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THE ARTIST ON SHOW

Gustave Courbet

OSKAR BÄTSCHMANN

The painter Henry Fuseli (1741–1825), who had emigrated to England from Switzerland in 1765, wrote in a letter to his patron William Roscoe (1753–1831) in 1790 with regard to a statement by the American Benjamin West (1738–1820) about how to be successful as an artist:

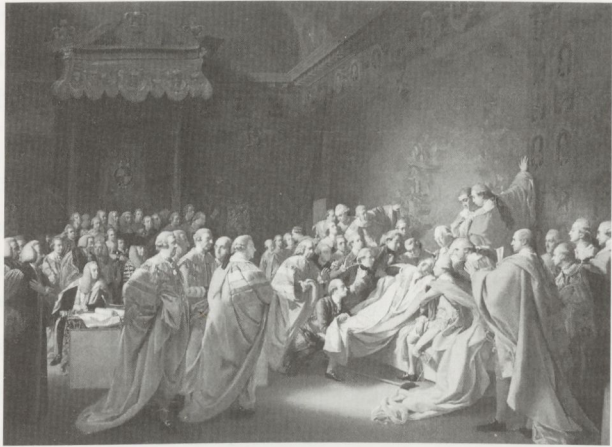
‘There are,’ says Mr. West, ‘but two ways of working successfully, that is, lastingly, in this country, for an artist—the one is, to paint for the king; the other, to meditate a scheme of your own.’ The first he has monopolized; in the second he is not idle: [...] In imitation of so great a man, I am determined to lay, hatch and crack an egg for myself too, if I can. What it shall be, I am not yet ready to tell with certainty; but the sum of it is, a series of pictures for exhibition, such as *Boydell’s* and *Macklin’s*.¹

Fuseli’s remark, full of envy, irony and disdain, offers a clear analysis of the situation of the artist, following radical changes to it in the second half of the 18th century. This letter documents the change in the career pattern of the professional artist: from a post at court to a focus on working for public exhibitions, which occurred primarily in France and England.²

The development of exhibitions from an annual event on a public holiday to the exclusive medium for the presentation of art, the emergence of the public and public criticism, and the re-orientation of artists towards exhibition work, were the most decisive and consequential changes in the art world since the Renaissance. The public required a new function, the critic was the new figure, patrons disappeared into the background, and the exhibition was the new field for rivalry and for struggles for recognition among artists. Very soon there appeared exhibition managers like John Boydell (1719–1804), William Bullock (1773–1849) and others in London.³

Also in London, Benjamin West and his rival John Singleton Copley (1738–1815) developed what was then called the *exhibition piece*. Copley moved to exhibition pieces with *The Death of the Earl of Chatham* in 1779–1781 (fig. 1), depicting the collapse of William Pitt (1708–78) in

1 John Singleton Copley, *The Death of the Earl of Chatham*, 1779–81, oil on canvas, 228.6 × 307.3 cm, Tate Gallery, London (lent to the National Portrait Gallery)



2 John Singleton Copley, *The Death of Major Peirson*, 1783, oil on canvas, 251.5 x 365.8 cm, Tate Gallery, London



the House of Lords during a debate over Britain's policy in the American War of Independence. Copley went about his commercial exploitation of the subject systematically, advertising for subscriptions for the engraving and showing the painting in Spring Garden for six weeks, during which time 20,000 people went to see it.⁴

In 1784, Copley rented rooms in the Haymarket for two months and showed his new exhibition piece, *The Death of Major Peirson* (fig. 2), along with the first exhibition piece. Again he chose to represent a tragic moment and a patriotic theme: the battle of the British troops

against French invaders on the island of Jersey in 1781. With his second exhibition piece, Copley had found a profitable formula: financier John Boydell as the backer who would provide a loan for the execution of the project and then buy the product at a relatively low price; a temporary exhibition, the profits from which went to the artist; as did a share of the profits from the reproduction.⁵ This formula was repeated by Copley and imitated by others, including artists on the Continent, such as most successfully by Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825) in Paris.⁶

David showed the large painting *The Sabine Women* for an entrance fee of 1.80 Francs, but he had to defend this “exposition payante,” which was hated in France. David’s defence is highly interesting. In it, he pointed out that exhibitions derived from a practice of Antiquity, he lamented the sacrifice artists had to make, and claimed that he was promoting young artists by indicating a source of income by which they might end their impoverishment.⁷

Some French artists, including Jacques-Louis David, Guillaume Guillon Lethière (1760–1832) and Jean-Baptiste Wicar (1762–1834), tried to organize exhibitions in London. In 1820, Théodore Géricault (1791–1824) showed his large painting *The Raft of the Medusa* in the Roman Gallery run by William Bullock at Piccadilly, where in 1816 the exhibition pieces by Lethière and Wicar were presented to the London public.⁸

In 1828, Lethière showed again one of his horrible exhibition pieces in Bullock’s Gallery in London, the large *Death of Virginia*, and published a brochure containing a reproduction and a description.⁹ Apart from the official Salon, Paris offered few or no possibilities for exhibitions before 1871, with the exception of the World Exhibitions held in 1855 and 1867. The situation was different in the provinces where it was possible to organize private exhibitions.

Gustave Courbet (fig. 3), born 1819 in Ornans in the Franche-Comté, realized perfectly the condition for success for a young painter.¹¹ He

3 Étienne Carjat, *Portrait of Gustave Courbet*, ca. 1861, photomechanical print, 21 × 27 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris



wrote in an 1846 letter to his parents that an artist could never achieve a high reputation with small paintings, and that without a big reputation he would rarely find buyers. In order to make his name, he was planning a large painting for exhibition the following year.¹² I believe that *A Burial at Ornans* (pl. 1; fig. 4) was this projected huge exhibition piece, which eventually contained life-size portraits of nearly 50 inhabitants of the village.¹³

In the spring of 1850, Courbet held his first exposition payante in Ornans, Besançon and Dijon, where he was hoping to find the public he needed, relying on articles in the press written by a friend, Max Buchon (1818–69), as publicity.¹⁴ In Besançon, 250 people paid the 50 centimes entrance charge to see the work, but in Dijon Courbet had to close his exhibition after three days because it was running at a loss. Courbet took his new paintings, including the *Burial at Ornans*, the *Stonebreakers*, and

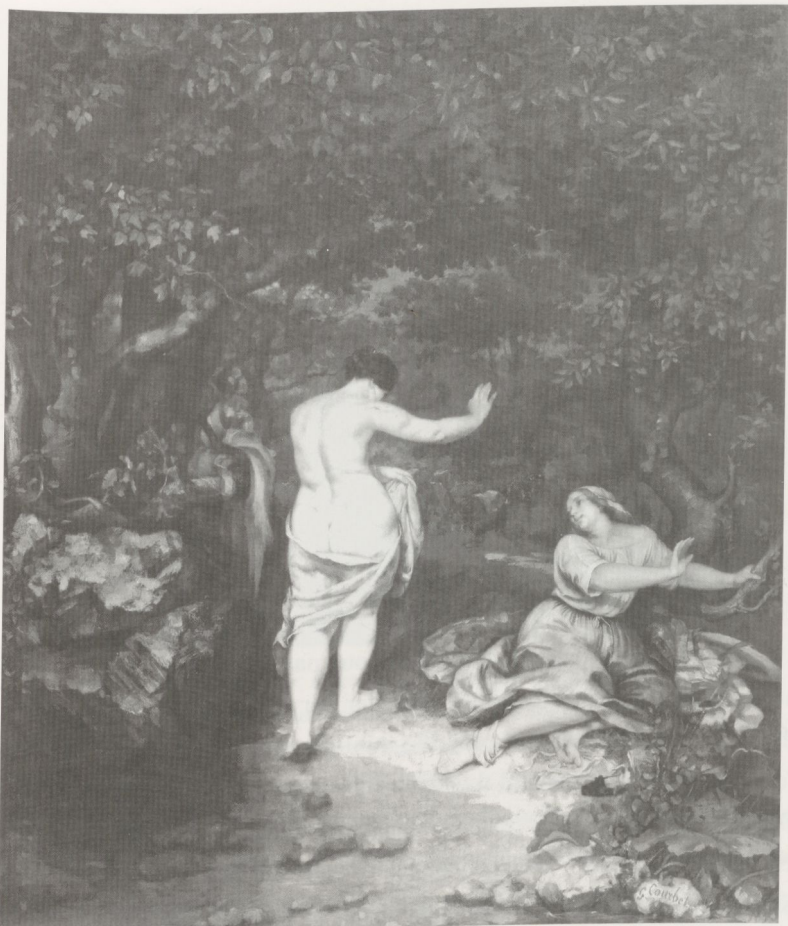


4 Gustave Courbet, *A Burial at Ornans* (*Un Enterrement à Ornans*), 1849–50, oil on canvas, 315 × 668 cm, Musée d’Orsay, Paris

the *Peasants of Flagey*, to Paris and showed them first in his studio at Rue Haute-feuille 32 and then in the Salon of 1850, which opened at the end of the year. *The Burial at Ornans* aroused passionate discussion, but most of the reaction was negative.¹⁵

Cartoonists fell upon Courbet’s paintings, and the rough plebeians from the provinces and his daubs were the focus of hilarious attention.¹⁶ Despite his occasional outbursts of fury, the painter no doubt grasped the immeasurable value that the publicity the cartoons gave him. His friend, the photographer Nadar (Gaspard-Félix Tournachon; 1820–1910), who was one of the wittiest caricaturists of the artist, repeats a comment Courbet was said to have made in 1857: “You see I am the greatest painter working today, for I am subject to the most frequent attack.”¹⁷ Courbet was not necessarily being ironic.

Each artist was limited to three submissions at the Salons of 1852 and 1853. With his *Les Demoiselles de village*, Courbet showed a work in the 1852 Salon for the first time that had already been sold, it having been bought by the Comte de Morny (1811–65), the half-brother of the Prince-



5 Gustave Courbet, *Women Bathing (Les Baigneuses)*, 1853, oil on canvas, 227 × 193 cm, Musée Fabre, Montpellier

President Louis Napoleon (1808–73) who proclaimed himself Emperor after the *coup d'état* at the end of the same year. The 1853 Salon was important for Courbet in that he achieved a *succès de scandale* for the first time with *Les Baigneuses* (pl. 2; fig. 5); he also acquired a Maecenas, Alfred Bruyas (1821–77) of Montpellier, the son of a banker (pl. 3; fig. 6).¹⁸



6 Gustave Courbet, *Alfred Bruyas*, 1853, oil on canvas, 92 × 74 cm, Musée Fabre, Montpellier

Alfred Bruyas bought the scandalous painting, which shows a nude fat woman seen from behind, with her servant, by a pool in a wood. This painting shocked not only the public at the Salon, it even shocked Courbet's friend Nadar and the critic Jules-François-Félix Husson (1821–89), also known as Champfleury. Courbet's enemies accused the artist of cultivating ugliness.¹⁹ Alfred Bruyas bought the painting despite advice to the contrary; he also bought the *Sleeping Spinner* and had his portrait painted by Courbet (pl. 3; fig. 6). The artist made his first commission for a representative portrait into an alliance between the Maecenas and himself by depicting Bruyas with a book entitled *Etudes sur l'art moderne // Solution // A. Bruyas (Essays on modern art // solution // by Alfred Bruyas)*.²⁰

In the following year, 1854, Bruyas invited the painter to Montpellier. They met in an open field, and Courbet being welcomed by his patron and a servant was made the subject of his celebrated painting *The Meeting*, or “*Bonjour Monsieur Courbet*” (pl. 4; fig. 7).²¹



7 Gustave Courbet, *The Meeting, or "Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet"* (*La Rencontre, ou "Bonjour Monsieur Courbet"*), 1854, oil on canvas, 132 × 150.5 cm, Musée Fabre, Montpellier

The controversies over Courbet's participation in the World Exhibition in Paris in 1855, as well as his one-man-show in a separate pavilion, were decisive in regards to his position as an artist in dealing with the government. The order to hold a World Exhibition of Industrial Products was issued by Napoleon III in March 1853; two months later he ordered that a fine arts exhibition, *Exposition Universelle des Beaux-Arts*, should be held at the same time.²² In the autumn of 1853, the Comte de Nieuwerkerke (1811–92), Director of the Fine Arts, contacted Courbet to give him an official commission for the World Exhibition. Courbet reported the discussion, which was over lunch with two other painters, Paul Chenavard (1807–95) and François-Louis Français (1814–97), in a letter to Alfred Bruyas. Courbet regarded Nieuwerkerke's offer as an



8 Gustave Courbet, *The Painter's Studio, a True Allegory on the Seven Years of my Artistic (and Moral) Life* (*L'Atelier du peintre, allégorie réelle déterminant une phase de sept années de ma vie artistique [et morale]*), 1854–55, oil on canvas, 359 × 598 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris

insult because the minister wanted a sketch for approval first, and asked Courbet to submit the painting for approval as well. Courbet saw this as an attempt to buy him for 20,000 or 30,000 francs. He claimed the sole right to judge his works, saying he wanted nothing from the government but freedom, and for the rest a share in the takings from the Salon of 1853 of 15,000 francs. In a letter to Bruyas, who he described as his only ally, he glorified his heroic attitude: “I have burned my bridges, I have broken openly with society, I have insulted all those who have put a spoke in my wheel. And now, here I am, alone, facing that society. It is win or die.”²³

In fact, Courbet did not have the slightest intention of refusing to participate on the World Exhibition, indeed, he challenged the selection committee by sending 14 works. These included the huge *Burial at Ornans* (pl. 1; fig. 4) as well as *The Artist's Studio* (pl. 5; fig. 8), which

was only slightly smaller and which he painted specifically for the exhibition. The selection committee accepted a total of 11 works, but rejected the two in large format and one portrait. The leading painters of the day, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867) and Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863), had 40 and 35 paintings respectively in the show.²⁴

Courbet took the rejection of three of his works and the way the others were hung as occasion to represent himself as a persecuted artist whom society was determined to destroy.²⁵ He regarded his one-man show as a manifestation of freedom and his way of ensuring the independence of art. It was held in a specially erected pavilion on Rue de Montaigne, opposite the exhibition palace for the fine arts, and he charged an entrance fee. "I am winning my liberty, I am saving the independence of art," he wrote to Bruyas, when he had finally, after much difficulty, overcome the administrative obstacles. Courbet was expecting costs of 12,000 francs for rent of the space and the construction of the pavilion. He spent 6,000 francs, about one-third of the sum which Bruyas owed him for nine paintings, and he dreamt of making 100,000 francs, probably in the expectation that Bruyas would join him in the speculation.²⁶ Courbet was able to open his own pavilion, which he called *Du Réalisme*, six weeks after the World Exhibition opened. In a letter to Bruyas he called it *Le Temple*, and he showed 40 paintings and four drawings. He put posters all over Paris in the hope of attracting a large public. Many people who came were consternated to find that the entrance fee was the same as that for the World Exhibition, one franc. Courbet offered a four-page brochure stating his independence as an artist, including his independence of realism, and giving a catalog of his works.²⁷ Photographs of his works were also on sale. By holding an *exposition payante* and offering his works and photographs of them for sale, Courbet had openly declared his commercial interests. In this, and with his many protestations of independence, he showed himself to be a new entrepreneur in the art world, a self-made man, producer, advertiser and dealer all in one.²⁸

The centerpiece of the exhibition was *L'Atelier du Peintre* (*The Painter's Studio*) a major work, which Courbet described in detail even before he had finished it (pl. 5; fig. 8). In the center is the artist in his Paris studio, working at a Jura landscape with a model and a boy watching him. On the right are his friends, and on the left are the exploiters and exploited of Napoleonic society.²⁹ In his catalog, Courbet called the exhibition piece an *allégorie réelle*, saying that it had occupied seven years of his artistic career. These seven years parallel the seven years of rule that Napoleon III wished to celebrate with the World Exhibition.³⁰ Courbet was demonstrating that he was on an international stage; he also wanted to show himself as the bearer of a message to the ruler of France, who appears among the exploiters in the guise of a poacher. The message is conveyed by the landscape, by the demonstration of pure artistic activity, by the depiction of poverty and suffering, and by the foreword in the catalog entitled *Le Réalisme*. In his pavilion, Courbet not only displayed this grandiose *mission de l'artiste*, but also showed a self-portrait of himself as a man fatally wounded (fig. 9). This was an overpainting,



9 Gustave Courbet, *The Wounded Man* (*L'Homme blessé*), 1844, reworked 1854, oil on canvas, 81 × 97 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris

10 Nadar, *A True Portrait of Saint Courbet, Painter and Martyr* (*Portrait véridique de saint Courbet, peintre et martyr*), from *Le Journal pour Rire: Journal d'images, journal comique, critique, satirique et moqueur* 211, 13 October 1855, p. 3, no. 11937



probably made in 1854, of an earlier self-portrait with his lover.³¹ That the artist did indeed see himself in the multiple roles of triumphant hero, missionary, independent apostle of realism and martyr is confirmed in a caricature by Nadar entitled *A True Portrait of Saint Courbet, Painter and Martyr* (fig. 10).³²

The following year Courbet exhibited some paintings in London and Brussels. He wanted an international profile not merely for commercial reasons; he also needed success and distinction abroad to strengthen him in his lonely struggle with the hated Second Empire and its art institutions.³³ In Paris he continued his dual strategy of enticement and scandal-raising. At the Salon of 1857, he showed two portraits, one landscape, two hunting scenes, and one picture of two half-naked prostitutes on the bank of the Seine. This last, *Les Demoiselles des bords*



11 Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine (Summer)* (*Les Demoiselles des bords de la Seine [été]*), 1856–57, oil on canvas, 174 × 206 cm, Musée du Petit Palais, Paris

de la Seine (pl. 6; fig. 11), aroused public indignation, while the hunting scenes satisfied public taste, and so he enjoyed a double success.³⁴ Friends like Champfleury were confused, because Courbet appeared to be both flattering public taste and manufacturing a scandal. His sole concern seemed to be to gain public attention. In fact, he had first painted hunting scenes for the Salon of 1857, probably not only because he liked hunting and poaching, but because he had noted the success enjoyed by the English painter Sir Edwin Landseer (1802–73) in the World Exhibition of 1855 (figs 12, 13).³⁵ Courbet's calculation paid off in that he regained the 1849 medal which had been withdrawn from him, and was able to sell his two hunting scenes for the extraordinary price of 11,000 francs.³⁶



12 Edwin Landseer, *Deer and Deerhounds in a Mountain Torrent* ('*The Hunted Stag*'), ca. 1833, oil on canvas on mahogany, 405 × 908 cm, Tate Britain, London



13 After Edwin Landseer, *The Death of the Stag* (*La Mort du cerf*), from *Le Magasin Pittoresque* 19, no. 49, December 1851, p. 385

In the spring of 1858, Courbet showed three hunting scenes and *The Grain Sifters* in the *Kunstverein* in Frankfurt in Germany. In the autumn of 1858, he accepted an invitation to Frankfurt, where he was given a studio for six months and was invited to join a number of hunting parties. While in Frankfurt, he painted a large work, the *Hunt Picnic*, and started the trilogy of hunting scenes, which he finished in Ornans for the 1861 Salon. It would appear that Courbet was aware of the problems raised by his hunting scenes and animal pieces. Certainly, he wrote to Francis Wey (1812–82), a friend from his youth and a writer, giving a long explanation and an astonishing justification of the pictures with reference to British taste:

It even annoys me to appear at the Salon only in the categories of landscape and animals. I would have liked to have sent a figure painting, had I been able to obtain an extension, but the government did not allow it, and my thumb is the cause of it all. As it is absolutely necessary that I sell this year if I want to continue painting, I have had to send those paintings, and I would have sent even more if I had not broken my left thumb this winter, which prevented me from working for a month and a half.³⁷

His ironic complaint about the government was only a reference to its setting 1 April 1861 as the submission date for the Salon.

The hunting trilogy met with a delighted reception from the public at the 1861 Salon. But Courbet's attempts to induce the state to buy the *Fighting Stags* (pl. 7; fig. 14) for the Musée du Luxembourg and to be awarded the *Légion d'Honneur* failed, probably owing to opposition from Napoleon III. The award of the *Rappel de 2^e médaille* seemed an insult to him, and the Emperor's intervention an abuse of power.³⁸ He was consoled by an official invitation to exhibit in Antwerp, expounding on this in detail in a letter to his father as compensation for the stupidities in Paris.³⁹

Courbet wanted revenge on Napoleon III. In Saintonge, where he



14 Gustave Courbet, *Rutting in Spring, Fighting Stags* (*Le Rut du printemps, combat de cerfs*), 1861, 355 × 507 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris

stayed in 1862/63, he switched from adaptation to provocation by means of a satire on the clergy, *Le Retour de la conférence* (*Returning from the Conference*).⁴⁰ In this large-format exhibition piece (240 × 300 cm), he painted a scandalous procession of bawling priests staggering home drunk with a donkey. Courbet intended the astonishing picture to cause a scandal at the 1863 Salon. Around the same time, he painted flower pieces as a means to make money, as he later painted numerous portraits and pictures of the sea at the seaside resort of Trouville.⁴¹ *Returning from the Conference* was not accepted for the official Salon. Courbet had made a tactical error. In December 1862, he had written to his parents:

I took advantage of all the delays to paint a picture for the upcoming Exhibition. [...] This painting is critical and comical in the highest degree. Everyone here is delighted with it. I won't tell you what it is, I'll show it

to you in Ormans. It is almost finished. I hesitate whether to do others for the Exhibition because it is an opposition painting and because it is wasted effort to exhibit with the government, which is in opposition to me. If I paint other pictures they will refuse this one and accept the others [...].⁴²

Nevertheless, instead of only sending the provocative painting, as he had originally intended, Courbet also sent a hunting scene, the *Portrait of Mme. Laure Borreau*, and a sculpture. These were all accepted. After the rejection of *Returning from the Conference*, Courbet said:

I had wanted to know the degree of liberty that our times allow us. I had submitted a painting of priests, very true to life, the *Returning from a Conference*. It corresponded rather well to the emperor's insult of last year, and also to what is happening with the clergy. [...] I painted the picture so it would be refused. I have succeeded. That way it will bring me some money.⁴³

In 1863, the Jury of the Salon rejected 2,783 works and provoked furious protests among the artists. In appeasement, the Emperor ordered the organization of a *Salon des Refusés*. Courbet hoped to show *Returning from a Conference* there, but it was also rejected by the *Salon des Refusés*, on moral grounds. It was, rather, another picture which created a scandal, Édouard Manet's (1832–83) *Déjeuner sur l'herbe*.⁴⁴

Courbet tried in vain to persuade Champfleury to instigate a scandal in the press, but his friend refused because he thought the painting terrible. He found it regrettable that Courbet was allowing his feelings of rancor towards the government to spoil his painting. The painter, incensed, accused the writer of allowing himself to be bought by the government.⁴⁵

Courbet found recourse in his old practice of exhibiting in his studio, and, according to his own statement, as always had a big influx of visitors.⁴⁶ The artist found defenders of his satirical painting in Jules-Antoine Castagnary (1830–88), who thought it was evidence of artistic

freedom, and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–65), who declared that the painter was an advocate of freedom of speech and of reason above religion: “When Courbet composed his painting, he did no more than make himself the interpreter of the law and of universal thought. His work ought to have a citizen’s right to exhibition, a right to the Academy and the Museum.”⁴⁷ Courbet and Proudhon were close friends and convinced socialists, but believed in a peaceful revolution. After Proudhon’s death in January 1865, his treatise on the principle of art and its social destination was published in Paris, and Courbet exhibited a portrait of his friend with his wife and their two daughters in the Salon, a subject he repainted two years later.⁴⁸

In 1864, Courbet’s *Venus and Psyche* was rejected by the Salon Jury, also on moral grounds, even though the art dealer Etienne François Haro (1827–97) had tried to exert his influence in its favor.⁴⁹ For the same Salon of 1864, Henri Fantin-Latour (1836–1904) painted his *Homage to Delacroix* (fig. 15), which was intended as a political demonstration for

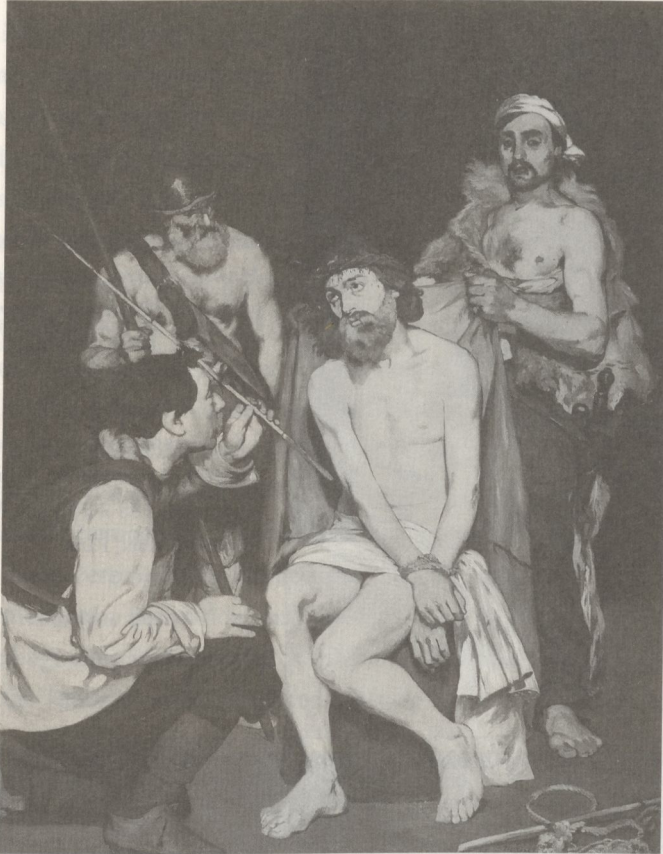


15 Henri Fantin-Latour, *Homage to Delacroix* (*Hommage à Delacroix*), 1864, oil on canvas, 160 × 250 cm, Musée d’Orsay, Paris

contemporary art.⁵⁰ It shows 10 painters, critics and writers assembled in two rows around a self-portrait by Eugène Delacroix, which is in a heavy gold frame.⁵¹ Fantin-Latour changed his original idea of crowning a bust of Delacroix with many figures, choosing instead this different composition. The selection of only 10 painters and writers was defended by Duranty (1833–80) in 1867: “Controversial artists pay homage to the memory of one of the greatest controversial artists of our time.”⁵² The painters Fantin-Latour depicted had all been rejected in 1863 and had exhibited in the Salon des Refusés. Fantin-Latour’s painting aroused great interest in the 1864 Salon, but his unimaginative composition and his choice of painters and writers were criticised. The artists and writers were held to be open or secret admirers of Courbet, and they were accused of misappropriating Delacroix as an apotheosis of realism.⁵³

Again, Proudhon defended Courbet’s *Venus and Psyche* in a long discourse on prostitution in art, arguing that it was a satire on the repulsive aspects of the Second Empire. He concluded that the rejection of Courbet’s picture proved that “the art that used to be worshipped is now, if it pursues its rightful path, foredoomed to persecution. That has already started. True artists will be despised as enemies of form; they may be castigated for offending public morals and stirring up hatred.”⁵⁴

One of the problems between painters, the public and the critics was the increasing violence of the period. Édouard Manet’s submissions to the Salon of 1865 and Emile Zola’s (1840–1902) early writings on Manet are also illuminating on the vicious mood that had developed between painters, the public and the critics. In the Salon, which was held in the Palais des Champs Élysées in Paris, Manet’s paintings *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers* (fig. 16) and *Olympia* were hung one above the other. Yet both the public and the critics only noticed Manet’s modern Venus, the *Olympia*. They reacted angrily or with derision to what they rightly thought was a wooden and disproportioned figure, while ignoring the



16 Édouard Manet, *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers* (*Jésus insulté par les soldats*), 1865, oil on canvas, 190.8 × 148.3 cm, The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

image of the suffering Christ.⁵⁵ Charles Baudelaire's (1821–67) irritated response to Manet's complaints at the reaction in the 1865 Salon indicate that the writer thought the painter oversensitive, rather self-pitying and a bit naïve.⁵⁶

I believe that Manet represented himself in the figure of the mocked Christ, and we can recognize him in this role not only by the reddish beard but also by an etching of the seated Manet, which was made by his friend



17 Edgar Degas, *Édouard Manet Seated, Right Profile* (*Édouard Manet assis, tourné vers la droite*), 1864, etching, 19.4 × 12.9 cm

18 Gustave Courbet, *The Sleepers* (*Le Sommeil*), 1866, oil on canvas, 135 × 200 cm, Musée du Petit Palais, Paris



Edgar Degas (1834–1917) in 1864 (fig. 17).⁵⁷ Critics accused Manet of trying to gain attention and success by showing scandalous pictures. That might have been the case with Courbet's calculated challenges, but it hardly applied to Manet, who was always surprised and wounded by laughter and public attack.⁵⁸

At the 1866 Salon, Courbet exhibited a hunting scene and the great erotic nude *Woman with a Parrot*. To widespread surprise, Courbet's works were shown by order of the Superintendent de Nieuwerkerke in the center of a wall facing visitors as they entered the main room from the vestibule. The general reaction was enthusiastic.⁵⁹ Only the independent critic Théophile Thoré-Bürger (1807–69) exclaimed ironically: "Well, my dear Courbet, you are done for now, your good times are over! Here you are accepted, bemedalled, decorated, glorified, embalmed!"⁶⁰ But when awards were ceremonially handed out on 14 August, Courbet received neither medal nor decoration, and the next day the painter started a long polemic beginning with a notice in the journal *Le Monde illustré*.⁶¹

In the 1860s, Courbet produced a large number of paintings of nudes, which in 1882 Champfleury called "nudités élégantes à la Parisienne."⁶² *The Sleepers* (pl. 8; fig. 18) was commissioned by Khalil Bey (1831–79). Bey was a wealthy and cultivated Turkish diplomat who, by the time of his bankruptcy in 1868, had acquired more than 100 important paintings. He ordered erotic and voyeuristic works such as *The Sleepers* and the notorious *Origin of the World* from Courbet.⁶³ The 1988 exhibition catalog of the Brooklyn Museum notes rightly a reservation about *The Sleepers*:

The term lesbian should perhaps be provided with quotation marks, insofar as we are dealing with images made by men, for men, and in which the very disposition of the women's bodies declares that they are arranged more for the eyes of the viewer than for those of one another.⁶⁴

This painting provoked a scandal only in 1872, when it was exhibited in

the window of an art dealer and Courbet was identified as responsible for the destruction of the Vendôme column.⁶⁵

In 1867, Courbet participated with four paintings at the World Exhibition in Paris which opened on 1 April. On 29 May, he opened a private exhibition where he showed a further 115 items. In a long letter to Alfred Bruyas about this exhibition, he wrote:

I have had a cathedral built in the most beautiful spot that exists in Europe, by the Alma bridge, with limitless horizons, on the banks of the Seine and in the heart of Paris. And I have astounded the whole world.⁶⁶

The exhibition was not a full success, however, as visitors were not numerous and the press paid little attention to Courbet, except for the cartoonists, who never forgot him.⁶⁷ But Courbet had found an important imitator in Édouard Manet, who similarly organized a private exhibition at the Place de l'Alma. Manet had decided to hold his own exhibition to avoid the selection committee.⁶⁸ In the foreword to his catalog, Manet describes his confrontation with the authorities, the critics and the public as a battle. He declared: "Exhibiting is an existential affair, the sine qua non for the artist."⁶⁹ He was not merely referring to the financial necessity but also stating clearly and unequivocally that exhibiting pictures was essential for producing art and for maintaining the artist's self-confidence. An artist without the means of exhibiting was shut in, imprisoned in Manet's view; he was a troglodyte, and his creativity would inevitably dry up. If an artist could exhibit, he could defend himself against attack. This is an intelligent legitimization of the artist on show.

What is disturbing about Courbet's works and his attitude as an artist, however, is that he was obsessed with exhibitions and public success, and fascinated by making money, while consistently defining the artist as outside the state. At the same time, he insisted on his right to all the means of the state. He wanted to turn things upside down, to cause scandals and to arouse opposition, while taking every opportunity

to exploit his customers and buyers, and to accommodate public taste. In the catalog of his one-man show during the World Exhibition in 1867 in Paris, he offered to make replicas of his paintings in any size requested.⁷⁰ It is evident that, as a producer of pictures, Courbet distinguished between different categories of his work, depending on their destination. Provocative and demanding works were for exhibition and public display, and they were intended to garner the artist honors, followers and awards. Other works were simply pot boilers, intended to make money. Courbet justified this by arguing that the second category gave him the freedom and independence he needed so as to execute the first category.⁷¹

NOTES

- ¹ Henry Fuseli, letter to William Roscoe of 17 August 1790 on the plan for the Milton Gallery, in: David H. Weinglass (ed.), *The Collected English Letters of Henry Fuseli*, Millwood, N.Y.–London–Nendeln 1982, p. 61. Cf. Gert Schiff, *Johann Heinrich Füssli's Milton-Galerie* (SIK, Schriften; vol. 5), Zurich–Stuttgart 1963, pp. 9–28.
- ² Cf. Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist. On the Ancestry of the Modern*, Cambridge–New York 1993.
- ³ Oskar Bätschmann, "Introduction," in: *Id.*, *The Artist in the Modern World. A Conflict Between Market and Self-Expression*, Cologne 1997, pp. 9–10 and chap. I; Stefan Germer and Hubertus Kohle, "Spontaneität und Rekonstruktion. Zur Rolle, Organisationsform und Leistung der Kunstkritik im Spannungsfeld von Kunsttheorie und Kunstgeschichte," in: Peter Ganz, Martin Gosebruch, Nikolaus Meier and Martin Warnke (eds), *Kunst und Kunsttheorie 1400–1900*, Wiesbaden 1991 (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen; vol. 48), pp. 287–311; Svetlana Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise. The Studio and the Market*, Chicago, Ill. 1988; Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters. A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, London 1963; Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der*

- bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, Neuwied–Berlin 1962 (5th edition 1971), pp. 112–127, 278–287.
- ⁴ Jules David Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 2 vols, Cambridge, MA 1966, here vol. 2, pp. 276–282; William T. Whitley, *Artists and their Friends in England 1700–1799*, 2 vols, London 1928.
- ⁵ Emily Ballew Neff, “The History Theater. Production and Spectatorship in Copley’s *Death of Major Peirson*,” in: *John Singleton Copley in England*, exhibition catalog, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 11 October 1995–7 January 1996; The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas, 4 February–28 April 1996, edited by Emily Ballew Neff, London 1995, pp. 61–90; cf. *ibid.*, no. 18, pp. 140–141; Richard H. Saunders, “Genius and Glory. John Singleton Copley’s *The Death of Major Peirson*,” in: *American Art Journal* 22, no. 3, 1990, pp. 5–39; Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London*, Cambridge, MA–London 1978; Prown (as note 4), vol. 2, pp. 302–310.
- ⁶ For imitation of the formula, see e.g. Bättschmann (as note 3), note 95, p. 247.
- ⁷ [Jacques-Louis David] *Le tableau des Sabines, exposé publiquement au Palais National des Sciences et des Arts, Salle de la ci-devant Académie d’Architecture. Par le C^{en} David, Membre de l’Institut National*, Paris An VIII [1799]; full citation in Bättschmann (as note 3), note 129, pp. 249–250. Cf. J.L. Carr, “David, Boydell and Socrates. A mixture of anglophilia, self-promotion and the press,” in: *Apollo* 137, 1993, pp. 307–315; Philippe Bordes, “Jacques-Louis David’s anglophilia on the eve of the French Revolution,” in: *The Burlington Magazine* 134, 1992, pp. 482–490; *Jacques-Louis David 1748–1825*, exhibition catalog, Musée du Louvre, Département des peintures, Paris; Musée National du Château, Versailles, 26 October 1989–12 February 1990, Paris 1989.
- ⁸ Oskar Bättschmann, “Französische Ausstellungskünstler in Rom, Paris und London. David, Lethière, Wicar und Géricault,” in: Pascal Griener and Peter J. Schneemann (eds), *Images de l’artiste*, colloque du Comité International d’Histoire de l’Art (Neue Berner Schriften zur Kunst; vol. 4), Frankfurt, M. 1998, pp. 121–145; cf. *Géricault*, exhibition catalog, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 10 October 1991–6 January 1992, edited by Sylvain Laveissière

and Régis Michel, Paris 1991, pp. 136–171; Jon Whiteley, “Exhibitions of Contemporary Painting in London and Paris 1760–1860,” in: Francis Haskell (ed.), *Saloni, gallerie, musei e loro influenza sullo sviluppo dell’arte dei secoli XIX° XX* (Atti del XXIV congresso internazionale di storia dell’arte, Bologna 1979; vol. 7), Bologna 1981, pp. 69–87; Lorenz Eitner, *Géricault’s Raft of the Medusa*, London–New York 1972; Lee Johnson, “The Raft of the Medusa in Great Britain,” in: *The Burlington Magazine* 96, 1954, pp. 249–252; Fernand Beaucamp, *Le peintre Lillois Jean-Baptiste Wicar (1762–1834), son œuvre et son temps*, 2 vols, Lille 1939, here vol. 2, pp. 479–486.

⁹ [William Bullock] *Description of a Grand Picture now exhibiting in the Roman Gallery, of the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, representing that pathetic Incident in Roman History, the Death of Virginia, painted by Monsieur Le Thiere, Professor of Painting in Paris, and Member of the Institute of France; the Artist, who so successfully exhibited, in the same Gallery, a few Years since, a Picture of similar Magnitude, entitled “The Judgment of Brutus,”* London 1828.

¹⁰ Cf. Patricia Mainardi, “L’‘exposition complète’ de Courbet,” in: *Courbet. Artiste et promoteur de son œuvre*, exhibition catalog, Musée Cantonal des Beaux-Arts, Lausanne, 21 November 1998–21 February 1999; Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 25 March–30 May 1999, edited by Jörg Zutter and Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, Paris 1998, pp. 101–128.

¹¹ *Courbet. Ein Traum von der Moderne*, exhibition catalog, Schirn-Kunsthalle, Frankfurt, M., 15 October 2010–30 January 2011, edited by Klaus Herding and Max Hollein, Ostfildern 2010; Mathilde Arnoux [et al.] (eds), *Courbet à neuf!* Actes du colloque international organisé par le Musée d’Orsay et le Centre allemand d’histoire de l’art à Paris 2007, Paris 2010; *Gustave Courbet*, exhibition catalog, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 13 October 2007–28 January 2008; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 27 February–18 May 2008; Musée Fabre, Montpellier, 14 June–28 September 2008, Paris 2007; Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, *The Most Arrogant Man in France. Gustave Courbet and the Nineteenth-Century Media Culture*, Princeton, N.J.–Oxford 2007; Linda Nochlin, *Courbet*, London 2007; Michèle Haddad, *Gustave Courbet. Peinture et histoire*,

- Sainte-Croix 2007; Valérie Bajou, *Courbet*, Paris 2003; *Courbet Catalog* 1998 (as note 10); Robert Fernier, *La vie et l'œuvre de Gustave Courbet. Catalogue raisonné*, Lausanne–Paris 1977. Cf. Bertrand Tillier, “Courbet, un utopiste à l'épreuve de la politique,” in: *Courbet Catalog* 2007, *ibid.*, pp. 19–29, here pp. 19–20.
- ¹² *Letters of Gustave Courbet*, edited and translated by Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, Chicago–London 1992, nos. 45–3, 45–4, pp. 53–54. “That is why this year I must do a large painting that will definitely show what I am really worth, for I want all or nothing.” Cf. *ibid.*, no. 45–4, pp. 54–55. Cf. *Correspondance de Courbet*, edited by Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, Paris 1996, no. 45–3, 45–4, pp. 53–55.
- ¹³ *Courbet Catalog* 2007 (as note 11), nos. 47–50, pp. 174–181; *Gustave Courbet (1819–1877)*, exhibition catalog, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 30 September 1977–2 January 1978, Paris 1977, no. 21, pp. 98–105. Cf. Nochlin (as note 11), pp. 19–28, 109–116; Dieter Scholz, *Pinsel und Dolch. Anarchistische Ideen in Kunst und Kunsttheorie 1840–1920*, Berlin 1999, pp. 79–80.
- ¹⁴ Interpretations of Courbet's paintings by Max Buchon appeared in *Le Démocrate franc-comtois* in Besançon on 25 April 1850, and *Le peuple, Journal de la révolution sociale* on 7 June 1850; cf. Mainardi (as note 10), pp. 114–116; Timothy Clark, “A Bourgeois Dance of Death,” in: *The Burlington Magazine* 111, 1969, pp. 208–212, 286–290. On Courbet and the Press see Chu (as note 11), chap. 1, especially pp. 5–16, 138–141.
- ¹⁵ *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), nos. 50–5, 50–6, pp. 91–94; cf. *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), nos. 50–5, 50–6, pp. 100–101. Apart from the letter from the artist to his parents telling them of his success and that he and his paintings were on everyone's lips in Paris, there are no reports of this studio exhibition. In the Salon of 1850, Courbet entered *A Burial at Ornans* in the register as *Tableau de figures humaines, historique d'un enterrement à Ornans*. In the *Livret* it was called *Un Enterrement à Ornans*; cf. *Courbet Catalog* 2007 (as note 11), nos. 47–50, pp. 174–181; Chu (as note 11), pp. 82–87; Nochlin (as note 11), pp. 19–28, 109–116; *Courbet Catalog* 2007 (as note 11), no. 42, pp. 158–159; *Courbet Catalog* 1977 (as note 13), no. 21,

pp. 98–105; Salon de 1850 (Livret), in: *Catalogues of the Paris Salon 1673 to 1881*, 60 vols, edited by Horst Janson, New York–London 1977–78, here 1850, no. 661, p. 73. The critics, who insisted on the hierarchic large format for a history painting, objected to the disproportion here between format and subject.

¹⁶ Thomas Schlessler and Bertrand Tillier, *Courbet face à la caricature. Le chahut par l'image*, Paris 2007, pp. 56–57; Peter-Klaus Schuster, “Der karikierte Courbet,” in: *Courbet und Deutschland*, exhibition catalog, Hamburger Kunsthalle, 19 October–17 December 1978; Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, M., 17 January–18 March 1979, Cologne 1978, pp. 494–500; Klaus Herding, “Courbets Modernität im Spiegel der Karikatur,” in: *Ibid.*, pp. 502–521; Georges Boas, “Courbet and his Critics” (1938), in: *Id.*, *Courbet and the Naturalistic Movement. Essays read at the Baltimore Museum of Art, May 1938*, New York 1967, pp. 47–57; new edition in: Petra ten-Doesschate Chu (ed.), *Courbet in Perspective*, Englewood Cliffs 1977, pp. 42–52; Charles Léger, *Courbet selon les caricatures et les images*, Paris 1920.

¹⁷ Félix Nadar, *Nadar – Jury au Salon de 1857. 1000 comptes rendus, 150 dessins, à la librairie nouvelle et partout!*, Paris 1857, p. 14.

¹⁸ Cf. Chu (as note 11), pp. 87–95; Courbet Catalog 2007 (as note 11), nos. 44–45, 161–164, pp. 168–171, 342–348; Dominique Massonnaud, *Courbet scandale. Mythes de la rupture et Modernité*, Paris 2003; Scholz (as note 13), p. 80; Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, “Courbet et la commercialisation de son œuvre,” in: *Courbet Catalog* 1998 (as note 10), pp. 53–81, here pp. 59–60.

¹⁹ Chu (as note 11), pp. 91–96; Schlessler/Tillier (as note 16), p. 25; Michel Hilaire, “A Gallery of Living Artists: Alfred Bruyas as Patron,” in: *Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet! The Bruyas Collection from the Musée Fabre, Montpellier*, exhibition catalog, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, VA, 26 March–13 June 2004; Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass., 27 June–6 September 2004; Dallas Museum of Art, Dallas, Texas, 17 October 2004–2 January 2005; Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, CA, 22 January–3 April 2005, edited by

Sarah Lees, *New Haven–London* 2004, pp. 17–31, here pp. 23–24 and no. 28, pp. 106–108; *Courbet Catalog* 1977 (as note 13), no. 32, pp. 117–120; Pierre Courthion (ed.), *Courbet raconté par lui-même et par ses amis. Ses écrits, ses contemporains, sa postérité*, 2 vols, Geneva 1948–50, here vol. 1, pp. 111–112; Eugène Delacroix, *Journal 1822–1863*, new edition by André Joubin, 3 vols, Paris 1950, vol. 2, pp. 18–19 (15 April 1853).

²⁰ *Solution* became a key word for artists and patrons. Bruyas published a brochure in 1853 entitled *Solutions d'artiste. Sa profession de foi*, and the next year he published *Explication des Ouvrages de Peinture du Cabinet de M. Alfred Bruyas*, Paris: Plon Frères, 1854, adding *Les Baigneuses*; cf. Alfred Bruyas, *Explication des Ouvrages de Peinture du Cabinet de M. Alfred Bruyas*, Paris 1854, p. 8, and no. 8, pp. 12–13 (quoting the review by Théophile Gautier), pp. 79–80. Cf. Michel Hilaire, “C’était inévitable, car ce n’est pas nous qui nous sommes rencontrés, ce sont nos solutions,” in: *Courbet Catalog* 2007 (as note 11), pp. 45–57, here pp. 45–56; Thomas Schlessler, *Réceptions de Courbet. Fantômes réalistes et paradoxes de la démocratie (1848–1871)*, Dijon 2007, pp. 199–205; Hilaire (as note 19), pp. 24–25. Bruyas had himself painted 34 times by different artists, among them Octave Tassaert in 1851 and Delacroix in 1853, cf. Bruyas, *ibid.*, nos. 14–15, pp. 16–19. Cf. *Courbet Catalog* 2010 (as note 11), no. 38, pp. 170–171; *Courbet Catalog* 2007 (as note 11), nos. 68–73, pp. 210–219. Bruyas probably offered 2,000 francs for *Les Baigneuses*, but Courbet was hoping for 3,000 francs, cf. *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 53–3, pp. 104–105; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 53–3, pp. 111–112.

²¹ *Courbet Catalog* 1977 (as note 13), no. 36, pp. 124–126; this is one of 11 works by Courbet that were shown at the World Exhibition of 1855; cf. *Courbet Catalog* 2010 (as note 11), no. 37, pp. 168–169; Chu (as note 11), pp. 99–102; Sylvain Amic, “Bruyas versus Courbet: The Meeting,” in: *Bruyas Catalog* 2004 (as note 19), pp. 33–43; *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), nos. 55–3, 55–4, 55–6, pp. 126–130; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), nos. 55–3, 55–4, 55–6, pp. 137–144; *Courbet Reconsidered*, exhibition catalog, The Brooklyn Museum, New York, 4 November 1988–16 January 1989; The Minneapolis Institute of Arts,

- 18 February–30 April 1989, edited by Sarah Faunce and Linda Nochlin, New Haven–London 1988, no. 19, pp. 116–118; Linda Nochlin, “Gustave Courbet’s Meeting. A Portrait of the Artist as a Wandering Jew,” in: *The Art Bulletin* 49, no. 3, 1967, pp. 209–222.
- ²² Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire. The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867*, New Haven–London 1987, pp. 40–42; Albert Boime, “The Second Empire’s Official Realism,” in: Gabriel P. Weisberg (ed.), *The European Realist Tradition*, Bloomington, Ind. 1982, pp. 31–123.
- ²³ *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 53–6, pp. 107–110, p. 107; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 53–6, pp. 114–118. Cf. Bajou (as note 11), pp. 362–363; Scholz (as note 13), pp. 80–83.
- ²⁴ Exposition Universelle de 1855 (Livret), in: *Catalogues of the Paris Salon 1977–78* (as note 15), here 1855, nos. 2908–2942 (Delacroix), pp. 298–302, nos. 3336–3375, 5048 (Ingres), pp. 349–353, 580. Cf. Scholz (as note 13), pp. 88–90.
- ²⁵ *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), nos. 55–4, p. 139: “I am at my wits’ end! Terrible things are happening to me. They have just refused my *Burial* and my latest painting, the *Atelier*, together with the *Portrait of Champfleury*.” *Ibid.*, no. 55–5, pp. 140–141: “In a word, they wanted to finish me off, they wanted to kill me. For a month I have been desperate. They have systematically refused my large paintings announcing that it was not the painting they refused but the man.” *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 55–4, 55–5, pp. 127–130.
- ²⁶ *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 53–6, p. 109, nos. 55–4, 55–5, 55–6, 55–7, pp. 127–132; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), nos. 55–4, 55–5, 55–6, 55–7, pp. 139–145. Cf. Hilaire (as note 19), pp. 25–2; Scholz (as note 13), pp. 83–87.
- ²⁷ *Exhibition et Vente de 40 Tableaux et 4 Dessins de M. Gustave Courbet, Avenue Montaigne, 7, Champs-Élysées*, s. l. 1855; reprint in: Theodore Reff (ed.), *Modern Art in Paris. Two-hundred Catalogues of the Major Exhibitions Reproduced in Facsimile in Forty-seven Volumes*, vol. 38, New York 1981. In France, the word *exposition* had come to mean a non-commercial enterprise, while *exhibition*

- was identified with the English practice and had acquired the stigma of self-interested commercial aims. See Charles Lenormant, *Les Artistes Contemporains*, 2 vols, Paris 1833, vol. 1, p. 187: "Expositions are originally French; exhibitions originate from England. The former implicate something free of charge, general, official; the latter necessarily aim at a specific interest, a private speculation." Cf. Patricia Mainardi, "Courbet's Exhibitionism," in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 133, 1991, pp. 253–266.
- ²⁸ Mainardi (as note 27), p. 263 with the first reproduction of the photograph of Courbet's pavilion. Cf. Haddad (as note 11), pp. 91–99; Chu (as note 11); Bajou (as note 11), pp. 208–218; Scholz (as note 13), pp. 90–92.
- ²⁹ For an identification of the figures cf. Helène Toussaint, "Le dossier de L'Atelier de Courbet," in: *Courbet Catalog* 1977 (as note 13), pp. 241–272; Werner Hofmann, *Das Atelier. Courbets Jahrhundertbild*, Munich 2010, pp. 14–23; cf. the description in Courbet's letter to Champfleury, in: *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 54–8, pp. 121–123; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 54–8, pp. 131–134. Cf. *Courbet Catalog* 2007 (as note 11), no. 74, pp. 220–225; Chu (as note 11), pp. 102–107; Nochlin (as note 11), pp. 153–185. On the anarchistic aspects of the *Studio* see Scholz (as note 13), pp. 27–95.
- ³⁰ *Courbet Catalog* 1855 [1981] (as note 27), no. 1, 1855: *L'Atelier du Peintre, allégorie réelle déterminant une phase de sept années de ma vie artistique*; cf. Hofmann (as note 29); Klaus Herding (ed.), *Realismus als Widerspruch. Die Wirklichkeit in Courbets Malerei*, 2nd revised edition, Frankfurt, M. 1984, pp. 223–247.
- ³¹ Courbet laid the blame for their break-up after fourteen years on society. See *Courbet Catalog* 1855 [1981] (as note 27), no. 12: *L'Homme blessé*, dated 1854; *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 54–8, p. 123; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 54–8, p. 133; *Courbet Catalog* 2007 (as note 11), nos. 10–11, pp. 112–113; *Courbet Catalog* 1977 (as note 13), no. 35, pp. 122–124. Cf. Chu (as note 11), pp. 35–37.
- ³² Nadar, "Portrait véridique de saint Courbet, peintre et martyr," in: *Le Journal pour Rire: Journal d'images, journal comique, critique, satirique et moqueur*

- 211, 13 October 1855, p. 3, no. 11937; cf. Schlessler/Tillier (as note 16), pp. 28, 81; Léger (as note 16), p. 38.
- ³³ *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), nos. 69–6, 69–7, 69–8, pp. 351–354, letters to Léon Gauchet, his parents and Jules Castagnary on the exhibitions in Munich and Brussels and the honor of being made Knight of the Order of Merit of St Michael by the King of Bavaria in 1869. Courbet comments: “It proves that it is not necessary to be Napoléonist, as in France, to do painting.” *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), nos. 69–6, 69–7, 69–8, pp. 311–314. Cf. Bajou (as note 11), pp. 215–216.
- ³⁴ *Courbet Catalog 2007* (as note 11), no. 150, pp. 318–319; *ibid.*, p. 390; *Courbet Catalog 1977* (as note 13), pp. 32–33, nos. 52, 53, pp. 141–146. Cf. Chu (as note 11), pp. 120–122, 164; Massonnaud (as note 18), pp. 268–270.
- ³⁵ Landseer received a gold medal in 1855 for his hunting scenes; cf. Mainardi (as note 22), pp. 110–111; reproduction of *The Death of the Stag* in: *Le Magasin Pittoresque* 19, no. 49, December 1851, p. 385; cf. Landseer’s mention of Courbet in connection with the hunting trilogy in: *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 61–6, p. 176; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 61–6, p. 194. Cf. Gilbert Titeux, “Auf der (Traum-) Fährte des Hochwilds. Zu Courbets Jagdbildern,” in: *Courbet Catalog 2010* (as note 11), pp. 70–75; Chu (as note 11), pp. 162–169; Nochlin (as note 21), p. 213.
- ³⁶ *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 58–3, pp. 147–148 (reporting his success to his parents); *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 58–3, pp. 161–163.
- ³⁷ *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 61–6, pp. 175–177; cf. no. 61–3, p. 172; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 61–6, pp. 192–96, no. 61–3, pp. 189–190; cf. Titeux (as note 35); *Courbet Catalog 2010* (as note 11), no. 50, pp. 194–195; *Courbet Catalog 2007* (as note 11), nos. 196–197, pp. 395–397.
- ³⁸ *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), nos. 61–10, 61–11, pp. 178–180, no. 61–15, pp. 182–183; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), nos. 61–10, 61–11, pp. 197–199, no. 61–15, pp. 202–203. Cf. *Courbet Catalog 2007* (as note 11), p. 390.

- 39 *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), nos. 61–14, pp. 181–182; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 61–14, pp. 200–201.
- 40 *Courbet Catalog* 1978 (as note 16), no. 265, pp. 270–273; the big version has been destroyed, but as well as the sketch in Basel, another version in a smaller size has survived, cf. Tillier (as note 11), pp. 24–25; Chu (as note 11), pp. 110–113; Bajou (as note 11), pp. 355–360; Fernier (as note 11), nos. 339, 340; *id.*, “Un tableau disparu. Le Retour de la Conférence,” in: *Bulletin. Les Amis de Gustave Courbet* 32, 1964, pp. 10–12. Cf. Vincent Petit, “L’anticléricisme est un art. ‘Le Retour de la conférence’ peint par Courbet et commenté par Proudhon,” in: *Ridiculosa* 15, 2008, pp. 233–245, 549–550.
- 41 *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), nos. 61–14, 65–15, 65–16, pp. 239–241; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), nos. 61–14, 65–15, 65–16, pp. 267–269.
- 42 *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 63–2, pp. 195–196; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 63–2, pp. 216–217. Cf. *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 63–13, pp. 223–224: “This year I have only one tactical mistake for which to reproach myself, and that is sending in three paintings [...]. In so doing I partly paralyzed the effect I wanted to achieve with the Priests.”
- 43 *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 63–13, pp. 201–203.
- 44 *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 63–9, pp. 199–200; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 63–9, pp. 220–221. Cf. *Courbet Catalog* 1998 (as note 10), pp. 26–31.
- 45 Juliet Wilson-Bareau, “The Salon des Refusés of 1863: a new view,” in: *The Burlington Magazine* 149, 2007, pp. 309–319; Alan Krell, “Manet’s *Déjeuner sur l’herbe* in the *Salon des Refusés*: A Re-appraisal,” in: *The Art Bulletin* 65, no. 2, 1983, pp. 316–320.
- 46 *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 63–13, pp. 201–203; the accusation caused an irreparable break in the friendship. *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 63–13, pp. 223–226.
- 47 *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 63–12, pp. 200–201; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 63–12, pp. 222–223. Cf. Mainardi (as note

- 10), pp. 105–106. Courbet thought he could earn the fantastic sum of 50,000 francs with a spectacular touring exhibition through Europe, but the plan ended in miserable failure in London, cf. *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 63–16, pp. 204–205; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 63–16, pp. 227–228.
- ⁴⁷ Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *Du Principe de l'Art et de sa Destination sociale*, Paris 1865, chap. XVII, pp. 264–278, especially p. 278; cf. Petit (as note 40), pp. 549–550; Bordet 2002, pp. 213–217; on Castagnary and the *Conférence* see Schlessler (as note 20), pp. 231–237.
- ⁴⁸ Noël Barbe and Frédérique Thomas-Maurin (eds), *Courbet, Proudhon. L'art et le peuple*, exhibition catalog, Saline Royale d'Arc-et-Senans, 4 June–6 September 2010, Besançon 2010; *Courbet Catalog 2007* (as note 11), no. 139, pp. 302–303; James Henry Rubin, *Realism and social vision in Courbet and Proudhon*, Princeton 1980. Cf. Hofmann (as note 29), pp. 55–65; Tillier (as note 11), pp. 19–28; Chu (as note 11), pp. 62–67; Haddad (as note 11), pp. 153–162; Scholz (as note 13), pp. 46–58.
- ⁴⁹ *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 64–4, 64–5, pp. 213–214, no. 64–8, pp. 215–216; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 64–4, 64–5, pp. 237–239, no. 64–8, pp. 240–241. The first version of the *Venus and Psyche* disappeared in the Second World War, the second version of 1866 is in the collection of the Art Museum in Bern, Switzerland. Cf. Michèle Haddad, “Träumende Akte,” in: *Courbet Catalog 2010* (as note 11), pp. 31–36; Chu (as note 11), pp. 130–135; Jörg Zutter, “Courbet après 1855. Un peintre à la recherche d'un nouveau rapport entre home, nature et société,” in: *Courbet Catalog 1998* (as note 10), pp. 31–35.
- ⁵⁰ *Fantin-Latour*, exhibition catalog, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 9 November 1982–7 February 1983; Galerie Nationale du Canada, Ottawa, 17 March–22 May 1983; California Palace of the Legion on Honour, San Francisco, CA, 18 June–6 September, Paris 1982, nos. 54–57, pp. 165–178; the painting was exhibited in the Salon in 1864 entitled *Hommage à Eugène Delacroix*; Fantin-Latour was apparently stimulated by Charles Baudelaire, “L'œuvre et la vie d'Eugène Delacroix,” in: *L'opinion nationale*, September 2, 14 and November 22,

- 1863, in: *Id., Curiosités esthétiques. L'Art romantique et autres œuvres critiques*, edited by Henri Lemaître, Paris 1962, pp. 421–451; *id., Œuvres complètes*, edited by François Pichois, 2 vols, Paris 1975–76, here vol. 2, pp. 742–770.
- ⁵¹ From left to right: Louis Cordier (1823–1906), Edmond Duranty, Alphonse Legros (1837–1911), Fantin-Latour, James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), Champfleury, Manet, Félix Bracquemond (1833–1914), Baudelaire, Albert de Balleroy (1828–72).
- ⁵² Edmond Duranty, “Ceux qui seront les peintres,” in: *Almanach Parisien pour 1867*, Paris, 1867, pp. 13–18; *Fantin-Latour Catalog* 1982 (as note 50), p. 173.
- ⁵³ For a compilation of the interesting reviews see *Fantin-Latour Catalog* 1982 (as note 50), pp. 175–178.
- ⁵⁴ Proudhon (as note 47), p. 263. Cf. Chu (as note 11), pp. 131–134.
- ⁵⁵ *Manet 1832–1883*, exhibition catalog, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 22 April–8 August 1983; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 10 September–27 November 1983, Paris 1983, nos. 64, 87, pp. 174–189, 226–229; Oskar Bättschmann, “Olympia und Jésus insulté. Edouard Manet im Salon von 1865,” in: Beat Wyss (ed.), *Bildfälle. Die Moderne im Zwielicht*, Zurich 1990, pp. 21–29; cf. Stefan Borchardt, *Heldendarsteller. Gustave Courbet, Edouard Manet und die Legende vom modernen Künstler*, Berlin 2007. In a long essay written in 1867, Zola mentioned only the title of the religious painting, while he discussed *Olympia* in detail as a masterpiece and analyzed public reaction to it; Émile Zola, “Une nouvelle manière en peinture. Edouard Manet,” in: *Revue du XIX^e siècle*, January 1867; new edition in: Émile Zola, *Salons*, edited by F.W.J. Hemmings and R.J. Niess, Geneva 1959, pp. 83–103; German translation Émile Zola, *Schriften zur Kunst. Die Salons von 1866 bis 1896*, translated by Uli Aumüller, Frankfurt, M. 1988, pp. 47–75.
- ⁵⁶ Hans Graber (ed.), *Edouard Manet nach eigenen und fremden Zeugnissen*, Basel 1941, pp. 98–99.
- ⁵⁷ *Degas*, exhibition catalog, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 9 February–16 May 1988; Musée des Beaux-Arts du Canada, Ottawa, 16 June–28 August 1988; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 27 September 1988–

- 8 January 1989, Paris 1988, nos. 72, 73, pp. 128–129; Michael Fried, *Manet's Modernism or The Face of Painting in the 1860s*, Chicago–London 1996, pp. 596–597; Oskar Bätschmann, *Edouard Manet. Der Tod des Maximilian. Eine Kunst-Monographie*, Frankfurt, M. 1993, pp. 74–77; *id.*, “L’artiste exposé,” in: *Traverses* n.s. 3, 1992, pp. 48–57.
- ⁵⁸ Bätschmann (as note 8), pp. 131–138. Cf. Borchardt (as note 55), pp. 156–166.
- ⁵⁹ *Courbet Catalog* 2007 (as note 11), no. 179–180, pp. 367–369; Chu (as note 11), pp. 134–137; Bajou (as note 11), pp. 328–330; Zutter (as note 49), pp. 34–35. Cf. *Courbet Catalog* 2010 (as note 11), no. 68, pp. 230–231.
- ⁶⁰ Chu (as note 11), p. 135; Georges Riat, *Gustave Courbet. Peintre*, Paris 1906, p. 238.
- ⁶¹ See letter dated August 14, 1866, to the editor of *Le monde illustré*; Charles Yriarte, in: *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 66–21, pp. 260–262; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 66–21, pp. 295–297; cf. Chu (as note 18), p. 75.
- ⁶² Cited in: *Courbet Catalog* 1988 (as note 21), no. 65, p. 175.
- ⁶³ Cf. Haddad (as note 49), pp. 33–34; *Courbet Catalog* 2007 (as note 11), nos. 177, 187, pp. 362–364, 378–382; Chu (as note 11), pp. 142–144; Thierry Savatier, *L’origine du monde. Histoire d’un tableau de Gustave Courbet*, Paris 2006 (3rd edition 2007), especially pp. 71–102; Bajou (as note 11), pp. 342–351; Michèle Haddad, *Khalil-Bey. Un homme, une collection*, Paris 2000; Chu (as note 18), pp. 79–81.
- ⁶⁴ *Courbet Catalog* 1988 (as note 21), p. 175. Cf. *Courbet Catalog* 1998 (as note 10), no. 46, pp. 141–142.
- ⁶⁵ *Courbet Catalog* 1988 (as note 21), p. 176. On Courbet’s participation in the Commune, see *Courbet et la Commune*, exhibition catalog, Musée d’Orsay, Paris, 13 March–11 June 2000, edited by Laurence des Cars, Paris 2000; cf. Chu (as note 11), pp. 170–174.
- ⁶⁶ *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), no. 67–17, pp. 279–280; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), no. 67–17, pp. 314–315. Cf. Hilaire (as note 19), p. 28.

- ⁶⁷ Schlessler/Tillier (as note 16), pp. 26–27, 113–120; cf. Mainardi (as note 10), p. 120–122; Bajou (as note 11), pp. 216–218.
- ⁶⁸ Mainardi (as note 22).
- ⁶⁹ Edouard Manet, *Catalogue des Tableaux de M. Edouard Manet exposés Avenue de l'Alma en 1867*, Paris 1867; cf. Graber (as note 56), pp. 109–111; Alan Krell, “Manet, Zola and the ‘Motifs d’une exposition particulière’ 1867,” in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 124, 1982, pp. 109–115. The statement of sincerity and the way it is misunderstood is from Théophile Thoré [W. Bürger], *Les Musées de la Hollande*, 2 vols, Paris 1858–60, here vol. 2, p. XIV.
- ⁷⁰ *Exposition des Œuvres de M. G. Courbet, Rond-Point du Pont de l'Alma (Champs-Élysées)*, Paris 1867; reprint in: Reff (as note 27): “The smallness of the gallery does not permit the artist to show all his works at once, so that he intends to produce several replicas of paintings, according to requirements he is going to obtain.”
- ⁷¹ Letters to Bruyas in connection with the 1867 World Exhibition pavilion (a good use for the money): *Correspondance de Courbet* (as note 12), nos. 67–11, 67–17, pp. 276–277, 279–280; *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (as note 12), nos. 67–11, 67–17, pp. 311–312, 314–315. Cf. Chu (as note 11), pp. 108–113, 137, 169–174; Borchardt (as note 55), pp. 131–137; Massonnaud (as note 18), pp. 170–196, 276–278; Chu (as note 18), pp. 53–81; Mainardi (as note 10), pp. 107–114.

PHOTOGRAPHIC CREDITS

Pls 1, 4, 5: Chu (as note 11), pl. 62, p. 83; pl. 81, p. 100; pl. 89, p. 121. – Pls 2, 3, 6: *Courbet Catalog 2007* (as note 11), no. 161, p. 343; no. 71, p. 215; no. 196, p. 396.

Figs 1, 2: *Copley Catalog 1995* (as note 5), fig. 18, p. 39; no. 18, p. 141. – Figs 3, 5–7, 9, 14: *Courbet Catalog 2007* (as note 11), no. 58, p. 193; no. 161, p. 343; no. 68, p. 211; no. 71, p. 215; no. 11, p. 113; no. 196, p. 396. – Figs 4, 8, 11: Chu (as note 11), pl. 62, p. 83; pl. 81, p. 100; pl. 89, p. 121. – Fig. 10: Charles Léger (ed.), *Courbet selon les caricatures et les images*, Paris 1920, p. 38. Fig. 12: Diana Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain: 1750–1850*, New Haven–London 2007, fig. 86, p. 96. – Fig. 13: *Le Magasin Pittoresque* 19, no. 49, December 1851, p. 385. – Fig. 15: Serge

Lemoine (ed.), *Paintings in the Musée d'Orsay*, New York 2004, p.164, pl. 2. – Fig. 16: *Manet Catalog* 1983 (as note 55), p. 227, no. 87. – Fig. 17: *Degas Catalog* 1988 (as note 57), p. 128, no. 72. – Fig. 18: *Courbet Catalog* 1988 (as note 21), no. 65, p. 177.