

ABSTRACTS

Helen Abbott, Bangor University

Bending the laws of poetry in Baudelaire, Banville and Mallarmé

This paper sets out to analyse how poets in the mid-to-late nineteenth century in France distort, manipulate or completely abolish accepted rules of poetry. It will focus on contemporary poetic treatises in conjunction with what poets say about their poetry. Banville's own treatise will form a pivotal text in my analysis, but I will start with a close-reading of Baudelaire's octosyllabic sonnet, 'Épigraphe pour un Livre condamné', published in 1861, in the wake of his 1857 trial for *Les Fleurs du Mal*. As a text which signals how Baudelaire bends the laws of poetry, he also outlines how he expects his readers to be capable of grasping the clever subtlety that his manipulations entail. What critical and poetic texts of this era reveal, then, is that prescriptive legislation surrounding poetic endeavours is not done away with altogether, but the emphasis shifts so that a new aesthetic criteria, the art of listening to poetry, takes centre stage in the debate over poetic validity and status. Like Baudelaire, Mallarmé is uneasy about explaining poetic techniques to the public, but when he does so, he uses legislative vocabulary, as his pivotal 'Crise de vers' text demonstrates. The influence of Banville's prosodic theories on Mallarmé is made clear by his recognition that Banville provides an ideal example of how the alexandrine line can open itself up to greater flexibility, whilst not yet requiring a total dissolution of prosodic rules. The challenge, then, for poets of this era is not getting rid of the laws of poetry altogether, but learning ways of bending them to fit a poetry in a state of crisis.

Joseph Acquisto, University of Vermont

Voyager du politique au poétique chez Baudelaire et Rancière

Cette communication vise à explorer la loi poético-politique tel qu'elle s'énonce chez Jacques Rancière et telle qu'elle est appliquée au « Voyage » de Charles Baudelaire. Dans *La chair des mots*, Rancière définit la révolution lyrique moderne comme une nouvelle façon d'accompagner le « dit » et de le rythmer comme un voyage. Cette notion de voyage implique par conséquent un rapport à un « nous », ce qui lie le poétique au politique et qui fait en sorte qu'il en dépend. La nouvelle liberté du poète, c'est celle de se soustraire de l'obligation de la représentation, ce qui dépend, selon Rancière, d'une nouvelle politique du sensible, d'une nouvelle façon de rendre le mot présent au monde.

Nous voyons de manière particulièrement marquée cette tendance vers la poétique « moderne » dans la transition entre l'édition de 1857 des *Fleurs du Mal* et celle de 1861. La nouvelle fin des *Fleurs* crée un sens de communauté même si le poète se présente en général plus cynique à l'égard de la possibilité d'un rapport à autrui. L'édition de 1857 se ferme sur l'artiste, le dernier poème étant « La mort de l'artiste », tandis qu'en 1861, c'est « Le voyage » qui clôt le volume; en faisant cette substitution, Baudelaire passe de la possibilité de l'éternel à un « nous »

qui émerge dans l'immédiat de l'expérience. Cette communication interrogera le statut changeant du « nous » dans ce poème à la lumière des idées poético-politiques de Rancière, qui sont, selon l'aveu de l'auteur, inspirées la notion baudelairienne d' « hypocrite lecteur ».

Emily Adams, University of Pennsylvania

“Le quartier Notre-Dame-de-Lorette descend!”: The lorette and the Popular Invasion of the Arts

In this paper, I argue that claims that the social type of the lorette figured anxieties surrounding the bourgeoisie's rise to cultural and economic dominance tell only part of her story: portraits of the lorette reflect just as powerful of anxieties related to a threatened increase in the power and influence of popular classes. Evidence of these anxieties, hiding in plain sight in the portraits and physiologies written by Alhoy, Dumas *père* and Gautier, in Gavarni's images, and in popular literature, provides a crucial piece in our understanding of the role of the lorette in the mythology of the modern artist. The lorette did not materialize fully-formed to inhabit the “new” bourgeois spaces that were constructed to service a new bourgeois social order; she carries with her the mark of her origin, a prehistory that shaped and gives new meaning to her aggressive interactions with mid-nineteenth-century Parisian society.

Concerns over a popular invasion of the aesthetic sphere comes at a time of both general anxiety and genuine fascination around the popular, working classes in Paris, ranging from critics hoping to control, contain and eliminate nefarious influence of these populations, to thinkers who, recognizing their positive potential, undertook the project of their salvation, or even the salvation of the whole of French society through them. I analyze the lorette's alternative genesis – her obscure birth to working-class or poor provincial nobodies, her half-baked education and her dabbling in pseudo-artistic endeavors – which serves as a prelude to her astonishingly successful invasion of a world off-limits to her progenitors. Recontextualizing the lorette's cultural arrival, I show just why her invasion held revolutionary potential and thus shed on the lorette's principle function within broader mythology of the modern artist.

Edward J. Ahearn, Brown University

Pas un Polar: Justice, Histoire, Fiction dans *Une ténébreuse affaire*

Cette *Scène de la vie politique* est littéralement in-évitable dans ce colloque. De jeunes nobles participent aux complots contre Napoléon au moment de la transition entre Consulat et Empire. Encouragés par la sublime Laurence de Cinq-Cygne avec la collaboration de Michu, homme de '93 mais qui sert "la justice de Dieu" contre l'injustice humaine incarnée dans la personne de Malin, devenu comte de Gondreville et sénateur, ils sont d'abord graciés, puis condamnés. Michu, "noble victime," est exécuté.

Histoire socio-politique donc, poursuivant de façon nonpareille les thèmes de la justice et de la police. Le narrateur accomplit "le devoir d'un historien" contre "un complet oubli des faits antérieurs les plus graves." La Justice, après la religion et la royauté la "plus grande machine des sociétés," est présentée avec une incroyable accumulation de détails dans *La justice sous le code de Brumaire an IV* et dans la dernière partie, *Un Procès Politique Sous l'Empire*. "Personne aujourd'hui, si ce n'est quelques vieux magistrats, ne se rappelle..." Procédure judiciaire profondément injuste, grâce au (faux) enlèvement de Gondreville, après quoi la Société retourne

à "ses intérêts dévorants." Quant à la police, le narrateur pose des questions essentielles sur "ces hommes de génie...si bas quand ils pouvaient être si haut?" "Est-on homme de police comme on est penseur, écrivain, homme d'Etat...à la condition de ne savoir faire qu'espionner...?" Même opposition entre les titres *Les chagrins de la police* et *Revanche de Corentin*.

Dernière question: complications—même échec?—dans cette fusion d'histoire et de fiction: le faux enlèvement basé sur un évènement historique; Laurence de Cinq-Cygne, mélange d'un personnage de Walter Scott et de Charlotte Corday, qui demande grâce à Napoléon dans son bivouac la veille de la victoire d'Iéna (!); mystères et confusions dans le dernier chapitre, *Les ténèbres dissipées*: qui est celui qui les raconte et essaie de les expliquer?

Kate Aid, University of Pennsylvania

“Trop d'exotisme!”: Colonial Objects in the House of Decadence

Male authors writing decadent French fiction at the end of the nineteenth century broke generic and social codes to emphasize artifice and neurosis over naturalism and bourgeois morality. Melanie Hawthorne, Janet Beizer, and Rachel Mesch have pointed out that Rachilde, a woman who simultaneously authored decadent tropes and claimed to be a product of decadence's preferred pathologies, broke the unruly rules of her fellow authors. The difficulty of categorizing Rachilde's relationship to her strong female characters and to the non-normative genders and sexualities in her novels has led some scholars to identify her double rule-breaking as *queer* disorder.

In *La Jongleuse* (1900), autoeroticism, 'perverse' chastity, voyeurism, improvised erotic lexicons, and personalized pornography do queerly break heteronormative orders of social station, marriage, and procreation. However, I argue that in this novel decadence emerges not only from generic chaos, but from the self-conscious deployment of excessive exoticism. The novel's sexual deviations arise in the house where Éliante Donalger, créole widow of a French naval captain, cohabitates with the collected riches of empire. Her erotic history and desires emerge through the presence of an ancient Tunisian vase of suggestively human silhouette, erotic Chinese figurines refashioned in wax to resemble Éliante, and the memory of her Martinican maid's contributions to her love letters. This colonial order of people, objects, and trade corrupts normative romance tropes and enables non-normative sexual practices.

While it is tempting to recover and recuperate Rachilde's novels as queer literature and theory, we must also consider the racist and colonialist foundations of their queerness. This paper will situate *La Jongleuse* within the context of colonial markets and circulation. How can the colonial order of the decadent home lead us to a postcolonial reading of decadence, and help to consider this genre's relationship to the *fin-de-siècle* state of the French empire?

Arcana Albright, Albright College

Glorious Bastard? Law, Order and Ethics in Maupassant's *Pierre et Jean*

Maupassant's *Pierre et Jean* is more than a psychological thriller, though it has almost exclusively been considered under this light. While it is true that the novel gives a sweeping psychological portrait of Pierre's descent into madness as he discovers and attempts to come to terms with his mother's infidelity and his brother's illegitimacy, the novel is also about law and

order. This paper demonstrates that the legal and ethical questions bound up in the divergent fates of Pierre and Jean are no less compelling than the psychological dimension of the novel.

Rather than Jean's illegitimacy causing him suffering and exclusion, it leads to his success and security. As a child born out of love rather than duty, he has grown up as his mother's favorite son. Later in life he inherits a fortune from his biological father, enabling him to pursue his career of choice and become a lawyer as well as to marry the woman of his choosing. He is, it would appear, a glorious bastard.

Pierre, meanwhile, suffers immensely not only because unlike his illegitimate half-brother he has no money and therefore cannot realistically pursue his career but also because his mother's infidelity and his brother's illegitimacy drive him to destructive and self-destructive acts. Ultimately Pierre is banished from the family, with his mother and illegitimate brother forcing him to accept employment on a transatlantic oceanliner, a symbolic death sentence. The novel thus ends with a rather provocative take on law and order, with the law shown to be irrelevant at best and order taking primacy over ethics.

Anita Alkhas, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

Jules Renard and the Disciplined Reader

The publication of Peter Gumbel's scathing critique of the French educational system *On achève bien les écoliers* fittingly coincided with the centenary of the death of Jules Renard. Last year's tributes to Renard, including theatrical and televised productions of his best-known work *Poil de carotte*, hailed him as one of the foremost exponents of "l'enfance humiliée." In recent years, however, the astringent quality of Renard's prose has primarily attracted publishers seeking pithy quotations to include in cheap compendiums. This development might have pleased Renard, who was perpetually dissatisfied with the work to which he owed his fame, and who expresses in his *Journal* an aspiration to be the master of aphorism for his generation: "Un La Bruyère en style moderne, voilà ce qu'il faudrait être."

The obvious link between Renard's difficult childhood and his spare style becomes particularly evident in his distillation of *Poil de carotte* into a one-act play, where we witness the title character choosing his words carefully to avoid his mother's harsh discipline. While his father stays out of the fray by going hunting or reading the newspaper, *Poil de carotte* must stay home and stick to reading his mother. When he learns that he has in fact misread her, it becomes clear that his punishment has been partly self-inflicted. A similar dynamic surfaces in the *Journal* as Renard reflects on his experiences as a reader. His pleasure is often hampered because he is continually on the alert for blows to his writer's ego: "Il me suffit de lire une page de Saint-Simon ou de Flaubert pour rougir." For a disciplined reader like Renard, should the corollary to the disciplined writer's economy of expression be: *the less read the better?*

James Smith Allen, Southern Illinois University Carbondale

The Modern Quest for Ritual Order: The Masonic Significance of Gérard de Nerval's "Histoire de la reine du Matin et de Soliman, prince des génies" (1851)

The original and perhaps ultimate cultural construction of order is ritual, whether it is religious (like the Talmudic laws of Judaism) or secular (like the fraternal initiations of

Freemasonry). Ritualistic practices are meant to express beliefs held by the adherents of well-defined doctrines; the more elaborate the rituals, as often as not, the better developed the doctrines for the purposes of marking progress to the present. As Jürgen Habermas put it, “With varying content, the term ‘modern’ again and again expresses the consciousness of an epoch that relates itself to the past of antiquity, in order to view itself as the result of a transition from the old to the new” (p. 3). Nowhere is this truism more evident than in Gérard de Nerval’s mythical account of Balkis, the Queen of Sheba, and her dalliance with Adoniram, the architect of King Soliman’s temple, during the Queen’s state visit to the King (1 Kings 10.1-14, 2 Chronicles 9.1-12).

Nerval recasts Hebrew scripture – not just the names of the principal characters – in order to explain the ritual at work in Masonry’s third and most important initiation, that is, of the Master Mason, which owes its symbolism to the murder of Adoniram, the mythical martyr to Masonic loyalty. By attributing Adoniram’s murder to a jealous King Soliman, Nerval suggests that Masonry’s initiations are not a legacy of the ancient guild of stonemasons, dating from the days of ancient Hebrews, but a narrative of the ardent love for creative genius, derived from the heroes of romantic art. The self-anointed legislator to humankind, the poet – in this case, Nerval himself – makes possible a new cultural construction of Masonic ritual with the love of women at its heart, opening initiation to them as well as to men. What Nerval explores, in effect, is the mythic space for co-masonry, the masonry of adoption for the wives, sisters, and daughters of active Freemasons widely practiced in France since the eighteenth century (Allen). It is thus no accident that Nerval’s Biblical sources are used in the Masonic initiations of both men and women in the long nineteenth century, from the privileged lodges of Queen Marie-Antoinette’s ladies-in-waiting on the eve of the 1789 revolution to the *tenues blanches* of female Masonry on the eve of World War I.

The basis for this critical analysis includes Nerval’s *Voyage en Orient* (1851), of course, but also the Masonic rituals, which draw on the same scriptural sources as Nerval’s imaginary travelogue to the Near East, the mythical home of the three religions of the book (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) and the foundational legends of Masonry and its many variations. As Nerval writes in the preface to his mythic narrative, “il s’agissait cette fois d’un roman destiné à peindre la gloire de ces antiques associations ouvrières auxquelles l’Orient a donné naissance” (p. 648). A close reading of Nerval’s story in the context of Masonic myth highlights the mutual cultural constructions of religious and secular ritual from the late eighteenth-century Enlightenment to early twentieth-century modernism, a transition as appropriate to Nerval’s poetic storytelling as it is of interest to philosophes and romantics, symbolists and surrealists. The larger significance of this perspective is tied to Peter Fitzpatrick’s argument in *The Mythology of Modern Law* (1992) that modernity, like its many laws underlying social order, is itself a myth (pp. 11-12).

Bridget Alsdorf, Princeton University

Vision and Action in the Art of Félix Vallotton

In the 1890s Félix Vallotton established his artistic reputation with a series of prints of modern urban life, widely circulated in periodicals like *Le Cri de Paris* and *La Revue blanche*. These woodcuts and lithographs demonstrate the artist’s fascination with the rise of the sensational press, commercial culture and crowd psychology, and how he understood his art to

be embedded – physically and conceptually – in all three. Some of Vallotton’s prints make these entanglements explicit by calling attention to their framing and modes of display.

This paper will focus on the boundaries of Vallotton’s prints as central to his critique of the mass press and crowd behavior. More specifically, it will examine the ways in which Vallotton uses the image edge as a suture between artwork and viewer, between the passivity of visual experience and the ethical responsibilities of social life. His depictions of accidents, executions and political scandals, in particular, present the act of vision as an ethical dilemma, forcing the question of art’s relationship to social order. I argue that Vallotton’s crowd scenes are an indictment of *badauderie* (“gawking” or “rubbernecking”), a popular Parisian pastime that was actively narrated and theorized in this fin-de-siècle period. Indeed, Vallotton’s prints inspired several writers, including Romain Coolus and Félix Fénéon, to reflect on this form of urban theater as an irresistible yet potentially dangerous modern phenomenon. By investigating the boundaries of vision and responsibility, Vallotton offers an oblique yet penetrating look into the precarious social contract of modern life.

Benjamin McRae Amoss, Longwood University

Marriage and Social Reform in Sand’s *Le Compagnon du Tour de France* and Balzac’s *Les Paysans*

In the first half of the 1840s, from contrary poles of the political spectrum, both Sand and Balzac set novels in the countryside of 1820s France. Departing from the pastoral tradition, *Le Compagnon du Tour de France* and *Les Paysans* reveal the workings of self-interest as inflected by class. Characters test and transgress the limits imposed by society in their attempts to protect the personal interests the Revolution and subsequent Restoration put into play, interests the possibility of social reform puts at stake. In both novels, the institution of marriage intersects with this potential for social change.

In *Le Compagnon du Tour de France*, Yseult, the granddaughter of a *philosophe*-following count, tells him she will have Pierre, a literate laborer, for her husband. Instead of blessing and ratifying her choice as she had hoped he would, the *comte* suffers a cerebral congestion. For his part, Pierre, given time to reflect on the future available to him, decides that he will not marry Yseult even if the *comte* should consent. Though the narrator promises a second novel on Pierre’s future, this volume ends in uncertainty, reform unaccomplished either through political or sentimental associations. The marriage of Blondet, a journalist, and Virginie, the widow of a count of the Empire, at the end of *Les Paysans* is in effect a denial of the possibility of beneficial social reform, indeed of social improvement. Whereas Sand’s novel holds hope for a better social order in the sentimental association that is marriage across the classes, Balzac’s shows only domination by a greedy bourgeois class cynically in league with a desperate lower class, both content to demolish all that could hinder the realization of their own material self-interest. In fact, though, in Sand, the marriage that would effect the social reform the novel envisions does not take place; in Balzac, the marriage that takes place effectively saps any predilection for social change.

Matthew Anderson, University of New England

The Space of a Poem: *Le Cygne* and its Jurisdictions

This paper leverages a close reading of Baudelaire's celebrated lyric, *Le Cygne*, and its manuscript variants, to open up a sense of what could be called the "jurisdictional space" of the poem—more specifically, the internal tension of a structure of feeling that registers the imbrications of the secular legal order of the Second Empire (which censored the first edition of *Les Fleurs du mal*) and the sacred religious imagination that suffuses Baudelaire's sensibility. *Le Cygne* has too many layers, resonances, and complexities to admit of a single, monological reading. On one level, however, it is a poem about the changing structures of a city that itself accretes new textual layers as it develops over time, and thus in some sense reproduces, through its genesis and revision, the process that it describes. Whereas Baron Haussmann's transformation of the landscape of Paris, and more particularly, of the *Place du Carrousel*, creates the vast, open space that the poem describes in its first iteration, when Baudelaire later returns to and revises *Le Cygne* he literally renovates its lexical surface—he replaces the adjective *vaste* with *nouveau*—and in so doing effaces a semantic field that evokes some of the most intimate terrain of his sensibility and imagination as a poet.

In *The Poetics of Space*, Gaston Bachelard calls attention to the importance of the word *vaste* in Baudelaire's lexicon, saying that it is "[...] one of the most Baudelairean of words, the words that marks most naturally, for this poet, infinity of intimate space." The reading I propose builds upon Bachelard's observation and suggests that the substitution of *nouveau* for *vaste* dramatizes the interplay between two jurisdictional domains—one religious, the other secular—that Baudelaire, in typical fashion, writes at once *against* and *within*, sometimes intentionally, other times less so. My interest lies with the overlap and mutual deepening of these two jurisdictional claims or registers: the Law and the law.

Emily Apter, New York University

"What Does Europe Owe the Jews?" Nietzsche by way of Stendhal

In this paper I will be trying to articulate a philosophical politics linked to post-revolutionary republicanism. In some respects it can be described as a vision of transhistorical political subjects minus the Jewish metaphysics (modeled after Enlightenment French Spinoza, particularly as Yves Citton reads it). But one can argue that this vision is actually "Jewish" in Nietzsche's sense of "what Europe owes the Jews:" "the grand style in morality, the fearfulness and majesty of infinite demands, of infinite significations, the whole Romanticism and sublimity of moral questionableness--and consequently just the most attractive, ensnaring, and exquisite element in those iridescences and allurements to life, in the aftersheen of which the sky of our European culture, its evening sky, now glows--perhaps glows out." (*Beyond Good and Evil*) In singling out Stendhal as the premier "man of interrogation," and theorist of psychopolitics (perhaps because he shows so well how political orders are imploded by "les jeux de prince," - the jockeying, opportunism and information-trafficking of political players - or what Spinoza characterized as the dispensation of the monarch's sovereignty to counselors, generals and favorites), Nietzsche sets him up as a kind of Jewish thinker. This leads me to a reading of Stendhal as a theorist -between Spinoza and Nietzsche - of mediated power; a philosopher of political life-forms that exceed classic models of liberalism, republicanism and democratic institutionalism (especially in *Lucien Leuwen*).

Caroline Ardrey, Oxford University

The dynamics of deviation in Mallarmé's "La Dernière Mode"

Stéphane Mallarmé's fashion magazine, "La Dernière Mode" ran for eight issues, during 1874. In this paper, I propose a new reading of the periodical, based on theoretical ideas of transgression. Paying particular attention to the way in which Mallarmé challenges notions of gender and genre, my analysis of this puzzling text will assess the parallels between rebellion against form and convention in the journal, and experimentation with language and structure in Mallarmé's poetry.

Mallarmé was responsible for writing the majority of columns in the journal under a variety of pseudonyms, both male and female. Firstly, this paper will assess the significance of femininity in the "La Dernière Mode," from the perspective of Julia Kristeva's ideas on transgression in poetic language. I contend that the fluidity of gender roles in the text enables the speaking subject to transcend the limitations of sexual identity, moving towards a pure, all-encompassing space in language.

Secondly, I will consider the polyvalence of language in "La Dernière Mode." I argue that multiple meanings and "poetic" techniques such as word-play show Mallarmé to be testing the boundaries of the journalistic format. The columnist-characters repeatedly flaunt their shortcomings and deviations from the conventions of their role. I suggest that this dialectic of formulating and breaking rules, both in writing and in fashion, can be seen as a means of exploiting "le double état de la parole, brut ou immédiat ici, là essentiel."

Ultimately, this paper aims to situate "La Dernière Mode" within Mallarmé's wider oeuvre, demonstrating that - far from being a frivolous undertaking - the fashion magazine is a fertile territory for opening-up the poetic dimension of language. It is, I assert, through the violation of formal and linguistic constraints that the text moves towards an aesthetic Ideal in which the poet "cède l'initiative aux mots."

Laura Auricchio, The New School

Lafayette's Ambivalent Abolitionism

To the twenty-first-century mind, "abolitionism" has a clear meaning: the movement to render slavery illegal. But a closer look at the term as it operated in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century France reveals a more nuanced understanding shot through with competing interests. The proposed paper argues that this ambivalence is particularly vivid in the case of the Marquis de Lafayette (1757-1834), the French hero of the American Revolution. Drawing on archival documents housed at Cornell University, the Archives nationales, and the Archives nationales d'outre-mer, I will explain the legal, philosophical and practical circumstances that enabled Lafayette to be both a slaveholder and an abolitionist while, apparently, perceiving no contradiction between these two positions.

Although Lafayette is remembered as an ardent abolitionist, it would be more precise to say that he believed in ameliorating slavery and hoped to work towards a gradual process of emancipation. To this end, he purchased three plantations in Guyana in the mid-1780s, renaming one l'Adrienne in honor of his wife. On March 1, 1789, seventy black men, women, and children were documented in his possession. By 1792, when the property of the émigré Lafayette

was seized by the state, his slaves had not been freed. Adrienne argued that, being destined for emancipation, the slaves could not be sold, but sixty-three *nègres* from l'Adrienne were purchased by the Ministry of the Marine on May 4, 1794 (despite the fact that slavery was abolished in the French colony some two months earlier). In year 8 (1799-1800), while seeking compensation for his seized properties, Lafayette asked to be reimbursed for these people. The documents contesting the seizure and sale reveal fissures within an abolitionist discourse struggling to honor the Rights of Man, but bound up with national law and economic demands.

Christopher Bains, Texas Tech University

Aesthetic Order and Moral Transgression in Gautier's *Italia*

Théophile Gautier embarks in 1850 on an extended tour of Italy of which Venice garners by far the most pages and attention from the poet. Gautier's vision of the city is strikingly different than that of previous Romantics and that of contemporary John Ruskin. The poet's account of Venice consistently tests the rules and boundaries of what constitutes art. Indeed, far from being a series of random snapshots, Gautier's representations of Venice are shaped by his own aesthetic values. For instance, when Gautier stumbles upon the Jewish ghetto of San Girolamo, he discusses what he sees as the absence of any detectable standard of composition ("aucune ligne ne gardait la perpendiculaire, ... les fenêtres chassieuses, borgnes ou louches"), an unpardonable foray into anarchy for our narrator-art critic. True to his values, Gautier describes poverty both as a Jewish lifestyle choice and an aesthetic failing.

The defining features of Gautier's appreciation of Italy, we will argue, reveal themselves in the modalities of navigation between aesthetics and ethics, art and reality, form and meaning, objectivity and engagement. They expose an ambivalence that the narrator cannot just 'rationalize away.' It is a lingering uneasiness that represents a hallmark of Gautier's writing, and which places his 'aesthetic' ruminations paradoxically in the field of 19th-century ethical interrogations. Gautier's everything-in-its-place couching of art and reality foregrounds meaningful tensions and transgressions in his writing.

The narrator's relationship with Venice and Venetians is, first and foremost, a telling encounter that gives Gautier pause, causing him either to warp reality or bend his aesthetic rules. These textual hesitations belie the narrator's image of the exotic other, and speak to the reciprocal relationship of influence between nineteenth-century aesthetic laws and putative representations of reality.

Valérie Bajou, Château de Versailles

L'empire à l'épreuve de la guerre: Les transgressions d'un général peintre

Louis François Lejeune (1775-1848) est une figure unique du xix^e siècle, à la fois peintre, soldat, espion, diplomate, homme politique, directeur d'école et mémorialiste - sans bornes et sans retenue. Agitée de rebondissements jusqu'à s'achever par un mariage princier, sa vie offre la quintessence du romanesque. C'est un champion aux couleurs éclatantes qui passe avec panache de la prison à l'hôtel de ville.

Formé sous la Révolution française, il conduit sa carrière militaire pendant l'Empire avec un enthousiasme jamais démenti et participe à la chevauchée fantastique de Napoléon à travers l'Europe.

Du siège de Charleroi en 1794 jusqu'à la bataille de la Moskowa, ses peintures sont d'abord des documents historiques retraçant son engagement au sein de l'armée. Qui douterait de la véracité de ses toiles? Son livret militaire ne mentionne-t-il pas ses onze blessures et ses dix-sept campagnes? Il y était! Il est donc légitime qu'il soit le reporter de l'épopée..., de son épopée. Car l'acteur est un remarquable metteur en scène: à la fois complice et romancier. Sa guerre est un spectacle qui présente le dialogue incessant entre la vie et la mort dans l'optimisme d'une croisade, sans l'horreur hallucinée et brutale des peintres d'histoire.

Pour mieux composer sa vie, Lejeune accompagne ses tableaux d'un testament littéraire. Dans ses *Mémoires*, il apparaît volubile, séducteur et désinvolte; s'il s'expose, les tempes battantes, étouffant d'émotion à la veille de la bataille d'Austerlitz, il emploie rarement la première personne, évitant soigneusement le « je » pour traiter de l'histoire et s'effacer devant l'ordre impérial. S'il utilise le reportage pour convaincre de la vérité historique, il manie les transgressions avec délectation. La loi peut-elle exister en temps de guerre? Quel rôle joue-t-il au milieu de la guérilla, des voies de faits et du racket le plus sordide qui remplacent l'attaque et la charge? Le faux? Le vrai? L'imaginaire et le réel risquent un cache-cache avec une surenchère impressionnante.

Il importe peu qu'il ait connu ou non les brigands espagnols ou l'enfer des pontons anglais. L'essentiel n'est-il pas qu'il fasse vivre les dérèglements d'une armée en déroute et le désordre qui fait loi? Son humanité familière – fictive ou plausible – exprime une réalité quotidienne, mêlant l'humour au drame par un rappel importun dans un monde qui s'attend au sublime.

Anne-Marie Baron, Société des Amis d'Honoré de Balzac

Balzac et la loi du Talmud

Le Talmud - expression de la loi orale juive - est connu du public lettré parisien au début du XIX^e siècle - où les juifs sont bien intégrés à la société française - par l'Encyclopédie de Diderot et les dictionnaires. Un article détaillé lui est consacré dans les *Miscellanea judaica* de la *Revue de Paris* par le rabbin Hyman en 1832. Balzac, juriste averti, semble bien connaître la substance du droit rabbinique et ses interprétations du Pentateuque qui régissent la vie quotidienne juive. De même que la loi n'est pas énoncée de façon abstraite dans le Décalogue, mais sous forme d'injonctions à un *tu*, auquel chaque lecteur peut s'identifier, de même la parole législative et judiciaire, mise dans la bouche des personnages de notaires ou d'avoués éclaire la complexité des relations humaines et légitime les actions qui tissent le récit. De plus, on est frappé de trouver posés systématiquement par Balzac les problèmes abordés par les différents livres du Talmud concernant les divers sacrements et les obligations humaines, en particulier en cas de mariage ou de décès. Même certains titres de romans ou de nouvelles sont homologues de ceux du Talmud, *Le Contrat de mariage* par exemple, qui équivaut au livre des *Ketoubot* (Contrats de mariage). Comme le Talmud, *La Comédie humaine* décrit les conflits possibles et les compromis que la loi exige entre vérité et mensonge, entre réalisme et idéalisme, c'est-à-dire la constante adaptation qui s'impose au législateur pour épouser la réalité mouvante du monde dans toute sa variété. Enfin le Talmud est rempli de récits de cas particuliers qui en constituent la

jurisprudence. C'est pour un romancier une source inépuisable d'anecdotes, qui reprennent les schémas des histoires bibliques en les analysant et en les appliquant à la vie des fidèles.

Guri Ellen Barstad, Université de Tromsø

La fascination du désordre.

« Le désir d'exploiter la curiosité par des récits romanesques ou bizarres », inciterait à écrire ses mémoires, prétend Louis Canler (Chef du service de Sûreté à Paris, 1797-1865), mais il nous assure que son propre motif est purement moral; échappe-t-il pour autant à la fascination du 'bizarre', de la transgression et du désordre? La frontière entre loi/ordre et désordre est-elle absolue? Que se passe-t-il dans l'espace intermédiaire? Cette communication se penche sur trois exemples où les personnages se trouvent 'surpris' par une fascination qui, malgré eux, les amène à transgresser la frontière entre 'loi' et 'ordre'. Ils sont poussés par leur curiosité du mystère humain, par l'envie de pénétrer un secret, par le désir de voir ce qui se passe derrière un rideau ou de l'autre côté d'un mur. La frontière ou la transgression se concrétise dans la séparation des espaces, séparation qui se révèle trop fragile pour endiguer la contamination troublante du désordre.

Dans ses Mémoires, au chapitre XVI intitulé « Les poses mythologiques », Canler est invité par la maîtresse d'une maison de tolérance à suivre, à travers une fissure de la cloison, les mœurs 'corrompues' d'un couple jouant le rôle de Pygmalion avec sa statue, ainsi qu'un jeu plus compliqué à signification incertaine. Dans *Monsieur Vénus* de Rachilde, Marie espionne, par un trou dans le mur, le jeu 'pervers' de son frère Jacques avec son amante masculine Raoule. Et dans « Le Bonheur dans le Crime » de Barbey d'Aurevilly (*Les Diaboliques*) le plaisir du conteur à narrer son histoire jure de façon troublante avec l'horreur racontée. Dans ces trois exemples la curiosité humaine pousse ses 'victimes' à transgresser la loi et l'ordre.

Janet Beizer, Harvard University

“What I Didn't Learn in Graduate School” Roundtable [see **Brooks**]

Masha Belenky, George Washington University

Order and Disorder in Zola's *La Curée*

Liminal spaces structure the physical and moral geographies in Zola's 1872 novel *La Curée*. In this fictional account of the early years of Haussmann's radical reconstruction of Paris, Zola stages the disorder stemming from what he presents as a dangerous and provocative blurring of boundaries between the private and the public, the inside and the outside. The novel finds its meaning in what Priscilla Ferguson called “the continuous erasure and remaking of spatial and social boundaries.” (*Paris as Revolution* 133). This erasure is nowhere more evident than in the representation of liminal city spaces in the novel. In this paper I consider the function of liminal spaces such as the café, the park, and the public conveyance (the omnibus) that appear at key moments throughout *La Curée*. In Haussmann's Paris, the park, the café, and the omnibus represent an attempt to impose order – topographical and social – on the city and its inhabitants. While the park embodies the state's desire to regulate the public's leisure by assigning precisely

where one may or may not walk and by imposing order upon nature, the café orders public consumption, regulates taste, and offers the consumer a privileged view from which to judge and classify the passing urban spectacle. The public conveyance organizes urban movement as it travels along assigned routes with its rigidly classed seating structure and pay schedule. While scholars have addressed these nineteenth-century Parisian spaces in different contexts, my paper analyzes their astonishing convergence within Zola's novel of urban liminality. Rather than connoting order and maintaining proper bourgeois hierarchies, Zola's representation of these spaces, on the contrary, shows the implosion of boundaries and a society swirling toward chaos.

David F. Bell, Duke University

Balzac's *Le Contrat de mariage*: Code, Law, Beyond the Law

Balzac's novel is an extended reflection on the intricacies of the Code Napoléon in the context of a marriage contract, one of the principal types of *transaction*, as Balzac liked to call contractual negotiations more broadly. Gender historians have amply demonstrated the limitations on the rights of women imposed by the Code, especially (although not exclusively) in marriage. In Balzac's story, however, an agreement that is a priori unfavorable to Natalie Evangélista is ultimately overturned in ways that could not be anticipated by the terms of the contract: the contract, although not legally broken, is broken nonetheless. How can it be that in the new social order of the Restoration, apparently increasingly governed by contract law, the essential elements of a situation or a relation always seems to escape the terms of the contract (the limits of the law), always seems, in other words, to be beyond the law—precisely like the *bande* of supporters and allies de Marsay has gathered around himself, whose principal traits seem to be that their fortunes and social power place them beyond (above?) the law?

Dorian Bell, University of California, Santa Cruz

Beyond the Bourse: Zola, Empire, and the Jews

Zola's 1891 novel *L'Argent* vacillates between contrasting representations of Jewish financial influence. At times Zola insists that the novel's Jewish titan of finance, Gundermann, merely exploits economic forces he does not otherwise control. Elsewhere, however, Zola casts Gundermann as ultimate arbiter of these forces themselves. The result is a category mistake, with Jews made impossibly to constitute the economic order in which they also participate. My paper examines this dual ascription to the Jew of incommensurate ontologies, charting the aesthetic and ideological tensions it condenses and linking them to the imperialist expansionism endorsed by Zola, I argue, as a way out of his Jewish impasse. Taking *L'Argent* as a case study in a larger, evolving structural reciprocity between discourses about Jews and empire, I go on to consider how Hannah Arendt similarly turned to the imperial—albeit, of course, in an anti-imperialist mode—to relieve certain constitutive tensions in her historical account of the Jewish contribution to an erstwhile “comity of European nations.”

Françoise Belot, University of Washington

Knocking the Racial Ladder Off Balance

Throughout the century, a wealth of documentation, from scientific treatises to travel narratives and ethnographic reports, supported and confirmed the commonly-held assumption of the inequality of races. These taxonomies, combined with narratives of development and progress, associated various races with social and moral values, and placed white Europeans at the top of a racial ladder and black Africans at the bottom. This notion was generally undisputed in fictions about Africa and its inhabitants, which postulated the absolute distinction between Westerners and natives, and the association between the latter and animals. In this paper I argue that Jules Verne's *Le Village Aérien* (1901), and, to a lesser extent, his earlier *Cinq Semaines en Ballon* (1863), destabilize the hierarchy of races, species and nations. The earlier novel asserts the superiority of Western civilization, manifested in Fergusson's mastery of science and technology, over African primitiveness, but presents instances in which this distinction breaks down. More provocatively, in *Le Village Aérien* the sense of utter difference between whites and non-whites, and between humans and animals is absent, the continuity between one and the other being secured by the instability in the order of species: the Wagddis are impossible to classify (apes? humans? humanoids?); a senile Dr. Johausen appears closer to an animal than to the Westerners who rescue him. My study will explore how both novels, which, as tales of adventure appear to comfort the Western reader in his allegedly superior position, actually disturb neat racial categorizations and foreclose the reassuring labeling of self and other.

Janis Bergman-Carton, Southern Methodist University

Figures at the Intersection: Bonnard, Mallarmé and La Revue Blanche

The Symbolist journal *La Revue Blanche* is known to art historians primarily by its support for Nabis and neo-Impressionist artists and publication of key pieces of art writing including Paul Signac's 'De Delacroix au néo-impersonnisme' (1898) and Gauguin's *Noa Noa*. This paper relies on the journal's fourteen-year run (1889-1903) as a frame through which the symbiosis of avant-garde art, the commercial gallery system, and the Press is brought into focus. A changing cultural marketplace for late-nineteenth-century artistic and literary production is engaged with unusual openness in *La Revue Blanche*'s regular features. And its pages, especially between 1894 and 1897, were made available to artists in unprecedented ways to engage what Stéphane Mallarmé described as the new language of the Press--pictorial experiments with genre, typography and formatting in the vernacular of commercial journalism. This paper offers a case study of one such experiment in the intersections between art and journalism through an inter-textual reading of Pierre Bonnard's 1894 color lithographic poster *La Revue Blanche* and Mallarmé's "Variations sur un sujet," ten 'poèmes critiques' that constitute the poet's most sustained theorization of "the originality of the Press." It also underscores the importance of the burgeoning culture of "the journal" for emerging artists in late-nineteenth-century France as the Academy/Salon system ceded authority to more entrepreneurial modes of art production and display.

Arnaud Bernadet, Université McGill

Distorsion et correction: la philosophie du criminel (Cellulairement. 1873-1875)

Écrit entre 1873 et 1875, *Cellulairement* ne fut jamais publié mais démembré, donnant alors matière au cycle chrétien dans l'œuvre de Verlaine: *Sagesse, Amour, Parallèlement*. S'il s'inscrit à sa façon dans la tradition des écrits de criminels, ce recueil impossible manifeste une transition littéraire capitale de l'auteur. D'un côté, il dresse le bilan d'années de création, celles qui l'ont conduit jusqu'aux *Romances sans paroles*, du Parnasse à la Commune de Paris; de l'autre il inaugure la voie mystique de *Sagesse et Liturgies intimes*, et sa période réactionnaire.

C'est que *Cellulairement* place au cœur de l'écriture deux événements décisifs: l'incarcération du poète qui fait suite à l'affaire de Bruxelles en juillet 1873 avec Rimbaud, la conversion au catholicisme en juin 1874. L'acte poétique est ici inséparable d'une entreprise autobiographique que Verlaine poursuivra en prose narrative avec *Mes Prisons* (1893). Ainsi que l'indique le néologisme adverbial du titre, « *cellulairement* » désigne plus que le lieu de la parole: un mode d'être du sujet, qui est d'abord une remise en ordre de son passé et de ses valeurs les plus intimes, une découverte et une intériorisation ensuite de la loi, celle de la Société et surtout celle de Dieu.

S'il admet avoir été « maladroit » à défaut d'être un authentique criminel, le repris de justice établit néanmoins son plaidoyer. L'œuvre répond à la figure de rhétorique, désignée sous le terme de *confession* et adressée à un tribunal, qu'il s'agisse des lecteurs ou de Dieu lui-même. La prison « humanitaire » constitue paradoxalement un espace où le sujet « s'attendrit » et « réfléchit » (« Bouquet à Marie »). Elle l'ouvre à la logique du devoir et contient une éthique. Car en corrigeant sa manière de poète, c'est finalement à la droiture des « manières » qu'aspire Verlaine, fondées sur les lois de l'amour, incompatibles avec les « conduites folles » (*id.*) d'autrefois.

Sarah Bernthal, Brown University

From Recitation to Improvisation: Breaking the Order of Discourse in Stendhal's *Le Rouge et le Noir*

Throughout the 19th century, authors such as Balzac, Hugo, Zola, and George Sand used the trial to depict confrontation between the marginal individual and society, between personal, idiosyncratic language and the formulas of public discourse. In such a confrontation, the speech of the individual—his ability to control his own language—is as much at stake as his life or property.

During his trial (and for reasons he only partially reveals), Stendhal's protagonist makes a radical and disastrous shift from recitation to improvisation. For “the first time,” he addresses a large audience without drawing from a preexisting text, and as a result he is almost immediately sentenced to death. While critics have examined Julien Sorel's problematic relation to speech and his reliance on recitation, less attention has been paid to the meaning of his ultimate renunciation of this behavior and shift towards a more authentic means of expression.

This moment of improvisation, I will argue, should alter our understanding of the novel and Sorel's character, as Sorel's *plaidoyer* improvises on the very text we have been reading, retelling the story we have just read. In examining this discursive shift, my paper will explore the tension between the impulse to recite and the urge to improvise that runs throughout Stendhal's novel, and the courtroom as a paradoxical venue for the resolution of this tension. Foucault's *L'Ordre du discours* will be particularly relevant in demonstrating how certain kinds of speech

pose a threat to textual (and judicial) authority, as well as the personal and social implications of breaking with this authority.

Janice Best, Université Acadia

La redénomination des rues de Paris

L'ouverture sous le Second Empire d'un grand nombre de voies nouvelles, ainsi que la nécessité d'éliminer les noms formant double et parfois triple emploi, avaient amené dès 1864 un remaniement considérable dans la nomenclature des voies publiques de Paris. Le changement de régime survenu en 1870 présenta l'occasion d'éliminer certains noms qui rappelaient des « souvenirs politiques néfastes », notamment ceux trop étroitement associés avec l'Empire ou la Monarchie. Freeman Henry suggère que la redénomination des voies publiques sert à réécrire l'histoire officielle et, en tant que palimpseste, fonctionne à la fois comme consommation et justification de cette histoire. Selon Priscilla Parkhurst-Ferguson, les noms des rues racontent les histoires de la ville. Tout comme les autres signes de la civilisation urbaine – les statues, les monuments, et les édifices – les noms des rues donnent un sens à l'espace urbain.

Présenté en 1879, le projet de redénomination acquit vite des dimensions politiques. Le préfet de la Seine, au nom du gouvernement national, tenta de limiter les pouvoirs du Conseil municipal. Selon le préfet, le désir exprimé par le Conseil de faire disparaître certains noms de rues rappelant des personnages de l'Empire était motivé par des considérations politiques et dépassait le mandat strictement administratif du Conseil municipal. Autrement dit, le Conseil était libre de choisir les noms topographiques ou géographiques, ainsi que les noms « indifférents » qui lui plaisaient, mais en ce qui concernait les dénominations ayant un « caractère d'hommage public », cette décision revenait à l'État. Dans cette communication je me propose d'examiner les projets de redénomination les plus controversés (par exemple, celui de rebaptiser la rue du Dauphin rue de la Convention) afin d'analyser le rapport entre ces changements de nom et différentes versions de l'histoire.

Dúnlaith Bird, École Normale Supérieure

'On ne naît pas vagabond' and 'on ne naît pas femme': The construction of vagabondage in French women's writing of the long nineteenth century.

In *Heures de Tunis* (1902), the Swiss traveller Isabelle Eberhardt describes vagabondage as an essential yet neglected element of intellectual life: 'Un droit que bien peu d'intellectuels se soucient de revendiquer, c'est le droit à l'errance, au *vagabondage*'. The trope of the vagabond in European society as dispossessed, rootless, even criminal, is dramatically reversed in the opening sentence of Eberhardt's travelogue, with vagabondage represented as a fundamental right. This paper will analyse how the language of vagabondage is appropriated in Francophone women's texts of the long nineteenth century, becoming instead a narrative of unruly female mobility.

A constant presence in French legal texts from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, vagabondage shifts in the nineteenth century from a social plague, 'A quoi,' Louis XIV menacingly notes, 'étant nécessaire de remédier,' into a social malady which doctors including Charcot and Rivière seek to cure. This popular desire for classification and cure stems partly

from a resurgent criminalisation of the vagabond in French media, with sensationalist reporting of the trial and execution of notorious vagabonds such as the serial killer Joseph Vacher (1869-1898), referred to as ‘L'éventreur du Sud-Est’. Given the social fascination with the vagabond as photo negative, the erring Other, the popularity of vagabond literature in the nineteenth century is unsurprising. Its relative exclusion from current critical theory, particularly women’s rewriting of vagabondage, is an omission this paper seeks to redress.

An increasingly totemic concept in French women’s writing from the 1850s onwards, including Olympe Audouard’s *Les Mystères de l’Égypte* (1863), Rachilde’s *La Jongleuse* (1900) and Colette’s *La Vagabonde* (1911), this paper will contend that vagabondage offers a new means of analysing narratives of mobility which pre-empt modern feminist and postcolonial theory, linking physical movement, geographical context and textual creation. Through an analysis of French legal texts including the Royal Proclamations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the Code Pénal, as well as the sociological analyses of Jean-François Wagnart, it will show how representations of women’s vagabondage in Audouard, Colette and Rachilde become a means of pushing out sexual and social boundaries in the long nineteenth century: as the protagonist and inveterate *vagabonde* of Rachilde’s *La Jongleuse* says, ‘je peux aller très loin’.

Catherine Bordeau, Lyon College

The Milieu in Baudelaire’s *Le Spleen de Paris*

In *Fusées*, Charles Baudelaire expresses his interest in exploring the role of the milieu in narrative: “Les milieux, les atmosphères, dont tout un récit doit être trempé. (Voir *Usher* et en référer aux sensations profondes du hachisch et de l’opium) » (1: 655). I propose to draw out the implications of this passage, first by comparing Edgar Allan Poe’s “The Fall of the House of Usher” to Baudelaire’s writings on hashish and opium. Poe’s short story and Baudelaire’s essays describe individuals’ sensitivity to the milieu, that is, to surrounding conditions. In each, the milieu excites and wears down the nerves, reducing the individual’s energy and agency, and the individual and the milieu ultimately merge into one. Such a notion of the milieu’s influence corresponds to contemporary theories of degeneration, as in B.A. Morel’s *Traité des dégénérescences*.

I will then consider the possibility that Baudelaire developed the ideas outlined in *Fusées* in *Le Spleen de Paris: Petits poèmes en prose*, narratives that are “steeped” in the Parisian milieu. My discussion will focus on “Le Mauvais vitrier,” which Baudelaire evokes in his preface as representative of his prose poem project, an attempt to “translate” features of city life such as the glazier’s irritating cry (1: 276). In “Le Mauvais vitrier,” the glazier’s cry and the Parisian milieu as a whole lead to the breakdown in which the narrator attacks the glazier. The narrator shatters the glazier’s glass, producing his own “bruit éclatant” (1: 287). His criminal gesture conveys a desire to destroy the oppressive milieu, yet also represents an artistic expression of its nerve-wearing effects. Baudelaire casts transgressive art as an embodiment of the conditions it rejects.

Stephanie Boulard, Ivan Allen College, Georgia Institute of Technology

Justitia: lex, rex, fex (la loi, le roi, la merde), ou Hugo et les deux plateaux de la balance

« Je ne vois que la justice », dit Cimourdain dans *Quatrevingt-treize*. La justice ou, autrement dit, la loi. Celle qui appartient à la ligne droite du discours mathématique, qui n'accepte aucune déviation, qui est au-dessus de tous et de tout. Loi, rappelle Hugo, dont Daniel de Foë, qui a tâté du pilori, dit qu'elle a des mains de fer. La loi, ensemble de règles provenant de l'autorité souveraine qui entraîne pour tous les individus l'obligation de s'y soumettre sous peine de sanctions, s'entoure dans son application de tout un rituel théâtral dont la littérature, et particulièrement l'oeuvre de Hugo, fait l'écho.

Or, nombre des personnages de Hugo sont déclarés « hors-la-loi ». Nous étudierons dans notre présentation, et en parallèle, des dessins de Hugo, ses écrits philosophiques et des personnages de l'oeuvre hugolienne comme Gauvain (dans *Quatrevingt-treize*) ou Gwynplaine (dans *L'Homme qui rit*).

Il s'agira de montrer que l'oeuvre de Hugo oscille sans cesse entre absolu et idéal, que tout pèse et se pèse à la balance, au jeu d'écart du pendule, à la potence de l'estimation. On montrera alors que l'oeuvre tire sa force de la confrontation de deux « phares »: le phare de la civilisation et le phare de la révolution qui sont des contraires: la précision, la prévision, la géométrie, la prudence contre l'intuition, la divination, l'étrangeté, l'instinct surhumain. Avec charge pour l'oeuvre et le poète de répondre à la question posée par Cimourdain: « qu'y a-t-il donc au-dessus de la justice? ». Question qui fait surgir l'antagonisme présent entre le tribunal de l'équité et le tribunal de la conscience et qui en fait surgir d'autres: est-il toujours légitime d'obéir aux lois? Et quelles en sont les conséquences? C'est bien ces questions, que Victor Hugo lance à la littérature, et qui feront le sujet de notre présentation.

Xavier Bourdenet, Université Paris - Sorbonne / Paris 4

Le bandit héroïque: virilité, loi, pouvoir chez Stendhal [for session description, see **Moudileno**]

Aimée Boutin, Florida State University

Policing Noise: Complaints about Organs of Barbary

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the prefects of police of the city of Paris issued or renewed ordinances against city noises, notably organ grinders and players of *vielle* or hurdy gurdies. The ordinance of December 1831 for instance states that street musicians obstruct circulation and amass crowds that “trouble l'ordre” and impede “le repos public.” The ordinances attempt to crack down on the times and areas when and where street performers are permitted. Moreover the problem is heightened because law enforcement cannot easily identify those targeted by the complaints. Noise can be elusive precisely because it is pervasive.

This paper proposes to examine the representations of street musicians in popular sketches, especially those of Delphine de Girardin (*Lettres parisiennes*), Bertall (*Le Tiroir du diable*) and Maria D'Anspach in (*Le Prisme. Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*). I argue that these writings reveal a new sense of entitlement to a quiet interior and private space. Yet, the ear's inability to close itself (like the eye) is indicative of the domestic space's inevitable permeability. The authors' intolerance for the street noise, identified with other perceived threats to the domestic interior such as foreign immigration, poverty and vagrancy, helps us make sense of orders of perception and social sensibilities that would later, in Georg Simmel's theories for example, come to define bourgeois urban hyperacuity.

Luke Bouvier, University of Massachusetts Amherst

Jules Vallès and the Aesthetics of the Barricade

As Jules Vallès writes in *L'Insurgé*, his narrative of the Paris Commune, "Le bon à tirer, cela équivaut au commandement de « Feu! » à la barricade." For Vallès, the barricade is intimately linked to a particular conception of writing as resistance. In this paper, I examine Vallès's use of the barricade not only as a crucial figure in his account of the Commune, but also as a key formal element that pervades his writing practice throughout his autobiographical trilogy. Beginning with Vallès's childhood narrative, *L'Enfant*, and continuing through the professional and political mishaps of *Le Bachelier*, I trace the proliferation of figurative barricades and their use as a subversive, counter-discursive structuring element in Vallès's anti-novel of education, a narrative of the resistance to social and professional initiation. In this context, the figure of the barricade assumes meaning as an obstruction to narrative progress, as a rupture in the narrative line as figured by the path or street that will take on the wider sense of a resistance to narrative itself. Ultimately I extend this analysis of the breakdown of temporal and spatial linearity in Vallès's work to his creation of an aesthetic of cuts and fragments, which culminates in the chaotic scenes of barricade fighting in the final days of the Commune. Vallès's writing finally suggests that the barricade, like *L'Insurgé* itself, works to impede a certain "official" historical narrative that would seek to obliterate the memory of the Commune, a figure of resistance that attempts to delimit and protect a space of alternative historical memory.

Daniel Brant, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Colonial War in the French "Far-West:" Imperial Nationhood in Balzac's *Les Chouans* (1829)

By populating turn-of-the-century Brittany with peasant "savages," Balzac's early novel *Les Chouans* (1829) opposes notions of Frenchness to a "primitive," yet domestic, Other. In fact, the novel's defamiliarization of rustic Brittany into a contested colonial contact zone effectively eschews any stable bifurcation of metropole and colony. As a result, *Les Chouans* re-situates French modernity within concomitant imperial and colonial reorderings of global geography.

Largely inspired by Cooper's popular novel of the American frontier, *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), Balzac transposes the borderland context, not to Saint-Domingue/Haiti or to Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, two contemporary French imperial outposts, but, rather, to the French "Far-West" of provincial Brittany. This romanticized retelling of the defeat of royalist-peasant insurgents, or *Chouans*, against the revolutionary government weaves together melodrama, espionage, and high treason. Set against the backdrop of civil war and a displacement of colonial resistance from periphery to center, Balzac's text is a layered interrogation of nation and empire challenging the unity of such concepts as national identity, culture, and space.

I propose to focus my reading of *Les Chouans* on the construction of an interior borderland that frames space, community, culture and language as negotiated sites of internal domination and resistance. Published on the eve of France's new imperial turn with the 1830 invasion of Algeria, the novel's inscription of colonial hierarchies into the Hexagon reveals the colonial logic subtending French state-building and people-making projects. Inviting readers to

reconsider national consolidation through the order of empire, the novel ultimately foregrounds the internal divisions and oppositions that were the underside of a national ideology of assimilationism.

Pierre Bras, Centre College

« *La Peau de chagrin* de Balzac: le droit, métaphore de la vie »

On envisage généralement les rapports entre l'œuvre de Balzac et le droit en observant les personnages balzaciens qui appartiennent au monde juridique (avocat, notaire...) et/ou les grandes questions du droit que l'auteur expose (mariage, testament, transaction...). Dans mon étude de *La Peau de chagrin*, je montre que Balzac va plus loin encore dans son appropriation des ressources que lui offre le droit. En effet, l'auteur utilise le droit comme une source de métaphores, ce qui lui permet non seulement de renouveler les éléments formels du roman en les forgeant sur le droit, mais aussi de trouver parmi les mécanismes du droit, le moteur narratif de son roman. Dans *La Peau de chagrin*, cette métaphore et ce moteur du roman, c'est la lettre de change. Je montre en effet que, si Balzac a déclaré que la Peau représente la vie, cette Peau fonctionne comme un titre de créance: le héros emprunte sa vie, et la mort est son créancier. Cette analyse me permet alors de réévaluer la place de la Peau dans le roman: elle est simplement un acte qui contient une règle de fonctionnement, et n'est pas une entité avec laquelle Raphaël passerait un contrat infernal. Mettre en lumière l'appartenance de la Peau au registre du droit permet de montrer que ce qui prime, ce n'est pas ce texte, mais l'esprit de la religion catholique qui émane du portrait du Christ. *La Peau de chagrin* peut alors se lire comme un roman qui condamne l'interprétation littérale des textes.

Patrick Bray, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

“Map, Territory, Tourist: Ordering the Experience of National Space”

The homogenization and rationalization of French national space, which followed the industrial and political revolutions of the 19th century, met its greatest resistance in the form of the literary text. While the French Revolution divided the nation into *départements*, and the rise of capitalism commodified city space, a personal, affective relationship to places became jeopardized. Literary representations and responses to this alienated national space inscribe a multiplicity of spatial experiences that defy the orderly experience of space that is “tourism.”

Michel Houellebecq's latest novel, *La Carte et le territoire* (Prix Goncourt 2010), presents a similar dread of the “becoming tourist” and the transformation of France from a nation into a tourist site. The search for authenticity, first produced by the alienating forces of capitalism, has itself become commodified into extreme forms of tourism. As Marc Augé argues in *Domaines et châteaux*, the desire for an authentic experience of space and the past in the late 20th century is mediated inevitably by works of 19th-century French literature. Houellebecq's novel participates in this imaginary confusion of 19th-century literature with an authentic space by citing Balzac, Nerval, Baudelaire, Stendhal, Chateaubriand, and others while at the same time sharing in their obsession with maps. But *La Carte et le territoire* frees the reader from the idealization of the author's (and any author's) privileged experience by portraying the savage killing and dismemberment of Houellebecq himself.

In this talk I will look at works by Nerval (*Sylvie* and *Aurélia*) and Stendhal (*Mémoires d'un touriste*) that appear in Augé's and Houellebecq's meditations on maps, territory, and tourism. If, for Houellebecq's main character, "la carte est plus intéressante que le territoire," it is because a map is a text, like a novel, that not only describes existing space but allows us to imagine the possibility of new spaces.

Peter Brooks, Princeton University

Roundtable Moderator: "What I Didn't Learn in Graduate School"

Discussion will address the changing field of French studies from various perspectives: what has been lost and gained since you first became a professional in the field, what assumptions undermined, what pedagogies once relevant and now seen to repose on unacceptable assumptions. Who did you think you were addressing in your work at the time? Who do you now see as the audience for the work you do? And any other related questions. (See **Beizer, Cohen, Garelick, Samuels**)

Céline Brossillon, Williams College

The *fin-de-siècle* bachelor, or the trap of the libertine way of life

At the end of the 19th century, the bourgeois values consider it to be a civilian's duty to have a wife and children, and work towards "the extension of the family, the prolongation of the blood, of the heart and soul" of men, in a word, the extension of the human race [Maupassant, *Le Lit*]. The bachelor, refusing to live like a husband and father, denies his duty of procreation and fights the call of nature, or as Schopenhauer put it, the "trap." The libertine, this Narcissus incapable of envisioning a future beyond himself, having consciously chosen sterility, defies the laws of the bourgeois society who sees him as the epitome of vice.

The bachelor, after spending most of his life cultivating a desire for solitude, treating women like objects, and enjoying a sense of freedom, who managed to avoid a fatal fall into the "trap of nature", will come to realize that this very isolation will become his cell. Chasing after an ideal he can never reach, the bachelor finds himself trapped in his mind -looking at objects as representations of the Ideal Woman-, or trapped in his house -left with a double that haunts him, or a void which will lead him to taking his own life, the only way out of this incarceration. This outlaw who thought he could live outside of the boundaries defined by his society will pay his disrespect with his life.

Through a study of Guy de Maupassant's short stories, we will analyze the evolution of the bachelor from a libertine to a victim of his own self-imposed isolation.

Kathryn Brown, Tilburg University, Netherlands

Testing Pictorial Order: The Limits of Fictional Space in Nineteenth-Century French Painting

This paper analyzes nineteenth-century paintings that probe the boundary between the fictional space of the artwork and the real space of the viewer. Discussing works by Parisian avant-garde painters of the 1870s and 80s, with particular focus on Édouard Manet, Mary

Cassatt, and Edgar Degas, I examine a range of innovative confrontations between viewer and artwork and discuss compositional devices that pose a metaphoric threat to the integrity of fictional space. These range from the depiction of frontally positioned characters, gestures directed ‘towards’ the viewer, and figures whose bodily presence appears to erode the stability of the picture plane. While the abrupt truncation of lateral space by the physical frame of the painting has been much discussed in critical literature on Impressionist art, less attention has been paid to the aesthetic repercussions of probing the limit imposed by the picture plane itself. My aim, therefore, is to consider why nineteenth-century avant-garde artists explored this particular boundary with such persistence and to analyze the challenges that such visual experiments posed to ideas concerning ontological and pictorial order. I locate this exploration of limits against a range of nineteenth-century and contemporary critical articulations of spectatorship. These include Charles Harrison’s interrogation of the physical relationship of viewer to visual fiction, Richard Wollheim’s arguments for the role of an internal spectator in painting, and Michael Fried’s controversial suggestion that Manet’s works simultaneously solicit the viewer and make him or her supererogatory to the depicted scene. Such questions about the role of the viewer are, I argue, forced upon us by nineteenth-century artists’ innovative probing of the boundaries of fictional space.

Clint Bruce, Brown University

Désordres civils, troubles narratifs: *Marilisse* du romancier haïtien Frédéric Marcelin

Dans les dernières années du XIX^e siècle, la société haïtienne entre dans une crise profonde. Des décennies de négligence de la part d’une classe dirigeante peu soucieuse du bien-être collectif, exacerbée par le néocolonialisme rapace des puissances étrangères, portent alors leurs fruits amers: les coups d’État se multiplient sur fond d’une spirale d’instabilité sociale, signes de l’implosion qui servira de prétexte à l’occupation militaire d’Haïti par les États-Unis à partir de 1915. C’est dans ce contexte d’urgence que, après des débuts hésitants, le roman haïtien connaîtra un véritable essor grâce au groupe d’écrivains dits « nationaux ». [Avec Frédéric Marcelin, les principaux représentants du « roman national » sont Fernand Hibbert (1873-1928), Antoine Innocent (1874-1960) et Justin Lhérisson (1873-1907).] En s’appropriant l’esthétique réaliste-naturaliste, leurs œuvres posent sur la vie haïtienne un regard désabusé et souvent caustique.

Après avoir brocardé les institutions haïtiennes dans *Thémistocle-Épaminondas Labasterre* (1901) et *La Vengeance de Mama* (1902), c’est au petit peuple de Port-au-Prince que s’intéresse Frédéric Marcelin (1848-1917) dans son troisième roman, *Marilisse* (1903). À travers le personnage de la belle lavandière Marilisse, campée avec une sollicitude empreinte d’humour, nous suivons l’existence de la femme haïtienne qui prend son destin en main, malgré la précarité qui guette.

Mon analyse de *Marilisse* s’articulera en deux mouvements. Ayant exposé le contexte et l’œuvre, je situerai les représentations des désordres civils qui ponctuent le roman, par rapport aux théories contemporaines de la violence publique et de la psychologie des foules (Le Bon, Fournial). J’examinerai ensuite les répercussions au niveau formel de la prise en charge de cette thématique: des éléments qui perturbent le récit jusqu’à en annoncer une certaine déstructuration, autant de troubles narratifs propres à ce réalisme haïtien aux prises avec les vicissitudes de son temps. En conclusion, ma réflexion tiendra compte du choix de Marcelin de faire éditer son

roman à Paris, loin de ses compatriotes qui ne manquèrent pourtant pas de s'indigner des critiques véhiculées par l'œuvre.

Gülru Çakmak, University of Massachusetts Amherst

Crime and Heroism in Modern Times: Jean-Léon Gérôme's *Sortie d'un bal masqué* (1857)

In his seminal *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris pendant la première moitié du XIX^e siècle*, Louis Chevalier highlights a discourse of crime that dominated newspapers, social studies and literature in the first half of the century, and subsequently lost its hegemony under the Second Empire. In my paper I shall demonstrate that, after the 1848 Revolution and in the early years of the Second Empire, the terminology of crime used in previous decades to associate criminality with lower classes (“*ruelle*,” “*tripot*,” “*filouterie*,” “*barbares*,” “*sauvage*”) was deployed to mobilize new types of modern political heroism. My case study will be the critical reception of a painting by one of the most popular artists of the Second Empire: *Sortie d'un bal masqué* (1857, Musée Condé) by Jean-Léon Gérôme. The painting shows six figures in the aftermath of a duel: Pierrot in the throes of death, having been slayed by a figure dressed as a Native American. Gérôme's Pierrot—based on the pantomime artist Jean-Gaspard Deburau, declared *Pierrot le peuple* by Jules Janin as early as in 1832—emulated an iconic representation of revolutionary heroism, *La mort de Marat* (1793) by Jacques-Louis David. The imagery of crooks conjured by various critics to define Gérôme's Native American drew on the cultural imagery's definition of a criminal lower class, one that carried the imprints of James Fennimore Cooper, Eugène Sue, and Victor Hugo. If Gérôme's painting shows *Pierrot le peuple* slain by *un sauvage de Paris*, the critical reception of this painting demonstrates that, even if mid-century social research and literature did not solely focus on class roots of criminality anymore, the language and imagery had been internalized, and would be appropriated to depict dandies disguised as criminals in a painting of modern life that represented contemporary heroism of *le peuple*.

Frédéric Canovas, Arizona State University

En Ordre dispersé: Réactions Françaises à l'affaire Oscar Wilde

Selon le philosophe Daniel Salvatore-Schiffer, la récente affaire autour du cinéaste Roman Polanski présenterait certaines similitudes avec l'affaire Oscar Wilde qui déchaîna la presse anglaise au cours de l'année 1895: un artiste reconnu se voit pris pour cible dans une affaire de mœurs plus ou moins établie où les faits et les personnes mis en cause paraissent moins importants que l'enjeu social et moral dont relèvent ces affaires. Pour Daniel Salvatore-Schiffer, à plus d'un siècle d'écart la justice se servirait de ces affaires, dans un cas comme dans l'autre, pour faire un exemple et empêcher toute réflexion possible de la part de la société, et plus particulièrement des intellectuels, sur certaines questions certes délicates mais qui demandent néanmoins à être débattues.

Dans *L'Immoraliste* (1902), André Gide évoquait, à propos du personnage de Ménalque, confident de Michel, le protagoniste du roman, « un absurde, un honteux procès à scandale [qui] avait été pour les journaux une commode occasion de le salir ». L'allusion à l'affaire Oscar Wilde est ici à peine voilée et situe le débat sur la place de l'homosexuel dans la société de la fin

du XIX^e siècle au cœur du roman. D'ailleurs ce dernier s'ouvre sur la question suivante: « En quoi Michel peut-il servir l'état? » C'est à travers les articles parus dans la presse française lors de l'affaire Oscar Wilde, notamment ceux de Gide dans les revues *L'Ermitage* et *Le Mercure de France*, où Remy de Gourmont et Rachilde prennent eux aussi régulièrement la défense de la cause homosexuelle, que nous proposons de répondre à la question sur laquelle s'ouvre *L'Immoraliste*. Nous verrons comment les commentaires sur l'affaire Oscar Wilde représentent pour la presse française des toutes dernières années du XIX^e siècle autant d'occasion de réitérer une condamnation de l'homosexuel, ou bien inversement de tenter d'esquisser ce que pourrait être la place de l'homosexuel dans la société de l'époque.

On peut affirmer que l'affaire Oscar Wilde aura permis, en rouvrant le débat sur l'homosexualité, de faire progresser la cause de cette dernière au moins en augmentant de manière sensible sa visibilité dans la presse. Devenue sujet de conversation, l'homo-sexualité se fraye une place dans les débats, au moins dans certaines sphères de la société proches des artistes et des intellectuels: au-delà du discours répressif de la justice sur l'homosexualité, souvent repris en fanfare par la presse, et du discours stigmatisant de la médecine, dont on retrouve les échos jusque dans les romans de Paul Bonnetain, se profile un autre discours qui se veut aussi une alternative aux conceptions légales et médicales de l'homosexualité qui dominent encore les façons de penser et de représenter.

Brandon Carroll, Université de Guelph

« La puissance de l'amour et du mensonge »: Etude du journal intime et de la correspondance de Georges Hérelle (1848-1935).

Dans une série de belles lettres adressées à Félix Bourget, entre 1869 et 1873, Georges Hérelle s'interroge sur la dimension éthique des "amitiés de collègue" (euphémisme qui désigne les relations homosexuelles). Le 17 mars 1873, par exemple, il s'exprime dans les termes suivants: "Nos mœurs, pour des raisons très complexes, ne tolèrent plus cet amour. Il faut donc, ou le rejeter, ou le cacher. Si on le rejette, il pourra rester encore je ne sais quel vernis d'amitié littéraire, ou une association d'affaires, ou une complicité de plaisirs, mais rien pour les sentiments intimes de cœur. Si on le cache, on se classe volontairement parmi les honteux de la société, parmi ceux qui cherchent l'ombre, parmi ceux qui vivent en cachette." Comment caractériser une telle attitude?

Dans son journal intime, commencé vers la même période, dans les années 1870, il se montre écrivain talentueux, lorsqu'il consacre plusieurs pages à ce qu'il appelle "l'étrange action du désir". Il invente, vers 1890, un questionnaire "scientifique" dont il se sert pour interroger quelques amis homosexuels au sujet de leur histoire personnelle et familiale et des antécédents de leur "désir". Les textes qui résultent de l'enquête font revivre un microcosme unique et fascinant de la société française "fin-de-siècle", accompagnés de l'examen de conscience, parfois douloureuse, que fait Hérelle de lui-même, dans ses commentaires sur les réponses au questionnaire de ses amis. "Tout me fascine, même ma propre douleur", écrit-il. "Le désir" continue à le fasciner, toujours dans les années 1890, quand il se rend plusieurs fois en Italie et écrit ses *Notes de voyage*. En fait, il s'agit d'enquêtes qui ont pour objet de garder la trace des conversations qu'Hérelle entretient avec de jeunes prostitués italiens, rencontrés, au hasard dans la rue, à Naples et à Rome. Notre objectif, dans cette communication, est de suivre l'évolution, entre 1870 et 1895, des attitudes d'Hérelle envers l'homosexualité, principalement dans sa

correspondance et son journal intime, de manière à répondre clairement à la question suivante: s'agit-il d'un exemple de ce que Kristeva appelle "l'abject", à savoir de "l'homophobie" dirigée par Hérelle contre lui-même et ses amis?

Amélie Chabrier, Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier III

Représentations de la Justice dans la chronique judiciaire

L'émergence de la chronique judiciaire dans la presse au XIX^e siècle participe de ce que Dominique Kalifa a appelé la « culture du crime ». Genre relativement nouveau puisque né de la publicité des débats judiciaires en 1789, il répond au désir d'un public, qui n'a pas pu pénétrer dans l'enceinte restreinte du prétoire, de connaître les détails des débats. En 1825, la Gazette des tribunaux, premier journal spécialisé dans le domaine judiciaire, cite en guise de modèle le Moniteur, « journal officiel destiné spécialement à rapporter les débats législatifs dans toute leur intégrité ». Ce quotidien se veut donc, grâce aux comptes rendus sténographiés, une restitution fidèle et transparente des procès, participant ainsi à la construction d'une représentation rigoriste de la Justice. De plus, en montrant une institution qui triomphe du crime, la chronique judiciaire entend jouer un rôle moralisateur, mettre en garde les lecteurs, et les dissuader de mal agir. Cependant, à côté de ce conservatisme, on note l'émergence de discours obliques à propos du système judiciaire, qui accompagnent les mutations poétiques de l'article. Ainsi, l'inscription progressive du chroniqueur dans son texte semble entraîner l'apparition de commentaires critiques sur les discours ou l'attitude des gens de justice. A la manière d'un critique littéraire, le journaliste donne son avis sur la qualité de tel interrogatoire ou tel plaidoirie; à la manière d'un caricaturiste, il livre le portrait d'un juge renfrogné ou d'un avocat ridicule.

De même l'infaillibilité de l'institution peut être remise en question par des rubriques qui récupèrent d'anciens comptes rendus et révèlent des erreurs judiciaires. Devant une justice inopérante, le journaliste devient alors lui-même justicier.

Enfin, faisant contrepoint au long compte rendu objectif et sérieux, de petites formes brèves apparaissent, proposant à l'intérieur du quotidien un espace de renversement des valeurs par le rire. Ainsi l'autorité du Président de séance, habituellement mise en valeur grâce à l'usage du discours direct, peut être tournée en dérision par les répliques irrévérencieuses de prévenus, élevés, le temps d'un article, en héros du tribunal.

Ce sont donc ces discours déviants ou dissonants que nous souhaiterions analyser dans cette communication, à partir du postulat que la littérisation de l'article a tenu un rôle dans la progressive distanciation critique des journalistes vis à vis de la Justice.

Véronique Chagnon-Burke, Christie's Education, New York

Chaos at the Paris Salon: The Politicization of Art Criticism During the July Monarchy

During the July Monarchy (1830-1848), the Paris Salon provided a yearly opportunity for art critics to evaluate the standing of the French School. As the Salon was the major public forum to discuss contemporary art; art critics implicitly accepted that the health of the cultural life reflected the health of the nation. By the 1830s, the use of culturally coded discourse had become a real tradition, practiced by writers to avoid censorship; art critics created culturally coded discourses in which praising of damning art could be read as the equivalent of praising of damning the government.. While art criticism was always a privileged place to articulate

dissenting or conformist political engagement; the extreme politicization of French art can only be attributed in part to the fact that most Salon reviews were published in the daily newspapers, which had clear political affiliations.

Looking at the art criticism published during the annual Paris Salon; especially the rhetoric around the fact that for many critics the Salon had become a bazaar, a place where chaos reigned, this paper proposed to investigate how critics across the political spectrum saw the Salon as a place to articulate major criticisms about the state of French Art. There was indeed an omnipresent obsession equally distributed between the members of the aristocracy, those of the middle-class faithful to Louis-Philippe and those of the middle-class opposition. All seemed obsessed with the idea that the Salon was becoming a bazaar that works of art were being transformed into commodities, and that artists were catering to a bourgeois taste for genre, portraits and landscape painting. By looking at what critics from different political opinions meant by bazaar and chaos, I hope to illustrate how art criticism during the three months that the Salon lasted, put artistic production at the center of French political life, and how the use of similar rhetorical tropes supported very different ideological agendas.

Philippe Chavasse, Rochester Institute of Technology

Méditations avortées dans *La Femme de Paul*

La Femme de Paul de Maupassant met en scène une rêverie contemplative qui induit un désordre insoutenable. A plusieurs reprises dans la nouvelle, le personnage de Paul est décrit comme captivé par un de ces vagabondages de l'esprit abandonné à une errance méditative au contact de la nature et de la femme aimée. Que cette ouverture sur le monde, l'autre et soi-même aboutisse au suicide est le signe d'un inachèvement et de l'incapacité pour Paul, fils de sénateur figurant un ordre bourgeois dans ce lieu de débauche qu'est l'île de la Grenouillère, de faire face à une évidente dépossession, la perte de la femme aimée retrouvée dans les bras de Pauline et la perte de soi et des valeurs forgées par la classe d'origine. Maupassant raconte l'acheminement d'une tension, tension d'ordre essentiellement sexuel, qui en l'absence de la possibilité d'une décharge libératrice trouve sa résolution dans l'anéantissement. Nous nous intéresserons dans cette communication à la faiblesse de ce regard intérieur et aux enjeux de la limite imposée par l'auteur à l'expérience d'une communion panthéiste. Nous verrons comment cette vision étroite met un frein à l'intrigue, le dérèglement des organes et des sens se substituant à la saisie du réel, qui est offert comme une évidence inacceptable. Aux incontournables lois de la nature, Maupassant préfère la mise en scène des mirages de l'émotion. L'hypersexualité, la folie et la mort transcendent ainsi la simple existence, jugée terrifiante.

Timothy Chesters, Royal Holloway, University of London

'Le crime en son char de triomphe': Flaubert reads Corneille's *Médée*

At heart, the trial of *Madame Bovary* is a protest at the triumph of a criminal. Emma may have died towards the close of Flaubert's novel, but the suspicion remained that the grotesque vitality of her imagination a force to which nothing and nobody in her story seems able to offer an adequate reply may have uncannily outlived the body of its owner. What if it infected other impressionable young wives?

Two hundred years previously, an analogous question hung over Flaubert's fellow Rouennais, Pierre Corneille. Like Flaubert's début novel, Corneille's first tragedy, *Médée* (premiered in 1635), features a criminal heroine whose force of personality decisively outstrips the mediocrity of her surroundings. Worse still, Médée goes unpunished at the end of her story, hoisted from the stage and away across the sky in her triumphal chariot.

These parallels would be of little interest were it not that, of all the tragedies contained in Flaubert's annotated copy of Corneille (still housed at the Mairie of Canteleu-Croisset), *Médée* is the one that he has marked with most attention. And not only the play itself: also heavily underscored are several moments in Voltaire's notoriously critical commentary, which targets *Médée*'s supposed transgressions of tragedy as genre. As with Flaubert's readings of other Corneille plays, it is probable that these markings date from the early 1850s, the preparatory phase of *Madame Bovary*.

In my paper I shall argue that Flaubert's annotations on *Médée* suggest a prolonged meditation on the female criminal, the infectious power of reading, and the laws to be followed or flouted in the launching of a literary reputation.

Mary Beth Clack, Harvard University

The Scholar's Workstation: Sources and Resources in the Digital Landscape [Technology and Pedagogy Panel]

Stéphanie Clément, University of Colorado, Boulder

La mer, la montagne et la loi chez Michelet: l'impossible législation de la profondeur?

La Mer et *La Montagne* sont deux guides de loi. En effet, Michelet tire de ses observations naturalistes des principes auxquels il accorde une valeur législative. Appui solide à l'homme d'un siècle malade, ces lois devront permettre sa régénération. Pour accéder à ce domaine juridique cependant, les surfaces de la mer et de la montagne étant trompeuses, il faut sonder le dessous.

C'est le rapport des profondeurs et de la loi que nous étudierons afin de montrer comment le texte travaille à établir une législation. En s'engageant dans les profondeurs, Michelet sollicite son imagination, de type analogique, pour révéler les lois. Ce travail aboutit à un renversement qui marque sa limite: l'auteur a beau nous déclarer que les lois de la mer et de la montagne fondent ses livres, ce sont finalement ses fictions nées d'un désir de sens et de transcendance qui les fondent. Cette étude de la profondeur mettra donc en avant la tension inévitable, voire l'impossible, de la tentative de Michelet, tension peut-être révélée malgré l'auteur lui-même lorsqu'il se demande si la profondeur a un fond: profondeur sans fondement autre que celui, immanent, de la fiction donc?

Nous étudierons d'abord les principes en vertu desquels la mer et la montagne possèdent un pouvoir législatif sur la société des hommes. Nous ferons appel à une 'loi' de lecture, celle qui gouverne Michelet quand il déchiffre le monde et qui est de nature allégorique. Puis nous examinerons les lois des profondeurs marines et terrestres auxquelles doit obéir la société humaine. Enfin, de la même manière que Michelet invite à 'remonter' jusqu'aux fonds marins et terrestres, nous remonterons jusqu'à l'origine du droit des profondeurs: délicate question du

fondement et de sa légitimité que le texte pose, comme malgré lui, et qui fait se fissurer l'édifice micheletiste.

William Cloonan, Florida State University

The Straining of Laws, Natural and Cultural in *L'Eve future*

Villiers de l'Isle-Adam's *L'Eve future* can be read in a variety of ways: as one of the first examples of science fiction in France, as a misogynist rant, as an attack on the triumphal march of scientific progress in the nineteenth-century. Yet recent scholarship devoted to the French anti-modern tradition (Antoine Compagnon) and to anti-Americanism in general (Philippe Roger) permit a reconsideration of this somewhat neglected novel. In this paper I will argue that *L'Eve future* should be viewed as a subtle cautionary tale, a warning, not about the growth of scientific thinking, but rather about the grave danger of the positive potential of scientific experimentation being placed in the hands of people lacking in emotional maturity and cultural sophistication.

It is not by chance that the novel is set in the United States and that an American "genius" stands at its center. Thomas Edison is a person of enormous scientific intellect and achievement, but due to personal and national weaknesses, he is unaware that his gifts are part of a Faustian bargain where a wrong decision, a misuse of his talents, can create a hell on earth. While Edison is a man of towering intellect, he is totally lacking in emotional maturity as is evidenced by his condemnation of women. Essentially he finds women at fault for being human beings, sexual creatures, subject to human vanity and fearful of the aging process. Creatures who know they inhabit a man's world where their beauty can attract attention, but without an intelligent use of their physical charms they will be unable to succeed. Edison's inability to have any understanding of what it means to be a woman in a male-dominated society, and more generally what it means to be a human being, makes him a dangerous conduit for the advancement of scientific progress.

Similarly, as an American he lacks respect for the European traditions of learning and culture. Villiers is certainly following de Tocqueville in his description of the American as bright, but impatient, wanting to move forward as quickly as possible without undue concern for the implications of one's acts. Far from being a condemnation of science, *L'Eve future* is a repudiation of an individual and a nation moving relentlessly forward, heedless of the natural and cultural laws which had provided structure and order to the pace of Western development in the past.

Margaret Cohen, Stanford University

"What I Didn't Learn in Graduate School" Roundtable [see **Brooks**]

Melanie Conroy, Stanford University

Above the Law: Reviving the Marquise de Brinvilliers

Considering the various attempts in the nineteenth century to retell the events leading up to the seventeenth-century *affaire des poisons*, including Eugène Scribe and Castil-Blaze's

libretto for the opera *La marquise de Brinvilliers* (1831), Alexandre Dumas's *La marquise de Brinvilliers* (1841), and Émile Gaboriau's *Amours d'une empoisonneuse* (1881), this paper asks why aristocratic villains and noble conspiracies remained popular after the revolutionary heyday of anti-aristocratic propaganda. It argues that the notion of a tiny elite that could control events and go beyond legal constraints was fascinating in an era of increasing legalism. Audiences and readers reveled in the possibility that elite figures were orchestrating unlikely events at all times, even when they were later punished for their infractions.

La Marquise de Brinvilliers, like many Restoration-style operas presented in the early 1830s, was unlucky to represent an older aesthetic at a time when audiences wanted more authentic historical representations. Dumas later rewrote the same incident into a best-selling novel, the last installment of *Crimes célèbres*, that did just this: exploit the horror of the marquise's crimes and the difficulty of catching and prosecuting her, portraying Brinvilliers as seductive, but ultimately evil. Gaboriau's historical detective novel was even more successful in its exploitation of the acts of one woman against nature and the laws of the family. This new myth of the *empoisonneuse* that emerges in these fictions was an effective condensation of the desire for unique and amoral individuals to betray social laws and "bourgeois" moral norms. Like all demonic characters, the *empoisonneuse* had the potential to excite because she was capable of just about anything: she combined greater-than-average means with total depravity. This freedom from norms made her immensely exciting. The *empoisonneuse*, therefore, retained a part of the audience or the reader's sympathy, even as she committed unspeakable acts.

Leo Costello, Rice University

The Absence of Subject and Delacroix's *Women of Algiers*, 1834

When it was exhibited in 1834, much of the critical discussion of Eugène Delacroix's *Women of Algiers* centered upon its apparent lack of subject. This was partly a relief to critics, who had found in his earlier *Death of Sardanapulus* a literal excess of form, which seemed to flaunt its refusal of academic standards. The apparent lack of significant narrative content in *Women of Algiers* has also been the subject of subsequent critical commentary. Twentieth century viewers have understood it either as a marker of the picture's modernity and its interest in visual rather than thematic content or from a post-colonial perspective as a sign of its participation in justifications for the French colonial project by insisting on the moral decrepitude of the Islamic Other.

This paper, however, will complicate this picture by considering more fully the degree to which we may see lack, absence, and nothingness as the very subject of the *Women of Algiers*. It will ask: How did the interior of a North African harem become the site for the exploration of the means by which nothingness could be depicted in paint? And what were the aesthetic, cultural and political stakes of the subject of nothing in 1834? The answers to these questions will speak to the interlinked discourses of colonialism, gender, and metaphysics in aesthetic discourse of the early nineteenth century.

[For session description, see **Harter**]

Andrew Counter, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge

Always Uncertain: The Presumption of Paternity in Two Fins de Siecle

The notorious three-hundred-and-twelfth article of the French Civil Code of 1804 – “l’enfant conçu pendant le mariage a pour père le mari” – has a long and august history. The direct descendant of the Roman Law principle of *justae nuptiae* (itself a formalization of much older customary traditions), the presumption of paternity embodied in article 312 has existed in different forms and in different jurisdictions for millennia. Its role across that span of time has ostensibly varied very little. In all cases, we might say, such provisions seek to resolve by means of a convenient legal fiction the epistemological difficulty that was until very recently inherent in all attributions of paternity: *pater semper incertus est*. And yet it is clear that the social, affective, ideological and symbolic consequences of this single legal artefact will vary enormously between different cultures and historical moments. My paper will contrast two of these: late nineteenth-century France, of course, on the one hand; and the late twentieth-century United States, on the other.

The US Supreme Court’s ruling in the 1989 case *Michael H. v. Gerald D.* upheld the constitutionality of a California statute which imposed a conclusive presumption of spousal paternity nearly identical to that established by article 312 of the Civil Code of 1804. Fundamental to the rationale of Justice Scalia’s plurality opinion, which made extensive reference to nineteenth-century jurisprudence, was the assumption that such provisions exist to ensure the stability of the so-called “unitary family” in the face of attempts to undermine it by malicious outsiders – that is, by putative illegitimate fathers. My paper will contrast this assumption with the evidence provided by late nineteenth-century French discourse about article 312, and especially with the obsessive attention paid to it in the work of Guy de Maupassant, to show that, to the nineteenth-century mind, it was on the contrary *husbands* who posed the greatest threat to the unitary family by their presumed willingness to repudiate – rightly or wrongly – their wives’ offspring. The advantage of such a comparison, beyond the satisfaction of correcting shoddy history, lies in its ability to illustrate the evolution of conceptions of the family and of the ideology of familialism between these two *fin de siècle*: while in 1880, the apparently obvious function of the presumption of paternity was to compel certain men to act as fathers, even against their will, the same legal object serves in the 1980s to adjudicate as to which of a range of passionately interested men will enjoy the supposedly incontestable privilege of fatherhood. This, we can agree, is an outcome Maupassant himself would scarcely have predicted – but then in questions of paternity, nothing is ever certain.

Mary Jane Cowles, Kenyon College

Adolphe and the Law of Jouissance

Benjamin Constant’s *Adolphe* (1816) portrays a man caught in relationship with a woman whom he does not love, but whom, in an effort to prevent or minimize her suffering, he dares not abandon. “Sa position et celle d’Ellénore étaient sans ressource, et c’est précisément ce que j’ai voulu,” writes Constant in his preface to the second edition (Pléiade, 1957, 8). Critics have emphasized the role of guilt, the temptations of freedom, the destructive power of language, and the divisive and hypocritical nature of social expectations in their analyses of the protagonist’s dilemma. Yet relatively little attention has been paid to the source of the relationship: why is Adolphe initially drawn to Ellénore, and how does this explain why he cannot abandon her? What motivates his desire to seduce, his short-lived passion, and his paralyzing disenchantment?

The foundational maxim of the novel can begin to provide some answers: “Cela leur fait si peu de mal, et à nous tant de plaisir”. Although the novel itself seems to belie the truth of this aphorism, it is, in fact, the law that structures the protagonist’s desire. As Lacan points out repeatedly (in Seminar X, for example), the primordial law is *jouissance*. “*Dieu me demande de jouir—textuel*” (95). “[C]es termes qui paraissent se poser dans un rapport d’antithèse, le désir et la loi, ne sont qu’une seule et même barrière [...]” (98). What is especially interesting in the case of *Adolphe* is that this law comes into play in the absence of the corresponding paternal interdiction; the mother, who would be the object of that interdiction, is absent. The interdiction does not function without the object that serves as its support. The mother, through her absence, represents the phantom law that binds Adolphe.

Alex Csiszar, Harvard University

“Men and Things and Thoughts Also Would Be Catalogued”: Reconsidering Foucault on the History of Classification

Among the enduring accomplishments of Foucault’s *Les mots et les choses* was that it opened up the history of systems of classification understood simultaneously as regimes of knowledge production and of institutional ordering. Foucault showed that in the shift from the classical to the modern episteme, just what classification was taken to reveal – and what it was for – underwent a sweeping, consequential transformation. Since then, classification has developed into a central analytic tool for those wishing to demonstrate the co-construction of natural and social orders – including studies of infrastructure, standardization, and bureaucracy. This paper will argue, however, that as the historicity of classification gave way to anthropologies of particular classificatory regimes, the historical ambition of Foucault’s original project became increasingly neglected. In order to illustrate what it might mean to bring history back into Foucauldian analyses of classification, I will sketch a further turn made by classification at the turn of the twentieth century – a turn that was encapsulated by a slogan of Durkheim and Mass (1902) who argued that the classifications of things reproduced the classifications of men. At the same time, Alphonse Bertillon combined anthropology and bibliography in a system for cataloguing the bodies of convicts, the young French philosopher Emile Goblot argued that the fundamental logical relations were really social relations, and the mathematician Henri Poincaré argued that the force of many laws of nature derived from their being held by collectives as conventional shared classifications. If in the shift to the modern episteme classification and nomenclature diverged, in the new regime they were once again joined together, as the epistemic force of classifications came increasingly to derive precisely from their proximity to systems of collective or social ordering. As a bridge between how knowledge is produced and how social institutions are stabilized, this view would have profound consequences during the twentieth century.

Lesley S. Curtis, University of New Hampshire

« L’Ennemi déclaré de la loi de Jésus-Christ »: Christianity as Law in the Abolitionism of Sophie Doin

Because she converted to Protestantism upon marrying her husband, Sophie Doin (1800-1846) occupies a unique position as a French abolitionist of the early nineteenth century. Writing in the 1820s, a time during which abolitionist movements were slowly regaining strength, Doin formulated radical anti-slavery arguments based on her profound religious belief. Very few scholars, however, have analyzed the connection between Doin's religion and her abolitionism. In this paper, I analyze Doin's *La Famille noire suivie de trois nouvelles blanches et noires* (1825) as a text that refuses any distinction between narration and interpretation or between real and imagined stories of human suffering. Similarly, I conclude, because Christianity, for Doin, forms a legal system by which to measure the morality of human action, her abolitionism cannot be separated from her religion. At a time when most pro-colonial lobbyists ignored the violence of enslavement in order to preclude any understanding of slave revolt as the result of provocation, Doin, I argue, defined "the law of Jesus Christ" as fundamentally nonviolent, thereby creating an effective tool by which to make the violence of slavery visible.

Juliette Dade, Bucknell University

Legally Impotent Husbands: Policing Lesbians in Belot, Maizeroy, and Maupassant

In the 1870's and 80's, novels by Belot, Maizeroy, and Maupassant, among others, presented the unfortunate fate of husbands who married the "wrong kind of woman." The recent creation of the terms "homosexual" and "lesbian" and the publication of medical tracts on the subject, as well as the publicity surrounding various celebrated Parisian lesbians, added to the popularity of the subject matter. One of the frustrations presented in the novels was the lack of legal recourse available to the husband: he could neither control his own marital situation nor could he have his wife's lesbian lover arrested. Furthermore, he could not defend his honor by challenging her lover to a duel. In this context, lesbians seemed to exist outside of both judicial and social law.

This lack of definition of the lesbian's place in society, outrageous as it was to the bourgeois class who was just discovering that lesbianism was not merely an issue among prostitutes and the lower classes, created an ambiguous situation for the husband, stymied by the shame of publically admitting that his marriage was a failure and by the inability to remedy the matter at home. Consequently, husbands organized their own judicial system, in which they acted as judge, jury, and henchman. Although the declared message of the novels valorizes this system, one can detect another, underlying message, which chastises the men for placing themselves in the situation in the first place. This instability of the book's message seems to be a result of the impotence of the legal system to criminalize lesbians.

Marlene Daut, Claremont College

The Color of Virtue: Moreau de Saint-Méry and *La Mulâtre comme il y a beaucoup de blanches* (1803)

In this essay, I examine the connection between romantic and revolutionary violence in what might be called the first Haitian novel, the anonymously published epistolary romance, *La Mulâtre comme il y a beaucoup de blanches* (1803), or *The Mulatta, as Virtuous as any White Woman*. Drawing on Srinivas Aravamudan's (1999) usage of the scene of reading or rather

whom we imagine to be reading a text as a primary category of inquiry, I wonder how our understandings of a text might change based on the scene of writing. If *La Mulâtre* were not only the first Haitian novel, but also the only record left to us by a free woman of color from Saint-Domingue, how would it fill a void in our current knowledge of the myriad perspectives and reactions of the various people who experienced and then wrote about the Haitian Revolution? I argue that through the character of Mimi the author rejects theories put forth by eighteenth-century travel writers about the dangerous, deviant, and singular sexual agency of mixed-race women. Many travel writers like Moreau de Saint-Méry had claimed that mixed-race women and their children were responsible for colonial libertinage and eventually the onset of revolution in Saint-Domingue. The author of *La Mulâtre*, however, challenges these widely repeated claims by setting up a “colonial family romance,” which positioned white colonists like the protagonist’s father as bad parents to their mixed-race daughters and thus as bad French citizens who were themselves responsible for the Haitian Revolution. Such a reversal is intimately linked to the early Haitian literary tradition, which was often characterized by an authorial goal of correcting the incorrect historical record being produced in all kinds of European tracts on revolutionary Saint-Domingue. The author of *La Mulâtre* thus provides not only a *légitime défense* for women of color, but also imagines a hitherto denied active role for her in the events of the Haitian Revolution.

Daniel Desormeaux, University of Chicago

La Loi et l’ordre dans *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* de Dumas

La loi et l’ordre, on le sait, sont au cœur de l’histoire d’Edmond Dantès qui, après avoir jailli miraculeusement des catacombes du château d’If où des envieux et des intrigants l’avaient précipité, fait de la vengeance l’unique préoccupation de son existence et de la haine une obligation morale. Dans son roman, Dumas ne s’évertue pas seulement à divertir le lecteur avec tous les invraisemblables stratagèmes employés par un justicier qui cherche à punir de gros méchants à la tête la haute société parisienne, il disserte sérieusement sur les lois de la vengeance qui devrait rétablir l’ordre transgressé dans une société gangrenée par l’hypocrisie et la corruption. Aussi assiste-t-on derrière le retour prodigieux de Dantès au choc de deux approches contradictoires de la justice criminelle: celle du procureur Villefort qui règne sans partage sur l’univers étriqué du système judiciaire traditionnel mais qui n’est qu’un criminel en puissance dont les réquisitoires sont toujours impitoyables envers les accusés, qu’ils soient innocents ou coupables, et ensuite celle de Monte-Cristo qui choisit d’opérer en marge des institutions, entend détruire l’image de la Providence et subsumer l’apparente rigueur de la Justice par une justice personnelle, sans cœur et sans pitié. Dans une joute juridique qui l’oppose au procureur, Monte-Cristo raille systématiquement les faiblesses du code pénal en multipliant les impasses morales: que représente le crime dans une société où des criminels deviennent les parfaits garants de la loi? Qu’est-ce qu’une justice sans rémission? Qui, dans la société, est moralement en mesure de juger ou de punir? D’où vient cette liberté de châtier autrui? Ce qui est remis en cause dans le roman, c’est le fondement de la loi et de l’ordre établi, autrement dit la légitimité d’un système qui s’arroge le pouvoir d’accuser et de condamner. Notre communication s’interrogera sur le fondement anthropologique d’une certaine justice que Dumas (un auteur dont les contemporains n’ont cessé pas de condamner l’immoralité et les actes) semble vouloir dénoncer au-delà des arguties légales de Monte-Cristo.

Pauline de Tholozany, Gettysburg College

Defying the laws of savoir-vivre: a maladroit's guide to civility

“Contre les maladroits, on est sans force”: thus starts the chapter on “tact” in Louise d’Alq’s *Nouveau savoir vivre universel*. Tact and its opposite, clumsiness, play a crucial but ambiguous role in the civility manuals of the nineteenth century. As an instinctive quality of reactivity and intuition, tact, unlike good manners, cannot be taught or confined to a set of rules; and as an involuntary deficient response or action, *la maladresse* cannot be contained either. No injunction, no rule or general law can prevent it, nor can any conventional, appropriate, or stable reaction towards the maladroit be defined.

As such, *la maladresse* resists and challenges the legitimacy of civility itself: while civility treatises speak of clumsiness as the social plague *par excellence*, they are at pains to define it and place it in the set of rules that they propose. This paper will look at the protean concept of *la maladresse* and the role that it plays in the prescriptive civility manuals of the period. As both physical clumsiness and social awkwardness, *la maladresse* in French is, paradoxically, both an accident and the intrinsic quality of a person. It can hardly be confined to a stable definition and system of value: it is both the sign of sincerity and the impossibility to convey it, both an accident and a latent characteristic, both the result of ineptitude and the necessary instrument in the subject’s learning of agility and social adequacy.

French civility manuals of the nineteenth century are very prescriptive and specific: authors list possible situations, giving examples of polite and civil behaviors according to parameters such as gender, class, and social occasion. *La maladresse* there is *hors-la-loi*: unpredictable and involuntary, it invariably upsets the very laws that the civility manuals formulate. From within the very edifice that these constrictive laws are designed to protect, *la maladresse* thus contests the agenda of civility itself.

Vicki De Vries, Calvin College

Eugénie Niboyet and *La Voix des femmes*: Catalysts for Disorder

Eugénie Niboyet's background as journalist, social activist, and prominent member of the Saint-Simonians in the early 1830's made her a natural candidate for a leadership role in the feminist movement reinvigorated by the 1848 revolution. Taking full advantage of the greater freedom granted to the press, she founded, with Jeanne Deroin, the first feminist daily paper, *La Voix des femmes*, and served as its editor. In its pages, and in the discussions of the political club that formed around the publication, women, as well as their male supporters, sought to contribute their voices to the discussions surrounding the establishment of a new law in the form of the Constitution to be drafted by the Constituent Assembly. Their claims were quite moderate, and parallel to those of the working class: the right to equal education and equal wages, the right to vote, to assemble, and to petition the government, and the right to have the paternity of illegitimate children recognized.

Despite the group's moderate tendencies, the "Club des Femmes", and Niboyet as its president, became the target of widespread mockery and virulent criticism that led to sabotage of the group's meetings and government repression severe enough to scatter the leaders of the

feminist movement and put a 20-year halt to its agenda. The "Club des femmes" was forced to close its doors because of the threat it posed to public order. This paper will analyze the debate as it was held in the printed media, between *La Voix des femmes* and other contemporary journals such as *La Liberté* and *La Réforme* in an attempt to determine how and why a movement that had as its goal the reasoned, peaceful challenge to law provoked such a disruption to order.

Damian Dombrowski, Universität Würzburg

Nation Imposed onto Art: The Case of De Chirico in Paris, 1911–1915

The notion of nation, a rather modern category of bringing order into world and history, has made a stunning yet disastrous career during the later 19th and early 20th centuries. In the wake of the Great War, a number of avant-garde artists, though working within an international ambience, deliberately sharpened their awareness of national affiliation, and searched for direct relations between the fictional ranks of „art“ and „nation“. The national paradigm, until then used in a socio-political sense, ought to become regulatory to artistic expression. For example, Romanian-born sculptor Constantin Brancusi fashioned himself as a Transylvanian peasant in these years, and claimed his carving style to be a translation of this identity.

Even more striking is the case of Giorgio de Chirico: born in Greece of Italian expatriates, he had studied in Munich between 1906 and 1910 and, after a short stay in Florence, settled in the French capital in 1911, where he associated with Apollinaire, Derain, Picasso and other leading figures of the international art movement. While staying in Paris, his writings were exclusively in French, a language where he moved with much greater ease than in his native tongue.

However, the bulk of De Chirico's Parisian production is made up by the *Piazze Italiane*, an extensive series of imaginary squares with a markedly Italian flavour. The architectural language itself is codified in terms of national identity, and the dominant colors are perusingly those of the Italian flag (a few years earlier, the symbolism of the *tricolore* had been extensively employed by the Futurists). Yet De Chirico's attitude was oscillating between consent and parody. In the *Piazze Italiane*, he uncovered the artificial character of the Italian state, and mocked the ubiquitous public monuments for the heroes of the Risorgimento. A pungent sense of irony can be found in the allusions to the military campaign against Libya in 1911. After Italy's entry into war in 1915, De Chirico soon ended up in a clinic for nervous diseases at Ferrara. There he further pursued the nation-through-art thread of his Parisian paintings. In *The Dream of Tobias* (1917), he celebrated himself as the one who had once heralded the *pittura metafisica* in France before bringing it back to her natural homeland. Two years later, De Chirico radically broke with his former modes of expression and adopted Renaissance painting techniques. Recurring to Italian art of the past, he eventually assumed a lasting identity, away from the dogma of progress including its national distortions. In his own art, the concept of nation had given proof of its ultimate uselessness in imposing new rules to art; De Chirico rejected it just at the time when indiscriminate nationalization of Italian art was about to enter a new phase under Fascism, and hailed as a means to create a collective identity.

Willemijn Don, New York University

Laws of Nature, Laws of Religion: Bourget, Zola and the Experimental Novel

In *Le Roman Expérimental*, Zola compares his work as a novelist with that of a chemist, who not only observes laws of nature but also provokes changes in circumstances to study certain interactions and changes. In the same vein, the novelist observes society and creates circumstances that will interact with each other to create an experiment. That Paul Bourget, with his *romans d'idées* can be considered as one of the most faithful followers of Zola's theory, is perhaps surprising, as he is on the ideological opposite side of the spectrum. The 1902 novel *L'Étape* is Bourget's *procès-verbal* of an experiment featuring a young intellectual raised in a secular environment and his encounter with a traditionalist devout professor.

According to Zola, truth comes from observation and experimentation, whereas faith is defined as “la croyance sans preuve, en dehors des sciences d'observation et d'expérimentation, à des hypothèses révélées, considérées dès lors comme des vérités dont l'explication nous échappe” (“La Science et le Catholicisme”). But even though Bourget's characters concede that “la foi n'est pas une géométrie ni une chimie. Elle ne se démontre pas”, the outcome of his experiment is that the young intellectual embraces faith, by applying, as he maintains, the scientific method.

Comparing Bourget's *L'Étape* to Zola's *Lourdes*, we see that an encounter with religious experience is central to the conversion of Bourget's character, while the lack of it leads Zola's priest to lose his faith. This paper argues that Paul Bourget, and other Catholics at the time, adopt the vocabulary of *expérience* — meaning both “experience” and “experiment” - thereby basing their faith in the supernatural on experimental evidence and actual observations.

Philippe Dubois, Bucknell University

L'Ordre au Menu du Jour: le Repas Gastronomique des Français

Issue des désordres de la Révolution, l'avènement de la gastronomie, qui naît avec le siècle, insiste sur la nécessité d'une mise en ordre (nomos) des affaires de l'estomac (gastro). De cette réorganisation des savoirs émergera ce que Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson a nommé *un champ culturel en construction*, ainsi qu'une prolifération de ce qu'il convient d'appeler une manie de la codification.

Des ouvrages tels que le *Manuel des Amphitryons* de Grimod de La Reynière, ou encore le *Code gourmand* de Balzac, ainsi que son *Traité de la vie élégante* insistant sur les « Devoirs de l'amphitryon, » une « Nouvelle théorie du déjeuner, » et « L'art de recevoir, soit à la ville, soit à la campagne, » semblent cependant oublier la genèse d'un terme qui apparaît officiellement en 1801 à l'occasion d'un poème didactique de Joseph de Berchoux intitulé « Gastronomie, ou l'Homme des champs à table » et qui se distingue par une exhortation singulière: *Ô vous! qui nous tenez de fort graves discours / Sur l'art et les moyens de filer d'heureux jours, / Qui donnez des conseils dictés par la sagesse, / On ne les suivra point... Je conseille l'ivresse.* Et le poète, anticipant ici l'« enivrez-vous » de Baudelaire, précise encore que *Galien, Avicenne, / nous conseillent l'ivresse une fois par semaine.*

A partir d'un tel corpus, cette communication se propose de souligner les tensions qui sous-tendent la mise en place d'un ordre nouveau, en insistant sur les dissidences et les transgressions qui traversent ces doctrines du bon goût et des bonnes manières. Miroir du Code

Civil, ce code des civilités laisse émerger les enjeux politiques, sociaux et culturels d'un discours gastronomique destiné à devenir un modèle national avant d'être étendu à l'Europe toute entière.

Larry Duffy, University of Kent

Homais and the Conditions of Legal Possibility for the Blind Beggar's Incarceration

Much has been written about the diagnostic and symbolic aspects of the condition of the blind beggar who regularly accosts the stagecoach between Rouen and Yonville in *Madame Bovary*. Considerably less attention has been given to the institutional contexts for the eventual 'lutte' between Homais and the Aveugle, from which the pharmacist emerges victorious.

This paper, starting by identifying a number of real-life personal conflicts between individuals that can be contextualised within wider disciplinary developments and struggles within the broad fields of medicine and *hygiène publique* in nineteenth-century France, situates the conflict between the pharmacist and his 'ennemi' in a range of contemporary institutional contexts.

The first of these is the legal context in which Homais initially succeeds in having the blind beggar incarcerated, albeit temporarily, governed by the provisions on *vagabondage* and *mendicité* of the 1810 *code pénal*. The second is the reorganisation of hospital provision in Rouen in the early nineteenth century, significant developments within which were the creation of the *hospice des aliénés* in Rouen, and its rapid development during the July Monarchy, not only as a major psychiatric hospital, but also as a 'laboratoire de statistiques morales' central to the wider projects of a *Statistique générale de la Seine-Inférieure* and a *Statistique générale de la France*. The question which arises is: under what institutional conditions could the Aveugle be 'condamné à une réclusion perpétuelle dans un hospice'?

A third context is the debate in the field of *hygiène publique* between miasmatism and contagionism. Whereas earlier in the novel Homais pronounces on 'miasmes' and insanitary living conditions, his discourse on the blind beggar is implicitly contagionist, and also exploits contagionist metaphors of invasion.

Homais's shift from miasmatism to contagionism is paralleled in its cynical opportunism by his shift from free-thinking republicanism to support for 'notre bon roi'. This paper concludes by situating this shift in a displacement of sovereign by disciplinary power, a shift which allows Homais to pay lip-service to an ultimately powerless monarchy: his sovereignty as representative of disciplinary power has already been legitimised, just as the *rois thaumaturges* legitimised their power by touching those affected with scrofula.

Peter Edwards, Mount Allison University

"Vandals at the Gate: Art and the Semblance of Order in a time of Siege --- Gautier's *Tableaux de siège*."

Written and published with intermittent regularity in the *Journal officiel* during the Franco-Prussian war and especially during the siege of Paris by the Prussian army in 1870-1871, Gautier's *Tableaux de siège* proposes a meditation on barbarity, destruction and the capacity of art to provide a semblance of order in a city renowned for the glories of its public spaces and the

dynamism of its artistic communities. If, as poet and critic, Gautier subscribed to the dictum of "Art for Art's Sake," he proves himself here to have a penchant for adding a variant perspective: art for humanity's sake. In a time of war and siege, artist-soldiers, poet-soldiers, as well as critic-soldiers, have a singular conceptual capacity to educe the essence of being human in the face of multiple personal and collective tragedies. By focusing on the abilities of art and artists to move beyond capturing the growing banality of unspeakable horrors, but to witness, interpret and reorder the very chaos and barbarity of wartime, Gautier underscores the reconstructive and redemptive power of art. Representation is indeed a semblance; interpretation is transformative.

Vesna Elez, University of Belgrade

La nostalgie de l'ordre: le cas de Flaubert

L'objectif de cet essai est de mettre en évidence le procédé de Flaubert dans *L'Éducation sentimentale* par lequel il véhicule sa vision de la révolution de 1848. Ce procédé vise à communiquer non seulement un désenchantement amer mais aussi une vision pessimiste. Notre propos est d'attirer l'attention sur le fait que toute la négativité ne traduit pas une vision nihiliste – elle exprime une nostalgie de l'ordre. Les ambiguïtés névralgiques du style indirect libre en témoignent. En rage contre la bêtise et la vulgarité, Flaubert est contre le bourgeois, mais contre l'ouvrier aussi. Quel est cet ordre, difficile à cerner à travers la critique du bourgeois, la foule révolutionnaire et le portrait héroïque de Dussardier?

Nous débuterons par le ton du narrateur où l'éclatement de la révolution est suivi par un renversement dans le texte – l'ironie est ici très accentuée, le narrateur sort du cadre de l'impassibilité flaubertienne. Les commentaires montrent ce dépassement de la neutralité narrative. Ensuite, on tâchera de voir dans quelle mesure la notion d'ordre s'applique à son système de valeurs en s'appuyant notamment sur l'épisode de Fontainebleau. Flaubert est contre toute oppression, tout ordre imposé lui est étranger - il est, selon son propre aveu, « révolutionnaire jusqu'aux moelles », tout en s'acharnant contre le suffrage universel. Nous essayerons de mettre en évidence que cette déclaration ne contredit pas sa prédilection pour l'ordre. Finalement, on verra cet ordre dans son désir utopique d'un gouvernement de « mandarins », d'une élite intellectuelle qui aurait évité les dangers auxquels ont succombé leurs prédécesseurs. Quoique les événements politiques ultérieurs aient rendu le ton de *Bouvard et Pécuchet* plus féroce (on a affaire au sarcasme et à la parodie), une possibilité de redressement, aussi petite soit-elle, ne semble pas entièrement niée.

Elizabeth Emery, Montclair State University

La Justice est une infamie: Perversions of Order in Mirbeau's *L'Abbé Jules*

Jules Dervelle, *L'Abbé Jules* of Octave Mirbeau's 1888 novel, is one of the worst "bad priest" figures of French literature, a cruel and violent tyrant and thief who is haunted by pornographic fantasies and who flaunts the rules of the Church and of bourgeois society. He is feared and loathed by his own family, held up at the beginning of the book as a terrifying example of what his young nephew will become should he diverge from the strict rules his parents have set for him: "L'abbé Jules! c'est-à-dire tous les défauts, tous les vices, tous les crimes, toutes les hideurs," declares narrator Albert Dervelle in the first pages of the novel. Yet

Jules also represents “tout le mystère,” the attraction such a perversion of order represents for an only child stifled by the unrelenting monotony of a nineteenth-century bourgeois upbringing.

While *L'Abbé Jules* has often been studied for its protagonists' violent anarchist-infused attacks on the pillars of nineteenth-century society -- government, education, religion -- I argue that Mirbeau's primary focus lies in building understanding of the naturally-occurring complexities of human behavior, complexities that cannot fit neatly into the social frameworks that have developed to constrain it. Indeed, such rules often encourage crime rather than preventing it. To deliver this message, which readers must intuit for themselves, Mirbeau chose to eschew omniscient narration in favor of a disordered first-person account delivered by Jules' nephew Albert. This technique is remarkably effective: the initially monstrous Jules described by parents becomes a sympathetic mentor whose “volcanic” creativity has been repressed by a society with no outlet for his talents. Like Dostoevsky in *The Idiot*, Mirbeau builds sympathy for those brilliant outcasts -- saints, sinners, artists, writers, performers -- whose heretical fires are extinguished by the backwaters of bourgeois mediocrity.

Alan English, St. Patrick's College , Dublin City University

« La volupté de contrarier le lecteur »: infractions aux lois prosodiques dans la deuxième moitié du XIX^e siècle

La communication traitera des infractions aux lois prosodiques dans les œuvres poétiques de Verlaine et portera plus généralement sur la pratique de la versification dans la deuxième moitié du XIX^e siècle en France. Au cours de cette période, les conventions prosodiques du vers français se voient de plus en plus contestées et remises en cause par la pratique des poètes. Les infractions aux « lois » de la versification deviennent si audacieuses qu'on peut raisonnablement demander si le vers continue même d'exister en tant que système métrique.

En commençant par un rappel des définitions endométriques et exométriques du vers, on passera à une considération des atteintes portées au système métrique par les vers rythmiquement ambigus et ambivalents. Notre étude permettra de souligner les effets fructueux créés par les déviations des vers traditionnels et montrera l'attrait des vers « délibérément faux ».

Dans le cas de Verlaine, on émettra l'hypothèse de la création d'une « indécidabilité » rythmique qui portent ses vers des lois prosodiques traditionnelles. Et pourtant il serait nécessaire de conclure que les effets expressifs produits par la subversion des lois du mètre sont seulement possibles si le vers n'est pas complètement détruit. Les déviations et infractions prosodiques sont seulement appréciables par comparaison à la « loi métrique ».

Nos conclusions expliqueront pourquoi Verlaine n'est jamais entré dans le domaine du vers libre, malgré le fait que sa pratique et ses recherches de versification semblent suggérer un tel but.

Molly Enz, South Dakota State University

Who Belongs to Whom?: Codes, Property, and Ownership in Madame Charles Reybaud's “Les Epaves”

The themes of female oppression, difference, and otherness were common literary motifs in the mid-nineteenth century, and this time period also marked the emergence of scientific racism and its theories of black inferiority. Racial theorists such as Arthur de Gobineau often employed sexual metaphors to distinguish between races, and parallels were often made between blacks and women. French Romantic writer Madame Charles Reybaud explores this coupling of race and gender by depicting the legal restrictions imposed upon white women and black and mixed-race slaves in her novella “Les Épaves” (1838). Reybaud shows how slaves, whether black or mixed race, were viewed as objects that could be purchased, possessed, and abused according to the Black Code. Their lack of power can be compared to the situation faced by women in nineteenth-century France whose rights were severely restricted under Napoleon’s Civil Code. Although “Les Epaves” takes place in 1720, more than eighty years before the installation of the Civil Code, Reybaud’s depiction of female characters mirrors the oppression that she herself was experiencing a century later.

In this paper, I compare the restrictions imposed upon married women and slaves in “Les Épaves” and explore the parallels between Madame Éléonore de la Rebelière, the Creole wife of a Belgian plantation owner, and Donatien, a former slave of mixed race. I illustrate how they are both subordinated by Monsieur de la Rebelière: Donatien because of his mixed race and status as an *épave* and Éléonore because of her gender and status as a married Creole woman. Reybaud creates an analogous relationship between these two characters who are treated as inferior in a colonial, patriarchal society.

Rachel Esner, University of Amsterdam

The Declaration of Autonomy and the Denial of Interest in Images of the Artist’s Studio

In his discussion of the conquest of artistic autonomy in the nineteenth century, Pierre Bourdieu defined the new guiding principle for creative activity as the “economic world inverted”, whereby devotion to one’s art takes precedence over financial success. In this developing discourse, the artistic *nomos* became (the rhetoric of) total independence, and the rule of the game “he who loses wins”. As Bourdieu writes: “the artist cannot triumph on the symbolic terrain except by losing on the economic terrain (at least in the short run), and vice-versa (at least in the long run)” [Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art*, 83].

This paper will explore the visualization of this notion in nineteenth-century French depictions of the artist’s studio. How do these pictures serve to demonstrate the avant-garde painter’s economic disinterest and thereby strengthen his claim to preferred forms of *symbolic* capital? How do images of the studio work to underline the artist’s independence from circuits of production and consumption, craft and exhibition? What strategies do artists employ in these works to distinguish themselves from their academic contemporaries and to ensure that their persona conforms to the new “rules of the game” within the artistic field?

Examples will be taken from various moments in the development of avant-garde self-representation, from the Bohemians of the 1830s and 40s to the work of the Impressionists.

Cecilia Falgas-Ravry, University of Cambridge

Forbidden Voices: The structural exclusion of criminal writers from nineteenth-century discourses on crime, punishment and rehabilitation

From Gothic villains and Romantic outcasts to the pathological criminal figures of the Realist and Naturalist traditions, nineteenth-century writers consistently sought to offer their readers insights into the world of crime and punishment. But what of the criminals' own perspective - did they, and *could* they ever talk of their own experience?

In my presentation I will follow Foucault in arguing that the structure and dynamics of nineteenth-century discourses on crime de facto excluded the criminal voice. Even when criminals found a way to write, the rhetoric, the type of narrative personae, and the plot structures made available to them by previous discursive traditions automatically forced them to talk of their actions as mistakes, and of themselves as repentant sinners. This distorted the very perspective they were supposedly to describe.

Basing my paper on a corpus of literary texts (Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* (1862) Balzac's *Le Père Goriot* (1835) and Auguste Méral's *L'homme aux romans* 1858), and non-fictional writings (Hubert Lauvergne's phrenological treatise *Les forçats* (1841), Benjamin Appert's philanthropic writings *Bagnes, prisons et criminels* (1836), convict letters from the Toulon archives, and two convict autobiographies, Anthelme Collet's *Mémoires d'un condamné* (1836) and Clémens's *Journal* (1840)) – and applying some of the tools of critical discourse analysis – I will show how a discursive model based on certain moral assumptions about vice and remorse, and on the use of specific stereotypes and metaphors, operates across these texts. This discursive model pre-emptively suppresses the convict voice, making it extraordinarily difficult to access any 'perspective from below' on law and order during this period – a conclusion I will then seek to mitigate by analysing some of the strategies of resistance deployed in these texts, whereby real (and literary) convicts undermine the stability of this discursive system, in an attempt to nevertheless make their voice heard.

Tim Farrant, Pembroke College, Oxford

Les hommes, les femmes, et le Code: the example of Léon Richer

If Balzac's work centred on 'les hommes, les femmes, et les choses', then the nineteenth century was arguably structured by 'les hommes, les femmes, et le Code'. Taking as its limits de Gouges's 1792 *Déclaration des droits de la femme* and Léon Richer's 1883 *Le Code des femmes*, this paper explores some key moments in the changing relationship between law, fiction and literature. If de Gouges's central polarity is between 'l'homme' and 'la femme', a key nineteenth-century dichotomy centres on fiction and the legal. Bonaparte renounces writing for law-giving, in the 1804 *Code*; Chateaubriand counters legislation with imagination in the *Génie du christianisme*; Balzac answers *De l'amour* with a *Code*-parody, the *Physiologie du mariage*. From it grows a whole sympathetic literature on women, represented by Balzac's *études de femmes* or Flaubert's *mœurs de province*, *Madame Bovary*. The very genre of the novel would become a major agent in women's enlightenment and radicalization to remain, to an extent we might now readily forget, a women's genre: under *roman*, the 1876 *Grand Larousse Dictionnaire Encyclopédique* lists largely texts written by women. Yet the major nineteenth-century steps towards women's freedom, notably the law-making on divorce, would ultimately be marked more by campaigning and legislation than fiction, and as much by men as by women. This paper addresses the exemplary and central paradox of Richer's *Code* seeing it as the culmination of a career comparable to those of others who ended as law-givers (Nisard, Girardin)

after beginning with fiction. Richer's *Code* is explored as a generic *mélange* of polemic and narrative, as a timely reminder that legal discourse is ultimately a matter not just of rhetoric, but of reality, and one of the most pointed rejoinders to the *Code Napoléon* itself

Eduardo Febles, Simmons College

“Attentats à la pudeur”: The Discovery of Crimes against Children at the End of the 19th Century

The capital importance of childhood to the ideological project of the French Third Republic permeates the discourse on education, nationalism, and regeneration. The year 1898 marks an important stage in this *prise de conscience* as the law “sur la répression des violences, voies de fait, actes de cruauté et attentats commis envers les enfants” was enacted. The law follows in the wake of a series of astonishing « fait divers » widely publicized in France that highlighted the rape and/or murder of children, such as the exploits of the serial killer Joseph Vacher or the crimes of Corancez in 1901. A rubric in the *Petit Parisien* even highlighted crimes against children perpetrated by priests.

It is in this context that I want to discuss Emile Zola's last novel *Vérité*. Though the novel represents a rewriting of the Dreyfus Affair, the story nonetheless revolves around the murder and rape of a young boy named Zéphirin by a priest. A Jewish school teacher, Simon, is accused of molesting and killing the boy, his nephew; yet, the hero of the novel, Marc Froment, defends his colleague and exposes Gorgias as the real culprit of the heinous crime. Furthermore, Zola stages in the novel the conflict between religious and secular schools. The last written “Evangile” by Zola thus participates in the construction of “childhood” as imperative to the future of the Republic by bringing together issues on education, religion, and criminality.

Michael Finn, Ryerson University

Crimes, misdemeanours and the 19th century unconscious: Suggestion, dual personality and popular literature

The purpose of this paper is to explore the impact of medico-psychological thinking and theories about the unconscious, and specifically about mental duality, on the thematics of French popular fiction from about 1880 to 1900. During this period medicalized human duality began to show up widely in literature, and particularly in the fiction of crime and deviance. Some of the questions the paper will address are:

Was popular fiction suspicious of or supportive of medico-psychological opinion regarding hypnosis and mind control? How did the popular imagination assess the idea of a second personality? Was a second personality a sign of pathology, or was the unconscious mind perhaps a complement to the rational intelligence? In examining these questions, we will look at three approaches to fictional treatment of the unconscious, beginning with the novel of posthypnotic suggestion.

1) After toying with the idea of mind control in an early novel, Jules Claretie wrote the classic French novel of post-hypnotic crime, *Jean Mornas* (1885). We will compare the fairly sober treatment of the theme in Claretie's work to the cruder, more tantalizing approach to the subject in the novel *Alphonsine* (1887), by Adolphe Belot.

2) We will then explore how dual personality became associated with the potentially criminal dangers of spirit possession in the novels and short stories of the medical doctor and explorer of the paranormal, Charles Richet (aka Charles Epheyre).

3) Third, the paper will analyze how more intellectualized reflections about suggestion and dual personality, often expressed in awkward, naïve ways, became prominent in the early fiction of Paul Bourget (*L'Irréparable*, 1884; *Le Disciple*, 1889), and spill over into his *Essais de psychologie contemporaine*.

To conclude, and in order to visualize better the French understanding of the unconscious as the century turned, we will confront two texts, a gripping novel of true split personality by Claretie from 1908 (*L'Obsession. Moi et l'autre*, 1908) which ends with a “murder”, and the minutes of a special 1909 meeting of the *Société française de philosophie* at which the famous psychologist Alfred Binet claims that the unconscious does not exist, while eminent philosophers Henri Bergson, Alphonse Darlu, Jules Lachelier and Léon Brunschvig each offers a different version of what the unconscious might be.

Michelle Foa, Tulane University

Rethinking the Pictorial Periphery, from the Impressionists to Henri Matisse

The later 19th through early 20th century marked a period of remarkable experimentation regarding the relationship between picture and edge by some of France’s most prominent modern visual artists. From painting the frames and creating interior borders to broader reconsiderations of the boundary between the picture and the external world, artists during that time began attending to the edges of the picture like never before. My paper proposes to address the conference’s theme of law and order by analyzing the work of several key artists of the later 19th and early 20th century working in France for whom the pictorial edge and boundary became a site of significant innovation.

Beginning with the work of some of the Impressionist artists, then turning to the work of the Neo-Impressionist Georges Seurat, and ending with the work of Henri Matisse, I will explore the significance of various artists’ attention to pictorial frames and borders as a means of affirming, softening, or dissolving the boundary between their pictures and frames, or between the pictures and the spaces that surrounded them. In my examination of Seurat’s work, I’ll focus in particular on two of his paintings that are in the Philadelphia area: *Poseuses*, which is in the collection of the Barnes Foundation, and a landscape by Seurat that was recently acquired by the Philadelphia Museum of Art and that was once owned by Henri Matisse. The upcoming 19th Century Studies conference is thus an ideal venue for my analysis of these two pictures and the ways in which they manifest a fundamental rethinking of pictorial space and order. Over the course of my talk, I hope to highlight some of the diverse experimentations taking place at the edges and boundaries of images in French visual culture during this period, and to address the very diverse meanings ascribed by artists to the periphery of their pictures.

Maxime Foerster, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Distinguished Outlaws: Dandies and the rejection of Order

In his treatise on dandyism, *Du Dandysme et de George Brummell*, Barbey d'Aurevilly defines the dandy above all by his independence, existing by definition outside a set of rules: 'Ce qui fait le dandy c'est l'indépendance. Autrement il y aurait une législation du dandysme, et il n'y en a pas.' What kind of independence specifically defines dandyism? A comparative study of the theories of dandyism promulgated by Baudelaire and Barbey tends to promote dandyism as radical individualism in terms of morals and way of life. Through a study of the characters of George Brummell, Monsieur de Lauzun, and Serlon de Savigny, all considered dandies by Barbey d'Aurevilly, I will analyse dandyism as the rejection of many orders, leading to the rejection of the very notion of law itself. George Brummell, for instance, rejects the possibility of a career in the army, reluctant to obey any order and wear a uniform, he acts with impertinence towards the King of England, and he refuses to pay his debts. Similarly, Monsieur de Lauzun and Serlon de Savigny transgress other orders (the rules of aristocratic marriage, the taboo of murder) in the name of something that would not be an alternative order, but rather the reign of caprice and fantasy. After having analysed the ways in which dandyism can be interpreted as a rejection of order, I will connect the theory of dandyism with the philosophical work of Max Stirner articulated in *The Ego and its Own*. The dandy's independence may fit perfectly into Stirner's radical individualism, opening up a political space for dandyism beyond the question of the cult of beauty: the ethics of anarchism.

Jennifer Forrest, Texas State University, San Marcos

Clown malveillant / clown maléfique: Perverse Tricksters and Anarchic Deviants in Claretie, Goncourt, and Mendès

The irrational fear of clowns has been described as a fairly recent development in popular culture. Stereotypically, the clown in the circus ring is physically and mentally inept, providing a humorous counterbalance to the acrobatic display of superhuman qualities. A good number of nineteenth-century clowns, however, possessed the same remarkable acrobatic talents associated with physical superiority. Edmond de Goncourt's Gianni and Nello in *Les Frères Zemganno* (1879) are witty pranksters and consummate acrobats devoted to their art in such a way as to add internal superiority to that of their bodies. Their physical prowess allows them to play with spectator assumptions about their perceived incompetence in the same way that equestriennes upset preconceptions about the limits of the female body.

The tatters in which the clown dressed, an exaggerated version of the clothing of the popular classes, became an uncomfortable sign of his ability to deceive, and ultimately of a disturbing social mobility. Jules Claretie's Kenwell in *Le Train 17* (1877) was modeled on the fierce English clown Boswell who was said to have had aristocratic origins. Kenwell's upper-class education and his financial freedom combined with his physical strength and agility and his renunciation of his class for the indeterminate status of the itinerant performer make him a dangerous example to the classes whose garb he assumes and among whom he lives. Kenwell's ease in slipping in and out of all social groups is echoed in Catulle Mendès Papiol/Aladdin in *La vie et mort d'un clown* (1879), a clown whose pranks turn perversely cruel when he murders his stepbrother in the circus ring. Unlike Kenwell, the monstrously brutal yet savagely seductive Papiol/Aladdin is not of aristocratic birth. He acquires, however, the manners and means to circulate in the best of society, a frightening prospect of an anarchic blurring of all demarcations

between classes. His submission to the law (capture and imprisonment) becomes itself a revelatory prank in the final minutes before he goes under the guillotine: no law can contain him. He breaks free and performs a tour de force acrobatic number before turning himself over to the guards for execution.

Françoise Gaillard, Université Paris Diderot - Paris 7

Title TBA

Rhonda Garelick, University of Nebraska

“What I Didn’t Learn in Graduate School” Roundtable [see **Brooks**]

Michael D. Garval, North Carolina State University

Pork Roles

Pigs abounded on postcards during the medium’s golden age, c. 1900-1914. Through caricature, more realistic drawing, or photography, cards show pigs in a panoply of roles: sold in village marketplaces, learning to read at school, bottle-fed like babies, drinking champagne and carousing, piloting planes or run over by automobiles, smoking or ice-skating. Self-immolating pigs cut themselves into neat sausage rounds, industrial slaughterhouse scenes contrast with tender poems about peasant women’s love for their pigs (“il est plus gentil que mon homme . . .”), giant pig floats loom at Carnaval in Nice, and piglets growing out of cabbage leaves in a farmer’s field get adopted by a smartly-dressed city couple. So much about this corpus speaks to the slippery divide between human and animal orders. At a pivotal point in history, these images work through changes in the relationship between humans and their close porcine cousins, figuring broader shifts from a more rural to a more urban society, and particularly from a more traditional to a more modern food supply.

Anne Geisler-Szmulewicz, Université d’Evry-Val d’Essonne / EA 4210 CERILAC

Gautier et le “fantôme d’amour”: de Sylphide à Spirite

S’il est une femme fantastique, dans l’œuvre de Gautier, c’est bien Spirite. C’est ainsi qu’elle est nommée, et que tout ce qu’elle touche l’est aussi, comme si sa condition d’être intermédiaire était précisément non seulement de sortir du réel, mais aussi de faire sortir qui elle veut du prosaïque et de l’étriqué. Si Spirite a fait l’objet de maints commentaires critiques, elle n’a peut-être pas assez été replacée, selon nous, dans le contexte où elle a pris naissance, celui du « fantôme d’amour » qu’est la Sylphide romantique, et tout particulièrement de la Sylphide de Chateaubriand dans les *Mémoires d’outre-tombe*. Spirite peut être considérée en effet, en tant qu’esprit et en tant que figure née de l’imagination, comme un avatar de Sylphide. Elle est aussi, par son évanescence et sa capacité à voir de l’autre côté de la vie, celle qui, par excellence, peut aider le poète à sortir d’un monde clivé, à dépasser les limites, qu’elles soient sociales ou linguistiques. En ce sens, Spirite peut être vue comme une figure de « hors la loi »: on

remarquera du reste que, tant qu'elle est Lavinia, (c'est-à-dire une jeune fille très rangée, aux rubans bleus) elle est proprement invisible pour Malivert qui passe à côté d'elle sans la remarquer, mais il faut qu'elle devienne Spirite pour devenir enfin visible à ses yeux. Cette étude devrait permettre aussi de montrer que Gautier, auquel on a l'habitude d'attribuer le poème « L'Art » comme art poétique (parce que cette représentation de l'artiste comme artisan entre davantage en congruence avec la conception de l'art pour l'art) n'est pas plus le « poète du marbre » que le poète de « La Nuée », autre poème d'*Émaux et Camées*. Les deux facettes caractéristiques de son œuvre ne peuvent en réalité être dissociées; elles s'éclairent l'une l'autre.

Michal Ginsburg, Northwestern University

Nerval Before the Law

Marie-Hélène Girard, Yale University

Théophile Gautier ou la poétique de la critique

Confronté comme beaucoup de ses contemporains à la nécessité de vivre de sa plume le poète Théophile Gautier allait être pendant près de quarante l'une des figures majeures de la critique d'art en France, alors même que le genre était encore en quête d'une méthode et d'un langage. À rebours de l'orientation savante et technique qui allait à la fin du siècle rapprocher le discours du critique de celui de l'historien d'art, en le distinguant résolument du discours littéraire, Gautier s'employa à inventer et à imposer une forme de critique dans la droite ligne de la « fraternité » romantique des arts, et jeta dès ses premiers Salons, de multiples passerelles d'une discipline à l'autre. On montrera à travers quelques exemples, comment l'inclusion, dans le discours critique, de vers de Dante, de Goethe, de Musset, voire de Gautier lui-même, éclaire les œuvres d'une manière spécifique et confère au genre du « salon » une ambition littéraire et une valeur de manifeste esthétique, à l'opposé du discours critique de G. Planche, de Thoré, de Champfleury ou de Charles Blanc.

Rae Beth Gordon, University of Connecticut

Le dérèglement de la vision: psychologie, arts plastiques et cinéma (1870-1910)

Ce dérèglement vient d'abord de l'engouement pour les illusions de la vue en psychologie, et dans les spectacles populaires. Il n'est pas de livraison de la revue *La Nature* sans au moins trois articles illustrés sur les illusions de la vue en psychologie ou sur la scène. En effet, ces études étaient largement vulgarisées et diffusées dans des revues extrêmement populaires, ou encore dans des livres comme *L'Optique* de Fulgence Marion. Entre 1870 et 1900, on s'amuse également à se donner des hallucinations volontaires à des fins récréatives. J'interrogerai le rôle que les illusions et les hallucinations ont joué sur la création artistique, en analysant des jeux d'optique mis à l'oeuvre dans la peinture et la lithographie de Vuillard, Ensor, Chéret, Matisse, ou encore dans les arts décoratifs. Je citerai aussi très succinctement des exemples littéraires, notamment chez Georges Rodenbach. Cependant, c'est surtout dans le cinéma de Georges Méliès, de Segundo de Chomon, de Jean Durand, et de Louis Feuillade que l'image hallucinatoire aura plein pouvoir sur la vue du spectateur. Ce que Rimbaud appelle dans

Une saison en enfer “l’hallucination simple” correspondra, on le sait, aux images qu’on retrouvera au cinéma dès 1898, car les spectateurs y verront “très franchement une mosquée à la place d’une usine, ... une calèche sur les routes du ciel, un salon au fond d’un lac” grâce aux trucages méliésiens. On analysera surtout le fondu enchaîné (*the lap-dissolve*) qu’il a réinventé pour le cinéma en 1899. Cet effet existait déjà dans la lanterne magique et, selon certains spectateurs des années 1870-1890, il perturbait la vision. Comme l’a remarqué le physicien Ernst Mach, “les illusions des sens ont miné notre foi dans la réalité du monde externe.” Certains psychiatres du début du XX^e siècle n’ont pas manqué de citer des cas de troubles graves qui ont été déclenchés par des séances de cinéma, tout comme ceux qui avaient été déclenchés par le jeu de société des “hallucinations volontaires” ... devenues involontaires, automatiques, se manifestant de manière imprévisible pour effacer la frontière entre réalité et hallucination, et transformant le jeu en psychopathologie.

Evlyn Gould, University of Oregon

Mallarmé between Law and Order

Prior to the demise of the Second Empire, clerics had already begun to debate republicans over the role of moral values in public education. During the Third Republic, however, a series of legislative initiatives to create a free secular education for all introduced a distinction between moral education and lay instruction, opening the door to conflict over how to instill shared cultural values in French youth (Nicolay 3). The partisans of the Church clamored for independence from State oversight in matters of education; the partisans of revolutionary republicanism argued in favor of control by civil society and of oversight by a lay State to insure civil liberties. Church authorities took issue with the liberal claim that the right of educators “n’est pas de posséder la vérité, mais de la chercher” (Rudelle I: 365). Liberals preached freedom of consciousness, tolerance for varying religious sects, and the active, ongoing pursuit of scientific inquiry, “la reine du monde, la maîtresse de l’avenir” (Rudelle I: 407, 410). By 1879 Minister of Education, Jules Ferry claimed that the debates had escalated dangerously into the elaboration of “deux Frances enemies” (Rudelle I: 354) and he warned of the divisive power of these “culture” wars: “Le droit de l’État et le droit de l’Église sur l’enseignement sont les deux termes du conflit. [...] Messieurs, voulez-vous de ce conflit d’écoles... une jeunesse ainsi divisée?” (Rudelle I: 390).

Ever mindful of the destructive power of their irreconcilable differences on the formation of what he called the “spiritual unity of France” (Chevallier 69), Ferry sought to mediate the power of the Church and the power of the State by attacking clerical reaction rather than the Church itself: “... nous sommes institué pour défendre les droits de l’Etat contre un certain catholicisme, bien différent du catholicisme religieux et que j’appellerai le catholicisme politique” (Lelièvre 74). Ferry may have compromised his vision of a strict “laïcité” in his desire to assuage the fears of the Catholic Church, but he also believed that national education needed to be founded on duties, rights and the “universally accepted elementary rules of moral life” (Lelièvre 80-81). While duties and rights fall neatly within the legislative imperative of the law, the “universally accepted rules of moral life” assume a kind of public consensus that is based in shared cultural values, what Ferry calls a “certain catholicisme.” In short, in mediating the debates over the role of education in the formation of French youth, Ferry would skirt the issues that divide secular law from moral order in the elaboration of some kind of spirituality designed to knit them together.

Stéphane Mallarmé also sought to understand how contemporary spiritual values could mediate the realms of secular law and moral order, of the State and religion. Like Ferry, if more cynically, he too elaborated an idea of “spirituality” as the adhesive glue between the realms. Unlike Ferry, Mallarmé seems less interested in the adhesion than in the deconstruction of the illusion of commonality between the moral values of Catholicism and the legal imperatives of the State. In “De Même,” he writes, “rien ... ne se montrera exclusivement laïque, parce que ce mot n'élit pas précisément de sens” (OC 2: 244). This is because both the Church and the State stage public performances to shore up the moral power of their institutions. “Mallarmé between Law and Order” proposes to investigate the poet’s fascination with religious aspects of the secular state (in several of his prose “Offices”) and to trace the whimsical solutions to conflicts of secular law and moral order he advocates in that pseudo-autobiography of spiritual questing we call the “Tryptich” poems.

Jenelle Grant, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

P is for "p...": Prostitution and the 'Réglementation' of Language in Slang Dictionaries

In the period between 1830 and the end of the century, two powerful, interrelated phenomena arise: the regulation of prostitution and the standardization of the French language. Widely-circulated *dictionnaires d'argot* compiled by Richard Delvau (1867), Lucien Rigaud (1888), Lorédan Larchey (1889) and Charles Virmaître (1894) transform the vocabulary of workers and members of *les classes dangereuses* into a spectacle for the enjoyment of the male bourgeois reader. Just as fictional *histoires de fille* both condemn and glorify the transgressive figure of the prostitute, slang dictionaries both attest to *argot's* illicit nature and its position outside acceptable speech, and simultaneously render it valuable, desirable and decipherable to a limited readership. Taking slang dictionaries off the reference shelf and reading them as literature—particularly the introductory narratives of the prefaces—reveals the prostitute as not only a figure metonymic with the source of the slang lexicographers’ findings, but as a metaphor for language itself.

This presence of the prostitute in the dictionaries’ prefaces illustrate that the same notions informing regulation also shaped the lexicographic project. Prostitute registration policies aimed at controlling the spread of disease and the contamination of social values by limiting urban working-class prostitutes’ circulation in the city and making their bodies “readable” to a select few: clients, the police, and medical professionals. In an analogous manner, and in spite of the editors’ claims to avoid the prescriptive police-work of grammarians and to subvert the dominant discourse upheld by Academic lexicographers, slang dictionaries, in fact, participate in policing efforts to control the dangerous circulation of *argot* by making it “readable” only to an educated elite. However, this “réglementation” of slang is ultimately undermined by the constant demand for updated editions, which exposes the inability of lexicographers to control—or even keep up with—lexical changes in non-normative, possibly counter-normative, speech.

Cordula Grewe, Columbia University

Romantic Avant-gardes

Notoriously difficult to define and highly controversial since the declaration of its death in the 1970s and 1980s, the phenomenon of the avant-garde is generally divided into two distinct areas of advancement: The first denotes a politically underwritten conception, which defines art as a vehicle for a politically radical critique of society. The second describes a resistant subculture that retreats from society in search of purity, self-sufficiency, and autonomy. Often equated with Modernism, this second incarnation of the avant-garde embodies a preoccupation with form and with art's independence from other concerns of social life. For Walter Benjamin, a true avant-garde had to unite both aspects, *Technik* and *Tendenz*. From this perspective, as Nicos Hadjinicolaou has argued, has distinguished between “art as avant-garde of society” and an “artistic avant-garde.” Hadjinicolaou has separated these two ideas emphatically: Art as the avant-garde of society implies leadership on the grounds of expressing and communicating the most advanced *social* tendencies; this leadership is thus first and foremost political, and art but one of its proponents and means. In contrast, the notion of an artistic avant-garde focuses on the realm of art proper; it presupposes a leadership in terms of formal innovations and aesthetic advancement. According to Hadjinicolaou, this new notion only emerged in the last quarter of the nineteenth century after the concept of the “avant-garde” had gained currency as in the *political* arena. It marked a “transition from a conception of art as avant-garde of society to a conception of an *artistic tendency* as an avant-garde of *art*.”

This paper challenges this interpretation by reassessing the early moment of the avant-gardes' formation in the 1810s and 1820s. To that end, it compares the practice and theory of the French Saint-Simonians with that of the German Nazarenes. Both groups conceptualized art through the military notion of an advance (here “avant-garde”, there “Vorkämpfer”); but only the so-called Lukasbund aligned from its inception the notions of an avant-garde of society and an artistic avant-garde. Taken seriously, the notion of the Lukasbund as an avant-garde has far-reaching implications for the history of nineteenth-century European art. The conservative nature of the fraternity's battle—a battle restorative in the broadest sense of the term—and the historicist quality of their idiom add yet more flux to the already unstable notion of avant-gardism. While both aspects—the Nazarenes' missionary stance and their artistic rebellion—participate in the two distinct areas of advancement that have emerged from the notorious difficulty to define the avant-garde, namely, tendency and technique, they do not fit squarely into either. Their religious revivalism is at odds with the first designation of the avant-garde as a politically underwritten concept, which advances a *radical and progressive* critique of society and the institution of art. Their neo- and pre-Raphaelism, on the other hand, seems at odds with the alternative description of the avant-garde as a resistant subculture, which retreats from society in search of purity, self-sufficiency, and autonomy. By comparing, contrasting and interweaving the French and the German story of avant-gardism's origins, this paper hopes to simultaneously complicate and clarify some of the aspects—such as autonomy, institutional critique or anti-art—that in (and for) the twentieth century have been deemed constitutive for the avant-garde.

Wendelin Guentner, University of Iowa

“*Doctoresses*”, “*doctrices*,” “*docteuses*”: The Woman Question in Jules Claretie's *La Vie à Paris* (1880-1913)

Jules Claretie, the prolific late 19th-century man of letters, authored fiction, plays, libretti and volumes of history; he also practiced journalism for over forty years. Claretie is especially known for articles that appeared for over three decades in *Le Temps*, one of the day's most important newspapers. Entitled "*La Vie à Paris*," these essays were also published yearly in volumes of the same name. In them Claretie leaves a fascinating record of the evolving status of women in fin-de-siècle Parisian society. His long-time association with the theater, first as a critic and then as Director of the Comédie Française from 1885 to 1913, provided Claretie with unique opportunities to observe women in Parisian "high life," "low life" and everything in between. Sarah Bernhardt, Rachel and Loë Fuller share the spotlight with anonymous players--the young women who advocated "l'union libre" or "l'essai loyal" as a way to avoid "*les barreaux de la cage hyménéenne*--and infamous ones, such as wives who in their own quest for freedom "*ont brownisé*" their husbands, or still others who argued for their "*Droit à la Morphine*." Elected to the Académie Française in 1888, Claretie was sensitive to the ways this societal evolution was challenging the French language—should one say "*doctoresses*," "*doctrices*," or "*docteuses*?" He experiments with language himself when in 1884 he defends "*les pseudopantalons*" worn by "*les bicycle women*." Stating that the principal difference between men and women is muscle size, Claretie is sympathetic to the call for equality both in education and the work place made by participants in the "Congrès féministe." Moreover, he finds it only a matter of humanitarian justice and "*hygiène féministe*" that the Minister of Commerce oblige employers to provide shop girls with stools, rather than requiring them to stand all day long. Discussing suffragist tracts in 1907 Claretie declares that if the 19th was the century of workers, the 20th would be that of Women. However, Claretie fears that when women pushed the boundaries too far children lose, as he notes that Parisian women were increasingly loath to have children, and that if they did, they treated them as so many "*bibelots*" or elegant dogs.

Cassandra Hamrick, Saint Louis University

Anarchy as Order in Gautier's Work

"Nous voulons l'anarchie et l'autonomie de l'Art", declares Gautier the introductory essay to the newly resurrected *Revue de Paris* in October 1851. At a shaky time in the history of the short-lived Second Republic and just months before the *coup d'état* that would solidify the power of the future Napoléon III and with it, the government's grip on the press, Gautier's attempt to craft a manifesto in support of liberty in art appears both politically risky and aesthetically paradoxical.

How is it that the writer who deliberately distances himself from political alliances "de toutes les couleurs" and whose carefully chiseled poems would form the pristine volume of *Emaux et Camées* the following year could be calling for *l'anarchie*?

At a time when political rhetoric is very much in the air, however, the term *anarchie*, when taken in its literal sense of "absence of political authority," gives new impetus to the Romantic rejection of the old order. At the same time, as we shall see, this concept provides an opening to a new order in which rigid modes of classification give way to unfettered individualism in art in the Emersonian sense.

Michèle Hannoosh, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

The État-Civil: Order and Identity in the 19th-century Novel

In Part V, Book 5, chapter vi of *Les Misérables*, Jean Valjean, keen to ensure Cosette's happiness as the future wife of Marius, confronts the thorny problem of her dubious origins as the daughter of the prostitute Fantine. Using the knowledge of the system which he had gained during his time as mayor of Montreuil-sur-mer, he quite simply invents an état-civil for her. Hugo describes step by step, in somewhat disconcerting detail, the process by which Cosette is reborn as Euphrasie Fauchelevent, the last in a conveniently defunct family, whose identity is indeed confirmed by all the checks imposed by the law.

Born of the Revolutionary desire to confer social order by registering the life moments of the citizenry (birth, marriage, death), the état-civil was the most powerful tool of guaranteeing and controlling identity in modern France. Yet the ease with which it is falsified or invented in nineteenth-century literature — in authors such as Hugo and Balzac, to name the most common — raises questions not only about its effectiveness, but also about the very concept of identity itself. In this paper, I will explore what the literary falsification of the état-civil can suggest about nineteenth-century notions of identity and the concept of social order which the état-civil is meant to ground. I will also explore what such instances imply for the order of the text, based as it is on the progressive unfolding of the narrative.

Josué Harari, Emory University

Balzac's *Études philosophiques* and the Law of Desire.

One of the most venerable themes in Western thought is that knowledge cannot have access to truth except on the condition of liberating itself from Desire. Against the philosophical background of this exclusionary Law, the creators depicted in the *Études philosophiques* seek forms of knowledge in a mode that does not eradicate desire, but rather aim at maintaining it at any cost. Balzac's "law of desire" appears thus in a theoretical battle within his creators as a will to Knowledge that perpetuates itself in an infinite will to Desire.

Daniel Harkett, Rhode Island School of Design

Delphine Gay's Visibility

This paper explores the confluence of visual experience, poetic practice and utopian thinking that shaped Delphine Gay's performances and public reputation in the 1820s. As the self-appointed "muse de la patrie," Gay called her fractious contemporaries to order in her poetry, urging adherence to the constitutional settlement of 1814-15 and seeking post-revolutionary reconciliation through renewed patriotism. When writing and performing, Gay made frequent use of pictures as catalysts and metaphors for her brand of unifying discourse, gestures that laid claim to various kinds of authority for her positions. For her audience Gay's own appearance was a matter of considerable importance as well, serving as a sign of aesthetic order that buttressed her poetic project. As Gay moved from the salons that incubated her talent into Paris's public spaces, her visibility operated as a connective principle, joining these environments together and extending the influence of the Restoration's revived salon culture.

In the public sphere, Gay participated in a further sequence of visual substitutions as her books and a portrait image by Louis Hersent were treated as proxies for her physical presence.

[For session description, see **Harter**]

Mary J. Harper, Princeton University

Sex, Fraud and Forgery: Louis Philippe, Ida Saint Elme and the « Procès des Lettres » (1841)

In April 1841, former courtesane, memoir writer, and journalist Ida Saint-Elme erupted on the political scene in Paris as a key figure in “la fameuse affaire des Lettres.” The notorious trial dramatized the waning popularity of Louis Philippe, and the increasingly repressive stance of his Minister of Affairs, Guizot, towards the use of the press by the Opposition (Republicans, Bonapartists, Legitimists). *La France*, a legitimist paper, stood accused by the government of “crime de faux” et “offense à la personne du roi” for publishing deeply compromising letters acquired and supplied by Saint Elme, a Bonapartist who trafficked in celebrity autographs. Allegedly written by Louis-Philippe, the letters appeared to expose the King’s treacherous alliances with forces hostile to France over such issues as the possession of Algeria, the fate of Poland, and the fortification of Paris. Although the letters were undoubtedly forged, the scandal did further damage to the King’s diminishing prestige. At the center of the trial’s legal arguments lay questions about legitimacy, authenticity and authority, particularly fraught issues for Louis-Philippe and the late July Monarchy. These same questions also cast into relief the slippery identity of the courtesane Ida Saint Elme, sole source and guarantor of the letters’ authenticity and thus a critical figure for both defense and prosecution. What the trial and pre-trial police reports highlight is the scandal of female promiscuity in mid 19th century France, exemplified by Saint-Elme’s selling of her body, her memoirs, and the forged letters. In the prosecution’s argument, “The corruption of the document is signaled by the corruption of the name that produced it.”

Deborah Harter, Rice University

Disorderly Portraits: Art, Science, and the Poetics of Failure

The challenge of art is to say well what resists being said, to capture within a frame objects that defy all frames, to bring order to images whose preference would seem far more the freedom of disorder. The brilliance of art, moreover, is to make palpable that unspeakability, to allow that escape from the frame, to support that preference for disorder. Exploring a series of literary and visual texts from Baudelaire (“Une Martyre”), Goya (“Tio Pacquete”), Picasso (“The Weeping Woman”), and Van Gogh (“Portrait of a Patient from St. Paul’s Asylum”), I will suggest that the very failure that often torments the artist is key to the success of his or her creative expression. In each of their works, the object envisioned emerges from a painted or written canvas that is not a source of stability, moving us, in the end, not just for what it allows us to see but for what it keeps to itself.

Session Description: Painting, Poetry, and Disorder

Painting, Poetry, and Disorder will consider a selection of poetic and visual texts of the 19th century for the way they announce detour, disorder, and disruption in the anti-narratives they

embrace, in the fragmented worlds they reflect, and in their resistance to the ordered boundaries of the artist's frame. Leo Costello suggests that in Delacroix's "Women of Algiers"—a painting often criticized for its absence of subject—it is precisely lack, nothingness, and absence of subject that forms the troubled subject of the painting. Daniel Harkett explores how Delphine Gay's use of images to inspire and accompany salon performances of her poetry reflected (and attempted to resolve) the fragmented disorder of a fractious, post-revolutionary world. Finally, and with examples from Baudelaire, Flaubert, and Van Gogh, Deborah Harter considers whether it is in the very nature of art to emerge most richly from the inevitable play of internal failure. [See **Harter, Costello, Harkett**]

Melanie Hawthorne, Texas A&M University

The Workings of Law and Order in Bryan Talbot's "Grandville"

This presentation focuses on the "Grandville" novels of British graphic artist Bryan Talbot (b. 1952). The novels are set in fin-de-siècle Paris, though in an alternative universe in which Napoleon was not defeated.

I begin by assessing Talbot's debt to the French caricaturist known as Grandville (Jean Ignace Isidore Gérard (1803-1847), who gives his name to the series but also provides the central conceit of the novels: all the characters are animals. Next I consider the linguistic dimension of the novels, which contain numerous plays on words in both English and French. For example, the character based on the *préfet de police*, Lepine, is depicted as a rabbit, or *lapin*. Despite the debt to the French nineteenth century, however, Talbot's novels are modern in their contemporary preoccupation with terrorism and state surveillance, the main subject matter of the plots.

In the final section of the presentation, I place Talbot's novels in the broader context of the steampunk genre of science fiction writing. The genre is sometimes defined by its "Victorian" settings, but this emphasis overlooks the important French cultural associations. Even when set in Britain, the French aspect continues to play an important role. (For example, Alan Moore's League of Extraordinary Gentlemen series includes the figure of Captain Nemo.) Indeed, this genre may be said to be French in origin, tracing its roots to the nineteenth century and the work of Jules Verne and Georges Méliès, and even today it continues to have its French exemplars. In closing I refer to the work of Jacques Tardi (best known for his Belle Epoque heroine Adèle Blanc-Sec) and, most recently, Jean-Christophe Valtat, whose novel about a Venice of the Arctic, *Aurorama*, appeared (in English) in 2010.

Susie Hennessy, Missouri Western State University

Thou Shalt Be Fruitful

The unspoken laws of propriety inhere within public and private space, crossing class boundaries and rites of passage. Be it a seven-course meal served at a wedding or the handing out of *dragées* upon the birth of a child, food plays a symbolic role in the social hierarchy. In *Le Ventre de Paris*, Lisa Quenu and her gleaming white butcher shop illustrate how pork becomes a proxy for reproduction. *Cette chapelle du ventre* over which Lisa reigns is the means to achieving her fantasy of a bourgeois existence. At the same time, her role at the meat counter suggests a replacement of her reproductive ability by the making of *boudin* and saucisson.

We see a similar configuration in the domestic realm, where the menu reflects the social status to which the hostess aspires. As an example, Emile Zola's Mme Josserand hopes to impress guests by serving fancy tea cakes at a coming-out party for her daughter in *Pot-Bouille*. In an era when women's reproductive function is obscured, culinary production signifies their worth. Per Bonnie Smith: "That elegant cuisine eventually permeated all layers of domestic society attests to its ultimate importance as a symbol of domesticity." Exploring the mother figure as she navigates the tacit rules of ritual gatherings confirms that the laws of etiquette, while arbitrary, are nonetheless binding: "Society saw them and they saw themselves in the glazed salmon and in the carefully chosen strawberries that graced the table." Food as a displaced metaphor for female creation underscores women's struggle for social standing. This study dissects the web of meaning in Zola's portrayal of mothers, their status as (re)productive members of society, and the rules of social interaction.

Susan Hiner, Vassar College

"Fashion's Orders: Grandville's Lady-Flowers"

Les Fleurs animées, a series of 53 illustrations engraved and painted by J.J. Grandville, and published posthumously in 1847, depicts the metamorphosis of the floral world as mid-nineteenth-century Parisiennes. Grandville's images order the floral world through a fashion iconography that combines, rearranges, imitates and contests two of the most ubiquitous forms of visual culture targeted at women in nineteenth-century France: the flower almanac and the fashion plate. Along with these images' power to cast fashion as the premier socializing discourse, and their evident dialogue with the genres of the fashion plate and flower image, which made them popular with a female audience, Grandville's animated flowers also offer a contemporary social commentary. Notably, through the inclusion of certain witty non-grammaticalities of the fashion plate—from dandified insects to plumes of smoke—the images incarnate a formal hybridity that mirrors the hybridity of the lady-flowers themselves. Grandville's illustrations make the claim that the attempt to subordinate the natural world to the yoke of men—via industry or colonial expansion, or other ordering systems—is inextricably entwined with women's role as aestheticized and subordinated object of desire. Flowers were essential to women's fashion in the nineteenth century; the representation of flowers as women (and women as flowers) reinforces this aestheticized role, but it also places women in a liminal space that defies ordering altogether. My paper will analyze the complex relationship between Grandville's lady-flowers and both the fashion plate and the flower book, which they both mimic and subvert. Ultimately, it is in Grandville's consistent staging of hybridity that his challenge to order must be understood.

Cary Hollinshead-Strick, American University of Paris

Le Boulevard du Crime Selects a Jury

July Monarchy plays reveal widespread concern about the increasingly popular practice of publishing accounts of criminal trials. Vaudevilles from 1836 and 1837 make fun of enthusiastic subscribers to the *Gazette des Tribunaux*, a popular newspaper that covered court

proceedings, while comedies of 1839 and 1840 are similarly critical of those characters who are impatient to read Dumas' *Les Crimes célèbres*. When one such play has a dilettante choose to write for the theater because it allows him to copy his plots from newspaper accounts of trials, serious questions about popular perception of the judicial system lurk behind the comic song which accompanies his choice. For, these plays suggest, if crimes are sensationalized by newspapers and then staged on the Boulevard du Crime as a source of entertainment, women may start to wish that their suitors were glamorous escaped criminals. Men, on the other hand, especially those who live in utterly tranquil circumstances, may keep everything and everyone under lock and key for fear of theft and murder. July Monarchy plays which represent judicial publicity suggest that the dreams encouraged by such mediatization are hardly conducive to familial stability or relations of confidence within society.

As if to safeguard against such extravagant reactions, plays about judicial publicity present their critiques to theater audiences for validation, setting up spectators as jurors who are asked to approve or disapprove of their social commentary. Closing musical numbers routinely encourage the audience to be an "indulgent tribunal." One playwright, praising the audience of the Théâtre des Folies dramatiques, claims that "ses arrêts ne sont pas aussi souvent sujets à cassation que ceux qui se rendent dans tel ou tel feuilleton," suggesting that popular success is a more reliable measure of literary longevity than critical success, but doing so in terms that are highly suggestive of judicial parallels. As an alternate court of public opinion, popular theaters put the mediatization of the justice system on trial, accusing its sensationalism of undermining social cohesion and implicitly offering their own productions as better entertainment around which to gather.

Hélène Huet, Penn State University

Clarimonde: femme fatale, vampire décadente?

Dans *Five Faces of Modernity* (1987), Matei Calinescu mentionne le critique Désiré Nisard qui dès 1836 tente de formuler une théorie sur le style décadent. Parlant de Victor Hugo, Nisard déclare que son recueil *Chants du crépuscule* (1835) possède tous les signes de la décadence, ce qui pour Calinescu se traduit par: « the profuse use of description, the prominence of detail and, on a general plane, the elevation of the imaginative power, to the detriment of reason » (161). La nouvelle de Théophile Gautier, *La Morte amoureuse*, paraît aussi en 1836 et ressemble au niveau stylistique à la description de Nisard. Mais l'importance des thèmes chez les décadents est oubliée par celui-ci et peu mentionnée par Calinescu. Or, ce qui est frappant dans le texte de Gautier est que la vision de Clarimonde, cette femme-vampire ressuscitée par le baiser d'un prêtre, est un motif que l'on retrouvera de manière récurrente chez certains auteurs de la fin de siècle. Je me propose d'étudier en quoi Clarimonde pourrait préfigurer les représentations des femmes fatales chez les artistes décadents et être décadente avant l'heure.

Pour explorer cette problématique, je vais dans un premier temps analyser en quoi la vision que l'on a de Clarimonde dépend du regard que les hommes lui portent et en quoi cela change son rôle comme transgresseuse de lois. Je vais aussi m'interroger sur les liens entre ce personnage et celui de Raoule dans *Monsieur Vénus* de Rachilde (1884). Ces deux femmes peuvent en effet être considérées comme des femmes-vampires suçant le sang de leurs victimes afin de se revigorer. Elles féminisent également leur victime masculine, modifiant ainsi les rôles pré-établis que chacun est supposé jouer selon son sexe. Je verrai donc en quoi les deux femmes

transgressent les lois de la nature, Clarimonde de par sa nature de morte-vivante et de femme fatale, et Raoule puisqu'elle se sent homme dans un corps de femme et se comporte comme tel, modifiant ainsi les frontières des sexes.

Sarah Hurlburt, Whitman College

Legislating Literature: Women Readers on Trial and Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*

The trial of Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* articulates a series expression of tensions and contradictions in early 19th-century pedagogical thought surrounding the problem of reading women and the exemplary influence of text. When Flaubert and his publishers were brought to trial in 1857 for corruption of public and religious morals, both the defense and the prosecution in the trial focused on the gender of the readership for *Madame Bovary*, assuming that women, indeed young women, were the principal audience. The trial documents clearly reflect that the real concern of the prosecution was not to protect readers and viewers from shock or offense, but rather to protect them from the thrilling desire to imitate. The danger of the novel as presented by the prosecution thus lay in its power to normalize that which was previously shocking; to render possible, even real, what was previously only (un)imaginable.

As a result, the real question dividing the prosecution and the defense was not whether or not *Madame Bovary* contained obscenity, but rather how a young woman would interpret this obscenity. Would she find it appealing, and imitate the heroine in her dissatisfaction and adultery? Or would she be warned by Emma's downfall and use Emma's life as the model of exactly what *not* to do, learning from counter example, similar to the spectators of classical theater? The trial of the book was thus also the trial of the hypothetical young woman reader of the novel *Madame Bovary*; the trial of this hypothetical young woman in turn was the trial of women's education in 19th-century France.

Casiana Ionita, Columbia University

The Theatrical Commune

During the Paris Commune and in the years following its repression, the Communards' enemies constantly described them as "savage" or "depraved." Accounts of the Commune published by literary figures such as Emile Zola, Maxime du Camp, Alphonse Daudet, and Edmond de Goncourt recycled some of these insults while also pursuing an alternative line of attack: they accused the Communards of being theatrical. My paper will focus on these writers' contribution to a long-standing tradition of anti-theatricality in order to explore the intricate relationship between spectacle and political order,

Both du Camp's *Les Convulsions de Paris* (1878-1880) and Zola's articles written during the Commune tried to delegitimize the Communards by depicting them as actors who followed the script of previous revolutions. Yet this position proved untenable when the two writers faced what Diderot called "the paradox of the actor": if the Communards were performers, they could not be held accountable. Avoiding such a quandary, Edmond de Goncourt, in his *Journal*, and Daudet, in his articles from the same period, condemned the spectacle of the Commune from a different perspective. Since they both appreciated the theater as an art form, they described Commune acts as bad theatricality because it did not respect the strict limits of bourgeois

theater. Instead of taking place only in certain regulated contexts, revolutionary performance happened in the street, blurring the limits between representation and reality. This was exactly what Communards such as Prosper Lissagaray praised as a crucial feature of the new society they envisioned. In his *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (1876), Lissagaray emphasized the direct connection between theatricality and the Commune's participatory democracy. This argument in favor of the political power of spectacle was revisited in the 1960s by Henri Lefebvre and is still prevalent in current studies of the Commune.

Christophe Ippolito, Ivan Allen College, Georgia Institute of Technology

De l'antiterrorisme dans les *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*

La Révolution est au centre de la première partie des *Mémoires*. Chateaubriand insiste sur le fait qu'elle a été construite sur des meurtres injustifiables, et la figure du « terroriste » (le mot de terrorisme apparaît en 1794) lui apparaît comme un repoussoir. Chateaubriand dénonce Marat et Fouché, les foules dangereuses, des formes de peur collective, de cannibalisme (il parle de « festins de cannibales »), d'animalité, de sauvagerie, et des meurtres étrangers à la civilisation. Le mot de terroriste renvoie historiquement au régime de la Terreur et à sa violence, sinon à la première partie plus « libérale » de la Révolution (et Chateaubriand est un défenseur des libertés, de la presse notamment); la Terreur semble devenir pour Chateaubriand la période par rapport à laquelle il définit son attitude antirévolutionnaire. Il dénonce la mascarade qui change Marat en Jésus, ou le carnaval sanglant qui transforme le monastère des Cordeliers en haut lieu de la Révolution. Chateaubriand en vient à peindre la Terreur comme un enfer, comme le péché originel de la Révolution, qui mène au « grand abîme » de la Chute. La Terreur et la Peste (de 1832) deviennent comme la mesure de la vie et du temps du mémorialiste et de ses contemporains (et la guillotine est l'instrument symbolique de la coupure temporelle entre les deux mondes d'avant et d'après la Révolution). Plus avant, pour Chateaubriand et sa génération, l'éternel retour de la révolution et des formes de violence politique, parallèle au long accouchement du monde nouveau, est une menace qui persiste *ad infinitum* et oriente, autant que le renversement du religieux opéré par le *Génie du Christianisme*, la pensée conservatrice antimoderne: la loi et l'ordre qui domineront longtemps la pensée politique française.

Heather Jensen, Brigham Young University

Les Grâces en pantalon: Cross-dressing in Paris, c. 1800

Descriptors of the *merveilleuses*, or the set of socialites who reigned supreme in the world of fashion during the Directoire, frequently reference their scandalously low-cut and diaphanous robes that emphasized the female body. While this feminine attire was certainly the norm for these women, it appears that there were a few who eschewed such clothing in favor of dressing like a man. Little attention has been paid to this development in post-Revolutionary France, despite the fact that the 1800 ordinance which prohibits women from cross-dressing (a proscription still on the books) has garnered some attention of late.

Indeed, evidence culled from a variety of textual and visual sources suggests that cross-dressing was both a titillating as well as a dangerous proposition for a society in the midst of exploring new social relations. Fashion plates and prints of the period suggest this fascination with women donning male costume for sports and recreation, and hint at the extension of these

sartorial liberties into the pleasure parks and streets of Paris. One little known print, “Les Grâces en pantalon,” alludes to an attempt to reconcile antique models of female virtue and beauty with the modern taste for transgressive cultural dalliances. Moreover, there are important if oblique references to women’s cross-dressing in the periodical literature. Of particular interest is the case of Caroline Wuiet, a former protégé of Marie-Antoinette and intrepid journalist, who received a *permission de travestissement* from the Minister of Police in 1798. Wuiet’s petition to cross-dress was accompanied by a letter of support written by none other than Joséphine Bonaparte, whose husband would soon reveal his distinctly misogynist colors by lobbying against women’s social, legal, and political rights.

This paper seeks to examine the various provocations that resulted in the enactment of the 1800 ordinance that forbade women’s cross-dressing and to explore its implications for the emerging social order under Napoleon.

Jessica Garces Jensen, University of Pennsylvania

Criminal Wombs: Investigating the aborting women of Zola’s *Fécondité*

The perennial legal, ethical, and medical debate over abortion stretches deep into the history of France. Traditionally, the 1556 Edict of Henry II is cited as the earliest anti-abortion legislation which officially banned infanticide and required the declaration of pregnancies. Yet, in the early 19th century, the French State detected the need to explicitly address one of the greatest perceived dangers to the unborn fetus: the abortion-seeking woman.

Article 317 of the penal code of 1810 forbade abortion although relatively few women and doctors were prosecuted. Most historians agree that the introduction of new legislation and rabid debates over amendments to these laws only resulted in the creation of clandestine sites operated by sympathetic and/or financially motivated doctors and “*les faiseuses d’ange*” who operated outside of the law.

By 1852 following numerous public debates, abortion was categorized “un crime contre l’ordre des familles et la moralité publique,” although this addition had little impact on suspected abortion rates. Highly publicized trials like the 1891 “affaire Thomas,” revived rabid nation-wide debates between Pronatalists and Neo-malthusians, who both sought to revisit the law. Reflection on the legal limits of the female reproductive body surfaced in the form of extensive propaganda varying from pamphlets and journals to plays and novels supporting both sides of the controversy.

Emile Zola’s novel *Fécondité* (1899) famously stages this debate while expressing a clear Pronatalist position. Yet instead of uniquely focusing on legal and ethical arguments, the novel exposes and engages with the often silenced narratives of the aborting women at the center of this nationwide discussion. Within the novel, numerous female characters of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds abort with varying outcomes. This paper closely analyses the novel’s depiction of and engagement with these ‘criminal’ women and their narratives as they dare to transgress the legal limits of their reproductive bodies. Moreover, it considers how Zola’s text anticipates the reproductive politics that will forever mark France in the 20th century.

Deborah Jenson, Duke University

US Legal Opinions on the Independence of Haiti from France

It is well known that Haiti's former colonizer, France, did not recognize Haiti's independence until August of 1825. A full seventeen years after the army of Napoleon Bonaparte had been defeated on the battlefield by its former slaves in late 1803, King Charles X agreed to renounce his claims to Haiti in light of "the precarious state of the Haitians and the rights of his own subjects."¹ This belated recognition was based on Haiti's agreement to pay France an indemnity of 150 million francs to reimburse the colonists of Saint-Domingue--whose real estate holdings had included slaves contractually linked to land titles, thus raising the question of whether the indemnity was in part a payment for Haitian citizens' own freedom. In 1825, Haitians' freedom had been legally established for 32 years, since French Commissioner Sonthonax first legally declared the freedom of all inhabitants of Saint-Domingue in 1793. In the United States, the recognition of Haiti's independence, in tandem with that of Liberia, did not come until 1862 under President Lincoln, in the cascade of change represented by the turbulence of the American Civil War. In this presentation, I present an almost entirely unknown side of the international recognition of Haiti's independence. Prior to the French recognition of Haiti's independence, the question had been debated in U.S. courts, not as a diplomatic question but as an ancillary contextual issue in judgments on prize cases (--cases based on the "prise" or taking of ships by corsairs), in courts ranging from the Vice-Admiralty Court of Nova Scotia to the U.S. Supreme Court, between 1805 and 1816. The story of the U.S. consideration of the issue of Haiti's independence includes the fascinating episode of U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Marshall's opinions on the Haitian Revolution. Reflecting on Marshall's view of abolitionist ideology in the Haitian Revolution gives us a new window onto U.S. relationships to the French Revolution and the Rights of Man as well as the Haitian Revolution:

Of that malignant philosophy, which, disregarding the actual state of the world, and estimating at nothing the miseries of a vast portion of the human race, can coolly and deliberately pursue through oceans of blood, abstract systems for the attainment of some fancied untried good, early and bitter fruits were gathered in the French West Indies. Instead of proceeding in the correction of any abuses which might exist, by those slow and cautious steps which gradually introduce reform, without ruin, which may prepare and fit society for that better state of things designed for them; and which by not attempting impossibilities, may enlarge the circle of happiness, the revolutionists of France formed the mad and wicked project of spreading their doctrines of equality among persons, between whom there *exist* distinctions and prejudices to be subdued only by the grave.

This paper will argue that the field of French and U.S. interrelationships of legal philosophies of "distinctions" among people cannot be fully assessed without consideration of legal responses to the Haitian Independence.

and

Mapping 19th-Century Caribbean Cholera Epidemics with Timemap, Google Docs, and More [Technology and Pedagogy Panel]

¹ Raban [no first name], *Résumé de l'histoire de St. Domingue (République d'Haïti)*, (Paris: Guérin, 1825) 273-74. This and all other translations are by Deborah Jenson unless otherwise noted.

Sharon Johnson, Virginia Tech

Reading (for) Trauma: Legal and Journalistic Scotomization

The 1810 Penal code recognizes for the first time in French jurisprudence that men or women could be victims of rape; however, the law and the reporting of rape in the *Canards sanglants* demonstrate a predilection for *les crimes du sang* and for victims who were (female) children. ****'s paper, based on her examination of 2,500 *Canards Sanglants*, will examine cases of underreported victims (the adult woman, and a male) as well as two cases involving children to illustrate how legal, medical and journalistic discourses converged in the popular press to obfuscate the victims' voices. Using Réda Bensmaïa's figurative use of "scotoma," which he defines as "a psychological and ideological blindness to obvious things—i.e., to things that the eye can see but that the mind refuses to acknowledge," *** demonstrates how especially this popular print media did not acknowledge fully certain violent crimes despite textual or material "evidence." Through the juxtaposition of the coverage of the murder of a young man in the Bois de Vincennes that failed to "see" his possible rape with the coverage of two young women whose sexual assaults were originally not discovered, **** argues that the law's gendered assumptions about sexuality created "blind spots" that raise questions not only about the ability of the law to protect its citizens but its ability to recognize certain brutal acts of violence, regardless of the age and gender of its victims.

Warren Johnson, Arkansas State University

The Moral Economy of Hector Malot

Hector Malot's reputation as the author of the children's classic *Sans famille* has largely overshadowed the much larger body of his *romans de mœurs* that also gravitate around the concept of justice. Malot's more than fifty novels for adults insistently pursue the re-establishment of an equilibrium, as a musical work strives toward the tonal center, of which justice is a central component. Malot's *Conscience* (1888) and its sequel *Justice* (1889), by their very titles, suggest the dialectic between ethics, conceived as the relation of the individual to the ideal moral order, and the much less effective judiciary system that institutionalizes the relation of the community to the individual. The story of the dual murders in these novels—one out of desperate need for money, the other to cover up the first—and the eventual suicide of the perpetrator illustrates the tendency throughout Malot's work to privilege the internalization of ethical principles over legal constraints as binding human beings together, since coercive social forces are responsible for much of the misery his characters endure. While violent crimes are rare in Malot, the nefarious interlinking of money, social status, and exercise of parental authority frequently impose constraints on the more vulnerable—women, children, and the poor—that deny them their just deserts. The opposition throughout Malot between money as rightful compensation for labor and as ill-gotten gain from theft, gambling, or manipulation further underscores the crucial importance of the individual's internalized ethical norms as providing the framework for the moral economy of his novels. Beginning with an examination of the crime narratives of *Conscience* and *Justice*, I intend to show how Malot's texts strive teleologically toward a social and moral equilibrium that is founded on individual choice and ethical behavior.

Joyce Johnston, Stephen F. Austin State University

Preserving the Monarchy: Women, Law and Order in Virginie Ancelot's Theater

During the first half of the nineteenth century, tales of French royalty, law and politics inspired the best known male dramatists such as Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas to create timeless theatrical works. In contrast women playwrights generally produced light-hearted plays featuring sentimental plots and received little critical attention. Like her contemporaries, successful dramatist Virginie Ancelot (1792-1875) most often depicted domestic situations within short comedies and dramas. However, Ancelot occasionally broke free of gender constraints by tackling politics in her theater. A staunch supporter of Louis XVIII and Charles X, Ancelot stages royalist views and emphasizes the superiority of a monarchical state to guarantee political stability in *Reine, cardinal et page* (1832) and *Les Deux impératrices ou une petite guerre* (1842). In these unjustly forgotten works, female heads of state maintain law and order while their male counterparts are either threats or inept minor characters who serve only to accentuate the heroines' exceptional nature.

Aware that an overtly feminist depiction of women would undermine her plays' representations, Ancelot tempers her message of female empowerment by constructing her heroines as models of morality and devotion to correspond with the idealized woman of the period. Events in *Reine, cardinal et page* and *Deux impératrices ou une petite guerre* underscore that women rulers must be both shrewd and virtuous in order to maintain peace. In *Reine, cardinal et page* Anne d'Autriche resists temptation from a handsome suitor and outwits Cardinal Richelieu to preserve her husband's reign. *Deux impératrices ou une petite guerre* depicts both Catherine I of Russia and Marie-Thérèse of Austria as admirable statesmen, yet Marie-Thérèse's piety and self-sacrifice in love save her country from the morally corrupt Catherine's aggression.

While Ancelot does not challenge traditional feminine ideals of virtue and self-abnegation, she does present a progressive view of women's intelligence and their ability to participate in politics. In order to protect their nation, queens and empresses are forced to sacrifice their own happiness and suffer the same unjust gender constraints as ordinary women. Public and private spheres collide in Ancelot's theater where bold, but virtuous women maintain law and order.

Edward Kaplan, Brandeis University

Humanism in Transition: Lamartine in the Optic of Michel Foucault

When I first read Michel's Foucault's renowned celebration of the disappearance of the human subject – what he calls “man” – toward the end of his radical epistemological manifesto, *Les mots et les choses* (1966), I was fascinated with the ambiguous, but unmistakable lyrical pathos (Nietzschean, religious?) of his deconstructive vision. Foucault's definition of the person as an “empirico-transcendental doublet,” developed in the section entitled “The Analytic of Finitude” of *The Order of Things* (pp. 312-343 of the translation), provides an original approach to the millennial tradition of philosophical anthropology and helps clarify the transitions effected by French Romantic religiosity from Catholicism (or Christianity) to a more rational, philosophical faith. My prime example will be the first edition of Lamartine's *Méditations*

poétiques (1820) and especially the poems, “L’Homme” (no. 2), “La Prière” and “La Foi” (nos. 12, 14).

Our analysis seeks to explain how Lamartine’s poetic masterpiece effects a transition between childhood memories of Christian piety and an adult’s intellectual scepticism and viscerally felt religious doubt. Such ambivalence may also explain the apocalyptic tone at the conclusion of Foucault’s analytic tour de force.

Dorothy Kelly, Boston University

Removing the *Doxa* from the Doxy: Breaking “Natural” Law in Baudelaire’s “À Celle qui est trop gaie”

Readers have noted the equation of the woman with the natural landscape that appears at the beginning of “À Celle qui est trop gaie,” as well as the violent misogyny of this poem, but what is the relation between the two? A closer look at this “nature” reveals, rather than the richly suggestive clouded climes and humid, teary suns of “L’Invitation au voyage,” an empty, airy sky in a flat, almost tautological definition of the woman’s beauty.

The clear sky figures the cheery “air” of the “airhead” woman (our “doxy” if we think of the recipient of the poem, Mme Sabatier). However the airy emptiness of the metaphor makes visible its empty, hackneyed character, the “doxic” and toxic linking of nature and woman. I will follow the empty “doxa” of the poetic *lieu commun* of the natural landscape through the remainder of the poem, through the artificial flowers on the woman’s real clothes and the real flower in the artificial garden, to show how it aggressively invades the poet and contaminates him.

The poet then reacts violently to this invasion, a violence that stands for the attempt to break the *doxic* law of empty metaphors and to infuse the woman with a new way of being and speaking by giving her (and the reader) new artificial lips, which come from the poet’s venomous and toxic body (and the body of this poem). The woman then would become the poet’s sister: like him she would speak with lips that no longer mindlessly repeat empty clichés, but would instead speak of artificiality itself. I will end with a feminist consideration of Baudelaire’s infamous statement, “La femme est naturelle, c’est-à-dire abominable,” in light of his treatment of woman and nature in this poem.

Marni Kessler, University of Kansas

“On the Grid: Gustave Caillebotte’s *Fruit Displayed on a Stand*”

In Gustave Caillebotte’s *Fruit Displayed on a Stand* of 1880-82, seemingly precisely measured clusters of fruits fit themselves into a larger architected grid. Nestled amongst white paper dividers, the fruits themselves read like the bricks that would make up a building. An advertisement for an advertisement, this painting of fruit IS the advertisement for the market itself, the artist, the fruit seller. But *Fruit Displayed on a Stand* is also somehow topographic, a gridded landscape as it might be seen from above. Indeed, Caillebotte chooses the viewpoint that

could best capture the organized network of fruit, the most urban and modern of viewpoints, one that recalls Nadar's aerial photographs of the lay of Haussmann's Paris from his famous balloon.

In my paper, I want to analyze the ways in which Caillebotte finds artfulness in even the objects of everyday life. To be sure, he discovers in the simplest of things—a display of fruit—a modern and technologically-sophisticated urban viewing and organization system, one that mimics the very layout of Haussmann's Paris. Even a greengrocer's presentation of fruit becomes for Caillebotte an opportunity for artfulness and formal invention, an invention that is rooted in the artist's interest in urban perspectives and new technologies, conventions that we readily see where we expect to see them, in, for example, his grand *Le Pont de l'Europe* and *Paris Street: Rainy Day*. But in *Fruit Displayed on a Stand*, even a close up view of an array of fruit takes on the look of the new city, systematized and sorted, arranged and controlled. Using the conventions we may associate with the burgeoning practice of aerial photography, Caillebotte, perhaps unwittingly, literally invents the urban still life.

Aimee Kilbane, Dartmouth College

“L'Étudiant en droit: physiologie d'un fainéant”

Anxiety about the authority and stability of the law in 19th century France is reflected in the figure of the *étudiant en droit*, the star of many a *physiologie* as well as a stock character in countless novels of the time (by Balzac, Sand, Flaubert, and Hugo, to name just a few). Portrayals of this figure betray not only concern for France's legal institutions and codes, but for the younger generation that would presumably lead and protect the country's future.

The essay “L'Étudiant en droit” from the first volume of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (1841) resembles portraits of the bohemian from the 1850s and beyond: he has long hair and a beard, dresses eccentrically, is at home on the street, aspires to be a musician or a novelist, and his mistress is a *grisette*. This description of the law student reappears in other *physiologies* (from various collections) dedicated to, for example, the *grisette*, the *quartier latin*, the artist, the bohemian, and the student.

By the time Flaubert introduces « M. Frédéric Moreau, nouvellement reçu bachelier, s'en retournait à Nogent-sur-Seine, où il devait languir pendant deux mois, avant d'aller *faire son droit*, » (Flaubert's italics) “étudiant en droit” had come to signify misspent youth, or the naïve provincial who arrives in Paris with unrealistic expectations and who would soon squander the resources his family had assiduously put together in preparation for his illustrious career, in favor of a life of debauchery in the *quartier latin*.

What was it about the *étudiant en droit* that made him come to symbolize the sloth of a generation? And more importantly, why did the reading public so enjoy tales of the antics of the unproductive offspring of the newly powerful bourgeoisie? Why were they such a beloved target for writers—whether the sophisticated irony of Flaubert, or the cheap-shot parody of the *physiologiste*? This paper will address these questions through analyses of the aforementioned *physiologies* and novels.

Cheryl Krueger, University of Virginia

Corruption and Confusion: Baudelaire's *ambre*

In this paper I will examine the ambiguities of *ambre* as both signifier and fragrant substance, exploring confusion and corruption as means of poetic transport in “Correspondances.” Baudelaire’s *parfums corrompus*, *riches et triomphants (l’ambre, le musc, le benjoin et l’encens)*, are often discussed in terms of moral, syntactical, and poetic corruption. In his textual analysis of “Correspondances” (“Anthropomorphism and Trope in the Lyric”) Paul de Man posits that the evil of *parfums corrompus* stems from syntax, where numeration and tautology masquerade as transcendental metaphor. He also discusses the many manifestations of “transport” in Baudelaire’s poem: between the spirit and senses; the one-way ticket from “Correspondances” to “Obsession;” and the inevitable association of the word *correspondance* with public transit, a prosaic intervention characteristic of Baudelaire’s lyric poetics.

I will focus on another sort of transport and corruption in the poem, this time based on ambiguities of meaning, and misunderstanding of sources; on difficulties of lexical and cultural translation. The perfume materials cited in this poem were not all household words in Baudelaire’s time, nor were their origins widely understood. Yet whether or not the reader knows and recalls these smells, their names alone—then and now—suggest passage beyond national borders, across and upon (in the case of ambergris) the seas. Although Marco Polo correctly identified the source of ambergris in the thirteenth century, the fact is forgotten for centuries at a time, even by the perfumers who used the substance regularly. Even today, many marketers of perfume confuse the ingredients ambergris, fossilized amber resin, and a popular blend called “amber accord,” as if it they were one, mysterious material with three different forms. The confusion of amber for ambergris in translation, and the multiple meanings of the word *ambre* in French, further tangle the “confuses paroles” of “Correspondances.”

Martine Lavaud, Université Paris - Sorbonne / Paris 4

Femmes hors frontières: fantastique et désobéissance dans *Arria Marcella* (1852) de Théophile Gautier

Publiée par Gautier dans *La Revue de Paris* puis *Le Pays* en mars et août 1852, la nouvelle *Arria Marcella, souvenir de Pompéi*, est remarquable à double titre: non seulement elle synthétise toutes les formes de transgression, morale, religieuse, temporelle, culturelle, mais encore elle les fonde dans le creuset d’une structure narrative déterminée par le modèle archéologique, grâce auquel le genre fantastique se trouve renouvelé. C’est dans le personnage d’Arria Marcella, le personnage éponyme, que s’entrecroisent toutes ces lignes de transgression, et c’est autour de lui que Gautier a construit une réflexion quasiment allégorique sur les rapports entre esthétique et désobéissance, notamment en opérant une mutation simple mais radicale: le remplacement de la catastrophe naturelle, l’éruption du Vésuve, qui constitue habituellement le « clou » du récit pompéien, par une catastrophe culturelle, soit l’éradication du paganisme au profit du christianisme.

On se propose donc d’analyser les aspects suivants:

- Le statut allégorique du personnage féminin dans le cadre d’une « démonstration » légitimant sa désobéissance, qui loin d’être une posture strictement individuelle engage symboliquement l’histoire esthétique et morale de la société occidentale
- La façon dont le modèle archéologique renouvelle les codes traditionnels du fantastique, et ce par l’intermédiaire d’Arria Marcella, dont le héros tombe amoureux

en admirant le moulage « volcanique » de son sein. On examinera ainsi la façon dont l'exactitude scientifique exalte contradictoirement le fantastique, voire le réinvente.

- L'articulation du fantastique avec l'érotisme, dont le personnage féminin est là encore le dépositaire

Ces trois entrées (allégorique, archéologique, érotique) permettront au passage de faire le point sur la fonction d'*Arria Marcella* dans le genèse de la *Gradiva* de Jensen, cette fonction n'ayant pas encore été complètement élucidée.

Susanna Lee, Georgetown University

“L’Affaire Lerouge: Gaboriau’s Legal Romanticism”

This paper examines the figure of the jury members, the imagined listeners, in Emile Gaboriau's *L’Affaire Lerouge*. It analyzes the tension between the clichéd theatricality of the story's legal proceedings, including its schematic and class-based representations of culpability and innocence, and the postulation of the jury as a “tribunal suprême, institution admirable, pouvoir essentiellement modérateur.” This novel provides a valuable window onto the law-as-fantasy precisely because of that tension: even as the jury's refusal to settle for a mere “conviction morale” is represented as laudable, that refusal becomes a dramatic obstacle to be overcome. In this sense, in its ambivalence toward the “pouvoir modérateur,” the novel moves at once to celebrate the rule of law and preserve the transcendent excesses of romanticism, with its dream of an ultimately visible and manifestable signified.

As Ravit Reichman writes in *The Affective Life of Law*, “Literature expresses the unspoken sentiments that underpin legal doctrine.” Gaboriau's novel, in its various representation of the jury's imagined responses, offers crucial elements of a legal romanticism that persists to the present day.

Isabelle Leroy-Jay Lemaistre, Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre

Les Animaux sculptés d'Antoine-Louis Barye: entre rigueur et furie

Rigueur et furie; précision des mesures, mais inventions imaginaires: le travail du sculpteur Antoine-Louis Barye, dont l'œuvre a été fidèlement soutenue par Gautier tout au long de sa carrière, peut se résumer à ces deux pôles apparemment opposés.

Des études anatomiques très précises assorties de très nombreuses prises de mensurations sur des animaux morts ou sur des recueils d'anatomie, mensurations reportées sur des tableaux comparatifs qui restaient exposés dans son atelier et lui ont servi de support tout au long de sa carrière. Il n'en créa pas moins des scènes sorties de son imagination, totalement inventées et souvent très improbables. Son travail sur les animaux tout particulièrement, oscille donc entre ces deux extrêmes: paranoïa des chiffres, des mensurations dans toute leur précision et imagination fantastique.

De plus, pour créer certains de ces combats improbables comme celui du *Tigre et gavial*, il s'appuie sur des études scientifiques des savants de son temps comme Cuvier et Geoffroy Saint Hilaire. Etudes qui furent diffusées pendant plus de deux ans avant ce fameux Salon de 1831 où parut le modèle en plâtre du *Tigre et gavial*. Ce groupe est donc précisément basé pour l'étude du gavial sur les travaux scientifiques de ces deux savants, mais un tel combat, nous disent les

spécialistes, est totalement improbable, fruit de l'invention de Barye comme bon nombre des combats qu'il met en scène.

France Lemoine, Scripps College

Silences et discours de la guillotine chez Hugo, France et Stendhal

La guillotine est adoptée par la Convention Révolutionnaire en 1792 comme modalité d'application de la peine capitale. Les mots juridiques qui instituent cette transformation apparaissent à l'article 3 du *Code pénal de 1791*: « Tout condamné [à mort] aura la tête tranchée ». Le rutilant bistouri chirurgical que la Révolution s'est arrogée en six mots va faire de la « veuve » un des symboles les plus éclatants de la République. Dans sa communication, **** propose d'explorer comment cet outil de destruction trouve une voix dans trois romans du dix-neuvième siècle, notamment *Quatre-Vingt-Treize* de Hugo, *Les Dieux ont soif* de France et *Le Rouge et le noir* de Stendhal. Dans chacun de ces textes, sous l'austérité de la mécanique implacable de la guillotine, coulent passion et sang qui, en touchant la lame du rasoir national, feront jaillir des perspectives narratives multiples inondant le vide créé par le laconisme de la loi.

Comment ces écrivains font parler la guillotine, les attributs dont ils la revêtent et leur déchiffrement de son ténébreux silence feront l'objet de cet essai. Chez Hugo, si la guillotine œuvre ostensiblement au nom de la République, elle est de fait alimentée par les convictions intimes de personnages profondément engagés. Dans la mythologie stendhalienne la faucheuse a gagné ses quartiers de noblesse et anoblit ceux qui choisissent de s'y mesurer. Sous la plume de France, le couperet devient un engrenage, une mécanique goulue et monstrueuse qui dévore de même victimes et bourreaux. Pris ensemble, ces trois auteurs produisent à leur insu une jurisprudence littéraire étonnante sur la guillotine qui non seulement l'explique et l'interprète mais, ultimement, la consacre.

Bettina Lerner, The City College, CUNY

Anti-Intellectual Property: Parody and Plagiarism in Nineteenth-Century Almanacs

This paper traces the forms of literary dissemination that occurred through almanacs and the problems they posed for the serial press and book trade. I look specifically at the role that these “petits livres jaunes, verts, gris, bleus” played in the emerging debates on intellectual property and the Romantic repositioning of the writer's role in society. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, almanacs promised entertainment in the form of both engraved illustrations and varied kinds of texts but were often seen as concealing “un petit air sournois sous leurs couvertures imprimées.” Sold for pennies apiece to a broad range of readers, these booklets combined calendars and horoscopes with longer pieces of fiction that, for at least one anonymous critic writing in 1846, were likely no more than “un certain morceau de roman qui n'a encore été publié que sous trois ou quatre formes diverses de publication.” For centuries, almanacs had been a staple of what Robert Darnton has called “low-life literature,” bringing crudely-illustrated versions of biblical and folkloric legends to both urban and rural readers. However, by the mid-nineteenth century almanacs bearing titles like *L'Almanach des Mystères de Paris* and *L'Almanach des Misérables* had changed the context and consequence of literary

diffusion, drawing an ever-larger public in with a mixture of parody and plagiarism of contemporary novels by popular writers like Eugène Sue and Victor Hugo.

I propose here that the nineteenth-century almanac resisted both the serial order of the archive and the bourgeois social order including, most notably, the new legal status that writers laid claim to during the second half of the century. Through satire, parody and extensive pastiche almanacs tested Enlightenment notions of “propriété littéraire” and “droits d’auteur” and contributed to the remapping of the literary field.

Briana Lewis, Allegheny College

The Sewer and the Prostitute in *Les Misérables*: From Regulation to Redemption

At the heart of the strategies by which Victor Hugo’s *Les Misérables* seeks to accomplish its social mission is the obligation that it places on its readers to look upon that which is considered dirty, detestable, undesirable. Critics and admirers alike have observed this almost universally disquieting aspect of the work. Charles Baudelaire, in his 1862 review of the novel, made note of this experience: “N’est-il pas utile que de temps à autre le poète, le philosophe, prennent un peu le Bonheur égoïste aux cheveux, et lui disent, en lui secouant le mufler dans le sang et l’ordure: ‘Vois ton œuvre et bois ton œuvre?’” In the novel’s long look at Paris’s pre-Haussmann sewers, as well as in its representation, in the character of Fantine, of the degradation and degeneration to the prostitute caused by prostitution, Hugo does indeed rub his contented bourgeois readers’ face in the filth that their lifestyle produces.

Over the course of the Nineteenth Century, from Hugo’s youth through the period when *Les Misérables* was being finalized and devoured by much of Europe, the official gaze of government was cast to these same two phenomena, in the form of regulation and control of prostitution and renovations of the sewers under the guidance of Haussmann. And yet, I will show that these two simultaneous gazes differ radically in both their goals and their outcomes. Whereas the various regimes of the Nineteenth Century sought to sanitize the sewer and the prostitute, objects of general taboo and disgust, through modernization and regulation, Hugo’s treatment of them works for their redemption by way of its Romantic glorification of the outcast and the grotesque and, more importantly, its rejection of regulation as a remedy for the bourgeoisie’s waste.

Dana Lindaman, University of Minnesota, Duluth

Arthur Sans Frontières

In this paper I will be reading Rimbaud’s “Mauvais Sang” as both a tactical ambush on the monolithic State apparatus and a subversion of the popular initiatory novel of the nineteenth century. Using Deleuze’s idea of deterritorialization and reterritorialization, I will argue that Rimbaud’s poetry subverts the artificial narrative of the State that attempts to justify its importance and centrality by translating a coexistence of “becomings” into a series of cause and effect. Rimbaud’s work, in contrast, is full of movement and transgresses the limits of order established by the State. Eventually the Third Republic would export its civilizing mission to its colonies, but not before applying it to its own population in the Provinces. Rimbaud expresses

well the semiotic overcoding experienced by the “savage barbarian” that left its subject divided against himself rather than peacefully assimilated (*je est un autre*). In addition, by invoking the elements that constitute the popular initiatory novel genre that speak of finding one’s place within society, Rimbaud is able to stress ways in which the dominant society rather finds a place for the individual, willing or not. Through playful linguistic manipulation and carefully chosen literary references, Rimbaud is able to turn the very mechanisms of authority against itself, exposing the brutal nature of a State machine organizing heterogeneous elements into a homogenous whole.

and

The use of iPads, Google Books and Google Apps in the literature classroom [Technology and Pedagogy Panel]

Anne Linton, Boston College

Hermaphrodite Outlaws: Doubtful Sex and the Civil Code in Nineteenth-Century France

Nineteenth-century France was deeply troubled by the legal ramifications of hermaphroditism. Entire treatises, countless articles, and bizarre works of popular fiction were dedicated to the subject. This paper asks why a condition that affected such a small percentage of the population suddenly became a zone of frenzied publication in the nineteenth century.

Through an examination of previously unknown medical case studies, police surveillance files, and sensational court cases involving hermaphrodites and divorce, I suggest that the Civil Code’s very silence on the existence of doubtful sex fostered a vociferous and sustained debate about it. Since no legal category existed to describe individuals who were neither clearly female nor clearly male, hermaphrodites became “outlaws” in the nineteenth century. Foucault taught us that legal sex revision led to Herculine Barbin’s suicide, but Barbin’s demise is merely the most well-known denouement among a myriad of others involving hermaphrodites and the law. This story is important because it invites us to rethink the longstanding historical representation of the nineteenth century as one in which science and medicine sought an absolute separation of the two sexes. Instead, I show that numerous doctors recommended adding a “neuter sex” or a “doubtful sex” category to the Code alongside male and female. Contrary to previous scholarship, I argue that these efforts spanned the length of the century. Surprisingly, although attempts to add “doubtful sex” to the Code were rarely intended to protect hermaphrodites, the legal silence regarding hermaphroditism actually afforded some doctors and patients leeway to live in ways that others wished could be outlawed. To listen to the fervent prose of doctors and jurisconsults, it becomes clear that what is at stake is not merely the future of a tiny fragment of the population, but rather, the entire social structure, and equally important, who would have the power to change it.

Sarah Lippert, University of Michigan-Flint

Beating back Barbarism with a Paintbrush: An Exploration of Art’s Role in France’s telling of its own History

While today scholars would never define past or present cultures along the lines of good or bad ideologies in binary thought, this was not the case for scholars in nineteenth-century France, when a considerable degree of rhetoric regarding France's history and culture was being recounted as an epic struggle between barbarism and civilisation. According to historians such as Cyprien Desmarais, by 1812 France had reached its zenith in a long and desperate climb out of lawless and coarse origins. Still, heralding his own time as the moment of triumph in France's history, there loomed large in the quest for political and cultural stability the fear that the nation would once again devolve into the barbaric. For Desmarais, who was also a literary figure in the official art world, France's future and past had been primarily defined by its successes and failures in artistic accomplishment.

This paper will address how the narrative of the rise and fall of barbarism in France's history was exploited by writers and artists in the nineteenth century, in order to bolster political, institutional, and ideological agendas. Central to this issue will be the examination of how the arts in France had come to define its cultural and national identity. What were the iconographic motifs that signified civilisation? How did France appropriate non-French symbols of culture, such as the artistic persona Leonardo da Vinci, or the statues of antiquity, to ward off the return of barbarism? Finally, why was this duality of barbarism and civilisation so frequently and desperately called upon?

Martha Lucy, The Barnes Foundation

Nostalgia, Tactility and Desire, or the Trouncing of Renoir's Large Bathers

When Renoir exhibited his *Large Bathers* (PMA) at the Galerie Georges Petit in 1887, he effectively issued a statement against impressionist law. "I got roundly trounced for it, I can tell you," he later said to Vollard. Avant-garde critics called the painting retrograde and old-fashioned; friends like Pissarro deemed it incomprehensible. Many of its transgressions against impressionist standards are fairly plain: the picture lacked spontaneity, its forms were whole, its lines unbroken, its subject academic. But the transgression I want to focus on here is Renoir's insistent engagement with the tactile sense—the suppression of which, I will argue, had become a central, if unconscious, rule of avant-garde practice.

The status of opticality in the public culture of late nineteenth-century Paris has been well-explored: with commodity-filled arcades, World Fairs offering an endless array of objects, and the spectacle of the glittering new city itself, vision reigned supreme. My paper extends this discussion by considering what happens to the sense of *touch* in this newly commodified world—both socially and in artistic practice. Drawing on the work of social theorists like Louis Wirth and George Simmel, I argue that touch in a spectacular society is outmoded and impractical, and that on the canvases of Renoir's fellow avant-garde painters, its denigration becomes law. If *Large Bathers* can be considered Renoir's defining moment of anti-modernism, this is because he reconnects touch to the sensory experience of looking, and because he challenges the modern construction of desire itself, locating it in the tactile object and refusing the disembodied desiring gaze of modern consumer culture. My paper, then, moves away from the idea that *Large Bathers* represents nothing more than an erotic fantasy of flesh; rather, I see this work, and his later nudes, as fantasies of pre-industrial subjectivity, as a wish for the

wholeness and intimacy that tactility represents, and as a bold betrayal of avant-garde standards for which he is still being punished.

Sayeeda Mamoon, Edgewood College

Defying the Laws of Nature: Gautier's Feminine Vampires, Seductive Night Stalkers, and the Nubile Undead

With the immense popularity of Stephenie Meyer's *Twilight* Saga in contemporary youth culture, not to mention its huge commercial success, it is perhaps worth revisiting Théophile Gautier's original vampire stories and tales of the undead as we celebrate the bicentennial of his birth this year. When Dr. John Polidori penned *The Vampyre* in Villa Deodati during the summer of 1816, he modeled Lord Ruthven, the mysterious title character of the short story after his employer, Lord Byron. Early nineteenth-century French variations on the theme such as Cyprien Bérard's 1820 sequel *Lord Ruthwen ou les Vampires* and Nodier's stage adaptation of Polidori's text also featured a masculine character as the fiendish predator. Twenty years later, Théophile Gautier's 1836 conte fantastique "La morte amoureuse" replaces the male figure of the diabolic bloodsucker found in Polidori's narrative and Gothic fiction of the period with a feminine vampire who preys on young men. Similarly in "Omphale," written two years previously, Gautier awards the sexually aggressive role of the seductress and nocturnal adventuress to la marquise de T***, the coquettish female protagonist of the "histoire rococo." In subsequent fantastic tales such as the 1838 "La pipe d'opium," the 1840 "Le pied de momie," and the 1852 vampire narrative "Arria Marcella," Gautier repeatedly returns to the theme of ghostly female night prowlers, where the phantom "woman" in the story assumes sexual agency and/or power and dominance over her (younger) male romantic interest before dying, disappearing, or dissolving into nothingness.

Not surprisingly, contemporary critical analyses tend to interpret the figure of the female vampire in Gautier's supernatural tales as misogynistic attempts to demonize feminine sexuality and control and destroy (unbridled) women. In this study, I wish to investigate Gautier's choice of the female night stalker over that of the traditional male bloodsucker and sexual predator more closely. I am particularly interested in examining in what ways the gender role reversals in "Omphale," "La morte amoureuse," "La pipe d'opium," "Le pied de momie," and "Arria Marcella" may be viewed as thematically innovative and emancipatory as well as empowering for the feminine protagonist. I am equally curious to discover whether these contes fantastiques may be read as parodies of the Gothic romance and as comic deconstructions of the nineteenth-century horror fiction.

Lisa Algazi Marcus, Hood College

Got Milk? Legislating Lactation

During the Revolution, mother's milk came to symbolize French nationalism, as evidenced by the words of the president of the Convention nationale at a revolutionary festival in 1793: « Que toutes les vertus guerrières et généreuses coulent, avec le lait maternel, dans le cœur de tous les nourrissons de la France! » Taking Rousseau's pleas that mothers breastfeed their

infants one step further, Convention lawmakers attempted to legislate maternal nursing with a 1793 decree that granted public assistance only to mothers who agreed to breastfeed.

Despite the many voices of moralists and medical authorities throughout the nineteenth century that decried the stubborn refusal of French mothers to nurse their babies, however, it was not until after the passage of the loi Roussel in 1874 that the infant's legal right to its mother's milk was introduced into legislation. A legislative circular issued to all of France's *préfets* by the ministre de l'Intérieur in 1894 to reinforce the loi Roussel stated unambiguously « que le lait de la femme appartient non à elle, mais à son enfant: qu'elle n'a pas le droit d'en trafiquer à sa guise, et que si elle peut être admise à le céder à un enfant étranger, c'est seulement lorsqu'il est légitime de présumer qu'il n'est plus *indispensable à la vie et à la santé du sien*. » This principle was firmly supported by medical authorities such as Doctor Pinard, author of *De la Puériculture*, who advocated government regulation of mothers and *nourrices* as a means of decreasing infant mortality rates.

In this paper, we will examine the legal and moral status of mother's milk in the century following the Revolution.

Claire Marrone, Sacred Heart University

The Florentine Sojourn in Corinne ou l'Italie

Why does Madame de Staël set the conclusion of *Corinne ou l'Italie* (1807) in Florence? The novel incorporates several physical settings spanning different countries, the most prominent Italian locale being Rome. When the heroine Corinne reaches Florence at the end of the tale, she is no longer the vital, charismatic *improvisatrice* who had been crowned and lauded for her talents. Weak and dejected by the abandonment of her lover, the Anglo-Scot Oswald, for her conventional half-sister Lucile, thoughts of decay and death, regret and loss follow her in Florence. She is able to muster some energy to visit museums and churches which recall Italy's former fame as a Renaissance jewel. That enthusiasm is fleeting, however, as death draws near. The heroine's demise in Florence, this republican center of medieval times, indeed implies a call for political action in Italy, an appeal to Italians to embrace liberty and unite their country.

Critics have much discussed the political implications of the text, including Staël's support of a united Italy, rather than one of divided city-states and foreign occupation. Italian unification would come to be later in the century through the Risorgimento, a movement that echoed many of the principles of liberty which Staël held dear in the early days of the French Revolution. Christine Pouzoulet reads Corinne's death in Florence as not only the result of unrequited love but also as a "prophecy" of Italy's future (57). She asserts that the novel "se fait...appel de l'Italie à prendre en main son destin" (56).

Corinne's demise in Florence reflects not only the current depressed state of Italian politics, but its literary stagnation as well. In *De la littérature* (1800), Staël discusses the early glory of Italian letters and its current need of renewal. She claims that if the country developed a sense of national identity and if religious fanaticism did not dampen philosophical inquiry, Italian literature might be reinvigorated. She pursues her reflections on Italian literature in *Corinne* (Book VII) as she lauds the Italian tradition and expresses its potential for future glory. Pouzoulet aptly argues that Staël's fictional portrayal of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* and the

emotions the performance elicits can be read as an invitation to Italians to be open to foreign literatures as a means of enhancing their own literary evolution.

Such willingness to gain inspiration from other cultures was echoed in Staël's exilic life. When *Corinne* was published in 1807, Staël's criticism of Napoleonic rule had led to her banishment from France, an exile which sparked her many wanderings throughout Europe and as far as Russia, as well as the many writings born of those travels. She particularly admired the political advances she witnessed in England. Corinne, whose mother was Italian and father English, also finds herself between cultures – the foreigner whose displacement reflects that of the author. Through this multifaceted protagonist, Staël is able to situate Italy within a broader European context. She urges Italians to resist decay and embrace a life-affirming future, in part by seeking models beyond their borders.

This paper proposes an analysis of the Florentine section of *Corinne* as it relates to Staël's reflections on Italian politics and literature, as well as the benefits cultural exchange.

Lowry J. Martin, University of Texas, El Paso

Muffling the Voices of Pleasure: The Aleatory Nature of Censorship and Dissonant Sexualities

The Second Republic's ostensible interest in policing literary representations of sexualities was abundantly illustrated in the censorship trials of Baudelaire's *Fleurs du mal* and Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*. However, the Third Republic's desire to silence certain types of discourse, particularly literary representations of dissonant sexualities, escalated to such an extent that between 1890 and 1912 that at least twenty-one books a year were condemned to the French National Library's forbidden section, known as *L'Enfer*. As non-normative sexualities became favored topoi of writers during the Decadent movement, they also became the favored victims of State prosecutors for the crime of "outrage aux mœurs." This ill-defined and nebulous legal tenet created a perilous standard by which literary production was to be judged. Even established writers such as Barbey d'Aurevilly and the Brothers Goncourt privately expressed their fear of violating this legal standard. In this paper, **** exposes the arbitrariness of censorship by juxtaposing two censored novels, the rare Victor DuSaussay's *Jouir... Mourir* and Paul Adam's *Chair Molle* with Catulle Mendès's *Méphistophéla* to illustrate that censorship was less about sexuality than other social anxieties such as a declining natality rates or female emancipation. Authors who attempted to represent marginalized sexualities were often protected only if they had literary cachet, celebrity, and recognizable literary friends to protect them from the moralizing of the French judicial system.

Brian Martin, Williams College

Lumber Literature: From Balzac and Stendhal to Sand and Zola

In *Des arbres et des hommes* (1984), Roland Bechmann traces the etymological roots of *bois*, *buisson*, and *bûche* to those of *bouquin* (342). From lumber and pulp to paper and pages, from oral tales told around logging-camp fires to novels on wood-work and forestry, I want to examine an overlooked figure of nineteenth-century French masculinity: the *forestier* or *bûcheron*. In the French literary tradition, the woodsman (and his cousins, the forest hunter,

paper producer, and lumber laborer) is a heroic figure in medieval fabliaux, seventeenth-century fairy tales by La Fontaine and Perrault, and nineteenth-century novels by Balzac, Stendhal, Sand, Flaubert, and Zola. At the heart of this lumber tradition is a celebration of the role that the forest plays in the French literary imagination. The wooded landscapes of Compiègne and Fontainebleau, the Ardennes and Franche-Comté, Brittany and Berry have for centuries served as royal hunting grounds, provided natural resources, and inspired folk legends and literature. From Europe to the New World, this French tradition of lumber literature continued in New France: in seventeenth-century travel narratives by Marquette and Joliet, in oral tales of Québécois trappers and woodsmen, and in an entire genre of nineteenth-century *bûcheron* novels by Beaugrand, Gérin-Lajoie, and Hémon. As we struggle to make the transition from the coal economies created by nineteenth-century industrialization to the green economies envisioned by twenty-first century technologies, what might these works of lumber literature contribute to discourses on ecological modernity, environmental studies, and eco-criticism? During this conference on “Law and Order,” what might this literary history of forest labor reveal about the desire to impose order on nature, and the dangerous confrontation between civil and natural law? And how might these literary woodsmen reshape our understanding of masculinity in nineteenth-century France?

Dominique Massonau, Université de Grenoble III

L’effacement de l’ordre de la composition: une sortie du régime des Belles Lettres caractéristique de la modernité.

Comme le titre proposé l’indique, l’hypothèse de ce travail serait de mettre en évidence divers modes de mise en faillite de l’ordre compositionnel - hérité de la tradition rhétorique - qui présidait à l’organisation des textes pensés comme « tout ensemble », où « l’idée » régissait la mise en ordre préliminaire: rectrice d’une vectorisation du discours. Dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle, « faire œuvre » revient à interroger cette catégorie de la composition et, dans le même temps, les fondements de l’auctorialité.

La prégnance de ce souci est sensible dans les affirmations des écrivains: Balzac dans *l’Étude sur La Chartreuse de Parme de M. Beyle* (1840) considère que « La littérature a subi depuis vingt-cinq ans, une transformation qui a changé les lois de la poétique »; Auguste Jal avoue dans la « Préface » des *Scènes de la vie maritime* (1832): « Je voulais montrer le marin dans presque toutes les positions de sa vie hasardeuse; l’unité d’une longue fable romanesque pouvait me fournir les moyens de le placer dans les situations les plus diverses; mais un roman, c’est un livre, et cette idée m’a effrayé. Toutes les scènes qui m’ont paru capables d’intéresser, je les ai traitées, sans leur donner le lien d’une intrigue qui leur fût commune ».

Alors que ce phénomène a pu être pensé sous la figure de la « mosaïque », il s’agirait de prolonger l’analyse et de montrer les caractéristiques d’une poétique neuve, historiquement déterminée - en particulier par l’influence des supports de presse et des politiques éditoriales vouées aux « collections » - qui se fonde sur une déprise de la *dispositio* traditionnelle et une sortie de l’aristotélisme. Pour saisir ce qui apparaît comme un renouvellement de la notion de « mise en intrigue », dans les écritures factuelles et fictionnelles - où règnent des formes variées de « désordre » - j’aborderai trois exemples: pris dans le domaine de la critique d’art, celui des « œuvres longues » qui se développent dans la période, ainsi que dans le champ de l’écriture du roman-feuilleton - associée à une linéarité périodique qui suscite l’examen.

Jann Matlock, University College London

Phantom Undergrounds

This paper proposes to consider law and order through the spaces of Paris that most insistently refuse policing, the spaces of its underground, and through the subjects who most evade the law, those who haunt that underground. I study here the haunting of the Paris souterrain through representations--writings, prints, photographs, moving pictures--of that alternative world beneath that city. Because ghostliness requires, in Derrida's words, "un retour au corps," this study concentrates on the place in the Paris underground that holds thousands of human remains, the Paris Catacombs. It also considers other forms of haunting in subterranean Paris, through Nadar's photography, Gaston Leroux's novel, *Phantom of the Opera* (along with its filmic and musical legacies), the writings of Louise Michel and Walter Benjamin, and the activities of illegal underground explorers from the nineteenth-century to the present day. I ask here if the Catacombs are haunted and what it might mean to imagine there are ghosts there or elsewhere in the Paris underground. Taking my cue from Julian Wolfreys who has argued that haunting "is the condition out of which the sense" of a place "manifests itself," I want to consider how one might write the history of the haunting of Paris through its underground. If haunting takes place in these spaces, what are its signs? How and where can we see the powers of its ghosts?

Carmen Mayer-Robin, University of Alabama

Institutional Battles and Educational Reform in Zola's *Vérité* (1903)

La vérité est obscure, et dangereuse. La suit-on? Elle mène droit à l'égout, et aux barricades. Morale et religion bourgeoises nous répètent à l'envi que toutes les vérités ne sont pas bonnes à dire. ~Jean-Louis Bory (« Introduction », *Vérité*)

This paper proposes to treat the conference theme through the lens of *Vérité* (1903), Émile Zola's posthumously published *roman à clef* for the Dreyfus Affair, the third novel in the *Quatre Évangiles* series, and possibly the most well-known of the novelist's utopian novels. Set in the France of the Jules Ferry laws, which mandated free public education for all French citizens between the ages of six and thirteen, Zola's novel uses as its point of departure the brutal rape and murder of a school-aged child by an educator to stage the contemporary battle between private parochial and public educational institutions. Represented on the one side by the Catholic Church, and on the other by national secular schools, the institutions of this novel borrow from the national scandal of the Dreyfus Affair to expose the inherent anti-Semitism and anti-Republicanism of a powerful mainstream, motored by superstition and archaic doctrine, both of which, Zola emphatically shows, are deadly to any viable form of modern democracy founded on truth and justice. While truth serves as the lyrical and ideological anchor in Zola's articulation of this third secular-republican gospel, it is arrived at through horrific and unspeakable sacrifice, allegorized here through the defiled child martyr.

Anne McCall, University of Denver

Tainted Evidence

Fin de siècle epistolophilia and the period's matching epistolophobia shared a commitment to letters as written evidence. The uses to which letters were put in literary journals, manuals and newspapers helped sustain the reputation of their authors, proving their artistic worth as they showcased talent that transcended public writings and infused private exchanges. Published letters provided information on the avowed meaning and purposes of other texts published by their authors; correspondence publications also enriched the paratext of authors' commercial works by giving the public information about the actions, public and private, of those who penned them as well as the period in which they wrote. Finally, in these various recycled functions, letters demonstrated the special contributions of literary historians whose claims of eminence in the reconfigured field of modern literature they helped further. As letters were used to prove almost anything or even everything, they also came under attack for their illocutory weakness, dubious authenticity, and a fundamental inability to enrich the litero-critical field. This paper uses the law to consider the failure of epistolary collections, why they could only fall short and fail both as literary texts and as the building blocks of canonical authorship, and finally the purposes that this inability served. I contend that we can better understand the power and limitations of letter publications by thinking through legal provisions that treat the evidentiary value of private writings, the status of copies, the possibility of proving negative claims, and the fundamental question of the burden of proof. From this perspective, the birth of the modern canon depended upon a strange but compelling the knowing introduction of tainted evidence into the literary record.

Elizabeth McCartney, University of Pennsylvania

“Baiser cette main homicide”: Félicité de Genlis's *Siège de la Rochelle*

Félicité de Genlis's *Le siège de la Rochelle* (1808) tells the story of Clara, a would-be stepmother wrongly accused of murdering her future stepson. Condemned to death in a Parisian court, she narrowly escapes the guillotine and, for the bulk of the novel, attempts to reconcile with her family and country, even though her father is in fact the child's killer.

The work's international popularity led to the production of an opera that was staged in England throughout the 1830s and 40s, and merited claims that it “excels Staël's *Corinne*.” Yet it was also criticized, such as in Britain's *Select reviews of literature* (1809), for having “numerous episodic narratives which neither assist the progress of the main argument, nor have much intrinsic merit,” and for having no historical content other than “the title and about twenty additional pages” (26-27).

In this paper, I take issue with these critiques from the period of the novel's publication and show how the *Siège de la Rochelle* is indeed a tightly-woven historical novel. Genlis transposes firsthand knowledge of another *siège*, that of the Bastille, which she witnessed from the window of a friend's home, onto the eponymous 1572 stalemate battle of the Wars of Religion. From the symbols of the guillotine present at the murder scene to the three intercalated narratives, allegorical of France's three transformed estates, the novel plays out post-revolutionary France's fragmentation. Whether in the court of law or the royal court, Clara tests the validity of various arenas of social, political, and religious (in)justice after 1789. The novel reveals that France, like Clara, who is required to “baiser [la] main homicide” of her father, has an uncomfortable but urgent need for reconciliation.

Patrick McGuinness, St Anne's College, Oxford University

Reactionary Poetics: Maurras, Moréas and the *école romane*

The 'école romane', formed around Jean Moréas in 1891, is generally treated as an inconsequential offshoot of the Symbolist movement. Its poets, Maurice Du Plessys and Raymond de la Tailhède are now barely read at all, while Ernest Raynaud is better known for his memoirs and criticism. Their 'chef d'école', Moréas, is himself more famous for the Symbolist 'manifeste' he authored in 1886 than for the movement he created to supplant Symbolism. My paper examines the way in which the *romane* school exemplifies a reactionary coming-into-consciousness among avant-garde poets of the 1890s, and feeds into the reactionary modernism of Maurras and *Action française*. Maurras, a newcomer to Paris in 1890 (we forget how much Maurras honed his literary and cultural politics in his early career as a critic of Symbolist poetry – essays on Mallarmé, Verlaine, Verhaeren, et al), finds in the école romane an opportunity to turn avant-garde energies of Symbolism in modern but classical reactionary directions. Even in the 1920s and 30s, Maurras refers to the école romane and its battles of the 1890s as part of the prehistory of the AF cultural mobilization. I explore the continuities between Symbolism and Decadence (Du Plessys, Raynaud and de la Tailhède were, interestingly, involved in Baju's *Le Décadent* magazine) and the classical reaction in which Maurras played a central role.

The *roman* group's values are anti-romantic in temperament, nationalist in inspiration, authoritarian in group-formation, classically-oriented and formal in poetic technique – in other words, an ideologically-inflected if not, or not yet, explicitly political conservatism. Though their cultural politics were reactive and reactionary – a response to the Symbolism and Decadence in whose orbit they began, and, perhaps more importantly, to the symbolist and decadent poets they themselves once *were* – the royalism, anti-parliamentarianism, militarism and xenophobia evolved quickly, as the *école romane*'s principal critic, Maurras, extended and developed the movement's aesthetics into political activism. What is remarkable is how much of the Maurras of *Action française* is already in evidence in 1891, and how much of what the *école romane* represents is ready to be taken up by the most reactionary currents in late nineteenth and early twentieth century French cultural politics.

I will examine *roman* poetry and polemic, exploring how their martial imagery, their nationalist discourse (an end to the dominance of Jews, 'Scythes', 'Celts', Teutons, etc.) and their poetic fantasies of classical heroes slaying hybrid monsters (Centaur, Gorgons, Hydras, etc. clearly symbols of racial and cultural 'others' in the French literary field), are designed to heroise the messy and often internecine literary squabbles of the day. I will discuss in particular Maurras's early criticism, Moréas's critical declarations, and the poetry of Raymond de la Tailhède (an early leading member of *AF*) and Maurice du Plessys. I will end by suggesting that the forgotten *école romane* plays such a large role in Maurras's myth of the pre-Dreyfus reactionary revival because it is here – in the midst of Symbolism and its roman secession – that Maurras learns to conflate literature, culture and politics. I shall also show how the great late 19th C trope of Decadence remains present in the thought of the French literary right, in Maurras, Pujo, de la Tailhède and beyond into Brasillach and others.

For Maurras, the *école romane*'s literary battles of the 1890s are not just rehearsals for future positions, but part of the mythology of the ascendant right: a crucial, formative period in its prehistory, with its unsung heroes (Moréas and Mistral) and its dedicated footsoldiers (du Plessys, de la Tailhède, Raynaud and Maurras himself) engaged in a struggle against the

dominant culture of Symbolism and Romanticism with their attractive but dangerous *mauvais maîtres*: Hugo, Baudelaire, Verlaine, Mallarmé.

Gabrielle Melison-Hirschwald, Université Henri-Poincaré Nancy 1

Le domestique témoin, acteur et victime de la transgression dans quelques romans de mœurs français de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle

Genre malléable par excellence, le roman se prête aisément à diverses figurations sociales. Nous proposons de nous intéresser aux valeurs véhiculées de manière tout à fait singulière par le romancier de mœurs dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle. La notion de « bonnes mœurs » présente notamment dans l'article 6 du Code civil français se retrouve ainsi appréhendée par le champ littéraire. Cette référence au contenu assez indéfini et relatif parcourt l'ensemble des législations européennes à partir du début du XIX^e siècle et elle rencontre la fiction dans la représentation réaliste de types sociaux. Jusqu'au XVIII^e siècle, surtout en Grande-Bretagne, la reproduction des bonnes mœurs prédominait. On parlait à l'époque de romans mettant en scène la bonne société et exaltant la bonne conduite à tenir. *Pamela* de Richardson en est un exemple significatif. Tout au long du XIX^e siècle en France, les bouleversements sociaux changent la donne. La bourgeoisie triomphante et l'émergence du peuple garantissent un nouveau cadre au roman de mœurs, passant ainsi d'une représentation des bonnes mœurs à celle de mauvaises mœurs. Toutefois, le sous-genre, loin d'être un roman à thèse, suggère plus qu'il n'oblige.

Etudier les formes de la transgression par rapport à la figure du domestique nous a paru constituer une entrée pertinente pour mettre à jour les comportements qui enfreignent les lois et/ou les codes sociaux. D'un point de vue sociologique, les travaux d'Anne Martin-Fugier ont mis en évidence le rôle joué par les domestiques au XIX^e siècle en France. D'un point de vue juridique, celui qui entre dans une place est entièrement dans la main de son patron. L'inégalité entre le domestique et son maître est accentuée par les dispositions du Code civil et du Code pénal. Dans la fiction, les maîtres souvent imités par leurs serviteurs évoluent dans un souci constant de représentation, faisant osciller le genre entre le descriptif de comportements individuels et le prescriptif de conduites collectives. Ce concept du « messenger venu d'ailleurs » selon la terminologie de Bleich place le domestique dans une situation particulière, à la fois dans et hors de la maisonnée. Cette position charnière fait de lui le personnage pivot propre à révéler les vices, interdits, et conduites répréhensibles qui ne se décèlent pas en surface dans ces romans des apparences.

Le rôle joué par le domestique peut varier fortement en fonction des romans et en particulier de l'instance narrative choisie. Le corpus considéré commencera avec *Germinie Lacerteux* (1865) des Goncourt jusqu'au *Journal d'une femme de chambre* (1900) de Mirbeau. Simple témoin des vices de son maître, coupable de vol et d'abus de confiance, victime de la toute-puissance qui l'emploie, le statut intermédiaire du domestique le place donc au cœur de l'intrigue. Outre le petit monde qu'il nous renvoie, le domestique, peut enfin grâce au jeu des points de vue, servir de caisse de résonance à des causes qui lui échappent comme par exemple le divorce ou l'émancipation féminine.

Rachel Mesch, Yeshiva University

Cracking the Conjugal Code: Women's Magazines, Fiction and the Fin-de-Siècle Marriage Debates

The caption of a Henriot cartoon that appeared in the back pages of the semi-glossy women's photographic magazine *Femina* on Dec. 15, 1904 depicted a disgruntled wife exclaiming: "Un code qui permet tout aux hommes, rien aux femmes...qui donne aux uns tous les droits, aux autres malheureuses tous les devoirs...c'est un code, oui...mais 'civil'? jamais!" Henriot's punchline referenced the marriage laws of the French civil code, which infamously promised women protection from their husbands, and men obedience from their wives. 1904 was the one hundred year anniversary of the code, in response to which the French government set up numerous committees to consider its reform. During a time when women were taking on increasing public and professional roles and myriad other social shifts were unsettling traditional marital roles, the possibility of updating the Civil Code was a widely debated topic, particularly in the women's press.

In my paper, I will consider the ways in which popular women writers at the fin de siècle participated in the debates surrounding changes in bourgeois marriage structures, reflecting and expanding upon discussions taking place in the magazines *Femina* and its rival *La Vie Heureuse*. These large format photographic magazines, launched alternately in 1901 and 1902, promoted a conservative feminist ideology based on traditional bourgeois ideals. As fictional narratives, the novels I will present offer a fascinating window onto the relationship between French marriage structures and other shifts in gender roles, while shedding light on a form of feminist expression that has not yet been fully examined. While the role of organized feminist movement in challenging marriage law during the Third Republic has been amply documented, these novels and magazines point to another, very different, set of voices invested in reforming the institution and making it more favorable to women.

Stamos Metzidakis, Washington University in St. Louis

Minimalisme poétique chez Rimbaud et Corbière

*C'est dans les petits détails comme ça
qu'on est snob ou pas Boris Vian*

Ni Rimbaud ni Corbière, poètes maudits tous deux, ne prétendaient faire concurrence à l'état civil. Tant s'en faut. Trop attentifs aux petits détails pour écrire des textes de longue haleine, tels des romans, ou encore, des poèmes lyriques à la Lamartine, Vigny ou Musset, ils rejettent cette "loi" de longueur, d'effusion sentimentale qui caractérise une bonne partie de l'activité littéraire de la génération avant la leur. Ce faisant, ils se rangent du côté de ceux qui dès le milieu du 19^{ième} siècle cherchent à instaurer un nouvel ordre surtout en poésie, un ordre que l'on pourrait qualifier de "minimaliste". Ils se présentent alors comme des hors-la-loi; en l'occurrence, comme des esthètes crapuleux épris d'un vers *court* destiné à une élite symboliste naissante souvent aussi perverse que snob.

Mais, cette poétique nouvelle résulte-t-elle d'une véritable originalité chez eux, ou en revanche, d'autres modèles minimalistes? Nous voulons parler ici de trois oeuvres en particulier: *Le livre de jade* de Judith Gautier (pour Rimbaud); et *Les Amours* de Ronsard et *Les Fables* de La Fontaine (pour Corbière). Certes, la concision et l'exactitude des détails dans les œuvres de ces novateurs, de même que l'élaboration de ceux-là sur la page doivent beaucoup à l'esthétique préconisée alors par les Parnassiens, dont notamment Gautier père. Or, une volonté commune

chez Rimbaud et Corbière de tourner le dos à la fois au classicisme moralisateur et au romantisme mièvre semble avoir aussi surdéterminé leur amenuisement du poème en général, et du vers en particulier. Voilà, en tout cas, ce que le présent essai visera à montrer, en mettant en parallèle les trois oeuvres citées plus haut et quelques morceaux choisis de l'*Album Zutique* et de *Les Amours jaunes*.

Allison Morehead, Queen's University

Maurice Denis and the Rules of déformation

When Maurice Denis débuted at the 1891 Salon des Indépendants with, among other works, a large reclining female nude entitled *Décor*, he justified the painting to critics and allied it directly with symbolist theory by identifying it as an “étude de la déformation subjective.” In staking his claim on the female nude as the object of this subjective deformation, Denis engaged in a typical avant-garde gambit, above all provoking a comparison with Cézanne’s notorious nude at that moment housed at Père Tanguy’s shop. He also, again in line with emerging avant-garde strategies, performed the opening salvo of his “Définition du néo-traditionnisme” and publicly rejected his own recently terminated academic training. This paper considers the contexts in which Denis’s multi-pronged strategy seems to have backfired so spectacularly. It analyzes the discursive moves with which critics sympathetic not only to Denis, but to a nascent symbolist visual practice, rejected the distortions of *Le Décor* and deformation in general as downright pathological, as simply too different from a “norm” to be central to a viable new art. These condemnations inaugurated a period of relative silence on the part of Denis the theorist, a silence broken, tentatively in 1895 and then more forcefully in 1909, when Denis advanced new rules for *déformation subjective* and *déformation objective*, in an elaborate bid to provide a rigorous theoretical grounding for *déformation* as difference from academic “norm.”

Armine Kotin Mortimer, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Legality, Narrative Order, and Vagabondage in Balzac’s *Ferragus*

How one arrives at the truth or finds out what is hidden, the aim of narrative, is the basis of the majority of Balzac’s plots. In *Ferragus*, one of the many stories of *La Comédie humaine* where law and legality undergird the events, the conventional order of narrative is broken by what I am calling vagabondage, borrowing the term from the French usage. Just as the *Treize* are above the law, error, misinterpretations, digressions, divergences from a straight path disturb narrative order. Several different forms of vagabondage, on different levels, develop this “illegal” motif. Near the end, Balzac castigates Legality as a sterile monster, like Paris itself, and speaks approvingly of illegality (or *l'Arbitraire*). This law-and-order perspective on *Ferragus* will allow me to suggest that Balzac’s prose also avoids sterility by shunning legality.

Lydie Moudileno, University of Pennsylvania

Hors-la-loi coloniaux ou dans la loi coloniale?: Les Flibustiers de Jean-Baptiste Picquenard.

Session Description: “Ordre et désordre du masculin dans la littérature de la France révolutionnée”

Cette session se propose d’examiner comment un certain idéal révolutionnaire du masculin a été filtré par le discours littéraire d’après une perspective républicaine, contre-révolutionnaire ou libérale. Ainsi, dans la pensée contre-révolutionnaire, le déclin de la société d’Ancien Régime s’explique par la perte des valeurs fondées, entre autres, sur un imaginaire masculin de la noblesse française: la perte progressive de ces valeurs masculines entraîne une corruption, voire un efféminement ou une féminisation des mœurs qui sera responsable, entre autres, de la chute de la monarchie. Il s’agit ainsi, dans le discours postrévolutionnaire, de récupérer, voire de « restaurer », les valeurs d’un patriotisme viril perdu.

Partant donc de l’hypothèse que le masculin est lié à des enjeux de pouvoir, personnel ou institutionnel, il s’agira d’en dégager les implications politiques et idéologiques. Ces questions seront abordées sous quatre angles: 1) celle de la rivalité politique entre des personnages masculins dans *Les Chouans*; 2) celle de la figure du bandit, qui dans son espace d’out-law, de hors-la-loi, interroge les catégories du masculin; 3) Celle de la mise en péril de la loi coloniale, avec la figure du flibustier caribbéen qui fait éclater la relation binaire maître/esclave; 4) celle des causes et manifestations d’une crise du masculin chez Balzac. [See **Roulin, Bourdenet, and Planté**]

Jacques Neefs, Johns Hopkins University

“Ordre et beauté”, Baudelaire et la loi de l’œuvre

Baudelaire écrit à propos de Wagner: « Tout ce qu’impliquent les mots: volonté, désir, concentration, intensité nerveuse, explosion, se sent et se fait deviner dans ses œuvres. » Auparavant, il écrivait, dans le texte si intensément intelligent et novateur du Salon de 1846: « Qui dit romantisme dit art moderne, — c’est à dire intensité, spiritualité, couleur, aspiration vers l’infini, exprimées par tous les moyens que contiennent les arts. » Ce que Baudelaire exige de l’œuvre qu’il contemple et reconnaît comme impérative, musique, peinture, littérature, est aussi bien ce qu’il exige de lui-même dans ses poèmes: en quoi l’œuvre peut-elle répondre à l’obscurité du monde lui-même, et pour les temps à venir, par ses lois propres, par l’harmonie étrange qu’elle procure aussi bien dans l’approche passionnée de la monstruosité et du crime (l’« horreur sympathique » comme dit l’un des poèmes), que dans la passion infinie de la volupté et de la mélancolie? Quel est cet « ordre et beauté » que seule l’œuvre détient désormais? C’est en accordant à l’œuvre la puissance de sa loi propre, celle qui donne le sentiment d’une beauté nouvelle et pourtant reconnue, comme retrouvée déjà là, que Baudelaire invente la modernité esthétique.

Candice Nicolas, Loyola Marymount University

Identifying Evil, Exploring the Male: Rimbaud against the Second Empire

Arthur Rimbaud demonstrates spectacular lexical and rhetorical transgressions, and a tenacious taste for provocation. Like Hugo, he inflicts his personal *Castigations* on Napoleon the

Third, but goes further and wants the entire Second Empire to be pilloried. In pieces such as “The Blacksmith,” or “Evil,” he speaks up against the endless wars and the inability of those who govern us. With “Tartufe’s Punishment” and the exceptional “Squatting,” he attacks a lying and corrupted Church, whilst making the Emperor, thief of the Republic and Freedom, the protagonist of his invectives. Evil takes several shapes, attitudes, and disguises. Rimbaud explores the terrible figure of his enemy, crossing Napoleon’s still smoking battlefields, and witnesses the male’s degeneration from God on earth to senile grandpa. The poet continually deplores the insanity of war and acclaims the inevitable decline of the Empire, refining his ironic and sarcastic style to condemn political *and* poetical treason. Indeed, Rimbaud’s works revolve, first of all, around poetry – a poetry he wants to be useful, meaningful, powerful. Thanks to his fascinating creativity, the author can take us to smoking furnaces, ash fields or love scenery in order to prone his *objective poetry*.

My presentation will explore Rimbaud’s new role as *objective* poet, advocating to his readership “the real march. Forward!”, far away from the Empire and its clowns. Through “The Blacksmith,” and the two sonnets “Evil” and “Caesars’ Rages,” and “Squatting,” I will identify the different facets of “Evils” according to Rimbaud. I will then be able to show that, in what was a very short poetic career, Rimbaud proves how men and politics are irreconcilable, and how the time for women and the Republic has finally come.

Aiko Okamoto-MacPhail, Indiana University

A Crisis in Verse: Free Verse vs. Stéphane Mallarmé in 1886

This paper examines the impact of the criticism launched by the poets of the free verse movement against Stéphane Mallarmé, whose ultimate work, *Un Coup de dés*, attempts to create a new poetic form different from both the fixed forms to which Mallarmé strongly adhered and the free verse which professes to destroy them.

The nineteenth century knew two phases of the revolution in French meter: the prose poem in the first half of the century and free verse in the second half. In his *Petit traité de poésie française*, Mallarmé’s revered master Théodore de Banville defends the supreme position of *alexandrin* by arguing that the transformation of meter in nineteenth-century French verse is comparable only to the transformation of vernacular poetry in the sixteenth century. Banville argues that the *alexandrin* required the longest time of evolution among all French meters before reaching its perfection in the *Légende des siècles* by Victor Hugo. Banville was not a blind defender of *alexandrin*, for he called seventeenth and eighteenth-century verses “mauvais outils”. Against this neo-*alexandrin* movement from which the *poème en prose* did not break away, Gustave Kahn and others developed free verse. In an article published in *La vogue* directed by Kahn, Théodore Wyzewa criticizes Mallarmé’s notion of *le Livre* and his use of fixed meters in order to identify free verse as a natural expression of mind against the obscure symbolism which elides it. This criticism, along with the reaction of Marcel Proust, was probably one of the main causes to motivate Mallarmé to go beyond his regular poetic meters in *Un Coup de dés*. I propose to examine the situation surrounding *Un Coup de dés* and the *mêlée symboliste* from which the two new poetics forms of visual poetry and free verse branched out.

William Olmsted, Valparaiso University

Terrible Poems of Crime: Foucault, Baudelaire and the Imp of the Perverse

In tracing the changes from “the spectacle of the scaffold” to “the carceral,” Foucault notes how the broadsheet, with its accounts of torture and gallows speeches, gave way to a literature of crime that glorified murder as one of the fine arts. Citing De Quincey and Baudelaire as among those appropriating criminality for its “beauty and greatness,” Foucault claims that “intellectual struggle” between murderer and detective replaced the contest between the vindictive sovereign and the people’s hero. I will argue, however, that Baudelaire, far from appropriating “criminality in acceptable forms,” comes closer than Foucault realized to the Fourierist affirmation of crime as resistance to bourgeois legality. Not only in appreciating “l’esprit de perversité” manifested in Poe’s “The Black Cat” but in early poems like “L’Idéal” (“Ce qu’il faut à ce coeur profond comme un abîme,/ C’est vous, Lady Macbeth, âme puissante du crime”) and later prose poems like “Le Mauvais Vitrier” (“Mais qu’importe l’éternité de la damnation à qui a trouvé dans une seconde l’infini de la jouissance?”), Baudelaire insists on the inherent human disposition to crime and illegality. Although he ended by attributing this disposition to original sin, Baudelaire consistently located the perverse denial of duty in what the Fourierist newspaper *La Phalange* called “a fortunate irrepressibility of human nature.” To this end Baudelaire developed an esthetics of shock and irony in which conventional expectations of moralizing judgments about murder, mayhem and suicide are overturned. Baudelaire’s versions of the “terrible poems of crime” he discovered in Poe are, in effect, anarchist bombs thrown at what Foucault called “normalization,” described by Baudelaire in terms of “le progrès, cette grande hérésie de la décrépitude” (2: 324).

Kory Olson, The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey

Demonstrating Cartographic Authority: Adolphe Alphand’s *Édifices de Paris construits de 1871 à 1889*

After a chaotic nineteenth century where Parisians rebelled far too often, the Third Republic hoped to tame its capital. Haussmann expelled many of Paris’s working class residents to insalubrious quarters on the city’s edge, yet the Commune of 1871 proved that such measures could not eliminate potential rebellion. Instead of force, how could the Third Republic demonstrate its authority?

To document the government’s growing commitment to the city, Adolphe Alphand, head of the Service des travaux de Paris published his 1889 *Atlas des travaux de Paris*, a collection of maps that showcased road, public transportation and other improvements made throughout the previous century. One *planche*, entitled *Édifices de Paris construits de 1871 à 1889*, showed new structures built during the previous two decades. This paper will examine Alphand’s simple yet effective cartographic discourse on that map and how it documented the republic’s investment in the city through new schools, hospitals and administrative centers. Large buildings (red for “les Édifices” and blue for “les Établissements Universitaires et Scolaires”) in the city’s embellished core are quite noticeable, yet development outside that zone is striking. To promote the Republic and enhance its presence in the once rebellious eastern arrondissements, for example, Alphand highlights the new Mairie du 19e across from the Parc des Buttes Chaumont. To calm fears of another uprising, readers can easily identify multiple military barracks throughout the city, including the Caserne des Tournelles near Thiers’ fortifications in the 20e. To showcase

commitment to (now) free and obligatory education, Alphand maps numerous new schools, including three on one street alone, on the nearby rue Bolivar.

By 1889, Paris was tamed. The centennial Exposition Universelle that year celebrated the republic and reaffirmed Paris's world prominence. Alphand's *Edifices de Paris* on display there served as yet another reminder of the new regime's success, affirmed its presence on the ground in all neighborhoods and proved to readers and residents alike that the Third Republic benefited all.

Mary Orr, University of Southampton

Strange Fish? Life writing and biography in George Cuvier's orders of things

'The great maxim and rule of his life was order' (*Memoirs of Baron Cuvier*, 1833, p. 125). Published only a year after Cuvier's death in both English and French, the *Memoirs* were the first biography of Cuvier. They were also penned by an Englishwoman, Mrs Sarah Lee (Mrs T. E. Bowdich). This unusual fact about an unusual woman who was active in *French* natural science in the 1820s also uncovers what is unusual about Cuvier's life works in science. By means of key passages from this biography my paper will open up core questions about the orders and laws of natural science writing of the period — their supposed objectivity, factuality, and complete absence of personal, let alone political, viewpoint.

The first half of the paper will thus focus on key passages about the unusual rules of order in Cuvier's scientific activities and the dissemination of his science, which often broke France's laws. The second half of the paper will then focus on his unusual biographer, and how she used this biography to disseminate her own intimate knowledge and extensions of Cuvier's most consuming passions, most notably his *Histoire des poissons*. Through this double case study, the aim of this paper is to question whether the orders of naturalist writing have hitherto been too narrowly demarcated in nineteenth-century French studies, and hence whether literary critics have much more to contribute when it comes to understanding the orders of French science writing in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Jonathan Paine, Oxford University

Towards a Concept of Transaction Theory

The nineteenth century was a period in which French society underwent a dramatic increase in its exposure to transaction: legal, social, economic, and narrative. This paper will suggest that Barthes's notion of the *récit-contrat* is just part of a wider, real transaction between author and reader in which the author offers a narrative in return for the reader's attention. It will consider transaction both as a process of negotiation and as an act of legal completion, and will examine how these themes are developed in key texts of the long nineteenth century by Balzac, Stendhal and Sade. It will first consider the representation of transaction in narrative, illustrating how an 'exchange value' for narrative can be created, how it can vary through a work, and how authors link credit and credibility. It will then consider the transaction between author and reader and will suggest a methodology for a 'transaction-based' interpretation by reference to a re-reading of Balzac's story *La Transaction/Le Colonel Chabert*. It will investigate how dissonances emerge between the mimetic representation of transaction and its perception by the reader, and how these are used by authors to imply a commentary on the narrative. It will also suggest that transaction is used by authors to create codes recognised by readers to define and

contrast genres. Finally, the paper will consider how the transaction between author and reader is mediated by external transaction-related factors – by contracts between authors and publishers, by commercial pressures on authors, by the development of new publishing formats such as serialisation, or by reader response in the shape of direct feedback or changing demographics and tastes.

Adrianna M. Paliyenko, Colby College

Marie Krysinska on Poetic Evolution: The Anxiety of Reception

A long view of Marie Krysinska's poetic beginnings and evolution, from 1881 to 1903, allows us to recognize the modernity of a project that she textured, dialogically, as a conversation with her readers, fellow poets, and critics. The quarrel over the invention of *vers libre*, related to the property of genius, forms the backdrop against which Krysinska rewrote her poetic history in an attempt to redress—from the margins—her entry into the literary record. In prefacing at length her final poetic volume *Intermèdes: nouveaux rythmes pittoresques* (1903), Krysinska pulled in earlier strands of her critical writing that dialogize the erudite defense of her obscured priority. Interrogating the literary past to preempt its blind repetition, she made explicit for future readers the origins *and* originality of her *vers libre*. As a musician with the modern ear in mind who conceived of poetry as both visually rhythmic and rhythmically visual, she freed poetic language from formal symmetry to follow the fluid lines of thought, performing the emergence of thought in tandem with its evanescence. More Baudelairean than Ghilian in her understanding of the principle of rhythmic correspondence governing poetry, Krysinska insisted on the “lois immuables d'Équilibre, d'Harmonie et de Logique” that shape in infinite ways the form that thought attains in poetic language.

In this paper, I shall consider how Krysinska's prefaces reframing the trajectory of her free verse aesthetics double as a modern practice of creative misreading and theory of critical belatedness. A cyclical way of thinking, demonstrated by the circling back to previous iterations of an idea or a line within a poem, traverses Krysinska's analytical writing and poetic expression. The repetition of words gives visual form to her musical sense of rhythm, while that of thought structures her discourse on poetic evolution in relation to creative genius. Early in her career, from 1881 to 1883, Krysinska produced a mélange of prose poems and free verse that, at overlapping levels of form and discourse, frames her thinking through these related queries: “What is a poetic work?” and “What is the *work* (meaning the mental effort) of poetry?” The questioning of poetic form mirrors her approach to poetry as a discourse. Illustrative of her aesthetic project, the formal conversation between the 1882 and 1890 versions of one of her first poems, “Symphonie en gris,” tests with modern insight the discursive nature of poetic forms. Krysinska's belated reflections linking her free verse practice with the work of originality, in turn, theorize the modern way that poetic form evolves, anticipating the idea reformulated by Harold Bloom that, “the strongly achieved work *is* the anxiety.”

Sara Pappas, University of Richmond

Disorder in the Museum

In the summer of 2010, the Musée d'Orsay was in the process of extensive renovation. The famous "niveau 5," where the Impressionist and Post-Impressionist collections are usually housed, was closed. Since the vast majority of tourists visiting the d'Orsay come expressly to see one of the most extensive and celebrated Impressionist collections in the world, it was not surprising to see that the museum had moved many of the more well known and recognizable Impressionist images to the ground floor of the museum. This new organization, though most likely temporary, represents a radical departure from the previous floor plan of the d'Orsay and the narrative of Western art it implied. In forcing the Impressionists downstairs to entry level, the museum created a far more eclectic floor plan and organization, an assemblage that put competing and overlapping styles from the second half of the 19th century in unusual close proximity and almost tangible contact. Although the recuperation of academic and hybrid art of the 19th century has been going on for decades in scholarship, this has done little to change the privileging of Impressionism in major museum collections (the entire entry level of the d'Orsay is usually called "Avant l'Impressionnisme" on the museum map) or challenge the absolute spatial separation between Impressionist and "other" art from the same period in exhibitions. The utter strangeness and unprecedented nature of the encounters and confrontations inside the d'Orsay renovation in 2010 reflect how historically difficult it has been to challenge certain organizational givens for later 19th-century French art.

My paper will consider the importance of the temporary arrangement at the d'Orsay in the context of art criticism from the second half of the 19th century. Art critics like the brothers Goncourt, J.-K. Huysmans and Émile Zola sought to create a coherent narrative for Western art that would categorize and explain the cacophonous artistic production of their time, but end up textually putting on display an assorted art exhibition that resembles the jumbled organization at the d'Orsay. The art that the Goncourts, Zola and Huysmans place side by side and mix together is art that we keep separate today. An examination of these art critics reveals an eruption of overlapping aesthetic ideologies we have since separated and restores, like the temporary accident at the d'Orsay, the lost artistic dissonance of the last years of the Second Empire and the first decades of the Third Republic.

Sotirios Paraschas, University of Warwick

Revisiting Balzac's 'retour de personnages' from a nineteenth-century perspective: reappearing characters, originality and literary property

My paper aims to illuminate the systematisation of the reappearance of characters in the nineteenth century from the perspective of the history of literary property. I argue that this systematisation is related to the equivocal status of fictional characters as objects of intellectual property. While authors were proclaimed proprietors of their work in 1793, fictional characters and plots lay firmly outside the scope of legal protection. The nineteenth-century author found himself in a contradictory position: on the one hand, he could not legally possess his fictional characters, which frequently became the object of 'unauthorised' appropriations by other writers in the form of sequels and stage adaptations. On the other, he not only conceived his characters and plots as vital elements of his originality but, since the establishment of literary property, he had also developed a proprietary consciousness; this led him to term the unauthorised appropriations of his characters by other writers 'piracy' and 'theft' rather than imitation or plagiarism. In this context, I argue that Balzac developed 'le retour de personnages' as a

symbolic strategy of re-appropriation, as a way to claim his characters as his exclusive property through continuous use over a prolonged period of time (a form of usucaption). At the same time, while the reappearance of characters was meant to safeguard their originality, reviewers of Balzac's work unanimously pronounced it an instance of highly unoriginal repetition or self-plagiarism. My paper focuses on this paradox and the legal and aesthetic issues it poses as these are dealt in legal treatises, courts and reviews of Balzac's works and their stage adaptations from 1830 to 1850.

Guillaume Paugam, Miami University, Ohio
« Sainte-Beuve, l'ordre et la volupté »

Poète reconnu et critique redouté de son vivant, Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve a vu sa fortune se retourner: son œuvre poétique est aujourd'hui ignorée, quant à sa fameuse méthode, elle semble vouée à un durable purgatoire. Il apparaît d'ailleurs assez singulier que ces deux aspects se trouvent liés dans la même réprobation unanime. De fait, les admirateurs du premier étaient rarement amateurs du second et seuls Baudelaire et Verlaine affirmaient percevoir la sensibilité du poète qu'offusquait pour tant d'autres la sévérité du critique.

Dans cette communication, nous étudierons les motifs de cette opposition au sein de l'œuvre romanesque de Sainte-Beuve. À bien des égards, *Volupté* peut en effet être regardé comme la mise en scène du conflit entre ordre (ou « ordres » si la prêtrise d'Amaury permet d'excuser ce jeu sur les mots) et sensibilité (la volupté en question). Conflit autobiographique si l'on en croit Sainte-Beuve lui-même qui voulait que *Volupté* soit « très peu un roman », voire mise en abyme puisque le contenu de la réflexion se reflète en sa forme même – ce roman languissant dont l'irrésolution des phrases déroute, reflétant celle du « héros ».

Il s'agira plus particulièrement d'étudier l'effet de ce conflit sur l'évolution de la description de la nature au sein de la narration. D'abord perçue sous les dehors charmants de la romance bucolique d'Amaury et Amélie, elle se trouve bientôt laide, distordue par le désir inassouvi de son anti-héros, transfigurée par ses atermoiements moraux et la faiblesse qu'il a eue d'y céder – ce que Balzac a bien perçu qui, récrivant *Volupté*, fera du *Lys de la vallée* le théâtre du conflit entre deux poétiques: le réalisme supplantant le romantisme; la loi du monde s'imposant au final sur le désordre des sentiments.

William Paulson, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Repenser la temporalité, de l'époque de transition au temps réel

Dans un article publié en 2006, Göran Blix suggère que "l'époque de transition" évoquée par (entre autres) Musset pourrait s'avérer un concept plus pertinent dans l'analyse de ce que nous appelons généralement la modernité que la "modernité elle-même, surtout dans son articulation baudelairienne. L'auteur de la *Confession d'un enfant du siècle* plus lucide que celui du "Peintre de la vie moderne": voilà de quoi surprendre. L'époque de transition suggère un monde où le changement ne s'arrêtera plus jamais, voire ira s'accélération. Dans ces conditions, les phénomènes de pensée, de création et de représentation qui ont lieu en temps réel, au fur et à mesure que se produit le prévisible et l'imprévisible dont sont faites les transitions, risque d'être plus digne d'attention critique que la rencontre du transitoire et de l'éternel, ou les tentatives de définir un seuil à partir duquel un changement se transforme en événement.

Quoique la notion et la pratique du temps réel appartienne surtout aux siècles postérieurs au nôtre, mon propos ici sera illustré par des lectures de Zola et (à rebrousse-poil, pourrait-on dire) de Baudelaire.

Sophie Pelletier, Université de Montréal / Université Paris 8

Le collier de Clorinde: marque d'une hétérodoxie féminine

Plus que simple coquetterie, le port du bijou à la fin du XIX^e siècle relève d'un système extrêmement régulé et codé. Tandis que le choix des pierres arborées doit à l'époque respecter une grille horaire savamment élaborée par d'inflexibles bienséances, les bijoux et métaux précieux sont lus et déchiffrés par une société mondaine pour qui chaque détail est porteur de sens. Aussi la femme devient-elle « femme-enseigne », témoignant par ses riches parures de l'ampleur du capital familial, mais aussi de sa dépendance financière et légale à celui qui pourvoit à ses besoins matériels. Néanmoins, les femmes peuvent user à leur gré du potentiel érotique de leurs bijoux, se positionnant alors elles-mêmes autrement au sein des relations de pouvoir. Du public au privé, le bijou assoit donc un ordre social, économique, conjugal et sexuel, et anime des rapports de force qui, pluriels, multidirectionnels et instables, engagent le corps féminin.

C'est sous cet angle que nous proposons une lecture de *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon* (1876), où les parures agissent comme symboles textuels du nœud composé par le commerce, la politique et l'érotisme, trois domaines inextricablement liés dans le roman d'Émile Zola. Nous nous intéresserons particulièrement aux singuliers bijoux portés par Clorinde à la fin du récit, en ce qu'ils attestent l'habileté de ce personnage à jouer avec les règles et les codes des relations hommes-femmes, mais aussi avec les mécanismes politiques. Au final, le collier de chien victorieusement arboré par l'héroïne annonce qu'elle établit un nouvel ordre social

Rosemary Peters, Louisiana State University

“Je m'attends à quelque chose de très singulier. Peut-être ai-je tort”: *Mademoiselle de Maupin's* Genre-Bending Monsters”

“Les limites des races et des espèces semblaient s'effacer dans cette cité comme dans un pandémonium. Hommes, femmes, bêtes, âge, sexe, santé, maladie, tout semblait être en commun parmi ce peuple; tout allait ensemble, mêlé, confondu, superposé; chacun y participait de tout. ... C'était comme un nouveau monde, inconnu, inouï, difforme, reptile, fourmillant, fantastique.”

The above quotation comes from Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris*, but it might almost have been taken from Gautier's *Mademoiselle de Maupin*. What do the narrative of a hunchback's adoration and an aesthete's quest for ideal beauty have in common? One answer is that both texts represent monstrosity as a new norm. Hugo's novel depicts the Parisian underworld as a viable alternative to the socio-legal infrastructures governing the city under a blind monarch; the overlooked denizens of the Cour des Miracles, hybrid creatures of “pandemonium,” become the heroes of the novel's battle for justice and liberation from an oppressive regime. Hugo demonstrates the ways in which the underside of the urban milieu both parallels and overpowers the discourse of officialdom, subverting traditional power structures

and social expectations. His “nouveau monde” is one in which “les limites des races et des espèces” are challenged, overtly questioned and defied, by a population insistent upon representing itself within both the city and the novel of the city.

Gautier, on the other hand, does away with urban space altogether, locating his novel – and its “monsters” – instead within the imagination of his narrator d’Albert. Where Hugo focuses on external, mappable spaces within the capital, Gautier chooses imaginary and romanticized spaces, whether boudoirs or conventions of fiction (even to the extent of borrowing fictional space from Shakespeare). Nonetheless, I would argue, *Mademoiselle de Maupin* represents much the same struggle that we find in Hugo’s novel. Specifically: d’Albert, confronting both his frustrated ideal and his gender confusion, describes himself as “le plus malheureux hippogriffe, le plus misérable ramassis de morceaux hétérogènes qui ait jamais existé” (249). He then makes reference to “la monstrueuse Chimère” (249), a monstrous and unspeakable love (266), and Hermaphrodite (299). Each of these mentions occurs within the (in)famous Chapter XI, in which d’Albert stages Shakespeare’s play *As You Like It*. Gautier thus, with this chapter, gives the reader a fiction of cross-dressing hybridity buried within a fiction of cross-dressing hybridity. These monstrous creatures serve to emphasize the larger theme of heterogeneity that rises up to trouble established conventions and clear definitions.

The final stage of this troubling process lies, I suggest, within the conventions of writing itself. That is, by using monsters in his fiction, Gautier opens doors for his style that similarly upset traditional structures and expectations. At a time when (as Armand Lanoux explains) the *roman feuilleton* was elaborating a real-life ethnography of the inner cities, as full of *curiosités* as the prairies of the Wild West or the uncharted territories of Africa, Gautier fuels his narrative with legendary, mythical beasts. On one level, these creatures – the Chimera, the Hippogriff, the Hermaphrodite – provide a backdrop that draws attention to the unspoken truths of a forbidden love. At the same time, Gautier mentions hybrid and heterogeneous beings expressly for the purpose of introducing the idea of contradiction inherent within both subject and text. *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, with its stylistic contradictions and complexities (the narrative lies somewhere between epistolary novel, dramatic dialogue and standard *récit*), offers the perfect vehicle to put forth Gautier’s aesthetic ideas about the necessity for a new order, both legal and literary.

Roxane Petit-Rasselle, Franklin and Marshall College

La figure du bourreau dans *La Reine Margot* et *Les Trois Mousquetaires* d’Alexandre Dumas

Rares sont les œuvres d’Alexandre Dumas où les bourreaux sont absents. L’auteur, qui détestait la violence, dépeignit cependant l’exécutant sous des traits favorables, tant dans ses romans que dans ses témoignages des *Causeries familiales*. Explorant la figure du bourreau depuis son apparence physique, sa psychologie et son univers jusqu’à sa fonction dans la question, dans la décollation et dans les soins post-mortem, cette étude dégagera les trois pouvoirs du maître des hautes œuvres.

(1) Le pouvoir du monarque, qu’il représente, mais qu’il détourne au nom d’une morale et d’amitiés personnelles. En effet, les scènes de torture et de décapitation mettent moins en scène une lutte de pouvoir, comme la décrit Michel Foucault, qu’une connivence entre l’exécutant, ses victimes et ceux qui usurpent l’autorité. Le bourreau abandonne sa fonction traditionnelle d’opposant pour jouer celle d’adjuvant. (2) Le pouvoir sur les corps: habile

donneur de mort dont les victimes ne connaissent pas la souffrance, le bourreau peut aussi prolonger ses patients, soit par ses connaissances médicales, soit parce que son traitement des défunts est tout à fait marquant (Tristan et Iseult en intertexte, le devenir des dépouilles et de leurs têtes, etc). Vivantes ou décédées, ses victimes ne peuvent ainsi jamais disparaître tout à fait du récit ou de la mémoire des personnages. (3) Les droits qu'il s'arroge et ses talents de guérisseur produisent un troisième pouvoir, cette fois-ci narratif. De fait, les deux romans se font et se défont au gré de ses activités qui lient les protagonistes, donnent son impulsion au récit et provoquent son dénouement. Le tourmenteur pourrait bien être, plutôt que le bras de la justice, un artisan de la fabula, telle que la définit Umberto Eco.

Christine Planté, Université Lumière Lyon 2

Insuffisances masculines dans *Modeste Mignon* [for session description, see **Moudileno**]

Laurence M. Porter, Michigan State University

Order and / as Disorder in Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*

Throughout his fictions, Hugo distinguishes human from divine justice. In *Les Misérables* in particular, he deconstructs the notion of the inviolable sanctity of human justice by demonstrating how it is harsh and indiscriminating in its practical application of its justifiable right to maintain social order. He broadly hints that the praxis of law enforcement depends on collusion with disreputable spies and criminals (e.g., Claquesous), who sometimes work side by side with virtuous enforcers of the law (Javert), themselves unaware of their felonious associates. He suggests that guilt can be determined by flawed testimony based on prejudices and appearances, and that sentencing can vary depending on the political affiliations of a defendant, and on the climate of the times. He shows that the heart of official religious virtue, the Catholic Church itself, can become well-meaningly implicated with violations of the civil code and with the law itself, as when Bishop Myriel receives stolen goods and sells them to give the proceeds to the poor. Indeed, as social institutions, the criminal gang and the convent have elements in common. Nevertheless, despite the welter of legally suspect interwoven strands of social order, Hugo provides moral touchstones that infer clear evidence of a coherent social and religious ethic. This talk will try to explain how he does so, and how he offers guidance for the reader.

David A. Powell, Hofstra University

Sodomite Ambassador Courts Disorder and Unlaw: Jean Lorrain's Illegal Discourse

Occasionally labeled the Ambassador of Sodom in Paris, Jean Lorrain – the pseudonym of Paul Duval (1855-1906) – made no effort to obfuscate his fondness for thugs, dock workers, and other assorted lowlifes. At the same time, he spewed forth his anti-Dreyfussard, anti-Semite, and misogynist politics in his reactionary rhetoric typical of this self-proclaimed supporter of French colonialism and Aryan supremacy. His association with the objects of his desire and the self-loathing it inspired generated an aptitude for recounting – and fantasizing – about his

encounters; the publication, in poems, novels, or newspaper articles, of these events made him the subject of much criticism, or publicity as he would no doubt have thought of it.

I propose to compare fictional and journalistic accounts of legal situations related to Lorrain's dalliances for the commentary on law and order, or as I've called it, "unlaw" and disorder. By "fictional" I refer to Lorrain's own fiction, notably *Monsieur de Phocas* and several of his short stories; by "journalistic" I refer to accounts in newspapers as well as a few thoughts and musings drawn from his diaries and personal papers.

Maxime Prévost, Université d'Ottawa

Isaac Laquedem d'Alexandre Dumas: censure et architecture mémorielle

Au début du second Empire, Alexandre Dumas s'attaque à la rédaction de son projet le plus ambitieux en carrière: le roman *Isaac Laquedem* qu'il décrit aux lecteurs du *Pays* comme «l'œuvre capitale de ma vie» et à l'éditeur anglais Sinnett comme «une épopée universelle, qui n'est autre chose que l'histoire du monde, depuis le titan Prométhée jusqu'à l'ange du jugement dernier».

On sait toutefois que les auteurs sont rarement les juges les plus clairvoyants de leurs propres œuvres. *Isaac Laquedem*, pour diverses raisons – dont la censure impériale n'est pas la moindre – allait demeurer inachevé. Bien qu'il l'ignore, Alexandre Dumas, en 1852, a terminé sa carrière de mythographe. Ses deux monuments, ceux qui figureraient de manière durable dans notre panthéon laïque (à savoir le cycle des Mousquetaires et *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo*) sont derrière lui. Très conscient de l'ascendant qu'il a exercé sur l'imaginaire collectif de la Monarchie de Juillet – et qu'il croit toujours exercer –, le père de d'Artagnan entend toutefois construire sa principale cathédrale mémorielle avec *Isaac Laquedem*: celle qui, retraçant l'ensemble de l'histoire humaine, devra immortaliser le nom d'Alexandre Dumas. Nous proposons d'étudier, dans les débris qui restent de ce monumental projet, les stratégies discursives – inefficaces, et répréhensibles aux yeux des autorités religieuses du second Empire – par lesquelles Dumas signale à son lectorat qu'*Isaac Laquedem* constitue son grand œuvre.

François Proulx, Harvard University

Purging the "Poisoned Well": French Novels and the Guibord affair in Montreal (1869-1875)

In 1869, the death of Joseph Guibord, a typesetter who was a member of the *Institut canadien de Montréal*, set off a widely reported judicial battle that would unfold all the way to the British Privy Council in 1875. At issue was the denial of a Catholic burial ground for Guibord by the Montreal clergy, led by bishop Ignace Bourget, on the basis of his membership in the freethinking *Institut*; his widow and co-members contested the edict. The affair set the stage for a showdown between French-Canadian factions and influences: ultramontanists against liberals, the religious power of Rome (Bourget twice appealed to no less than the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition) against the judicial power of London (via the Privy Council but also Guibord's widow, née Henriette Brown). In the middle of the conflict, though, was Paris: the principal target of Bourget's condemnations was the *Institut's* borrowing library, where Montreal patrons of various social classes had unfettered access to French books, among which adventure and serial novels were by far the most popular. By 1875, 85% of the library's loans

were novels from France: Alexandre Dumas and Eugène Sue accounted for ten of the thirteen most borrowed titles, despite their being placed on the Index. In his episcopal letters, Bourget thundered that the library needed to be “purged” of “all its impious and obscene works,” and for a time his injunction was obeyed: when the *Institut* closed under financial strain in 1880, the City of Montreal and the *Club canadien* both turned down its collection of over 10,000 books. The collection was acquired by the anglophone Fraser Institute in 1885 and advertised to a French-Canadian readership; a Catholic newspaper immediately denounced the new arrangement as “poisoned well where the population of Montreal will go seek its death.”

This paper will investigate what was at stake in the *Institut canadien*'s collection and diffusion of popular novels from France, and in the Canadian clergy's denunciation of it: whereas directives from Rome focused on the *Institut*'s “pernicious doctrines,” why did Bourget target novels? Conversely, what did the *Institut* seek to achieve by making these novels available? These questions will lead me to consider how “popular” texts like Dumas and Sue might, in a new context, carry a potent ideological charge.

Karen Quandt, Princeton University

Baudelaire and « le gouvernement de l'imagination »

Baudelaire's imagination is aristocratic. The queen of faculties, she governs extravagantly and the artist submits to her seductive despotism. For Baudelaire, Delacroix above all paints out of the imagination's destabilizing effects: “On pourrait dire que, doué d'une plus riche imagination, il exprime surtout l'intime du cerveau, l'aspect étonnant des choses, tant son ouvrage garde fidèlement la marque et l'humeur de sa conception” (*Salon de 1859*).

This paper will begin by considering how the imagination's rule is jeopardized by visual representations of the city. Ocular-centric and mimetic, views of Paris risk succumbing to a Realist enterprise and its connotations of vulgarity and plebeianism. Though Baudelaire reflects on the urban landscape as a potential stimulant for the imagination in the *Salon de 1859*, the city suggests more than it serves as a proper subject of art. Like Eugène Boudin's sketches of clouds, Charles Méryon's etchings of Paris emphasize a billowing framework of architecture and scaffolding that point to the sky more than the streets below. Obeying the capricious “intime du cerveau” rather than what the eye takes in, Baudelaire's Paris is a vaporous architecture.

I will then turn to the imagination that governs Constantin Guys in Baudelaire's *Le Peintre de la vie moderne* (1863) and show how it is not aristocratic but animalistic. A lamentation of Delacroix's recent demise (also 1863) instead of a celebration of modern art, Baudelaire presents Guys's barbaric and mnemonic imagination as a conditioned gut. More of a caricature than a model, Guys rabidly courses through Paris with an insatiable appetite for pleasure and an instinctive “œil fixe” that does not allow for the brain's synthesizing process. A spastic byproduct of gorged objects, Guys's drawings take the form of frenzied pen strokes and washed-out masses of color. Guys is a frantic court jester bent on feeding the public as opposed to a dignified subject who bows to an imperious queen.

With this ironic portrait of the primitive painter of modern life in mind, I will consider Baudelaire's “Rêve parisien”, addressed to Guys, as a bitter commentary on the decrepit state of the poet: “terrible nouveauté! Tout pour l'œil, rien pour les oreilles!”. Guys's undignified imagination, more than an uninspiring Paris, was Baudelaire's nightmare. By showing how the poem is, in fact, reminiscent of Hugo's fantasy-inspired architectural drawings (which

Baudelaire extols in the *Salon de 1859*), I will argue that the urban landscape according to Baudelaire's law of the imagination belonged more to the poet than the painter.

Timothy Raser, University of Georgia

“Law as order in Hugo's *Dernier Jour d'un condamné*”

Whatever his motive, Hugo conceived *Le Dernier Jour d'un condamné* as a narrative that was far from ordinary: little happens, and its most important event is of course left out. True, Hugo did take pains to endow the novel with narrative attributes. There is a chronology marked by hours of the day; there are flashbacks; there are even surprises, however labored they might seem: the announcement that today is the day of the execution, for instance. These attributes notwithstanding, the novel is, as one of the actors in the “Comédie à propos d'une tragédie” puts it, a series of psychological states, and despite its varied movements, it is remarkably static.

What is highlighted as a result is the appearance of a before/after dichotomy, where the separation of time into two moments, one past and good, the other present and bad is repeatedly effected. This is of course a standard Hugolian trope, found in *Ruy Blas*, *Les Contemplations* and elsewhere. Here it seems to permit and emphasize the counting that constitutes the bulk of the prisoner's suffering: first days, then hours left to live, steps of the scaffold to mount, previous prisoners in his cell.

Further, when he says that he lives imprisoned in a thought or a phrase, he is talking about just this sequence or countdown, a rudimentary syntax for thought that turns him into a prisoner just as it has turned his jailer into a prison: a dead man walking.

Lauren Fortner Ravalico, Harvard University

The Right to Remain Silent: Sandian Irony and the Poetics of Wordlessness

The right to silence (*le droit au silence*) has become codified in international law in the twentieth century and has become formally recognized in the French penal code only since the beginning of the twenty-first century. While the legal application of this right is meant to protect the individual against self-entrapment specifically when a crime has occurred, silence is a fundamental human rights issue that brings forth ethical questions of human dignity, protection of the self, and a collective belief that bad or evil does not prevail over goodness in the world.

George Sand engages with precisely these sorts of ethical implications of silence in both her fiction and life writing. My paper analyzes Sand's representation of the tension between feminine wordlessness and the opposing desire to break the silence in each of the two generic contexts. I argue that through this narrative dynamic of non-narratability and hermeneutic desire, Sand develops a mode of signification we might think of as “moral irony.”

Mary Rice-DeFosse, Bates College

Of Pens and Pistol Shots: *Crimes passionnels* and French Letters 1830-1840

In Stendhal's *Le Rouge et le noir*, Julien Sorel attempts to murder his former lover, Mme de Rênal, and eventually goes to the scaffold. We know little of the motive for Julien's precipitous actions, only that he hastens to Verrières, buys a pair of pistols, and shoots Mme de Rênal at mass, wounding, but not killing her. His actions are provoked by the letter denouncing Julien as a hypocrite and seducer, a letter written by Mme de Rênal under instructions from her confessor in response to a request for information from M. de la Mole. Ironically, Julien had penned a very similar letter just before ascending a ladder to Mathilde de la Mole's room and becoming her lover. He sends it to his friend Fouqué asking that copies be published in newspapers in the major cities of France in case some accident should befall him in his pursuit of Mathilde, but wants Fouqué to remove all proper names from the pamphlet he pens.

According to Joëlle Guillaud in *La Chair de l'autre* (Paris: Éditions Olivier Orban, 1986), crimes of passion in nineteenth-century France are coded in distinctive terms. The letters that often preceded or followed the crime, and penned by the victim or the criminal, often give some indication about the crime. Although Mme de Rênal's letter is not meant for publication, it causes the scandal that ends Julien's novel as a *parvenu* and leads to his condemnation by society. In fact it can be said to shape Julien's own stance at his trial.

In other cases from the decade from 1830-1840, the woman writer's publication of her writing creates scandal, for gendered writing can be seen to profoundly disturb the social order. It may even lead to the *crime passionnel*. This paper explores the woman writer and her role in crimes of passion in Stendhal's novel, in the attempted murder of Flora Tristan by her estranged husband André Chazal, and in the affair involving the poet Louise Colet and Alphonse Karr's *Les Guêpes*.

Daniel C. Ridge, Vanderbilt University

Paul Bourget's *Élégies Grecques*, and other youthful indiscretions

Throughout the nineteenth century, poets and writers looked to the Greeks not only for inspiration but also as models of behavior, etiquette and pedagogy. Before the construction of the modern homosexual identity, first defined legally and clinically by sexologists like von Krafft-Ebing and Magnus Hirschfeld, then within the popular imagination by the tragic figure of Oscar Wilde, young men looked to Greek models and literary personages for justification, guidance, and a sense of identity. Such classical interpretations allowed teenage boys in the nineteenth century to view their homosexual indiscretions within a pedagogical and poetic framework, one that was perhaps immoral in the Christian sense, but justified in the classic sense.

Thanks to a remarkable archival find, which will be revealed for the first time in this presentation, I will shed new light on Paul Bourget's search for such an identity and explore the significance of his writings on "l'amour contre la nature," "l'amour d'enfant," and more poetically, "l'amour grec," as he defines it. Was Paul Bourget a repressed homosexual whose moral condemnations reflect a deep personal unease and conflict? Or was he merely searching for a justification of his own confused feelings? Whether it be in the Greek poet Catulle or in Balzac's fictive Vautrin, Bourget is clearly searching for a sense of identity in the literary canon, one whose later repression would profoundly affect his views on morality, society, and the family. Famous for his 1883 collection *Essais de psychologie contemporaine* and his 1889 *Le Disciple*, Bourget is most remembered as a stuffy academician whose import is largely historical.

In this paper, I propose a new reading of Paul Bourget's conflicted sense of morality in light of his unpublished homoerotic poetry, *Les Élégies Grecques*, and in the personal love letters he wrote to a younger poet between 1868 and 1874. I will offer a reevaluation of his work and life which take into account these precious documents whose publication has been under embargo for the last 75 years.

Isabel Roche, Bennington College

Natural Law and Artificial Order in Hugo's "Le Poème du Jardin des Plantes"

Part pedagogical tract, part philosophical reverie, Victor Hugo's "Le Poème du Jardin des Plantes", which comprises the fourth section of *L'Art d'être grand-père* (1877), draws repeated attention to the concentrated fixity and artificiality of the zoological garden in which the grandfather-narrator wanders with his two young charges. This constructed space effectively neutralizes natural law, as the captive animals serve primarily as representations of themselves ("C'est du vaste univers un raccourci complet"). At the same time, its intensity serves to render all the more palpable the dynamic principles of ordering that govern the universe, emphasizing at once the reach of the divine and the frictions that inform it.

This paper reflects upon the ways in which the exotic animals figured in the poem both lodge and project its central tensions and reflect concerns relative to order of all kinds, and particularly in relation to logics of artifice and nature, freedom and constraint, salvation and damnation, and enlightenment and unintelligibility. It also explores the ways in which Hugo's thinking here and elsewhere mirrors and diverges from nineteenth-century thought about animals and their purposes, specifically in relation to scientific developments (most notably evolutionary theories), continued shifts in religious beliefs and philosophical understanding (including the rejection of the Cartesian notion of the animal-machine), the sociological and psychological phenomenon of the rise of the domestic animal as pet, and the new educative and leisure function assigned to the zoological parks that had replaced the royal menageries of the previous century.

Martin Rodan, The Hebrew University

La légitimité de la justice militaire et son discrédit dans *Servitude et Grandeur Militaires* de Alfred de Vigny

La chute de l'Empire napoléonien a provoqué une transmutation "nietzschéenne" des valeurs éthiques en France: honneur militaire comme l'expression du culte de la Victoire et de la Nation pendant l'époque impériale a cédé la place - au temps de la Restauration et de la Monarchie bourgeoise - à une "morale des esclaves" dont le fameux *enrichissez-vous* de François Guizot résume bien les objectifs. Les grands écrivains de l'époque tels Stendhal, Balzac ou Musset ont souligné l'importance archétypale de cette transformation dont "le mal du siècle" fut un des symptômes. Alfred de Vigny, poète, écrivain, mais aussi officier de métier dans l'armée "postnapoléonienne" mésestimée, a analysé dans son roman *Servitude et Grandeur Militaires* la dégradation des valeurs militaires, non seulement dans leurs répercussions sur la vie de la société civile en France, mais aussi sur le fonctionnement de l'appareil militaire et sur la vie de chaque soldat. La légitimité de codes militaires se référant à une stricte hiérarchie et à une obéissance aveugle aux ordres y est systématiquement remise en question. Ces codes sont présentés par

Vigny comme un système arbitraire de signes dont la diachronie conjoncturelle mène toujours à de désastreux résultats contraires aux visées de ces mêmes codes. Ainsi dans la partie intitulée "La veillée de Vincennes", le zèle louable de l'adjudant dans l'exercice de son devoir est la cause directe d'une explosion catastrophique. Je montrerai dans ma communication que Vigny présente la dévalorisation de la loi militaire verticalement et horizontalement: il montre l'inadéquation totale entre les méta-narratifs des grands de ce monde (Marie-Antoinette, le Directoire, le pape, Napoléon) et "les petits récits" tragiques de leurs soldats et il prouve que la discipline inconditionnelle exigée par l'ordre de l'armée désintègre l'individuel et la collectivité et ne peut donc servir efficacement aucun régime politique.

Jaymes Anne Rohrer, Randolph College

Crocodile Tears: Subverting the Letter and the Law in Balzac's *Le Contrat de mariage*

In 1835 Balzac exulted, "Ce que je voulais faire a été glorieusement accompli. J'ai représenté tout un avenir de deux époux par la scène seule du contrat de mariage...." In a pitched contest between wily negotiators, which of the family lines will win? When Paul de Manerville's *notaire* sniffs out the depletion of the alluring Natalie Evangelista's estate, he inserts a clause securing a *majorat*, fastening the Manerville wealth and title on their firstborn son. Bested, the vengeful Mme Evangelista-*mère* instructs her daughter to drain her bridegroom's fortune.

Natalie's husband, who has never worked a day in his life, must leave for the colonies to replenish his coffers. As Paul departs, Natalie writes him announcing the "good news" that she is pregnant, carrying the child who would claim the Manerville assets. In closing, she evokes tears shed on the letter, sketches a small box on the page, and tells him "Reprends les baisers que je te mets, là, au bas, dans ce carré, Ta Natalie."

"His" Natalie Evangelista, whose name suggests the Good News of a birth, glosses over the fact that their love life precluded any possibility that Paul might be the father. The kisses filling the empty box are likely as fraudulent as the future heir in Natalie's womb. If tears were indeed shed by "*ce petit crocodile habillé en femme*," they must be crocodile tears.

The marriage contract can be seen as a narrative pact, an attempt to control the story of origins. The special effect of this letter's signature—the graphic reproduction of the empty space on the novel's page—portrays *en abyme*, the hole in the law through which a woman may wrest control. *Crocodile Tears* explores how Balzac's questioning of legitimacy—social, political, and literary—productively generates and interrogates the marriage contract as social institution and as narrative.

Jean-Marie Roulin, Université Jean Monnet - Saint-Etienne

Constructions du masculin et conflit des virilités dans *Les Chouans* de Balzac [for session description, see **Moudileno**]

James H. Rubin, Stony Brook University

Bridging in Monet's Water Lilies

Bridges have a long history in painting. As motifs in their own right, they might be fraught with intimations of nostalgia as in paintings by Camille Corot, or celebrated with pride in their modernity, as in Impressionism. In many other kinds of landscapes, however, they often serve a more pictorial purpose, such as limiting or framing a foreground space, thus dividing it from the background. In other cases, they may lead the eye from one side to the other within a picture, functioning as a linking rather than a limiting device. In either of these latter instances, the trope is called “the bridge in the middle distance” and is common in both the ideal landscapes of Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain, which are organized almost like stage sets, or in more naturalistic landscapes like those of John Constable and J.M.W. Turner, in which continuity of experience rather than disjuncture is the aim.

Claude Monet’s take on the bridge motif runs the gamut of such effects. However, in his pictures that include the Japanese style footbridge he built over his water lily pond, the motif became far bolder and more deliberately experimental than in the work of any previous artist. Although Monet was obviously inspired by Japanese prints, his paintings use the bridge in ways far different. The bridge becomes a primary compositional device imposed on a natural realm that might otherwise seem disorderly. It provides a matrix, grid, or frame and even in some case a form of window against which the rest of his composition plays.

The paper will explore the development of this device in Monet, its range of effects, its aesthetic and psychological rationale, and its relationship to more deep-seated cultural and intellectual aspects on his time. One avenue of exploration might be the philosophy of Henri Bergson pertaining to connectivity and vital flow. It will propose that for its imposition of order on a chaotic world, the Japanese footbridge could be read not only pictorially but philosophically as a symptom of its time.

Maurice Samuels, Yale University

Religious Law/Colonial Order: Gautier’s *Belle Juive*

Théophile Gautier was no friend to the Jews. Throughout his career, he described Jews as dirty, venal, and scheming with a vehemence that stands out even against the backdrop of the Romantic era’s antisemitic conventions. The philosemitism of Gautier’s play *La Juive de Constantine* (1846) thus comes as something of a surprise. Not only does it fetishize the beautiful Jewish woman (a typical move even for antisemitic writers) but it also describes her father, a merchant, in relatively positive terms, showing him able to overcome archaic prejudice and religious law in order to accept “enlightened” French values. Significantly, this philosemitism comes in the colonial context of recently conquered Algeria: it is only when set off against the Muslims that the Jews become capable of assimilation. This paper reads Gautier’s play in its literary and cultural context in order to examine the trope of comparative or differential racism made available by France’s colonial encounter—a trope that Gautier would be among the first to mobilize and that would have a long and unpleasant afterlife in France’s treatment of its religious/ethnic minorities.

and

“What I Didn’t Learn in Graduate School” Roundtable [see **Brooks**]

Beryl Schlossman, Northeastern University

Glorifier le culte des images -- Baudelaire et l'Espagne

A partir de la représentation de l'amour, de la discipline cléricale et militaire, et de la religion, la péninsule ibérique laisse une empreinte esthétique dans l'art poétique de Baudelaire. Il y a une complicité entre la vision moderne de Paris, capitale du dix-neuvième siècle, et l'art de la péninsule, depuis la Renaissance jusqu'à Velasquez, Murillo et surtout Goya, connu par ses gravures et par quelques toiles du Musée Espagnol.

C'est au croisement de deux disciplines, la littérature et l'art, que Baudelaire doit sa vision singulière, fondamentale. Dans ses écrits intimes, il met cette vision en scène: "Glorifier le culte des images, ma grande, mon unique -- ma primitive -- passion" (OC 1: 701). La formule est saisissante: très tôt, Baudelaire ouvre la perspective de son écriture poétique aux arts, dont les arts espagnols. On en retrouve les traces dans "Spleen et idéal" comme dans la nouvelle hispanisante, "La Fanfarlo". Dans cette communication, je me propose d'explorer le domaine de l'art espagnol chez Baudelaire, et de le situer dans les contextes de la modernité trans-romantique de son oeuvre.

Gretchen Schultz, Brown University

"Passionalités d'en bas": Joséphin Péladan and the Laws of Gynandrous Desire

The Napoleonic code, while opinionated about the social and sexual comportment of women, held no provisions for controlling female sexual deviance outside of marriage. Several late 19th-century Sapphic fictions by writers including Adolphe Belot (*Mlle Giraud, Ma femme*) and Guy de Maupassant ("La Femme de Paul") lamented this legal oversight. Others approached the "laws" of female homosexuality more abstractly.

In *La Gynandre*, Joséphin Péladan's character Tammuz, described as an "ambassadeur de la sexualité normale," takes an academic, even clinical interest in female homosexuality. He resolves to "découvrir la loi de l'anormal" by doing fieldwork among the large population of Parisian *gynanders*. This paper analyses Tammuz' research and ultimate victory over female homosexuality as exemplary of a highly reactionary decadent rhetoric, which advocates both a rarefied aestheticism and a normative socio-sexual order in service of a legitimist political agenda.

Stephen Schwartz, University College, Dublin

Crossings in *Crise de vers*

The house of Mallarmé is currently a house divided between its 'positivist' and 'speculativist' wings. Among the former group are those critics who suppose that the texts of Mallarmé's corpus might be meaningful or have something to tell us both within and beyond their formal brilliance. This group includes not only masterful interpreters of Mallarmé like Bertrand Marchal and Paul Bénichou, but also the partisans of recent critical approaches based in historical and cultural studies who see Mallarmé as a writer of his time, whose work is involved

in the social and political questions of that time. Among the latter group are those formalist critics for whom Mallarmé is exemplary, but exemplary of the disruption, transgression or foregrounding of metaphysical language by means of his formal innovations. These critics take their cue from Blanchot's influential Heideggerian readings of Mallarmé.

Each group has its preferred texts. For the positivists, those texts are *La Dernière mode*, some of the texts of the *Divagations*, and the *Vers de circonstance*. For the speculativists, the *ur-texts* are “Un Coup de dés” and, above all, *Crise de vers*. In this talk, I propose a new reading of the latter text, which has so often been upheld as the theoretical undergirding of the speculativist perspective on Mallarmé, in order to find in it the thematisation of the very split between these two ways of reading in general and of reading Mallarmé specifically. *Not*, as the partisans of the two camps might prefer, in order to uphold either “la parole brute” (positivists) or “la parole essentielle” (speculativists), but in order to uncover the ways in which this text crosses up the distinction on which both groups rely, thereby both saying something other than what it has been held to say and functioning differently from the way it has been held to function.

Scott Shinabargar, Clark Atlanta University

The Physics of *Maldoror*

It is noteworthy that one of the most transgressive texts in the history of French literature concludes according to the most fundamental system of law. Lautréamont's *Chants de Maldoror*, a disorderly expression of alienated subjectivity in the face of social and divine order, ends with a human sling that is as carefully choreographed as a physics experiment. While a number of critics have called attention to the seemingly incongruous peon to mathematics, in the second canto, no one has sufficiently analyzed the function of this final act of violence—at once grandiose, and meaningless. I will suggest that this passage reflects an attempt to resolve a fundamental problem within Lautréamont's avant-garde poetic experiment: despite the unprecedented degree of *force* claimed for *Maldoror* – not only for the poet's alter-ego, within the world of the text, but for the text itself, in its effect upon the reader (“les émanations mortelles de ce livre”) – the surreal imagery and language of the cantos become increasingly overwrought, as if the poet were unsure of the potency of what he writes—a gesture that ends up diffusing the impact of the text, paradoxically. By meticulously enacting the accumulation and release of centrifugal force from the height of the *Colonne Vendôme*, through continual reference to the laws of physics, the poet convincingly resolves this issue. Maintaining exclusive focus on the sequential execution of necessary physical gestures, Lautréamont finally becomes, in a sense, the agent of extreme force he claims to be—though only at the cost of his literary “self”: the language of *Maldoror* most effectively transmits such force when it is transparently concentrated on dynamics within objective reality, momentarily freed from the nihilistic posing and inflated rhetoric of the preceding cantos.

Susan Sidlauskas, Rutgers University

“How to Sit: Manet's *In the Conservatory (Monsieur et Madame Guillemet)*”

Manet's painting of 1879 has already been the subject of a comprehensive analysis by Jonathan Crary in his book, *Suspensions of Perception*. While I will build on a number of his observations, I want to shift the focus somewhat: first, to the passages in which Manet himself undermines the apparent rigidity of his female subject; and then to the social (and marital) context within which this work was produced. Crary is right to emphasize Madame Guillemet's taut containment, linking it to broader cultural themes of attention and distraction. But in fact, her face is painted in a distinctly different idiom than the tightly bound figure, and is built instead of lush, curving strokes overlaid by what seem to be lovingly observed details of hair, skin, and the ribbons that curve around her face. These passages within the contour of Madame Guillemet's head constitute a distinctly sensual contrast to her nearly a-sensual body. I would contend that the "waxen" figure with the trance-like blankness is a feint, a deliberate redirecting of attention, one might say, from the signs of Manet's own desire. For Madame Manet was in the conservatory while the portrait was being painted, supposedly because of the intimate friendship between the couples. The artist would soon paint his wife on the very same bench his younger and more elegant subject had occupied. In contrast, Suzanne Manet is a Rubensian matron who occupies nearly half the bench. Manet's violations of the rules of marriage can only be inferred. This painting of his wife on the bench occupied a prominent wall in "the conjugal bedroom" after Manet's death, although it was a memorial to a time when she had not been the main focus of her husband's attention.

Willa Z. Silverman, Penn State University

The Great Wave: Henri Vever's Japanese Collection

Known primarily as a luxury jeweler in the vanguard of Art Nouveau and recipient of a Grand Prix at the Paris Expositions Universelles of 1889 and 1900, Henri Vever (1854-1942) coupled these activities with those of a prominent and prescient collector, initially of paintings by the Barbizon School and the Impressionists. In the late 1880s he began to constitute an important collection of Japanese prints and *objets d'art*, becoming a leading member of the 'second wave' of *japonisants*, following the one associated with Edmond de Goncourt and Philippe Burty. According to Goncourt, Vever was indeed "le plus passionné de tou[t]...ce monde de bibeloteurs japonais." Drawing on Vever's private diaries and a range of other documents, this paper will examine how the collecting practices of Vever and others in his circle (Gaston Migeon, Hugues Krafft, Charles Gillot) differed from those of their predecessors in light of the development of new forms of sociability for these collectors (notably, from 1892, the monthly meetings of the 'Dîners japonais' organized by the dealer Siegfried Bing); the rise to prominence in Paris of several dealers in Asian art (Bing; Florine Langweil); the inauguration of cultural institutions devoted to Asian art, such as the Musée Guimet (1889); and the opportunities for commercial and cultural exchange between France and Japan afforded by the 1900 Exposition. These important contexts, as well as the soaring prices of Japanese art as the field of collectors expanded, help illuminate the collecting strategies of Vever and his contemporaries; notions of taste within the field of Asian art collectors; and, ultimately, their move away from Japanese art to the less-developed market for decorative arts of the Islamic world. More broadly, this paper aims to explore how 'orders' of collecting practices evolve in response to shifting financial, sociocultural, and esthetic contexts.

Annie Smart, Saint Louis University

Maternal Order and Civic Identity in Claire Démar's *Ma loi d'avenir*

In her 1833 brochure *Ma loi d'avenir* Claire Démar calls for a new law that would enfranchise women and ground society in a moral social order. Published in the Saint-Simonian women's journal *La Tribune des Femmes* shortly after Démar's suicide in 1833, *Ma loi* owes much to the Ecole saint-simonienne's calls for the "femme qui parle" to come forth and pronounce a new law that would usher in the just society. But Démar's essay radicalizes the Saint-Simonian position: for Démar, the just society and women's identity as civic and sexual equals can only be achieved through completely dismantling the patriarchal order that subtends the Bourgeois Monarchy, and replacing it with a maternal social order.

This paper examines Claire Démar's future law from an historical and a theoretical angle. First, I juxtapose Démar's future law with the laws in the Civil Code that regulated female sexuality and determined women's potential for citizenship. Démar, however, wasn't interested in simply inserting women as rights-bearing individuals into the existing Civil Code. In the second part of my paper, I suggest that Démar's future law introduces maternity as the linchpin for a new moral social order. Stating that while paternity is a "belief," motherhood is always certain, and that therefore laws should honor all pregnant women (married and unmarried), Démar envisions a society based on sexual liberty, harmony between social classes, and the "mystery" of maternity.

Whereas excellent studies have stressed a Lacanian reading of *Ma loi*, showing how Démar's future law questions the *loi du père*, I believe we might better understand Démar through the idea of maternal genealogy in Luce Irigaray's *Le temps de la différence* (1989). As we shall see, if both Irigaray and Démar present a cogent critique of patriarchy, stating that bourgeois society is based on matricide or on the repression of an earlier maternal law; both also articulate a new sexual/civic identity for women through a *loi de la mère*.

Karen Sorenson, Austin Peay State University

"Out of Order and Beyond the Frame: Gautier and *la peinture murale* in the Salons of 1845 and 1846"

Salon reviews serve to mediate between the artist and public. They may interpret, analyze, contextualize or describe the exhibited works of art to viewers, from the relatively unsophisticated first-time salon-goers to the true connoisseurs.

In 1845 and 1846, Gautier's reviews of the Paris Salon examine, as one might expect, notable exhibiting artists and their works; however many of the most significant artists of the day were either not represented at the Salon, or only exhibited minor works. Many well-regarded artists had works which had been rejected by the jury, and some, like Rude, abstained from the Salon in protest. Still other artists were absent because they were otherwise engaged in major projects of monumental proportions, such as Delacroix' murals for the cupola of the library of the Chambre des Pairs, or the murals and frescoes that were part of the restoration of Parisian churches like Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, Saint-Séverin, Saint-Merry and Saint Germain-des-Prés. As Gautier wrote in *La Presse* of 19 April 1845, "Les pans de muraille ne peuvent pas se détacher et s'envoyer au Salon...Ils méritent pourtant l'attention à de plus hauts titres souvent que bien des peintres dont les ouvrages fournissent le sujet de longues colonnes." In 1845 Gautier

devotes an entire article of his nine-article Salon series to the *peinture murale* outside the walls of the Salon and the following year, he continues to devote significant attention to these works outside the exhibition and beyond the frame.

Scott Sprenger, Brigham Young University

Balzac and the Law that Kills

Several of Balzac's "fantastic" novels and short stories feature a confrontation with the Law whose effect is spontaneous death (or the death of desire).

Although Balzac's symbolic clustering of the law, cutting imagery, and death are often read anachronistically in a psychoanalytic register as castration, I will argue that Balzac is alluding to St. Paul's idea of the "law that kills" in order to allegorize France's historical experience of traumatic rupture with Catholicism as it abruptly adopts a constitutional- or law-centered order in 1830.

Juliana Starr, University of New Orleans

Animal Alterity: Judith Gautier's *Mémoires d'un éléphant blanc*

The exceptionally beautiful Judith Gautier (1845-1917), eldest daughter of Théophile Gautier and opera diva Ernesta Grisi, was raised in the epicenter of Europe's literary and musical avant-garde. Best-selling novelist, journalist, art critic and musicologist, she was the first woman elected to the prestigious Goncourt Academy. Perhaps the most unique characteristics distinguishing her unfairly neglected novels are her reliance on original Middle and Far Eastern textual material combined with her unusual narrating voice. Rather than create Western traveler-narrators, she permits Oriental narrators to tell the tale directly. Her attempt is to remove the authorial voice of the Western writer in order to lend credibility to the story and present the East on its own terms. Her enormously popular children's novel, *Mémoires d'un éléphant blanc*, published in 1894 with illustrations by the then-unknown Alphonse Mucha, is a case in point, as perhaps the only French novel narrated by an elephant -- and more specifically, a white, Siamese elephant. As such, it represents not only an acute interest in the Eastern Other, but also in the Animal Other, offering unique insights into the emerging fields of animal cognition, animal morality, animal rights, and human-animal studies. The relevance of such issues today is evident in the fact that while almost all of Gautier's fiction has long been out of print, *Mémoires* was republished in 2003. As we shall see, the book is important in other ways as well -- as emblematic of the proliferation of children's literature in the fin de siècle, as an example of a contemporary initiative to provide quality literature for young readers, and as a landmark moment in the career of Mucha, who will later trace important developments in his signature Art Nouveau style to his collaborative efforts on Gautier's book.

Robert St. Clair, The College of William and Mary

Post-Traumatic Sonnet Disorder: Poetic Disruptions and Traumatic Inscriptions in Rimbaud's "Le Dormeur du Val"

Written sometime in the late summer to early autumn of 1870, *Le Dormeur du Val* is one of the Arthur Rimbaud's best known poems, and indeed one of 19th-century French literature's "canonical texts". In this presentation, I argue that an important rupture takes place within Rimbaud's poetic trajectory around the moment of the Franco-Prussian War, the traces of which manifest themselves as a series of *dérèglements* and transgressions within the space of traditional lyrical poetry. A treble poetic movement of revolt, rupture, and engagement is detectable in *Le Dormeur du Val*, provided we look closely at and attempt to account for the moments of dislocation of speech and poetic structure that are scattered throughout the poem.

In this respect, I examine the idea of a "poetraumatics" at work in the *dit* of the poem as much as the *comment-dire*. That is, the struggle to designate the traumatic event in/of the text (the "wound", that metaphorically opens and eventually fails to close the poem down) manifests itself through a compelling play of repetitions, deformations, structural transgressions within the form of the sonnet, and pressure on the alexandrine if not language itself that allow the poet to esthetically inscribe a traumatic encounter with the Real of History (i.e, the massive mayhem and carnage of modern warfare) and with the universal conditions of human finitude and fragility (em-bodied, as it were, in the dead soldier). In final analysis, when we locate the text within its historical situation (within the context of history as "what hurts"), this very universal condition of radical finitude that the poet struggles to name, coupled with the presence of a series of *topos* of revolutionary discourse in the text, point us towards Rimbaud's engagement pre-Commune radical politics (the fundamental ethos of which is a critique of the bourgeois ideologeme that suffering *can* be justified by the laws of Nature and Capitalism); towards an interrogation of violence, and the necessity of an impossible engagement in the struggles of history without any guarantee of success grounded in a law of the Big Other (e.g., "History", "God", "The Republic", "Class", "The Nation", "Race" etc.).

Bradley Stephens, University of Bristol

"Aux grands hommes la patrie méfiante?" Disordering the Masculine in *Les Misérables*

In spite of Victor Hugo's reputation as the *grand homme* of nineteenth-century France, revisions of his oeuvre since the 1950s have made it difficult to subject his work to any ordering authority – not least that of the regulatory 'alpha male' figure. To invest in self-determinism, Hugo complicates the fixed nature of authoritative or categorical thinking by channelling the creative power of the divine and its embrace of dynamism as opposed to regulation. 'Tout s'enchaîne et se déduit' (*Préface de Cromwell*) in the process of becoming rather than in the stasis of being.

Victor Brombert (1984) has already noted how Hugo rethinks paternity through this dynamic sense of being as a 'principle of conversion' rather than one of confirmation (reiterated by Pierre Laforgue, 1987). But Hugo's transformative logic unsettles the masculine subject position itself in ways that could be made more explicit still. Contemporary feminist and 'Queer' thinking has sharpened a focus on how masculine subjectivity might be renegotiated through its own internal tensions so as to pluralise individual identity. In turn, recent studies have begun to plough what Robert Nye (1993) identified as an 'undeveloped field' of masculinities in modern French culture (e.g. Mary Orr on Flaubert, 2000; Nigel Harkness on George Sand, 2007; Todd Reeser and Lewis Seifert on contemporary France, 2008).

To further our understanding of both Hugo's Romantic philosophy of freedom and nineteenth-century responses to the supposed norm of masculinity, this paper will employ these critical approaches in a reading of the character of Marius in *Les Misérables*. As the bearer of the next generation, Marius will be examined in light of Hugo's attempts to reconfigure masculine grandeur as more vibrant than unassailable. However, this reworking of the traditionally gendered laws of human being generates anxiety as much as aspiration, sophisticating the novel's reflections on the future of the French Republic.

Charles J. Stivale, Wayne State University

Of Dignity and Ridicule, or Lucien Leuwen *comédien*

This essay's citation *en exergue* from Stendhal's *Journal* -- "Raison de la vieillesse, plus propre à la comédie, et de la jeunesse, bonne pour la tragédie" (9 January 1806; *Oeuvres intimes* I, 373) -- encompasses the dichotomies at the heart of narrative constructions of masculinity: not just on the masculine and virility in figurations of the *troisième âge*, but also on how such figurations contrast with masculine constructions of the focal protagonist, i.e. characters of the *premier âge*, as it were. Beyond this contrastive purpose in terms of characterization, I am equally attracted to the epistemological bases, at once scientific and philosophical, of such characterization through which masculine constructions emerge. In this talk I situate my project on vital Romanticism and constructions of masculinity with the *optique* of dignity and ridicule. By first opting to *reculer* (toward the origins of Stendhal's extensive reflection on the self), I can then *mieux rebondir*, to take up constructions of masculinity in *Lucien Leuwen* closely linked to the contrast between tragic *jeunesse* and comedic *vieillesse*.

Jonathan Strauss, Miami University, Ohio

Medicine and the Law of the Body

This paper focuses on a significant and spectacular case of necrophilia from the mid-nineteenth century. Sergeant François Bertrand's nocturnal visits to cemeteries left behind grisly tableaux that horrified the French public for over a year and eventually led to his court-martial in 1849. The details of his exploits immediately unleashed a series of analyses in the medical press, which agreed that his behavior touched the farthest limits of the pathological. The trial and its aftermath called on the expertise of qualified alienists to help explain his deviant behavior, but these witnesses quickly disputed the authority of the court to pronounce judgment on the case, asserting that it involved medical rather than legal issues. For Bertrand's contemporaries, understanding his behavior largely meant assigning jurisdiction over it. The sergeant was on trial, but so were the right and power to make sense of him.

In order to establish the background to this struggle for authority, the paper quickly retraces the rivalry between the courts and doctors to the mid-eighteenth century. There were two principal points of dispute: on the one hand doctors argued that the medical profession should be self-governing (and largely, therefore, beyond the purview of the courts), and on the other they attempted to increase their influence on legal decisions, especially in their role as expert witnesses. By the middle of the nineteenth century, French doctors had met with mixed success. They had been able to retain some guild-like autonomies and a degree of self-governance.

Certain significant cases had demonstrated both the dismissiveness of the courts toward these institutions but also their own – probably unwitting – adoption of medical reasoning.

It the struggle for legitimacy between the nascent, modern form of medicine and the courts that I want to illustrate through Bertrand's court-martial. To do that, I attempt to show the ways in which key spokesmen for the medical sciences positioned their discipline not only as a law unto itself, but also as the basis for a new and alternative form of truth.

Eloise Sureau-Hale, Butler University

Ducasse sans Sue: voleur raté de mots et d'images

1870: Isidore Ducasse, âgé de vingt-quatre ans, s'éteint dans un appartement de Paris. L'on sait peu de choses sur lui excepté le fait que, étant données les longues tirades dithyrambiques de ses *Poésies* chargées de louanges ou de haine envers certains textes ou auteurs, il est clair que le jeune sud-américain lisait beaucoup. Auteur incompris par ses pairs, en quête d'un style, Isidore Ducasse dit le Comte de Lautréamont furète chez certains auteurs qui l'ont précédé pour se confectionner de toute pièce une voix qui lui soit propre, créant de ce fait un patchwork stylistique sans pareil.

Or cette voix, bien que multiple et d'origines variées, c'est chez Eugène Sue qu'il en extrait la plus large part. Si les rapprochements thématiques entre les textes des deux auteurs dits « noirs » sont évidents et ont fait l'objet de nombreuses analyses, le « vol » de mots s'il peut se nommer ainsi n'a pas jusqu'à présent semblé intéresser la critique ducassienne. C'est ainsi que l'on remarque chez Sue avant Ducasse un vif intérêt à faire participer le lecteur, l'invitant à se promener avec eux au cœur même de la narration. Ou encore des métaphores animalières choisies, mettant en scène des bêtes de tout poil servant de référent caractériel descriptif des personnages principaux. Ducasse calque son style sur celui de Sue.

C'est ce rapprochement lexico-syntaxique qui nous intéresse, et qui fera l'objet de la présente étude, montrant par là même non seulement et une fois pour toute que Ducasse connaissait bien son Sue, mais aussi, et surtout, que ce que fait Ducasse en reprenant et remaniant, parfois de manière à peine voilée, le style de son prédécesseur, en « titillant » le lecteur au moyen d'images fortes comme le fait Sue, c'est du « vol » d'images, de l'appropriation stylistique: du pastiche pur et simple.

Jessica Tanner, Harvard University

An Unhomely Home: Naturalist Nostalgia and the *Maison de tolérance*

The tightly-regulated space of the pre-Haussmannian Parisian *maison de tolérance* is an unhomely house of prostitution. A public “home,” with free entrance for men (clients, legal and medical authorities) but no exit for women, “tolérée” but not “autorisée,” the tolerated Parisian brothel is a licit illicit space, whose purpose is to circumscribe and control the disorderly, disordering body of the prostitute by containing it and rendering it penetrable to panoptic (and actual) surveillance. Ironically, the relative order of the *tolérance* is disrupted and displaced by Haussmann's refacing of the Parisian landscape during the Second Empire, itself an attempt to organize and sanitize the urban space. Indeed, Haussmann's form of urban order is disorienting to observers in its newness.

Through an analysis of the space of the *maison de tolérance* as depicted in Joris-Karl Huysmans's *Marthe. Histoire d'une fille* (1876) and Edmond de Goncourt's *La Fille Élisa* (1877), I will argue that, for these authors, the route to urban mastery passes through the *mauvais lieu* and the prostitute's disordering path. My paper will read the male-authored French naturalist novel's obsession with *la fille* and *la ville* as the mark of a desire for definition – a drive to locate the authorial self in the new Paris in opposition to the familiar figure of the *fille inscrite*. Positing the *maison de tolérance* as the site of a nostalgic longing for a recognizable disorder that can be reinscribed and reordered through text, I will show how this “*lieu de perdition*” becomes in Huysmans and Goncourt a mythic space of recovery of the lost time and lost pleasure associated with “le vieux Paris.”

Katherine Taylor, University of Chicago

The Cour de Cassation's Walk-in Diorama

In 1833, a medievalizing polychrome renovation of the dilapidated quarters of the Cour de Cassation, the lawcourt at the apex of the French judicial hierarchy, was compared to a diorama by the press – a diorama that created its own problems of plausibility because visitors and users literally walked in the exhibition rather than being transported imaginatively into its time and place across the gulf that normally separated the diorama scene from the spectators' area. This is an intriguing turn in the diorama's history, as well as in the development of historic restoration campaigns at the period. More interesting, however, is the way the renovation was received by the Cour de Cassation itself. Strenuously resisted initially, as out of keeping with the court's postrevolutionary identity and ethos of noble self-restraint, the renovation came to be embraced and even expanded by the magistrate who oversaw the court's architectural matters, André Dupin, in his role as its prosecutor-general, a job he combined with a legislative position and a role as an architect of Louis-Philippe's regime and its self-presentation as the heir to all political factions in French history. This paper frames the renovation (recorded in watercolor drawings) as the vehicle for a shift in the court's view of itself and consequently, an asset to its campaign to expand its role from a watchdog over technical niceties of procedure to a leader of the courts with a de facto role in jurisprudence, a campaign that came to fruition in a law of 1837 expanding its authority. Thus the paper is about the inadvertent yet catalytic role architecture could play in the representation of the lawcourts to the magistrates themselves.

Hervé Tchumkam, Southern Methodist University

Transgressive Body: Carmen, Law, and Disorder.

Building on Giorgio Agamben's concept of profanation, my presentation will interest itself with the female body in Prosper Mérimée's *Carmen*. I will argue that the woman's body in *Carmen* is a site of attraction and repulsion, with the female protagonist oscillating between necessity and expenditure. Hence, Carmen becomes confused with the *Homo Sacer*, that character in Ancient Rome who could not be sacrificed by the ritual but paradoxically, whose murder was not considered homicide. After showing how Carmen's body stands out as a metaphor for a French ethnographic discourse at the turn of the Nineteenth Century, the paper will pay close attention to how the female body transgresses law and overthrows order and,

therefore, sets the woman's body free from the "mark of the beast". In other words, narrative becomes an actant that restitutes the female body to the sphere of humans, that very body that had been separated from the human sphere and moved away to the sphere of religion. Ultimately, it will be my contention that the writing of the female body in *Carmen* offers, if not a key to the understanding of the relation between Eros, writing and commerce in 19th century French literature, capital elements of where the most important questions must be raised.

Andrea Thomas, Loyola University, Maryland

Oscar Wilde's *Salomé*, Law and Collaboration

Critics have often discussed influences of fin-de-siècle French literary figures on Oscar Wilde's career, but less often considered is their creative input in the writing of Wilde's texts. *Salomé*, first written in French in 1891, with the help of several French or French-speaking writers, including Pierre Louÿs, Marcel Schwob, Adolphe Retté, and Stuart Merrill, presents a curious example of this kind of collaboration in literature. Owing in part to Wilde's admiration of French Symbolism and to his latest legal problems in England, *Salomé* is French in language, style, and purpose. Although Wilde had a decent command of the French language, a closer look at the manuscripts and evolution of Wilde's texts shows that each was a product of collaboration designed to improve the work while evading the law.

The French edition of *Salomé* appeared in Paris and London in 1893. When Lord Alfred Douglas (Wilde's lover) translated the first English *Salomé* in 1894, Wilde, who was dissatisfied with the translation in his native language, subsequently corrected it, but then dedicated the work to Douglas. Rehearsals of a London production of the play were thwarted in 1892 by the Lord Chamberlain's censor, which deemed it illegal to portray Biblical figures on the public stage. So the production was then taken up in Paris at the famous Symbolist theater, Théâtre de l'Œuvre, where it premiered on February 11, 1896, though not without some trepidation by its director, Aurélien Lugné-Poë, concerning potential legal problems of his own.

By closely examining the various iterations in the collaborative history of *Salomé*, I set out to reconsider the status of Wilde as its author. In this manner, I question which, if any, texts of *Salomé* can be considered "authorial" and the extent to which literature is ultimately a collective endeavor.

Hannah Thompson, Royal Holloway, University of London

The Disorderly City in *La Curée* and *L'Éducation sentimentale*

Baron Haussmann's renovations of the city of Paris aimed to transform the unruly (and unrulable) city of barricades depicted in Hugo's *Les Misérables* into an orderly and governable cityscape which would celebrate Napoleon III's glory whilst at the same time enabling him to maintain control over his people. The Second Empire's attempts to artificially impose order on an essentially organic and naturally malleable entity bring the tension between order and disorder into sharp focus. Literary depictions of the capital which are either set or written during the renovations tend to undermine the benefits of Haussmann's project by emphasising the chaotic and unruly nature of the city and its adverse effects on the trajectories of the novels' protagonists.

rather than celebrating the clarity and logic of the new layout. Flaubert's *L'Education sentimentale* and Zola's *La Curée* both use the changing Paris as a means of generating plot and influencing characterisation. They also both feature protagonists whose lives lack order. Frédéric Moreau and Renée Saccard live confusing and unfulfilling lives against the backdrop of a chaotic and unforgiving city. Both protagonists also break laws. Renée breaks the laws of nineteenth-century society when she lets herself be seduced by a married man and later sleeps with her stepson Maxime. More seriously, perhaps, Frédéric breaks the laws of the *bildungsroman* when he fails to exhibit the typically heroic and arriviste characteristics of Rastignac. This paper argues that the chaotic and unruly city depicted in these novels plays, by virtue of its difference from Haussmann's project, a significant part in precipitating, symbolising or commenting on the characters' lawlessness.

Clive Thomson, Université de Guelph

“L'amour pédérastique est pauvre de substance”: l'attitude ambiguë de Georges Hérelle à l'égard de l'homosexualité dans ses *Petits mémoires littéraires* et ses *Nouvelles histoires sur l'amour grec*.

En 1896, Hérelle écrit une longue lettre au Docteur Georges Saint-Paul, dans laquelle il affirme: “(...) j'ai deux ou trois vieux amis de vingt ans qui sont des invertis comme moi et qui connaissent toutes mes aventures; mais ils ne connaissent ni tout mon coeur, ni tous mes desirs, ni tous mes goûts voluptueux; réciproquement, j'ai la certitude qu'ils ne se sont pas fait connaître à moi tout entiers, et que, dans leurs complaisantes et prolixes confidences, ils ont toujours laissé le voile tendu sur une partie d'eux-mêmes.” Ainsi se manifeste la même attitude, réservée et lucide, pour ce qui est de sa perception de ses contemporains, que l'on voit dans ses écrits des années précédentes.

A l'âge de soixante-dix ans, n'ayant rien perdu de sa passion pour la recherche, Hérelle entreprend de nouveaux projets ambitieux qui sont étroitement liés à ses projets antérieurs: la rédaction d'une grande étude synthétique sur l'histoire de l'amour grec dans l'Antiquité et à l'époque moderne et de ses “Petits mémoires littéraires”. Il se lance dans la mise en ordre de ses immenses archives qu'il enverra, petit à petit, au cours des dix dernières années de son existence, à la Bibliothèque Municipale de Troyes. Dans ses mémoires, qui sont écrits en un style clair, aisé et alerte, très agréable à lire, il relate toutes ses pensées les plus intimes sur les grandes questions de la vie: la vieillesse, la puissance de l'amour et du mensonge, la croyance religieuse, la valeur de la littérature. Au moment de disparaître en 1935, Hérelle laisse un manuscrit inachevé qui porte le titre *Nouvelles études sur l'amour grec*. Dans la conclusion à cette vaste étude, il résume sa pensée sur l'homosexualité: “Or il est impossible qu'aujourd'hui un homme intelligent et averti croie encore que [les homosexuels] sont d'abominables criminels, qui doivent être punis par le fer et par le feu. La science du XIX^e siècle a démontré que leur anomalie est congénitale, qu'ils n'en sont donc point responsables, et que la plupart d'entre eux ne commettent aucun acte délictueux.” Nous essayerons, dans la conclusion de notre communication, d'évaluer cette ultime position d'Hérelle sur l'homosexualité: arrive-t-il, finalement, à dépasser ses réserves pour expérimenter une certaine jouissance?

Michael Tilby, Selwyn College, Cambridge

‘Plotting and the novel: the duplicity of espionage in Balzac's *Une ténébreuse affaire*’

Une ténébreuse affaire, Balzac's fictional representation of covert political machinations in Napoleonic France, has invariably been seen in relation to the subsequent genre of the detective story, as well as, more generally, as a novel in which plot is given much greater prominence than in the case of most of the other constituent fictions of the *Comédie humaine*. I shall argue that the status of plot in this intricate yet disconcerting novel is, in fact, purposefully undermined by the very plurality of its plots and by their elliptical nature. The central focus on espionage in the literal form of police spies is, moreover, but one strand in a universal emphasis on mutual observation by the entire cast of otherwise diverse characters. This acts as a constraint that leads to the novel articulating an overall vision of non-action or stasis. Not only is this readable in overall political terms, it represents one of the most telling examples of the way Balzac sought to dissociate the Novel from the adventure-story model with which it was traditionally identified. Contrary to appearances, *Une ténébreuse affaire*, rather than constituting a diachronic structure that privileges character development and the outcome of a causal chain of events, is a synchronic novel, the significance of which derives from the panoramic presentation of the ways in which the characters resemble or contrast with each other, definitionally, in relation to a tightly restricted thematic network.

Julian Toma, Université Western Ontario

Représentation de l'abject dans la littérature française à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle.

Ainsi que relevé par Julia Kristeva dans *Pouvoirs de l'horreur* (1980), l'abject définit un objet répugnant, foncièrement inassimilable, menaçant, mais exerçant en même temps sur le sujet une fascination *sui generis* allant jusqu'à la jouissance. Ainsi conçu, cet objet n'est adopté par la littérature que vers la fin du XIX^e siècle, au moment où le réalisme-naturalisme, qui avait ouvert les portes à toutes les formes de l'abjection (l'ordure, le sordide, le scatologique, les déchets, la pourriture, etc.), entre dans sa période de reflux. Mais la peinture réaliste-naturaliste n'intègre que le premier versant de l'abject, et garde la subjectivité prisonnière. Aussi peut-on dire que l'abject n'entre en littérature de plain pied qu'avec Baudelaire, Rimbaud et Lautréamont, et, plus tard, avec des écrivains comme Léon Bloy, Marcel Schwob, Octave Mirbeau, Jean Lorrain, Alphonse Allais, Alfred Jarry, entre autres. Dans ma communication, j'examinerai, à travers une série d'extraits, les formes discursives empruntées par la représentation littéraire de l'abject à la fin du XIX^e siècle. Ma communication fournira un contexte théorique et historique pour les deux autres communications sur Georges Hérelle qui seront présentées dans cette séance.

Georges Hérelle (1848-1935), professeur de philosophie dans plusieurs lycées en France entre 1870 et 1905, était très fier de ses travaux d'érudition portant sur les "pastorales basques" auxquelles il consacrait une énorme énergie, à partir de 1896, lors de son installation comme professeur à Bayonne. A la même époque, il jouit d'une belle réputation comme le traducteur attitré des œuvres de Gabriele d'Annunzio. Un tout petit cercle d'amis intimes savait, toutefois, qu'Hérelle avait une passion cachée – ses enquêtes sur "l'amour grec". Cette troisième passion se manifestait, elle aussi, dans des publications scientifiques érudites, mais la différence importante, par rapport aux autres, était qu'Hérelle ne les signait jamais de son vrai nom. *Agricola Lieberfreund* et *L. R. Poge-Castries* sont les deux pseudonymes dont il se servait. Il donnait libre cours à sa passion pour ce qu'il appelait, à l'occasion et d'une manière quelque peu

ambigüe, “ce sujet scabreux et peu connu.” Il traite le sujet dans sa correspondance avec ses amis proches, ses enquêtes “sur le terrain”, son journal intime, ses deux livres sur l’amour grec et les “Petits mémoires littéraires” qu’il a rédigés vers la fin de sa vie.

Paolo Tortonese, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3

Le jardin et la forêt: Gautier aux prises avec le désordre

Romantique, Gautier a sans cesse prêché la liberté dans l’art et la liberté de l’art. Il a loué dans les intrigues de Shakespeare la « multiplicité d’incidents » et « le galop de l’action », dans la langue de Rabelais le foisonnement verbal, dans le théâtre de Corneille le mépris des règles.

En même temps, il a fait l’éloge de la contrainte à laquelle le génie doit savoir se confronter: les lois strictes du vers, le cothurne étroit que la muse doit chausser. Il a vanté les mérites de la ligne, qui empêche les débordements, de la matière dure qui résiste au ciseau, de la forme impeccable.

Comment faire cohabiter ces deux tendances? comment expliquer la contradiction? Que craint Gautier dans la contrainte quand il rêve de liberté? et que craint-il dans la liberté quand il demande la contrainte?

Sandra Travers de Faultrier, Institut d’Études Politiques de Paris / Université Sorbonne Nouvelle -Paris 3)

L’auteur, un sujet sous condition, une femme comme une autre

« Le rôle d’un auteur est un rôle assez vain ; c’est celui d’un homme qui se croit en état de donner des leçons au public »² proclamait Diderot pour mieux s’autoriser ensuite la critique du critique. La notion de rôle cependant peut quitter la subjectivité qui s’en croit investie pour désigner celui d’une figure ; le rôle de la figure de l’auteur peut ainsi devenir moins vain qu’il ne le paraît, voire offrir des ressources insoupçonnées.

On aura appris à se méfier des métaphores promptes à naturaliser l’appropriation des capacités féminines par les hommes. Nicole Loraux nous aura guidé et enseigné à décrypter ces occurrences, qui, si elles n’avaient pour corollaire la confiscation de l’image au profit des seuls acteurs du détournement, seraient inoffensives voire constitueraient un hommage aux femmes. Le sang versé à la guerre, le marquage de l’enfant né du seul nom d’un père promu origine matricielle, l’œuvre portée telle un enfant et dont on accouche dans la douleur sont autant de signes qui de l’Antiquité au XIX^e siècle véhiculent et enracinent une manière de dire qui est une manière de voir, une représentation qui tient lieu de vérité descriptive.

Cependant à la méfiance pourrait succéder un intérêt ; l’auteur partage avec la femme – à lire George Sand entre autres- en effet le désir d’une qualité indépendante d’une définition essentielle, le désir d’une qualité surgie d’un acte de la personne sans lien avec le caractère sexué de celle-ci. L’œuvre est ainsi la matrice d’un sujet de droits et de capacités dont « un nom à soi », un droit de consentir, un droit à rémunération, une possible liberté d’expression arrimée à cette indépendance financière constituent les attributs. Cette qualité juridique d’auteur abouchée à la réalisation d’une œuvre peut se révéler paradoxale si l’on tente d’étendre à toute personne une

² D. Diderot, *Œuvres*, édition établie par André Billy, Gallimard, 1951, p.1275.

telle articulation ; car il y aurait des exclus là où l'idéologie du droit naturel multiplie les sujets en puissance à défaut de sujets en exercice. Cependant ce droit d'auteur donne figure à une personne humaine lavée des considérations fondées sur les catégories *a priori* de personnes. La figure de l'auteur est celle d'un sujet puisant des capacités juridiques à même l'accomplissement de ses capacités personnelles, affranchie des qualifications réductrices. L'auteur est ainsi une qualité exemplaire pour la personne humaine, et plus particulièrement pour les femmes, ce dont George Sand, active parmi les actifs du combat pour la protection du droit d'auteur, est pleinement consciente.

Parce que l'homme est cet être « flexible, se pliant dans la société aux pensées et aux opinions des autres [...] capable de connaître sa propre nature lorsqu'on la lui montre, et d'en perdre jusqu'au sentiment lorsqu'on la lui dérobe »³ la qualité d'auteur peut à son tour être la métaphore d'un sujet juridique, délivré des essentialismes qui le condamnent à se définir à partir de lui, délivré du manque à être d'une origine problématique condamnée à trouver dans des récits sociaux son fondement. L'œuvre, témoin d'une vie en acte, produit d'une vie en acte, installe le sujet qu'est l'auteur dans une évidence anti-naturelle protectrice !

Nicolas Valazza, Indiana University

Exploring the Secret *Parnassus*: Illegal Poetry Under the Second Empire

Exiled in Brussels in the aftermath of the 1857 trial of Baudelaire's *Fleurs du mal*, the French publisher Poulet-Malassis undertook the printing of a series of clandestine books that, because of the freedom of morals and speech they exhibit, would have been impossible to publish under the regime of the Second Empire. Among these illegal editions—printed in Belgium, but smuggled into France—we find the *Parnasse satyrique du dix-neuvième siècle* (1864), an anthology of erotic poetry that features several authors later to appear in the more reputable and celebrated *Parnasse contemporain* (1866), notably Gautier, Banville, Mallarmé and Baudelaire himself. Yet, in spite of its numerous editions and counterfeits in the last decades of the 19th century, this *satirical* anthology is nowadays almost forgotten.

My purpose in this paper is to show that the *Parnasse satyrique*, notwithstanding its marginality and the anonymity of many of its pieces (namely those by Gautier), succeeded in occupying the very core of post-romantic poetry. Indeed, by unveiling the licentious and unconventional features of the classical Muse, this censored edition played a critical role in overthrowing the poetic values traditionally associated with Parnassian poetry. To illustrate this argument, I shall consider, in addition to the texts collected in the anthology, some emblematic components of its paratext, such as the symbolic frontispiece drawn by Félicien Rops, the facsimile of Baudelaire's autographed dedication of his own poems to Gautier, and the "Afterword" in which the anonymous editor (that is Poulet-Malassis) reveals the circumstances that surrounded this clandestine publication. Given its comprehensiveness, the *Parnasse satyrique* appears liable to sketch an underlying—and irreverent—order in the literary field of the Second Empire.

Peter Vantine, Saint Michael's College, Vermont

³ Montesquieu, *Préface à l'esprit des lois*, 1748.

Censoring/Censuring the Press Under the Second Empire: The Goncourts' *Charles Demailly* (1860)

There are numerous literary representations of the press throughout the nineteenth century, mostly set in the Parisian universe. These portraits of the press can be found in a variety of genres, from prefaces and pamphlets, vaudevilles and dramas, to panoramic literature and novels. Along with Balzac's *Illusions perdues* (1837-43) and Maupassant's *Bel-ami* (1885), Edmond and Jules de Goncourt's novel *Charles Demailly* (1860) is among the richest and most complex fictional texts of the period on this contentious topic. It is a virulent critique of journalism, and especially of the *petite presse*, in mid-nineteenth century France. Through their novel, the Goncourts analyze the inextricable links between political authority, the press, public opinion and the world of letters. Specifically, the novel argues that strict censorship under the Second Empire changed newspapers into petty rumor mills and shameless scandalmongers, infecting journalism—including literary criticism—with insidious triviality, thereby debasing literature and the public. In this paper, I first briefly discuss the Goncourt brothers' short-lived career as journalists, which was brought to an abrupt end by censors when one of their stories published in a newspaper was deemed too licentious. Like Flaubert and Baudelaire after them, the Goncourts were tried in court for "outrage à la morale publique". I then consider the situation of the press in the historical and cultural context of the 1850s that is setting for *Charles Demailly*. Finally, I examine the novel's detailed analysis of the causal connection between censorship under the Second Empire's authoritarian regime and a regression in the nature of the *petite presse*, with repercussions for society as a whole and for the world of letters in particular.

and

Discussion Forums, Course Wikis, and an Online Research Project on the 19th-Century Press (Technology and Pedagogy Panel)

Marina van Zuylen, Bard College

Durkheim: The Clear and Present Dangers of *Individualisme Autoritaire*

A group of contemporary French intellectuals—Marcel Gauchet, Alain Ehrenberg, Pascal Bruckner, among others—have been spilling a great deal of ink recently over what they perceive as a generalized "fatigue d'être soi," a veritable plague visited on France's over-medicated and authority-averse citizens. Their concerns harken back to Durkheim's *mise-en-garde* against the dangers of "l'individualisme autoritaire," a "'libéralisme [qui] enfermerait chacun dans son sentiment propre et ferait le vide entre les intelligences.'" [*L'Individualisme et les intellectuels* (1898)] Once « l'homme est devenu dieu pour l'homme, » Durkheim writes, « il ne peut plus, sans se mentir à lui-même, se faire d'autres dieux. » Blind self-reliance has its price, and the above-mentioned thinkers target it as one of modernity's growing curses. Indeed, the shift from community to self, from religious to individual goals, has ended up placing an unexpected onus on personhood. When pleasure is a right rather than a reward, it soon becomes a chore. Trying to control it and to maintain it at all costs has apparently resulted in severe mental fatigue. The mind, as quips David Foster Wallace, is « an excellent servant but a terrible master. »

This paper traces back to Durkheim's critique of rigid autonomy and emergent intellectual conservatism palpable in today's French intellectual life. A sudden nostalgia for taboos and boundaries between « le permis et le défendu » has turned thinkers sour on the hard-won « exigence de la production de soi » (Ehrenberg). More than a century ago, Durkheim was voicing similar reservations, admitting that « on ne savait pas quoi faire de cette liberté si laborieusement conquise. » Freedom, he added, « est un instrument délicat dont le maniement doit s'apprendre. » His hope was that schools would train their citizens in the art of being free. To Ehrenberg or Bruckner, they have failed. Too many choices have bred confusion, disenchantment, not the expected liberation. Ehrenberg has even tracked depression back to the “unreasonable” burdens we have placed on our ever-increasing demands for autonomy (*La Fatigue d'être soi*). Gauchet has analyzed the grim political consequences stemming from modern individualism (*Le Désenchantement du monde*), and Bruckner reads in our frantic “duty” to be perpetually happy a poisonous pathology (*L'Euphorie perpétuelle. Essai sur le devoir de Bonheur*).

Recalling Dewey's belief in a *Great Community* and Durkheim's notion of a collective consciousness, these new philosophers and social psychiatrists believe in placing limits on individual freedoms. This has led them, in Durkheim's words, to rethink “les misères de la prospérité” by proposing that deferral, not gratification, become our new *promesse de bonheur*.

Melissa Verhey, McMaster University

L'Architecture criminelle: L'Architecture complice dans *Maître Cornélius* de Balzac

La nouvelle *Maître Cornélius* de Balzac est organisée autour d'une énigme. Des vols répétés chez l'argentier du roi trouvent des explications banales et se soldent par la pendaison de coupables présumés, tous accusés sur la base de preuves circonstancielles. Mais, lorsqu'une histoire d'amour vient compliquer l'intrigue et, de là, provoquer une enquête plus attentive, la solution de l'énigme s'avère démarquer, dans cette nouvelle, l'articulation d'un discours sur le pouvoir et le savoir. En cela, et dès le début, l'architecture assume un rôle important. Tout au long du récit, elle s'identifie à la biographie du personnage principal et au pouvoir absolu dont il dépend et dont il est, plus ou moins accessoirement, complice. Par là s'impose la question du rôle des espaces architecturaux dans l'économie narrative de *Maître Cornélius*.

Cornélius paraît d'abord maîtriser l'histoire – la sienne et celle des autres dans la nouvelle. Mais ce pouvoir apparent s'avère déstabilisé par la découverte de son rôle inconscient dans les crimes commis et mal punis. Moyen de surveillance, l'espace architecturale dessiné par l'enceinte de son logis (surnommé la Malemaison) et par son exclusion de la lumière s'avère abriter aussi tout un système de valeurs complice aussi de l'ordre. En fait, l'architecture participe à la répression, comme Cornélius qui, en tant que gardien du trésor royal et de la loi établie par le roi, est criminel à son insu. Cette relation symbiotique entre la personne et l'espace suggère que le pouvoir n'est pas simplement personnifié en Cornélius mais fait partie intégrante de ce système microcosmique qu'est la Malemaison.

Ainsi, au XIX^e siècle, Balzac met déjà en scène ce que Foucault décrira un siècle plus tard comme le rôle de l'architecture dans la maîtrise et la surveillance de la société.

Katia Viot-Southard, SUNY Oswego

Le Code civil, accessoire référentiel dans le théâtre de la fin du siècle.

Lorsque le théâtre de la fin de siècle (théâtre de Boulevard, théâtre bourgeois ou théâtre social) se pose comme reflet du monde, il propose à l'évidence des clichés révélateurs du conformisme bourgeois. Cependant, ce type de théâtre montre aussi, plus subrepticement il est vrai, des représentations de désordres domestiques, des images furtives ou ostensibles de désirs de révoltes; humeur rebelles justement éveillées par l'immobilisme social. Ainsi, des personnages féminins assujettis à la loi du père, à la loi du mari, tenus de rester droits et vertueux, tentent quelquefois de se soustraire aux lois qui les contraignent. Notre communication examinera leurs cris de révoltes. Parfois simples protestations, parfois sanglots, parfois éclats de voix, ces cris aux divers échos s'élèvent contre les lois qui consacrent communément le principe d'infériorité de la femme. Le Code civil, instrument emblématique de cette législation inégalitaire, participe même, dans quelques pièces, de la dynamique de l'action. Devenu accessoire scénique, le Code souligne alors les contingences du quotidien. Cette tyrannie du réel que reflètent aussi les quelques titres de pièces dont nous discuterons: *Les Tenailles* de Paul Hervieu (1895), *L'Ornière* de Marya Chéliga (1896), *La Chaîne éternelle* de Fanny Bianic (1876), *Le Joug* de Jeanne Marni (1902), *La Grève des femmes* de Marie Desprès (1895)..., et qui oriente les intrigues imaginées vers des interrogations éthiques, substitue alors aux valeurs morales traditionnellement véhiculées par le conformisme dramatique caractéristique de l'époque, une parabole émancipatrice si ce n'est féministe.

Margaret Waller, Pomona College

Masculinity in Uniform? The Military, the Clergy and Omniscience

This talk explores the link between law and order and uniforms and uniformity in the realist novel as a demystifying and re-mystifying performance of masculinity—not only for the characters but also for the fictions of omniscience that these works typically enact.

Countless scholars have studied the importance of clothing as a crucial albeit potentially deceptive sign system in realist fiction. What they have not seen is that narrowing the field to concentrate on uniforms brings into sharp relief the fact that these privileges and obligations were almost exclusively those of men, most notably those representing the Church and state. In a post-revolutionary world unsettled by increasing freedoms of dress and the blurring of social boundaries, uniforms were a performance of power but also a form of potential exposure. In this talk, I will concentrate on *Le Rouge et le noir* as a symptomatic and complicating example of this double-edged, recognizably modern phenomenon.

The omniscient voice characteristic of realist fiction is itself surprisingly uniform, I will argue. It functions, as uniforms do, by deriving its authority from the larger law and order it seems to represent. I will argue that to understand the gendering of this figurative uniform(ity) involves understanding its origins in “cultural realism”: fashion magazines, health and beauty manuals and the like. These works brought similarly precise and socially loaded descriptions of the visible, material world to print by experimenting with forms of uniform, disembodied omniscience. What does cultural realism tell us about realism *tout court*? What versions of law and order does the curious uniformity of literary omniscience both uphold and undermine?

Andrew Watts, University of Birmingham

Silent Crimes: Balzac, Epstein, and *L'Auberge rouge*

This paper examines the relationship between crime and silence in Jean Epstein's *L'Auberge rouge* (1923). Epstein's silent film adaptation of Balzac's earlier short story offers an illuminating perspective on its source text, the narrative of which is triggered by a crime committed years before. In a Bavarian inn at the dead of night, a businessman is murdered for his fortune, his throat slit with a surgical blade. There are no witnesses to this cold-blooded act, a silence maintained by Balzac's text, which omits the moment at which the killer strikes. While Balzac generates mystery and dramatic tension from these events, Epstein exploits silence to reveal the technical possibilities of his own medium. His film experiments, in particular, with how to render the psychology of crime both visually and in a silent format. A sequence of spinning over-head close-ups mirror the unvoiced temptation towards crime experienced by his protagonist, while a thunderstorm rages outside in a scene on which the director claimed to have lavished 500,000 francs. Epstein further juxtaposes silence and crime in his choice of exterior locations, shooting the fictional Prosper Magnan's execution at the Château de Vincennes, where Mata Hari, whose own espionage activities were shrouded in silence and secrecy, had gone before the firing squad just six years before. These connections between crime and silence form the basis of a paper in which I argue for the importance of early film to understanding the representation of crime in *La Comédie humaine*. Most importantly, I demonstrate that Epstein's adaptation of *L'Auberge rouge* throws into relief the self-conscious use of silence through which Balzac fuelled, while simultaneously parodying, an early-nineteenth-century obsession with secret criminality.

Alexandra K. Wettlaufer, University of Texas at Austin

Monkey Business: Grandville's *Singeries*

From *Les Métamorphoses du jour* (1829) through *La Vie privée et publique des animaux* (1842) and *Un Autre Monde* (1844), J.J. Grandville employed a wide variety of domestic and exotic animals in human attire and attitudes for his caricatural parodies of French society. Cats are transformed into seductive coquettes, small parrots repeat their lessons in a schoolroom under their donkey-teacher's gimlet eye, and an elaborately costumed *canard* performs her off-key concert surrounded by cattle and roosters *beuglant*. The pages of his illustrated texts feature seemingly limitless iterations of these plays on words and images, reflecting the artist's critique of contemporary mores while at the same time asserting the power of caricature to reveal the mobile nature of modernity through these hybrid forms. In this paper I will focus on the role of the figure of the monkey in Grandville's larger formulation of a theory of caricature and his effort to claim a place for the caricaturist within the hierarchies of art. In keeping with the adage *ars simia naturae* (art is the ape of nature), the anthropomorphized monkey or ape had been a popular motif in eighteenth-century art and decoration, from Chardin's *Le Singe peintre* (1740) to the *singeries* of Rococo interiors. Grandville enters into implicit dialogue with these representations in a series of images of that posit the ape as an avatar of the artist, only to assert the *distance* between imitation and caricature. Far from aligning himself with the more elevated forms of oil painting and salon portraiture, the caricaturist asserts the superiority of his form which, in its exaggeration and imaginative metamorphoses of the natural world, rises above the

empty aping of superficial appearances. If the term *singerie* points to a maladroit or *contrefait* mimicry generally associated with caricature, Grandville turns the tables on this turn of phrase, indicating that it is painters, portraitists, and photographers who are the base imitators or mindless monkeys, while the caricaturist, *malin comme un singe* in his antic insistence on the unstable nature of visual and verbal representation, is the true artist and the artist of the true.

Nick White, Emmanuel College, Cambridge

The Lawmaker's Tale: Édouard Rod's *Michel Teissier* Diptych (1893-94)

If the practice of family law habitually represents the moment at which the affective, the intimate and their discontents are exposed to public process and the public gaze, then this is particularly true of divorce cases. In the wake of the Loi Naquet of 1884, which reintroduced divorce in France, Édouard Rod's diptych, *La Vie privée de Michel Teissier* (1893) and *La Seconde vie de Michel Teissier* (1894), recounts the tale of a politician who sits in the Chamber of Deputies and speaks against the new divorce legislation, only to find that he himself must then make use of its possibilities. As such, he runs a particularly heavy risk of public exposure as a figure in national life. Beyond the intricacies of this particular novel and the contemporary divorce debate, this paper will argue that this imbrication of the legislature and the not-so-'private life' of one of its members speaks to an epistemological pattern common to the period. In other words, where, if anywhere, is a properly "meta" position to be found (not only in nineteenth-century law, but in medicine, science, and of course in nineteenth-century narrative) such that paradigmatic assertions of principle can be made without compromising, and being compromised by, the individual subject and the contingent possibilities of individual life narratives?

Amy Wigelsworth, University of Durham

Sur la piste du policier: Avatars of the Detective in the *mystères urbains*

The phenomenal success of Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* (1842-3) inspired a plethora of French urban mysteries in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The various *mystères*, frequently of a criminal nature, proved so successful with the public that mystery quickly became synonymous with crime to readers of popular fiction. The *mystères urbains* have already been recognised as a precursor of the *roman policier*, and numerous critics have acknowledged the importance of the city in the latter genre (e.g. Messac's *Le « Détective Novel » et l'influence de la pensée scientifique*, Honoré Champion, 1929, and Caillois' *Le Mythe et l'homme*, Gallimard, 1938). But such comparisons are usually tempered by the argument that crime was a recurrent theme throughout popular literature at this time, and that this thematic content is only one element of many that must come together if a novel is to merit classification as *roman policier* (Lavergne, *La Naissance du roman policier français*, Garnier, 2009).

In this paper I will contend that, far from being vague prefigurations of the *policier* genre, with only thematic similarities, the *mystères urbains* actually had a profound influence on the *roman policier* from the point of view of characterisation. With specific reference to *Les Mystères de Paris* (Sue, 1842-3), *Les Mystères de Rouen* (Féré, 1845), *Les Mohicans de Paris*

(Dumas, 1854), *Les Mystères de New-York* (Lermina, 1874) and *Les Mystères du Nouveau Paris* (Boisgobey, 1876), I will identify avatars of detectives in these texts. Drawing on existing theoretical frameworks, such as the structuralist typology proposed by Couégnas in his *Introduction à la paralittérature* (Seuil, 1992) I will put forward my own typology of the detective in the *mystères urbains* and consider ways in which the specific conventions of these texts, such as the polarisation of geographical spaces, were particularly instrumental in the construction of the detective character.

Philippe Willems, Northern Illinois University

Jeux de perspective: permeable diegeses in word/image narratives by Nadar and Gustave Doré

Before Nadar and Gustave Doré became 19th-century France's most illustrious photographer and illustrator respectively, they both had stints as press cartoonists and comic-strip pioneers. Throughout the 1840s, at a time when the *bande dessinée* did not yet have a name and its formal conventions were still crystallizing, illustrated periodicals like *L'Illustration*, *Le Journal pour rire*, and the ephemeral *Revue comique à l'usage des gens sérieux* experimented with texts featuring a variety of word/image proportions. At the tail end of a first wave of French-speaking graphic novelists, maverick polygraph Nadar and whiz kid Doré eagerly explored narrative possibilities offered by sequential captioned pictures. Each in his distinct way at some point looked beyond storytelling conventions so far as to stretch relationships between the verbal and the graphic, and even toy with diegetic boundaries.

Case in point: right around 1850, a special issue of the *Revue comique* entirely conceived by Nadar (n° 30, ca. 30 June 1849) and Doré's graphic novel *Des-agréments d'un voyage d'agrément* (1851) experimented with effects of self-reflexivity and mise en abyme, both in mock documentary fashion. Blending words and images in reverse proportions, the two *journaux* (a periodical and a diary) complemented each other on several levels in the ways they extended the trans-diegetic perspective that framed the composite *Diable à Paris* (1845-6), notably in staging their own creation. Together, they ran the entire gamut of word/image interaction, from the illustration that reformulates verbal data to the image that articulates its own part of narrative substance without redundancy. Nadar and Doré's avant-garde narrative strategies also introduced a novel metafictional dimension to the popular press and the comic strip. Prefiguring post-modernism at a time when literary realism yet remained to define, the juxtaposition of diegetic levels, the permeability between them, and the ironic distance these two texts take with their own contents inaugurated a minor yet recurring register in modern *bande dessinée*.

Stephen Willier, Boyer College of Music, Temple University

The French opera *Sigurd* by Ernest Reyer was premiered in Brussels in 1884 and a year later at the Paris Opéra, where it achieved 300 performances over the next 50 years. The plot is better known to us today through the final two operas of Richard Wagner's tetralogy *Der Ring des Nibelungen*. Indeed, fallacious though it may be, after the 1876 premiere of the complete *Ring* at Bayreuth, this Norse material was considered the sole "intellectual property" of Wagner. It thus initially seems disjunctive that a French composer would set such a "Germanic" topic. Reyer had, however, nearly complete *Sigurd* around 1870, even though the premiere was long delayed. Furthermore, Reyer was born "Rey" and added the "-er" in homage to Carl Maria von

Weber, who had composed the first "German national opera" (*Der Freischütz*, pre. 1821) and was an indispensable model for Wagner. With all his admiration for German music and the music of Wagner, Reyer nevertheless refused to visit Germany after the Franco-Prussian War. A precedent for the French operatic "appropriation" of what was considered Germanic material was Charles Gounod's setting of *Faust*, premiered in 1859, which the German critics considered a travesty of Goethe's drama. This paper explores cross-cultural elements in the complex and often adversarial relationship between the two iconic cultures of France and Germany in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Opera is a microcosm reflective (and most potentially nationalistic) of wider events. Through an examination of Reyer's *Sigurd*, one can explore questions such as the perceived differences and similarities between the two cultures, which ones were allowed to be appropriated by the other and which ones were considered exclusive property. In this issue the practices and philosophy of figures such as Giuseppe Verdi and Friedrich Nietzsche will be considered. Although music is often deemed a "universal language," in times of great nationalism it can become a powerful force of collective national membership and exclusion.

Colette Windish, Spring Hill College

Du "dérèglement de tous les sens" à *Sagesse*: la quête verlainienne d'un nouvel ordre poétique

L'attentat de Paul Verlaine sur Arthur Rimbaud fut de petite envergure criminelle, mais il eut des répercussions majeures sur la vie et l'œuvre du poète. La peine de prison de deux ans qui lui fut imposée reflétait, certes, plus l'atteinte à l'ordre moral que représentait la relation sexuelle entre les deux hommes que la gravité de l'atteinte à la loi et à la sécurité de la victime – qui rétracta d'ailleurs sa plainte. Cependant, cet épisode biographique n'est réellement intéressant que dans son extension poétique. Verlaine, pendant l'aventure rimbaldienne, avait bouleversé le langage poétique, de manière moins évidente mais non moins radicale que Rimbaud. Le séjour en prison, lieu d'une spectaculaire conversion religieuse, le mena aussi à un profond remaniement poétique.

Cette communication examinera le passage du dérèglement poétique et personnel à une restauration – si temporaire fût-elle – de l'ordre, le rétablissement de l'ordre humain et divin permettant de restituer un nouvel ordre au langage poétique. Le Verlaine converti parvint à dépasser l'impasse poétique que le Verlaine de 1873 avait atteint – alors que Rimbaud renonça lui à l'écriture. La possibilité même de l'écriture pour Verlaine dépend désormais d'un principe fondateur externe au langage qui lui donne forme et signification, mais menace son authenticité. Notre lecture critique de la conversion oblige donc à étudier les questions suivantes: jusqu'où le rétablissement de l'ordre permet-il une vraie création poétique? La soumission à l'ordre divin est-elle réellement génératrice de sens ou, au contraire, créatrice de restrictions à l'expression artistique? Le mouvement de balancier instauré dans l'œuvre de Verlaine entre ordre et désordre après 1874 est-il preuve de la faiblesse du nouveau système poétique ou symbole d'un profond renouvellement de sa théorie du vers?

Catherine Witt, Reed College

Baudelaire's lecteur – législateur

That the bourgeois reader lacks judgment – that he is consumed by “la sottise” – is the first in a series of vices said to afflict the addressee of Baudelaire’s poem “Au lecteur”. The indictment put forward in the liminary poem of *Le Fleurs du Mal* forms a striking counterpoint to – and ironic confirmation of – the dedicatory piece “Aux Bourgeois” in the *Salon de 1846*, in which the bourgeois reader, identified as “législateur ou commerçant” and again as “roi, législateur ou négociant,” is entrusted with the critical task of establishing “la justice” in matters of art and poetry. The fraught nature of the justice to which Baudelaire draws attention underscores the increasing urgency and despair with which the poet and art critic repeatedly asks: “A quoi bon la critique?” “Au Lecteur” is a poem that addresses the reader in questioning the purpose and validity of criticism and critical judgment. While commentary on this poem has tended to insist on the ambiguous status of the act of accusation that it pronounces – for it is as much a denunciation of the complacency of Second Empire bourgeoisie, as it is an act of self-accusation on the part of the poet, – little attention has been given to the farcical nature of the attack launched against the reader. Rhetorically speaking, Baudelaire’s poem with its archaic diction (“vils,” “catin,” “ribote,” “hardie”) and its burlesque procession of vices culminating in the allegorical figure of “Ennui” reads like a modernized poetic version of the *sotie*. It is a satirical curtain raiser. In proposing to read “Au Lecteur” as a burlesque prelude to the spectacle of *Les Fleurs du Mal*, I hope to relate the histrionic strategies that Baudelaire adopts in this piece to his theory of the comic and some of the lessons that he draws from translating Poe as a first step towards thinking about the critical role that the “Hypocrite lecteur” is invited to play in reading the poems.

Barbara Wright, Trinity College, Dublin

Habit: Friend or Foe? The Concept of Order in the Philosophy of Félix Ravaisson

Proust, as an artist, needed the order of a routine existence, in which to devote himself to the adventure of his work. He had long since valued habit, that two-edged sword well known to French thought, from Montaigne to Cabanis, Condillac, Maine de Biran and Bergson. Habit, in its negative function, is the enemy of originality and dynamism. Yet, in its more positive function, it can be the catalyst for creativity. Proust writes of habit as a ‘second nature’, in terms that refer back to a text he studied as part of his philosophy course in the Sorbonne, *De l’Habitude*, by Félix Ravaisson (1838). This paper will outline the function of habit, as developed by Ravaisson, and will seek to show how it informs many nineteenth-century currents of thought – an era that did not see controls as necessarily limiting (think of Stendhal’s view of the empowering potential of prison or Wordsworth’s refrain, ‘Nuns fret not at their convent’s narrow room’), an era that revelled in the use of fixed forms (remember Baudelaire’s defence of the sonnet in his letter to Armand Fraisse of 19 February 1860: ‘Parce que la forme est contraignante, l’idée jaillit plus intense’) and an era that rejoiced in repetition, to the point of making masterful sequences of a series of views of haystacks or of Rouen Cathedral.

Donald Wright, Hood College

How to Build a Museum: Museumography and the Classical World in Late-Nineteenth Century France

What building is best suited to house a nation's art collection? What architectural style best symbolizes national identity? These important questions preoccupied France during the Third Republic. Hailing back to the classical era was of course nothing new by the time Napoleon III came to power; however, the return to the Greco-Roman model held different epistemological implications at the end of the nineteenth century than at the beginning. Prior scholarship has highlighted the struggle between the ancient and the modern as classifications used to legitimize nationalist elites. This study investigates the question of the museum and the space within it, used to stimulate viewers' emotions and narrate national identity.

To analyze the importance of the classical architectural model as impetus for reform, this paper examines Lefuel's Louvre renovations and the construction of the new wing along the rue de Rivoli during the Third Republic; the construction of provincial and colonial museums; and, finally, the collections these museums housed. In the case of France's "civilizing hand", identification with the Greco-roman model, as evidenced by the archeological sites found in the region, allowed France to express its hegemony through what was considered a state-sponsored project of political legitimacy. Of interest, too, is the work of Félix Ravaisson, philosopher *cum* curator of the Louvre under Napoleon III, whose layout of neoclassical sculpture still exists today. This paper examines varied literary and historical sources to consider the politics of the museum space central to the creation of a nation-state during the Third Republic.

While studies of national identity in nineteenth-century France have concentrated on the struggle between the ancient and modern, this paper focuses on museumography as a new science of the time, and on museum spaces as entities conveying efforts to reframe the social, religious and cultural parameters of identity during the period.

Ilias Yocaris, Université de Nice

Ordre philosophique, ordre sémiotique, ordre scriptural: l'emploi de la focalisation externe dans le roman d'aventures français du XIX^e siècle

Nous entendons mener une réflexion approfondie sur le recours systématique à la focalisation externe dans le roman d'aventures français du XIX^e siècle. Comme le remarque Gérard Genette dans *Figures III* (Genette 1972: 207-208), ce type de perspective narrative triomphe non seulement dans les fictions « paralittéraires » de Sue, de Dumas ou de Verne, mais même dans bon nombre de romans de Hugo ou de Balzac dont la structure est visiblement calquée sur ces fictions. Or, comme nous allons le montrer, l'utilisation de la focalisation externe constitue en quelque sorte la quintessenciation stylisée d'un ordre conceptuel et textuel axé sur ce qu'on peut appeler (en hommage à un passage célèbre de *Différence et répétition*) une « poétique de la reconnaissance ». En quoi consiste cet ordre?

Une analyse pragma-stylistique des focalisations externes utilisées dans les romans de notre corpus permet de montrer que celles-ci (contrairement à ce qui se passe dans certains romans behavioristes américains du XX^e siècle où « le héros agit devant nous sans que nous soyons jamais admis à connaître ses pensées ou sentiments ») donnent lieu invariablement à un enchaînement explicatif du type [restriction ® maximalisation du volume informationnel]. Cet enchaînement, poussé jusqu'à la caricature dans l'incipit de *Michel Strogoff*, fait sens au plus haut point. À bien y réfléchir, il véhicule en effet le schème discursif [réduction de la différence à l'identité], puisque l'altérité qui se fait jour de la sorte est par définition une altérité domestiquée, voire purement et simplement niée: soit le lecteur comprend d'emblée quel est le

référent fictionnel en fonction du stock d'informations dont il dispose déjà, soit il attend que le narrateur à la troisième personne cesse de feindre l'ignorance à ce sujet et lui livre les données qui lui ont été cachées dans un premier temps... Le recours à une telle manipulation du point de vue constitue donc la représentation dramatisée d'une véritable *mise au pas*: il consacre en effet le triomphe dans l'espace romanesque d'un ordre philosophique, sémiotique et scriptural consistant en définitive à réduire l'inconnu au connu, à faire en sorte que la différence ne puisse être représentée *per se*, mais uniquement « par rapport à une identité conçue » (Deleuze 1968: 180) qui finit toujours par prendre le dessus sur elle. De toute évidence, les romans de notre corpus témoignent de la puissance modélisatrice de cet ordre, puisque l'ambiguïté, l'indétermination, l'incertitude, la multiplicité sous toutes leurs formes y sont réduites à la portion congrue, supplantées par le retour éternel du Même: en témoignent effectivement certains invariants narratifs, énonciatifs et isotopiques qui entrent en tous en résonance avec les focalisations externes et peuvent à ce titre être considérés comme des manifestations d'un impensé idéologique qui « tente de se naturaliser et de se faire accepter comme réalité » (Frigerio 2004: 122) par le public du XIX^e siècle.

Gayle Zachmann, University of Florida

“Humoring the Republic: Erudition, Education, and the Democratic Orator in Marcel Schwob”

Marcel Schwob's *Lettres Parisiennes* reveal an engaged journalist who questions not only law and order, but also their perversion: “La France a été le pays de la liberté. Encore peu d'années, et la liberté ira se réfugier ailleurs. [...] Il faut qu'on y prenne garde; ce n'est pas une République où nous vivons.” (30 janvier 1894). But it is not only through these “dépêches” that Schwob challenged established order.

As literary critic and social scientist, in 1894, Schwob mockingly declared that laughter was bound to disappear. “Quand les dieux septentrionaux se seront écroulés, [...] on ne retirera même pas de nos ruines le socle du Rire [...]. On ne voit pas bien pourquoi, entre tant d'espèces animales éteintes, le tic de l'une d'elles persisterait.” Schwob's biologizing account of laughter reflects how the physical sciences became a lens to study social practices: “Cette grossière preuve physique du sens qu'on a d'une certaine inharmonie dans le monde devra s'effacer.” His text, “Le Rire,” presents itself as both scientific study and historical document: “Je sais qu'on s'étonnera de la bouche convulsée, des yeux larmoyants, des épaules secouées, [...] ainsi que nous nous étonnons nous-mêmes pour les singuliers usages des premiers hommes; mais je supplie les personnes éclairées de réfléchir au grand intérêt que présente un document historique, de quelque ordre qu'il soit.”

In “Le Rire,” Schwob satirically mobilizes the figure of archeology to articulate a questioning of artifacts and the discourses that would interpret them, as well as how inscriptions – in this case textual monuments – may relate to or make social reality. I will argue not only that Schwob's “Le Rire” is a seminal text, but also that his literary work, known for its extraordinary erudition, attests to a deployment of destabilizing humor where erudition, education and the new democratic orator may meet.

Wilfried Zeisler, Université Paris - Sorbonne / Paris 4

Paris-Moscou/Saint-Pétersbourg: collectionner l'art français en Russie dans la deuxième moitié du XIX^e siècle

Selon la vision très « gallocentriste » de Louis Réau en 1909, « la Russie est l'un des pays où l'on peut le mieux étudier l'expansion de l'art français au XVIII^e et au XIX^e siècle ». En effet, de nombreuses études et expositions ont été consacrées en Russie et en Occident à la francophilie russe, qu'il s'agisse, au XVIII^e siècle, des « gloutonneries » artistiques de l'impératrice Catherine II, secondées par celles des plus influents membres de la cour ou, à la fin du XIX^e siècle, des importantes collections des familles d'industriels moscovites Morozov ou Shschukin. Cependant, avant de s'intéresser aux peintures novatrices des impressionnistes, des postimpressionnistes, des fauves et des cubistes, ces derniers ont été précédés par des collectionneurs russes, peut-être moins connus, amateurs des rénovateurs du paysage français tels Corot, Daubigny, Diaz de la Pena ou Rousseau, de certains peintres naturalistes tels Bastien-Lepage ou Gervex et bien d'autres encore.

Membres de la famille impériale ou aristocrates, certains de ces amateurs poursuivent la tradition du collectionnisme russe mais participent par leur choix au renouvellement du goût officiel. D'autres, financiers ou industriels, profitant du développement économique de l'empire, incarnent une classe nouvelle et, en s'intéressant à l'art, rappellent des comportements similaires à l'étranger, notamment aux Etats-Unis. Au Second Empire et au début de la III^e République, ces collectionneurs fortunés visitent Paris, capitale du luxe et des arts et choisissent directement dans l'atelier ou auprès de marchands et d'agents des exemples de l'art français.

Cette présentation s'attache à montrer de quelle manière les collections d'art français ont été bâties en Russie au cours de la deuxième moitié du XIX^e siècle, en s'inscrivant dans la tradition d'une part et dans l'innovation d'autre part, renouvelant certaines « règles » du collectionnisme et offrant de nouveaux modèles à l'art local.

Bob Ziegler, Montana Tech

Divine Law/Cosmic Anarchy: Léo Taxil and the Palladism Hoax

In his 1895 preface to Jules Bois's *Le Satanisme et la magie*, J.-K. Huysmans warns of the looming danger to divine law posed by the Luciferian cult of Palladism. Unlike Satanism, practiced by solitary devil-worshippers, Palladism possessed an intricate organizational hierarchy, having “un anti-pape, une curie, un college de cardinaux,” thereby making it, “en quelque sorte, une parodie de la cour du Vatican.”

While dismissing Léo Taxil as a buffoon and blasphemer, Huysmans's comments lent credibility to reports of a worldwide conspiracy of Englishmen, Freemasons, anarchists, and Jews: demonolaters plotting the destruction of the church. Collaborating with Charles Hacks, a ship's doctor, and Diana Vaughn, an employee with an American typewriter manufacturer, Taxil constructs an elaborate mystification of secret orgies in Masonic lodges, toxicologists toiling in subterranean laboratories on Gibraltar, producing poisons able to wipe out cities with populations in the thousands. Combining elements of the serious and absurd, Taxil's hoax had been published through Hacks's *roman-feuilleton*, *Le Diable au XIX^e siècle*, and through Taxil's own writings. Proving his theory that “la bêtise humaine n'a pas de limites,” Taxil disseminates tales of demons assuming the form of piano-playing crocodiles, and Lucifer taking disciples on intergalactic voyages to Sirius.

In his 1884 encyclical *Humanum Genus*, Pope Leo XIII had already warned of the diabolical menace posed by Freemasonry, creating a hospitable climate for the spread of Taxil's hoax.

This paper examines the fictional history of Palladism, commenting on the hoax both as an instrument of subversion and a tool for restoring order, creating incredulity in those who had been duped. By driving "cracks in the edifice of authority," as Scott Carpenter argues, the hoax makes its victims "less inclined to take authority for granted." Yet by enabling them to defend the established order with greater vigilance, the hoax also works to safeguard the institution it intended to overthrow.