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Philosophy and Satire Back to Back:
On Edouard Manet's *Philosopher With Oysters* and other "beggar-philosophers"

A Thesis Presented
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Olga Lomshakova
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Abstract of the Thesis

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This thesis explores two genres of visual representation, philosophy and satire, as interconnected emanations of visuality/discourse conundrum and as related to art historical interpretations of the modern painter Edouard Manet. Particular attention is given to his painting called "Philosopher With Oysters" among a small series of works called "beggar-philosophers" and the numerous single-figure portraits that Manet painted. The iconography of sources, technical specifications and aesthetic intentions of Manet's works are discussed with reference to an old and rich tradition of depicting the ancient philosophers Democritus and Heraclitus, known as "the laughing and crying couple." Ultimately, this thesis aims to disclose the literary and visual connections between the figure of philosopher and the oyster as a central trope of philosophical satire, pertinent to emergence of the modern discourse on art.

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I. A Thesis (Of the Popular Types)

There is no comprehensive study of Manet's painting *Philosopher With Oysters* (Fig. 1), which can be seen at the Art Institute of Chicago. Most art historical interpretations go no farther than to cite Manet's emulations of Velazquez's paintings called *Aesop* and *Menippus* (Fig. 5). Manet's interest in the art of the past has been the most controversial among many theories constructed regarding originality and modernity of his artistic accomplishments; yet almost all theories have left the *Philosopher With Oysters* unexplained, silent and perplexing. A thorough exploration of Manet's portrayal of a street beggar as wise man, this study will give expression to an inquiry Manet had made into ancient literature and art. I will argue that literary sources such as Lucian's satire called *Philosophers For Sale*, for example, published numerous times during Manet's lifetime, reveal an older and continuous tradition of satirical depictions of philosophers.

I will provide evidence that the *Philosopher With Oysters* is a "beggar-philosopher" type of painting which had a place in the art-making not only of the seventeenth-century Spanish and Dutch masters admired by Manet but also in the works of painters of the Italian Renaissance. I will suggest that a similar trope can be found in the witty art of the twentieth century artists such as Marcel Duchamp, and the Dada and Fluxus artist collectives. The crux of my reasoning will be that despite the fact that Manet's paintings mark the shift towards a preponderant "modernist" visuality—painterly flatness, formalism and abstraction—the paintings engage with the literary tradition of the past at large and expand upon the fundamental questions regarding nature of art. The *Philosopher With Oysters* and its three companion "beggar-philosophers," the *Absinthe Drinker*, the *Philosopher Wearing Beret*, and the *Rag Picker* (Figs. 1–4), comprise a "philosophical" attitude of Manet toward art that deals with both historical subject matter and

technical innovations. This attitude, moreover, is expressed as “satire” and constitutes Manet’s challenge of the conventions and expectations of the general concept of artist that I find even more important than his paradigmatic painterly breakthroughs.

In this thesis I will consider the distinction between philosophy and satire as genres of art and their indivisibility in the sense of their parity as it developed throughout history of art and literature. I will call this indivisibility a quality of “indecidability” and will aim to show that it is found in the work in question, the *Philosopher With Oysters* itself. I will try to show that this painting is forward- and backward-looking at the same time, that it is derivative and completely original, that it is literary and a visual *pièce de résistance*—a jewel both in the crown and in the pile of oysters.

Manet’s dialogue with the past art has been thoroughly accounted for; nonetheless the question of his authority as the great modern originator remains and makes one confront the problematics of the author-function. In a widely known essay of 1969 called “What is an Author,” Michel Foucault proposed the figures of Karl Marx, Friedrich Nietzsche and Sigmund Freud as “founders of discursivity,” and he stipulated “discursivity” as all verbal production bearing the names of these three men that opened up meanings onto realms bigger than the ones encompassed by their individual lives, their personalities or their intentions. Foucault’s nomination of these famous nineteenth-century thinkers is not as striking as his silence on the nineteenth-century visual artists. Foucault merely suggested that the *artistic* author-functions should be discussed in similar terms as literary arts while choosing to remain within “the world of discourse.”¹ Foucault is known to have intended to write on Manet’s work at large, and in the “Fantasia of the Library” essay he hints at the painter’s potential for discursivity by saying that

¹ Foucault (1977): 131.

“Flaubert is to the library what Manet is to the museum.”² In the same essay Foucault states, and in the simplest of terms, that the function of discursivity is “to maintain not a single and exclusive meaning... but the simultaneous existence of multiple meanings.”³ In other words, authors do not control the meanings of their work and that meanings proliferate as soon as the work is in the public domain

Foucault’s claims have inspired the analysis of another major “indecidability” of my thesis, the separation of art and discourse as it emerges during nineteenth century and as it regards Manet’s dealing with the historical and literary topoi of philosophers. The cognates of Foucault’s theory of “discursive founders” have been articulated with a correspondence to art. David Carrier’s pronouncement of “Manet-the-implicit-artist,” in “Manet and His Interpreters,” is perhaps the most consequential of all such comparative analyses. Carrier claimed Manet to be the founder of modernist painting precisely in the sense that Foucault had claimed Marx, Freud and Nietzsche to be discursive. Carrier listed and analyzed eighty-something art historical interpretations of Manet’s work completed in the second half of the twentieth century, pointing out their wide scope and their incompatibility.⁴ In the end, after acknowledging the resistance of art history to literary methods of interpretation Carrier begs for more correspondence between two disciplines. It may seem that the battle of sources and the special status of visual art and its interpretative mouhtpiece, art history, has been won over, yet the enfolded question persists: was Manet interested in the same ancient philosophers as the literary discursive founders; why this fact remains unaccounted for, and could the cause of this overlooking be that visuality is still considered separate from the discourse in general?

² Ibid, 92.

³ Ibid, 99.

⁴ Carrier, 330.

One overlooked correspondence between art historical and literary hermeneutics is the fact that three modern thinkers—discursive fathers—Marx, Nietzsche and Freud have looked into the past discourse, ancient history, and literature. In fact, all three have looked at ancient philosophy and mythology, and especially philosophy of Democritus as coupled with Heraclitean views. I believe and will demonstrate that Manet painted both philosophers in disguise in his series of the “beggar-philosophers.” Marx, for example, wrote his doctoral dissertation on the Democritean and Epicurean theories of materialism, and one can certainly recognize the traces of such theories in his chief opus *Das Kapital*.⁵ Freud’s theory of psychoanalysis, perhaps not to the same degree as in the other thinkers, springs from his in-depth studies of the ancient myths and mythic structures of dreams and in human psyche.⁶ Finally, Nietzsche (a classical philologist rather than a philosopher!) developed his major concepts by looking at the pairing of Apollo and Dionysus in Greek tragedy and the development of drama throughout history. His most remarkable and gravely controversial protagonist of negative theology Zarathustra, born laughing and not crying, was modeled after the laughing Greek philosopher Democritus.⁷

It strikes one as baffling that recognizing earlier sources of ideas in these major thinkers of “discursive” modernity is considered normal and almost mandatory for understanding of their own engendered discourses, whereas in art history a research for *literary* origins and traces is deemed impertinent, especially as it regards modern painting. It seems that modernity taken as the subject matter of painting during Manet’s time became reified into Modernism and understood as a technical progress of painting without paying much heed to the inequality of their discursive values. The art historical scholarship of Modernism resists and denies the

⁵ Mins (1948): 157-169; Cartledge (1999): 46-47.

⁶ Matson (1963): 26-29; Halliwell (2005): 121-146; Clay (1980): 342-365.

⁷ Swift (2005); Bishop (2004).

continuity of nineteenth-century art with the previous modes of discursive production. Such was, and perhaps still is, the fate of the unorthodox account of Manet's work by Michael Fried called "Manet's Sources: Aspects of his Art, 1859-1865" written in 1969, and in 1996 subduced in his book *Manet's Modernism, or, the Face of Painting in the 1860s*.

The aim of this thesis does not include the task of explaining why the segregation of interpretive possibilities exists and is practicable to this day. The task is, rather, to make voluble those works of art that have been muted by the art critical and art historical theories, to make *Philosopher With Oysters* and its companion paintings speak of, to and within tradition of art and literature—to speak, nevertheless—as if pleading for more careful inspection of ideas and forms that it presents and introduces into the greater discourse of the world. I believe that the *Philosopher With Oysters* deserves a better placement in Manet's artistic achievements than the simple educational emulation of Velazquez that it is generally taken to be; even so, I do not aim to make central to Manet's oeuvre what has been thought marginal for over a century. On the contrary, my examination of literary sources, cultural history and artistic aims of Manet pertaining to the *Philosopher With Oysters* painting on its own and as part of the series of "beggar-philosophers" will be a reading appropriate to subjects depicted in and methods employed for it. This thesis will concern philosophy and satire back-to-back just as art encounters discourse face-to-face, indivisibly and indecidably.

II. A Duel and A Sale: Manet's Odds

One event in Manet's life serves as a clue to the importance of the "beggar-philosophers" series of paintings. The event is a duel of the artist with his friend Edmond Duranty resulted from the following circumstances. In 1870, Manet exhibited two works at the Place Vendôme; they were, in Duranty's words, a large painting of "a philosopher trampling oyster shells and a watercolor [sketch] of his *Christ with Angels*" (Fig. 14).⁸ Duranty wrote a bittersweet critique on Manet's choice of paintings. He chastised Manet for not fulfilling his promise as a modern painter, and praised him for producing a particularly memorable technique. While emphasizing Manet's powerful and outstanding application of brushstrokes and vivid colors, Duranty wrote:

Formerly we had counted on him, because of these fine qualities, to found the important modern school. A few young painters have followed him and continue to do so. But they must be led further by more than a subject matter... [for] it is necessary to transcend subject matter."⁹

The admonition is slippery: the subject matter seems indispensable for the coherent appearance of brushstrokes and, at the same time, the strokes or patches of color have to stand on its own terms.¹⁰ Yet clearly, Duranty wants there to be something more meaningful than merely the representation itself even though Manet was often accused of having no ideas or meaning behind his paintings.

As Manet's earliest biographer Bazire tells it: one day Manet, maddened by this unbecoming criticism of his work, stormed into the café where his friends habitually gathered and slapped his friend Duranty in the face. A duel was arranged to restore offended honors, during

⁸ Duranty quoted in Brombert, Beth (1996): 220. The *Philosopher With Oysters* is 73 3/4" x 42 1/2" (almost 2 by 1 meters) in size and the watercolor sketch *Christ with Angels* is 12 1/2" x 10 5/8" (32 by 26 centimeters) in size. Unexplained remain the reasons for such choice of works, especially because both have been completed in 1864-65 or 7-8 years prior to showing at the Place Vendôme.

⁹ Hamilton (1986): 148.

¹⁰ Ibid, 148. Duranty notes Manet's "intentional simplicity" but fails to elaborate upon it.

which Duranty received a minor blow by a sword to his chest. The offenses were quickly satisfied, and, at least according to Bazire, the two men remained on friendly terms until death. Between the denounced ‘what’ and the lauded ‘how,’ it is not clear what exactly infuriated Manet that resulted in a brief sword combat between two friends. One thing is certain: whatever Manet believed of painting, misjudged by Duranty, was worth dying for.

Two years later, in 1872, the *Philosopher With Oysters*, *Absinthe Drinker*, *Philosopher Wearing Beret*, and *Rag Picker* paintings were part of a large lot of works Manet sold to Paul Durand-Ruel, a thriving art dealer of the time, for quite an extravagant price of 51,600 francs.¹¹ In Manet’s own record of the sale, these works are listed as “four philosophers.”¹² What is interesting about this record is the fact that these “philosophers” are placed at the top of the list containing a total of twenty-five paintings.¹³ At first glance it seems that prices determine the logic of such placement. The list begins with the highest sum of money and appears to descend for a while. At midpoint, the prices begin to either increase or decrease again. If the money did not dictate the priority of these four paintings, it makes one wonder whether the “philosophers” have some particular significance to either the artist or the buyer.

Writing about Durand-Ruel, Pierre Cabanne is certain that it was the “shock” and “the electrifying effect of art” that attracted this collector to Manet’s canvases.¹⁴ It happens so that in the 1870s, Paul Durand-Ruel was actually improving his reputation as a prominent collector-dealer by launching the publication of an art journal, *La revue internationale de l’art et de la curiosité*. He owned an art gallery in Paris and had recently opened another one in London. The

¹¹ Brombert, Beth (1996): 306.

¹² Hanson, 77-78 and (1977): 65.

¹³ Wilson-Bareau (1991): 163.

¹⁴ Cabanne (1963): 73.

opening of the second gallery was unconventional attempt to recover from financial hardships of the 1860s. As Cabanne notes, Durand-Ruel's enterprise was far from a continuous financial success and involved major risks in taking up the work of un-official (or un-academic) artists like Manet, Renoir, Pissarro, Degas and others. According to Cabanne, because of his risk-taking and persistent belief in his own taste of art, Durand-Ruel had single-handedly introduced the "Impressionists" to the United States in the 1880s by opening his third art gallery in New York City which had brought about their renowned posterity, as well as the financial security to his own enterprise.

That Durand-Ruel's taste for novel art and works of younger artists who toppled conventions were the perfect match for each other is not surprising to us today. Durand-Ruel had bought twenty-five paintings on the day he met Manet in his studio. As the dealer recorded in his *Memoirs*, he was "*dazed* by the purchases" he made in Alfred Steven's atelier prior to meeting Manet face-to-face. He was anxious to buy more paintings because he believed that "a work of art cannot really be appreciated until owned and seen in one's own surroundings."¹⁵ It is currently impossible to know whether the theme of "beggar-philosophers" had any particular significance to Durand-Ruel himself because his interest in the Impressionists is not enough to conclude that his interest in Manet's work was based on purely technical, painterly novelty.¹⁶

The two stories—a duel and a sale—are telling in two ways. On the one hand, Manet's breaking of conventions and theorizing about the art of painting (namely, some fusion of subject matter and technique) is clear; on the other, it shows that even within the progressive group of

¹⁵ Quoted in Wildenstein (1970): unpaginated.

¹⁶ The provenance records in the curator's file at the Art Institute of Chicago, report that the three out of "four philosophers" (presumably excluding the *Absinthe Drinker*) belonged to Jean-Baptiste Faure from November 1882 to October 16, 1894, later to be bought back by Durand-Ruel's sons. Faure was a famous French actor and opera singer, and Manet had painted his portrait in the perplexing *Faure in the Role of Hamlet* (Fig. 15). I have a reason to believe that the "philosophers" may have some significance to this actor but very little information about his life is currently available to me.

supporters including other artists, critics and art dealers, Manet's aspirations for art both had and had not complete understanding.¹⁷ Manet's work was viewed as "inconsistent" during his own time as well as by Clement Greenberg in the 1960s after seeing the centennial reenactment of Manet's one-person exhibition of 1867:

Manet is far from being the only master who doesn't develop in a straight line, with one step following the other in readily intelligible order. Nor is he the only master whose total body of work doesn't make a coherent impression. But he is exceptional in his inconsistency. I don't mean the inconsistency of his quality.¹⁸

From the start and since then, Manet's oeuvre is continuously seen as paradoxical because even in Carol Armstrong's account it is characterized with "irreducible, unaccountable and undecidable" qualities actually based on Greenberg's term "inconsistency" and transformed into "strangeness, doubleness and unassimilability" of Manet's artistic persona.¹⁹ It must be noted that Greenberg implies by inconsistency not only the technical qualities of Manet's painting but perhaps also the subjects that he paints. Armstrong, moreover, expands the definition of the term to include "the modernist configuration that goes by the name of 'Manet'" that echoes Carrier's nomination "Manet-the-~~implied~~-artist" as the modernist art-founder.²⁰ The gestures of criticism by Duranty, Greenberg, Carrier, Armstrong among many others, conflate the artistic persona of Manet with the themes and methods of his work. This, I believe, is all the more applicable when Manet's coping with the constant misunderstanding of his work is taken not as a reactionary stance but as something more crucial—say, philosophical—to his being an artist.

¹⁷ The fusion, as will be later discussed, involves taking the technique of art or art itself as the subject matter of work, as the Impressionists and other modernist painters will do in the future.

¹⁸ Greenberg quoted in Armstrong (2002): xi.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, xvii-xviii.

²⁰ Armstrong (2002): xviii; Carrier, 330, fn. 2.

III. The Epochal Composure

Manet was a nucleus of a progressive group of artists. It is evident in a painting by Henri Fantin-Latour called *An Atelier of the Batignolles Quarter*, 1870, (Fig. 17). This group portrait shows Manet at the center, working on a canvas in front of him whereas all other men stand about, watching him paint or talking to each other. By comparing the depicted men's actions, it is safe to assume that Manet preferred expressing his ideas not by talking or writing them out but by practicing them through painting. One can even say that Manet performed his theories from canvas to canvas.²¹ This performance can be taken as a philosophical stance because Manet paints not only what he sees, for the visual pleasure and development of technical tricks, but he paints to convey what he thinks about painting in general.

In 1880 Manet wrote to his childhood friend, Antonin Proust, whose portrait painted by Manet (Fig. 23) was exhibited at the concurrent Salon and harshly criticized by the critics: "It seems to be my lot to be slanged and I accept it philosophically... You have no idea how difficult it is, my dear friend, to place a single figure on a canvas, and concentrate all the interest on that one and only figure without its becoming lifeless and unsubstantial."²² Unlike other Manet's works of 1870-80s, the portrait of Proust resembles Manet's "four philosophers" and other single-figure paintings from the 1860s. Two decades prior to this confidential disclosure, in 1858-60, Proust recounts a similar saying of Manet indicative of his sincere interest in simplification of technical and subject-matter conventions of painting:

I detest everything unnecessary, but it is difficult to distinguish just what is necessary. We've been perverted by all the artistic tricks of the trade. How to get rid of them? Who's going to give us back a clear, direct kind of painting and do away with the frills?

²¹ On "performative" aspects of Manet's work see Rubin (1994): *op. cit.* His juxtaposition of Fantin-Latour's paintings *Homage to Delacroix* (1864) and *An Atelier of the Batignolles Quarter* (1870) is an interesting account of Manet's centrality in the school of Realist painting.

²² Courthion and Callier (1960): 30.

The one true way is to go straight ahead, without worrying what people are going to say.²³

Conjoining the views of a novice and a veteran of the artistic profession, the two reflections encapsulate Manet's life-long preoccupation with asserting his particular view of what true painting is or, at the very least, could be. His view of art consists of a simplified style of painting cleared of all adornments *and* a philosophical distancing from public opinion.

Throughout his life Manet produced many complex genre scenes, portraits and still lifes, worked on diverse subjects and experimented with various techniques. However, the depiction of a single figure in the space of the canvas was recurrent in his work to the very end. Manet's "beggar-philosopher" series are such paintings of isolated figures in space and can explain his general philosophical attitude especially because they are thematically "philosophical." Of course, Manet's mature position as exemplified by his later claim to accept the public opprobrium in a philosophical manner implies his mature ability to distance himself from the misunderstanding of his work. Manet's stance, however, deserves to be called *epochal composure* in both senses that it persevered throughout his lifetime and that it skeptically and stoically suspended his reciprocal judgment of the incognizant crowd of viewers.

The *epochal* element of this composure is inspired by the notion of *epoché* which means the suspension of judgment. It was a method developed by the Skeptic philosophers during the Roman Empire characterized by political and ethical injustices. Using *epoché* allowed one to survive in the face of life's adversities and to attain *ataraxia*, the tranquility of the mind, because Skeptics believed that in social, ethical or political upheavals it was important to stay calm and have a peaceful mind. It is both temporal and fixed attitude towards the world. The *composure*

²³ Ibid, 3 and Wilson-Bareau (1991): 29.

is just another way of reinforcing the tranquility and the artificial nature of it, that is, the attitude and quality of being devised or composed.

This twofold “philosophical” stance is rarely remarked as fundamental to Manet, perhaps because it is deemed incongruent with the prevalent notions of modern art or modernity. I believe, however, that Manet’s taciturn (or practical), philosophical, and performative view of painting does not have to be at odds with the more gregarious conventions of representing reality. The nineteenth-century prevalent notions of “modernity” have generally emphasized vision and visual perception, and have committed painting to portraying only what is seen in the objective world rather than what is learned, studied or preplanned as an execution of ideas about reality. The ensuing “modern” exegeses have followed this dangerously one-sided emphasis and helped to circumscribe art within its own esoteric specialty—visuality—and thereby solidified the separation of art from the “literary” discourse.

The nineteenth-century concepts of modern life and its visual renderings that were introduced by Charles Baudelaire, modified by Emile Zola and fine-tuned by Stéphane Mallarmé have regularly been correlated to Manet’s pictorial development.²⁴ It has been argued before that Manet’s relationships with these authors throughout his life prompted obvious correspondences to stylistic changes in his work: namely, the early phase of colorism and historical emulation indicative of the Romantic movement; the middle phase of Realist inclinations in subject matter expressed with a forceful, “patchy” brushwork; and finally, the last phase of a complete disregard for mimetic qualities of represented objects and a wholehearted commitment to emphasizing the facture of the canvas and abstracting of visual perception worked out to

²⁴ The standard texts used: Charles Baudelaire, “The Painter of Modern Life,” *The Painter of Modern Life, and Other Essays*, (Garland, 1978); Émile Zola, “Art at the Moment” (1866) and “Edouard Manet” (1867) published in Joshua C. Taylor, *Nineteenth-Century Theories of Art*. (University of California Press, 1987); and Stéphane Mallarmé “The Impressionists and Edouard Manet” (1876) reproduced in Rubin (1994).

perfection by the Impressionists. However, the thematic correspondences remain questionable, which sometimes it indicated by the authors themselves (I mean here, Zola's claim that Manet's work has nothing to do with Baudelaire's poetry).

In art historical accounts of the twentieth century, these distinct phases have become further complicated by theories of mimesis and semiosis, formalism and theatricality, questions of art's autonomy and political ideology, and the inevitable problematics of originality and historical influences. Today, these correspondences to Baudelaire's, Zola's or Mallarmé's views on art in general and the art of Manet in particular must be considered impartial because they center around the significance to Manet's development alone rather than the mutual—epochally composed—development of the “discursive” (or literary) views with/on art. Thus far, it has never been remarked that the three accounts of Manet's work cannot be as a rule defined as “art criticism” for each account is drastically different; so different, in fact, that I would venture to assert that Baudelaire's poetry disagrees with Zola's critical apologetics, and both support Mallarmé's historical accounting.²⁵ The grammar and rhetoric, connotative and denotative functions, aesthetic and hermeneutics features of these accounts vary so distinctly that taken at “face value” these views distort the meaning they bear upon Manet's discourse or his *epochal composure*.

An equanimity among the conflicting views (which may turn out to be just another indecidable parity) seems to be suggested in a caricature by Bertall after Henri Fantin-Latour's drawing ridiculing his own painting *An Atelier of the Batignolles Quarter* (Fig. 17).²⁶ The

²⁵ I developed these distinctions in two term papers for Professor Rubin's seminar, “Nineteenth-century Art Criticism” in the Fall 2011. One paper is called “Hydra-heads or Horns of a Bull? On Rhetoric and Grammar in Ruskin and Baudelaire” and another, “Zola and Mallarmé On Manners, Art and Memory of Manet.” These comparative readings have been most beneficial to my deepened understanding of Manet's work precisely in the sense I indicate here. I hope to develop these papers into more succinct and, perhaps, publishable accounts.

²⁶ Bertall is a pen name for Charles Albert d'Arnoux, a respected illustrator, caricaturist and photographer.

drawing was published in 1870 in *Le journal amusant*, captioned as follows: “Jesus Painting in the midst of His Disciples, or, The Divine School of Manet, Religious Painting by Fantin-Latour” (Fig. 18).²⁷ This friendly charge suggests that the “sacred” aspect of Manet’s centrality in a group of Realists should be taken as seriously as it is derisory: Manet’s hegemony among progressive painters suggested by Baudelaire, Zola, Mallarmé or even Fantin-Latour, only makes sense within the perspective of his personal development as an artist. If Manet’s “realist” approach to modernity is ridiculed as conscientiously doctrinal, religious even, or as paradoxical as Courbet’s “allegorical” message in *The Painter’s Studio: A Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Life as a Painter*, 1885 (Fig. 19), then his later “impressionist” phase and earlier “historical” (or emulative) inclinations are susceptible to indecision and expose the complicity of ridicule with serious tasks.

What, I think, distinguishes Manet’s epochal composure against the misunderstanding of his work while supporting his function as the modern originator, is the fact that he invented, orchestrated, and performed his artistic persona. There seems to be a fundamental separation between Manet as person and Manet as work yet both are not only parts of one great ensemble but a completely other whole that is indivisible. The centrality of his role in artistic movement such as Realism is generated by other artists not Manet himself, that is it is not self-proclaimed. This exemplifies the theory of discursivity. Later in art history, Duchamp’s silence, jokes, and not-making of art, would repeat this gesture of separation (or singling-out) of artist from the collectively progressive movement of painting and also of integration of art within reality (readymades). During the nineteenth-century, Manet had paved the way towards the performativity of art as discourse. Manet seems to have understood that conveying the centrality

²⁷ House (1997): 69. The caricature is reproduced in Rewald (1973): 196.

of a single figure on a blank canvas involves perhaps a lot more than even the centrality of a single figure within a group of people. Like in the *Portrait of Antonin Proust, Philosopher with Oysters* or other single-figure paintings that Manet painted, the solitary figure may and will become lifeless if its world portrays blankness but it will come to life if its “world” is suggestive and discursive. In capturing modernity as “discourse”, the real “world” must be painted in disguise or its meanings will not match the intention.

IV. Performance In Disguise: The Meaning of the Genre of Genres

In the *Philosopher With Oysters*, a bearded man wearing a felt hat emerges from an ambiguous empty background; his simple dress suggests his lower class status; his face is brightly illuminated by an invisible light source, casting strong shadows at his feet, where some oysters succulently glisten in a pile of hay. This is the whole painting, no technical “frills” or “tricks of the trade,” nothing detracts from a straightforward portrayal; it is as simple as can be. Yet its subject matter is most impenetrable: what does philosophy have to do with oysters? Is this vagabond really a philosopher? Where would a beggar encounter oysters if he were just a roamer of the streets? Furthermore, this philosopher’s countenance is perplexing with a degree of pensiveness that is more absent-minded and reasonably reminiscent of Manet’s *Absinthe Drinker* rather than the decisive and determined philosopher in Jacques-Louis David’s *Death of Socrates* (Fig. 21).

The *Absinthe Drinker* and the *Philosopher With Oysters* belong together, and have been linked both by compositional structure and subject matter a few times.²⁸ The *Absinthe Drinker*

²⁸ For example, Hanson (1977): 63-65 and Tinterow and Lacambre (2003): 236-38. In the curator’s correspondence files at the Art Institute of Chicago, Wilson-Bareau expresses certainty that the two paintings were meant to go

has acquired more notoriety in historical accounts for it was Manet's first painting submitted to the official Salon of 1859, and subsequently rejected. From the outset, Manet's choice as a debutant has been considered unconventional and deemed an act of rebellion. The latter determination is beautifully explored by Ewa Lajer-Burcharth in the article "Modernity and the Condition of Disguise: Manet's *Absinthe Drinker*," in which she argues that the *Absinthe Drinker* is a self-portrait in disguise. By extending the notion of self-portraiture to other "beggar-philosopher" paintings, I would like to suggest the "disguised performance" as one of Manet's satirical underpinnings for his philosophical stance toward art.²⁹ To grasp the complexity with which self-portraiture registers in Manet's work, I will consider in detail Lajer-Burcharth's claims about three realms that condition three levels of disguise. I will also expand her argument to include other "beggar-philosopher" paintings of Manet in order to address two modalities of performative mimesis, caricature and satire that I will discuss in later sections.

In short, Lajer-Burcharth argues that aesthetic, social and ideological conditions of Manet's life engender meanings of the painting such as a mirror image of the city, as an inverted bond of artist and poet and an association of the drunk with the painter, and as Manet's Ego-Ideal—the bohemian, beggar, vagabond. Two double premises subordinate Lajer-Burcharth's three principles of disguise. The first pair: the "ambiguity of form" of the painting itself that couches the multiple meanings, and the backdrop reality understood as "an imperial stage set," "a regime nourished by appropriations of past appearances" or, more specifically, as Louis-

together basing it on technical similarities determined via x-ray analysis that has been performed on both. She even advocates a view that *Philosopher With Oysters* may have been completed before Manet went to Spain in 1865; this still remains to be verified.

²⁹ A quite different stance from what the eighteenth-century French notion of the *philosophe* that encompasses expressing of opinions upon every possible topic, issue and knowledge of every discipline.

Napoleon's government of "mythorama."³⁰ With these observations, Lajer-Burcharth is not decisive in claiming either that Manet's style emerged in an unprecedented way or that the socio-political milieu had given grounds for it to emerge. She simply finds them co-emerging together and co-influent upon each other as if suggesting that the two cannot be dissociated, meaning that the understanding of each is not complementary but supplementary. Quoting Linda Nochlin in passing, Lajer-Burcharth emphasizes Manet's "in-between" aesthetic qualities and suggests the ubiquitous quality of ambiguity in his subjects, his ways of painting and his personality.³¹

The second paired premise is that (one) Salon's rejection affirms Manet's selection as critical resistance against aesthetic norms because (two) a greater political ideology always masks aesthetic judgment. Manet, presumably, modeled his tactics after Courbet's strategies of advocating Realism in both political and aesthetic sense.³² To what extent Manet had accepted Realist (or specifically Courbet's) strategies at all or had accepted Realism as the language of social change was put into question by Fantin-Latour's caricature of the Batignolles group. Bertall's caricature suggests either the "blind faith" of political artists or the intended ridicule of realist aesthetic and its potential to change society. However problematic Lajer-Burcharth's double premises may be, the *Absinthe Drinker* is a sign of disregard for artistic conventions and Manet's critical rejection of the accepted aesthetic hierarchy which, at the time, included subjects on historical and allegorical themes, such as dramatic lives of heroes, the world of the saints or

³⁰ Lajer-Burcharth, 18-26. The "mythorama" refers to "a regime nourished by appropriations of past appearances," paraphrased from Karl Marx's views of the French Second Empire in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. Lajer-Burcharth quotes his passage: "They [the authorities] anxiously conjure up into their service the spirits of the past, assume their names, their battle cries, their costumes to enact a new historic scene in such time-honored disguise and with such borrowed language," 21. By arguing that disguise is thematized as well as enacted by Manet, Lajer-Burcharth fails to question how or why "appropriation" on the political arena explains or gives artistic "appropriation" its reason to be enacted.

³¹ Ibid, 24.

³² Ibid, 19. Lajer-Burcharth cites Nochlin's treatment of Courbet's realist strategies, see fn. 10 and 19. For exceptional comparative analysis of two artists' exhibition strategies, see Armstrong (2002): 3-30.

ideal beauty. In turn, the Salon officials rejected the unbecoming inebriate, a refuse of society, because they deemed his image as a provocation by the artist.³³

Though Courbet had already challenged Academic conventions with his personal retrospective exhibition in 1855, Manet's own "exposition particulière" of 1867, which later contributed to Greenberg's characterization of "inconsistency," was so unpredictable that it couldn't be deemed formidable. Both painters' personal exhibitions were held in opposition to the Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867 respectively. Therefore, the antagonism of both artists to officialdom may be perceived as exceeding the parameters of the Salon, encompassing no less than the world at large. Ultimately, the *Absinthe Drinker* failed to impress the world stage, yet what links Manet's "debut" to his "retrospective" is the impossibility to decide whether it was a joke of sorts or a statement of visual philosophy. Perhaps, the resolution to this indecidability can explicate Manet's choice of works for the Place Vendôme exhibition of 1870: *Christ With Angels* and *Philosopher With Oysters*. His selection seems to beg the question—a sacred creed or a profane witticism?—and the impossibility to decide between two options had infuriated not only the art critic Duranty and all those who followed.

Now, Lajer-Burcharth's first, aesthetic, realm explains how Manet's drunkard is an undesired picture of Paris and an ugly reflection of reality, an image of "the irony of modernization."³⁴ The paradox of Haussmann's project of modernization of Paris is the fact that the divide between privileged and disadvantaged social strata has become explicit: the slums permeated the growing industrial and cultural center the more focus was given to its grandeur.

³³ As Professor Rubin suggested in a conversation: perhaps the painting's technical problems contributed to its rejection and, perhaps, they were even the main reason. Despite, Delacroix's alleged favorable vote for it, the *Absinthe Drinker* painting looks unfinished and incomplete in expression as patches of color clash and flatten the illusion of this beggar's reality.

³⁴ Lajer-Burcharth, 20.

Drunks and rag-pickers became abound in the streets themselves and in the press. Even before Manet, artists have been portraying and ridiculing the effects and the obvious degenerating conditions of modern life; some did it as a factual chronicling and some with critical narration. Lajer-Burcharth presents Charles-Joseph Traviès's *The Rag Picker*, 1842 (Fig. 29) and Honoré Daumier's *Ratapoil*, 1850 (Fig. 30) as examples of the typical "neutral" and "allegorical-cum-ironic" visual commentaries on the metropolitan problems.³⁵ She emphasizes that *Ratapoil* was perceived as "a demagogue in rags" and a spoof on Louis-Napoleon, and it was also known as a male counterpart to the popular female symbol of the French Republic, recognized in another caricature by Honoré Daumier, *The Oyster and Litigants*, 1871 (Fig. 34). The neutrality of Traviès's vagrant is similar to the puppet-like physicality of Manet's *Absinthe Drinker*, whose dandy comportment is also reminiscent of Daumier's "rat-skin" provocateur.

The first image is typical of the objective purpose of rendering and the second, the allegorical-ironic function. Therefore, Manet's stylistic debut, the *Absinthe Drinker*, emerges with a choice between the objective-neutral "type" and the "allegory-irony" type that allows him not only to disguise intended meaning but also to create multiple meanings. The large scale of Manet's painting precludes the objectivity of depiction or the neutrality of perception, it likewise resists ironical reading and falls short of allegory. Like the glass of absinthe which can be seen as half-full or half-empty, Manet's canvas present the point of indecidability or the limit between thwarting and transcending of aesthetic intention. The success of the painting depends largely upon what one takes to be the typical aesthetic norm of intention or freedom. Finally, because the Academic convention is the "type" of aesthetic norm that Manet rejects when he enters the

³⁵ C.J. Traviès was a French caricaturist from mid-century and was part of the group around Charles Phillipon, who founded journals *Charivari* and *La Caricature*, in which Honoré Daumier also published.

Salon; his “type” of limit (or norm) introduces a new disursive value to the public domain or marketplace of art.

Secondly, in the social realm, the drinker is symbolically linked with the independent status of the artist and is disjointed from the Romantic association of painters with poets. Unlike other *métiers* of the time, illustrated in the press and book-form and widely marketed, neither drunks nor artists have social responsibility. The drunk is pushed to the fringes of society but the artist chooses the fringe by his own volition therefore both are useless to society; rather, it is the usefulness of society to drunks and artists that takes precedence. Baudelaire’s poetic statements in *Le Vin des Chiffonniers* poem and *Enivrez-vous* prose-poem emphasize that artistic imagination and intoxication are linked and that metropolis is the source for finding poetic inspiration and collecting artistic imagery.³⁶ According to Lajer-Burcharth, though the link may be inverted—in the Romantic form, the artist is like the poet in the way he paints his subjects, and in the Modern form, the artist is more like the subjects of poetic verse—the “distancing” of both from society is still enacted. I find it hard to agree with Lajer-Burcharth’s attribution of the modern painter’s functionality as a “scavenger” of the city, society or the world at his disposal, a picker-upper of refuse like street drunks or beggars who harvest in such a way their means of sustenance.³⁷ What serves as a poetic metaphor in Baudelaire, cannot be the “reality” of the painter, especially if the rhetoric of the sublimation of evil into beauty, for one, is at work in Baudelaire’s most famous collection of poems *Les Fleurs du Mal*. Lajer-Burcharth’s definition borders on the general descriptions of the Dada and Fluxus artists of twentieth-century, who literally chose to work with the rubbish of streets and detritus of daily life. In Manet, however, there is not yet materialization but only a mimesis of such practice.

³⁶ Cf. Baudelaire (1978): 5-12.

³⁷ Lajer-Burcharth, 22.

As a portrait of the artist as a *métier*, the *Absinthe Drinker* hints at the greater detachment of artists as producers of culture from the social arena, and entails the subsequent separation of art's functions from other civil responsibilities, and unfortunately, the separation of "art" from "discourse."³⁸ The surviving filament of association with the literary "discourse" is the fact, I believe, that the painter is more of a *blaguer* than *flanêur*.³⁹ Lajer-Burcharth quotes Nochlin's term while discussing how the drinker represents the painter but she ends her whole article by asserting Manet's appropriation of imagery and strategies "as a questioning, subversive mode of confronting not only modern life *but also art's commitment to it*."⁴⁰ I take the emphasized part to mean the art's *relation* to modern life, and the qualifier "modern" life I take to mean the *discourse*. Manet's focus on life at hand is not discursive in itself as it means only the same relation of art to nature as was prevalent even during Renaissance but his focus on "modern" life is discursive. What makes the thematic qualifier "modern" discursive is the fact that it later engenders a stylistic epoch like Modernism. The "modern" or modernity as such dissolve in the vortex of the growing awareness that every other art was as modern to its time as the art of the nineteenth century. The difference highlights the "modernist" consciousness among the previous types of recognition of the same relation to reality as "modern." Lajer-Burcharth's claim to a disjunction of artists from society concludes with the notion of *blaguer*, an artist-type who exercises irony and is "conscious of art as language."⁴¹ Moreover, ambiguity characterizes *blaguer's* enterprise with numerous "in-between" qualities of topics or methods:

³⁸ Lajer-Burcharth brings up Michael Fried's account of "historical referentiality" in Manet and counterbalances it with Douglas Crimp's justification of "gestures of appropriation" as legitimate exposures of "the presupposed autonomy of art," 24. Artist's supposed detachment, then, cannot question the conditions of its production as she claims in the end. The autonomy of art as well as the artistic distance has to be more than alleged for it to have the critical scrutiny with which postmodernist theory imbues the modernist aesthetic.

³⁹ Nochlin (1989): 1-18.

⁴⁰ Lajer-Burcharth, 25.

⁴¹ Ibid.

the Salon/the city, responsibility/blasé attitude, inspired subjects/found rubbish, commitment/autonomy, identity/typicality, origin/difference, history/modernity and so on. I, however, take the notion “art is language” as another trace of the indivisibility art/discourse not confined to technicalities of modernist painting but open onto satirical and philosophical genres.

While perceiving art as language Manet takes the genre of “self-portraiture as self-stylization,” Lajer-Burcharth stipulates this fact as the third ideological realm, in which the drinker stands for the portrait of Manet in a two-fold way.⁴² By using “borrowed language” (or employing historical imagery or current technical conventions, poetic themes or street scenes), Manet brings into focus in his art the process of appropriation itself. Manet portrays himself while fashioning his distinct style of appropriating and deriding the learned ways. The *Absinthe Drinker* is a portrait of Manet only in the sense of “self-parody,” Lajer-Burcharth claims, because he satirizes both what is seen and understood as his subject as well as his own fantasy of the subject. According to Antonin Proust’s recollections of Manet, the painter had always been (like) the city *élégant*, flaring with nonchalance of a bohemian, dandy or a street urchin.⁴³ While comparing Manet’s *Absinthe Drinker* to Paul Gavarni’s—*élégant*—types *Un Monsieur* and *Un Bohémien*, 1856, (Fig. 31), the question then becomes: which is more genuine or sincere, Manet’s surprising Ego-Ideal or Manet’s actual representation (as self-stylization) of himself? Is there sincerity in parody, or is it simply a pastiche designed to entertain, as a typical *blaguer* would do? If the “self-parody” is only a satire then why there emerges in Manet a resistance to and dislike of the public misunderstanding? These questions are left unasked in Lajer-Burcharth’s account because potential answers would not reflect Manet’s forthcoming serious concerns with painting.

⁴² Ibid, 24. Cf. Armstrong (2002): 3-30.

⁴³ Proust quoted in Armstrong (2002): 24.

In this regard, Lajer-Burcharth asks another rather pertinent question such as the question of the genre of Manet's *Absinthe Drinker*. She ponders whether one can take this painting as ironic caricature or allegory, a portrait or a genre scene, an emblem of society or a snapshot of the painter's character. Considering that the "ambiguity of form" underlies her reasoning of disguise, the answer is, of course, all of these "genres" of artistic artifice and none exclusively. Lajer-Burcharth, also, almost deduces that other painters follow Manet's suit and begin (or perhaps continue) to blur genres in their work, a practice that becomes the paragon of the avant-garde art. She, nevertheless, compares Manet's gestures to ambivalence and appropriation to Baudelaire's writing of prose-poems such as the *Enivrez-vous* mentioned above. One fact is taken for granted in the question of the genre; that is, depicted subjects generally categorize visual genres. Therefore, the problematics of genre and even the rejection of the genre hierarchy concern the "what" rather than the "how" of visual representation; such is the status, for example, of the genre of still-life, the lowest of academically accepted themes.⁴⁴

In light of numerous claims to Manet's "ambiguous," "inconsistent" and "in-between" characterizations, I venture to propose yet another indeterminate and indecidable trait concerning the question of the meaning of genre, i.e., concerning the con-fusion of themes and methods of producing art. What happens to the question of genre when its subject becomes the art-making itself? Doesn't such question become the fundamental question on the nature of art? Doesn't Manet wonder about art in general, art in relation to life and society or art in relation to other arts? I believe he does. That is why the three realms proposed by Lajer-Burcharth's—aesthetic, social and ideological—do not exhaust the scope of Manet's "genre" of the *Absinthe Drinker* or the *Philosopher With Oyster* and two other "beggar-philosophers." Because repeated in form

⁴⁴ See Norman Bryson's analysis of the dialectic of "high" and "low" genres in *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still Life Painting*, (Reaktion Books, 2008).

and technique, the “four philosophers” Manet had sold to Durand-Ruel undeniably address the fundamental questions of the nature of art.

My argument that the condition of disguise is primarily a *philosophical* trait of Manet’s modern painting accomplished by *satirical* operation is derived from the notion of “performativity” in James Rubin’s *Manet’s Silence and the Poetics of Bouquets*. In his account of Manet’s countless still-life paintings (or the “rubbish” genre), the performance of painting, or painting as performance, is the disguised manner of the professional self-portraiture. Rubin specifies it as follows: “Modernist art, in taking itself... an object for investigation and understanding, becomes *philosophical* rather than simply *representational*. It is an artistic enactment of the philosophical development in which consciousness takes itself as its own object.”⁴⁵ The statement expresses an important shift from the simple idea of mimicry (emulation, representation, and replacement, appropriate for the traditional espousal of poetics to painting by the theory called *ut pictura poesis*) to the complex notion of mimesis (diversion, sublimation, and displacement). According to James Rubin, *poetics* in the title of his book refers to a convoluted system of meaning and expression of which the modern artist like Manet is conscious of and of which he makes a re-presentation. Yet, *poetics* is also an unmistakable reference to Aristotle’s musings on the question of genre, a notion that explicates the meaning of drama in relation to comedy and tragedy and its function pertaining to the audience. According to Aristotle, drama or play-acting is found on the genres of comedy and tragedy and its function is to perform its unoriginal novelty or, in other words, to sublimate and divert the recognition of its own derivative nature. Moreover, drama’s function regarding the audience is cathartic in the sense of a displacement of mimesis as likeness to mimesis as performance.

⁴⁵ Rubin (1994): 15.

Therefore, in these senses of the *Poetics* and *poetics*, Manet's whole enterprise as an artist concerns the fundamental nature of art as distinguished from reality and from recognition of painting as a particular realm of "visuality." In other words, Manet's acts of rendering anything from the objective world, including previous methods or historical sources, are inadvertently disguises for his philosophical thinking through his painterly actions and decisions. Also in the sense that Manet's subject matter implements his act of appropriating, the performance of painting becomes representative of its own condition of disguise. Mimesis becomes the genre of genres because, as Lajer-Burcharth eloquently put, the mimetic painting such as the *Absinthe Drinker* is always "laid bare, reenacting its own making at the same time as presents itself."⁴⁶

V. Re-sourcing Re-presentation: Mimesis of *Les Cris de Paris* Tradition

Since the *Absinthe Drinker* is Manet's professional self-portrait in disguise then the *Philosopher With Oysters*, *Philosopher Wearing Beret*, and *Rag Picker* are also painted within the *métier* genre of portraiture. All four paintings represent some traits of Manet's artistic vocation, moreover, some performative aspects of his work. But what does the painter do? And how does the painter show his profession? How is the painter's work recognizable, not just his distinct style but also as his complex "self-stylization"? How can any profession's true nature be shown in painting, much so, that it is not confused with another?

The depiction of professions is an old tradition known as *Les Cris de Paris* which begun in France around 1500 and generally utilized a broadsheet printing format to resemble the chaos

⁴⁶ Lajer-Burcharth, 20.

and noise of a street-market. The broadsheet format gradually evolved into singular encyclopedic depictions of métiers and ethnic/social types of people in particular geographic locations.⁴⁷ In the nineteenth century, beggars, rag pickers and various vagabonds, which are not professions per se, have also become omnipresent in such visual anthologies. Together with respectable professions, the lowest and poor stratum of society proliferated in the popular catalogues of the time such as *Les français peints par eux-mêmes, Promenades pittoresques et lithographies dans Paris et ses environs, Le museum parisien*, and *Les petits français, La musée pour rire*.⁴⁸ The picturesque characters and professional types, isolated from each other and arranged like entries in encyclopedia, were depicted as solitary figures in a minimally described environment; this formality became inseparable from the genre of professions.

This formal convention provides one side to explaining Manet's numerous single-figure paintings in empty space which include: *The Tragic Actor (Rouvière as Hamlet)*, 1865-66 (Fig. 24), *Portrait of Faure in the Role of Hamlet*, 1877 (Fig. 16), *Portrait of Theodore Duret*, 1868 (Fig. 25), *The Artist (Portrait of Marcellin Desboutin)*, 1875 (Fig. 26), and *Self-Portrait in a Scullcap*, 1878 (Fig. 27). In these portraits, still-life objects indicate the psychological energy and the personalities of men and give clues to what these men do or who they are. These "portraits" tell more than what meets the eye initially: these portrayals are not only of an actor, a writer, a painter but an actor of a particular role, a writer of a particular genre and a painter of a

⁴⁷ There seems to be no comprehensive studies of *Le Cris de Paris* tradition. For the origin of the tradition, see Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast: The Urban Poor in the Cries of London*, (Rutgers University Press, 2002): 1-18; "The Manner of Crying Things in London": Style, Authorship, Chalcography, and History," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 4 (1996): 420, 461. And Laron, Marcellus and Shesgreen, *The Criers and Hawkers of London: Engravings and Drawings*. Stanford University Press, 1990): 1-59.

⁴⁸ Grew, 203-231. See also, Hanson (1977): 58-68. Beginning with Meyer Schapiro's claims (in "Courbet and Popular Imagery: An Essay on Realism and Naïveté," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 4, No. 3/4 (1941-42): 164-191), *Les français peints par eux-mêmes* publication has been the most referenced in accounts of the nineteenth-century French art. As a visual source, however, it is dubious; it is more literary than pictorial because images appear every twenty-five pages or so, in this 5-volume compendium, each volume itself is 500-pages long.

particular aptitude.⁴⁹ Despite the formal affinities of these paintings to Manet's "beggar-philosophers," the attributes of the portrait genre are muddled. Perhaps, the similarity of these portraits with the "beggar-philosophers" has a deeper resemblance in the nature of the work they express. Judith Wechsler hypothesized in her book on caricature that, in Paris especially, the nineteenth-century jobs in journalism, popular theater and caricature were instrumental not merely for contributing to but actually conjuring up and producing the image of Paris as a modern and evolving metropolis.⁵⁰ The objective chronicling, play-acting and making fun of things were the ultimate artistic *métiers* suited for the mimesis of reality as it unfolded as modernity.

During the year Manet painted his *Absinthe Drinker*, in March of 1859 there appeared a caricature of Champfleury, on the cover of *Journal amusant*, as a *chiffonnier* with a *crochet* and a *hotte*, (or as a rag-picker with the hook and basket for collecting rags and rubbish) (Fig. 28).⁵¹ This caricature by Nadar was occasioned by the publication of Champfleury's novel *La Mascarade de la vie parisienne*, a story about "capitalist" misfortunes of Claire Couturier in search of a good husband, secure marriage and ample life. According to Emma Bielecki, the novel concerns the juxtaposition of the consumerist glamour and misery of reality that is most

⁴⁹ Very peculiarly, Manet's portraits of Baudelaire, Zola and Mallarmé vary drastically from each other and from other portraits of Manet: black and white lithograph and an ink doodle of a head of Baudelaire, a complex trompe-l'oeil tableaux of Zola and a small crude impression in oil of Mallarmé. It can be said that Manet's views of these three writers reciprocates the three different "views" these men have of Manet's work, see my discussion on page 13 above. Most interestingly, there exist two accounts suggesting that Manet's *Portrait of Emile Zola* is actually Manet's self-portrait, see S. L. Faison, "Manet's Portrait of Zola," *Magazine of Art*, XLII (1949): 163-68, and Noszlopy, G. T. "Edouard Manet's *Ars Poetica* of 1868," *British Journal of Aesthetics*, Vol. 8, (1968): 183-90. The possibility of a self-portrait have been refuted by Theodore Reff, in "Manet's Portrait of Zola," *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 117, No. 862 (January 1975): 34-44. I believe, however, the discussion can be reopened in light of persistent separation of art from discourse.

⁵⁰ Wechsler (1982): 13.

⁵¹ Bielecki, 262-275. Champfleury is a penname for Jules Husson, who was one of the most adamant advocates of Realist painting. He is also a substantial scholar of popular culture, folk literature and history of caricature. Nadar's caricature is reproduced in Nadar (1979): 9 and Abélès (1990): 23.

eloquently expressed by characters of Claire's father, Monsieur Couturier (a "tailor" who kills cats for production of fashionable items) and his brother-in-law Topino, a destitute rag-picker (whose name is formed from the Italian word "mouse").⁵² Bielecki suggests that the character Topino, whose professional nature is that of "un artiste en matière de chiffons," prompts Nadar's portrait charge of Champfleury.⁵³ The essence of Topino's work, as presented by Champfleury, is found not so much in the collection of rags but rather in classification and categorical arrangement of them for instructive purposes.

Bielecki compares Champfleury's rag-picker to Baudelaire's drunk from *Le Vin des Chiffonniers* and even juxtaposes both with the objective "type" of *chiffonnier*, essayed by Louis-Auguste Berthaud in *Les français peints par eux-mêmes* (the nineteenth-century version of *Les Cris de Paris* mentioned above). Topino is a different species than the "absent-minded" or idealist fugitive of a Baudelairian caliber nor is he the "sub-human" prisoner of the social order and moral code of Berthaudian kind. The Baudelairian "escapist" is a Platonic version of the artist, who like Socrates leaves the city deliberately (by taking poison in lieu of being banished), and Berthaud's "victim" type is a modern, inverted version of the expelled artist, welcomed back into metropolitan and, perhaps, universal *liberté, fraternité* and *égalité*. According to Bielecki, Topino's essence, rather, concerns the production and consumption of art as in Aristotle's version of the artist whose relationship to materiality is mimetic in the performative sense. Therefore, as *métier* is seamlessly transformed into *matière*, or the representation of the profession into its matter, the essence of material substance of work/profession becomes the outward characteristic of it.

⁵² It must be noted that Manet had produced a poster for Champfleury's book called *Les Chats: Histoire, Moeurs, Anecdotes* (1868), see Rubin (2010): 93. For a general association of cats with artists, see Rubin, *Impressionist Cats & Dogs: Pets in the Painting of Modern Life*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

⁵³ Champfleury quoted in Bielecki, 263.

For Aristotle the mimesis was natural and had a didactic social function because it was the way children learned how to operate in the world. However, in the nineteenth century, didacticism cannot be taken as a definition of the artifice of artistic work. Even though Topino delights in the dross and material waste of society—the colorful advertisements which he collects and classifies—they speak to him in an unknown language. He mimics this “language” and constructs his own meanings out of disjointed scraps. Ultimately, Topino collects advertisements in order to teach “language” to indigent urchins in his lowly neighborhood. Precisely in this, according to Bielecki’s thesis, Topino is like Champfleury, the author of the novel, who “generates meanings through collage” or through collecting, classification into categories of fragments of real life into the plot of the novel.⁵⁴ In the novel, Topino performs his materiality to a point that his humble abode is no longer the store-house for the collection of commercial waste but the collection itself constitutes his abode, the colorful paper bills literally build up the walls of a shack he lives in.⁵⁵ Topino is essentially what he does, an image/collection/category itself, *métier/matière* inseparable.

Topino’s collection can be compared to another literary precedent of the imitative compendium of *Les Cris de Paris*, Honoré de Balzac’s version of an art collector in *Le cousin Pons*.⁵⁶ Balzac’s novella is a spoof on consumerism just like Champfleury’s, the only difference is that the coveted object, the art collection itself, is never shown in its totality in Balzac’s version. The character Pons, who is a failed musician, owns a collection of art objects (accumulated over 40 years of his life) that becomes the target of his greedy family members and

⁵⁴ Ibid, 272.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 273-74.

⁵⁶ *Le cousin Pons* is rearmost short story in Balzac’s own archive of real life, called *The Human Comedy*, all 94 installments of which were published by 1848. Important is also the fact that Balzac contributed to *Les français peints par eux-mêmes*, see Boutin, 77, fn. 5.

various street peddlers and swindlers.⁵⁷ Balzac presents the reader with unconnected descriptive fragments and glimpses of Pons' artistic treasure trove that are also similar to descriptions of the painting masterpiece of Frenhofer in his *Le Chef-d'oeuvre inconnu* (*The Unknown/able Masterpiece*).⁵⁸ Champfleury's presentation of Topino's collection is quite explicit and thin as the paper walls it constitutes. What makes the two stories alike is the fact that the reader is urged to interpret the fragments into a cohesive totality, exactly what the writer does by extracting "stories" and "imagery types" from the real life episodes he observes and collects. By way of Nadar's caricature of Champfleury, the task of the artist, then, can also be compared to the work of writer-collector because the work of mimesis falls precisely between the available means and what its matter is (between *métier* and *matière*, between re-source and re-presentation). Champfleury's version of the modern artist then, according to Bielecki, is that of a modest "interpreter," a bricoleur of scraps of modernity with *caricatural* traces of Balzac's Romantic and not-so-modest artistic genius, a creator (in Promethean sense of the word) that lurks behind the pages of his *Human Comedy* (*Comédie Humaine*).⁵⁹

The literary precedents such as Balzac's and Champfleury's may very well inform Manet's *Absinthe Drinker* and the subsequent versions of the "beggar-philosophers." The *Philosopher With Oysters* is especially similar to Nadar's caricature of Champfleury; in fact, the rags in it look more like the organic forms of oysters rather than the geometric advertisement bills, they presumably represent. Furthermore, the typical oyster bearer or vendor in *Les Cris de Paris* tradition depicts a woman or a girl carrying a basket of oysters on her head, not a man and definitely not a man of means or any other "professional" substance. That Manet chose a

⁵⁷ Bielecki, 271-72.

⁵⁸ Brombert, Victor, 3-12.

⁵⁹ Bielecki, 273.

male protagonist for his enigmatic rendering of a “beggar-philosopher” corroborates my claim that the discursive literary tradition, such as Champfluey’s and Balzac’s novels, was as influential in the construction of Manet’s paintings as was reality itself.

Lastly, the fact that the *Absinthe Drinker* reappears in Manet’s own painting called *The Old Musician*, 1862 (Fig. 20) also confirms the likelihood of such artistic resourcefulness as bricolage. A collection in itself, *The Old Musician* painting is full of characters and picturesque types such as the riffraff children, the Wandering Jew, the drunkard, and the central figure of the artist himself as a performer (musician or a philosopher), playing the old game of mimesis, between re-sourcing re-presentation.⁶⁰ The depiction of mimesis as both *métier* and *matière* pertinent to *Les Cris de Paris* is present in this thinly constructed collage and carefully disguises the illusion of the artifice of mimesis. The figure of old musician, centrally placed on canvas like in Courbet’s painting *The Real Allegory*, is a portrait of Manet as artist. Besides *Fishing* (1862-63) and *Music at Tuileries* (1862) paintings, Manet had rarely painted self-portraits; but when he did the self-portraits were in disguise, like in the *Old Musician*, *Absinthe Drinker*, *Philosopher With Oysters* and other “beggars-philosophers.”⁶¹

⁶⁰ Leiris, 401-404. Leiris argues that the pose of the musician was modeled after a sculpture of Chrysispos in the Louvre, which at the time was fastened with a head of Aristotle. I believe and will discuss further that an image of Aristotle has more significance to Manet than mere issue of *matière* of representation. Also, according to Thomas Wright who wrote one of the more famous book on the history of caricature during nineteenth century (praising the French caricature the most), explains that the French word *chiffonnie* (the origin of the word *chiffonnier*, rag-picker) had originally meant a musical instrument like a double pipe or a fiddle, perhaps even a hybrid of the two, used by medieval troubadours and minstrels. Wright, *History of Caricature and Grotesque in Literature and Art* (London: Virtue Brothers & Co., 1865): 106-117, 188-199.

⁶¹ Manet painted only 3 or 4 actual self-portraits but he used another type of “self-picturing” that Gregory Galligan had named a “peripatetic” (or Aristotelian) occupation. See, “The Self Pictured: Manet, the Mirror, and the Occupation of Realist Painting.” *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 80, No. 1 (March 1998): 138-171.

VI. Caricature And the Aesthetics of Naïveté

As discussed above, something in the genre of portraiture may be intrinsically linked to a depiction of professions at large, and as part of such tradition it provides the work of mimesis with rich material. Likewise, the depictions of various métiers may be linked to depictions of the poor and the destitute. If any such correspondences exist, then it becomes questionable why Manet concentrates on the theme of the urban poor when Jean-François Millet, Gustave Courbet, and other Realist artists have already exhausted the potential of the theme of “poor” in general. In the article “Picturing the People: Images of the Lower Orders in Nineteenth-Century French Art,” Raymond Grew examines the exhaustion or disappearance of representations of the *urban* poor types concurrent to the emergence of visual satire as a form of high art.

By tracing earlier conventions of depicting peasants exemplified by the work of Le Nain brothers, Jean Baptiste Chardin, and Jean Baptiste Greuze, Grew notes a departure from idyllic and picturesque representations of *rural* life in the art of nineteenth-century painters. The work of Realists, Millet and Courbet, who often pictured country folk stands in sharp contrast to the moralistic and edifying depictions particular to earlier artists. The earlier Neoclassical and Romantic idealizations of peasants, indicates Grew, became ineffective when applied to representations of the “city poor.” By the mid-nineteenth century, it became impossible to celebrate the urban progress or “evoke the evils of the city without seeming to blame the poor,” especially from the position of the middle class artists.⁶² As Grew argues, the best choice for artists was to avoid the theme completely. This change in the preference of subject matter occurs most noticeably in the 1860s, or distinctly at the time when Manet paints his “philosophers.” This suggests that Manet’s “beggars” (or the poor *urban* types) are of a different kind than the

⁶² Grew, 219.

Realist imagery of the peasantry. Also because related to Balzac's verbose inventories and Champfleury's brief sketches of the Parisian metropolitan world, Manet's choice of *urban* "beggar-philosopher" as a subject matter is historical in the discursive sense of modernity.

Linda Nochlin in her recent public lecture on "Géricault and Goya and Images of Misery" suggested an interesting interpretation of images of the "poor" in regard to time and temporality.⁶³ Specifically, she argues that Goya's etchings called *The Disasters of War* (ca. 1810-20s) should be read differently from Géricault's lithographs of the London insolvency (ca. 1820s). The simplicity and blankness of backgrounds in Goya's etchings do not indicate empathy for the destitute he portrayed whereas Géricault's meticulously rendered urban scenery and intricately depicted rags indicate his concern for the miserable lives of the indigent. Nochlin advocates an idea that Goya's mode of representation, devoid of detailed settings, is *satirical* in nature though lacking in explicit derision. Goya's neutrality towards the subjects he portrays is more *philosophical* rather than characterized by objective or allegorizing or ridiculing rendering. The emotional detachment (or what can be called the epochal suspension of judgment) that distinguishes Goya's prints from Géricault's is also the characteristic of Manet's paintings of "beggars-philosophers."⁶⁴ Indescript backgrounds of Manet's series are similar to Goya's representations rather than even Courbet's and Millet's depictions of the rural peasantry.

Moreover, it must be noted that in Manet's "four philosophers," two of them are more closely associated together, the *Absinthe Drinker* and the *Philosopher With Oysters*. The backgrounds in these two paintings allude to *urban* environments, as it seems that both men are standing against the wall of a building. The architecture is clearly constructed in the *Absinthe*

⁶³ The lecture was held at the School of Visual Arts on December 8, 2011.

⁶⁴ Though both artists' prints are thematically affiliated, perhaps, Manet's interest in Goya's work is not only a matter of painterly technique but also of a particular satirical-philosophical attitude and historical allusion.

Drinker and only alluded to in the *Philosopher With Oysters*. In the latter, I believe that the ambiguous dark shape to the right of man's left shin suggests a shadow on a wall rather than the horizontal ground plane the man stands on. The shadow of the right leg to the left divides the space into vertical and horizontal planes.⁶⁵ The other two paintings, *Philosopher Wearing Beret* and *Rag Picker*, have more blankness in the background space which takes the depicted men out of the context of modern urban life, makes them more "universal" (though perhaps satirical and philosophical, following Nochlin's logic), but mostly less historical than the earlier two paintings. All four figures of this series are locatable in the modern reality only because of the remnants of bourgeois clothing they wear. The dress, without a doubt, is a sign of its times, it functions so in the popular prints of the vagabonds by Traviès and Gavarni already discussed as sources for Manet's types. In Manet, nevertheless, the modern dress is a disguise and diversion for an alternative historical, discursive meaning.

With the disappearance of imagery of the "city" poor types, the historical allusion by way of satire seems to be more than appropriate reading of Manet's paintings. Moreover, as this genre disappears there appears an alternative one, caricature or straightforward visual satire. It emerges in the press with cartoons of Honoré Daumier, Gustave Doré, and lesser-known draftsmen Charles-Joseph Traviès, Henri Monnier, Paul Gavarni, Charles Phillipon, Grandville and others. Neither emphatic nor well-meaning social commentary, caricature displaces the neutral visual language of description used in popular catalogues and by Realist painters. Caricature exaggerates the vices of all positions and circumstances, and more importantly, seems

⁶⁵ This division disappears in the print made after the painting (Fig. 36).

to make possible a bridging of the elite and low classes, the rulers and the masses, those in-the-know and ill-informed, the high art and popular visual culture.⁶⁶

The understanding of caricature is important because it further sheds light on Manet's methods of "self-stylization." Grew reports that Gavarni's most popular vagabond character Viroloque emerges from the ubiquitous emblems of the Wandering Jew (pictured in Manet's *Old Musician*) and that Monnier's bourgeois prude, Mr. Proudhomme, is modeled after its author's photographs (a self-portrait of sorts, journalistic, performative and derisive).⁶⁷ The practice of using self-portraiture in caricature also evokes the tactics of Courbet who had largely influenced Manet, as many scholars have argued. In particular, Meyer Schapiro insists that Courbet's realist style was an attempt to assimilate the primitive vocabulary of the popular culture, Epinal prints and other folk imagery. Schapiro emphasized the aesthetics of "naïveté" as Courbet's trademark style, yet it was originally distinguished and indicated by Champfleury, a supporter of Realism and historian of pop culture.⁶⁸ The "naïve" style is recognizable in the "stiffness" and "rigidity" of postures and gestures of Courbet's painted people.⁶⁹ Interestingly, Schapiro accounts for a critical overlooking or "pattern of abuse" regarding the Romantic and Impressionist visual vocabularies that disregards the influence of the popular vocabulary, without his own mentioning of Manet's proclaimed "sincere" aesthetics that is chronologically located between the Realist and Impressionistic technical and subject-matter breakthroughs.⁷⁰

What is most peculiar about the change from Courbet's "naïve" to Manet's "sincere" (and to later "shocking") aesthetics is the fact that it occurs almost unnoticeably, like the three

⁶⁶ Grew, 227-228.

⁶⁷ Grew, 210-211; Wechsler (1982): 112-131, and Nochlin, "Gustave Courbet's Meeting," 209-222.

⁶⁸ Schapiro, 165.

⁶⁹ Grew also makes numerous remarks regarding these pictorial qualities in other depictions of the lower classes.

⁷⁰ Schapiro, 164.

phases of correspondence with Baudelairian poetry, Zola's criticism and Mallarmé's art history.⁷¹ Within a decade from Courbet's retrospective of 1855 to Manet's of 1867, the meaning of "what and how" (the subject-matter and technique) of caricature changes incontrovertibly for both artists and their audience. One way to discern the transformation is to compare caricatures of Courbet's work that mainly focus on the formal aspects of his style and caricatures of Manet's paintings that ridicule mainly the subject matter. This shift, only insinuated by Raymond Grew, is fully explored in the recent book called *The Efflorescence of Caricature, 1759-1838* (2011), from which one essay stands out in particular. In "The Public and the Limits of Persuasion in the Age of Caricature," Mike Goode examines precisely the question of the "medium" and "message" of caricature. He suggests reconsidering Benedict Anderson's account *Imagined Communities* (1983) in which the interdependence of the "representational medium" and "national consciousness" concerns specifically how one not only reflects but also shapes the other.⁷² Though in his own conclusion, Goode puts "matter over mind" (subject over form) thereby giving precedence to the medium of representation rather than its message (subscribing to the the Modernist formalist intentions). I believe that Sheila McTighe's in her study of Annibale Carracci's prints called *Arti di Bologna* (a seventeenth-century Italian version of *Les Cris de Paris* imagery) proposes the more appropriate resolution.⁷³

Annibale Carracci and his brother Agostino are claimed to be inventors of the artifice of caricature by the eighteenth-century art *virtuosi*, *cognoscenti*, and *diletanti*. According to

⁷¹ For example, Adam Gopnik describes exactly the same shift in Picasso's pictorial development, i.e., the assimilation of the primitive African visual vocabulary into the high modern, Cubist art style and technique of painting. Gopnik argues that Picasso does the assimilation by way of schematizing "antimimetic strategies" of caricature. See "High and Low: Caricature, Primitivism, and the Cubist Portrait," in *Art Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 4, *The Issue of Caricature* (Winter, 1983): 371-376.

⁷² Mike Goode in Porterfield and Contogouris, (2011): 118.

⁷³ Sheila McTighe, "Perfect Deformity, Ideal Beauty, and the *Imaginaire* of Work: The Reception of Annibale Carracci's 'Arti di Bologna' in 1646," *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1993): 75-91.

McTighe, this is a strange claim considering that the brothers are also the founders of the first art academy, actually a prototype for the French Academy of Art. McTighe focuses on the notion of “perfect deformity” (a characteristic genre of *Arti di Bologna* prints) that tangles together visual forms’ influence on the social context and the reciprocal mirroring of it as cultural consciousness. This notion likewise encompasses the mode of exaggeration that is the essence of caricature; it is similar to the notion of ideal human beauty which exaggerates from an average bodily physique found in nature or in reality.⁷⁴ McTighe’s analysis is more radical than Goode’s in that the codependence and co-influence of popular visual codes and the forms of high art as well as the medium and the social milieu which they address are endlessly evolving. Giving precise divisions of where the visual reflection (medium) begins or ends and where the context (message) inundates the form and vice versa is impossible. Only from such contingent understanding, McTighe implies, can issue accurate art historical interpretations; she calls this contingency the “*imaginaire* of work” (following Louis Althusser’s notions of political unconscious ideology). The “*imaginaire* of work” (which can be considered as a shift from *métier* to *matière*) in McTighe’s proposition closely echoes Lajer-Burcharth’s premises in “Modernity and the Condition of Disguise” regarding the interdependence of political ideology and aesthetic judgment and the indivisibility of visual form and its contextual currency.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ I wrote two seminar papers on the correlation of caricature and ideal beauty: the first, called “On Two Receptions of “Perfect Deformity”: A Close Reading of Sheila McTighe,” for Professor Joseph Monteyne, investigated Carracci’s invention of caricature and a notion of the “perfect deformity” developed by Italian dilettantes of the eighteenth century who attributed such characteristic to Carracci exaggerated the form of the street workers from Bologna, Italy, in his series of drawings *Arti di Bologna*; and in the second paper, “Tracing Caricature From Kant and Derrida” for Professor Edward Casey’s seminar, I focused on a footnote from the chapter “On the Ideal of Beauty” in Kant’s *Critique of Judgment*, in which he mentions caricature and genius in the same breath. I realized that Kant had taken caricature as a mode of visual representation similar to the mode of idealization of human beauty, hence similar to the notion of the “perfect deformity.” I suggested that both caricature and idealization are necessary aspects of the non-mimetic art, advocated by Kant.

⁷⁵ See discussion in Section IV above.

Therefore, I insist that Manet's self-professed aesthetic "sincerity" is best seen in light of his working from within this changing discursive *imaginaire*. Likewise, a closer study of the shifting consciousness (or simply worldview) is necessary to fully comprehend and ultimately conclude that caricature means for Manet already more than merely artifice (a process of incorporating common language into the language of high art). Such study would determine whether the shifting *imaginaire* is either not mimetic at all or mimetic only in the performative sense. Caricature as a specific visual "language" or a genre of "discursive" vocabulary, perhaps the trademark of *blaguers* as Linda Nochlin would say, particularly pertinent to Manet's "beggar-philosophers," should be taken in the sense of *métier/matière*, mimesis in the sense of disguised performance, historical allusion and philosophical satire.

The fact that "naïveté" is an unintentional conduct or behavior whereas "sincerity" is well-intended and meant remains unaccounted for. Why does Schapiro speak of the "plebeian consciousness" of Courbet's or Zola of Manet's "bourgeois propriety"?⁷⁶ Is it not to point out that sincerity is a thought-out ambition? Does not sincerity arise from a considerable thinking or, generally speaking, philosophizing about aesthetic norm and artistic licence/freedom of choices? When Zola claims that Manet's art is sincere, doesn't he contradict his own proposition that Manet is not interested in ideas?⁷⁷ Well, that is precisely the unnoticed shift, the paradox of *imaginaire* of work. Zola simply cannot say that Manet is fortuitously sincere in the sense of being naïve. Though he may want to say it, the shift in social understanding of the "realist" rhetoric as depicted by caricatures upon Courbet's or Manet's work prevents Zola from doing so. Perhaps, Zola intended the sincerity of the middle class as the equivalent to naïveté of the

⁷⁶ Cf. Schapiro, 170 and Zola in Taylor (1987): 420, 425. Zola especially defended Manet against caricaturists and "professional *farceurs*" who ridiculed him as "a bohemian, a braggart, a ridiculous bogeyman," 418.

⁷⁷ Zola in Taylor (1987): 424, 427.

peasants, in the sense that to each its own term. But perhaps, the difference between two aesthetics is not only of the category but also magnitude, that is, differing/deferring difference, the indecidable. Manet's intended sincerity, then, only further corroborates the shift in the public *imaginaire*: he is as much a part of this collective mentality or a worldview as he tries to disengage from it.

As said earlier, the combination of historical and contemporary imagery with the self-portrait genre is present in both Courbet and Manet, yet Manet's marriage of these visual conventions exposes his knowledge of the artifice in his contemporaries Daumier's and Monnier's illustrations. Daumier's practice is of special significance here because, in his early attempts at being a serious painter, he illustrated fables and literary satires. I suspect Manet of similar dabbling in literary satires and will discuss this issue further on. Daumier's peculiar caricature of 1871 called *The Oyster and Litigants* (Fig. 34) that depicts a contemporary version of La Fontaine's fable of the same name and shows a figure of the Republic holding a divided oyster between two plaintiffs.⁷⁸ The caricature is not a mere illustration of the fable, it is an overt contemporary criticism of the Republican shortcomings, as well as an expression of Daumier's personal political disillusionment. Daumier's caricature surmises and expands the moral of the fable in conjunction to expressing his attitude to the contemporary world. However, the case of Daumier is more pertinent in demonstrating the interdependence of the medium/message conundrum in the artifice of the genre of caricature.

Daumier's caricature *Before the Painting of M. Manet* (Fig. 32) that ridicules Manet's *Olympia* presented at the Salon of 1865 is a good example of characteristics of ambiguity and

⁷⁸ Powell (1997): 77-92. Gustave Doré had also made illustrations to a book of La Fontaine's fables.

indecidability.⁷⁹ It shows three commoners staring at a painting (implied but not pictured in the cartoon itself) holding a book or a pamphlet that helps them better understand the meaning of the painting they observe. Perhaps, Daumier proposes an overt “bookish” quality of Manet’s painting and implicitly suggests that especially Manet’s work even if based in popular imagery and reality itself, cannot be easily grasped by the naïve folk.⁸⁰ Daumier’s “art viewers” are dumbfounded even when consulting the “book,” or a pamphlet written by some aesthetic pundit. The fact that Manet’s work wasn’t really grasped by “art experts” is widely known. The extreme example of such misunderstanding is Duranty’s criticism of Manet in 1870, discussed earlier, which had led to a duel between the art critic and the artist. Obviously, Manet’s mode of representation is not the “aesthetics of naïveté” neither is his work made for naïve eyes; his mimesis is for minds more open than the minds of plebeians or *philosophes*.

Daumier’s cartoon mocks all sides of the audience as well as the artist’s work registered within yet conspicuously absent from it. When compared to Daumier’s *Parisian Types*, ca. 1840, (Fig. 33) a lithograph that pictures almost exactly the same three commoners, the actual object of satirical commentary becomes all the more unclear. In the latter, the crescent moon shines like a beacon of hope in the end of dark city alley but the couple and their child look at it with the same degree of stupefaction as if they were looking at a shocking and incomprehensible painting. In describing the profundity of Daumier’s caricature such as this, Rudolf Arnheim writes in “The Rationale of Deformation”: “The ridicule of caricature distinguishes this husband and wife unmistakably from the moon-struck Romantic poets; but the smallness of their minds does not

⁷⁹ Curtiss, 725-749. This article is a good compilation of caricatures of Manet’s paintings that can be compared, as suggested above, to caricatures of Courbet’s work reproduced in Schapiro’s “Courbet and Popular Imagery.”

⁸⁰ As Professor Rubin suggests, the book is probably the catalogue of the Salon, which lists the paintings and provides artist’s commentary or descriptions of work. What makes Daumier’s satire more caustic is the fact that the booklet is unlikely to be a critique or review of this particular Salon, since they generally appear in newspapers.

exclude them from the touch of genuine cosmic emotion.”⁸¹ The facial expressions of men in these two caricatures are most clearly differentiated: the first man’s angular lips turned downward in exasperation from misunderstanding whereas the other man’s mouth is a large shapely grin of delight. Compositionally and formally Daumier’s prints are almost identical except for the divergent strokes of smile and frown; yet the range of meanings, one can see, is almost infinite. The simplicity of mask-like facial expressions, creates the ambiguity of meanings that Manet’s mini series of the “beggar-philosophers,” likewise, exhibits. To look at and to understand Manet’s work is to have an open mind, or perhaps, to have a special kind of intelligence that, according to Arnheim, brings one closer to the “appropriate expressive mode suited to [artist’s] conception of the world.”⁸²

VII. Satire: The Philosophy of the Enough

In *The Hidden Face of Manet: An Investigation of the Artist's Working Processes*, Juliet Wilson-Bareau calls Manet’s artistic endeavor “a formidably intelligent one, with a quite remarkable unity and coherence.”⁸³ Such claim seems to be in opposition to some other claims of “incoherency” in Manet’s work I have mentioned earlier. Wilson-Bareau’s study is essentially a structural analysis of Manet’s painting techniques via x-ray radiography.⁸⁴ Her main goal is to prove that the formal simplicity of Manet’s paintings does not coincide with his working processes even if it was something that he himself had claimed to be his intention, i.e., a

⁸¹ Arnheim, 324.

⁸² Ibid, 323.

⁸³ Wilson-Bareau (1986): 21.

⁸⁴ As mentioned earlier, the same technology was used to determine material similarities between Manet’s *Absinthe Drinker* and *Philosopher With Oysters*, see footnote 28 above.

painting devoid of superfluous tricks and frills of the trade. An introductory essay to Wilson-Bareau's volume by John House, called "Manet's Naïveté," further complicates the attempt to see "clarity," "coherence" and "consistency" in Manet's work. From the start, House determines that "naïveté" presupposes knowledge and that any "self-conscious quest for naïveté is just as calculated, just as much the product of knowing artifice, as the conventions which are being rejected."⁸⁵ By juxtaposing varying definitions of naïveté expressed by Baudelaire, Champfleury, Zola and Mallarmé, House determines that in all their definitions the painter is urged to free himself from the constraints of conventional knowledge and explicates how Manet's enterprise subscribed to such appeals.

House, moreover, discusses a major break in Manet's work that occurs at precisely around 1865, or the time Manet went to Spain and saw paintings of Velazquez and likewise painted his *Philosopher With Oysters*.⁸⁶ After a substantial discussion of Manet's "dialogue" with the past art, House suddenly turns to a discussion of the separation between art and discourse, or more specifically between Manet's visual form and its significative context. "But what was the nature of his engagement with the modern world, and how can we gain access to it?" he asks and answers with Zola's pronouncement that "the wider purpose of... Manet's rejection of academic conventions and hierarchies... [was the rejection of] the ideal, and 'ideas' [placed] above the real world."⁸⁷ Engaging modernity seems to be different from capturing it, and it seems that for House first, Zola next and, maybe, for Manet last, the access to modern world cannot be made with idealizations or raising of reality on a high pedestal, it can be captured in

⁸⁵ Ibid, 2.

⁸⁶ Ibid, 9. See also, Hecht (1998): 176-178. This fact is also emphasized in Hourticq (1912): 26.

⁸⁷ House in Wilson-Bareau, *The Hidden Face*, 14.

general brush strokes, or *taches* (which is the main formal characteristic of Manet's painting style).

Even further, House combines Zola's immediate interpretation with Mallarmé's much later historical claims and erases the distinction between "the rejection of academic artifice and convention" and "the expression of the sentiment of their time."⁸⁸ In describing Mallarmé's assertion, House also employs a formalist consideration of composition rather than conceptual or idea-based intentionality in expression. With this, House not only conflates their statements but also fails to note that for the art critic, Zola, the modern subject matter is simply a given, or it is the reality at hand, whereas for the art historian, Mallarmé, it begs for thematization, therefore the leap from an artifice to a worldview (or sometimes in reverse, from worldview to artifice) is necessarily historical and discursive.⁸⁹

House arrives at the paradoxical conclusion, which is actually not surprising, that in Manet's work "the re-presentation of the past is inevitably a presentation of the present."⁹⁰ He refers here to David Carrier's discursive study "Manet and His Interpreters" as a reminder of the infinite scope of interpretations of Manet, a painter who aims, allegedly, for the most simplicity of form and hermeneutic. House gives an example of Manet's *Portrait of Antonin Proust* (Fig. 23) mentioned early on in this thesis, as an exceptionally simplistic rendering that in reality had taken Manet seven or eight tries before completing the "successful version 'at one go'."⁹¹ I find this to be quite baffling that from a mere formal analysis one inevitably arrives at the complicity of the present time and visual re-presentation.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ This seems to be a similar shift from formal language (or artifice) of caricatures about Courbet's to thematic language (worldview) of Manet's.

⁹⁰ House, in Wilson-Bareau, 17.

⁹¹ J.-E. Blanche quoted by House in Wilson-Bareau, 16.

In the previous section, I suggested that Manet's paintings of the "beggar-philosophers" are formulated with the artifice of caricature that resists the "aesthetics of naïveté," it is now relevant to discuss in what way caricature is the appropriate presentation of the historical and how its genre is comparable to literary satire that also sanctions multiple possibilities of "reading" or "experiencing" meanings of a work. Just as in caricature, ambiguity is exactly the hallmark of satire.⁹² The meanings change depending on the reader's circumstance, and what informs the author's vision or equips his techniques usually has little to do with the position in society, erudition or aptitude for making sense of either of the two.

Paul de Man's "The Rhetoric of Temporality" provides a nice pivot for my discussion of satire as the mode of linking various oppositions to each other in the ongoing, evolving operation of "indecidability" that I find to be the trait of Manet's series of the "beggar-philosophers." In this famous essay, de Man accounts for fluctuations of the literary tropes of allegory and symbolism in Romantic poetry in order to explain the nineteenth-century understanding of modernity as the "ultimate allegory of irony."⁹³ In discussing the trope of irony, de Man addresses Baudelaire's treatise *On the Essence of Laughter: And, In General, On the Comic In the Plastic Arts* (1855) which quite interestingly begins discussion with the caricature genre and ends with theatrical mime. This is rather appropriate because Baudelaire from the start of his own essay declares that while his subject matter is laughter he will reflect upon "the genre of

⁹² Howard D. Weinbrodt, in *The Menippean Satire Reconsidered: From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, suggests exactly the proliferation of effects of the genre "satire." He addresses Mikhail Bakhtin's thirteen definitions of satirical "menippea" which encompasses practically a limitless scope of subjects, themes and comic modes. See, Bakhtin, "Characteristics of Genre," in *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics: Theory and History of Literature*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984): 101-180. Predating Bakhtin by a century, Champfleury in the introduction to his *History of Ancient Caricature* (1867), ridicules the fifteen definitions of laughter proposed by Laurent Jourbet in 1579, who is thought to conduct one of the earliest physiological investigations of laughter. He recounts these definitions right after introducing Democritus as the "philosopher who laughs" (this will become important later on). See Champfleury, "Du Rire," *Histoire de la caricature antique*, (Paris: Simon Raçon et Comp, 1867): 8-9.

⁹³ De Man (1983): 228. Cf, the "irony of modernization" in Lajer-Burcharth, 20.

caricature.”⁹⁴ Baudelaire speaks of the essence of laughter not simply ridiculing it but utilizing it as the mode of allegory of irony, as I suspect Manet does in his series of “beggars-philosophers,” simultaneously instrumentalizing and thematizing both satire and philosophy as subject matter and technique.

Similar to the shift (or the *imaginaire*) from the artifice to a worldview in reception caricatures of Courbet’s and Manet’s work, De Man quotes Aristotle’s definition of irony as “saying one thing and meaning another” and determines the articulation of the difference between the two propositions as a hallmark of both allegorical and ironic tropes (and I would add imagery).⁹⁵ The recognition of the complicit structures of allegory and irony requires a specific type of consciousness that de Man calls “a stance of wisdom” which allows to perceive the two tropes as inversions of each other in the sense that both articulate their difference by means of temporality.⁹⁶ In short, de Man articulates the ironic temporality as rapid, sudden and short moments of self-consciousness that are more fitting with the facts of empirical experience whereas the allegorical temporality is successive, continuous and infinite in duration of time imagined outside one’s subjectivity. Moreover, this Janus-like inversion is the characteristic of knowledge suitable for differentiating the world of art or discourse from the real world.⁹⁷

The division of the fictional and real world, according to Baudelaire, entails a duplication of the self, both parts of which must respectively partake in either of the two worlds. This duplication, says de Man following Baudelaire, is characteristic of those who “like artists or

⁹⁴ Baudelaire (1978): 147-148.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 209.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 222-223.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 216-219.

philosophers, *deal in language*.”⁹⁸ The professional vocabulary then entails the difference between “the absolute comic” and “the significative comic,” as the irony turns to reflection upon itself (or irony ridicules itself as subject matter like modern art takes itself as the subject of its investigations). The duplication is articulated with the figure of a “philosopher” whom de Man, like Baudelaire, takes to be “superior artist whose mind is sufficiently open to receive most sensitive ideas at all.”⁹⁹ The “philosopher” stands in contrast to a young peasant girl, characterized by Baudelaire as virginal and naïve in regard to aesthetic experience, a girl who upon arriving to city encounters a caricature for the first time and doesn’t know how to “read” it.¹⁰⁰ In both, Baudelaire and de Man, a special type of intelligence is required to understand the poetics of modernity or, in other words, the rhetoric of temporality. This intelligence is neither simply knowledge of artistic artifice nor superiority by religious beliefs or political, rights much less, still, by wisdom of the experience in the streets. Baudelaire gives this simplest of examples of a man falling in the street, a calamity which makes another man laugh; the wiser man still, according to Baudelaire, will both laugh and cry at the predicament while recognizing that it is only a matter of temporality which in no way can prevent but may also necessitate his own stumbling over.¹⁰¹ A “wiser stance” is this indeterminate, other temporality and understanding that oscillate between the fictional and the empirical worlds.

⁹⁸ Baudelaire’s “se faire un métier” quoted in de Man (1983): 213. Similarly, while discussing the logic of deformation and exaggeration of caricature schematized by Picasso, Gopnik outlines its essence as having “an intrinsic and inevitable feature... of doubleness, the sort of ‘meta-awareness’,” which seems to be particularly useful in understanding Manet’s general “inconsistency” or “ambiguity” of his art of the 1860s in particular. See, Gopnik, 375.

⁹⁹ Baudelaire (1978): 157. Cf. de Man (1983): 214-215.

¹⁰⁰ Baudelaire (1978): 151.

¹⁰¹ De Man actually fails to account for Baudelaire’s parallel pronouncements regarding grief and humor, “tears and laughter” (Baudelaire, 149, 150), “deep seriousness” (155), and especially the figure of Pierrot in the French mime, who embodies both laughing and crying, but mostly crying, theatrical roles (160-162). Likewise, de Man seems to misinterpret Baudelaire’s admiration for Daumier’s caricatures; he says Baudelaire came up with notions of “absolute” and “significative” comic precisely in order to go beyond traditional French comedy. De Man claims

“The ironic language,” or professional vocabulary, says de Man, “splits the subject into an empirical self that exists in a state of inauthenticity and a self that exists only in the form of a language that asserts the knowledge of this inauthenticity.”¹⁰² Relating to allegory as visual poetics, what can be understood as “ironic language” pertains to the *genre* of satire.¹⁰³ The indivisibility of art/world (as a subject matter and form) is precisely the “the allegory of irony,” the mystification of modernity and the impossibility of staying in the *historical moment*.¹⁰⁴ That any kind of emotional or psychological distance may be gained by a disjunction of the mythical from the empirical self turns out to be a myth.

Quoting René Girard’s definition of the genre of modern novel, de Man suggests that it emerges in the recognition of its fictionality and its function to purge itself of the erroneous confidence in its authenticity.¹⁰⁵ The nineteenth-century literary novel and modern art share this main “mythic” origination and purposiveness, just as Aristotle had claimed the derivation of dramatic mimesis to be natural and good in essence. Both the modern(ist) painting and the novel

Baudelaire preferred Hogarth and Goya over Daumier just as he preferred Italian *comedia dell’arte* and a German T. A. Hoffmann over Molière, (de Man, 213). This is a strange comparison because it is generally known that Molière had assimilated *comedia dell’arte* into the French theater which had inevitably brought him historical acclaim. Mikhail Bakhtin makes the same connection of the Italian street theater and the French high form of it in regard to literary carnivalesque exaggerations, a counterpart to menippean imagery: “There was a formalization of carnival-grotesque images, which permitted them to be used in many different ways and for various purposes. This formalization was not only exterior; the contents of the carnival-grotesque element, its artistic, heuristic, and unifying forces were preserved in all essential manifestations during the seventeenth century: in the *commedia dell’arte* (which kept a close link with its carnival origin), in Molière’s comedies (related to the *commedia dell’arte*), in the comic novel and travesty of the seventeenth century.” See Bakhtin (1968): 34.

¹⁰² De Man (1983): 214.

¹⁰³ Satire and philosophy is a better pair than irony and philosophy because both satire and philosophy refer both to a particular work (such a satire on the decadence of Roman Empire or the philosophy of French politics today) and a genre of expression whereas irony and allegory cannot. One cannot say “I wrote an irony on the French popular theater,” instead one can say “I wrote ironically or allegorically about Spanish master painters.”

¹⁰⁴ De Man writes on the modern impossibility of being historical: “it is a historical fact that irony becomes increasingly conscious of itself in the course of demonstrating the impossibility of our being historical,” 211. This echoes Raymond Grew’s point about painters’ “confidence in history” that conditions the importance of images of the poor folk. Having, for example, both Delacroix’s and Daumier’s work in mind, Grew asserts that “the confidence in history” encouraged representations of the poor folk however divergent the style of such imagery may be,” see Grew, 225-226.

¹⁰⁵ Girard (1965): *op. cit.*

emerge with the understanding that breaching the continuity of previous traditions is only possible to happen, it has also happened and is happening all the time and again. Hence, the irony of modernism, in the temporal sense, is “the allegory of irony,” or in other words it is a myth that needs to be purged and recreated anew. This is how Baudelaire defined the genre of caricature in his own moment and de Man explicated historically. Manet, likewise, worked from such understanding that is explicit not only thematically but also technically/formally in his series of the “beggar-philosophers” as his characters both satirize the tradition and philosophize about the future of art.

I hope to have made more clear that philosophy is an integral part of satire especially when it concerns understanding of a worldview, the attitude and the expressive mode of an artist like Manet or the historical moment of nineteenth-century France at large. Mikhail Bakhtin has most peculiarly summarized this type of a-historical moment as he defined the characteristics of the discursive modernity in the genre of satire that produced it:

Menippea... was formed in an epoch when national legend was already in decay, amid the destruction of those ethical norms that constituted the ancient idea of “seemliness” (“beauty,” “nobility”), in an epoch of intense struggle among numerous and heterogeneous religions, philosophical schools and movements, when disputes over “*ultimate questions of worldview*” had become an everyday mass phenomenon among all strata of the population and took place wherever and wherever people came together—in market places in the streets and highroads, in taverns, in bathhouses, on the decks of ships; when *the figure of the philosopher, the wise man (the cynic, the stoic, the epicurean)* or of the prophet or wonder-worker became typical and were encountered more often than one met the figure of the monk in the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁶

This passage is important for understanding that the figure of the street wise man or “beggar-philosopher” emerges precisely at the time when “ideas” or “idealization” (or “academic conventions and hierarchies,” as Zola would say) disintegrate and when “worldviews” (or “the

¹⁰⁶ Bakhtin (1984): 119. Though Bakhtin described the historical moment of nineteenth-century Russia, I believe it has more ostensible correlations to France of the same time. Grew also mentions the popularity of the “aged men” in the similar sense, see Grew, 213.

expression of the sentiment of the time,” as Mallarmé would echo) become the talk of the town and the street, the talk of the world, the discourse. That is why, perhaps, House’s paradoxical claim concerning Manet’s paintings may work in reverse, that is, the “presentation of the present” is a “re-presentation of the past.” Likewise, House’s conclusive claim that “cultural pluralism and ambivalence have replaced the clear-cut value judgments and authoritative readings of the modernist tradition” may be unhinged from the resolution that the questioning of modernity has ended.¹⁰⁷ As I am arguing, ambivalence—or indecidability—and plurality of meanings have been in Manet’s work from the start, especially in his series of “beggar-philosophers.” It has always been the creed of the “modern” dealing with modernity, or in the performative-discursive sense, it has always been effected by the figure of satirical philosopher, the master-painter of mimesis.

VIII. Masters of Creeds and Theatricality

Besides the widespread *Les Cris de Paris* imagery and topoi discussed earlier, another tradition of depicting philosophers as it befits Manet’s work is found in the Spanish and Dutch masters of the seventeenth century whose painted subjects and painting techniques had incontrovertible effects on Manet. These painters include Peter Paul Rubens, Rembrandt van Rijn and Diego Velázquez, all of whom, it must be noted, had painted single figures of philosophers or sometimes the groups of them. A Spaniard Jusepe de Ribera who worked for the Spanish court in Naples, Italy, is no exclusion either and is also famous for the paintings of “wise

¹⁰⁷ House, in Wilson-Bareau, 18.

men.”¹⁰⁸ Still, this tradition turns out to be much more extensive than has been well documented in art history. As I stipulated in the opening remarks of my thesis, the traces go as far back as the early Italian Renaissance including not only the renowned painters like Michelangelo and Raphael (Fig. 22) but also the lesser known Donato Bramante (Fig. 9) and Salvatore Rosa (Fig. 10).¹⁰⁹

Velazquez’s canvases, *Aesop* and *Menippus*, 1639-41 (Fig. 5) were the principal sources of inspiration for Manet’s *Philosopher With Oysters*. Manet initially encountered these works in print copies by Goya (Fig. 6) and later in reality in the museums of Prado.¹¹⁰ Velazquez painted only this couple of the “wise men” who are not actually philosophers but an ancient fabulist and a satirist. Velazquez had also painted an earlier singular version of the philosopher *Democritus*, 1629 (Fig. 13).¹¹¹ A few decades before Velazquez, Rubens painted “philosophers” for the Spanish court of Philip the Second which may have inspired Velazquez’s versions.¹¹² Rubens made two renderings of *Heraclitus* and *Democritus*: in the first version done around 1603 (Fig. 8) the two wise men are shown together sitting at opposite sides of a globe, and in the second version (Fig. 7) from 1605-07, which for unknown reasons to have been cut in half, the two men are separated, with Democritus holding the globe even though both men seem to be seated in the

¹⁰⁸ Delphine Fitz Darby, “Ribera and the Wise Men,” *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Dec., 1962): 279-307; and “Ribera and The Blind Men,” *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Sep., 1957), pp. 195-217.

¹⁰⁹ For a summary of marginal Italian literary and artistic tradition, see Cynthia Munro Pyle, *Milan and Lombardy in the Renaissance: Essays in Cultural History*, (Rome: La Fenice Edizioni, 1997) and especially the chapter “Democritus and Heraclitus: An Excursus on the Cover of This Book,” 203-222. Interestingly, Raphael’s fresco presumably depicts Heraclitus in contemplation in the lower center. However, there are two figures holding globes on the far right end of composition flanking a figure that is thought to be Raphael himself. I presume that either of globe-holders can be a representation of the laughing philosopher Democritus, I have not yet researched the iconography of this ensemble.

¹¹⁰ It is even thought that Manet’s series of philosophers had been painted before he went to Spain, basing his versions on Goya’s prints, Wilson-Bareau, *op. cit.*

¹¹¹ The model for *Democritus* was the actor Pablo Valladolid. See, Wolf (1999): 47-59 and Wilson-Bareau (1991): 163. This fact seems to be important for comparing portraits Manet did of actors Faure and Rouvière and for connecting it with Faure’s purchase of the “philosophers.” See footnote 16 above.

¹¹² Darby, “Ribera and the Wise Men,” 287, and Tromans, 382.

same grotto.¹¹³ Whereas the earlier philosophers partake equal parts of the globe, or worldviews, in the latter couple the superiority is given to Democritus. The reasons for this or what it means for Rubens are unfathomable, but I will later suggest that it has to do with the philosophies of these ancient thinkers and their ultimate inseparability.

Rubens' latter interpretation of the ancient pair is of interest because the separate(d) paintings were hung together with Velazquez's *Aesop* and *Menippus* at the Torre de la Parada, a hunting lodge of the Phillip the Second in the environs of Madrid, where Manet may have seen these four versions while visiting Spain. However, in her book *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada*, Svetlana Alpers argues that the fact of Rubens' and Velazquez's "philosophers" being displayed in the same room of the lodge does not legitimize the interconnection of their iconographies. Alpers explicitly objects to Delphine Fitz Darby's emphasis on the interdependence of these paintings and their presentation at the lodge as a "set of four."¹¹⁴ Alpers' account of the history of the Torre de la Parada is informative for it is a proof that the four paintings hung if not together but at least in the same room; it is recorded in the inventory of the lodge of 1794.¹¹⁵

What further links Rubens's and Velazquez's interest in the theme of the "philosophers" is the work of Jusepe de Ribera whose paintings of philosophers are most numerous and have various iconographic sources. It marks the difference in these masters' works: as much Ribera's paintings were very different from Rubens' or Velazquez's versions of the philosophers they

¹¹³ It may have been divided from one canvas at some point after the painter's death, see Alpers (1971): 134 and Darby, 288. Alpers argues that the cutting of the canvas was erroneously suggested by A. Blankert in "Heraclitus and Democritus in Marsilio Ficino," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1966 - 1967): 128-135. There are no records supporting or disproving this view. Despite the fact that the canvas may or may not have been cut apart, the representation of two men is quite different from the first version.

¹¹⁴ Darby, 288. The "set of four philosophers" seems to be important in contrast to Manet's sale of the "four philosophers."

¹¹⁵ Alpers (1971): 362. Thus far, I lack information on later inventories and precise location of these paintings.

might have provided a link from the mythologized renditions of the earlier master to realistic still-life/genre scenes (*bodegones*) of the latter.¹¹⁶ As the main advocate of associating Rubens and Velazquez through Ribera, Darby argues, in her article “Ribera and the Wise Men,” that Velazquez’s *Aesop* and *Menippus* are modern versions of Rubens’ *Democritus and Heraclitus* from the divided canvas. Nicholas Tromans’s article “The Iconography of Velazquez’s *Aesop*,” for example, would lead one to believe that the literary satire was a quite popular genre because the fables of Aesop alone were published at least thirty-two times during the seventeenth century.¹¹⁷ His evidence suggests a greater cultural shift that explains the transformations in the works of Rubens and Velazquez, even if not by direct influence.

A further interesting case of the iconographic correlation of the philosophers can be found in the work of Rembrandt. Around 1663, Rembrandt painted one of his most curious self-portraits that the longest time has been known simply as the *Laughing Self-Portrait* (Fig. 12). In 1932, however, a Rembrandt scholar F. Schmidt-Degener suggested that Rembrandt pictured himself as “the laughing Democritus,” facing the viewer and looking away from a canvas on which he pictures himself as “the weeping Heraclitus.” Wolfgang Stechow discusses the possibility of such reading of Rembrandt’s self-portrait as well as its historical bases in the article titled “Rembrandt-Democritus.” He cites numerous Dutch painters of the time such as Jan Bylert, Carel van der Pluym and Hedrick Terbrugghen (Fig. 11) who dealt with this particular couple of philosophers, indicating that many painters knew the story of Democritus and Heraclitus, which makes it more likely that Rembrandt would address this theme.

¹¹⁶ Darby, 279-307 and Alpers (1971): 133-34. Ribera’s versions are similar to Manet’s in that they were modeled upon actual vagabonds from the streets of Naples, yet Manet never expressed his admiration of Ribera’s work. A combination in the formal tradition toward of finding a character in real life and constructing it from imagination or upon a literary source is an important one. This links Manet’s “beggars-philosophers” to tradition by going beyond thematic similarities. The technical and practical similarities suggest necessity of combinatory and collection-oriented artistic practice, something I attempted to suggest in Section V above.

¹¹⁷ Tromans, 334.

Darby's account of Ribera's work that I mentioned earlier is not only an attempt to expand such widespread familiarity with the theme of "philosophers" but is also to regain the knowledge of the tradition. I strongly agree with her assertion of the connections between Rubens', Velazquez's and Ribera's paintings of the "philosophers." According to Darby, Velazquez's *Aesop* and *Menippus* paintings evade the recognizable iconographic conventions of the "picturesque" pair: first, by transforming them into the writers of satire and fables, and secondly, by depicting them as modern vagabonds. Likewise, Rembrandt's painting transforms the tradition by treating the theme of the philosophers as disguises for self-portraiture. As Stechow hypothesized, the reason for a late recognition of Democritus and Heraclitus in Rembrandt's painting is precisely because it is a self-portrait.¹¹⁸

The penchant for addressing modernity and disguising self-portraiture in these seventeenth-century masters, seems to me to be precisely the essence of the thematic substance of "Democritus and Heraclitus" pair and the traits of Manet's involvement with the theme. Because both Velazquez and Rembrandt were important resources for Manet, it is possible to advocate that Manet was perceptive enough to recognize the ingenuity of these masters in the treatment of this subject matter and clever enough to employ similar methods of disguise in his own versions of the "philosophers." In the nineteenth century the tradition of depicting philosophers seems to have become popular both in visual and literary satire but the truth of the matter is that caricature (farce, parody, irony), the genre of modern novel and journalism have been interconnected from historical times.¹¹⁹ The "philosophers" cannot be considered merely either the characters of "wise men" from ancient literature or the generic modern types of "beggars": the structural figure of the "philosophers" is the hinge or indecidable between the two.

¹¹⁸ Stechow, 233-238.

¹¹⁹ Wechsler, de Man and Bakhtin, *op. cit.*

The particular pair of Democritus and Heraclitus, the laughing and the crying philosophers, embodies in actuality certain attitudes or stances toward the world and, perhaps, certain worldviews in disguise. Because their attitudes towards life can be thought of as expressing philosophical creeds they must have some currency in the discourse.

IX. *The Philosophers for Sale: The Value of “Priceless”*

The sources for the discursive value of Democritus and Heraclitus are poems of Horace and satires of Juvenal and Lucian.¹²⁰ Lucian’s tale called *The Philosophers For Sale* (*Les sectes à l’encan*) is especially pertinent because during nineteenth century in France it was published numerous times. It was part of the *Oeuvres complètes de Lucien de Samosate* translated and published by Eugène Talbot in 1857 and 1866, relatively close in time to Manet’s production of the *Absinthe Drinker*, *Philosopher With Oysters*, *Philosopher Wearing Beret*, and the *Rag Picker*.¹²¹ Of course, there exists no factual indication that Manet had read or in any way could be inspired by the ancient literature. As far as we know, Manet was not particularly well read as his friend Antonin Proust remembers in the memoirs.¹²² Still, according to James Rubin, Manet had received the classical French bourgeois education. It would be worthwhile to investigate whether Manet may have read Lucian in Latin classes or whether the Roman Classics were part of the general curriculum. Also, one may never discount a possibility that someone could have mentioned Latin works to Manet at a dinner party. According to Rubin, such leisurly discussions

¹²⁰ Horace *Epistles II*, and Juvenal’s *Satire 10*, and Seneca’s *De Ira*.

¹²¹ The *Collected Works* were also published in 1837 and 1882. Sometimes the satire is translated as *The Philosophies For Sale*, emphasizing that it ridicules not the specific philosophers but the dilution and popularization of their philosophic schools and creeds.

¹²² Antonin Proust quoted in Brombert, Beth (1996): 26.

could happen when Manet was eating oysters in Normandy where he spent his summers and which was an important center of oyster cultivation.¹²³

The oyster culture in the nineteenth century was not elitist as oysters were a common food and were becoming even more fashionable.¹²⁴ Interestingly, Honoré de Balzac is known for his love of oysters. There is an anecdote about him eating “100 Ostend oysters, 12 mutton cutlets, a duckling with turnips, a brace of roast partridges, a sole, a dozen pears and various desserts” in one sitting at the most expensive restaurant in Paris, called Very’s; he had done so after finishing his enormous in size and scope modern novel, *The Human Comedy*, that contains “an estimated 2472 named and 566 unnamed characters... 15 varieties of fish, 16 sorts of fruit and countless meals and snacks.”¹²⁵ In *Le Père Goriot*, a novel like *Le Cousin Pons*, Balzac called the life of Parisians “like oysters on a rock completely absorbed in the life of their immediate surroundings.”¹²⁶ Victor Brombert’s epithet to “Balzac and the Caricature of the Intellect,” is a quote from Balzac’s *Les Artistes*, “the pearl is a disease of the oyster.”¹²⁷ Both references allude to Plato’s notion of stupidity of men who are closed minded, or metaphorically speaking, closed upon themselves like oysters. In *Phaedrus*, for example, Plato writes of the soul’s “moment of final revelation: pure in the light that shone around us, and pure were we, without taint of that prison house which we now encompassed withal, and call a body, fast bound therein as an oyster in its shell.” In *Timaeus* Plato writes of the lowest “race of fishes and oysters,

¹²³ Professor Rubin suggested this in conversation. In the case of considering whether Manet had read or not read *Lucian’s Complete Works* it is worth remembering that the famous *Les français peints par eux-mêmes* was largely a written account of the popular types rather than a visual one. As I suggested earlier, for Manet it had as much importance as a written documentation as it was visual.

¹²⁴ An American gadget for opening oysters advertised at Exposition de l’Industrie in Paris was ridiculed in a French newspaper *Revue du Nouveau-Monde*, even a science of oyster-opening was named “ostréotomie.” Régis de Trobriand, *Revue du Nouveau-Monde* (New York, 1850): 63.

¹²⁵ Shane Maloney, “The World on a Half Shell,” *The Age* (April 2, 2010).

¹²⁶ Kanes (1993): 36. This novel beautifully utilizes the *Les Cris de Paris* tradition, see Boutin, 67-78.

¹²⁷ There appears to be no English translation of *Les Artistes* and it is hard to come by in the French sources.

and other aquatic animals, which have received the most remote habitations as a punishment of their outlandish ignorance.”¹²⁸

Regarding general importance of the Roman traditions in the French modern culture, the question of the Roman Empire was more than relevant to politics of the time, the correlations of which were extensively explored and ridiculed in popular media, as in Daumier’s cartoon *The Oyster and Litigants* for example. Manet’s painting teacher, Thomas Couture, had dealt with the Roman subject in *The Decadence of the Romans*, 1847. Also, Baudelaire has countless allusions to Roman culture, mythology and poetry in his articles of art criticism.¹²⁹ Even the fact that Baudelaire wrote “prose poems” is actually not his invention but precisely the Roman literary trope developed by Menippus, hence known as Menippean genre; it was Lucian who had taken the genre of menippea to new heights.¹³⁰ An argument can be made that Baudelaire’s notion of the *flanêur* as a detached aesthetic observer has more than surface correlations to Lucian’s notion of the *kataskopos*, “the down-looker” or a detached observer of the human foibles from above proposed in his satire called *Icaromenippus*.¹³¹ The role of detached but still contentious observers was also given to philosophers Democritus and Heraclitus by the early Renaissance

¹²⁸ These quotations are from Hamilton, Edith and Huntington Cairns, eds. *The Collected Dialogues of Plato, Including the Letters*, (Princeton University Press, 1963): 497, 1211. Also, both fragments are quoted by Liana De Girolami Cheney in “The Oyster in Dutch Genre Paintings: Moral or Erotic Symbolism.” *Artibus et Historiae*, Vol. 8, No. 15 (1987): 155, fn. 5.

¹²⁹ In “The Painter of Modern Life” essay, “*femina complex* of the Roman satirists” is discussed alongside Xanthippe (Socrates’ nagging wife) and Messalina (the Roman promiscuous Empress of the first century AD), 12, 26, 37-38. In “The Essence of Laughter,” Baudelaire alludes to Seneca (most satirized philosopher of all Stoics), and satirical writes Rabelais and Voltaire; he also writes on the grotesque, intoxication and on Pierrot and Harlequin characters of the French popular theater, 155-57, 159-162. In the “Some French Caricaturists” essay (an appendix to “The Essence of Laughter”), while discussing Daumier’s series of caricatures, Baudelaire mentions *Satire Menippée* and Molière in one breath. The latter as I said before had been associated with *commedia dell’arte* and the French popular theater as well. The *Satire Menippée*, I believe, refers to *La Satyre Ménippée de la vertu du Catholicon d’Espagne*, a political satire of 1594 written by a group of Bourbon royalists against *Etats Généraux*. In Particular, Baudelaire called Daumier’s visual satires “satire of the people... which entered the realm of the novel,” 178. Cf. footnote 98 above.

¹³⁰ Duncan (1979): 10.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, 16-19.

humanists.¹³²

What makes me believe that Manet had read Lucian is the fact that Lucian's *Philosophers For Sale* is the only literary source that describes one particular philosopher as an expert on oysters and ridicules the inseparable couple of philosophers, Democritus and Heraclitus. Lucian ridicules the philosopher Aristotle as a man of vast knowledge encompassing lowly subjects like gnats and oysters. The plot of Lucian's satire involves an auction of the philosophic creeds (or attitudes) arranged by the Greek gods Zeus and Hermes who present a number of philosophers to bidding audience. The goal of this satire, according to Darby, was to ridicule the fatuous intellectuals of Lucian's times who in attempts to show their wisdom and sophistication were only vying against each other's collections of sculptural busts (or portraits) made after famous philosophers.¹³³ This explains the market setting of the satire as metaphorical way of judging the value of each philosopher and his philosophical creed. The philosophers Pythagoras, Diogenes, Aristippus, Socrates (or/as Plato), Epicurus, Chrysippus, Aristotle, Pyrrho, and Heraclitus and Democritus—offered as one lot—represent a range of philosophical principles.¹³⁴ At the

¹³² García Gómez (1984): 68-94; Luthy, 456.

¹³³ Darby, "Ribera and The Wise Men," 285. The existence of any sculptural busts may turn out to be true, as E. Tietze-Conrad points out to records of two busts found at Naples, Italy, as early as 1212. The busts were identified as Democritus and Heraclitus, this not only attests to the popularity of sculptural busts and "portraits" or biographies of philosophers but also attests to Roman widespread interest in the history of the Greek world. See, "Two Mysterious Busts at the Porta Nolana in Naples," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 16, No. 1/2 (1953), pp. 158-159. Champfluery not only calls Democritus the father of laughter but reproduces a sketch made after a sculptural bust of Democritus, in his *Histoire de la caricature antique*, 7-8. Also see Leiris' discussion of confusions regarding sculptures of philosophers in "Manet, Guérault and Chrysippos," cf. footnote 60 above. Perhaps, Lucian's satires that often ridicule Greek philosophers had something to do with or had contributed to this cultural vogue for philosophical portraits. Lucian, especially, was known for revitalizing the classical Greek prose during the Christian phase of the Roman Empire. Douglas Duncan had eloquently described Lucian and his historical revivalism as follows: "An Asiatic had out-Greeked the Greeks, a writer of the Christian era who had brought a thousand years of Greek culture to life as though it were contemporary, he was an example of what still might be done," see Duncan, 22.

¹³⁴ This list is from 1857 edition of the *Oeuvres complètes de Lucien*. However, various English translations list either five, seven, nine or ten lots of philosophers. Aristotle in the French version is actually identified as "Peripatetic" (he has no lines like Aristippus and Epicurus) but one recognizes him to be Aristotle because he wrote on oysters in depth in *Generation of Animals* and *On the Parts of Animals*, both considered prototypes of the modern

beginning of each lot, philosophers' competences and usefulness as well as appearance and attitudes are paraded before potential buyers. Here's a description of the marketed "creeds" by

Darby:

Pythagoras, astronomer, musician, quack, and vegetarian with a golden thigh that raised his price; Diogenes, dirty, scowling, abusive in speech, but trustier than a dog and hence recommended as a doorkeeper; the elegant inebriate Aristippus; a loquacious and licentious Athenian who, while pretending to the name of Socrates, was readily recognized as Plato; Epicurus, an impious fellow but agreeable withal; Chrysippus, master of logic and word-snares; the handsome and wealthy Aristotle, whose encyclopedic knowledge embraced such things as gnats, oysters, the human embryo, and the laughing jackass; and Pyrrho, a lazy dullard who honestly admitted his inability to comprehend anything.¹³⁵

In the end, all creeds are sold except for Aristippus and the antithetical pair, Heraclitus and Democritus. The fact that Manet painted the *Absinthe Drinker* and *Philosopher With Oysters* is rather interesting because Epicurean philosophy focuses on the art of drinking and eating as well as the art of life in general. Also, the fact that Manet's artistic enterprise is quite Aristotelian rather than Platonic is also applicable here because the "realist" approach to art encompasses the materialist basis of reality originally developed during Ancient times by the philosophers Democritus and Heraclitus, later rejected by Plato and reinstated by Aristotle.¹³⁶ Likewise, Medieval and Renaissance interpretations of this couple's creeds had given Democritus precedence over Heraclitus because of his notion of *enthumia* (well-being) that has often been confused with the Epicurean philosophy of happiness and satiation.¹³⁷

discipline of biology. Plato's *Timaeus* is also a cosmogony in similar allegorical-cum-biological sense. Darby's summary of the satire includes Aristotle, Aristippus, and Epicurus, see "Ribera and the Wise Men," 285.

¹³⁵ Darby, 285.

¹³⁶ Chitwood (2004): 67-68, 129-131. Gregory Galligan writing regarding Manet's few self-portrait paintings, says that "they are more significant for how they paint Manet as an implacable Peripatetic, a peintre- philosophe of visual cognition." See Galligan, 139.

¹³⁷ Luthy, 454, and Chitwood (2004): 130.

It is peculiar that in Lucian's satire, Aristippus, Epicurus and Aristotle are not listed as major contenders in the auction: they have no lines in the dialogue and are mentioned almost in passing.¹³⁸ Democritus and Heraclitus, on the other hand, are given a chance to thoroughly explain themselves and their worldviews to a surprising dislike by the bidders. The presentation of their lot follows that of Aristippus suggesting an immediate comparison. It is worth citing the pronouncements of these wise men that contributed to imaging of them as the "crying and laughing" couple:

Zeus: Put it aside, and up with another. Stay, take the pair from Abdera and Ephesus; the creeds of Smiles and Tears. They shall make one lot.

Hermes: Come forward, you two. Lot No. 4. A superlative pair. The smartest brace of creeds on our catalogue.

Fourth Dealer: Zeus! What difference is here! One of them does nothing but laugh, and the other might be at a funeral; he is all tears. —You there! What is the joke?

Democritus: You ask? You and your affairs are all one vast joke.

Fourth Dealer: So! You laugh at us? Our business is a toy?

Democritus: It is. There is no taking it seriously. All is vanity. Mere interchange of atoms in an infinite void.

Fourth Dealer: Your vanity is infinite, if you like. Stop that laughing, you rascal. —And you, my poor fellow, what are you crying for? I must see what I can make of you.

Heraclitus: I am thinking, friend, upon human affairs; and well may I weep and laments, for the doom of all is sealed. Hence my compassion and my sorrow. For the present, I think not of it; but the future!—the future is all bitterness. Conflagration and destruction of the world. I weep to think that nothing abides. All things are whirled together in a confusion [or flux]. Pleasure and pain, knowledge and ignorance, great and small" up and down they go, the playthings of Time.

Fourth Dealer: And what is Time?

Heraclitus: A child; and plays at draughts and blindman's bluff.

Fourth Dealer: And men?

Heraclitus: Are mortal Gods.

Fourth Dealer: And Gods?

Heraclitus: Immortal men.

Fourth Dealer: So! Conundrums, fellow? Nuts to crack? You are a very oracle for obscurity.

Heraclitus: Your affairs do not interest me.

Fourth Dealer: No one will be fool enough to bid for you at that rate.

Heraclitus: Young and old, him that bids and him that bids not, a murrain seize you all!

¹³⁸ Talbot (1857): 205, 208, 212.

Fourth Dealer: A sad case. He will be melancholy mad before long. Neither of these is the creed for my money.

Hermes: No one bids.

Zeus: Next lot.¹³⁹

In *Death By Philosophy*, Ava Chitwood suggests that Plato's misunderstanding of Heraclitus's famous philosophic pronouncement that "it is impossible to step into the same river twice" has contributed to Heraclitean portrait of crying. As Chitwood explains, Heraclitus chose an image of the river to harness the notions of both "flux and permanence" with one stroke, as the river's existence and identity is the same despite its flowing and changing substance or waters.¹⁴⁰ Chitwood notes that in the *Cratylus*, Plato humorously uses Heraclitean "flux" to make parallel to *catarrh*, or sinusitis-like disease effected by an inflammation of the mucous membrane resulting in runny nose and watery eyes. Plato conjures only the "impermanent" side of Heraclitean dictum that is particularly at odds with his own (or Socratic) notion of the immutable Ideal Form. And as Plato disdains all impermanence, he attributes "flux" in the sense of feebleness of mind to *catarrh*-afflicted people. Furthermore, as Chitwood retells, Heraclitus became associated with melancholy by way of Aristotle's student Theophrastus who was frustrated (to tears) by the riddling Heraclitean philosophy. Theophrastus linked melancholy as a fluctuating mental state to the "nervous excitability and impetuous temperament," this was also similar to Aristotle's definition of melancholy developed in the *Nicomachean Ethics*.¹⁴¹ As regards Democritus and his embodiment of the laughing attitude towards the world, his notion of *enthumia* or tranquility alone provided enough material for other ancient scholars to perceive

¹³⁹ H. W. and F. G. Fowler, transl. *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905, Vol. 1 of 4): 190-206.

¹⁴⁰ Chitwood (2004): 67.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, 67.

him as the happy-go-lucky and cheerful philosopher.¹⁴² Democritean natural philosophy relates to his laughing in the sense that he believed men perceiving an illusion rather than the real world because the world consisted of small, invisible and indivisible units, called *atomoi*, hence he thought it ridiculous to worry about various human weaknesses or the human condition in general.¹⁴³ Ultimately, both philosophers' creeds involve notions of indivisibility of reality and certain attitude toward (or perception of) it. Thus far, not one scholar has pointed out this aspect of coupling Democritus and Heraclitus. Lucian's satire takes as the focus of ridicule precisely this aspect of their philosophical creeds, the indivisibility of reality from perception it and the inseparability of two opposing attitudes.

Darby also explains that during the Early Renaissance the duality of these two philosophers was revived because one saw the world as comedy and the other as tragedy which lead to various interpretations of their behaviors as attitudes of theatric disguise. Darby even called the characters of Jacques and Touchstone in William Shakespeare's play *As You Like It*, the lighter versions of Democritus and Heraclitus.¹⁴⁴ Interestingly, Touchstone speaks the flowing phrase: "rich honesty dwells like a miser, sir, in a poor house; as your pearl in your foul oyster."¹⁴⁵ As much as comedic or tragic stances explain attitudes toward life at opposite viewpoints, the fact that they are reactions to the same observation of life is important.¹⁴⁶ The creeds in Lucian's satire itself and in the latter receptions of it are disguises of the performance

¹⁴² Ibid, 129.

¹⁴³ Luthy, 455, and García Gómez (1984): 21-22.

¹⁴⁴ For influence of this philosophical couple on Shakespeare, see Pyle (1997): 214-222.

¹⁴⁵ Darby, 285, fn. 21.

¹⁴⁶ Luthy, 455.

of detachment. As I mentioned earlier, Lucianic *kataskopos* (and Baudelairian notion of the *flanêur*) or the detached observer of human foibles applies to both Democritus and Heraclitus.¹⁴⁷

The parallel of philosophy to theatric performance, or the application of these attitudes in the genre of drama is explored by René Girard in an article called “Perilous Balance: A Comic Hypothesis,” in which he claims that comedy and tragedy are not opposites but actually much closer to each in their effects than generally considered. Girard speaks of tears and laughter that they are easily distinguishable as physical phenomena, nevertheless their “opposition... is grossly exaggerated or rather, like so many cultural oppositions, it is founded *on a common basis*, a fact which is generally overlooked when considerations of literary genres and literary technique prevail.”¹⁴⁸ Girard goes on to explain that Aristotle’s notion of *catharsis*, in the *Poetics*, describes the effect of tragedy upon the audience in terms of spiritual purification of the soul as well as medicinal cleansing of the body. Of course, there exists much controversy about Aristotelian cathartic theory and what he actually meant by it. Girard is convinced that it encompasses both soul and body, and the purgation should be thought of as related to bodily “humors” (that engender melancholic, misanthropic, sanguine, and choleric temperaments). Because of the indivisibility of body and soul, purgation for Girard encompasses in the greater sense the sacred nature of sacrificial rituals.¹⁴⁹ It must be remembered that in explaining Plato’s ridicule of Heraclitean *cattarh*, Chitwood concentrated on the tie between bodily biles and psychological dispositions, Heraclitus and Democritus can be both considered manic and of melancholy disposition.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Cf. pages 20-22 and 55-56 above.

¹⁴⁸ Girard, 812.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 814.

¹⁵⁰ Chitwood (2004): 168, fn. 38. Marsilio Ficino, the early Italian humanist, attributes melancholy to Democritus. Likewise, Robert Burton, the author of the famous opus *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), admired Democritus so

Most unexpectedly, when Girard links medicinal *catharsis* to religious rituals explaining the necessity of scapegoating in sacrificial rites, he cites his own book called *The Violence and the Sacred* in which he explores Heraclitean belief that “violence is the father of all things.”¹⁵¹ In light of Girard’s interpretation of violence, the crying of Heraclitus can be understood as his lament of the “inability [of sacrificial rites] to purify what is impure” in social reality.¹⁵² Girard ponders whether the purification is necessary for avoiding “a destruction of differences” that rituals were invented to protect.¹⁵³ Girard also notes that Heraclitus is known as the “philosopher of tragedy,” and considering that the difference between tragedy and comedy is indecidable—springing from a common basis (like Democritean and Heraclitean reactions to the same survey of reality)—between tragedy and comedy and, between tears and laughter. The following passage from Girard must be wholly cited in order to explain the extent of the significance of indecidability:

Tragedy holds up a mirror to mankind and what men saw reflected in it—the inexorable decay of the polis—prompted them to smash it useless and vain though that gesture might be. Staring back at these double images we can appreciate the context in which tragedy took place. After all the same mocking images glitter before our own eyes today.

Philosophy, like tragedy, can at certain levels serve as an attempt at expulsion, an attempt perpetually renewed because never wholly successful. This point, I think, has been brilliantly demonstrated by Jacques Derrida in his essay “La Pharmacie de Platon.” He sets out to analyze Plato’s use of the term *pharmakon*. The Platonic *pharmakon* functions like the human *pharmakos* and leads to similar results. The word is pivot point between sophistic deception and sound philosophy even though its role is no more justified or justifiable than the violence inflicted on the human scapegoat led through the streets of fair Athens just prior to his execution. When Plato applies *pharmakon* to the Sophists, he generally uses it in its maleficent sense of “poison.” When it is applied to Socrates or any Socratic activity, however, it means “remedy.”

much that called himself “Democritus junior” in the title of the book, see, Luthy, 464.

¹⁵¹ Heraclitus quoted in Girard (1977): 144. This can also be supported by the statement of Heraclitus as interpreted by Lucian (cited above), his belief in conflagration expresses this necessity of purification by fire.

¹⁵² Girard (1977): 42-43, 125.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 129.

Although Derrida refuses to do away with all differences or to treat these differences as null and void, he demonstrates that between Socrates and Sophists, the structure of the opposition belies not the difference that Plato would like to establish but rather the reciprocity that is suggested by the recourse to one and the same word. All difference in doctrines and attitudes is dissolved in violent reciprocity, is secretly undermined by the symmetry of the facts and by the strangely revealing, even somewhat naïve use of *pharmakon*. This use polarizes the maleficent violence on a double, who is arbitrarily expelled from the philosophic community. From Plato right down to Nietzsche (who took a contrary stand), the philosophic tradition has piously reaffirmed this absolute difference. With Nietzsche the difference was inverted and began to shift back and forth—in preparation, perhaps, for its predestined elimination.¹⁵⁴

From this passage it becomes clear that the ancient Greek philosophy was endowed with a similar cathartic function as tragedy and comedy which themselves stem from a common basis that is initially found inseparable in the reciprocity of Democritean and Heraclitean philosophies. Plato employed catharsis as the expulsion of the corrupt artist from the Ideal State and Aristotle as the expulsion of the impurities both of physical and mental nature. Moreover, in Aristotle, catharsis concerns the genre of drama or general playacting and its spurious origination as something between comedy and tragedy, as mimesis, a performative rather than imitative discourse.

Further, the genre of satire involves intentional exaggeration of reality as well as intentional mixing of genres, especially in its original form, mixing of verse and prose.¹⁵⁵ Satire can be considered a mirror of reality, like philosophy, understanding of which would also fall

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 296. “Pharmakon” is the Greek name for a scapegoat of sacrificial ritual. “Plato’s Pharmacy,” in, is the place where Jacques Derrida first defines the concept *indecidable*, which is also the major undercurrent of all his philosophical writings. See, *Dissemination*, B. Johnson, transl. (Chicago, 1981): 219. Cf. Wojciech Balus’s use of Derridean indecidable in “Dürer’s ‘Melencolia I’: Melancholy and the Undecidable,” *Artibus et Historiae*, Vol. 15, No. 30 (1994): 9-21. In this article, Dürer’s image is compared to other versions of Democritus in state of melancholy and melancholy itself is suggested to be “undecidable” (or according to Professor Silverman the proper use should be indecidable) in essence creating the impossibility of clear reading of Dürer’s image. Interestingly, García Gómez recounts Lucian’s satire called *The Death of Peregrine* in which the “laughing and crying” couple are put to the test regarding their reaction to a sacrifice performed by a Cynic humbug Proteus who lights himself on fire at the games of Olympia: as would be expected Democritus cannot help but laugh and Heraclitus cries on end, García Gómez (1984): 16-18.

¹⁵⁵ Emily J. Gowers, "satire." *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization*.

between “sophistic deception and sound philosophy” or, in other words, between fallacious and true perception of reality. Democritean and Heraclitean opposing attitudes toward reality seem to engender this indecidable mixture that characterizes both comedy/tragedy and philosophy/satire pairs. Democritus and Heraclitus precede the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle, and as I said earlier, the latter couple misinterprets the foregoing philosophers who should be rightfully named the progenitors of indecidability.

What is most peculiar about interpretations or misinterpretations of Democritus and Heraclitus is the fact that Lucian’s satires have been characterized “Menippean” in the sense that he mixed verse and prose after the method of Menippus who invented a notion of *spoudogeloion* (Gk.) or *joco-serium* (Lat.) or a “serious joke.”¹⁵⁶ Douglas Duncan claims that a French man of letters, Issac Cassaubon, first distinguished Lucian works as “Menippean” in *De Satyra Graecorum Poesi atque Romanorum Satira* (1605); this perhaps has a correlation to Velazquez’s interest in Democritus in 1629 and a depiction of Democritus and Heraclitus as Menippus and Aesop in 1639-41. The Spanish preference for ancient fabulists rather than satirists remains enigmatic as I tried to account in Section VIII, but the fact remains that Lucian’s works and especially his treatment of the inseparable pair of philosophers has been influential more than currently acknowledged.¹⁵⁷ As of now, there seem to exist fewer reliable sources regarding the Menippean invention of *joco-serium* than the original coupling of Democritus and Heraclitus.

However, finding the source or origin of this invention or myth—after all, Girard deems myth to be the common ground of comedy and tragedy—is not the point here.¹⁵⁸ Rather, the point is to locate and understand traces of the tradition that has inspired a nineteenth-century

¹⁵⁶ Duncan (1979): 10-11.

¹⁵⁷ García Gómez (1984): *op. sit.*

¹⁵⁸ Girard, 812.

topos of a street beggar as philosopher in a disguised manner of self-portraiture and with reference to the artifice of artistic work, encountered in Manet's painting *Philosopher With Oysters*. The priceless question of correlating Lucian's satire *Philosophers For Sale* and Manet's painting involves the task of understanding that satire is a mixture of genres that mimics genres from which it borrows, and whose mimesis is of diversion, sublimation, and displacement. The fact that Lucian presents the couple Democritus and Heraclitus without siding with the view of one over another is remarkable because he does so in the *genre* of indecidability. I believe Manet understood this complicity of satire and philosophy especially as it regarded the *genre* of mimesis in his own work which, as I discussed earlier, took art as the subject matter and as technique, or in other words, art as the *genre* of art.¹⁵⁹

The significance of Lucian's *Philosophers For Sale* consists in the fact that the pair of Democritus and Heraclitus does not acquire market value or is "priceless" because their creeds are serious only to the extent that they are funny. The couple of laughing Democritus and crying Heraclitus is "*joco-serium*" or *spoudogeloion*, like Menippus himself or the *menippea* genre he inspired which, as defined by Mikhail Bakhtin, concerns the ultimate questions of a worldview and develops after dying of myths and ideals. What is even more appropriate in Lucian's grasp of this indecidability of *menippea* is his use of the genre as a method and as subject matter of satire. The unsold lots are Aristippus and the Democritus-Heraclitus pair: the first did not sell because his extravagant life style would become a burden on his owner, and the latter because of their polar outlooks on life. There are, of course, various other reasons why the particular creeds did not sell, one of which involves their forthcoming slavery; such outcome, however, does not match the goal or the focus of satire's mockery. What makes the "laughing and crying" creeds

¹⁵⁹ I suggest this as early as Sections III-V.

more priceless than the creed of the drunk (Aristippus) is the fact that the “laughing and crying” lot followed the lot of Aristippus. This immediate contrast reveals Lucian’s ingenuity of comparing one “priceless” value to another. Is not the current popular adage “that’s priceless!” means exactly what Lucian in his *Philosophers For Sale* intended to say (“that’s funny,”) that funny is funny by definition or that its disursive value is funny, no more no less? The answer to this rather indecidable question explains the genre of art between philosophy and satire and its advent during nineteenth century.

X. The Shock of the Oyster: Heraclitus and Democritus

Ultimately, the shock that the old joke still held up during nineteenth century France is hard to overcome as it is no less difficult to grasp the popularity of philosophers in Holland and Flanders or to explain the widespread esteem of literary Roman satire and fables in Spain. There are only a few art historical accounts of this apparently well-known and well-recognized tradition of the “laughing and the weeping philosophers,” the inseparable Democritus and Heraclitus.¹⁶⁰ The bibliographies or references of these accounts list notable historical figures that in one way or another have dealt with either one or both philosophers. These include (and in

¹⁶⁰ The earliest comprehensive survey of this theme is done by Werner Weisbach, "Der sogenannte Geograph von Velazquez und die Darstellungen des Demokrit und Heraclit," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (Berlin, 1928): 141-158. Other visual and more recent studies include: Wind, E. "The Christian Democritus." *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (October 1937): 180-182; Blankert, A. "Heraclitus en Democritus in Marsilio Ficino," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1966 - 1967): 128-135; Ann Tzeutschler Lurie, "The Weeping Heraclitus by Hendrick Terbrugghen in the Cleveland Museum of Art," *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 121, No. 914 (May, 1979): 279-287; Cynthia M. Pyle, *Milan and Lombardy in the Renaissance* (1997) mentioned earlier; and Frances Huemer, "Rubens' Democritus and Heraclitus," *Source*, Vol. 28, Iss. 3 (Spring 2009): 24-8; Piero Schiavo, "Les couples Démocrite-Héraclite et Démocrite-Hippocrate à l'âge moderne entre histoire et légende," *SJC*, No. 1 (2011): 1-11. Two great comprehensive literary studies are: García Gómez, *The Legend of the Laughing Philosopher*, mentioned earlier, and Françoise Joukovsky, *Le Feu et le Fleuve: Héraclite et la Renaissance*, (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1991). Other shorter studies include: Cora Lutz, "Democritus and Heraclitus." *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 7 (April 1954): 309-314; Luthy, "The Fourfold Democritus on the Stage of Early Modern Science" and Chitwood, *Death by Philosophy*, both mentioned above.

no way limited to) the following Frenchmen: Montaigne, Rabelais, La Fontaine, Laurent Jourbet, Fénelon, Diderot. Denis Diderot, for example, has made the figure of philosopher useful in a didactic play on the theory of music which involves a comedic dialogue between music teacher, student and philosopher who brags about enjoying oysters and wine.¹⁶¹ One of Manet's contemporaries, Émile Littré, the creator of the modern French dictionary, had translated writings of Hippocrates and published them between 1839 and 1863.¹⁶² Likewise Champfleury, who had written a magnum opus on the history of caricature, addressed the historical development of visual satire and humor in relation to philosophy. Even later in the century, Henri Bergson who philosophized about phenomenology of temporality (*le temps vécu* and *durée*), wrote on laughter and Democritus in 1900.

In his historical studies of caricature, Champfleury mentions what seems to be a very popular French anecdote about a laughing oyster that laughs so hard that it splits in half; this mention coincides with the discussion of Democritus the father of humor and laughter along with a reproduction of a sketch after a sculptural bust of Democritus.¹⁶³ The precise origins, meanings and various applications of this anecdote are hard to uncover but some indicate a direction toward an interpretation of Democritus and Heraclitus by Voltaire.¹⁶⁴ One of Voltaire's plays called "Jean qui pleure and Jean qui rit" becomes a literary topos mentioned in

¹⁶¹ Denis Diderot, *Leçons de clavecin* (1771) in *Oeuvres complètes de Diderot: Beaux-Arts, Arts du Dessin (Salons), Musique*. (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1876): 286-287. On the relation of musical tempos to psychological states like melancholy, see Alfred Einstein, "Democritus and Heraclitus: A Duet in Major and Minor," and "The Melancholicus in Instrumental Music," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Oct., 1937): 177-180; and Otto Kinkeldey, "Essays on Music by Alfred Einstein," *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Apr., 1957): 259-264.

¹⁶² Schiavo, 1-11.

¹⁶³ Champfleury, *Histoire de la caricature antique*, 7-8. The first edition of this volume was published in 1865, see Abélès (1990): 33. Cf. footnote 133 above.

¹⁶⁴ Robinove, 535.

the novel by Sir Walter Scott called *Quentin Durward* (1823).¹⁶⁵ Littré's interest in Hippocrates may also regard the "laughing and crying" couple as Hippocrates visits Democritus during the latter's solitary retirement from the world in order to examine and deride human follies. During the encounter, as Christoph Luthy recounts, Hippocrates ruminates on the meaning of melancholy and madness and ultimately succumbs his professional (medicinal and pharmacological) expertise to Democritean moralizing "medicine of laughter."¹⁶⁶ A British painter Joseph Wright of Derby had treated this scene in a painting called *Democritus Studying Anatomy* (1769) which was inspired by Salvator Rosa's versions of *Democritus in Meditation* (1663) and Dürer's famous etching *Melancholy* (1514).¹⁶⁷

During the Early Modern era, as Luthy argues, this story had contributed to the "fourfold" imaging and comprehension of the historical figure of Democritus and his philosophy. The "fourfold" includes personalities of Democritus such as the atomist philosopher, the laughing philosopher, the moralizing anatomist and the alchemist. One of the interesting incoherencies of the "fourfold" includes the shift from attributing melancholy to Democritus rather than to Heraclitus as it was done in Ancient times by Theophrastus, a student of Aristotle.¹⁶⁸ Luthy also discusses a particular "Parisian controversy" of years 1603-1609 in the discipline of science as to proving that Democritus can be considered the original physician or alchemist.¹⁶⁹ This dispute attests to the widespread renown at least of Democritus if not his coupling with Heraclitus, even in scientific fields. The portrait of Democritus as "alchemist" developed at the crossroads of his

¹⁶⁵ See also Walter Scott and Defaucompret, transl. (Paris: Furne, Pagnerre, Perrotin, 1864): 91. It was published in France numerous times, including the year 1864. For the use of the topos during the twentieth century, see Kelly Anspaugh, "'Jean qui rit' and 'Jean qui pleure': James Joyce, Wyndham Lewis and the High Modern Grotesque," in Michael J. Meyer, ed. *Literature and the Grotesque*, (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, B.V., 1995): 129-152.

¹⁶⁶ Luthy, 461-469 and Schiavo, 1-11.

¹⁶⁷ Wallace, 21-32 and Lurie, 279-287, and Balus, 9-21. Cf. footnote 150 above.

¹⁶⁸ Luthy, *op. cit.*, and Chitwood (2004): 67-68, 129-131.

¹⁶⁹ Luthy, 474-479.

being misinterpreted as “atomist” and as “anatomist” and during the time in the seventeenth-century when Rubens, Rembrandt and Velazquez as well as other lesser known artists paint their versions of the two ancient thinkers. The quarrels between sciences like philosophy and natural philosophy, law and medicine were, perhaps, intensified by the fine arts fighting for the status of science or liberal art. Therefore, it makes sense to think that artists dealt with similar topics and subjects as did philosophers and scientists which Rensselaer Lee had suggested in a book-length article “Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting” discussing not only mimesis of painterly enterprise but also its correlations to literature, philosophy and sciences.¹⁷⁰

In the nineteenth century, an epoch during which aesthetics seriously threatened to overcome metaphysics, the study of Democritus and Heraclitus should give a better grasp of the epoch’s historical development since their influence had always concerned reality and art as its perception. Famous thinkers of the nineteenth century Marx, Nietzsche and Freud who had reflected upon a special place of aesthetics were substantially intrigued by Democritean philosophy, especially in their early works, as I had pointed out at the start of my thesis. Nietzsche, in particular, following Kant’s inclusion of aesthetics in the corpus of metaphysics and teleology, interpreted aesthetics as an indeterminate struggle between Apollonian and Dionysian principles of individuation (precisely the question of indivisibility and separation).¹⁷¹ He likewise developed a philosophy (or rather a genre of “philosophic satire”) after studying the Greek tragedy and comedy and a representative-mouthpiece for it, Zarathustra, who is characteristically Democritean in his laughter. I believe that Manet’s paintings of the “beggar-philosophers” are a perfect case study for figuring out the hermeneutical impasse in the form of

¹⁷⁰ Rensselaer Lee “Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting,” *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Dec., 1940): 197-269.

¹⁷¹ Swift (2005): 5-41. Kant’s critique of aesthetic judgment deals to a small degree with exaggeration of caricature and ideal human beauty. Cf. footnote 74 above.

separating art as visuality from art as discourse. The *menippean* or *joco-serium* genre of the *Philosopher With Oysters*, especially, belongs within a different progression of the art of painting that is rarely accounted for by art historians.

Therefore, understanding Manet's "four philosophers" as partaking in the similar endeavor of the mentioned discursive authors and visual masters is only one side of my interpretative task; the other side is to ascertain what this endeavor entails regarding artistic developments succeeding Manet's legacy. For example, the American artist group of the 1960-70's was named FLUXUS by George Maciunas who allegedly based it on a definition of the word "flux" from the standard English dictionary. There is no need of reminding that Heraclitus has long been associated with the theories of flux and impermanence, and though Heraclitean philosophy per se has not been documented as a source for Maciunas' ideology, its traces and historico-cultural permutations coincide with it. Going beyond the ideology of the group, one of its participants, Dick Higgins—actually the most prolific writer of the group—has published a street performance instruction called "The World is Our Oyster: The Game of Disguises" in a publication that is now considered to be the mission statement of the group (it includes his famous essay "Intermedia Art").¹⁷² Also, as I hinted at the start of my thesis, Marcel Duchamp had affiliated humor and aesthetics thereby influenced numerous artists of the second half of twentieth century including FLUXUS. Therefore, just as Duchamp exemplifies the recurrent tradition of artists tackling philosophical problems in the "tongue-in-cheek" manner, Manet also

¹⁷² Dick Higgins, *foew&ombwhnw: a grammar of the mind and a phenomenology of love and a science of the arts as seen by a stalker of the wild mushroom*. (New York: Something Else Press, Inc, 1969): 50. I wrote a seminar paper, "On the Impracticable Genealogy of Intellectual Programs: Scoring Events in History of Art like George Brecht" for Professor Uroskie's class on one member of the Fluxus group, George Brecht and his art notion of the "event-score." In the process of researching the greater historical context, I came across Higgins' performance. The fact that Brecht had stopped his art career in order to manage a little shop of curiosities, games and jokes is also interesting because like Marcel Duchamp's art practice, it concerns philosophy and satire, or a detached stance from the art world and its conventions.

exemplifies this tradition. Moreover, I argue that the *joco-serium* genre of art did not begin with Manet either as I have found much evidence that shows its ancient origins and continuation throughout centuries. Artistic satirical dealings with philosophy has been the undercurrent of aesthetic developments for a long time, this is exactly the shock of discovering that Democritus and Heraclitus were more respected in the previous centuries than during present day.

Needless to say, more studies are needed to see how the tradition of *menippea* and *joco-serium* in visual arts developed before and during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and how it can be regained for the present day. As of now, I take as a potential development of this continuation Christian Biet's lecture called "Visualizing the Law in the Baroque Age: The Play of Value and the Law; Image and Comedy at the End of Louis XIV's Reign."¹⁷³ Biet discusses a print by Gerard Jollain called *The Rout of Speculators*, 1711 (Fig. 36), an illustration for a legal almanac that pictures two philosophers, Democritus and Heraclitus at the lower front of what looks to be a stage set. One is crying and another one is laughing, and both function as commentaries on the scene depicted above them. Biet's interpretation of picturing legal creeds is supported with the notion of "enacting" (or "performing") the law which emerges from the similarity of the French words, "stage" and "scaffold" (*échafaud*) and opposing activities that took place on the podium-like structure that the words denote. Another proof that these two philosophers survive in the visual culture of eighteenth century is a print by Claude-Louis Desrais called *The Magic Lantern*, 1791 (Fig. 37) which shows a "magic lantern" projection for Catherine the Great of Russia.¹⁷⁴ The "magic lanterns" were very popular after the French Revolution and usually were associated with the Ancient Cynic philosopher Diogenes who carried a burning lantern during the day in order to expose human follies.

¹⁷³ Presented at the New York Law School on October 21, 2011.

¹⁷⁴ Weston in Porterfield and Contogouris (2011): 84-86.

What is interesting about Desrais' print is that at the lower center of the circular image projected by the lantern there is a pensive (if not crying) figure of a philosopher sitting near burning books and at the lower center of the print itself, facing Catherine the Great, is a figure of clown holding bauble. These two figures are undeniably Democritus and Heraclitus as they are depicted similarly in Jollain's print. As the "magic lantern" exposes truths of the monarchial reign it shows its injustices and vagaries depicted in the left portion of the projection. In Desrais' print the two philosopher's opposition is employed almost as the scales of the figure of justice would be or as Daumier's has done in *The Oyster and Litigants* (Fig. 34), that is, divided and presumably equal. It seems that the two philosophers embody opposing attitudes regarding the law; and the initial linking of these wise men to legal matters can be found in the emblematic tradition and its progenitor, Italian jurist, Andrea Alciati's *Emblematum Liber* of 1531 (Fig. 35).¹⁷⁵

Cynthia Pyle in her account of Democritus and Heraclitus goes as far as to suggest that Alciati's book, published in France in 1534, had regenerated the prestige of the philosophic couple among humanists, artists, and literatti and contributed to new developments in arts, theater and even music.¹⁷⁶ Regarding music, Diderot's theory of harmony in *Leçons de clavecin* of 1771 is one such effect of the inseparable couple; Antonio Sallieri's musical comedy called *Eraclito et Democrito* of 1795 is another.¹⁷⁷ Still, the theatrical influence of the two philosophers is of more consequence because, according to Pyle, the Globe Theater of William Shakespeare's company in London was developed and structured after Pierre Boaistau's theories espoused in the book *Le Théâtre du monde* (1555), the first chapter of which was explicitly

¹⁷⁵ The image is reproduced in Santiago Sebastián, ed. *Alciato: Emblemas*, (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, S. S., 1985): 193.

¹⁷⁶ Pyle (1997): 222. Cf. footnote 144 above.

¹⁷⁷ Einstein, "Democritus and Heraclitus: A Duet in Major and Minor," 179. Cf. footnote 161 above.

dedicated to Democritus and Heraclitus.¹⁷⁸ José Antonio Maravall also supports this view in his book, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, where he mentions a Spanish playwright López de Vega's work called *Democritus and Heraclitus of Our Century: The Writers of Legitimate Philosophy* (1612).¹⁷⁹ Maravall corroborates that Shakespearean notion of the "world as stage" and the divided (yet inseparable) comedic and tragic attitudes toward life embodied by Democritus and Heraclitus were common worldviews during the seventeenth century and were highly esteemed even by the seventeenth-century general populace.¹⁸⁰

Furthermore, the characters of the Italian popular theater *Commedia dell'Arte*, Pierrot and Harlequin may be said to be inspired by the figures of the laughing Democritus and the crying Heraclitus, simplified into masks of smile and frown. According to Helen Borowitz, in the article "Painted Smiles: Sad Clowns in French Art and Literature," the Italian street theater had influenced the French theater of Funambules, or the theater for the working classes.¹⁸¹ She discusses the work of artists like Gavarni, Daumier, Couture and Manet who painted "sad clowns" or addressed theatrical topics in general. Turns out that Manet's painting teacher Couture had dabbled not only in the theme of "clowns" and performers but also caricature.¹⁸² Borowitz writes

¹⁷⁸ Pyle (1997): 214-125.

¹⁷⁹ There appears to be no English translation of López de Vega's *Heráclito y Demócrito de nuestro siglo: Describe su legitimo filósofo*. De Vega, it must be noted, had tremendous influence on the seventeenth-century French playwright Pierre Corneille. The presence of the philosophic couple in the French theater of eighteenth century is discussed in Schiavo, 8-11.

¹⁸⁰ George Mauner's controversial analysis of Manet as "painter-philosopher" suggests that the *Old Musician* (Fig. 20) painting of Manet can be compared to Shakespeare's "All the World's a Stage" soliloquy from *As You Like It* (Act II, Scene IV). See *Manet-Peintre-Philosophe: A Study of the Painter's Themes*, (University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975): 54, 78.

¹⁸¹ Borowitz, 23-35.

¹⁸² This is suggested by Aimée Brown Price "Official Artists and Not-so-Official Art: Covert Caricaturists in Nineteenth-Century France," *Art Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 4, *The Issue of Caricature* (Winter, 1983): 368. This is also, discussed by Albert Boime, *Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980): 325-326. Couture's interest in caricature can easily be compared to Carracci's endeavors in *Arti di Bologna*, cf. McTighe, *op. cit.*, and footnotes 73-34 above. Couture as I have stated earlier had dealt with Roman subject matter as well.

that Daumier and Couture worked together on art committees and influenced each other's painting and drawing techniques.¹⁸³ Couture's painting *A Duel After the Masked Ball* (1857) was inspired by an actual duel among politicians who rushed to fighting each other dressed in masquerade costumes. Borowitz satirically describes the episode as enjoying much popularity and notoriety because "life imitated art" (not in reverse).¹⁸⁴ Manet had painted a *Masked Ball At the Opera* (1873-4) and rendered a few "clowns" in his printmaking endeavors.¹⁸⁵

Théophile Gautier, a nineteenth-century art critic, is known to have said that Shakespeare would be "at home at Funambules," a phrase which inspired Champfleury to write a play called *Pierrot Valet of Death* (1846).¹⁸⁶ Aimée Brown Price in an article "Official Artists and Not-so-Official Art: Covert Caricaturists in Nineteenth-Century France" reproduces a small caricature of Champfleury done by Baudelaire, using his own face as signature for the friendly *charge* drawing; it supposedly regards Champfleury's five volumes on the history caricature.¹⁸⁷ Baudelaire comments on a play he saw at the theater of Funambules in his essay *On the Essence of Laughter: And, In General, On the Comic In the Plastic Arts* (1855). The references to Shakespeare are scant in either Baudelaire's or Champfleury's work but it is a fact that the "golden" playwright of Great Britain was gaining popularity in France after Victor Hugo had began translating Shakespeare's works into French and Delacroix painting Shakespearean subjects in the first half of nineteenth century. Moreover, Gautier, Champfleury, Baudelaire and

¹⁸³ Borowitz, 31.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, 29.

¹⁸⁵ Reff, "The Symbolism of Manet's Frontispiece Etchings," 182-187. Also Nochlin, "A Thoroughly Masked Ball," 188-201 and "Picturing Modernity, Then And Now," 124-129, 180.

¹⁸⁶ Borowitz, 24.

¹⁸⁷ Price, 366. It has also been suggested that Champfleury had copiously imitated fragments of Baudelaire essay "On the Essence of Laughter," see Malcolm E. McIntosh, "Baudelaire's Caricature Essays," *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 71, No. 7 (Nov., 1956): 503-507, and John W. MacInnes, "Essential Laughter: Baudelaire's *De e'ssence du rire*," *French Forum*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (January 1987): 55-64, and James S. Patty, "Baudelaire and Bossuet on Laughter," *PMLA*, Vol. 80, No. 4 (Sep., 1965): 459-461.

Philibert Rouvière whom Manet painted as *The Tragic Actor* (Fig. 24) had become closely associated after Rouvière's performance in *Les Mousquetaires* in 1854 staged after a popular book by Alexandre Dumas *fils*.¹⁸⁸ Since Manet painted Rouvière in the role of Hamlet in 1864-66, he had not only seen the actor on stage but also had read Shakespeare in order to be able to capture actor's skillful personification of the character. Almost 12 years after Manet had painted Rouvière as Hamlet, he painted actor Faure in the role of Hamlet as well (Fig. 16).

Interestingly, Shakespeare refers to oysters in the Platonic sense "as pearls of wisdom" and as "the prison body of the ignorant mind" in *As You Like It* (Act 5, Scene 4) which has the characters of Jacques and Touchstone (compared to Democritus and Heraclitus by Darby). He also alludes to oysters as embodying a world in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* with the character Pistol speaks: "Why then, the world's mine oyster, which I with sword will open." (Scene 2, Act 1) Though oysters are not the major theme of Shakespeare's playwriting as the cross-dressing and disguise are rightfully called so; he eulogizes oysters in many other plays: *The Taming of the Shrew* (Act 4, Scene 2): "He is my father, sir; and, sooth to say/ In countenance somewhat doth resemble you/ As much as an apple doth an oyster, and all one;" *King Richard II* (Act 1, Scene 4): "Off goes his bonnet to an oyster-wench ["Oysterwench is an old English term for a woman-seller of oysters]; *Much Ado About Nothing* (Act 2, Scene 3): "I will not be sworn but love may transform me to an oyster; but I'll take my oath on it, till he have made an oyster of me, he shall never make me such a fool;" *Anthony and Cleopatra* (Act 1, Scene 5) "He kiss'd, the last of many doubled kisses/ This orient pearl... 'Good friend,' quoth he/ 'Say, the firm Roman to great

¹⁸⁸ Solkin, 706-708. See also, Shakespeare, *Oeuvres complètes de Shakespaere*, Tome XIV, *Les Farces*, transl. Victor Hugo, (Paris: Pagnerie, 1864); *Oeuvres complètes de Shakespaere*, Tome Premier, transl. Benjamin Laroche and intro., Alexandre Dumas père. (Paris: Lecue Libraire, 1847); and *Oeuvres complètes de Shakespaere*, Tome Premier. Benjamin Laroche transl. (Paris: Libraire de Charles Gosselin, 1842). Also, Marion Monaco, *Shakespeare on the French Stage in the Eighteenth century*, (Paris: Didier, 1974), and Romy Heyden, *Translations, Poetics, and the Stage: Six Hamlets*, (Routledge Press, 1993).

Egypt sends/ This treasure of an oyster;” *King Lear* (Act 1, Scene 5): “I did her wrong/ Canst tell how an oyster makes his shell?/ No/ Nor I neither; but I can tell why a snail has a house/ Why?/ Why, to put ’s head in; not to give it away to his daughters, and leave his horns without a case.”¹⁸⁹

From the variety of contexts and uses of oysters, one can derive that two major themes predominate: oyster as divided into form and substance, shell and pearl within it that connote either wisdom or foolishness. Plus, one random mention of *Les Cri de Paris* type of street wendor, an oysterwench! There seems to be more material than a mere coincidence or confluence of subjects in Manet and Shakespeare which only enrich and expand the meanings of *Philosopher With Oysters* and its companion “beggar-philosophers.”

What is, nonetheless, more perplexing is the fact that Manet had etched copies of his paintings *Philosopher With Oysters*, 1865-66 (Fig. 39) and *The Tragic Actor (Rouvière as Hamlet)* 1865-66 (Fig. 40). In the paintings the space is ill defined, and one cannot say for sure where the men are to be located. I had suggested that the “beggar-philosopher” might be a city dweller because the dark shadows behind him alludes to a building wall. Yet in the print version, the space is rendered with innumerable elliptical marks oriented horizontally that closely resemble the waves of the sea. The shadow cast by the philosopher’s legs and the markmaking used to render it changes from the general background as if to mark a shoreline. Upon close inspection, the etch marks in Manet’s print of *The Tragic Actor* look definitely similar in rendering and I surmise that in both prints they are intentional. The print after the *Absinthe Drinker* (Fig. 38), for example, shows completely different approach to etching: it renders the painting precisely, without any adjustments. In the *Philosopher With Oysters* and *The Tragic*

¹⁸⁹ The text lines are taken from “No Fear Shakespeare” on Sparknotes.com (<http://nfs.sparknotes.com>). Accessed on Novemebr 13, 2011. Almost all these plays were available in French during Manet’s time, see previous footnote.

Actor prints, the background space is deliberately elaborated. With the presence of oysters in the one print and a sword in the other, one can almost imagine them as pendants for they seem to be exploring the notion of opening up to the world contrived by the Shakespearean dictum “the world's mine oyster, which I with sword will open.”

Though the probability of correspondence between two prints is slight, it seems plausible that Manet was more than merely aware of the rich literary tradition concerned with Democritus and Heraclitus, and their opposite and legitimate creeds regarding the perception of the world. Perhaps, they saw the world as their “oyster,” meaning that they felt free to either cry or laugh about its calamities and its fortunes. Perhaps, they also knew that the whole world is a stage and everyone in it is an actor, and they had nothing else to do but laugh and cry about the *joco-serium* nature of the world. Finally, I have no doubt that Manet was just as serious as he was light-hearted when he conceived and executed his paintings of the “beggar-philosophers” who re-present nobody and nothing else but Democritus and Heraclitus in modern disguise.

XI. Farewell to “Sister Arts”: Philosophy and Satire Back to Back

A “mysterious coincidence” (or historical parallelism) of the similarity in subjects or technique was Baudelaire’s public defense of Manet against a particularly harsh accusation in plagiarism of the Spanish masters, Velazquez and Goya. In 1864, Théophile Thoré wrote a review of Manet’s painting *Dead Toreador* and *Incident in a Bull Ring* suggesting that Manet had done a copy not an emulation of their works.¹⁹⁰ Baudelaire had defended Manet against such accusation by claiming that Manet had not seen the alleged originals face-to-face because

¹⁹⁰ Brombert, Beth (1996):157-158; and Hamilton (1986): 32, 61-64. In the same review, Thoré had even made a comparison of Manet’s *Dead Christ with Angels* to Annibale Carracci’s work, and in general was a bigger supporter of Manet’s work than most other critics.

he had never been to Spain. One year later, after another round of particularly nasty reviews and the scandal of his painting *Olympia* (1865), it seems that Manet took Thoré's advice to heart and traveled to Spain to examine technical specificities and to gain a new subject of his work, namely, the philosophic attitude of satire. Perhaps, also not coincidentally, it was Champfleury and Alfred Stevens who were supposed to accompany Manet on the trip.¹⁹¹ Unknown circumstances have prevented this fellowship journey and Manet had faced his painting heroes with Zacharie Astruc.

Manet's interest in Spanish painting is well known. But that Manet created so many "Spanish" paintings before he visited the country has been habitually used to suggest that his interest in Spanish art was primarily a technical one. It is evident that Manet's early emulations show profuse practicing of the flat minimal strokes, the use of bold outlines and deepest black color reminiscent of Goya's and Velazquez's work. However, a face-to-face encounter with the Spanish masterpieces in 1865 changed Manet's *attitude* toward the subject matter as well as the attitude toward technique. I would like to attribute this change to the art historian Théophile Thoré who, despite his strident disapproval of copying, had generally and passionately advised young artists to emulate *the attitudes* of masters rather than just their subject or techniques.¹⁹² I believe that Thoré's concept of "attitude" is a way to bridge Manet's interest in the subject

¹⁹¹ Manet's letter to Zacharie Astruc (another art critic), quoted in Wilson-Bareau (1991): 34. I must remind here, that Alfred Stevens had initially introduced Manet's work to a gallery dealer Durand-Ruel, who consequently bought the lot of "four philosophers" from Manet among other twenty-some paintings. See Section II above.

¹⁹² Hecht, 176-178. I had written a seminar paper on Théophile Thoré, called "The 'Yardstick' of Thoré-Bürger: On Looking at the Art of the Past with the Eyes of the Present Time," in which I summarized his art historical and art critical endeavors and suggested a closer connection with Manet that has been previously acknowledged. For example, Thoré (also known as William Bürger, a pseudonym concocted after "William" Shakespeare and a Dutch word for city-dwellers, "borger," or counterpart of French *citoyen*) was an avid collector of art works and may have owned not two but three still life paintings by Manet. See Jowell, "Thoré-Bürger's Art Collection: 'A Rather Unusual Gallery of Bric-à-Brac,'" 102.

matter of the satirical philosophers to his interest in technique (or mimetic genre) of philosophical satire.

In a letter to Fantin-Latour, during the Spanish journey, Manet first marveled at Velazquez's *Portrait of Pablo Valladolid*, 1635 (Fig. 15) the compositional structure of which later became the base of his portraits of famous actors, Rouvière and Faure.¹⁹³ In the same letter, Manet mentions the two philosophers, presumably *Aesop* and *Menippus*, which he esteemed as equal to, if not better than Velazquez's most famous works *Las Meninas* and *Las Hilanderas*. It can, therefore, be argued that Velazquez's *Portrait of Pablo Valladolid* and *Aesop* and *Menippus* paintings inspired Manet's theory of "simple" painting and the numerous single-figure canvases discussed throughout this thesis. It must be remembered that the actor Valladolid had posed for Velazquez's solitary version of Democritus (Fig. 15). As I pointed out earlier, Antonin Proust quoted Manet's interest in the "simplified" manner of painting much earlier in his life, in 1858-60 as well as much later in 1880. This reaffirms Manet's recurring or epochal involvement with the technical or formal simplification of painting and the genre of philosophical satire based upon the specific historical tradition that is found at the core of Manet's series of the "philosophers" and is linked to his fundamental concern for the nature of painting. As I have argued at length, the "beggar-philosopher" paintings express his philosophic attitude in a satirical manner; it is disguised, which makes impossible to know whether it is a serious or trivial stance. Manet's *attitude* is indecidable, his painting creed is similar to the stance of Lucian accounting for Democritean and Heraclitean distinction and indivisibility in the *Philosophers For Sale*. There is no doubt that Manet's work had drastically changed after 1865, and scholars have noted that Manet had stopped painting in the Spanish style and depicting Spanish subject. However, I

¹⁹³ Manet cited in Wilson-Bareau (1991): 34-35.

would like to argue that the shift is far more reaching than the thematic and formalist concerns because this shift is like the shift to a different worldview (or *imaginaire*). As I had numerous times stated above, the performative mimesis Manet employs in his series of the “beggar-philosophers” paintings is not mimesis of the imitative theory of painting. In other words, I believe that Manet had made a move away from the *ut pictura poesis* notion, or the “sisterhood” of painting and poetry that has dominated artistic and art historical concerns from the Renaissance on.¹⁹⁴ It was a move toward the *poetics* of indecidable satire/philosophy duality that hinges and unhinges the art/discourse pair and predominates the modern art of Duchamp and Dada and the post-modern art of FLUXUS artists. Art itself as the subject of art and art inseparable from the real world are traits of the *joco-serium* or the *menippean* (or the tongue-in-cheek) genre that has been there in Manet, the Spanish and the Dutch artists of the Baroque era, and the Italian painters of the Renaissance. The indecidable genre of satire and philosophy back-to-back is the coupling of Democritus and Heraclitus misinterpreted by Plato and Aristotle. It would be worth trying to retrace the history of poetics of Aristotelian performative, subliminal and supplemental mimesis as opposed to a Platonic mimesis of emulative, representational, and substitutive mimicry.

In other words, a difference between poetics of Platonic Ideal and Aristotelian catharsis must be historically delimited. This task and its necessity has been actually accounted for by Michel Foucault in the essay of 1969 called “*Theatrum Philosophicum*,” often cited in the “*Fantasia of the Library*” where he suggests Manet’s discursivity.¹⁹⁵ In the “*Theatrum Philosophicum*” Foucault discusses the impossibility to overturn Platonic philosophy of representation in favor of Aristotelian “materialist” or the philosophy of physics rather than metaphysics. Foucault writes:

¹⁹⁴ Lee, *op. cit.*

¹⁹⁵ Foucault (1977): 165-196.

What philosophy has not tried to overturn Platonism? If we defined philosophy at the limit as any attempt, regardless of its source, to reverse Platonism, than philosophy begins with Aristotle; or better yet, it begins with Plato himself, with the conclusion of the *Sophist* where it is impossible to distinguish Socrates from the crafty imitators; or it begins with the Sophists who were extremely vocal about the rise of Platonism and who ridiculed its future greatness with their perpetual play on words.¹⁹⁶

Now, this is exactly the same concern of Derrida's "Plato's Pharmacy," in which he first defined the concept *indecidable* with a reference to proliferation of meanings, or dissemination, and in which, according to Rene Girard, he also tried to differentiate the mental meaning from medicinal (intellectual from the bodily) meaning of the word *pharmakon*.¹⁹⁷ For Foucault, for instance, the overturning of Platonism resolves in the paradoxical notion of "incorporeal materiality," a mix of physics and metaphysics that allows for "the meaning-event [to be displaced] as the present and the eternal repetition of the infinitive"¹⁹⁸ This displacement is possible or happens in the similar way that allegory turns into irony in de Man's account of the nineteenth-century novel "rhetoric of temporality." Foucault's essay "Theatrum Philosophicum" addresses the philosophy of re-presentation (or, in Derridean sense, the metaphysics of presence) as threatened by philosophies of the Ancient Stoics, Epicureans and one Cynic philosopher Diogenes.¹⁹⁹

Though Foucault does not mention Democritus and Heraclitus or their indecidable coupling in the *joco-serium* genre, he nevertheless analyzes the influence of irony and humor upon the seriousness and morality of philosophical inquiries. The Sophists' ridicule of Plato illusionistic metaphysics occurs theatrically or in "disguise of repetition, the always singular mask that conceals nothing, simulacra without dissimulation, incongruous finery covering a

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, 166.

¹⁹⁷ Derrida (1981): 219. Cf. footnote 154 above.

¹⁹⁸ Foucault (1977): 169, 174.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 169.

nonexistent nudity, pure difference.” (De Man, 177) Furthermore, the pure difference then is a displaced and repeated difference, that does not need the categorical or classifying, characterizing and individuating thinking proposed by Aristotle (and affirmed by Kant). “Acategorical” thinking is problematic because “within categories [despite the level of intelligence or knowledge], one makes mistakes [and] outside them, beyond or beneath them, one is stupid [or foolish].” (De Man, 188)

Intelligence does not respond to stupidity, since it is stupidity already vanquished, the categorical art of avoiding error. The scholar is intelligent. But it is thought that confronts stupidity and it is *philosopher* who observes it. Their private conversation is a lengthy one, as the *philosopher's sight* plunges into this... catatonic theater. The philosopher must be sufficiently perverse to play the game of truth and error badly: this perversity, which operates in paradoxes, allows him to escape the grasp of categories. But aside from this, he must be ‘*ill humored*’ to persist in his confrontation with stupidity, to remain motionless to the point of stupefaction in order to approach it successfully and *mime it*, to let it slowly grow within himself (this is probably what we politely refer to as being absorbed in one’s thought’s [melancholy!]), and to await, in the always unpredictable conclusion to this elaborate preparation, the shock of difference. Once paradoxes have upset the table of representation, catatonia operates within the theater of thought. (De Man, 190, Italics mine)

Foucault, like both de Man and Derrida, nominates the figure of philosopher as a pivot point for the discursive formations of mimesis within outside temporality of the general context from which singular thoughts (ideas or Ideals) or works cannot be disassociated. Moreover, Foucault chooses Nietzsche’s Zarathustra as the performer of the eternal recurrence of the pure difference; the irony of this archeological find, or rather a satire of philosophy, is the painful “schism [that] has already happened... [is continuously happening] and will happen again.”²⁰⁰

Unfortunately, Foucault does not conclude that Zarathustra, the laughing philosopher is also the philosopher who cries at the wound of the schismatics of temporality such that, perhaps,

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 194-195.

cannot decide between “the re-presentation of the past [and] a presentation of the present.”²⁰¹

The hidden face of the philosopher is “a theater of mime with multiple, fugitive, and instantaneous scenes... a theater where the explosive laughter of the Sophists tears through” masks of Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Nietzsche, Democritus, Heraclitus, and so on and so on.²⁰²

Therefore, the indecision regarding the difference between “sophistic deception and sound philosophy,” now according to Derrida’s indecidable logic of dissemination, is the only free and legitimate attitude or operation of discourse to sustain itself eternally.

Such is the shock of the oyster, an indiscernible and silent pivot point of *The Archeology of the Frivolous*, a book by Derrida in which he reads the eighteenth-century French philosopher Condillac. Regarding the notion of frivolity itself, or the fundamental freedom of philosophy to ask any questions whatsoever, Derrida questions whether Condillac had plagiarized Leibniz’s *New Essays Concerning Human Understanding* (1704) for his own *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge* (1756) without knowing that he did. (Like Manet had allegedly plagiarized the Spanish or Dutch painters of theatrical creeds.) Derrida cites a long passage from Leibniz, a dialogue called “Of Frivolous Propositions” that regards the recognition and understanding of the concept of difference as such. One interlocutor presents more than appropriate locution for exercising philosophic knowledge; he says:

You will at least admit, sir, that a million propositions may be formed at a little expense, but also of very little use; for it is not frivolous to remark, for example, *that the oyster is the oyster, and that it is false to deny it, or to say that the oyster is not the oyster?* As to which our author agreeably says that a man who would make the oyster sometimes the subject, sometimes the attribute, or the *predicatum* [in other words, the foundation, the basis, or the parabasis of reality] would justly be like a monkey who should amuse himself by throwing an oyster from one hand to the other, which proceeding could

²⁰¹ House, in Wilson-Bareau, 17.

²⁰² Foucault (1977): 196.

altogether as well satisfy the hunger of the monkey as these propositions are capable of satisfying the understanding of man.²⁰³ (Italics mine)

This passage in Derrida's books or books of mentioned philosophers therein extends beyond the scope of my thesis. But the question or the stroke of indecidability refers to the difference between an oyster and not-oyster, or an oyster as the world or any other allegorizing or ironical sublimation of its symbolism.

It seems to me that the Shakesporean poetic dictum, the frivolity of philosophy itself, imprecisely in the frivolous performance of the philosophical theater—"all world is a stage" and "the world is my oyster"—meaning that one does with it what one wills! Satire of philosophy and philosophy of satire in one shocking blow of the opening oyster, of the oyster split in half from laughing and crying over its wound. It seems to me that Democritus and Heraclitus knew it, Plato and Aristotle knew it, Leibniz, Condillac, and Diderot knew it, Rubens, Rembrandt and Velazquez knew, Marx, Freud and Nietzsche knew it, and Manet knew it, without knowing and without worrying about this knowledge.

What does it matter, the difference of the oyster, when the *Philosopher With Oysters* is just the same as the oyster and philosophers, countless philosophers of the world? What does it matter, when it does not form the difference of the oyster? Oyster makes no sense whatsoever. Oyster is as priceless as it is funny, it is as free to do at will as it is doomed within its shell, it is as wise as the pearl within it and it is stupid as the refuse of streets.

²⁰³ Derrida (1980): 121. "Parabasis" is the ironic disruption of the narrative illusion by the author, see de Man (1983): 218-219.

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Figure 1. *Philosopher with Oysters*, 1864-67.



Figure 2. *Absinthe Drinker*, 1859.



Figure 3. *Philosopher Wearing Beret*, 1864-67.



Figure 4. *Rag Picker*, 1867.



Figure 5. Diego Velazquez, *Menippus* and *Aesop*, 1639-41.



Figure 6. Francisco de Goya, *Menippus* and *Aesop*, 1778.



Figure 7. Peter Paul Rubens. *Democritus and Heraclitus*, 1605-07.



Figure 8. Peter Paul Rubens. *Democritus and Heraclitus*, 1603.



Figure 9. Donato Bramante, *Democritus and Heraclitus*, 1477.



Figure 10. Salvatore Rosa, *Philosophers Heraclitus and Democritus*, ca. 1640.

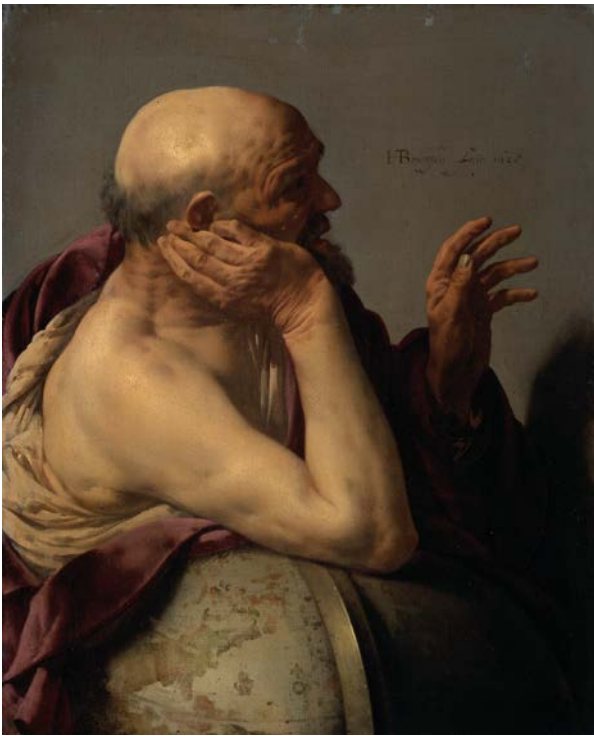


Figure 11. Hendrick ter Brugghen, *Heraclitus and Democritus*, 1628.



Figure 12. Rembrandt, *Laughing Self-Portrait*, ca. 1663.



Figure 13. (Left) Velázquez, *Democritus*, 1629.
 Figure 14. (Right) *Dead Christ with Angels* (sketch), 1864.



Figure 15. (Left) Velázquez, *Portrait of Pablo Valladolid*, 1635.
 Figure 16. (Right) *Portrait of Faure in the Role of Hamlet*, 1877.



Figure 17. Henri Fantin-Latour, *A Studio in Les Batignolles*, 1870.



Figure 18. Bertall, *Jesus Painting in the midst of His Disciples, or, The Divine School of Manet, Religious Painting by Fantin-Latour*. 1870. *Le journal amusant*.



Figure 19. Gustave Courbet, *The Painter's Studio: A Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Life as a Painter*, 1855.



Figure 20. *The Old Musician*, 1862.



Figure 21. Jacques-Louis David, *The Death of Socrates*, 1787.



Figure 22. Raphael, *School of Athens*, ca. 1510-12.



Figure 23. *Portrait of Antonin Proust*, 1880.



Figure 24. *The Tragic Actor (Rouvière as Hamlet)*, 1864-66.



Figure 25. *Portrait of Theodore Duret*, 1867.



Figure 26. *The Artist (Portrait of Marcellin Desboutin)*, 1875.

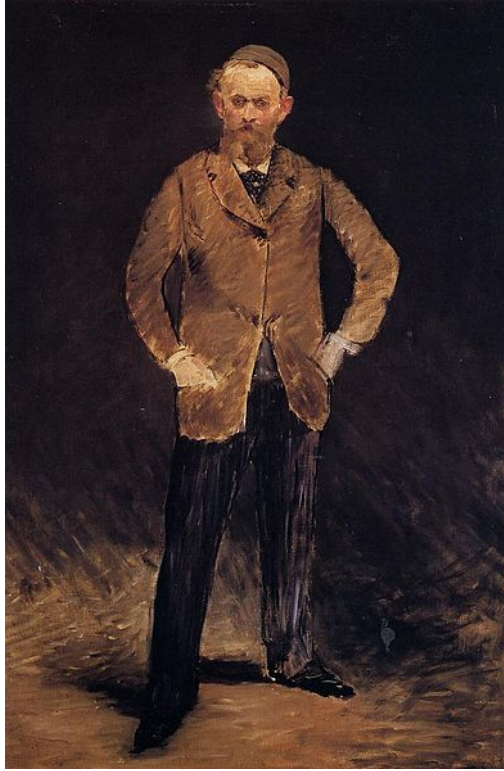


Figure 27. *Self-Portrait in a Scullcap*, 1878.



Figure 28. Felix Nadar, *Champfleury*, 1859.



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Figure 29. (Left) Charles-Joseph Traviès, *The Rag Picker*, 1842.Figure 30. (Right) Honoré Daumier, *Ratapoil*, 1850.Figure 31. Paul Gavarni, *Un Monsieur* and *Un Bohémien*, 1856.



Figure 32. Honoré Daumier, *Before the Painting of M. Manet*, June 19, 1865. *Le Charivari*.



Figure 33. Honoré Daumier, *Parisian Types*, ca. 1840.



Figure 34. Honoré Daumier, *The Oyster and Litigants*, 1871.



Figure 35. Andrea Alciati, "In Vitam Humanam," Emblem 151, *Emblematum liber*, 1531.



Figure 36. Gerard Jollain, *The Rout of Speculators*, 1711.



Figure 37. Claude-Louis Desrais, *The Magic Lantern*, 1791.



Figure 38. *Absinthe Drinker*, etching, 1861-62.



Figure 39. (Left) *Philosopher With Oysters*, etching, 1865-66.
 Figure 40. (Right) *The Tragic Actor (Rouvière as Hamlet)*, etching, 1865-66.