marshal Soult and Alexandre Aguado, whose collections overshadowed the scant sample of Spanish paintings owned by the Louvre during this decade, benefited from the trend as they were able to sell works in their collections at considerable profit.

Romantic writers had been swayed by the dark, yet evocative works with which they had come into contact either through visits to private collections, their own travels to Spain or through accounts of other voyagers. Victor Hugo and George Sand both lived in Madrid as children; Prosper Mérimée and Louis Viardot visited the country later in life. Hugo’s Spanish inspired play *Hernani, ou L’honneur castillan* is said to have revolutionized the French theater. In his novel *Notre Dame de Paris* (1831), Hugo compares the recluse, La Sachette, to one of Goya’s dejected and imprisoned women from the *Caprichos*: “C’était un de ces spectres, mi-partis d’ombre et de lumière, comme on en voit dans les rêves et dans l’œuvre extraordinaire de Goya, pales, immobiles, sinistres, accroupis sur un tombe ou adossés a la grille d’un cachot.” Juste milieu artists, such as Charles Auguste Steuben and Narcisse Diaz de la Peña, interpreted the gypsy character Esméralda from the same novel in their Salon entries.

According to Ilsa Hempel Lipschutz, two French artists can be singled out as being directly influenced by Spanish painters, bridging the gap between literature and art.
during the 1820s and 1830s: Eugène Delacroix and Louis Boulanger.\textsuperscript{41} Delecroix’s fascination with Spanish artists, specifically Velázquez, is documented in his \textit{Journal} as early as 1824.\textsuperscript{42} By this time, he was also actively copying Goya’s \textit{Caprichos}, possibly the set brought back by Guilleminardet following his ambassadorship in Spain. The influence of Goya’s etchings is evident in Delacroix’s 1827 series on Goethe’s \textit{Faust}, in which grotesque, winged figures clutch innocent victims from the ground and lift them up into the air (\textbf{Figure 2}). Louis Boulanger, though less accomplished than Delacroix, also owed a great debt to Goya and his \textit{Caprichos}. His works usually carried heavy literary undertones\textsuperscript{43} and are enveloped in an eerie atmosphere reminiscent of Goya’s prints, as can be seen in his illustrations for Victor Hugo’s poems (\textbf{Figure 3}).

By the 1830s, French interest in Spanish art was fully awakened. The general public had become acquainted with the names of Spanish masters through travelogues, articles, and specialized books, as well as through reproductions and imitations of Spanish works. During this decade, participation by Spanish artists in the Salon started to become noticeable.\textsuperscript{44} The culmination of this vogue came with the opening of the Spanish

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\textsuperscript{41} Lipschutz, 94.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 95.

\textsuperscript{43} Boulanger was a close friend of Victor Hugo and other members of the Petit Cénacle, a group of writers and artists gathered around the figures of Théophile Gautier and Petrus Borel who met at the atelier of sculptor Jenan Duseigneur or at Hugo’s house between the years of 1827 and 1830. According to Gautier, “on encourageait toutes les formes d’engagement au service de l’art qu’il fût littéraire, sculptural ou pictural et l’on y débattait de ces questions avec toute l’ardeur de la Bohême autour de l’ ‘individualité pivotale’ de Petrus Borel, pour reprendre une formule de l’Histoire de Romantisme;” cited in Théophile Gautier, \textit{Critique d’Art : Extrait des Salons (1833-1872)} (Paris: Séguier, 1994), 13.

\textsuperscript{44} Spanish painters, such as José Madrazo and Juan Antonio de Ribera, had been students of Jacques-Louis David early on in the century, focusing on the grand manner style of the master. By the time of the Universal Exposition of 1855, however, Spanish genre painting (“temas costrumbristas”) became more conspicuous, mainly representing bullfighting scenes. The artist Juan García Martínez Aragonés, who would later take Manet to see the collection of the Duke of Osuna in Madrid, participated in the 1857 Salon. For more information of the presence of Spanish artists in France, see Carlos Reyero, \textit{París y la crisis de la pintura española, 1799-1889: Del Museo del; Louvre a la Torre Eiffel} (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1993).
Galleries in 1838. For a decade, Louis-Philippe’s Galerie Espagnole became the locus for important Spanish works outside of Spain. During his years in exile, Louis-Philippe had lived in Havana and learned to speak Spanish fluently. He subsequently spent some time in Cadiz and Andalusia during which he most likely became acquainted with the work of Spanish artists. In 1835, taking advantage of a new law that allowed the sale of church property to benefit the state, Louis-Philippe sent Baron Taylor to Spain on an art buying expedition, which lasted two years. The king’s expanded collection consisted of works by Francisco de Zurbarán, El Greco, and Juan de Valdés Leal, along with some works by José de Ribera, Velázquez and Murillo, and even eight paintings by Goya.

Additions followed during the years, such as Lord Standish’s bequest in 1842 of 220 works. As a result, this collection of Spanish works exceeded that of the Prado. Baudelaire wrote about the collection in his review of the Salon of 1846:

> The Spanish Museum is there to increase the volume of general ideas that you [the public] ought to possess about art; for you know perfectly well that just as a national museum is a kind of communion by whose gentle influence men’s hearts are softened and their wills unbent, so a foreign museum is an international communion where two peoples, observing and studying one another more at their ease, can penetrate one another’s mind and fraternize without discussion.45

The Galerie Espagnole closed in 1849, following the 1848 Revolution, the abdication of Louis-Philippe and less than a month after Louis-Napoleon was elected president of the Second Republic. The entire collection was returned in 1851 to the Orléans family and was consequently sold at auctions in London in 1853. The closing of the Galerie Espagnole significantly reduced the collection of Spanish works in the Louvre.

Manet: Un espagnol de Paris

In January of 1850, a year after the Galerie Espagnole had closed, Manet registered at the Louvre as a student of Thomas Couture. This was the standard procedure for obtaining permission to copy works at the museum. It was not until 1859 that he renewed his registration, this time as an artist. Once Manet was registered, he quickly got to work and it is interesting to note that one of the first paintings he copied was one thought to have been by Velázquez, Portrait of a Monk. Manet later made etchings of some of his copies, creating his first graphic album, the Cadart Portfolio in 1862. This album consisted of etchings after his own paintings, such as his Absinthe Drinker; his copies of works by Velázquez, including The Little Cavaliers; and of some of his works that had not yet been exhibited. Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada (Figure 4), which will be discussed later at length, exhibited in 1863 at the Salon de Refusés, had made its initial debut through the portfolio.46

Manet’s first submission to the Salon came in 1859 with the Absinthe Drinker (Figure 5). The painting, however, was rejected. Manet had chosen to represent a contemporary subject, a victim of dissipation, while indirectly quoting Velázquez’s single-figure portraits of philosophers. Nonetheless, the allusion went unnoticed. After the rejection of the Absinthe Drinker he stated: “I painted a Parisian character whom I had studied in Paris, and I executed it with the technical simplicity I discovered in

46 Manet’s fascination with all things Spanish could be traced to the time spent with the merchant marines. On December 1848, he traveled to Brazil, returning to Paris in June 1849. Having failed his naval examinations, Manet entered Couture’s studio in January 1850.
Velasquez. No one understands it. If I had painted a Spanish type, it would be more comprehensible.” 47

His first successful experience at the Salon came in 1861, when two paintings were accepted. Manet’s lifesize painting of a Spanish Singer (Figure 6) earned him an official commendation and critical acclaim. This painting was typical of Manet’s submissions to the Salon during the 1860s in that showed an interest in Spanish subject matter and was painted in a strongly realist style, extensively informed through his study of Murillo, Velázquez, and Goya. Théophile Gautier recorded his positive reaction to the veracity of the work in the July 3 issue of the Moniteur universal: “Caramba! Here is a Guitarero who hasn’t stepped out of a comic opera, and who could cut a poor figure in a romantic lithograph. But Velasquez would have given him a friendly wink, and Goya would have asked him for a light for his papelito…” 48 Paul Mantz, in an 1863 review of Manet’s work, mentioned the impression the Spanish guitarist had made upon him when it was shown. In the article he referred to Manet as “un espagnol de Paris,” who followed in the tradition of Goya, even though this was prior to Manet’s first visit to Spain. 49

After the opening of the 1863 Salon des Refusés, Thoré wrote in L’indépendance belge, “Manet loves Spain, and his favorite master seems to be Goya, whose vivid and contrasting hues, whose free and fiery touch, he imitates.” 50 The following year Gautier reiterated Manet’s debt to Goya during his discussion of Incident in the Bullring. Although he criticized Manet for the distortion of the perspective, he praised his

48 Théophile Gautier, Moniteur Universal (3 July 1861), cited in Hamilton, 25.
50 Théophile Thoré, L’indépendance belge (1863), cited in Hamilton, 50.
brushwork and use of vigorous color. Afterwards he added, “Furthermore, such subjects [as the Bullfight] are well suited to the nature of this artist who paints with such feeling for the Spanish school and is related to Goya, as Goya was related to Velasquez: *largo proximus intervalle.*”  

While these critics viewed the connection to Goya and Velázquez positively, praising Manet, some saw it in negative terms. Charles Baudelaire, and later Émile Zola, tried to deny the allegations of plagiarism that were attached to discussions surrounding Manet’s works. In a letter to Thoré, Baudelaire called the similarities between Manet and certain Spanish masters “mysterious coincidences.” He assured Thoré that Manet had never had the opportunity to see a Goya, an El Greco, or the Pourtalès Collection, but because of people’s comments about his imitations of Goya he was now trying to see the originals.  

Despite the fact that some of those closest to Manet tried to minimize the link to Goya, it is hard to ignore the similarities between their choice of subjects: Manet borrowed Goya’s motifs, sometimes creating a pastiche of the latter’s images to create his own work.

After the recognition that came from the 1861 Salon, Manet fully began exploring Spanish themes in his works, not only in paintings but also in etchings such as *The Gypsies* from 1862. As a member of the Societé des Aquafortistes, he published some of his etchings—such as a portrait of *Lola de Valence* (Figure 7), a dancer from the Royal Dance Theater of Madrid—as well as the Cadart portfolio, an album of prints, published in 1862 that included etchings after his own paintings. Of the Cadart etchings, five were

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51 Théophile Gautier cited in Hamilton, 59.
52 Charles Baudelaire in a letter to Thoré, quoted in Hamilton, 62-63.
devoted to either Spanish themes or Spanish sources. At least six of the paintings shown at Martinet’s were Hispanicizing in nature, and of the six works (three paintings and three etchings) exhibited at the Salon des Refusés five had Spanish references.

In 1862, Manet came in direct contact with Spanish people when he met a dance troupe from Madrid that was performing in Paris. Manet painted portraits of the main stars—Don Mariano Camprubi and Lola de Valence—as well as a group painting, *Spanish Ballet*. In his portrait of *Lola de Valence* (Figure 8) he focused on specific details in order to create the illusion of lace on her veil and flowers on her dress. Lola stands upright and confident in the traditional pose for dancers at the time: one extended foot slightly pointed, her body set more or less in a three-quarter stance. Her legs are exposed, revealing white stockings and pink ballet slippers. She wears her dancing attire: a black dress with a full skirt, decorated by colorful crimson, orange and yellow flowers, with accents of green for the leaves, and trims made up of red pom-poms. A sheer, white mantilla falls down from the top of her head, draping her shoulders. It is then gathered around her arm, which is pressed against her hip. This gesture of hand on hip was associated with *gitanas* in popular imagery, travel accounts, and literature; a particular case being Mérimée’s 1845 *femme fatale* character, Carmen.53

Lola’s pale face—framed by the mantilla, almost dissociating the head from the body—contrasts with the dark color of her hair, eyes and eyebrows. Lola’s eyes are directed at the viewer, while a warm, welcoming smile plays on her lips. Lola’s expression and the hand on hip gesture convey a sense of composure, assuredness, and

53 Brown, 76.
The latter is emphasized when combined with the added accessory of a half-open fan placed in her delicately modeled right hand. In his *Voyage en Espagne* (1843), Théophile Gautier wrote, “A woman without a fan is something one never sees in this happy land….Spanish women excel at the art of handling a fan.”  

The fan, which remains immobile, was usually attached to exotic females, whether Spanish or Turkish for that matter to allude to their seductive nature. Here it does not seem to serve any other purpose than that of further identifying Lola as a Spanish character. The painting, therefore, plays with the idea of the true identity of the sitter. This image is not simply a portrait. While embodying the authentic and exotic Spanish female, Lola’s profession as a performer is brought to the forefront. Edmond Bazire noted:

> The big event of the exhibition was the portrait of *Lola de Valence* –the famous Lola which had been so disparaged and which was so often the subject of attacks—which, as a picture, had the very great fault of being an honest portrait, in fact an extremely lifelike and striking representation of an elegant woman, whose figure is not disguised by the heavy drapery of her national costume. In short, she looks like a Spanish dancer for the obvious reason that she is a Spanish dancer.

Lehmbeck reminds us that the iconography of a posing dancer was widespread during the middle of the nineteenth century. Gustave Courbet’s portrait of *Adela Guerrero* (1851, Figure 9), for example, demonstrates the contemporary interest in

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54 Carol Armstrong mentions that the pose derives from Goya’s portrait of the *Duchess of Alba*, 1715, while altering the feet to conform to contemporary photographs of dancers. Goya’s painting had been in the Galerie Espagnole, then went into the Pereire collection in Paris after 1848. Armstrong, 85, 340 n.25. See also Cachin et al., *Manet, 1832-1883*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art: Abrams, 1983), 146. On photographs of Spanish dancers and on Manet’s use of carte-de-visite photographs, see Anne McCauley, *A.A.E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1985), 172-195.


56 Edmond Bazire’s response to the work upon its showing at Manet’s Martinet exhibition in 1863 is cited in Courthion and Cailler, 47-48.

57 Lehmbeck, 29.
Spanish performers as well as the manner in which they were represented. Courbet presents us with a figure posed like Manet’s, with keen attention to the fabric and details of her dress. Adela, however, turns her eyes away from the viewer, avoiding a confrontation with the audience. We perceive the audience’s presence as we become a part of it: we are the ones looking at Adela on stage, the setting being suggested by the heavy folds of curtain to her right.

In his portrait of Lola, Manet sets the scene backstage inside a theater. The wall in front of which she stands is part of the theater scenery. To the right, one can catch a glimpse of the stage and the performers. Manet probably added the background when he reworked the painting after 1867, departing from his early style by adding a motif that alludes to contemporary life: at the edge of the work we encounter the balconies, the theater, and the audience. This visual device also suggests that Manet intended the background to be viewed as another painted construction. By adding the black outline along the edges of the scene and a lighter shade of brown along the edge of the stage flat itself, Manet makes it look as though the deep recessioned space of the filled theater is also a set. Later on we will see another example of a sitter placed against a seemingly painted backdrop meant to look like a veritable setting. In these cases, Manet appears to

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58 Painted for a celebration organized by the Cercle Artistique et Littéraire de Bruxelles in honor of King Leopold I of Belgium on September 1851. The fact that Manet would show Lola de Valence in a similar pose in 1862, without ever having seen Courbet’s work is proof that both artists were working from convention since the pose was typical imagery found in handbills, popular illustrations, and sheet music; Tinterow and Lacambre, *Manet/Velázquez*, 472. See also Théodore Chassériau’s *Petra Camara* (1852, Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, Budapest) for another traditional depiction of a dancer. In this painting, however, the dancer is not static; she is actually dancing in front of other members from her troupe.

59 In his early catalogue on the artist, published in 1931, Tabarant says Manet changed the background “on the advice of his friends.” Cachin et al., 150 n.6.

60 Juliet Wilson-Bareau suggests that the background in this picture was different from the actual Hippodrome, which resembled more of a circus environment than a proper theater. Tinterow and Lacambre, *Manet/Velázquez*, 490.
be calling attention to the construction of the scene by adding actual theatrical elements to the compositions.

Manet’s group portrait *The Spanish Ballet* (Figure 10), executed at the same time as the portrait of Lola, was meant to represent a tavern scene from *The Flower of Seville*. The main characters in this group portrait are members of the dance troupe. In the foreground, we find Mariano Camprubi dancing alongside Anita Montez to the music played by some of the other men in the scene. Lola de Valence is seated in front of a table on which there are drinks. She holds a closed fan that rests on her lap as she looks out directly at the viewer. Two men, whose faces are not visible, stand behind her to the left. The flowers, bench, and table are props from Manet’s studio; the two men in the background are art-historical quotations of Goya. By adding the props from his studio, Manet may have been making self-referential allusions about the scene’s constructed nature.

The image is thus a representation of a performance. Although most of the figures are real and their job resembles that which is portrayed, it is not an actual event. Rather, it is Manet’s interpretation or recreation of a similar episode. In these portraits of performers Manet challenges the expectations of conventional portraiture by using the sitters’ profession to highlight the constructed nature of the works, essentially presenting their stage personas. The dancers are depicted in costume denoting that their identities are made for the picture and, hence, are not real.

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61 Cachin et al., 144.
62 Cachin notes that these two figures were taken from Goya’s *Tauromaquia*, Plate 19. Ibid., 145.
Émile Zola noted in a typically formalist reduction of Manet’s work that “he treats figure paintings in the same way as in art schools one may treat still-life; I mean that he groups figures before him, somewhat by chance, and that his only concern is then to fix them upon the canvas as he sees them.” 63 The figures are artificially arranged, making them look somewhat stiff and disjointed. Characteristic of Manet’s painting technique, people are abstracted, objects are simplified. There is no interaction between the main characters, other than by complementation of colors. Manet painted the costumes in summarized detail, differentiating the clothes that each wears through the use of color. Yet, textures remain the same for all objects, whether living or inanimate.

The bouquet of flowers at the feet of the dancers is a reminder of the fact that the picture is a performed scene. It captures the moment at the end of a performance when the audience shows their approval of the dancers and their routine, making us at once portrait viewers and audience members. The flowers serve as a visual marker, much like Courbet’s use of curtains in his portrait of Adela Guerrero, that draws us in and makes us part of this constructed scene. As Lehmbeck remarks, there is no allusion to another audience and therefore no ambiguity with regard to where we are with his portrait.64 This work successfully equates the stage with the artist’s studio, with the performer as the subject, the audience as the viewer, and the artist as the director.

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64 Lehmbeck, 37.
Chapter Two:

Costuming Women: Manet’s Appropriation and Treatment of Spanish Imagery

Manet’s works are theatrical, not only because of his use of costumes and props, but also because of the way they are presented to the audience. As a painter, Manet thought himself to be an impartial observer whose purpose was to present the truth as it unfolded in front of him. When Manet painted his portrait, Émile Zola said he finally understood Manet, since he was able to see his pictures the way they should be seen:

Manet’s talent is compounded of simplicity and accuracy. Doubtless, in the face of the disbelief of certain of my colleagues, he would appear to have decided to examine reality bit by bit, he would have rejected all acquired knowledge, all traditional experience, he would have wished to start from the beginning, that is to say from the exact observations of objects. He has then courageously set himself in front of a subject, he has seen this subject in broad areas of color, by strong contrasts, and he has painted each thing as he has seen it. Who dares here to speak of paltry calculation, who dares to accuse a conscientious artist of mocking art and himself?  

Manet shows the viewer a unique moment suspended in time, drawing in the viewer. As in a stage production, the audience becomes part of the performance and in

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65 Émile Zola quoted in Hamilton, 85-86.
order for that illusion to be effective they need to accept it as real. Mikael Wivel notes that traditionally people were used to looking at a picture as if they were looking through a window, closing the viewer off from the picture and separating the object from the real world outside of the frame. Conversely, in Manet’s paintings viewers found that:

There was something outside, and something inside; and the threshold that separated these two worlds was not to be overstepped...The window frame was gone, and so was the glass: in short, there was no veil or filter between observer and observed. The pictures answered back, so to speak, drawing the observer into their world. And the observer could not refuse: the models met his gaze –indifferent perhaps, but also challenging. This was out-and-out confrontation.66

During the 1860s, Manet often appropriated his imagery from the art-historical past, as was briefly discussed with respect to the Absinthe Drinker. In so doing, Manet aligned himself with the artists he admired, while calling attention to the way in which his pictures were built. His early works were usually of single figures juxtaposed against a bare background. Without a specific setting, the costumes worn by the models became theatrical by themselves. It was through the use of disguise that Manet constructed the sitter’s identity.

Manet’s affinity for theatricality can be seen in the selection of subjects he chose to portray during his “Spanish phase:” street singers, dancers, toreadors, and even goddesses. When he dressed up his models, it was meant not as reality, but as an alternate truth. Just like an actor on stage or a bullfighter in the arena, the characters in his works cannot abandon their roles if they are to preserve this illusion. Yet Manet, upholding his

66 Mikael Wivel, Manet, exh. cat. (København, Denmark: Ordrupgaard, 1989) 35.
own role as observer/narrator and actor/creator, calls attention to the fact that the people in his paintings are part of a pre-arranged setup, a constructed reality.

During Spain’s Golden Age, disguises were used in comedies to distort social hierarchies: a damsel, unsatisfied with the demands society set upon her gender, would dress up as a man and run away from home. Although originally it seemed like the motivation behind her decision was to find her own identity, free from social constraints; the path ultimately led to her one and only lover. Around the same time, Shakespeare also adopted the use of disguises in his comedies. By transgressing gender lines he would simultaneously create a sense of brief confusion and freedom in his characters. In the nineteenth century, French Romantic theater adopted the use of disguises and cross-dressing in order to investigate the nature of the individual. By dressing up their characters in disguise, they could escape their prescribed place in society and discover things that would be otherwise out of their reach. In Gautier’s *Mademoiselle de Maupin* (1835), for example, a young woman assumes the guise of a man in order to be able to explore and gain knowledge of the world. In keeping with this type of theatrical tradition, Manet presented some of his female models in Spanish male attire.

**Role-play and Cross-dress: Women as matadors**

Manet first introduced the public to this idea of role-playing and cross-dressing in his one-man show at Martinet’s in 1863. In *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume* (**Figure 11**), Manet dresses his model in a costume and calls attention to this fact by

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selecting this generic, but descriptive title. In the picture, we find a young woman with seemingly Spanish-looking features—dark hair, dark eyes, and yet pale skin—wearing a Spanish-inspired outfit: black bolero jacket and vest over a thin white shirt, a pink sash around the waist, white trousers and stockings, and black shoes. The attire can be perceived as a transgression of gender since it is meant for a man, specifically for a bullfighter, and not for a young Spanish woman. Alan Krell, however, mentions in his description of this work that Manet is not only demonstrating his taste for things Spanish, but also the demimondaine’s penchant for dressing up in male apparel, therefore referencing ‘la vie moderne.’

Although the painting is usually associated with Goya’s _Clothed Maja_ (Figure 12), it is unlikely that Manet had seen the original at this time. During most of the nineteenth century, Goya’s painting was displayed at the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. The _Naked Maja_, however, was kept there in hiding and did not surface until it was brought to the Museo del Prado in 1901. It is possible that he either saw a painted copy or at least photographs of it. However, in addition to Goya, Manet could have easily followed tradition and derived the pose from the reclining Odalisque of the

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70 _The Clothed Maja_ was first mentioned in the inventory of Godoy’s assets prepared in 1808 by Frédéric Quillet, agent to Joseph Bonaparte. On 1813, it was once more mentioned in Godoy’s inventory seized by the king, this time identified as _Gitanas_. By 1843 Louis Viardot, who had seen the _Clothed Maja_ at the Academia de Bellas Artes, was one of the first to declare that the painting depicted the Duchess of Alba. It would not be until 1867 that this statement would be disputed by Charles Yriarte.
71 In 1859, Baudelaire wrote to Nadar and advised him to take photographs of copies of Goya’s Duchess of Alba at Morneau’s, an art dealer, and to buy those copies if possible. Based on his description, the copies were of Goya’s _Clothed Maja_ and _Naked Maja_ at the Prado. This episode may have sparked Manet’s interest in the works. Nonetheless, references attesting to that fact are obscure. See Juliet Wilson-Bareau, “Manet and Spain,” in Tinterow and Lacambre, 228.
Orientalist tradition. This pose in portraiture is usually “restricted to actresses, mistresses and artist’s wives and with paintings representing idealized harem women or their Western equivalent.”

Depictions of odalisques were pervasive in the Salons of the mid-nineteenth century. Artists such as Eugène Delacroix, Jean-Léon Gérôme, and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres depicted scenes set in far-away harems and baths. The East was seen as exotic, decadent, erotic; however, these artists had managed to diffuse the inappropriate stigma attached to such subjects by generalizing the female form. The model was made unidentifiable in reality and seen only as an ideal; basically a three-dimensional, sculpted figure translated into a two-dimensional shape on a canvas.

Ingres specifically created various sensuous images of odalisques. In Odalisque with a Slave of 1842 (Figure 13) and The Turkish Bath (Figure 14) painted twenty years later, Ingres shows a reclining woman with both arms placed above her head, exposing her neck, breasts and stomach; the body is slightly contorted into an S-shape, one leg resting on top of the other. Her face seems to move away from the viewer; her eyes half-closed as if in a dreamlike state. Manet’s ink drawing, Odalisque (c. 1862-68, Figure 15), shows a woman in a similar reclining pose, one breast partially exposed. Her head rests on one hand, while she holds a scepter with the other. Her expression is one of aloofness and distance.

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72 Michael Fried points out that a statue, possibly a sleeping Venus or nymph, depicted in an engraving after Watteau’s Fêtes Vénitiennes (1718-19) as a possible prototype for the model’s pose; in “Manet’s Sources: Aspects of his Art 1859-1865” (1969) reprinted in Fried’s Manet’s Modernism, or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 43.

In *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume*, Manet seems to downplay the exotic eroticism associated with the odalisque type. For one, her gaze seems defiant: she looks at the viewer instead of projecting the dreamy, oblivious expression with which these women were traditionally depicted. She is attentive when most of the female exotic types are represented in a state of near-sleep. Second, as previously mentioned, the model is cross-dressed as a matador instead of clothed the Spanish dress of the sensual *maja*. Her masculine attire, however, does not detract from her feminine body. Instead of hiding her curves, the pants hug and showcase the legs; the sash across her waist cinches and accentuates it; the wispy, white, half-open shirt insinuates undress prior to the actual act. According to Carol Armstrong, Manet was therefore alluding to an after thought, the notion of undress, without actually laying it bare for the public—much like critics thought Goya had done with his *Clothed Maja*. By announcing the theme of masquerade through its title, Manet equated “Spanishness” with “that which is supplementary –added, put on and taken off, rather than fixed, essential and natural.”  

Although parallel to Goya’s work in some respects, the *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume* is suggestive rather than overt in its flirtatious and sensual nature. In the *Clothed Maja* (Figure 12) Goya, through his very loose and soft brushstrokes and his play of light and shadow, accentuates the voluptuous (and therefore sensual) curves of the *maja*. Conversely, Manet tries to reduce their impact by applying an almost uniform layer of color that shows only slight hints of light and shadow modulations. Manet does apply looser strokes on the plush red couch and the playful kitten on the right, adding texture.

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and movement to the painting and, thus, creating a contrast between the smoothly
rendered female form and the objects that surround her.

The fan, a common attribute of Manet’s female sitters, plays as important a role as
the costume. The fan was an indispensable component of an elegant woman’s toilette and
thereby became a signifier for all things feminine, whether for the Parisienne, the
Spaniard, the actress or the courtesan. In this painting, the fan restores the young lady’s
femininity, lost amidst the male Spanish costume. However, she does not hold the
accessory; it does not conceal her face or her gaze; and it does not flutter in her hands.
Therefore, it does not directly convey an emotion. The fact that the fan has been
grounded, could mean that she has deliberately put it down to engage in some other
activity; the art of seduction, perhaps.

When Goya placed a fan in the hands of his female figures it became either a non-
verbal communication object for the maja or a reflection of status for the petimetra—a
derogatory term for the ruling classes in reference to their emulation of French fashions
and manners, until even they succumbed to the charms of Spanish majismo. In various
plates for his Caprichos Goya presents young women dressed in black attire with a
mantilla partially veiling their faces, holding an open fan seemingly agitating the air;
whereas in paintings of the aristocracy, women and girls are shown holding a closed fan.
One such case is The Parasol (1777, Figure 16), in which a young woman dressed in
colorful French fashion sits outdoors with a puppy on her lap and a closed fan clasped
tightly in her hand. A young man, either her servant or cortejo, holds a parasol above her
head. In Goya’s paintings of reclining females, however, fans are absent from the scene.

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75 Dagmar Feghelm, I,Goya (Munich: Prestel, 2004), 57.
His portrait of the *Marchioness of Santa Cruz* (1805, **Figure 17**) was painted in the relaxed pose of Jacques-Louis David’s *Madame Recamier* (1800), yet shown in a frontal view: in one hand she holds a handkerchief; in the other, a lire-shaped guitar, identifying her as Erato, the muse of Love Poetry. Although it was fairly common practice to represent women as mythological figures, dressing them up in male attire was not. The only exception was when the sitter was an actress. Even so, the chances of her being depicted in her male persona were very slim.

Victorine Meurent, one of Manet’s favorite models, is also dressed in male attire in *Mlle. V. in the Costume of an Espada* (1862, **Figure 18**). The model seems to be standing against, almost floating in front of, a Spanish-themed backdrop. Borrowed from Goya’s *Tauromaquia* or *The Art of Bullfighting* (1815-1816),

76 the picador’s fight in the background is meant to suggest a setting. However, the perception of depth and perspective is askew. Although Manet clarified some of Goya’s compositional ambiguities, he did not adjust the scale of these figures to relate to that of Victorine. Manet is once more making allusions to the constructed nature of his work, calling attention to the artificial elements of the painting by reusing images of other artists into a pastiche for his background. Victorine is meant to look to the part and hold a pose as if performing a tableau.

Victorine does not seem to belong to her surroundings; not only because of the problems in perspective, but also because of her stance and attire. She wears a costume that appears to be reused by Manet’s models whenever he sees fit (see *Young Woman*

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76 The motifs are borrowed from two different prints, *La tauromaquia* (1815-16), No. 5: *El animoso moro Gazul es el primero que lanceó toros en regla* and no. 19: *Otra locura suya en la misma plaza.*
Reclining in Spanish Costume or Young Man Dressed as a Majo, Figure 19). Instead of wearing the lavish silk-and-gold embroidered traje de luces of a bullfighter, Victorine wears an outfit similar to the traje corto: the traditional country outfit, made up of straight trousers and a short jacket, which are usually gray, navy or black. She also wears slippers instead of the leather boots usually associated with the traje corto. In one hand, she holds a pink cape and in the other a sword or espada. It is evident that, again, Manet was providing a costume rather than seeking authenticity.

Female toreras had apparently existed in Spain since the seventeenth century. In most cases, however, women were actually cross-dressed men performing a female role during the performance. Historians, such as José Daza, have explained that eventually it was common practice for aristocratic young ladies to attend and even participate in bullfights prior to entering a convent to take their vows. The best known eighteenth-century torera was Nicolasa Escamilla, better known as La Pajuelera. Records exist for her performance at Madrid in 1776, yet there are no accurate depictions of what she looked like. The closest portrait is Goya’s etching number 22 of his Tauromaquia series (Figure 20). Her masculine attributes are emphasized through the caption that mentions she portrayed ‘virile valor.”

77 Countess d’Aulnoy mentioned in her Récit d’un voyage par Espagne (1691) the tale of a young Swedish count who was in love with the daughter of a Madrid goldsmith and how they both died trying to save each other from the bull at a ring. José María de Cossío mentioned in Los toros a female bullfighter, a farmer’s daughter, who fought before the king on horseback in a spectacle in Madrid on June 25, 1654. See Muriel Feiner, Women and the Bullring (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 7-9.
78 Diego Ruiz Morales, Jacobo Salgado y su descripción de la fiesta de los toros (Madrid: Unión de Bibliófilos Taurinos, 1962) speaks of such a performance held in the Plaza Mayor in 1683 to commemorate the visit of Charles, Prince of Wales, to Spain: “A ‘woman’ killed a bull with a dagger and as ‘she’ demurely bowed before the general applause, ‘she’ daintily removed her costume to reveal the fact that ‘she’ was really a ‘he;’” quoted in Feiner, 9.
During the early nineteenth century, it was Joseph Bonaparte who contributed to the survival of this art form. He organized a series of free public bullfights and even allowed women to participate in them. Most women, however, participated in small farces or mojigangas during the off-season. They were dressed in everything but the traditional traje de luces, usually donning costumes representative of different regions of Spain or even of foreign countries, usually of the Orient. In short, although women might be sharing the arena with men, they were certainly not able to perform on an equal footing with them.

To persuade the viewer of Victorine’s authenticity as a female espada, Manet would have needed to dress his model in a different costume. A typical Madrid costume worn by banderilleras during the nineteenth century was a white blouse with leg-of-mutton sleeves, long black sheath skirt, and white headscarf. Gustave Doré created an engraving of the female matador Teresa Bolsi (Figure 21) probably during his trip to Spain in the 1860s. Not much is known about her, other than she performed in 1874 with a cuadrilla of women. In his rendering of Bolsi, Doré depicts her wearing a flowing, ruffled dress with a montera or bullfighter’s hat in one hand, sword and cape in the other. The bull, which is missing in Manet’s painting of Victorine, is lying dead at Bolsi’s feet.

It was not until the 1880s when the Sevillian-born torera, Dolores Sánchez “La Fragosa,” refused to wear a skirt that some women began adopting the taleguilla trousers of the traje de luces worn by male matadors. Originally a seamstress, Sánchez dedicated herself entirely to the bulls after the warm reception from the public at various

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80 In August, 1811 a major taurine event was held to celebrate Napoleon’s birthday. During this event, Joseph allowed a young woman from Asturias, Teresa Alonso, to perform since precedents for female matadors existed; Ibid., 12.
81 Ibid., 19.
rings in Seville during 1885. Her presentation in Madrid took place on June 21, 1886, a valiant effort despite the fact she ended up in the infirmary at the end of the corrida.\textsuperscript{82}

In view of the fact that it was not common practice for women to perform during the nineteenth century, much less in male attire, we must perceive Victorine’s costume as a theatrical convention that points to the artificiality of the painting. If that is not the case, then we need to ask the question: did Manet mean for her to be in defiance of the social order? Dress codes had always existed, but at the end of the eighteenth century certain laws were created to guarantee more freedom of dress. On 8 Brumaire, Year II (29 October 1793), the French government issued a decree proclaiming that “…everyone is free to wear the garments or garb suitable to his or her sex that he or she pleases.”\textsuperscript{83} However, a police ordinance set forth on 16 Brumaire, Year IX (7 November 1800) made it clear that transvestism was not permitted by explicitly forbidding Parisian women to wear trousers without special dispensation.\textsuperscript{84}

Nonetheless, Manet might have tried to imply the status of the sitter as a paid model and therefore an employed woman. By the second half of the nineteenth century, employed women began adopting an “alternative dress.” This style incorporated items from men’s clothing, such as ties, hats, suit jackets, waistcoats, and shirts, and combined them with fashionable female clothing. As Charles Blanc recalls, “We have had occasion to notice that women excel in making use in their costumes of all that recalls masculine

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., 20.
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid.
habiliments. They can charm us as much in strong boots as in satin shoes."  

The style, however, excluded the use of trousers probably because trousers, when worn by women, constituted a greater symbolic challenge to the system than most middle-class women were prepared to make. So, why then did Manet dress Victorine in full male attire?

Manet is playing once again with the conventions of identity, as well as pointing to the constructed nature of his painting. Victorine is an ambiguous figure performing a role of someone other than herself. Literary and theater tradition were not adverse to this type of role-playing. If one recalls, women were not permitted to perform in the theatre during the Renaissance and Baroque periods. However, by the eighteenth century, at least in Britain, female actresses dominated the stage and performed the roles originally meant for male actors (Shakespeare’s comedies allowed for cross-dressing). For his novel, *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, Gautier had originally set out to write a historical romance based on the life of seventeenth-century French opera star Julie d’Aubigny. She was said to be a first-rate swordswoman and often performed fencing duels disguised as a man. Despite wearing male clothing, she did not conceal her gender.

By cross-dressing his female models in bullfighting attire, Manet is pointing to performance once again, and offering a different take on the idea of the Spanish *femme fatale* presented by Mérimée almost two decades earlier with his introduction of *Carmen* into French society. Victorine’s identity is twofold, an idea emphasized by the attire she wears. Her curves have been emphasized by the skin-tight pants she wears as well as by

87 *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris*, vol. 3 (Paris : Rozet, 1767), 350-52.
the contrast in color in the different articles of clothing. Her body is therefore revealed (as feminine) by her (masculine) attire.

If one thinks of the corrida or bullfight as a theatre performance, one can accept the interchangeability of male/female roles. Julian Pitt-Rivers has argued that the matador symbolizes a female role in the first tercio or act, while in the third act (tercio de la muerte) he achieves a super-masculine embodiment, assuming the phallic values of the bull which he then transfers to the public. In *Mlle. V. in the Costume of an Espada*, Victorine takes on both roles, since she is a female performing as a male. There are no accessories that point to her femininity other than her actual body. In the following section, we shall discuss how Manet covers the body, yet calls attention to it by using the accessories available to fashionable women of the time.

**Suggestive Concealment: Morisot as Spanish Maja**

In his portraits of Berthe Morisot, Manet explores their relationship not through the costume she wears, but through the accessories he places in her hands and on her body. Once again, Manet relies on the use of Spanish motifs to create a persona for his sitter. In these portraits, Morisot is rebellious and proud, while remaining loyal to a moral code or rules of propriety prescribed by society, much like the Spanish counterpart of the *maja* she is supposed to embody. According to Kessler, the friendship between Manet and Berthe Morisot conformed to social conventions, yet his paintings of her “gradually and systematically trouble the borders of both propriety and representation. For these

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images are marked by a language of excess that effaces as much as it depicts Morisot, masking her beneath layers of paint, veils and fans.” 89

Veils and fans had always been traditionally linked to Spain. They were pervasive and present even at the corridas. In his book, Tipos y sainetillos del planeta de los toros, Antonio Díaz-Cabañete, describes the metamorphosis of the bullfight aficionado: “Women in the bullring are not now what they once were. A woman at the bullfights used to sit in the stands draped in a mantilla with a constant look of fear on her face, a stifled shriek of horror in her throat, a fan covering her deep, dark eyes, and her body trembling.” 90 Women have always been a source of motivation for the toreros, their muse if you will. They help provide a note of ethics, charm, taste, refinement, and aesthetics to such an event.

Bullfighting has always been an activity in which style counts almost as much as substance: the object is not simply to deceive and kill a bull, but to look good while doing it. Since bullfighting was originally practiced by aristocratic horsemen, great emphasis was placed on proper dress, behavior and gestures. As bullfighting evolved into a practice taken up by men who were not necessarily in a knightly order, dress and manners changed as well. Two different factions emerged: the majos and the petimetres. The latter was to be found mostly amongst the nobility or the non-aristocratic wealthy. Their goal was to imitate France by polishing their speech, dress, mannerisms and attitudes; yet, essentially, the men became effeminate versions of themselves. The majos, on the other

90 Antonio Díaz Cabañete, Tipos y sainetillos del planeta de los toros (Madrid: Prensa Española, 1973); quoted in Feiner, 332.
hand, created a highly distinct style: a mixture of aggressiveness, vulgarity and insolence that reaffirmed Spanish traditional values.\footnote{Martín Gaite, \textit{Usos amorosos}, 76-77.}

\textit{Majismo} can be defined as the personal presentation of style for both men and women of the lower classes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Spain. It was characterized by a bold, self-assured, and flippant manner of dressing, walking and talking, while reaffirming traditional values.\footnote{Mitchell, \textit{Blood Sport}, 56-57.} The style eventually evolved and trickled not down, but up towards the high classes of Spain. Goya’s painting, \textit{Portrait of Isabel Porcel} (1804-1805, \textbf{Figure 22}) is the epitome of a \textit{maja}, “full of sensuality, vitality, beauty and grandezza.”\footnote{Feghelm, \textit{I, Goya}, 74.} The mantilla worn by the wife of the Castilian Consul indicates the prevalence of the \textit{maja} dress even in the highest social circles.

Between 1868 and 1874, Manet painted various portraits of Berthe Morisot in which he channeled this style. Some of these portraits have an air of play, concealment, and distance. At times, Morisot’s face is partially veiled and her body draped in black similar to the \textit{majas} found in Goya’s etchings and paintings. Most portraits of Morisot are private works. The intimacy reflected in such small-scale works has generated a number of assumptions about the relationship between the two painters.

In \textit{Young woman with a pink shoe} (c.1868-1872, \textbf{Figure 23}), he seems to have been inspired by Goya’s portrait of the Duchess of Alba (1799, \textbf{Figure 24}). It is important to note that María del Pilar Teresa Cayetana, Duchess of Alba, had adopted \textit{majismo}, rejecting courtly fashion, as a way to differentiate herself from the middle class.
and from other members of the aristocracy. A reason why she might have done this was her passion for the bullfight, a passion shared with her portraitist, Goya. Dressed mostly in black, the Duchess is set off against an outdoors-inspired backdrop. A sheer, lace mantilla adorns her head and drapes over her shoulders, revealing a golden bodice and embellished sleeves. A crimson sash with flecks of gold at the ends accentuates her waist. The light colored, high-heeled shoes, which peek out from underneath her dress, also have gold accents. With the left hand placed haughtily on her hip, she looks straight out at the viewer while pointing to the ground with her right hand. On the sand, the words sólo Goya (“only Goya”) are traced. The inscription, however, is not meant for the viewer’s eyes, only for those of the Duchess. Her ring-laden fingers, as well as her jewel-clad foot, are both directed at Goya’s name suggesting the intimate nature of the portrait. Whatever their relationship might have been, by portraying the Duchess of Alba as a maja, Goya stressed her nature: fickle and fleeting, her favors as lasting as the writing on the ground.

Morisot’s stance is similar (Figure 23). She is standing in front of a chair dressed completely in black. The only other color in her attire is a crimson accessory in her hair and the delicate pink shoe that she extends forward from underneath her skirt. Her left hand is placed above her chest, the gesture suggesting that she is adjusting the black ribbon around her neck. As she does so, the black sheath covering her arms drops down

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94 Mitchell, 65. See also Martín Gaite, 106-109.
95 Muriel Feiner states that the Duchess of Alba was a notable aficionado and a generous patron to her favorite matadors, having given one of them, José Romero, a traje de luces. Romero posed for Goya in this suit; in Feiner, 9.
96 Feghelm, I,Goya, 81.
and slightly exposes her forearm, almost to her elbow. Her dark eyes, gazing outwards toward the viewer, and her red lips are set off against the pale color of her skin.

The execution of the portrait, however, seems unfinished and sketch-like. Although Manet took some care in defining Morisot’s face, the setting is ambiguous. If we take the blue on the background to be the sky, we could assume she is partially indoors, on a balcony perhaps. Just as the ambiguous nature of Manet’s relationship with Morisot, nothing is completely defined; things are simply hinted at. If she were on a balcony, Morisot would seem to be “available and desirable, while proper.”

The connotation associated with women on balconies was that of procurement and prostitutes, a notion that Goya exploited in some of his paintings. However, Morisot is placed inside the threshold, closer to the private space rather than public, thus limiting the presumed availability of the sitter.

If Manet is indeed quoting Goya’s portrait of the Duchess of Alba, the seductive nature of the picture is implied through the subject: Goya and the Duchess of Alba were purportedly having an affair at the time, hence his signature at her feet. Whether or not the relationship between Goya and the Duchess had been more than platonic, one must keep in mind that the rules of etiquette for married and widowed women of the Spanish aristocracy were not as strict as in other courts. Therefore, it was perfectly acceptable for a noblewoman to interact more intimately with her subordinates and friends. In the case of Manet and Morisot, though they were both on equal standing socially, some distance

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and decorum needed to be maintained since he was married man and she was a single lady.

According to Anne Higonnet, this painting plays traditional games: “Morisot adopts the feminine stance of a coy model vis-à-vis Manet’s role as the flirtatious masculine painter: one pink-shod foot advances invitingly from Morisot’s black dress.” Nonetheless, she seems to self-assuredly reveal a part of her body, her foot, which should have been covered. Changes in fashion had made it impossible to catch even a glimpse of women’s feet since dresses completely enclosed them, thereby making the foot the object of an almost fanatical cult. As Ly’onnell explains, “a clever coquette allows you to see only the tip of a dainty foot that attracts you…to the point of giving you an immoderate desire to see what is concealed.” A woman did not need to show a lot in order to suggest more. Morisot’s confident gaze seems to demonstrate that she was aware of her actions.

In the Musée d’Orsay’s version of Berthe Morisot with a Fan (1872, Figure 25), Morisot’s attire closely resembles the clothes worn in her portrait with pink shoes: black dress, low décolletage, sheer veil on her shoulders, and a black ribbon on her neck. Once again, she shows off her pinks shoes and white stockings: having crossed one leg on top of the other, the dress rides up revealing her right leg all the way to the calf as well as her left foot and ankle. Her right arm is not entirely exposed, although flesh tones intertwine with the black of her sheath to suggest the sheer effect of the fabric on her

101 Perrot, 105.
103 According to Anne Higonnet, pink slippers and stockings were Morisot’s trademark. She hated the laced black boots decreed for day wear; in Higonnet, 92.
skin. Her left forearm is once again bare, as she daintily holds the sticks to a black fan. Her face is hidden behind the leaf of this unfurled fan, creating a virtual mask, which in turn becomes a headdress once the black of the fan merges with the black of her hair. Morisot is therefore protected from Manet and the viewer by a barrier: the fan as mask.

As a nod to Spanish art history, Manet links this portrait of Morisot to Goya once again, this time through one of the Spanish painter’s etchings from his *Caprichos*: plate 15, *Bellos Consejos* (1799, Figure 26). In the etching, an old woman—most likely a procuress—offers advice in matters of seduction to an innocent charge, while taking a break from their promenade. The young woman—eyes cast downwards and to the side, partially obscured by the shadow cast by her mantilla—is dressed up for a game of flirtation and seduction: a black lace mantilla covers her head and shoulders, revealing a jewel-adorned white bodice that accentuates her bosom; her long black skirt with fringe at the bottom exposes the tip of one of her shoes. She also wears gloves and holds an unfurled fan near her face. In the etching, however, the fan does not block the woman’s face.

Marni Kessler brings up a good point when she stresses the fact that the fan not only masks Morisot’s identity but also frees her image from the constraints of bourgeois respectability: Her face is hidden—although her identity is not completely veiled since the title of the work reveals the sitter’s name—hence giving the work a semblance of propriety despite the exposure of her ankle; yet, by using a fan as her mask, Morisot is

104 Ibid., 93.
105 Manet also isolated this seated figure in his 1868 etching *Exotic Flower (Woman in a Mantilla)*. This work and its comparison to Goya is noted in Tinterow and Lacambre, 429.
106 Kessler, 480.
free to engage in an act of seduction via the language of the fan.\textsuperscript{107} During the eighteenth century, publications and games were circulating in Spain to instruct the public in the ways of the language of the fan.\textsuperscript{108} Finally, in 1830 J.V. Duvelleroy published \textit{Le language de l’éventail}. Following the traditions described by Duvelleroy and criticized by others like Blanc, Manet might have posed Morisot in a way that reflects the tension between both parties. The fan appears to forbid contact between them by acting as barrier, limiting vision and sounds; yet it might give them the courage to engage in playful games of coquetry and flirtation.

Once more, the theme seems to be one of disclosure or lack thereof; words are not spoken, gazes are not met. With her eye just barely visible through the leaf, Morisot gives the impression that she can see Manet better than he can see her. The fan serves not only as ornament, indispensable component of an elegant woman’s toilette, but also as a playful toy, a loaded object of communication, and as a metaphorical weapon: “for a woman who flirts, it is the interpreter of her thoughts, the translator of her dreams, when it is not, indeed, the bearer of her words.”\textsuperscript{109} By exploring the cultural function of the fan during Manet’s time, one comes to understand that the veiling effects in the Morisot portraits eroticize even as they attempt to cover the female model. As Charles Blanc once

\textsuperscript{107} Nancy Armstrong, \textit{Fans in Spain} (London: Philip Wilson, 2004), 64: “It seems generally accepted that the first person to organize a language of the fan was a Spaniard by the name of Fenella, who published (in Spanish) 50 directions on how to converse with the fan. Later, translated into German by Frau Bartholomäus, and finally Duvelleroy of Paris translated it into English and made it available in small cards.”

\textsuperscript{108} For information on the fashions of the eighteenth century in Spain see Antonio Rodríguez, \textit{Colección general de los trajes que en la actualidad se usan en España, principiada en el año 1801} (Madrid: Visor, 1982). In 1801, the “General Collection of Spanish Dress According to its Present Use” began to be published in small booklets composed of eight prints each. The plates were designed by Antonio Rodríguez (1756-1823) and etched by José Vázquez (1768-1804). See also Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, \textit{Trajes de España, tanto antiguos como modernos}, 1777 (Madrid: Turner, 1981).

said of the fan, “This flexible curtain, in turn discloses all that is apparently hidden, conceals all that is apparently exposed.” With her signature black apparel and her fan demanding our attention here, Morisot is at once both seen and unseen: She offers herself for perusal, as was expected in a typical portrait, but she simultaneously denies the viewers a good look.

111 Lehmbeck, 200.
Conclusion

By examining a small portion of Manet’s portraits, we have seen how these works are a reflection of the artist’s ideas and how reality and artifice are intertwined in his art. His paintings are filled with dual elements: art-historical references to past masters/contemporary subjects of the *vie moderne*, masculine/feminine, hidden/exposed, veracity (real)/verisimilitude (staged). All these components come together and encompass Manet’s Realism: one that continuously balances objectivity and subjectivity, the realities of contemporary life and the constructed nature of picture-making.\(^{112}\)

In this analysis I have discussed the various ways in which Manet utilized motifs borrowed from eighteenth-century Spanish master, Francisco de Goya, in order to create what I originally termed Manet’s artificial *tableaux vivants*. I have contextualized the influence of Spanish painting in French culture in an effort to explain why Manet chose Spanish subjects to explore his ideas on the constructed picture. In the process, I attempted to introduce topics on contemporary expectations of beauty, the role of the female gaze, and other considerations of the complexities of femininity, as well as the

\(^{112}\) Ibid., 221.
notion of identity and class. However, these ideas should be discussed in greater detail to provide a better understanding of the works in terms of their social context.
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FIGURES
Figure 1 Anonymous, *French Artist Crying over the Return of Artworks in 1815, 19th century*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Estampes, Paris.

Figure 2 Eugène Delacroix, *Méphistophélès dans les airs*, illustration for Goethe’s *Faust*, 1828. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 4 Édouard Manet, *The Espada* or *Mlle Victorine in the Costume of an Espada*, 1862. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Figure 5 Édouard Manet, *Absinthe Drinker*, 1858-59. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen

Figure 6 Édouard Manet, *Spanish Singer*, 1860. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Figure 7 Édouard Manet, *Lola de Valence*, 1863. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
Figure 8 Édouard Manet, *Lola de Valence*, 1862-63; reworked after 1867. Musée d’Orsay, Paris.
Figure 9 Gustave Courbet, *Adela Guerrero*, 1851. Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.

Figure 10 Édouard Manet, *The Spanish Ballet*, 1862. The Philips Collection, Washington, DC.
Figure 11 Édouard Manet, *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume*, 1862-63. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven.
Figure 12 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Clothed Maja*, c.1803-1806. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

Figure 13 Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres, *Odalisque with a Slave*, 1842, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.
Figure 14 Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres, *The Turkish Bath*, 1862. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Figure 15 Édouard Manet, *Odalisque*, ca. 1862-68. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Figure 16 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *The Parasol*, 1777. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Figure 17 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *The Marchioness of Santa Cruz*, 1805. Museo del Prado, Madrid.
Figure 18 Édouard Manet, *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada*, 1862. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Figure 19 Édouard Manet, *Young Man dressed as a Majo*, 1863. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Figure 20 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *La Tauromaquia*, No. 22: *Valor varonil de la célebre Pajuelera en la Plaza de Zaragoza*, 1815-1816. Pomona College Museum of Art, Claremont.

Figure 21 Gustave Doré, *Teresa Bolsí, torera andalouse*, 1862.
Figure 22 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Portrait of Isabel Porcel*, 1804-05. National Gallery, London.
Figure 23 Édouard Manet, *Young Woman with a Pink Shoe*, ca. 1868-1872. Hiroshima Museum of Art, Japan.
Figure 24 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Duchess of Alba*, 1799. The Hispanic Society of America, New York.
Figure 25 Édouard Manet, *Berthe Morisot with a Fan*, 1872. Musée d’Orsay, Paris.
Figure 26 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Los Caprichos, No. 15: Bellos Consejos*, 1799. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York