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By

Heather Marie Hoyle

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ABSTRACT

THE CHANGING IMAGES OF MADAME APOLLONIE SABATIER: EMBLEMS OF SEXUALITÉ, ÉGALITÉ, FIDÉLITÉ, AND FRATERNITÉ

By

Heather Marie Hoyle

The nineteenth-century courtesan Madame Apollonie Sabatier was portrayed numerous times in artworks by Auguste Blanchard, Vincent Vidal, Jean-Baptiste Clésinger, Antoine Barye, Charles Jalabert, Gustave Ricard, Ernest Meissonier, and Gustave Courbet. Images of Sabatier changed over time according to her station in life. During her career as an artist's model, images of Sabatier are dedicated to her beauty and sexuality. The intent behind her portrayals shifted after she became the mistress of Alfred Mosselman. By this time, she was a famous courtesan whose images were icons of sexuality and desirability. The depictions change yet again after she became a salon hostess. These portraits are not dedicated to the visually pleasing Apollonie Sabatier, but to a venerated leader of the Parisian art world. The apex of this homage is Madame Sabatier's appearance in Courbet's *The Artist's Studio: A real allegory of a seven-year phase in my artistic and moral life*.

To my parents Jon and Jan Hoyle

and to my grandmother Eleanor Hoyle

who gave me the gift of education and the love of learning,

and also to Larry Zimmerman

who listened to my "art historical rants."

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 8 Jean-Baptiste Clésinger
La Femme piquée par un serpent, Salon of 1847
Also known as: *La Volupté*
Marble
Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Figure 9 Jean-Baptiste Clésinger
Bust of Madame Sabatier, Salon of 1847
Marble
Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Figure 10 Jean-Baptiste Clésinger
Bacchante couchée, 1847
Marble
Petit Palais, Paris

Figure 11 Eugène Delacroix
Louis d'Orléans Showing His Mistress, 1825-26
Oil on canvas
Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, Spain

Figure 12 Antoine Barye
Portrait of Madame Sabatier
Pencil on paper
Private Collection

Figure 13 Charles Jalabert
Portrait of Madame Sabatier, c. 1847,48-1860
Also known as: *Rêverie*
Pencil on paper
Private Collection

Figure 14 Sir Joshua Reynolds
Mrs. Bower, 1755-57
Untraced

Figure 15 Rosalba Carriera
Young Lady with a Parrot, c. 1730
Pastel, 59.8 x 50 cm
Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago

Figure 16 Gustave Courbet
Woman with a Parrot, 1866
Oil on canvas, 129.5 x 195.6 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City

Figure 17 Eugène Delacroix
Woman with a Parrot, 1827
Oil on canvas
Musée des Beaux-arts, Lyons

Figure 18 Edouard Manet
Woman with a Parrot, 1866
Oil on canvas, 185 x 132 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City

Figure 19 Gustave Ricard
Portrait of Madame Sabatier, Salon of 1851
Also known as: *Dame au petit chien*
Oil on canvas
Private Collection

Figure 20 Rembrandt
Woman with a Lap Dog, c. 1662
Oil on canvas, 80.5 x 64 cm
Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto

Figure 21 Sir Joshua Reynolds
Caroline, Duchess of Marlborough, 1759-62
Trustees of the Bedford Estates at Woburn Abbey

Figure 22 Titian
Eleonora Gonzaga della Rovere
Canvas, 114 x 103 cm
Uffizi Gallery, Florence

Figure 23 Ernest Meissonier
Portrait of Madame Sabatier, c. 1853
Oil
Private Collection

Figure 24 Ernest Meissonier
Portrait of Madame Sabatier, c. 1853
Oil
Private Collection

Figure 25 Ernest Meissonier
Portrait of Madame Sabatier, c. 1853
Private Collection

Figure 26 Ernest Meissonier
"In the Shade of a Grove Sings a Young Poet," 1852
Panel, 18.4 x 21.7 cm
The Wallace Collection, London

Figure 27 Gustave Courbet
The Painter's Studio: A real allegory summing up seven years of my artistic life, 1855
Oil on canvas, 3.59 x 5.98 m
Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Figure 28 Henri Valentin
Intérieur d'un atelier d'artiste au XIXe siècle, 1849
Engraving
Private Collection

Figure 29 Gustave Courbet
Portrait of François Sabatier, c. 1857
Drawing
Musée Fabre, Montpellier

Figure 30 Alfred de Dreux
Portrait of Alfred Mosselman, 1848
Musée du Petit Palais, Paris

Figure 31 Alfred de Dreux
Portrait of Alfred Mosselman, 1837

Figure 32 Gustave Ricard
Portrait of Caroline Ungher-Sabatier, 1865
Musée Fabre, Montpellier

Figure 33 Quillenbois
Caricature of *"The Artist's Studio"*
L'Illustration, July 21, 1855

INTRODUCTION

While the majority of nineteenth-century courtesans bejeweled themselves in diamonds, emeralds and rubies, Madame Apollonie Sabatier bedecked her drawing room in painters, musicians, writers and poets. Each Sunday at her home in Bréda, she held a salon attracting such famous and infamous figures as Théophile Gautier, Charles Baudelaire, Ernest Feydeau, Gustave Flaubert, the Goncourt brothers, Hector Berlioz, Eugène Delacroix, Maxime Du Camp and Ernest Reyer to name a few. At these intellectual gatherings, Gautier declared that she should be called "La Présidente," an esteemed moniker. In addition, she herself was also a Salon submitting artist, another detail that would have certainly added to the mutual feelings of fraternity and empathy at her salon.

Artists were fascinated by this beguiling courtesan. Auguste Blanchard, Vincent Vidal, Jean-Baptiste Clésinger, Antoine Barye, Charles Jalabert, Gustave Ricard, Ernest Meissonier, and Gustave Courbet captured her visage via sculpture and painting. The portrayal of courtesans in art is not unusual; however, the number of portraits is noteworthy. Thus as an art historian, I have to inquire why Madame Sabatier was such a popular subject. Is it a result of the male artist's fascination with an attractive woman?

The answer to this query is yes and no. The early works of Sabatier are dedicated to her beauty and sexuality. She served as an artist's model posing so that artists could capture her exquisite features. In these early images, Apollonie was indiscernible from the thousands of other ambitious models desiring to elevate themselves. Like all models, she was only a face and a body to be depicted. Her portrayals changed after she became the mistress of Alfred Mosselman. By this time, she had become a famous courtesan whose image became an icon of sexuality and desirability. Once she is established in her salon, the depictions change yet again. The title La Présidente demonstrates that her salon circle heeded her with respect that went beyond social politeness. This elevation is clearly seen in Sabatier's later portraits. These portraits are not dedicated to the visually pleasing Apollonie Sabatier, but to La Présidente: a woman with superior intelligence and a venerated position in the Parisian artistic world.

The apex of this homage is Madame Sabatier's appearance in Courbet's *The Artist's Studio: A real allegory of a seven-year phase in my artistic and moral life* (1855). *The Artist's Studio* is Courbet's visual manifesto declaring his artistic, social and political ideologies. For some time, Courbet scholars have debated the identity of the figures represented in the painting; more specific to my thesis, the identity of the couple on the right-hand side. Some scholars have identified the couple in front of Baudelaire as Madame and Monsieur François Sabatier: art collectors, friends of Courbet, and ideological counterparts. However, I will demonstrate that this is Madame Apollonie Sabatier, and not Madame François Sabatier.[1] Although many art historians have identified this woman as Apollonie Sabatier, they have not interpreted her presence in relation to the ideologies depicted in the painting aside from her role as an art collector.

As a result of the La Présidente's presence in Courbet's *The Artist's Studio*, she serves as an example of social change, which was slowly beginning to germinate at this time in France. However, this social change did not develop in mainstream society, but on the periphery. The social circles, which La Présidente inhabited, challenged societal norms. The writers, poets and artists were not always a part of conventional society; their ideas were silenced and controlled through censorship. In La Présidente's drawing room, the ideas of the artistic world could bloom as a result of Sabatier's cultivation. The images of Sabatier record a progression from a young model seen as "just another pretty face," to famous courtesan, to esteemed leader of the artistic world.

CHAPTER 1

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF AGLAÉ-JOSÉPHINE SAVATIER

Aglaé-Joséphine Savatier was born on April 7, 1822 in Mézières, France. Her mother was Lea-Marguerite Martin, a seamstress for the family of Victome Harmand d'Abancourt. Mademoiselle Martin was seduced by the Victome and a pregnancy and birth of a daughter resulted. This was unfortunate for the Victome as he was already married and had elaborate political ambitions. The Victome convinced André Savatier, an officer in the 47th Infantry Regiment, to recognize the child as his own. The child was baptized soon after her birth as Aglaé-Joséphine. The Savatier family moved to Paris when she was three years old, a momentous move that would transform her. Aglaé-Joséphine's cultural alteration took place in her early teens; the principal of the pensionnat noticed that she had an enchanting singing voice and admitted her into the school for voice lessons at a reduced tuition.[2]

During her life, Aglaé-Joséphine Savatier changed her name to mark momentous events in her life. She claimed throughout her life that her parents named her "Apollonie" at the time of her birth, but the registrar refused this "pagan" name because it was not a

saint's name. Once she was on her own, she discarded the cumbersome Aglaé-Joséphine Savatier in lieu of Madame Apollonie Sabatier to sound more regal.[3]

Like so many artists, Alfred Mosselman, a Belgian ex-diplomat and industrialist, also took notice of Apollonie. According to various accounts, Mosselman met Apollonie in 1841 although the exact details of the meeting differ. Billy iterates that Mosselman saw Apollonie singing at a concert and was enthralled by her beauty. He vowed at that very moment that she would become his mistress.[4] In his version, Léon Séché believes the pair met at the Hôtel Pimodan. Mosselman was looking out the window at his friend Boissard's apartment and caught the eye of Apollonie walking back from the pool with friends. The gentlemen invited the ladies up and eventually in 1846 Mosselman and Apollonie became lovers.[5] Thus began Apollonie's life as a courtesan.

Mosselman was very indulgent with his new mistress. Instead of giving her furs and jewels, he lavished on her gifts of the artwork of Boucher, Rosalba Carriera, Karel du Jardin, Barye, Falconet, Célestin Nanteuil to name a few. He installed her in an apartment on rue Frochot in the Bréda quarter of Paris at the foot of Montmarte. This area of Paris was known at this time as "New Athens": home to artists, bohemians, the avant garde and courtesans.

In 1846, Alfred Mosselman invited several of his artistic friends over to Apollonie's for Sunday dinner. It was such a success that the group decided to meet every Sunday to dine and to discuss a wide variety of topics from the mundane to the most theoretical. From that moment until Apollonie moved from rue Frochot such luminaries as art critic and poet Théophile Gautier, artists Charles Jalabert, Ernest Meissonier, Gustave Ricard, Eugène Delacroix, musician Ernest Reyer, composer Hector Berlioz,

writer Maxime Du Camp and Gustave Flaubert and poet Charles Baudelaire often attended the salon.[6] During the salon, Apollonie would pass around a notebook, *album amicorum* as Thierry Savatier deems it, to her friends as a creative outlet. Gautier, Jalabert and Ricard would sketch and Reyer would write poems on its many pages. According to Ziegler, a total of three notebooks were produced at the salon.[7] Unfortunately much of their contents have been lost.

The attendees of Apollonie Sabatier's salon perceived her differently from other women. According to André Billy, men only admitted women into their salons who could speak with authority; otherwise men preferred that they didn't attend.[8] Therefore it was an honor that these men decided to hold their salon at Apollonie's home. According to the gentlemen that attended, Apollonie was able to generate lively conversation concerning a wide variety of topics including those that involved extensive knowledge and depth. Commentaries from Apollonie's salon attendees provide interesting insight into how they perceived her; the accolades are endless. Ernest Meissonier once wrote: "Elle [Apollonie] avait le grand talent de grouper autour d'elle des hommes éminents et de constituer un salon où l'on venait avec un plaisir extreme. Mature admirablement organisée, apte à tout..."[9] Théophile Gautier writes:

> Elle se montre supérieure aux autres femmes parce qu'elle est mieux faite que plupart d'entre elles, ensuite parce que, contrairement aux habitudes des personnes de son sexe, elle n'exige pas qu'on lui fasse la cour et permet aux hommes de parler devant elle des chose les plus sérieuses et les plus abstraites.[10]

Maxime Du Camp wrote in the introduction to *Émaux et camées*, a book of poetry by Gautier, that Apollonie had an "intelligence rare,"[11] and while speaking of Apollonie's salon, Ernest Feydeau writes: "Nous y vivions en bons camarades, comme si nous avions

tous été du meme sexe."[12] There is a consensus that Apollonie Sabatier was intelligent and considered by the salon attendees to be on equal ground with them. According to Charles Bernheimer, men in the nineteenth century characterized intelligent females with either masculine or androgynous characteristics.[13] It's obvious in the quotation by Feydeau that this is how they characterized Apollonie. Further proof of this is shown in the title that was bestowed upon Apollonie; Gautier declared that she should be named "La Présidente" of the salon.[14] The rest of the gentlemen attending the salon followed Gautier's led and so renamed Apollonie. Her new title was proof of the men's respect for her. They are playing tribute to Apollonie's aptitude and showing their admiration of her exceptional qualities via the honorary title typically reserved for men.

La Présidente's intelligence was not the only element that helped her transcend the negative characteristics commonly associated with women in the nineteenth century. Her station in life as a courtesan is the main factor that put her at the same level as her male counterparts. Simone de Beauvoir wrote that a courtesan's life is "a situation almost equivalent to that of a man...free in behavior and conversation." She went on to say that courtesans also have "the rarest intellectual liberty."[15] In an anecdote to further this point, the courtesan Esther Guimond was asked her profession by passport officials at a border. She told the official that she was "a woman of independent means." The official asked for clarification and she replied that she was a courtesan.[16] Susan Griffin in her book entitled *The Book of the Courtesans* explains that in the world of sexual commerce there is a hierarchy much like the class divisions in society. Courtesans are at the highest class in the hierarchy and were more independent than their lower class sisters.[17]

As a result of Madame Sabatier's position as a courtesan, she was afforded opportunities that were not always available to women of bourgeois society, one of which was embarking on a career as an artist. Sabatier was taught by her artist friend Ernest Meissonier. Meissonier once wrote: "Man should educate woman, and form her nature from the very onset. Every creature changes and modifies according to the care bestowed on it." [18] Apollonie did change as a result of Meissonier's artistic education. She developed into an artist with a career that carried economic potential.

Mosselman ended his relationship with Sabatier in the early 1860s. While this event ended an era, it became the agent that forced her to focus on her career as an artist. The life of a courtesan afforded Sabatier a great deal of independence; however after the cessation of her relationship with Mosselman, she was truly free. Although she could not afford the extravagances that she had become accustomed to, she had the priceless opportunity to forge her own path as an artist. Instead of supporting herself by modeling, she endeavored to earn a living via painting and repairing miniatures.[19] This detail provides an interesting glimpse into Sabatier's psyche. She saw the male artists at her salon earn a living through art, and probably reasoned that she could do it also; it seems that she didn't view herself differently from her male counterparts.

The freedom Sabatier drew from her life as a courtesan becomes quite clear when she is compared to other female artists of the nineteenth century. Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock in their book *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* write: "Such occupation [artistic production] might be pursued in the strict seclusion of the home to which custom and public sentiment consigned the fair student."[20] According to Parker and Pollock, women artists from proper families did not have the freedom to practice

their art as men did due to cultural restrictions concerning the proper roles of women. An excellent case study of cultural restrictions in respect to female artists can be seen in a brief study of the Morisot sisters. As young unmarried women, the Morisots trained as artists. In their training, the sisters showed great promise as painters and this worried their teacher Guichard. He wrote their mother a letter describing his trepidation. "Your daughters have such inclinations that my teaching will not give them merely the talent of pleasing; they will become painters. Do you know what this means? In your environment... this will be a revolution, if not a catastrophe."[21] The Morisot sisters came from a *haute-bourgeois* family, in which young women were expected to marry and have children and not embark on artistic careers. When Edme Morisot was married, she was forced to quit painting, and her sister Berthe remained unmarried for some time due to her commitment to her painting career. Both women expressed their distaste with these cultural limitations. In a series of letters to one another, Edme described her longings to paint and Berthe expresses her desires to be loved by a man.[22] Neither sister felt entirely happy or complete with the decisions forced upon them by societal norms. However as we have seen with Sabatier, she did not suffer from these limitations. As a result of her independence via her life as a courtesan she was outside such restrictions. She was not expected to marry or raise a family as the Morisot sisters were. She was free to pursue her painting. Her compatriots and society in general did not view her as a mainstream nineteenth-century woman; therefore she was not restricted as one would be.

La Présidente did become an accomplished miniature painter and successfully entered her work into two Salons.[23] In the Salon of 1861, she exhibited four miniatures: *Portrait de Mlle Marie L, Portrait de Jeanne F, Portrait de A.F.* and *Portrait de l'auteur*

(Figure 1).[24] She also exhibited three miniatures at the Salon des Refusés in 1863 along with such infamous artists as Pissarro, Fantin-Latour, Manet, Whistler and Bracquemond.[25] The Salon des Refusés was also held in 1864, but Sabatier did not exhibit because she was accepted into the official Salon. There she showcased two miniatures in oil.[26] Both Gautier and Maxime Du Camp celebrated her work in these exhibitions. Sabatier pursued her artistic endeavors into her twilight years; she had a studio at her home in Neuilly where she died.[27] Her teacher Meissonier was successful in his endeavor; he helped nurture Sabatier into an artist which eventually brought her critical recognition.

CHAPTER 2

LA PARISIENNE MODEL: HOMAGE TO BEAUTY

Aglaé-Joséphine was one among thousands of young, ambitious women in Paris desiring a better life. Whether this life consisted of riches, fame, glory, status, or cultural enlightenment is certainly individualistic, but one attribute remained clear: some of these women would do almost anything to achieve their goals. These unmarried women were dubbed "les parisiennes." In his article entitled "In republican Paris" Theodore Child gives the definition for the parisienne type. He defines:

> These women made a study of elegance and a profession of beautiful appearance more complete and more intelligent, perhaps, than any of the daughters of Eve who preceded them on the face of the earth... The secret of this *chic* lies partly in the particular genius of the parisienne, and partly in unfailing application, and in the striving after absolute elegance and fullness of pleasurable life in conditions of material beauty.[28]

Parisiennes aspired to be clothed in the most stylish attire and to live in elegant accommodations, and according to Child this type used her intelligence and cunning to ascertain this lifestyle. Reading between the lines we know that these parisiennes often

used sexuality to obtain their ambitions and satisfy their tastes for luxury from wealthy men.

Many men would take notice of Aglaé-Joséphine's parisienne ambition and beauty. As she matured, it was quickly noted by many how beautiful she was especially by artists. Jean Ziegler claims that Aglaé-Joséphine was an artist's model for such artists as Vidal, Jules Dupré and Rousseau.[29] Moss counteracts Ziegler's argument by stating that Aglaé-Joséphine did model, but cautions she cannot be included among the lists of professional models; she only occasionally posed.[30]

Aglaé-Joséphine began posing early in her teens. When she was only fifteen or sixteen, Auguste Blanchard and Charles Jalabert, two students from Delaroche's atelier, collaborated to paint her image wearing a Bressane dress (untraced).[31] This painting marks her emergence into the world of the arts. Billy provides his readers with a lucid depiction of this painting.[32] It depicts the young Aglaé-Joséphine dressed in a beautiful black and red Bressane dress that she wore at a carnival ball. The parisienne and the dress created a sensation at this particular event, which was only the beginning of the sensations that she would create throughout her life. It is clear by Billy's description of the image that this painting was dedicated solely to her aesthetic strengths.

Like Blanchard and Jalabert, Vincent Vidal also painted an image of Aglaé-Joséphine that celebrates her beauty in watercolor (Figure 2).[33] In a fanciful composition painted in either 1842 or 1843, he depicts her in a dressing robe cinched at the waist. A vine of roses is wound around her body like a floral serpent. Her hands are placed behind her head while she gazes at the viewer in a dreamy expression.[34]

Without much information or visual evidence concerning the corpus of Vidal's artworks, it is difficult to conjecture the intent and meaning of this watercolor. Was it a study meant for a larger composition or was it simply an image of a pretty young woman? According to the scant biographical information on Vidal, he mainly worked in pastel and pencil producing portraiture of young women.[35] A review by the critic Albert de la Fizelière helps to shed some light on this enigmatic painter and his image of Aglaé-Joséphine. In his glowing review, Fizelière states that Vidal in the nineteenth-century holds the same title as Watteau did in the eighteenth century: painter of reality. Like Watteau, Vidal takes nature as a model. Fizelière also goes on to say that Vidal is a modern painter who understands the parisienne type. The only women, in Fizelière's opinion, that should be allowed on the ark if there is another great flood.[36]

Most likely one of these "parisienne types" that Fizelière would allow on the ark is Aglaé-Joséphine. Vidal's painting certainly pays tribute to Aglaé-Joséphine's beauty and womanhood; flowers are the very essence of femininity. It also suggests intimacy with the viewer, the artist or both. Aglaé-Joséphine is wearing a low-cut dressing gown with her arms raised above her upward-tilted head. Her eyes are directly looking at the viewer with seductive glint. The attire and body position alludes to the idea of things only seen in private by lovers. The flowers also allude to the sexuality of the subject. As noted by Patricia Monaghan in the book *The Book of Goddesses and Heroines*, flowers are the sexual organs of plant.[37] They entice insects to sip their nectar and spread pollen to other plants. Likewise the flowers in Vidal's image of Aglaé-Joséphine are enticing to gentlemen viewers; they accentuate the curvaceousness of the young woman depicted. The flowers are also analogous to Aglaé-Joséphine, and parisiennes in general, they dress

and act in an appealing manner to attract men in order to gain just as a flowers attract pollinators.

In traditional painting, flowers often symbolize Flora, the Roman goddess of flowers and fertility.[38] She is also associated with the "flowering of all nature."[39] In the watercolor, Vidal drapes a floral swag around Aglaé-Joséphine's body. In this, he could be alluding to the blossoming of her womanhood and thus sexuality; in a sense this does mark her as "available" to a would-be lover. Several similarities exist between Vidal's image of Aglaé-Joséphine and other depictions of Flora especially those by Jean-Marc Nattier (Figure 3), Claude Vignon (Figure 4), Titian (Figure 5) and Rosalba Carriera (Figure 6). Like Vidal's portrayal, the Floras by these artists look at if they have been captured in an intimate moment. They are all wearing diaphanous or revealing gowns. In addition, their femininity, sexuality and fertility are emphasized through their attire or lack thereof, facial expressions and the presence of flowers. These Floras have flowered into womanhood just as Aglaé-Joséphine does in Vidal's portrayal.

Regardless of how in-depth an interpretation one chooses, Vidal's image of Aglaé-Joséphine highlights her physicality and attractiveness. In her pre-salon years, and even after, men shouted praises of her beauty and charisma. Vidal's painting does not deviate from this norm. Vidal, Blanchard and Jalabert ask the young parisienne Aglaé-Joséphine to model not because they are celebrating her intelligence, but because she is beautiful, sexually available, and alluring to a male audience in life and on canvas.

CHAPTER 3

HOMAGE TO SEXUAL PROWESS, CELEBRITY, AND AFFILIATION: THE STROKING OF THE MASCULINE EGO

Early images of Apollonie Sabatier celebrate her as a beautiful parisienne model. After she becomes involved with Alfred Mosselman, images of her undergo a shift. While the images from this period still celebrate her beauty and sexuality, they are also a tribute to the fact that her sexuality officially revolves around one man: Mosselman. As we will soon see, he spends a great deal of capital in his patronage of Clésinger to showcase this relationship. The images from this time also honor Apollonie Sabatier's new found celebrity status. No longer is she just another model among thousands, she has an identity easily recognizable. To Parisians of the nineteenth century, Apollonie Sabatier's image becomes an icon of beauty, sexuality, affiliation with Mosselman, and as we will see with Barye's sketch of Sabatier's associations with Mosselman's circle.

During this period, Apollonie Sabatier enjoyed a comfortable lifestyle. Mosselman furnished her with an apartment decorated with exquisite antiques and artwork. However, the amenities Mosselman provided came with strings attached; he

wanted to declare to the world that "the" Apollonie Sabatier was his mistress. Mosselman asked the sculptor Auguste Clésinger to cast Apollonie nude.[40] Clésinger himself had solicited Mosselman's patronage by inviting him, among other established art collectors, to his studio.[41] Apparently Mosselman was quite pleased with what he saw.

Initially Apollonie was against having a cast made of her image, which could be very grueling and somewhat uncomfortable. Apollonie told Edmond Richard, her last lover, that she thought the casting process was "morally and physically degrading."[42] She finally agreed to pose, and in the Salon of 1844 Clésinger exhibited *Rêve d'Amour* (Figure 7). It received a second place medal. Despite its success at the Salon, Mosselman was not satisfied with this sculpture; he wanted a marble statue of his lover lying down. In addition, only the body of *Rêve d'Amour* was Apollonie's, the head was not hers but a product of the artist's imagination.[43]

In the Salon of 1847, Clésinger exhibited another version of Apollonie in order to fulfill Mosselman's request. The sculpture was entitled *Femme piquée par un serpent* (Figure 8).[44] Clésinger depicts Apollonie attired in a loose toga lying on a bed of flora and fauna. She is writhing in "pain" from the bite of a snake that is wound around her wrist like a bracelet. It also received a second place medal. The snake and the title were added at the last moment to ensure the Salon jury would see it as a classical piece. However, the critics saw past his addition. The public and the critics were shocked at its blatant display of sexuality for the woman was not writhing in pain but pleasure. One critic said the sculpture was "more sensual more pure."[45] Planche retorted that Clésinger's work could not be commended because he only made a life cast. Clésinger's

career was plagued with critical comments such as these concerning the blatant sexuality of his artwork and accusations that he made casts instead of sculpture.[46]

Clésinger also submitted a bust (Figure 9) of Apollonie at the Salon of 1847. It was made to emulate Roman busts and depicted Apollonie draped in a toga bedecked with roses and a medallion; the left breast is exposed.[47] This sculpture functions in a similar manner to *Femme piquée par un serpent*. The classical allusions are added in an attempt to gloss over the sexual overtones Mosselman desired.

In retaliation to Planche's smarting comment about his ethical work practices, Clésinger began working on *Bacchante couchée* (Figure 10). A common practice in the Second Empire was to look back at other art movements, one of these being the Rococo, for inspiration. Bacchante depictions were popular during the Rococo era, thus was the impetus of Clésinger's sculpture. Many critics failed to see the difference between this submission and his last.[48] Gautier wrote that *Femme piquée* and *Bacchante couchée* are sister pieces in the fact that they are related but they are not the same thing.[49] Despite some critical disclaim, Clésinger received a first place medal as well as the Legion of Honor as a result.[50]

Billy writes that Mosselman's request for Apollonie to pose was that of a vain lover desiring to showcase his mistress in an attempt to brag, rather than a genuine lover who truly cherishes her.[51] Billy's thoughts are valid. To showcase a lover nude four times does not demonstrate that Mosselman wished to immortalize and esteem his lover, but to showcase her physical beauty. This is shown in Mosselman's discontent with *Rêve d'Amour*. How could he brag about his lover if the sculpture did not have her face? The sculpture must be recognizable. Clésinger's statues of Apollonie are analogous to

Delacroix's *Louis d'Orléans Showing His Mistress* (Figure 11). In this painting, the benefactor lifts a sheet covering his nude mistress so that his gentlemen could see her nakedness. Like Louis d'Orléans, Mosselman is lifting the "sheet" so that his male counterparts could see his appealing mistress. Not only is he highlighting his mistress, but also his own virility. It is as if he is saying "look at the type of woman I can attract" and in the case of *Femme piquée* "look at what pleasure I can elicit." Marie Lather writes in *Bodies of Art: French Literary Realism and the Artist's Model* that the nude female model upheld the heterosexuality of the artist.[52] In the case of Mosselman, Apollonie's nudity upheld his heterosexuality.

In addition to demonstrating his heterosexuality and dominance over his mistress, he was also showcasing the fact that he had a famous woman as his lover. The identity of the woman depicted by this sculptor was not a secret, even though her name was only attached to the bust. By the time of exhibition, Madame Apollonie Sabatier's identity as a courtesan was well-known. Chopin gives evidence of this in a letter addressed to his family. He writes:

> La statue que Clésinger a exposée dernièrement représente une femme nue dans une attitude plus qu'indécente...Elle a tout simplement été commandée par Mosselman...et représente sa maîtresse...à lui et à bien l'autres, car c'est une femme entretenue très connue à Paris...[53]

In a tongue and cheek manner, Chopin expresses that Apollonie's fame in widespread and somewhat infamous. Undoubtedly Mosselman is trying to elevate his status by highlighting he was the masculine protector of a famous woman.

This situation also is Mosselman's attempt to exercise his control over his mistress. Courtesans have a great deal of independence compared to their bourgeois

peers. Their benefactors gave them homes and financial security. They also gave them the gift of time; their male lovers had work and families to also look after. As a result, courtesans had a great deal of time to do as they wish. Perhaps Mosselman sensed Apollonie's threatening independence and wanted to remind her that ultimately her freedom was due him. In *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*, Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock write that the nude was subordinated by the male gaze.[54] Later, she argues that the female nude verifies the male's dominance over the female. Clésinger's nudes of Apollonie symbolize Mosselman's so-called dominance or control over her; he controls when she sees him, her finances and the quality of her lifestyle; ironically the very things that also give her freedom.

Images of Sabatier by Blanchard, Jalabert and Vidal function in a similar mode to those of Clésinger. Their depictions stress the beauty of her body and visage rather than portray an individual with intellect and creative power. Clésinger's portraits are purely a veneration of her sexuality. Just as Vidal's portrait suggests a certain sexual flowering or availability, Clésinger's artworks also fulfill this function. In an article cited by Billy, one critic compares the female subjects of Pradier, also a sculptor, and Clésinger. The critic writes: "...il sufit d'établir la nuance qui sépare les nudités de M. Clésinger des nudités de M. Pradier. Les femmes de M. Pradier sont simplement nues, celles de M. Clésinger sont toujours déshabillées."[55] Another critic continues this criticism by stating that Clésinger's nudes undress "après souper."[56] These critics are insinuating that Clésinger's nudes are involved in some sort of sexual liaison. According to Susan Griffin, the term "déshabillées," while literally meaning "undressed" also refers to courtesans.[57] Even attempts at adding classical allusions in *Femme piquée par un serpent* and in the bust do

not cover Clésinger's and Mosselman's true intentions. Clésinger's nudes are not exercises in the veristic portrayal of nature or tributes to classical sculpture, but representations of available women or as Chopin would probably clarify one woman: Apollonie Sabatier.

Clésinger's sculptures of Apollonie Sabatier are iconic of her fame and Mosselman's sexual prowess, likewise Barye's sketch of Sabatier is iconic of her sexuality (Figure 12). The drawing depicts Apollonie in a provocative frock with a plunging neckline.[58] Barye's sketch is also symbolic of Mosselman's influence in Sabatier's life. He introduced her to men of great talent and was the driving force behind the establishment of her salon. Little is known about Apollonie's and Mosselman's associations with Barye, but a dedication from Barye to Gautier on the sketch provides insight.[59] In addition, the associations behind this sketch also mark a divergence in the images of Apollonie Sabatier. As a result of her salon, the images of Sabatier ultimately become less about her sexuality and more about celebrating her role as salon leader.

The dedication itself brings about a query: why would Barye draw a seductive portrait of Apollonie for Gautier and not Mosselman?[60] A likely explanation for the drawing and dedication centers on the relationship between Gautier and Apollonie. As stated before, Apollonie and Gautier were close friends. From Gautier's letter to Sabatier, we see that her Sunday salons were one of the highlights of his week. Several letters exist, which detail an interesting relationship. Their correspondence has become famous over time, and was published together under the title *Oeuvres Erotiques Poésies Libertines Lettres á La Présidente*. Many of these letters were sexually explicit, but the idea behind them is clear; Gautier was very free around Apollonie. As readers, we could

take these letters in two manners: Gautier was obviously sexually attracted to Apollonie and since she was a courtesan and he felt free to express his desires or secondly, Apollonie was viewed as just another "one of the boys." It was not unusual for men to have bawdy canter with one another, and many of Apollonie's salon attendees considered her on par with men or simply as a man. Barye's sketch of Apollonie probably serves as a synthesis between the above interpretations; it serves as a sexual icon for Gautier, but also as a reminder of her extraordinary qualities in relation to other women of her time.

The friendship between Apollonie and Gautier is well documented; however the links between Gautier, Apollonie and Barye are harder to prove due to scant documentation. Savatier proposes that Apollonie met Barye through Gautier around the year 1843. One thing is certain; Gautier praised Barye's artwork several times in his reviews. Gautier wrote that Barye's art pieces were near that of the famous Greek sculptor Phidias.[61] He also compared Barye's work to Michelangelo. He writes: "Il a façon fière, énergique et rude, qui en fait comme le Michel-Ange de la Ménagerie."[62] With reviews linking Barye to the grand sculptural traditions of the Greece and Renaissance Italy, no wonder Barye dedicated a drawing to Gautier.

Sabatier's art collection also brings her relationship with Barye into focus. According to Billy, Sabatier's chimney was accented by bronzes made by Barye.[63] These may have been acquired from some of the many catalogues of Barye's work, which were popular in this period. In addition, many of the pieces produced by Barye were of the Romantic style. They were very eclectic combining nature and the exotic styles of the Etruscan, Roman, Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo and Islamic cultures. According to

Billy's description of Sabatier's decor, this style would have appealed to Sabatier's decorating tastes.

Apollonie Sabatier was indeed extraordinary. As seen with the sculptures produced by Clésinger, Sabatier was venerated as the famous mistress of a boastful lover. Although Barye's sketch was obviously created very quickly, it is significant in the overall development of Sabatier's images. Barye's sketch still celebrates her physical attributes, but it also marks a divergence away from Clésingeresque portrayals and foreshadows depictions of a woman honored because of her salon associations, as a leader of the artistic world, and as an art collector.

CHAPTER 4

HOMAGE TO LA PRÉSIDENTE: COURTESAN EXTRAORDINAIRE

Early images of Apollonie Sabatier by Blanchard/Jalabert, Vidal, Clésinger and Barye depict her as an object of beauty and as a seductive woman. In the same period, once she was established within her salon community, these suggestive depictions give way to portraits that celebrate her intelligence and position within the artistic world. Charles-François Jalabert is an example of an artist that captures the progression of La Présidente's representation from the early celebrations of beauty to later images that highlight a courtesan's intellectual assets.[64] Like Jalabert, Gustave Ricard and Ernest Meissonier also created portraits of Apollonie Sabatier that diverge from her previous images imbued with sexual connotations in lieu of portrayals that celebrate her role as La Présidente within the artistic community.

Billy mentions that Jalabert collaborated with Auguste Blanchard on one of the first images of Apollonie Sabatier. Unfortunately this image either does not exist or remains unidentified. According to Jourdan, Jalabert may have painted her twice in his mature career. However the first mention of Sabatier may not actually be Sabatier

because the sitter is mentioned only as "Madame S."[65] Although it seems quite likely that it is Apollonie Sabatier, Jalabert and Sabatier were good friends and he attended her salon often.[66]

The second depiction of Sabatier, however, is identifiable (Figure 13). In a pencil sketch Jalabert portrays Sabatier reclined on a divan. A mandolin is placed to her right and on her arm rests a parakeet which she is nuzzling. To her left is a chair on which an open book was placed. According to Jourdan this piece was originally called *Rêverie*. In the upper left-hand side of the drawing, Jalabert dedicates the drawing to Sabatier. He wrote: "à M A.S. Ch. J." This inscription makes the sitter of the portrait indisputably Madame Apollonie Sabatier. There is no evidence that this sketch was the planning stage for a painting. Perhaps it was done at one of the Sunday salons or maybe even in the notebook that was passed around each week. In his article "A Propos du Portrait de Madame Sabatier par Charles Jalabert," Thierry-Richard Savatier, a relative of Sabatier, writes that the drawing was made when she lived at rue Frochot.[67] She lived there from 1847-48 to 1860, so it is possible that the drawing was done at the salon.

Billy and Savatier write that Sabatier and Jalabert were good friends and neighbors.[68] Therefore the fact that Jalabert dedicated the drawing to Sabatier determines that the piece should be read within the parameters of their friendship. She was not just another model posed in a stock setting, but a friend. In a sense, this drawing is evidence about his thoughts and views concerning his famous friend. The meaning of the objects should be read according to what they meant in her life because this work was for her. In this sketch, Jalabert is building on a long tradition of portraiture that depicts the sitter

with objects associated with her character or personality. These objects give the viewer insight into the sitter's life, personality and activities.

In addition to reading these "symbols" in relation to Sabatier, we must also be careful to read these objects of identification in relation to traditional meanings.[69] The opened book represents Sabatier's cultivation and intelligence. Ernest Hébert, an artist and frequent visitor to La Présidente's salon, often loaned her books such as Dickens and Balzac, to name a few, to read.[70] As a result she was just as well read as her male companions. The instrument to Sabatier's right is a mandolin. According to Savatier, while she lived at rue Frochot she took mandolin lessons and as we learned earlier, she also took singing lessons in her teens.[71] Therefore the representation of the musical instrument symbolizes her musical and cultural cultivation.

The parakeet is an interesting inclusion that is symbolically steeped with past, contemporary, and personal meaning as there is a plethora of parakeet symbolism.[72] Surprisingly, parrots have held an esteemed role within the lineage of artistic depictions appearing in still lifes, religious works and portraits. One of Jalabert's influences, Reynolds, painted a portrait of a woman with a parakeet pecking at her clothes entitled *Mrs. Bower* (Figure 14). The parrot, and other exotic creatures like parakeets, also appeared in several Rococo paintings. An example of this is Rosalba Carriera's *Young Lady with a Parrot* (Figure 15).[73] Carriera depicts a turquoise parrot pecking at the breast of his mistress who is clothed in a revealing dress the same color as the bird. In the Jalabert painting, the artist placed Sabatier within the tradition of Reynold's *Mrs. Bower* and perhaps drew upon Sabatier's taste for the Rococo via Carriera's painting. Sabatier

owned a large Rococo art collection including the works of Rosalba Carriera, Boucher, Falconet and Chardin.

Jalabert's contemporaries also included parrots in their artwork (Figures 16-18). The parakeets in these works speak to the sexuality of the women depicted obviously seen in the paintings of Courbet (Figure 16) and Delacroix (Figure 17), which seem to harken back to the blatant sexuality of Clésinger's portrayals of Sabatier. The message of sexual availability in Manet's *Woman with a Parrot* (Figure 18) is understated compared to Courbet's and Delacroix's women; however Manet uses still life symbolism to convey a subtler allusion to sexuality. Although Sabatier is a courtesan, I don't think Jalabert is being that blatant or forthright as his contemporaries especially Delacroix and Courbet or even as much as his predecessor Carriera.

Jalabert's inclusion of the book and the mandolin speak to other attributes of his sitter, her role as an esteemed cultural figure through her salon. Thus, such depictions of Sabatier move away from her sexuality to celebrations of her social status among the literati. However, it must be realized that Apollonie Sabatier would never have attained her position as La Présidente if it weren't for her position as a courtesan. Therefore the inclusion of the parakeet should be read accordingly.

Brigitte Le Juez and Olivier Le Bihan, clarify the symbolism of the parakeet apropos to Sabatier. Le Juez explains that parakeets are traditionally associated with women and that the bird is analogous to beauty. She adds that just as birds are trapped within a cage, women are restrained by societal restrictions.[74] Le Bihan writes that parakeets are also signs of luxury.[75] Savatier mentions that his famous relative Sabatier loved parakeets and kept them at her rue Frochot apartment.[76] Thus Jalabert's portrayal of

Apollonie with the parakeet can be read on several levels that synthesize many different meanings. Most obviously, the parakeet is a beloved pet, represented by the fact that Sabatier is nuzzling her precious bird. Parakeets are exotic birds and were expensive in this period, thus the depiction of the bird is symbolic of her benefactor's wealth. The parakeet is also analogous to Sabatier herself and her life situation. She is beautiful and showy but despite the independence afforded to her by her benefactor relative to other women, she is like a "parakeet" to Mosselman. She is a beautiful "kept" creature dependent on Mosselman's attention and money for survival; in addition, she's also and a sign of wealth and elitism to Mosselman. The keeping of a courtesan was immensely popular pastime for the rich elite. Griffin tells us that even homosexuals kept courtesans, obviously not as sexual companions but as icons of status.[77] Just as the parakeet is a sign of luxury to Sabatier, so is Sabatier to Mosselman.

Delaroche once told Jalabert to paint beautiful women for they were rare creatures. It appears Jalabert may have followed this advice with the portrayal of Madame Sabatier. La Présidente is "rare" in the fact that she is considered beautiful but also because she is cultivated. While we still can interpret references to Sabatier's status as a courtesan in Jalabert's drawing, especially in the inclusion of the parakeet, it is not as overtly sexualized as Clésinger's nudes or the scantily clad portraits of Vidal and Barye. Courtesan references are toned down so that her other noteworthy attributes can begin to take center stage.

There are also references to Sabatier's growing respectability within the artistic community in Ricard's portrait entitled *Dame au petit chien* (Figure 19).[78] Allusions to Apollonie Sabatier's status as a courtesan are understated in order to stress her role as

leader of the Parisian cultural world. Instead of continuing to portray Sabatier primarily as an icon of beauty and sexuality, Ricard places her within a portraiture tradition that emphasizes loyalty and faithfulness via the traditional symbolism of the dog.[79]

It's important to understand Ricard and Sabatier's background as friends in order to interpret and demonstrate the portrait's progression away from sexual connotation. Ricard and Sabatier met each other sometime around the year 1847. Ricard, like the others, also became a regular at her Sunday salon. Several letters survive in which Ricard addresses Sabatier with great tenderness. He address her as "chère amie" and signs the letters with such phrases as "Votre, d'invariable affection" and "Je salue en déposant un baiser ou deux sur vos petites mains." Unlike Gautier, Ricard does not write to Sabatier in a licentious manner, but addresses her with honor and respect. His letters also serve as evidence that he saw Sabatier as an artistic equal. It is obvious that he was a great admirer of Sabatier and she of him. As they would often converse about his art in their correspondence, and Apollonie often asked to see his work and owned several of his paintings including her own portrait and that depicting a red-headed girl.[80]

As a result of their friendship and mutual respect, Ricard does not highlight Sabatier's role as a courtesan, but instead places her within a portrait tradition commonly associated with venerated women. Throughout the history of art, there has been a long tradition of this sort of portrayal: a portrait of a woman with a dog. Reynolds, Rembrandt and Titian, Ricard's own predecessors, include this sort of portrait in their oeuvre.[81] In *Woman with a Lap Dog* (Figure 20), Rembrandt portrays a bejeweled woman with a tiny dog on her lap. Reynolds in *Caroline, Duchess of Marlborough* (Figure 21) continues the tradition in his portrayal of a Duchess holding a small dog, and in *Portrait of Eleonora*

Gonzaga della Rovere (Figure 22), Titian depicts a female member of a famous Renaissance family with a small dog to her right. Even in La Présidente's own artistic circle this type of portrait existed. Ernest Hébert painted a portrait of his wife Mme. Hébert (née Mlle. Uckermann) with a dog on her lap.[82]

According to George Ferguson in *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, dogs symbolize "watchfulness," "fidelity," "faithfulness in marriage," and they are often depicted on the lap or at the feet of a married woman.[83] While the personal symbolism of the dogs have been lost over time, one thing remains clear; the dogs in the paintings by Titian, Reynolds and Rembrandt uphold the loyalty of their female owners. Like Jalabert's parakeet, we can also attribute several layers of meaning to Ricard's inclusion of the dog. La Présidente had a heart for both artists and animals and in addition to owning parakeets, she also owned the dog depicted in Ricard's portrait.[84] Although La Présidente was never technically married, she was faithful to her friends and in her support of the arts.

One could say that inclusion of the dog referred to her vocation as a courtesan, by stating that the dog symbolized her fidelity to her lover. In the article entitled "Gustave Courbet: All the World's a Studio," Alex Seltzer writes that the dog depicted on La Présidente's lap was the breed of choice for courtesans in the nineteenth-century. Seltzer writes: "This dog, a King Charles spaniel, is a reference to Sabatier's amorous activities and is found also in her lap in a portrait by Ricard."[85] Later, he includes a quotation by the nineteenth-century commentator Alphonse Karr concerning the spaniel's popularity with courtesans. Karr wrote: "The tax on dogs might become a tax on prostitution. One

encounters in Paris...small carriages...containing a courtesan and a King-Charles. The King-Charles seems to have become an insignia...for the prostitutes."[86]

Seltzer's assertion is valid; nineteenth-century viewers may have read Ricard's inclusion of the dog as a reference to her vocation as a courtesan based on their knowledge of contemporary iconography. However, based on their friendship and Jalabert's involvement with Sabatier's salon, I don't think he intended to make this the overarching theme of the portrait. Instead, Ricard is continuing a portraiture tradition that stresses fidelity, which has been ongoing at least since the Renaissance. Further proof of the portrait's close ties to the tradition can be seen in the critics' reaction to Ricard's portrait of La Présidente. One critic wrote: "Dès qu'il connut l'école vénitienne. Ricard se sentit de cette famille, il se mit passionnément à l'oeuvre, et dut à cette influence ses premiers success. N'est-il pas en effet tout plein de Venise...n'est-ce pas là un souvenir du Titien?"[87] Even nineteenth-century critics recognized the lineage of the portrait and connecting it to past via the comparison to Titian and the Venetian school.

Ricard's portrait of Sabatier is not solely representative of her previous role as a sexual icon, but primarily a sign of respect and goodwill from a lifelong friend. Even from pure visual analysis, we can ascertain that La Présidente is clothed rather conservatively in comparison to her earlier depictions. The nudity in Clésinger's sculptures and the sultry boudoir attire of Vidal and Barye are replaced by a demure Venetian dress. Ricard once said that he loved to paint those who understand his painting and he loved to paint the people that he understood.[88] Ricard's warm letters to Sabatier, his attendance at Sabatier's salon and her portrait based on a tradition of representing respected women are evidence that this quotation can most likely be applied to Sabatier.

As an artist she understands the production of art and also its history, and as a result of her Salon and friendship with Ricard, she certainly had the knowledge to understand the parameters of his art. Ricard paints her portrait because she understands his art and as result of her Salon, he understands her. Thus her portrait is not dedicated only to her beauty, but to her growing eminence as La Présidente.

As we have seen, Sabatier's depicters are leaving behind overtly sexually charged depictions in lieu of images that highlight her intelligence and role as a salon leader. This situation is especially exemplary with the artist Ernest Meissonier.[89] Madame Sabatier was a popular subject in the oeuvre of Meissonier. Her appearance is noteworthy considering the lack of women in his overall oeuvre and her central placement within his painting *"In the Shade of a Grove Sings a Young Poet."* In addition, due to his personal ideologies concerning women and propriety in general, his depictions of Sabatier are not focused on her sexuality.

Meissonier and Sabatier met through Mosselman and they became good friends. Meissonier soon became a regular at her Sunday dinners. [90] Over the course of his career, the artist produced nine images (Figures 23, 24, and 25) of Sabatier, in various stages of production, which was unusual considering the genders and the topics he painted in his overall oeuvre. Meissonier admittedly painted few women in his artworks; they figured rarely into his genre scenes and depictions of military maneuvers, and if he did include women, they usually were depicted as servants. He was once asked why he didn't paint many women. He answered: "I have neither desire nor aptitude for the tenderness of the brush."[91] He did not feel that he had the ability to depict women with the delicacy that they deserved. His distaste of painting women could have also derived from an incident

with a wealthy American woman who commissioned him to paint her portrait.[92] In the finished product, he believed that he had created the very likeness of the woman. When she saw the portrait, she was horrified by it. In turn, Meissonier was outraged at the audacity of the woman's frankness.

The shear number of Meissonier's images of Sabatier attests to his sentiments for her. The artist also wrote that for a successful portrait, the painter must know and love the sitter.[93] His fond feelings for his friend Apollonie cancel out his hesitancy to portray women.

His high sentiments toward Sabatier can be seen in his painting *"In the Shade of a Grove Sings a Young Poet"* (Figure 26), which he submitted to the Salon of 1853.[94] This was painted in his garden at his home in Poissy, and depicts a group of men and women attired in sixteenth-century costume, relaxing and listening to a poet sing in the countryside.[95] Meissonier and Sabatier's circle often went on country outings to escape Parisian city life.[96] In this painting Meissonier captures a moment similar to or perhaps even painted at one of these outings. Madame Sabatier is the standing figure dressed in pink next to the tree, and she is the only figure that makes direct eye contact with the viewer/artist. The other figures are completely enthralled with the singing poet or each other. Sabatier's gaze brings the viewer/artist into the scene, therefore it is not exclusionary but you/he are/is also a part of the performance. While the other figures in the composition look as if they are a part of some dreamy afternoon like those in a fête galante painting or an Impressionist open-air landscape, Sabatier brings the event into focus. For the reality of the painting is not embedded in the past as some sort of idyllic romp, but in the present.[97] Sabatier links to the world outside of the canvas; a world the

artist and Sabatier inhabit. The act of painting places the artist outside of the action, but because of Sabatier we know that Meissonier has been included in scenes such as these at La Présidente's salon and at the country outings. Meissonier dedicated this painting to Sabatier. On the back of the painting there are two phrases: "Questa donna/ la piu amata." Wendy L. Joyce translates these phrases as "This woman/ the best loved." From this epitaph, it is clear that the painting was meant to revolve around Sabatier. [98]

As we have seen, Meissonier saw Sabatier as an extraordinary individual derived from her personal characteristics not necessarily her role as a courtesan; he was able to see her outside of her lifestyle. Meissonier's images of Sabatier are not as sexualized as those of Vidal, Barye and Clésinger. Meissonier deliberately avoided overt depictions of sexuality; his artwork only contains respectable values and virtues.[99] Hungerford adds that when Meissonier was commissioned to illustrate a book with less than honorable contents, he still avoided explicit material in his artwork. Perhaps his artistic intentions derived from his formative years with the Saint-Simonian Curmer, but regardless of its impetus it seems out of character to suddenly express sexuality with his portrayals of Sabatier. Meissonier was quite lucid and finite in his ideas concerning his artistic practices. It is unlikely that he would deviate from his convictions.[100]

Final evidence that Meissonier is celebrating Sabatier's status as La Présidente rather than her position as a courtesan lies in his ideologies concerning the education of women. Many of Meissonier's ideas revolved around the concept of raising the status of women. Meissonier once wrote: "Man should educate woman, and form her nature from the very onset. Every creature changes and modifies according to the care bestowed on it."[101] Meissonier employed his educational ideas by teaching Sabatier how to paint; he

even shared his own studio with her.[102] It is clear from the quotation that I included in the section concerning Madame Sabatier's salon that he views her as worthy of education; he calls her "souriante et intelligente,"[103] and perhaps these sentiments are expressed in his portrait of Sabatier with an open book on her lap (Figure 23). As mentioned before she was an avid reader, which in turn opened her mind to a plethora of ideas and thoughts that surely made Sabatier an ideal emblem of cultivation in Meissonier's point of view.

Although Meissonier is aware that Sabatier is a courtesan, he does not choose to portray her in this guise. Instead he celebrates her intelligence, creativity, and exceptional abilities as a salon leader. Likewise Jalabert and Ricard pay homage to a woman who defies cultural norms concerning women in the nineteenth-century. At this point in her life, images of Sabatier are less about her actions in the bedroom, but her actions in a salon filled with artists and thinkers. While Jalabert, Ricard and Meissonier begin this separation, ultimately Courbet will enact the final dissociation.

CHAPTER 5

COURBET'S HOMAGE TO A SALON HOSTESS AND ART SUPPORTER SANS SEXUAL ASSOCIATIONS

Gustave Courbet's *The Painter's Studio: A real allegory summing up seven years of my artistic life* (Figure 27) represents Apollonie Sabatier's visual divergence away from being solely celebrated for her beauty, sexuality, and status as a courtesan. As we shall soon see, this painting instead focuses on her role as a society woman, salon hostess, muse to Baudelaire, and as a synthesis of socialist utopian ideologies. However, a great deal of debate surrounds the interpretation and the identification of the figures, including Apollonie Sabatier and the obscured gentlemen to her left.

The conundrum concerning this painting began with the artist himself. Courbet, in a letter to fellow painter Français writes: "You say you'd like to know what the theme of my picture is? It's so complicated to explain that I'd rather let you guess when you see it... It's all rather mysterious. It's anybody's guess!"[104] *The Artist's Studio* is analogous to a visual riddle and Courbet leaves few clues behind in the form of letters and a manifesto

to decipher the meaning, thus there are numerous interpretations of *The Artist's Studio*'s meaning.

The Artist's Studio depicts Courbet in the middle of his atelier and as the focal point of the composition. He is painting a landscape with a nude model to his right. He is also surrounded by two groups of people, one on his left and one on his right. The group on the left has been commonly interpreted as those who do not support his art, or the avant garde in general, and the group on the right is those individuals who encourage his avant garde art. Many art historians have identified the figure draped in a shawl accompanied with a gentleman as Apollonie Sabatier. Beyond this simple explanation, the intended allegorical meaning of the massive artwork is widely debated.

One of the many interpretations revolves around Courbet's negative reaction to an illustration. In his article "Gustave Courbet: All the World's Studio," Alex Seltzer believes *The Artist's Studio* was a response to two illustrations with accompanying text published by *Magasin pittoresque*. The first depicted the tranquil atelier of a Renaissance painter. The second, an illustration by Valentin (Figure 28), portrays the chaotic atelier of a modern painter.[105] The accompanying text states that the modern painter had no soul and that their work is devoid of depth. Critics accused Courbet of commonplace depictions, socialism and the dedication to ugliness. According to Seltzer, this article could have applied to Courbet, and he may have taken it personally.

Support for this interpretation arises from several similarities between the two works including a semi-circle composition, the canvas turned toward the wall, the pet, the skull and the hat. Just as figures in Courbet's painting can be identified, so can the figures

in Valentin's. Auguste Clésinger, Boissard, Gautier playing the guitar, and Apollonie Sabatier located next to the artist are included in Valentin's illustration.

According to Seltzer, the presence of Sabatier is the key link between Valentin's illustration and *The Artist's Studio*. Sabatier is depicted as the muse to the arts in Valentin's drawing, which parallels her position in life as muse to bohemians as evidenced by her Sunday salon. The *Magasin pittoresque* wrote that salons like Sabatier's were responsible for the decadence of art that created chaotic scenes as depicted by Valentin. Seltzer theorizes that Courbet includes Sabatier as a reaction against the illustrations; he wants to disprove the negative accusations created by these publications. Sabatier's presence in Courbet's *The Artist's Studio* is his attempt to disclaim that salons such as hers have a negative effect on contemporary art.[106]

Although Seltzer is certain that the woman in the shawl is Apollonie Sabatier, this identification is debated in art historical circles. Other art historians believe the couple is François Sabatier and his wife Caroline Sabatier.[107] François Sabatier was a wealthy Fourierist art patron who was a friend of Courbet's. Benedict Nicolson argues that the couple is the F. Sabatiers because of their friendship with Courbet and also because they were neighbors of Courbet's patron Bruyas.[108] Nicolson identifies the man as F. Sabatier in *The Artist's Studio* via another portrait of him by Courbet (Figure 29); however, it is difficult to identify the male figure based on portraits because the only portion of the man's face that is depicted is his profile with side burns and beard. Facial hair was very popular during this time period. Identifying a man as either F. Sabatier or even as Mosselman is difficult since facial hair was the trend and no other distinguishing characteristics are given.[109]

Klaus Herding argues that the couple is probably Apollonie Sabatier and her lover Mosselman.[110] Hélène Toussaint also thinks that the Courbet's couple is A. Sabatier and Mosselman and provides the most detailed argument to verify this identification. She proves this theory via portrait identifications by comparing the portrait of Sabatier painted by Ricard (Figure 19), her bust by Clésinger (Figure 9), and two portraits by de Dreux of Mosselman (Figures 30 and 31) to identify the pair. It is undeniable that the portraits by Ricard and Clésinger look exactly like the woman in Courbet's *The Artist's Studio*. It is harder to identify the male figure because very little of his face is shown. It is logical that if Courbet meant the woman to be A. Sabatier then the man would be Mosselman. Further evidence to support the identity of the woman can be found in Ricard's portrait of Caroline Sabatier (Figure 32).[111] Caroline's face is much thinner than Apollonie's and the facial characteristics are completely different than the elegantly dressed woman in *The Artist's Studio*.

Toussaint also argues that the Quillenbois caricature (Figure 33) of *The Artist's Studio* is also proof that the woman is A. Sabatier. In Quillenbois's cartoon, the woman is smoking a cigar. Toussaint believes it is unlikely that the cartoonist would show a society lady such as Caroline Sabatier engaged in such a lowly activity. He would depict a courtesan smoking. However, Toussaint mentions that the one problematic item concerning the identification of the woman as A. Sabatier is that it seems she was never directly involved with Courbet. The only link between the two is the Valentin cartoon. She agrees with Seltzer in the fact that this is probably the link between them.

Both sides of the argument provide excellent evidence for each. Courbet himself gives little evidence of their identity. In a letter to Champfleury, he writes: "Beside you,

still further forward, is a society woman, dressed to the nines, with her husband."[112] In my opinion, just because Courbet says the couple is married does not necessarily mean that it is François and Caroline instead of Apollonie and Alfred. The Goncourts mistakenly wrote in their journal that Apollonie was a "widow of independent means."[113] They were mistaken; she was never married but took on the title "Madame." Just as the Goncourts erred, Courbet could have also taken Mosselman as Apollonie's husband. As far as the individuals in bohemia were concerned Apollonie and Mosselman were married in a sense.

Courbet's comment that the female figure is "a society woman, dressed to the nines" brings up an interesting point concerning the identity of women in nineteenth-century culture. The attire of courtesans provided a great deal of frustration for those individuals that sought a method to categorize and stereotype them. Both courtesans and society women went to the same dressmakers and department stores. It was virtually impossible to tell the difference.[114] Likewise, it is almost impossible to distinguish the background of the society woman depicted in *The Artist's Studio* via her clothing. Both society women and courtesans had the capital to purchase the exquisite Indian shawl represented.

In addition, if the couple does represent François and Caroline Sabatier, why would Courbet put Caroline in front? François was the wealthy art patron and had the Fourierist connections with Courbet not Caroline. It would make more sense that Apollonie would be placed in front of Mosselman. As a result of her connections and her salon, she was in the forefront of the artistic world not Mosselman.

The authors supporting the identification of Apollonie Sabatier fail to mention that Courbet and A. Sabatier have an indirect link through Charles Baudelaire.[115] Courbet and Baudelaire were friends and the Baudelaire often attended Sabatier's salon. Sabatier and Baudelaire met at the Hôtel Pimodan, and he was invited her to salon in 1852. In fact, during the time that Courbet was painting *The Artist's Studio*, Baudelaire was infatuated with Sabatier. From 1852 to 1857, he wrote several anonymous poems and letters to her. These poems: "Tout Entière," "Le Flambeau Vivant," "Que Diras-Tu Ce Soir," "A Celle Qui Est Trop Gaie," "Réversibilité," "Confession," "L'Aube Spirituelle" "Harmonie du Soir," "Le Flacon," and after their relationship ended "Semper Eadem" were later included in his book *Les Fleurs du Mal*, which also included poems inspired by Jeanne Duval, his mulatto mistress.[116] Baudelaire created a dichotomy between the two women by depicting Sabatier as his Venus Blanche and Duval as his Venus Noire. After the publication of *Les Fleurs du Mal*, Baudelaire's identity was no longer unknown. A. Sabatier was incredibly flattered by the revelation and offered herself to Baudelaire. That was the very moment that Baudelaire's idolization of Sabatier ended. She was no longer the unobtainable Venus Blanche but a mortal woman. Sabatier was heartbroken when Baudelaire rejected her. Baudelaire told her it was because of her relationship with Mosselman; Sabatier blamed his wavering sentiments on his relationship with Jeanne Duval. The likelier blame can be placed on Baudelaire himself and his misogynistic views. His *Intimate Journals* are replete these sentiments. He wrote: "There are only two places where one pays for the right to spend: women and public latrines." On another day, he wrote: "Woman is *natural*, that is to say abominable. Thus she is always vulgar..." In another statement that is apropos to the situation with Sabatier, he wrote:

"there are certain women who are like the red ribbon of the Legion of Honor. They are no longer desired because they have been contaminated by certain men."[117]

In his book *Courbet: The Artist's Studio of the Painter*, Benedict Nicolson mentions that Courbet had painted Jeanne Duval next to Baudelaire preening herself in a mirror. Baudelaire asked Courbet to remove Duval; he consented and painted over her.[118] At this time Duval's and Baudelaire's relationship was rocky and he had turned his attentions to the actress Marie Brunard and A. Sabatier. Did Courbet know about Baudelaire's obsession with A. Sabatier? Did he know that his friend was writing her anonymously? In this vein, I would respond yes and hypothesize that Sabatier is depicted for several reasons: as a society woman, salon leader as evidenced via *The Artist's Studio*'s links with Valentin's illustration, and as Baudelaire's muse. It is likely that Courbet knew about Baudelaire's fascination with Sabatier. Despite the anonymous nature of the poems, Sabatier's circle knew the identity of the author, easily recognizing their style. Perhaps Baudelaire divulged to Courbet his fascination with Sabatier.

The original presence of Duval suggests that the woman in front of Baudelaire may be A. Sabatier, and it may also demonstrate that Courbet was playing on this love triangle. This situation can be proven compositionally as well. At Baudelaire's request, Courbet did paint Duval out of the painting, however her image has bled through and the ghost of her figure can be seen today. Duval is preening herself in front of mirror with her back to the main activities of composition, the body of A. Sabatier is angled toward Courbet and blocking our view of Mosselman, and Baudelaire is sitting behind Sabatier reading a book. The positions of both women and Baudelaire form an exact triangle with a person stationed at each tip. Courbet literally placed them in a triangle analogous to the

love triangle Baudelaire created in real life. Duval's and Sabatier's positions are the inverse of one another; Sabatier looks out at the proceedings of the painting and Duval admires her image in the mirror oblivious of what is occurring. This situation is reinforced by the presence of the mirror and it reminds us that the women in fact are dichotomies of one another. Sabatier is highly involved in the art world, kindhearted and intelligent, while Duval openly distained Baudelaire's poetic pursuits and according to accounts was mean spirited and dim-witted.[119] Sabatier is the Venus Blanche and Duval is Venus Noire. The locations of the women in comparison to Baudelaire also inspire thoughts of Sabatier's and Duval's roles as his muses for the poetry in *Les Fleurs du Mal.* He is reading a book and Sabatier, especially, and Duval are positioned as if she were in a thought bubble conjured by his musings. Almost humorously, Mosselman's back is to the Sabatier-Baudelaire-Duval action, oblivious in the painting and in real life.

The identification of A. Sabatier in Courbet's *The Artist's Studio* calls for an elucidation of interpretation in reference to her. As a result of Courbet's enigmatic comments concerning the meaning of *The Artist's Studio,* I don't think there is one definitive interpretation, but many levels of meaning. Courbet intentionally meant for his painting to be a conundrum. As he said: "It's anybody's guess!" An interesting angle that has not been discussed is A. Sabatier's meaning beyond her role as a society figure and muse. What does her presence mean in relation to the whole of the composition? Seltzer has approached this topic by stating that she serves as "keystone" linking Valentin's illustration to *The Artist's Studio.* Yet, I believe her role goes beyond this when the consideration of the social ideologies: especially Fourierism and Saint-Simonianism are

taken beyond the initial levels of interpretation as done by Klaus Herding, Linda Nochlin, and James Rubin.[120]

The utopian socialist ideology Fourierism was conceived by François-Marie-Charles Fourier who was born in Besançon, France on April 7, 1772. His ideology was based on ideas derived from the Enlightenment and revolved around the pursuit of discovering social laws that would be analogous to physical laws.[121] Fourier admired Sir Isaac Newton who discovered the law of gravity. Fourier reasoned that just as Newton discovered physical laws that governed matter, likewise he could find similar social laws that would bring about the utopian state he called "Harmony." Fourier argued that the main force that stood against the establishment of Harmony was civilization, which served as a formidable foe to his plans and only produced wretchedness. He proposed the founding of a community or as he called it a "phalanx" in which people would live harmoniously, mutually working together at activities of their choosing. There would be no crime in the phalanx and it would be located in the countryside. As a side note, this may be one reason Courbet chose to paint a landscape in *The Artist's Studio* over a nude as the presence of the nude model would suggest. Fourierists applauded the creation of landscape painting.

Fourier also had advanced opinions concerning the role of women in his phalanx. He wrote: "[T]he new institution [civilization] gave man control over woman, relegating her to the position of obedient servant and houseworker."[122] Fourier was opposed to the idea of man's dominance over woman. He advocated the freedom of women and according to Riasanovsky, Fourier was the first to use the term "feminism." As a result Fourier attracted many female followers. He also promoted the idea of equal education

for all. It is not had to surmise that Meissonier's ideas concerning female education were derived from socialist ideas such as Fourierism.

Fourier also had very progressive ideas concerning the role of the artist in society. He declared that the artist should act as a prophet or avant garde to show the flaws of society and to also showcase the potential society has to create Harmony. A Fourierist critic writes:

> Show me marriage with its shocking anomalies...its appalling tortures of servitude and perpetual bondage... show me the corruption that takes place in political life, at the cost of individual happiness, which it claims to satisfy while increasing its price and undermining its quality...in a word, show me our society, however ugly or beautiful it might appear to your eyes, and then, without suspecting it, your art with naturally take on meaning, faith and purpose.[123]

Show reality in order to highlight the truth to bring about change for the better! This quote almost sounds like Courbet's Realist Manifesto. He writes: "To know in order to be capable, that was my idea. To be able to translate the customs, the ideas, the appearance of my epoch according to my own appreciation of it, to be not only a painter, but a man, in a word, to create living art, that is my goal."[124]

Saint-Simonianism was also a utopian socialist ideology similar to Fourierism that was established by Henri Saint-Simon (1760-1825). Saint-Simon proposed a classless society that would be run by scientists and industrialists not by the clergy, military or nobility as was the case in contemporary and past civilizations.[125] In addition, he advocated women's rights, and later, he added that artists should also have a key role in his utopia as tools of indoctrination.

The role of women played a central part in the ideologies of Saint-Simon.[126] Like Fourier, he also advocated the education of women and gender equality. While many cultural commentators of the time such as Parent-Duchâtelet gave precedence to chaste women, Saint-Simon proposed that this equality should benefit all women. Instead of marginalizing prostitutes and castigating them, they wanted to incorporate them back into society.[127] For centuries, society as well as Christianity preached the concept that women were inferior to men. Christian leaders had led their flocks astray by teaching that God was male. According to Saint-Simon, God was androgynous and that not just man was created in God's image, but also women. Proponents even believed that a female messiah would be found in the Bosporus. Although this female messiah was never found, Saint-Simonianism attracted a large female following ready to assist his followers in the pursuit of equality and the Golden Age.

Like Fourier, Saint-Simon also declared the artist should act as a "vanguard"; art should serve as a tool to promote social change. The vast amount of mediums: visual, theatrical, and musical would increase the chances of their propagandistic sentiments reaching the public. Eventually, according to proponents of Saint-Simonianism, artists would bring about a Golden Age similar to Fourier's concept of Harmony. Saint-Simon wrote:

> In this great enterprise, men of imagination will lead the way; they will proclaim the future of mankind, they will transport the Golden Age from the past to enrich future generations; they will enthuse society for the enhancement of its well-being, by offering a rich picture of new prosperity and showing that every member of society will soon share in those pleasures which have hitherto been restricted to a very limited class; they will sing of civilization's benefits and exploit every aspect of the arts—eloquence, poetry, painting, music—to achieve their goal:

> in a word, they will develop the poetic aspect of the new system.[128]

Artists would help usher in a Golden Age in a nonviolent priestly fashion. Saint-Simon proposed that artists should indoctrinate the public, analogous to the way a priest teaches his flock Catholic dogma, with topics expressing modernity and its injustices.

Saint-Simonians actively pursued and tried to recruit artists to begin the process of beneficial indoctrination via art. They tried to appeal to artists by highlighting the precarious nature of the art market, the unyielding severity of the Salon, and the lack of state support. They painted a future in which artists would not be bothered by the above issues and where they would be free to paint according to their desires. Unfortunately this artistic utopia did not attract many artists for while the future they proposed sounded tempting, the reality was the art environment of the present, in which they had to survive within. The typical artist that agreed to join the Saint-Simonian cause had already failed in the current art market and had nothing to lose.

The followers of Saint-Simon essayed to establish a new artistic center in Egypt and asked artists holding studios to spread the news of the new artistic epicenter to their students. Teachers such as Barye and Cogniet, the teacher of both Ricard and Meissonier, agreed to do so but never followed through with their promise. Just as the search for female messiah remained fruitless, so did the Egyptian art center. Few students were willing to completely reject the current art market and even fewer students were willing to reject the century's old tradition of viewing Italy as the center of art. Dozens of students as recipients of the Prix de Rome migrated there every year to absorb the genius of the Renaissance masters; few considered going to Egypt instead.

It is not difficult to understand why the ideologies of Fourierism and Saint-Simonianism appealed to Courbet who was often snubbed by the Salon jury and the state. Both ideologies recruit and elevate the artist to a place of power and give them a beneficial role of change. Both propose the use of realistic art to promote values that point out society's downfalls and highlight ways to bring about Harmony. *The Artist's Studio* is a perfect example of the work that Fourier and Saint-Simon desired for their artistic followers to paint. On the left side, Courbet depicts the people that are either the cause or the victims of injustice and on the right, he depicts the individuals that have assisted him on the path to or will instigate Harmony. Courbet centers himself in *The Artist's Studio*, but he is also depicting himself at the leader of the avant garde displaying his special blend of syncretic socialist ideals and acting as the instigator of social change via art.

While many features of *The Artist's Studio* can be interpreted within the frameworks of Fourierism and Saint-Simonianism, I am mainly concerned with those that apply to A. Sabatier. She serves several purposes in this composition such as society figure, symbolic link with Valentin's illustration, and muse. In addition to these roles, she also serves as a synthesis of Fourierist and Saint-Simonian ideologies concerning women. Sabatier was well-known in the artistic community of Paris, Courbet would have known about this extraordinary woman from his associates and her appearance in numerous artworks. While Paris is a huge metropolis, artistic circles were close knit; news of Sabatier's exploits was familiar to all. If we look at Sabatier's placement within the composition, she appears in front of an important figure: Mosselman and included among important men in Courbet's world such as Bruyas, Gautier and Baudelaire. Obviously,

Courbet as evidenced from this placement did not hold chauvinistic prejudices. It's likely that he was building on the feministic ideologies of Fourierism and Saint-Simonianism. As mentioned in the discussion concerning Saint-Simon, he proposed to "de-marginalize" prostitutes. In a sense, Courbet has done this with Sabatier. While she is not a part of the lower echelons of the "sex for hire" trade, her position as a courtesan still associates her with this occupation. Courbet has placed Sabatier as the mirror image of Duval, a vulgar woman who is the epitome of a lower class prostitute. Sabatier is an example of what potential lies in those that have been initially ostracized and condoned by society; they can be useful in the eyes of socialist utopians perhaps by doing something such as organizing a salon. She's providing artists with a venue to unite for the sake of art and hopefully for the betterment of society. By identifying her as a society woman, Courbet is erasing her sexual associations. While Sabatier elevated herself in real life from part-time model to artist and salon leader, Courbet has done so in his art. Gone are the suggestive attire and visual allusions; she is not depicted as the nude model next to Courbet as he could have done, but as the luxuriously dressed socialite looking toward Courbet as if she is overseeing the future of art.

We could take the synthesis further with respect to Sabatier's role as an artist. While Sabatier did not submit her work into the Salon until the 1860s, Meissonier began teaching her in the 1840s. Savatier even hypothesizes that she entered the Salon de la Société des Arts before the year 1847.[129] It is possible that Courbet knew of her artistic endeavors. Therefore we can add another layer to the Fourier/Saint-Simon theory. While Sabatier did not produce art that may have appealed to socialist tastes, her only known work is miniature portraiture, she represents a paradigm for what women should strive for

in the minds of socialist utopians. For unlike Duval, she looks to the future as manifested by Courbet and his artwork, not to egotism. She looks outside of herself and serves as an emblem of support. In a sense, the right side of *The Artist's Studio* is analogous to Sabatier's salon. There too she stood as a muse, fellow artist, independent thinker, and art supporter among men who equated her as an equal, and who followed their own unique paths within the Parisian art world.

CONCLUSION

La Présidente's salon eventually dissolved in the early 1860s. Sabatier and Mosselman ended their relationship and the salon attendees went their separate ways as well. Sabatier herself moved from her apartment on rue Frochot to a humbler edifice elsewhere. Yet the memory of the salon and Sabatier herself did not fade so easily. She died on December 31, 1889, and up until her death, she was continually sought after by Baudelaire followers. Generations marveled at men that surrounded her during her lifetime. In the history of art, she serves as a right bookend on centuries' worth of artists following the canon and as a left bookend to the decades' worth of artists such as Courbet acting as avant garde innovators.

In the portraits of Madame Sabatier, there seems to be a cycle of disrobing and dressing, literally and metaphorically. Sabatier's first portrait by Blanchard and Jalabert was a tribute to a beautiful young parisienne model who was noticed at a ball because of a striking dress. In Vidal's painting of Sabatier, we begin to see a celebration of what's under the dress; he depicts her in a thin dressing gown. Here, Vidal explores her sexual appeal almost as if she is a "pin-up" girl from the first half of the nineteenth century. He highlights her femininity and availability as a parisienne for the wanton male viewer.

Clésinger continues the "disrobing" in his sculptures of Sabatier. Like Vidal, he is showcasing Sabatier's sexually attractive attributes, but not as a free commodity but as the mistress of Alfred Mosselman. Her benefactor commissions Clésinger to showcase his famous lover to the world and advertise her body in order to boost his masculine ego and sexual prowess. Barye's depiction of Sabatier differs little from those mentioned above. Yet because of her relationship with Gautier, the man who proclaimed her "La Présidente," the symbolism behind it differs slightly from previous depictions. While the pencil portrait does pay homage to her bodily attributes, it also demonstrates her progressive relationship with her salon attendees. She was a sex symbol to these men because she was attractive, but she was also "just one of the boys." She was free to say anything around them, regardless of how bawdy or inappropriate it was. Barye's portrait symbolizes the fact that Sabatier's position as a courtesan "buys" her freedom and liberation from societal expectations placed on women. The salon attendees' sisters and mothers could not act this way, but Sabatier could.

Madame Sabatier's portraits by Jalabert, Ricard, Meissonier and Courbet literally clothe La Présidente again. However, symbolically they are also disrobing her, but not to expose her sexuality but to unveil her new found status as a salon leader and artist. In Jalabert's second known depiction of Sabatier, he depicts her with her beloved parakeet, mandolin and reading material. Through analysis, we begin to see the depth in which Sabatier is depicted. These items symbolize Sabatier's ascent from object to a human being with talent, depth and intellect as a result of her position as a courtesan. In Ricard's portrait of Sabatier, we do not see a scantily clad young woman, but a woman placed within the long lineage of female portraiture, which celebrates the respect felt by the

artist toward the sitter. Similarly, Meissonier also showcases Sabatier's role within their artistic society. In *"In the Shade of a Grove Sings a Young Poet,"* he depicts Sabatier as the link between the viewer and the action in the painting. She is the only figure in the composition that makes eye contact; therefore she is engaging the viewer to participate just as she encouraged the members of her salon to discuss their ideas and concepts. Meissonier further exemplifies his respect for Sabatier by teaching her how to paint; a profession that will later become her career. With Meissonier, we begin to see how socialist ideologies that advocate equality in education shape some of the artists' ideologies in Paris.

Courbet's *The Artist's Studio* serves as a sort of apex in the portraits of Sabatier. Here, she is fully clothed yet completely "naked" of her courtesan associations. She serves as an example of a multi-faceted woman. Courbet only identifies her as a married society woman. As Seltzer discussed in his article, the appearance of Sabatier in *The Artist's Studio* served as link between Courbet's painting with Valentin's illustration. Courbet transforms her role from a symbol of what is wrong with modern salons to what is right with them. He is trumpeting salons such as Sabatier's that give artists the platform to express and organize their ideas. She is also depicted as a muse to Baudelaire on and off canvas. Sabatier stands as a synthesis of Fourierism and Saint-Simonianism; she is a woman who has gained equality among her male salon attendees, an upper-level courtesan who has been disassociated from these associations and become a valid member of society, and as fellow artist. Courbet "exposes" her true identity free of sexual associations.

The Goncourt brothers once wrote that "[w]omen have never done anything remarkable except by sleeping with many men, absorbing their moral fiber... I believe that one would never find a virtuous woman who has a sous' worth of intelligence, a virgin has never produced anything."[130] While ignoring the misogynist intent of this quotation, it is a true statement in relation to the nineteenth century. It isn't likely that Madame Sabatier would have gained her respectable role in artistic society as a sexual naïveté. As a result of her role as a courtesan, she was able to live outside the boundaries and restrictions placed on women in nineteenth-century France. Life as a courtesan gave her freedom to mingle with bohemians, speak her mind and embark on a career as an artist. As Esther Guimond once said about herself, La Présidente is certainly "a woman of independent means."

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[1] Madame Apollonie Sabatier is not related to Monsieur and Madame François Sabatier.
[2] For information on Aglaé-Joséphine Savatier's early life, see Billy, *Les Présidente et Ses Amis* and Savatier, *Femme Trop Gaie: Biographie d'un Amour de Baudelaire.*
[3] Billy, p. 17.
[4] Ibid., p. 20.
[5] Séché, "La Présidente." *Mercure de France*, p. 220, and Ziegler, "Baudelairiana, Madame Sabatier, Quelques Notes Biographiques." *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, p. 373.
[6] For information on the salon and the notebook, see Billy and Savatier.
[7] Ziegler, p. 377.
[8] For information on Apollonie's salon, see Billy, p. 79.
[9] Ibid., p. 80.
[10] Savatier, p. 75, and Feydeau, *Théophile Gautier*, p. 154.

[11] Ziegler, p. 365.
[12] Feydeau, p. 167.
[13] Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute*, p. 132.
[14] For information on Gautier's naming Apollonie "La Présidente," see Billy, p. 78, and Ziegler, p. 375.
[15] Quoted by Griffin, *The Book of the Courtesans*, p. 5.
[16] Richardson, *The Courtesans: The Demi-Monde in 19-th Century France*, p. 41.
[17] Griffin, p. 1, and 7-9.
[18] Gréard, *Meissonier and His Life and His Arts*. (Lady Mary Loyd and Florence Simmonds, trans.), p. 125.
[19] Billy, p. 100.
[20] Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*, p. 12.
[21] Quoted by Parker and Pollock, p. 43.
[22] For information on the Morisot sisters, see Parker and Pollock, pp. 43, and 99.
[23] Savatier and Richardson both mention that Sabatier exhibited at the Salon de la Société des Arts, but it cannot be confirmed because the event's catalogue is incomplete. Savatier believes if she did exhibit with the group it would have been before 1847. See Savatier, p. 75, and Richardson, p. 151.
[24] The sitter in *Portrait of Mlle Jeanne S.* is Sabatier's niece. The identity of Mlle Marie L. is unknown.
[25] The Salon des Refusés of 1863 was held to showcase works that were rejected for the official Salon. The government sponsored the Salon des Refusés to allow the public to judge why these artworks were rejected for themselves. For information on the Salon des Refusés, see Boime, "The Salon des Refusés and the Evolution of Modern Art." *Art Quarterly*, 4, pp. 412, and 416, Billy, p. 222, and Wildenstein, "Le Salon des Refusés de 1863 Catalogue et Documents." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 66, p. 144.
[26] For information concerning Sabatier at the Salons of 1861 and 1864, please see Auvray, *Dictionnaire Général des Artistes de L'École Française*, p. 444.
[27] Billy, p. 251.
[28] Quoted by Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, & Parisian Society*, p. 186.
[29] Ziegler, p. 371. While there is visual proof that Aglaé-Joséphine did model for Vidal, there is no such proof for Dupré or Rousseau.
[30] Lathers, *Bodies of Art: French Literary Realism and the Artist's Model*, p. 125. Moss's argument is more logical than Ziegler's. As mentioned earlier, after Mosselman left Sabatier, she redeemed herself from poverty via her art not modeling. If Aglaé-Joséphine was a professional model, it would make sense that she would turn to this vocation in her time of need. However, she did not.
[31] André Billy claims that both artists were students of Delaroche. Auguste Blanchard is an elusive figure in nineteenth-century art world. Much of his work and biography have been lost. I found two Auguste Blanchards that are likely candidates for the artist that recorded Sabatier's entrance into the art world.

The first figure, Auguste Thomas Marie Blanchard III, is most likely the artist mentioned by Billy. He was born in Paris in 1819 into a family of artists. According to Jean Laran, Blanchard was taught by his father and received no outside training. However, according to Billy, Delaroche taught the Blanchard that depicted Sabatier. Louis Auvray provides a possible explanation to this discrepancy. He states that Blanchard began attending the École des Beaux-Arts on March 31, 1836. This date fits in perfectly with the date of Sabatier's portrait and the dates that Delaroche taught at the École

After A. Blanchard completed his paternal and École training, Blanchard became an engraver. His portrait of the architect Jean Nicolas Huyot, after Michel-Martin Drolling, is considered by critics to be his first plate of importance. His artistic prowess drew the attention of the print publishers: Adolphe Goupil and Ernest Gambart. Many of the artists in which Goupil commissioned were students of Delaroche, and according to Whiteley, he worked closely with both the artist and his students. Goupil haunted Delaroche's studio, searching for artistic talent. Perhaps this is where Goupil met Blanchard. He commissioned many engravings from Blanchard including *Head of Christ* and *The Angel Gabriel* after the paintings of Delaroche. Gambart, a publisher with a wider reputation in London, also commissioned several works from Blanchard.

He debuted at the Salon with a piece entitled *Spartacus* after a painting by Domenichino. Blanchard entered and was accepted into the Salon several times. He also exhibited his work in 1864, the same year that Aglaé-Joséphine showcased her work at the Salon. This situation makes one wonder if Blanchard ever fathomed that the beauty he painted posing in a Bressane dress would exhibit her work in the same hallowed halls as he did.

During his career, he won many accolades for his artistic output. At nineteen, he competed for the Prix de Rome and won second prize, and in 1857, he won first prize. He also won La Croix. He was also made a member of the Institute, a position which served as the apex to many artistic careers.

Blanchard died in 1898. Like his grandfather and father before him, he also gave his children an artistic legacy; his sons became artists. See Laran, *Inventaire de Fonds Français*, p. 487, Auvray, p. 96, Whiteley, "Goupil, Delaroche and the Print Trade," *Van Gogh Museum Journal*, 74-81, and Billy, pp. 18-19.

The second candidate for the position of Apollonie's portrayer is Théodore-Auguste Blanchard.[31] Little remains of the second Blanchard's career other than that fact that he was a nineteenth-century painter born in Paris. The only known remnant of his career is a landscape consisting of a river bordered by a giant tree in the Musée Narbonne. There is no date of birth recorded for this painter. This situation makes it difficult to definitely state which Blanchard portrayed Aglaé-Joséphine. Therefore I remain irresolute in my opinion concerning which Blanchard rightfully deserves the title of Apollonie's first portrayer. Benezit, *Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs*, p. 690.

[32] For a detailed description of Aglaé-Joséphine's first portrait, see Billy, p. 19.

[33] There are two Vincent Vidals in the nineteenth-century art world. The Vincent Vidal cited above is not the Vincent Vidal that is often considered a follower of Edgar Degas.

Sabatier's portrayer was born on January 20, 1811 in Carcassone. Vidal moved to Paris to study in the atelier of Delaroche and entered the École on October 2, 1837. See Bénézit, p. 537.

[34] Thierry Savatier suggests that Aglaé-Joséphine and Vidal met circa 1841 or 1842 via Blanchard. Questions arise concerning the nature of their relationship. Were Aglaé-Joséphine and Vidal platonic friends, was she his model, or was she his lover? According to the Goncourt brothers, Aglaé-Joséphine "...a servi aux fantaisies de Vidal," but whether this was idol gossip or fact is unknown. In the nineteenth-century, there is often a blurring between the lines of lover and model; it was not unusual for artists to have trysts with their models. See Savatier, p. 26, and Goncourts, *Mémoires de la Vie Littéraire*, vols. 1-2, p. 117.

[35] E. Bénézit claims that his portraits are reminiscent of eighteenth-century portraiture especially that of Cosway. Vidal also painted the upper echelons of society such as Empress Eugénie (Salon of 1857) and literary figures such as Alexandre Dumas (Salon of 1857). He also ventured into the French countryside to paint peasants and the beautiful landscape of Brittany. See Bénézit, p. 537.

[36] Fizelière, *Le Salon en Miniature*, p. 46.

[37] Monaghan, *The Book of Goddesses and Heroines*, p.123.

[38] Ibid., p. 123.

[39] Ibid., p. 123.

[40] Clésinger was born in Besançon on October 20, 1814. He was baptized as Jean Baptiste Clésinger, but he was commonly known as Auguste. Clésinger's father, Georges-Philippe Clésinger, was a professor of drawing and sculpture at the local école des beaux-arts. He taught his son the basics and in the spring of 1832 traveled with the boy to Italy. In Italy, A. Clésinger became the student of the neo-classical sculptor Bertel Thorwaldsen and the architect Gaspare Salvi. Clésinger preferred the romantic sculpture found in Paris rather than the severe works of his teachers. He always considered himself a romantic sculptor long after the movement had past.

One of the most notorious attributes of Clésinger was his personality. According to biographers he was egotistical, reckless, impulsive and hotheaded. Estignard compares his temperament to that of the Renaissance sculptor Cellini who is infamous for his artistic ego and grandiose claims. Clésinger was also very arrogant concerning his artistic output. He called the works of contemporary sculptors "mediocre." He also desired immense fame. In order to ensure salon acceptance and patronage, he invited many influential people including Mosselman to his salon. When he told a friend of his scheme, he tells him "j'arrive, j'arrive." Despite his "arrival," Clésinger completed few commissions. Perhaps it was always a battle between his ego and careless nature. See Estignard, *Auguste Clésinger: Sa Vie et Ses Oeuvres*, p. 48, Hargrove, "Carrier-Belleuse, Clésinger, and Dalou: French Nineteenth- Century Sculptors." *Minneapolis Institute of Art Bulletin*, 61, 28-43, Lami, *Dictionnaire des Sculpteurs de l'école français au dix- neuvième siècle*, Billy, and Pingeot, "Auguste (Jean-Baptiste) Clésinger." *The Grove Dictionary of Art Online*.

[41] Estignard, p. 48.

[42] Billy, p. 52-53, and Ziegler, p. 373.

[43] See Estignard and Billy for information on *Rêve d'Amour*.

[44] *Femme piquée par un serpent* is also popularly known as *La Volupté.*
[45] Billy, p. 57.
[46] For information on *Femme piquée* see Estignard, Mainardi, "French Sculpture, English Morals: Clésinger's *Bacchante* at the Crystal Palace, 1851." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 102, 215-220, Billy, and Lami, *Dictionnaire des Sculpteurs de l'école français au dix-neuvième siècle.*
[47] The bust later became a part of Sabatier's art collection. It is now owned by the Musée d'Orsay. See Billy and Estignard for information on the bust.
[48] Clésinger made many variations of the three Apollonie pieces later in his career. Revisions were made of *Femme piquée* in 1873 and 1874, the later were made in terra cotta. According to Mainardi, the later revisions were not of Apollonie, but of another model. After Apollonie's death, her sister had Clésinger's molds of Apollonie destroyed. See Estignard, Billy, p.67 and Mainardi.
[49] Billy, p. 72.
[50] The sculpture was purchased by Prince Demidoff, who was also the patron of Ricard, for 15,000 francs. *Bacchante couchée* was chosen for exhibition at the Great Exhibition of Works and Industry of All Nations in London. Mainardi states that at these events, submissions from guest countries were commonly given awards out of politeness. This was not the situation with Clésinger's submission. The English jury believed it demonstrated excellent sculpting skills, but it was perverted and immoral. Information on *Bacchante couchée* can be found in Estignard, Mainardi, Lami and Billy. For information on the Clésinger's appearance in London, see Mainardi.
[51] Billy, p. 52-3.
[52] Lathers, p. 23.
[53] Ziegler, p. 371.
[54] For information on Parker's theories concerning the male gaze and the male's dominance over the female nude, see Parker and Pollock, p. 116.
[55] Billy, pp. 70-71.
[56] Ibid., p. 71.
[57] Griffin, p. 253.
[58] Barye was born on September 24, 1796 in Paris. His father was a goldsmith from Lyon named Pierre Barye. Barye learned his father's trade and it was apparent early on that Barye was artistically inclined. At thirteen he began working for Fourrier, an engraver who supplied all the metal accessories for the military and made *repousée* work for Napoleon.

In 1816, he entered the atelier of Bosio, a neo-classical sculpture, to learn the essentials of sculpture. He also entered the atelier of Gros. From 1818 to 1823, Barye was enrolled at the École des Beaux-Arts but quit after several attempts for the Prix de Rome remained fruitless. His failure was disheartening to the aspiring sculptor, and as a result he abandoned his artistic pursuits via academia.

Barye returned to the crafts under the employment of a goldsmith named Fauconnier. However, his artistic endeavors were not completely squelched; he still pursued his artistic training although this time it was under his own tutelage. He became a voracious reader of art theory, archaeology and animal anatomy. He also learned anatomy firsthand at the Jardin des Plantes, which was a center that included a menagerie, herbarium, museum of natural history, library, lecture rooms and labs. He studied animals at all stages of dissection to learn about their structures from the inside out. Each time an animal perished, the keeper sent a messenger to Barye so that he could study the animal's structure. For eight years, Barye would share his time between the Jardin and Fauconnier's workshop. An incident that demonstrates Barye's successful education at the Jardin occurred while he was working for the goldsmith. A customer commissioned a soup tureen embellished with stags. Barye made the tureen, but it was returned because the stags were too realistic. The patron wanted stags that were nobler than the actual animals.

In 1827, Barye entered the Salon successfully, and in 1831 he had his first major success at the Salon. He exhibited the *Martyrdom of St. Sebastien* and *Tiger Devouring a Crocodile.* The animal piece was successful and became the basis of his career; his depiction of animals became his calling card. It received a second place medal and was given positive reviews by critics. Charles Blanc wrote: "For centuries ferocious animals had only been treated conventionally. The idea of studying them at the menagerie had never occurred to anyone." With this Salon success, he left the employment of Fauconnier.

In the Salon of 1833, he exhibited another animal piece entitled *Lion Crushing a Serpent.* This sculpture helped establish an important family of patrons for Barye, which according to Benge was his

intent. The symbolism of the piece appealed to Louis-Philippe. Lions represent courage, strength, fortitude and most importantly kingly leadership. The French royals also associated Barye's lion with Leo the astrological sign of July; a month which was very important to them in the fact that they came to power in the July Revolution of 1830. They took Barye's piece to symbolize their triumph over the old government as represented by the snake. As a result, Barye received numerous commissions from the royal family. Unfortunately in 1848 the monarchy was forced to leave France and Barye lost a great deal of financial support.

The royal family encouraged Barye to exhibit at the Salon. However the Salon jury, who once was supportive of his work, turned against him. Many factors that were key elements in his work began to work against him. The jury and sculpture critics held certain values concerning sculpture, or what they perceived as "truths," as to what sculpture should be. Barye's works violated several of these values including their size, subject matter and production techniques. His sculptures were relatively small; the jury typically preferred life size or monumental sculptures. Barye's critics sardonically called his work paperweights. Barye had a passion for depicting animals in his sculptures; however the jury did not view his preference as suitable subject matter. They preferred sculpture portraying leaders, mythology, biblical characters, etc. Animals were low on the hierarchy of suitable sculpture topics. The major issue that was argued in reference to Barye's work was the craft verses art debate. His critics saw his work as craft not as art. Many of the production procedures he used were learned in his apprenticeships with metal engravers and goldsmiths. Ironically these were the very elements of his works that increased their veristic appearance. His counterparts typically stylized features of animals, whereas Barye used finishing techniques that allowed him to depict every fine detail of the animals, but because he used craft techniques, the jury saw his work as craft not art. As a result of these issues, Barye could not exhibit at the Salon. See Benge, *Grove Dictionary of Art Online*, Smith, *Barbizon Days*, Benge, *Antoine-Louis Barye: Sculptor of Romantic Realism*, Loffredo, "Des Recherches Communes de Barye et de Delacroix au Laboratoire d'Anatomie Comparée du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle." *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, Loffredo, "Des Recherches Communes de Barye et de Delacroix au Laboratoire d'Anatomie Comparée du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle" *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français,* and Pivar, *The Barye Bronzes*.

[59] Savatier mentions that the sketch is dedicated to Gautier, p. 35.

[60] There are some similarities between the females depicted in Barye's work and Apollonie such *Amazon Costume de 1830* and *Angélique et Roger, Montés sur L'Hippogriffe* to name a few examples. While women in Barye's work are similar in appearance to Apollonie, there is no documentation concerning Apollonie officially posing for Barye.

[61] Smith, p. 217.

[62] Benge, p. 1.

[63] Sabatier also owned works by Barye at her death. Billy, p.44, and 259.

[64] Jalabert was born on January 1, 1819 in Nîmes, France. Jalabert began the rudiments of his artistic training there under the tutelage of Alexandre Colin at the École de Dessin. Jalabert's father was a store owner and wanted his son to be one as well not an artist He sent him to Paris to learn his trade. However, this attempt did not thwart Jalabert's artistic aspirations for the shopkeeper loved art also and tolerated Jalabert studying it in his free time.

After one year in Paris, Jalabert decided to devote the entirety of his life to art. Despite his father's negative opinion, Jalabert followed his dreams and enrolled into an atelier run by Delaroche. Delaroche noticed his talent and recommended him for enrollment into the École des Beaux-Arts. On October 9, 1839 Jalabert became a student at the École.

If Jalabert ever felt like his biological father did not support him in the arts, Delaroche certainly filled this void. Out of the plethora of students enrolled in Delaroche's atelier, Jalabert was one that he took under his wing. While Delaroche served as a teacher, he also served as a friend and confidant. This relationship did not end at the cessation of his artistic training, but continued until Delaroche's death on November 4, 1856.

The extent of admiration felt by Jalabert toward Delaroche can be seen in his trip to Italy. Soon after Delaroche's atelier disbanded, he journeyed to Italy to study the masters. Jalabert's attempts to win the coveted Prix de Rome had failed, yet he was determined to follow his master to Italy. At his own expense he traveled there and soon located his artistic mentor to seek his advice and mentoring. From 1843 to 1846,

Jalabert lived in Italy studying Italian life and the great masters. Jalabert rented a studio where he painted future Salon submissions. One of these submissions painted in Rome is *Virgile, Horace et Varius chez Mécène.* Jalabert entered this painting into the Salon of 1847 and it won a third class medal. It was purchased for 5,000 francs for the Royal Museum in Luxembourg.

Jalabert also spent a great deal of his artistic life devoted to the creation of portraits. Contemporary critics said these portraits exuded the soul of the sitter. These portrayals obviously exuded something special, women begged Jalabert to paint their portraits; he had to turn several down because of the demand. Jalabert was commissioned to portray the rich, famous state celebrities and figures of history such as George Washington's mother. The celebrity of his portraits is most clearly shown through the commissions offered by the Orléans family exiled in England. Jalabert traveled to England three times to sketch the family whom he stayed with and socialized with during his stays. See Bernardy, "Charles Jalabert, Peinture Nimois." *Mémoires de l'Académie de Nîmes*, 59, 87-105, Jourdan, *Charles-François Jalabert (1819-1901)*, Billy, and Reinaud, *Charles Jalabert: L'Homme, Artiste, D'Après Sa Correspondance.*

[65] The whereabouts of this portrait is unknown.

[66] Jalabert even had nicknames for Sabatier. In his letters addressed to her, he would call her Lili and Nini. Savatier, "A Propos du Portrait de Madame Sabatier par Charles Jalabert," *Bulletin Baudelairien*, Winter 1981, p. 6-7.

[67] Ibid., p. 6-8.

[68] Billy, p. 169, and Savatier, p. 41.

[69] Jalabert lived in an eclectic artistic environment. The Realists, Barbizons and Impressionists served as the avant-garde pushing and changing the limits of traditional art. However, in this environment there were also painters like Jalabert who maintained traditional subject matter and artistic practices. Jalabert being an artist of the tradition would purposely avoid incorporating contemporary meaning into his work and openly distained the avant-garde. See Jourdan, pp. 15-16.

[70] Billy, p. 165.

[71] Savatier, p. 203.

[72] For clarification purposes, parakeets and parrots are two different names for the same type of bird.

[73] For information on parakeets and the Rococo, see Sani, "Rosalba Carriera's Young Lady with a Parrot." *Museum Studies*, 17, 74-87.

[74] Le Juez, "La Femme au Perroquet: Un Portrait de la Femme au XIX Siècle." *French Studies Bulletin*, p. 11.

[75] Le Bihan, "Le Bestiaire Symbolique des Peintures." *L'Estampille, L'Objet D'Art*, 254, p. 58.

[76] Savatier, p. 203.

[77] Griffin, p. 4.

[78] Gustave Ricard was born in Marseille on September 1, 1823. As a young man, Ricard moved to Paris and entered the atelier of Léon Cogniet. After his training, Ricard traveled to Italy to study Correggio and Titian, to England to study the portrait masters, and then made a tour of Holland, Belgium and France. During his journeys, Ricard intently studied the masters and essayed to decipher their processes and techniques. This study became almost empirical and if not, certainly diligent. He spent six months copying Correggio's *l'Antiope.* He was soon noted for his conscientiousness. Many commentators remarked that Ricard's copies were amazingly close to the originals: a significant feat for someone so young. Ricard exhibited his copies at the Cercle Artistique.

Ricard was not content, to devote the entirety of his life to copies; with the intense studying of the masters, he had a goal in mind. He learned from the masters' techniques and processes as evidenced by their paintings. He incorporated these lessons into his own work, but to fuse their techniques with his ideas not to copy them. His work became a synthesis of old and new.

Ricard enacted this syncretistic technique in his atelier on rue Duperré, which he kept until his death. His main genre was portraiture, but he also did a few still lifes. Ricard had explicit ideas about how a portrait should look. He despised the portraits that accurately portrayed the visage of the sitter, but failed to express their inner person or soul. He endeavored to produce a portrait that did both. Some of his portrait subjects include his sisters, Feydeau, Chenavard-the artist who inspired Meissonier to paint genre scenes, Albert Goupil, and himself to name a few. See Cantinelli, "Gustave Ricard." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, i, 83-103, Brès, *Gustave Ricard et Son Oeuvre A Marseille*, Davenport, "Gustave Ricard." *The Grove*

Dictionary of Art Online, Flat, "Un Grand Portraitiste Français Gustave Ricard." *Revue Bleue*, 50, 680-682, and Musset, *Notice sur la vie de Gustave Ricard, Suivie du Catalogue de ses Oeuvres Exposées à l'École des Beaux-arts*.

[79] Ricard's biographers disagree as to which date he entered the portrait of Madame Sabatier into the Salon. Brès states that he entered the portrait into the Salon of 1852, while Cantinelli writes it was exhibited at the Salon of 1850. Gautier and Billy wrote that Ricard entered her portrait into the Salon of 1851. I would give the greatest credibility to Gautier because he wrote an article for *La Presse* entitled "Salon of 1850-51" in which he discussed Ricard's portrait of Sabatier. Since the article was written before 1852, Brès is incorrect in his dating of the painting. *Dame au petit chien* won a second place medal in the Salon of 1851. It also won an honorable mention at the Universal Exposition.

[80] For information concerning the friendship between Sabatier and Ricard, see Billy, pp. 84-85, 152-156, and 235-237.

[81] Since Ricard made a point of reinterpreting the masters, it is also important to look to his influences for these portrayals to establish his portrait of Sabatier within the tradition.

[82] The image is unavailable to reproduce for reference purposes.

[83] Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, p. 9-10.

[84] The dog was given to her by her friend Alfred Tattet. For information on La Présidente's dog, see Billy, p. 153, Savatier, p. 71, and Judith Gautier, *Le Second Rang du Collier*, p. 182.

[85] Seltzer, "Gustave Courbet: All the World's a Studio." *Artforum*, September 1977, p. 47.

[86] Ibid., p. 47.

[87] Savatier, p. 240.

[88] "J'aime à peindre ceux qui comprennent ma peinture...J'aime à peindre les gens que je comprends." Quoted in Cantinelli, "Gustave Ricard." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, i, 1903, p. 100.

[89] Ernest Meissonier was born in Lyon, France on February 21, 1815. He was artistically influenced at an early age by his mother Jeanne Berger Meissonier. However, Meissonier senior was a wholesaler dealer of textile dyes and wanted his son to follow in his footsteps into the business world.

Meissonier knew the profession preferred by his father did not suite his temperament; he finally decided to make his feelings known to his father. Meissonier asked his father for 300 francs to fund his artistic aspirations and promised that he would not hear from him until he was successful in his endeavors. Meissonier senior agreed to this arrangement on the condition that his son locates a master in one week. Finally at the end of the week, a family friend introduced Meissonier to Léon Cogniet. Meissonier's time in this atelier was short; he spent five months there, and he only saw his master twice.

Despite Cogniet's inattentiveness, Meissonier managed to find success on his own. His *Flemish Burghers* was accepted into the Salon of 1834 and was subsequently purchased by the Société des Amis des Arts for 100 francs. His proud father gave him a studio but reduced his allowance due to his recent marriage. As a result, Meissonier was desperately in need of an additional income. A friend introduced him to Curmer, a publisher who revolutionized a process that made illustrated books more accessible to a larger audience. Curmer was a Saint-Simonian that desired to provide the public with books that countered individualism, egoism and self-interest. Like Courbet, Curmer also advocated the idea of a "social workshop;" a place where craftsmen mutually create a product that conveys a message beneficial to society as a whole. Curmer was skeptical about Meissonier's skills, but despite his doubts he hired the artist to do some illustrations. Soon Curmer's reservations faded as Meissonier proved to be an asset to the publisher's company. Curmer soon became his pupil's mentor, emphasizing to Meissonier the importance of veracity in his artwork. Meissonier employed his love of study, derived from his school days, and spent endless hours at research institutions investigating every minute detail in his compositions. He also learned marketing skills from Curmer, a fact that is quite evident throughout the course of his career. Meissonier worked full time as a book illustrator until the 1840s with his final project ending in 1858. His tenure with Curmer acted as a springboard to his career. In addition to the various lessons learned from his mentor, many of Meissonier's first Salon submissions were based on illustrations commissioned by Curmer.

While Meissonier's career as a book illustrator was rewarding, its main aim was to pay the bills; his true aspirations lay in the world of painting. Like Blanchard, Jalabert and Ricard, Meissonier also began painting traditional subject matter. An encounter with his friend Chenavard, a fellow painter, changed Meissonier's painting forever. Chenavard told Meissonier that Raphael already painted these subjects well, why should you bother? Via this statement, Chenavard gave Meissonier an epiphany. From this moment

on, Meissonier discarded his endeavors to create traditional subject matter and began a career as genre painter. See Gréard, Hungerford, *Ernest Meissonier: Master in His Genre*, and Gotlieb, *The Plight of Emulation: Ernest Meissonier and French Salon Painting.*

[90] For information on Meissonier and his friendship with Sabatier, see Billy and Hungerford.

[91] Gréard, p. 82.

[92] Billy, p.145.

[93] Gréard, p. 80.

[94] The title is based on a poem dedicated to Meissonier by his friend Charles Reynaud. "Reynaud" is also spelled "Regnault."

[95] Information concerning this painting can be found in Ingamell's Wallace Collection Catalogues and Hungerford and Reff, *Retrospective Exhibitions of Ernest Meissonier,* p. 70.

[96] Billy, p. 39.

[97] Meissonier viewed modernity as boring; modern mannerisms and culture were banal and not as grand as the past in his point of view. This is the reason Meissonier never painted his subjects in contemporary dress, but in attire of the past. See Hungerford, p. 74.

[98] For information on Meissonier's dedication to Sabatier, see Nolan, *Dictionary of Artist's Models*, p. 480.

[99] According to Hungerford, his artwork does not contain sexuality or flirtations. For information concerning Meissonier's lack of sexuality in his work, see Hungerford, pp. 8, 17, and 76.

[100] However, one could argue that regardless of Meissonier's artistic ideologies and intentions, any recognizable image of Sabatier would be and could be seen as sexualized due to her notoriety. Despite Meissonier's intentions, it is almost impossible for the viewer to alleviate this association in regards to Sabatier and with any appealing woman in general. Despite evidence of visual appeal, Meissonier's intentions were not sexualized as previous images of Sabatier were.

[101] Gréard, p. 125.

[102] Rounding, p. 165.

[103] Savatier, p. 73.

[104] Herding, *Courbet to Venture Independence,* p. 47.

[105] Seltzer doubts Valentin knew the illustration would be attached to this article.

[106] Although Billy never mentions Courbet in his biography, it is likely that he knew about her from either Baudelaire or because of her celebrity.

[107] Apollonie and Caroline Sabatier are often confused with one another partly due to the fact that they both sang at one point or another.

[108] Nicolson, *Courbet: The Studio of the Painter*, p. 39.

[109] Linda Nochlin also argues that the couple is the F. Sabatiers due to their common Fourier connections with Courbet. James Rubin also theorizes that the art collectors may be this couple.

[110] Herding also wrote that Seltzer said Sabatier was a frequent visitor at Courbet's atelier; however this has been mistranslated. Seltzer said that Sabatier was a frequent visitor at Boissard's.

[111] The identity of Ricard's sitter as Caroline Sabatier is identified by Ziegler, "Baudelairiana, Madame Sabatier, Quelques Notes Biographiques." *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, under "Bibliographie Sommaire sur Mme Sabatier."

[112] Toussaint, p. 254.

[113] Goncourts, *The Goncourt Journals: 1851-1870.* (Lewis Galantière, trans.), p. 359.

[114] For information concerning couture habits of courtesans and society women and the attempts to marginal prostitutes, see Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute.*

[115] For information concerning Sabatier and Baudelaire, see Porché, *Charles Baudelaire.* (John Mavin, trans.), Billy, Starkie, *Baudelaire,* Moss, *Baudelaire et Sabatier,* Pichois, *Baudelaire.* (Graham Robb, trans.) and Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil* and *Correspondance.*

[116] François Porché paints a very negative picture of Jeanne Duval's behavior. He wrote that she poisoned Baudelaire's cat in spite. He also adds that she did not share in Baudelaire's love of poetry or conversation and if she thought it would bring her more money, she would throw his manuscripts into the fire verses seeing them published. See p. 133.

[117] For these quotations, see Baudelaire, *Intimate Journals*, pp. 38, 55, 70.

[118] Nicolson, p. 20.

[119] Porché, *Charles Baudelaire,* (John Mavin, trans.), p. 133.

[120] Klaus Herding believes the painting is a political message. Hélène Toussaint identifies the "poacher" on the left side as Napoleon III. Herding agrees with this identification and builds on Toussaint's theory. According to Herding, Courbet created an analogy between his life as manifested through the painting and Napoleon III's time as a ruler manifested by the Paris World Fair.

The Artist's Studio was painted with the intention of exhibiting it at the World Fair. This exhibition, in his mind, would put him on par with Ingres and Delacroix, who were venerated by the French. However a conversation with Nieuwerkerke, President of the admission jury, changed his intentions. Nieuwerkerke told Courbet he would be allowed to exhibit his work, if he toned down the controversial content. He went on to tell Courbet that his submissions would be evaluated by two judges: one artist and one governmental official. Courbet declared that he was the only one worthy to judge his work, and thus vowed to organize his own exhibition that would rival the World Fair.

Courbet certainly had an agenda with the creation of *The Artist's Studio*; likewise Napoleon III had an agenda with the hosting of the fair. He wanted to showcase the glories of his empire, thus celebrating himself. This event was also designed to promote peace, an ironic goal since Napoleon III was waging war on several fronts. Just as Courbet's painting is an allegory celebrating the last seven years of his life, the fair also marked the seventh anniversary of Napoleon III's rule.

According to Herding, Courbet is playing on the tradition of artists' representing their studios and receiving important officials interested in their artwork. Traditionally artists created these scenes to validate their work and give due respect to the patrons and/or officials that admired it. However, Courbet switches this premise, and instead of giving Napoleon III the place of honor, Courbet places him in the role of a common man and elevates himself by placing his self-portrait in the center. Courbet once said "I am the foremost man in France..." and "The world comes to my door to be painted..." These quotations certainly set up the analogy between the World Fair and the painting. Napoleon III considers himself to be the "foremost man in France" and through the World Fair, the world literally comes to his door.

Herding writes that Napoleon III is supposedly calling for peace, but Courbet actually is. Courbet, as the intermediary, is calling for everyone to "get along" by depicting all segments of society. Art, instead of the World Fair, becomes the medium in which to "mediate" or call for peace. Courbet views art as a means to save society based on a compilation of ideas from socialists such as Fourier, Saint-Simon, and Proudhon. A critic in 1855 said that the World Fair will act as a caesura between two societies: one that is ending and one that is beginning.

In her article entitled "The Invention of the Avant-Garde: France, 1830-80," Linda Nochlin builds on Herding's ideas concerning the relationship between Courbet and socialist ideologies. Herding writes that Courbet used art as "mediator" to call for peace. Art/artists with social functions were a common sentiment during this time among avant garde artists and philosophers such as Henri Saint-Simon and Fourierists. Saint-Simon declared that the goal of an artist was to serve as the avant-garde and to spread new ideas via artistic media. According to Saint-Simon, the artist should serve a "priestly" function within society, disbursing beneficial information that could potentially change society for the better. The Fourierist Laverdant also stated that art should be an expression of society and should also be an "initiator" to visually dispense the need to change and improve humanity.

Nochlin argues that *The Artist's Studio* is a Fourierist allegory and provides as evidence Courbet's Fourierist associations to prove her theory. When Courbet moved from rural France to Paris, he stated that he was a Fourierist. In addition, Courbet was friends with François Sabatier, a wealthy patron of the arts who also lived by this ideology. In the summer of 1854, Courbet stayed with Sabatier at his home in Tour de Farges. There Courbet drew a portrait of Monsieur Sabatier.

During Courbet's time with Sabatier, Nochlin hypothesizes that Courbet saw his sketch entitled *The Last Evening of Slavery* by Papety. The sketch is a Fourierist allegory that visually demonstrates that scholars will bring an end to slavery. According to Fourier this would be called the "Hour of Harmony," which is the last stage in the evolution of society. Nochlin theorizes that Courbet's *The Artist's Studio* is based on this sketch and like Papety's work is also based on Fourierist ideas.

Nochlin sees many Fourierist allusions in *The Artist's Studio*. One of these is the association between "Capital, Labor and Talent"; the idea that art is comparative to other trades and is not the result of some sort of genius but of labor, which results in a sort of renewal. "Capital" is expressed via the inclusion of Courbet's likeminded patron Bruyas and other art collectors. Nochlin also sees Fourier's idea that there are interactions between the natural, physical, psychological and social realms in Courbet's painting. In

addition Courbet includes Fourier's idea that there are four "affective passions," which are "friendship," "love," "ambition," and "family feeling." She thinks that perhaps the nude represents "love" and the small boy watching Courbet paint symbolizes "ambition." These four affective passions correspond to "childhood," "adolescence," "maturity," and "old age." These include two pivot ages which are between sixteen and thirty-five, and thirty-six and forty-five. Nochlin mentions that Courbet was thirty-six when the painting was exhibited. As a result of his central location in the composition, he also acts as the pivot point in the painting.

Her last point concerning Courbet and Fourier centers on the boy drawing on the floor to Courbet's right. Fourier studied the behavior of children and found that they have five dispositions. He named one of these dispositions "la singerie" or "imitation." Fourier said that children mimic the actions of adults and they should give children small tools so that they can imitate their elders. Nochlin states that the little boy drawing is a visual representation of Fourier's "la singerie." The little boy is aping the artist.

James Rubin, in his book entitled *Realism and Social Vision in Courbet and Proudhon*, also writes that *The Artist's Studio* is based on socialist ideologies. Unlike Nochlin, he believes this painting is based on Proudhon's theories not Fourier's. (Although it sometimes seems that the water gets very muddy in an attempt to differentiate between the various ideologies.) Courbet and Proudhon were friends and they were both influenced by a wide variety of social philosophers including Saint-Simon, Fourier, Blanc, Comte, Thoré, Cabet, Considerant and Leroux. Proudhon was an anarchist that promoted the idea of individualism, contrary to Fourier. He also advocated certain ideas about work and working environments. Proudhon felt that men should work voluntarily in specialized fields according to their tastes and skills. In addition, workers would collaborate to create a product or an end goal. Proudhon viewed work as noble endeavor in contrast to the then common Christian interpretation of work as punishment for original sin.

According to Rubin, Courbet was also influenced by his patron Bruyas who commissioned *The Artist's Studio*. As a consequence of Courbet's conversation with Nieuwerkerke, the artist did not receive state patronage, which put him in a situation where he had the luxury of finding his own patron with mutual goals and ideas. Bruyas also had his own socialist ideologies that were a fusion of Saint-Simonianism and Fourierism. He thought that art should teach morals and represent the natural world not based on the academic representations, but as it is. Bruyas wrote a book in which he stated art is the solution to social problems. These ideals are the same that art historian Herding felt Courbet sought. As a result, the relationship between Courbet and Bruyas was mutually beneficial, resulting in *The Artist's Studio.*

While Rubin argues that *The Artist's Studio* mainly expresses the ideologies of Proudhon, he contradicts himself in pointing out that many of Courbet's ideologies differ from Proudhon and are actually derived from other thinkers. In *The Artist's Studio*, Courbet depicts himself as the artist-craftsman. As mentioned before he is not the inspired genius of the tradition, but just another worker at the top of the social hierarchy. This can be seen from his central placement in the composition. The idea of the worker-artist actually stems from Champfleury not Proudhon. Courbet's placement at the center of the painting also reflects Proudhon's idea that man evolves and that the artist is at the apex of this evolution. According to Rubin, Courbet eventually moved away from the ideologies of Proudhon to those of other social thinkers. I think Rubin himself proves that *The Artist's Studio* is a fusion of socialistic thinking from several sources not just Proudhon. See Herding, *Courbet to Venture Independence.* (John William Gabriel, trans.), "The Invention of the Avant-Garde: France, 1830-80." *Art News Annual,* 34,11-19, Rubin, *Realism and Social Vision in Courbet and Proudhon*, and Toussaint, "The Painter's Studio: A Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic Life." *Gustave Courbet 1819-1877*, 251-280.

[121] For information concerning Fourierism, see Riasanovsky, *The Teaching of Charles Fourier,* McWilliam, *Dreams of Happiness,* and McMillan, *France and Women 1789-1914.*

[122] Riasanovsky, p. 144.

[123] McWilliam, pp. 195-196.

[124] Quoted in Rubin, p. 80.

[125] For information concerning Saint-Simonianism, see McWilliam, Taylor, *Henri Saint-Simon (1760-1825)*, and McMillan.

[126] For Saint-Simon's ideas concerning women, see McMillan, and Parkhurst, *The Saint Simonians Mill and Carlyle: A Preface to Modern Thought*, and Bernheimer.

[127]Parent-Duchâtelet linked prostitutes with excrement, and viewed them as contagions of French society. To Parent-Duchâtelet and society in general, prostitutes were representative of infection especially syphilis. As symbols of this horrible venereal disease, these women were characterized as deviant, shadowy figures;

they existed in the peripheries of society. Parent-Duchâtelet advised that prostitutes be separated from society and regulated, so that the contagion could be controlled. As a result of this separation, prostitutes would no longer be a part of society but divided from it. According to Parent-Duchâtelet as soon as a woman decided to become a prostitute, she has signed away her rights as a citizen; she is no longer a part of society. The unregistered prostitutes were the biggest threat to society, but the courtesans were also viewed as problematic. These women purposely and willfully erased their lower class roots and emulated the customs of the elite. Like their lower class sisters, Parent-Duchâtelet also viewed these refined women as outside of society. Regardless of class, all prostitutes had the power to crumble societal hierarchies either through contagion or through infiltration. For more information, see Bernheimer.

[128] Quoted by McWilliam, p. 44.

[129] See footnote number 23.

[130] Goncourt, *Paris and the Arts, 1851-1896: From the Goncourt Journal.* (George J. Becker and Edith Philips, trans.), p. 62.

APPENDICES

Figure 1: Madame Apollonie Sabatier, *Self-Portrait*, c. 1861, 1875, Private Collection

Figure 2: Vincent Vidal, *Portrait of Madame Sabatier*, c. 1842-43, Watercolor, Musée de Compiègne

Figure 3: Jean-Marc Nattier, *Portrait of Marie Adelaide of France as Flora*, c. 1842-43, Watercolor, Uffizi Gallery, Florence

Figure 4: Claude Vignon, *Flora*, c. 1730s, Oil on canvas, 89.4 x 76.5 cm, Residenzgalerie, Salzburg

Figure 5: Titian, *Flora*, c. 1515, Oil on canvas, 79.6 x 63.5 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence

Figure 7: Jean-Baptiste Clésinger, *Rêve d'Amour*, Salon of 1844, Plaster, Louvre, Paris

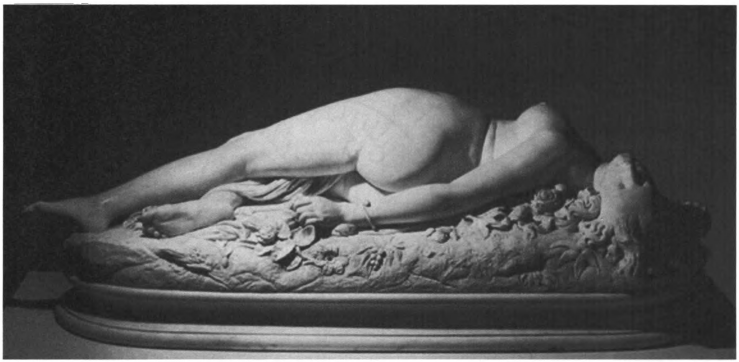

Figure 8: Jean-Baptiste Clésinger, *La Femme piquée par un serpent*, Salon of 1847, Also known as: *La Volupté*, Marble, Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Figure 9: Jean-Baptiste Clésinger, *Bust of Madame Sabatier*, Salon of 1847, Marble, Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Figure 10: Jean-Baptiste Clésinger, *Bacchante couchée*, 1847, Marble, Petit Palais, Paris

Figure 11: Eugène Delacroix, *Louis d'Orléans Showing His Mistress*, 1825-26, Oil on canvas, Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, Spain

Figure 12: Antoine Barye, *Portrait of Madame Sabatier*, Pencil on paper, Private Collection

Figure 13: *Portrait of Madame Sabatier*, c. 1847,48-1860, Also known as: *Rêverie*, Pencil on paper, Private Collection

Figure 14: Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Mrs. Bower*, 1755-57, Untraced

Figure 15: Rosalba Carriera, *Young Lady with a Parrot*, c. 1730, Pastel, 59.8 x 50 cm, Art Institute of Chicago: Chicago

Figure 16: Gustave Courbet, *Woman with a Parrot*, 1866, Oil on canvas, 129.5 x 195.6 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City

Figure 17: Eugène Delacroix, *Woman with a Parrot*, 1827, Oil on canvas, Musée des Beaux-arts, Lyons

Figure 18: Edouard Manet, *Woman with a Parrot*, 1866, Oil on canvas, 185 x 132 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City

Figure 19: Gustave Ricard, *Portrait of Madame Sabatier*, Salon of 1851, Also known as: *Dame au petit chien*, Oil on canvas, Private Collection

Figure 20: Rembrandt, *Woman with a Lap Dog*, c. 1662, Oil on canvas, 80.5 x 64 cm, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto

Figure 21: Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Caroline, Duchess of Marlborough*, 1759-62, Trustees of the Bedford Estates at Woburn Abbey

Figure 22: Titian, *Eleonora Gonzaga della Rovere*, Canvas, 114 x 103 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence

Figure 23: Ernest Meissonier, *Portrait of Madame Sabatier*, c. 1853, Oil, Private Collection

Portrait de Mme Sabatier

Vendu 7,100 francs

Figure 24: Ernest Meissonier, *Portrait of Madame Sabatier*, c. 1853, Oil, Private Collection

Figure 25: Ernest Meissonier, *Portrait of Madame Sabatier*, c. 1853, Private Collection,

Figure 26: Ernest Meissonier, *"In the Shade of a Grove Sings a Young Poet,"* 1852, Panel, 18.4 x 21.7 cm, The Wallace Collection, London

Figure 27: Gustave Courbet, *The Painter's Studio: A real allegory summing up seven years of my artistic life,* 1855, Oil on canvas, 3.59 x 5.98 m, Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Figure 28: Henri Valentin, *Intérieur d'un atelier d'artiste au XIXe siècle*, 1849, Engraving, Private Collection

Figure 29: Gustave Courbet, *Portrait of François Sabatier*, c. 1857, Drawing, Musée Fabre, Montpellier

Figure 30: Alfred de Dreux, *Portrait of Alfred Mosselman*, 1848, Musée du Petit Palais, Paris

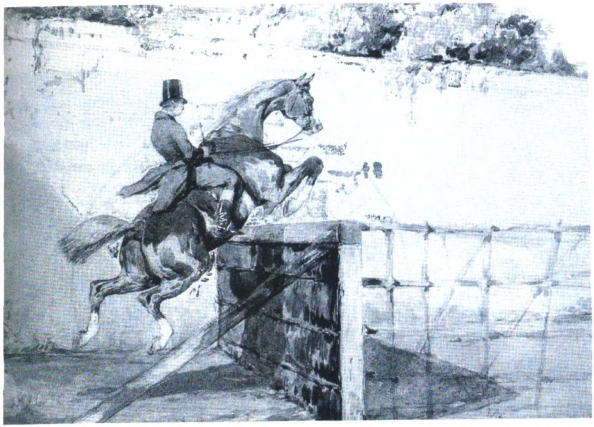

Figure 31: Alfred de Dreux, *Portrait of Alfred Mosselman*, 1837

Figure 32: Gustave Ricard, *Portrait of Caroline Ungher-Sabatier*, 1865, Musée Fabre, Montpellier,

Caricature of 'The studio' by Quillenbois. L'Illustration, 21 July 1855.

Figure 33: Quillenbois, Caricature of *"The Artist's Studio," L'Illustration*, July 21, 1855

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