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# The Evolution Of Dandyism In Baudelaire's Thought: Dandy, Hero And Saint

Kenneth Sutherland Mckellar

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THE EVOLUTION OF DANDYISM IN BAUDELAIRE'S  
THOUGHT: DANDY, HERO AND SAINT

by  
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Department of French

Submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Graduate Studies  
The University of Western Ontario  
London, Ontario  
May 1987

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## INTRODUCTION

"Eternelle supériorité du Dandy. Qu'est-ce que le Dandy? Qu'est-ce que l'homme supérieur?" Baudelaire asks in his personal journal Mon coeur mis à nu.<sup>1</sup> Throughout his works he is repeatedly preoccupied with the attempt to articulate a concept of dandyism, not only as a social and philosophical stance, but as a literary style as well.

References to dandies and to dandyism are indeed numerous in the works of Baudelaire, and most critics touch at least briefly upon the question of his dandyism. None, however, has yet paid strict attention to the evolution of the image of the dandy throughout the poet's works. Ellen Moers, in a chapter devoted to Baudelaire in her work The Dandy: Brummell to Beerbohm, can only conclude that Baudelaire used the word "dandy" as a "value term" and that he "brought out all the capacity of the dandy figure for rebellion."<sup>2</sup> F.W. Leakey in Baudelaire and Nature limits Baudelaire's dandyism to an expression of anti-naturalism and a preference for the artificial. André Ferran in L'Esthétique de Baudelaire maintains that the poet's aesthetics is the faith of a "dandy intérieur" and views Baudelaire's dandyism as a "sacerdoce."<sup>3</sup> In his Baudelaire, Jean-Paul Sartre attempts to treat Baudelaire's dandyism by transforming it into a kind of nineteenth-century existentialism. A recent publication, Roger Kempf's Dandies: Baudelaire et Cie, is a good general survey of the history of dandyism in France, although the subtitle is somewhat misleading in that Baudelaire's dandyism is not specifically central to the study. Nor does Kempf respect the evolution of the notion of dandyism throughout the poet's works. Similarly, in



## ABSTRACT

As a "dandy-littérateur" Baudelaire was the inheritor of a literary tradition which originated in England and which was subsequently established in France by writers such as Balzac, Gautier, Musset, Sue and, in particular, Barbey d'Aurevilly. In his study Du dandysme et de George Brummell, Barbey struggled to find a succinct definition of dandyism, and admitted: "Ceci est presque aussi difficile à décrire qu'à définir."

Throughout his works Baudelaire is repeatedly preoccupied by an attempt to conceptualise dandyism, not only as a social and philosophical stance, but as a literary style as well. While many critics have touched at least briefly upon the question of Baudelaire's dandyism, little attention is given to the evolution of this concept in Baudelaire's thought.

The meaning which Baudelaire associated with the word "dandy" shifted constantly. His own early life and works were in many ways the testament of an "enfant terrible" and a "poète maudit." His early writings, and in particular the 1857 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, are without question a cogent expression of his initial conception of dandyism, of what he termed his "phase d'égoïsme." However, the condemnation of the 1857 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal precipitated a crisis resulting in a spiritual and literary reassessment. Henceforth Baudelaire's works would reveal an increasing concern about man in general but a decreasing egotistical view of art and the artist. In his later works published after 1857--the Salon de 1859, the 1861 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, Le Peintre de la vie moderne, Les Paradis artificiels,

his articles on Poe, Gautier, Delacroix and Wagner, his prose poems, his journal, and also his correspondence of the period—Baudelaire's very personal use of the word "dandy" underwent a significant evolution, to the extent that he finally confounded the dandy and the saint, thereby manifesting a marked spiritual, moral and aesthetic evolution which has been either neglected or oversimplified.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

OC: Baudelaire, Charles-Pierre. Oeuvres complètes. Texte établi, présenté et annoté par Claude Pichois. 2 volumes. Paris: Gallimard, 1975-1976.

C: Baudelaire, Charles-Pierre. Correspondance. Texte établi, présenté et annoté par Claude Pichois avec la collaboration de Jean Ziegler. 2 volumes. Paris: Gallimard, 1973.

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## INTRODUCTION

"Eternelle supériorité du Dandy. Qu'est-ce que le Dandy? Qu'est-ce que l'homme supérieur?" Baudelaire asks in his personal journal Mon coeur mis à nu.<sup>1</sup> Throughout his works he is repeatedly preoccupied with the attempt to articulate a concept of dandyism, not only as a social and philosophical stance, but as a literary style as well.

References to dandies and to dandyism are indeed numerous in the works of Baudelaire, and most critics touch at least briefly upon the question of his dandyism. None, however, has yet paid strict attention to the evolution of the image of the dandy throughout the poet's works. Ellen Moers, in a chapter devoted to Baudelaire in her work The Dandy: Brummell to Beerbohm, can only conclude that Baudelaire used the word "dandy" as a "value term" and that he "brought out all the capacity of the dandy figure for rebellion."<sup>2</sup> F.W. Leakey in Baudelaire and Nature limits Baudelaire's dandyism to an expression of anti-naturalism and a preference for the artificial. André Ferran in L'Esthétique de Baudelaire maintains that the poet's aesthetics is the faith of a "dandy intérieur" and views Baudelaire's dandyism as a "sacerdoce."<sup>3</sup> In his Baudelaire, Jean-Paul Sartre attempts to treat Baudelaire's dandyism by transforming it into a kind of nineteenth-century existentialism. A recent publication, Roger Kempf's Dandies: Baudelaire et Cie, is a good general survey of the history of dandyism in France, although the subtitle is somewhat misleading in that Baudelaire's dandyism is not specifically central to the study. Nor does Kempf respect the evolution of the notion of dandyism throughout the poet's works. Similarly, in

his general survey De Dandysme de Baudelaire à Mallarmé, Michel Lemaire also neglects the evolution of Baudelaire's dandyism in his discussion of dandies from Baudelaire up to the present century.

Generally all critics fail to recognise that the meaning which Baudelaire attributed to the word "dandy" was constantly shifting. In short, the problem is that of chronology. Baudelaire's early life and works were in many ways the testament of an "enfant terrible," of a "poète maudit." His early writings, and in particular the 1857 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, are without question a cogent expression of his initial conception of dandyism, of what he termed to be his early "phase d'égoïsme."<sup>4</sup> However, the condemnation of the 1857 edition precipitated a crisis in Baudelaire's outlook. Henceforth his works were to portray an increasing social concern and a decreasing egotistical view of art and of the artist, with the result that in his later writings his very personal use of the word "dandy" underwent a significant evolution, to the extent that he finally confounded the dandy and the saint. The works published after 1857--the Salon de 1859, the 1861 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, Le Peintre de la vie moderne, Les Paradis artificiels, articles on Poe, Gautier, Delacroix and Wagner, the prose poems, the poet's journal, his correspondence of the period--clearly reflect these changes in his thought and manifest a marked spiritual, moral and aesthetic evolution which usually has been either neglected or oversimplified by those writing on Baudelaire. The tone of the second edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, for instance, differs vastly from that of the first edition, notwithstanding the fact that a critic such as D.J. Mossop, in a work published as recently as 1961 and, ironically, on the centennial anniversary of the publication of the second edition,

curiously observes:

One should, theoretically speaking, be able to arrive at the same conclusions about both editions of Les Fleurs du Mal, whether one chooses to study the second edition in the light of the first, or the first in the light of the second.<sup>5</sup>

Though in all his studies of Baudelaire Marcel Ruff is always cognisant of the importance of chronology in the evolution of the poet's thought, he has nonetheless never directly or extensively treated the theme of dandyism. Ernest Raynaud, who broaches the question of dandyism in his short essay Baudelaire et la religion du dandysme, published in 1918, is aware of, yet neglects, the importance of chronology, for his work ends with the very pregnant suggestion which might better have opened the study: "Nous savons bien que Baudelaire va tout résoudre dans le sens du dogme chrétien, mais nous restons frappés de l'audace de son entreprise."<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, Raynaud's work is far from comprehensive since he basés his entire analysis of the theme on those few pages on the dandy in Le Peintre de la vie moderne. Most critics in fact tend to limit their examinations of Baudelaire's dandyism to a short discussion of the essay on Guys. In his dissertation Aspects of Baudelaire's Literary Dandyism, completed in 1970, Irving Wohlfarth adopts a Marxist and sociological approach in his study of only certain aspects of the poet's dandyism. Wohlfarth neglects the evolution of dandyism in Baudelaire's thought, and devotes his study principally to close readings of two prose poems, "Perte d'auréole" and "Les Foules," and of the poem "A une passante."

But the dandyism of Baudelaire certainly merits more than a brief sketch. In many respects his originality lies in the evolution of his dandyism, for his elaboration of dandyism as a new literary mode and as a



new spirituality in the modern age was a major contribution to French letters. Dandyism was an important social and literary phenomenon throughout the nineteenth century in France, and as a "dandy-littérateur" Baudelaire was the inheritor of a French literary tradition established by Balzac, Musset, Sue and others, and in particular by Barbey d'Aurevilly. In fact, Barbey's essay Du dandysme et de George Brummell, published in 1845, is the pivotal work upon which the history of the tradition of dandyism in France turns. There is little that came after it that cannot somehow be traced directly back to this work, whether Baudelaire's intellectual and spiritual dandyism or Huysmans' negative and pessimistic dandyism. To appreciate fully the evolution of dandyism in the thought and works of Baudelaire, then, requires an understanding of the origins of dandyism, its relationship to the social, intellectual and artistic climate of France during the early years of the nineteenth century, and the influence of this climate upon the early life and early works of the poet.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

- 1 Charles-Pierre Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu", OC, I, 682, 689.
- 2 Ellen Moers, "Baudelaire," in The Dandy: Brummell to Beerbohm (London: Secker and Warburg, 1960), pp. 271-283.
- 3 André Ferran, L'Esthétique de Baudelaire (Paris: Hachette, 1933; rpt. Paris: Nizet, 1968), p. 50.
- 4 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 671.
- 5 Deryk Joseph Mossop, Baudelaire's Tragic Hero: A Study of the Architecture of "Les Fleurs du Mal" (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 14.
- 6 Ernest Raynaud, Baudelaire et la religion du dandysme (Paris: Mercure de France, 1918), p. 68.

PART ONE

PRE-BAUDELAIREAN DANDYISM: AN OUTLINE OF DANDYISM  
FROM BRUMMELL TO BARBEY

"Ceci est presque aussi difficile  
à décrire qu'à définir."

—Barbey d'Aurevilly, Du dandysme et  
de George Brummell

## CHAPTER I

### SOME DEFINITIONS

The arbitrary relationship between "signifiant" and "signifié" is made clearly evident when one considers the notion of dandyism. Any number of terms have been used to signify that rare species of man that has come to be associated with what is now called dandyism: "raffiné," fashionable, "mignon," exquisite, "roué," "petit-maitre," ruffian, "incroyable," buck, fop, beau, "muscadin," macaroni, Corinthian, dandy, "gants jaunes," tiger, "lion," play-boy, hippy. Conversely, the term "dandy" has been used to denote an eclectic variety of men ranging from Alcibiades to play-boy Hugh Hefner, and including Julius Caesar, the Duke de Lauzun, the Duke de Richelieu, Richard Sheridan, Napoléon, Wellington; George Brummell, Lord Byron, Alfred d'Orsay, Milord l'Arsouille, Roger de Beauvoir, Théophile Gautier, Alfred de Musset, Prosper Mérimée, Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, Eugène Sue, Edgar Poe, Eugène Delacroix, Charles Baudelaire, Robert de Montesquiou, Oscar Wilde, Max Beerbohm—not to forget Satan, and also, according to Brummell's biographer William Jesse, the Indian fishermen of the Ganges.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, there would not even seem to be a conventional one-to-one relationship between a given signifier and a given signified. For Barbey d'Aurevilly, a beau was not a dandy. "Qu'on ne s'y méprenne pas, les Beaux ne sont pas les Dandys,"<sup>2</sup> he wrote; and disregarding Brummell's nicknames—"Buck" Brummell and "Beau"

Brummell--he affirmed that Brummell was unquestionably a dandy, or rather the Dandy incarnate: "En effet, il ne fut qu'un Dandy. . . . Brummell. . . . [I]l fut le Dandysme même."<sup>3</sup> However, for William Jesse, "Brummell most assuredly was no dandy. . . . He was a beau. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

Such a panoply of terms and personalities is enough to make one despair of ever understanding the notion of dandyism.<sup>5</sup> Well might one ponder Carlyle's fatigued query: "Again, wert not thou, at one period of life, a Buck, or Blood, or Macaroni, or Incroyable, or Dandy, or by whatever name, according to year and place, such phenomenon is distinguished?"<sup>6</sup> What is a dandy? Who is a dandy? What is dandyism? A paradox. A labyrinth. Indeed, the attempt to trace the origin of the word "dandy" leads into a veritable etymological maze, and the attempt to articulate what the term represents ends in an effusion of paradoxical definitions, misconceptions and contradictions as numerous as those writing on the topic.

The etymology of the word itself is most uncertain. In the 1780s the term appeared in Scottish border songs, and it has been suggested that "dandy" was simply the diminutive for Andrew. As Ellen Moers has pointed out: "as early as the seventeen-seventies the word was being sung throughout the American colonies in the phrase Yankee Doodle Dandy"<sup>7</sup>--the term in this case being an insult, sung by the British troops, directed at the ill-fitting uniforms of Washington's soldiers. Others have suggested that the word was derived from the French "dandin" meaning "simpleton," or "dandiner" meaning "to waddle." Still others would trace its origin to the word "dandiprat," a coin of little value minted during the reign of Henry VII.

Despite the uncertainty of his origins, the dandy has long haunted

the popular imagination as a stereotyped persona--an arbiter of taste and elegance, a figure of opulence, insolence, wantonness and decadence, an effeminate, a Don Juan. This image is reinforced by any number of definitions of the term "dandy":

One who studies above everything to dress elegantly and fashionably; a beau, fop, "exquisite."<sup>8</sup>

A man who attracts attention by the unusual finery of his dress and a corresponding fastidiousness or display of manner; a man of excessive neatness and primness in his attire and action; an exquisite; a fop.<sup>9</sup>

Homme recherché dans sa toilette et exagérant les modes jusqu'au ridicule.<sup>10</sup>

Homme qui se pique d'une suprême élégance dans sa toilette et dans ses manières.<sup>11</sup>

Elégant qui affecte de suivre la mode au jour le jour et se pique du dernier raffinement en matière de goût et de manières.<sup>12</sup>

Stutzer, Modeherr.<sup>13</sup>

Even the popular expression "quel arsouille"<sup>14</sup>--which may be defined variously as connoting a penchant for drink, women, pleasure, moral corruption, gambling--is but a vulgar definition of a type of decadence too often mistaken for dandyism. In a recent study entitled Du dandy au play-boy, Maud Sacquard de Belleruche has defined the dandy as having "l'âme d'un aventurier . . . d'un aventurier en chômage"<sup>15</sup> and would see in the play-boys of the twentieth century the "héritiers présomptifs de leurs pères: les dandies."<sup>16</sup> But her thesis is too restricted in that it is based on a mutant variety of the dandy. Granted, there may well be a direct filiation from Milord l'Arsouille to Hugh Hefner, but certainly dandyism must have been much more than "le carnaval du moi,"<sup>17</sup> or, to cite yet another dictionary definition, "[la] prétention à l'élégance."<sup>18</sup>

Emilien Carassus laments just such vulgar caricatures of the dandy and of dandyism in his work Le Mythe du dandy:

Ces dandys célèbres, reconnus, encensés ou dénigrés par leurs contemporains, les voilà, de nos jours, réduits à servir d'enseigne ou d'étiquette. Brummell, c'est un magasin de confection où l'on peut acquérir, à prix modique, un chic standardisé; le comte d'Orsay règne sur des flacons de parfum. Un néon brille, s'éteint, se rallume; à chaque seconde surgit de la nuit, esquissée par les tubes roses et bleus, la classique silhouette aux pantalons collants, à l'habit ajusté, surmontée du chapeau haut de forme et nantie de la canne à pommeau: un bar, une boutique se placent ainsi sous les auspices du Dandy. Telle marque de porto ou de whisky n'hésite pas à se réclamer du "Beau" londonien, et voici déjà qu'une marque de fromage se revêt de l'étiquette "Dandy". Le jour viendra peut-être où paradera sur une boîte de petits pois ce Brummell qui les avait en horreur, où le patronage de celui que n'admettait d'autre linge que blanchi à la campagne garantira la glotonnerie enzymatique d'une lessive.

Grandeur et décadence: le dandy ne mérite-t-il pas mieux que cette réduction à une image de mode vulgarisée, mise à la portée de tous les goûts et de toutes les bourses?<sup>19</sup>

Indeed, as early as 1844 William Jesse remarked that dandyism had become synonymous with "glaring extravaganzas in dress,"<sup>20</sup> and that in falling into the public domain it had come to be associated with vulgarity of the lowest order. It was for these reasons that he declined to call Brummell a dandy:

It would be unjust indeed to Brummell's memory if I neglected to show the impropriety of calling him a "dandy": the few associations connected with the term all teem with vulgarity; the tap-room measure of that name is not an example of refinement, and in Johnson the nearest approach to the word is the Dandelion, a vulgar flower!<sup>21</sup>

A limited number of scholarly works and numerous articles have been devoted to the study of dandies and dandyism, and have restored dandyism to a specific historical context and imparted to the dandy a somewhat

more dignified image. Essential reading would include Jesse's biography of Brummell and Barbey d'Aurevilly's essay on dandyism, as well as Roger Kempf's edition, under the general title Sur le dandysme, of the three major studies of dandyism to be published in the nineteenth century: Balzac's Traité de la vie élégante, Barbey d'Aurevilly's Du dandysme et de George Brummell, and Baudelaire's Le Peintre de la vie moderne. In the early years of the twentieth century, Marcel and Jacques Boulenger devoted several studies to the subject of dandyism as a social phenomenon. Of particular interest is the work by Jacques Boulenger—Sous Louis-Philippe: les dandys. The works by Ellen Moers and Emilien Carassus already cited offer a survey of dandies and of dandyism on both sides of the English Channel. The work by Carassus is particularly useful in that it includes an anthology of excerpts from works not always easily accessible. John Prevost's Le Dandysme en France (1817-1839) contains a wealth of bibliographical indications, and Elizabeth Creed's Le Dandysme de Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly contains much useful information on dandyism in general. A recent publication, Roger Kempf's Dandies: Baudelaire et Cie is also a good general study of dandyism.<sup>22</sup> However, even in these works no one all-inclusive and satisfactory definition of the dandy or of dandyism is to be found.

For Ellen Moers the dandy is "a Hero so evidently at the centre of the stage that he need do nothing to prove his heroism—need never, in fact, do anything at all."<sup>23</sup> Jules Lemaitre also places the dandy on stage, not as a hero, but rather as a vaudevillian illusionist:

Bref, il fait croire à ce qui n'existe pas. Il "règne par les airs," comme d'autres par les talents, par la force, par la richesse. Il se fait, avec rien, une supériorité mystérieuse que nul ne saurait définir, mais dont les effets sont aussi réels et aussi grands que ceux des supériorités classées et



reconnues par les hommes. Le dandy est un révolutionnaire et un illusionniste.<sup>24</sup>

For Marcel Thiry, "Le dandysme est un didactisme." "Absolument pas," answers Luc Décaunes, "c'est une cuirasse."<sup>25</sup>

Sartre goes so far as to disarm the social and political significance of dandyism by reducing the dandy to the status of an existential non-entity who is not "engagé" and therefore is inoffensive and ineffective:

[Le dandysme] est aussi parfaitement inoffensif. Il ne bouleverse aucune des lois établies. Il se veut inutile et, sans doute, il ne sert pas; mais il ne nuit pas non plus; et la classe au pouvoir préférera toujours un dandy à un révolutionnaire, de la même façon que la bourgeoisie de Louis-Philippe tolérera plus volontiers les outrances de l'Art pour l'Art que la littérature engagée de Hugo, de Sand et de Pierre Leroux. C'est un jeu d'enfant, que les adultes considèrent avec indulgence. . . .<sup>26</sup>

Camus on the other hand considers dandyism as an extension of the Luciferian revolt encompassed in the Romantic experience, and consequently sees in the dandy the ultimate expression of "l'homme révolté":

Mais, dans sa source vive, le romantisme défie d'abord la loi morale et divine. Voilà pourquoi son image la plus originale n'est pas, d'abord, le révolutionnaire mais, logiquement, le dandy. . . . Le révolté choisit la métaphysique du pire, qui s'exprime dans la littérature de damnation dont nous ne sommes pas encore sortis. . . . Le romantisme démontre en effet que la révolte a partie liée avec le dandysme. . . .<sup>27</sup>

For Roger Kempf, dandyism is a metaphorical world inhabited by an elite company of men:

Le dandysme: un monde métaphorique aux couleurs du soleil couchant, un exercice impossible. . . . Les dandies: une compagnie que chacun forme ou disperse à sa façon. Un collage d'humeurs et de positions.<sup>28</sup>

But his definitions remain general and vague, and therefore

unsatisfactory, as Kempf himself admits elsewhere:

Mais le dandysme qui est une manière d'être ne se réduit pas à ses manifestations anecdotiques: il agit et s'éprouve. Comment peindre un regard de Brummell sur une salle de bal. . .?29

To attempt to define succinctly "dandy" or "dandyism," then, would appear to be, to borrow Kempf's expression, "un exercice impossible." Any attempt to do so leads us onto a semantic minefield characterised by contradictions and vague notions. Indeed, John Prevost's excellent study, Le Dandysme en France (1817-1839), opens with these words: "Il est peut-être impossible de trouver une définition complètement satisfaisante du terme dandy."30 Even in her memoirs of 1817, Lady Morgan related that she had great difficulty attempting to explain to Madame de Volkonski exactly what a dandy was. "Je tâchai alors de lui faire la définition d'un dandy, autant que la chose est possible," she wrote, "et je lui demandai si elle pouvait en trouver le pendant dans la société de France."31 Writing in the 1840s, Barbey d'Aurevilly, himself a dandy and the first to attempt a serious study of dandyism, encountered the same difficulty.

In his article entitled "De l'élégance,"32 published 20 April 1843 in Le Moniteur de la mode—an article which serves well as a preface to the essay on dandyism and George Brummell—Barbey was determined not to admit defeat in the face of the difficulty of definition:

Il est des gens qui haïssent la définition par tempérament, et qui voudraient qu'à propos de tout, on ne regardât jamais sous rien. Ces gens-là sont comme les albinos de la pensée à qui on doit verser un peu de jour par en haut, et à travers de la gaze. Ces douces âmes trouvent déjà assez étincelante comme cela la définition de Montesquieu: "Le goût est un je ne sais quoi," définition qui est "je ne sais quelle ironie, si elle n'est pas je ne sais quelle sottise de la part d'un si grand esprit.

Pour nous, nous aimons trop la précision dans la

pensée et le nerf dans l'expression pour admettre le je ne sais quoi, même de Montesquieu. -- Quand une chose est comme la grâce et l'élégance, nous pouvons nous tromper sur ce qu'elle est, mais nous savons toujours que c'est quelque chose et quelque chose peut s'exprimer. Ainsi cherchons.<sup>33</sup>

We might well wonder whether the concluding "Ainsi cherchons" does not undermine somewhat Barbey's humorous declaration, and in fact his attempt to distinguish "l'élégance" from "la beauté," "la grâce" and "la simple notion de joli" comes perilously close to being but an exercise in tautologies in which he piles definition upon definition:

L'élégance est plus que la grâce et moins que la beauté, mais elle se compose néanmoins de beauté et de grâce; pourquoi ne serait-elle pas, par exemple, la notion de la beauté, réalisée dans les petites choses et élevée, grâce à la grâce, au-dessus de la simple notion de joli?

Si notre idée est juste, nous allons être forcé de mettre une définition sur une autre comme les Indiens qui, pour expliquer certain équilibre, mettaient la terre sur un éléphant, puis juchaient l'éléphant sur un oeuf.

Seulement nous mettrons, nous, l'oeuf sur l'éléphant, et les pieds de l'éléphant sur la terre. Nous jonglerons moins bien, mais nous raisonnerons mieux.<sup>34</sup>

However, Barbey's mocking tone of self-assurance in the 1843 article was to be significantly tempered in the first edition of Du dandysme et de George Brummell, published in 1845. "[J]'ai tâché pourtant de voir clair dans ce que beaucoup de gens, sans doute, n'eussent pas daigné expliquer," he wrote in his dedication to César Daly which prefaced the first edition. "Ce que j'ai vu, je vous l'offre, mon cher Daly."<sup>35</sup> In writing the essay on dandyism, Barbey had become clearly cognisant of the difficulty of defining dandyism in general, and in particular what constituted Brummell's elegance. "Ceci est presque aussi difficile à décrire qu'à définir," he frankly admitted.<sup>36</sup> He understood that dandyism was difficult, if not impossible, to describe and define

precisely because it was dependant upon the confluence and symbiotic relationship of two singular phenomena which, in 1845, were no more—the existence of George Brummell himself, and the manners and morals of English society around the turn of the century:

[La vie de Brummell] tout entière fut une influence, c'est-à-dire ce qui ne peut guères se raconter. On la sent tout le temps qu'elle dure, et quand elle n'est plus, on en peut signaler les résultats; mais si ces résultats sont de la même nature que l'influence qui les créa, et s'ils n'ont pas plus de durée, l'histoire en devient impossible. On retrouve Herculanium sous la cendre; mais quelques années sur les moeurs d'une société l'ensevelissent mieux que toute la poussière des volcans. Les Mémoires, histoire de ces moeurs, ne sont eux-mêmes que, des à-peu-près. On ne retrouvera donc pas, comme il le faudrait, détaillée et nette, sinon vivante, la société anglaise du temps de Brummell. On ne suivra donc jamais, dans son ondoyante étendue et sa portée, l'action de Brummell sur ses contemporains. . . . En effet, ce qui reste le moins de toute société, la partie des moeurs qui ne laisse pas de débris, l'arome trop subtil pour qu'il se conserve, ce sont les manières, les intransmissibles manières, par lesquelles Brummell fut un prince de son temps.<sup>37</sup>

Barbey's task would have been much easier had Brummell created a body of art, but apart from a few lines of verse, Brummell left behind no major literary work, no autobiographical notes, no treatises.<sup>38</sup> The reason for this was that Brummell had centred his imagination on making every aspect of life itself into his work of art:

Il était un grand artiste à sa manière; seulement son art n'était pas spécial, ne s'exerçait pas dans un temps donné. C'était sa vie même, le scintillement éternel de facultés. . . . Cet homme, trop superficiellement jugé, fut une puissance si intellectuelle, qu'il régna encore plus par les airs que par les mots. Son action sur les autres était plus immédiate que celle qui s'exerce uniquement par le langage. Il la produisait par l'intonation, le regard, le geste, l'intention transparente, le silence même; et c'est une explication à donner du peu de mots qu'il a laissés.<sup>39</sup>

William Jesse also recognised that Brummell's life was his art, but although his biography of Brummell abounds with anecdotes and minute descriptions of the Beau's wit, grace and taste, Jesse does not succeed in portraying the essence of Brummell or of his dandyism. When Barbey received Jesse's work in April of 1844, he was greatly disappointed and did not hesitate to criticise it in rather harsh terms. "Thé qui n'est pas vert," he wrote to Trebutien, "qui n'est pas noir, qui manque de sucre et presque de lait: un insipide breuvage!"<sup>40</sup> Dandyism, like Brummell himself ("il fut le Dandysme même," wrote Barbey<sup>41</sup>), would need to be seen in action, in its milieu, to be truly understood and appreciated. "C'était sur place qu'était sa valeur," Barbey concluded.<sup>42</sup>

Du dandysme et de George Brummell was the first serious attempt to articulate a philosophy of dandyism in France. Throughout the essay, as we have seen, Barbey emphasised and explained the difficulties involved in defining dandyism, and the brief definition which he finally offers, as vague and as open as it may seem to be, perhaps comes closest to capturing the elusive spirit of dandyism: "Le Dandysme est toute une manière d'être. . . . C'est une manière d'être, entièrement composée de nuances. . . ." <sup>43</sup> Of course the true nature of dandyism continued to be elusive and consequently was misconstrued throughout the nineteenth century, as it degenerated into a display of wealth, fashion and snobbery. The century saw a proliferation of fashion journals, the boulevards of Paris and the streets of London became congested with imitators of Brummell, and young men of letters contrived to shock the reading public. In our century, as Jean-Pierre Saldah points out, the notion of dandyism has totally lost its original significance. The myth

of the dandy persists, but dandyism simply no longer exists:

Le dandysme. Mot perverti, détourné de son sens, et avec justice. Si le langage courant réduit le dandysme à l'élégance, en le vidant de toutes les valeurs qu'il avait au siècle dernier, c'est que le dandysme n'est plus. . . . [L]e dandysme, lui, est un phénomène qui est né et s'est développé au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. . . . [I]l reste fondé sur des valeurs correspondant à un moment de l'histoire.<sup>44</sup>

"Le dandy ne mérite-t-il pas mieux?" asks Carassus. Yes, the dandy does merit better consideration than he is usually given, and serious consideration. In the England and France of the early nineteenth century, there was an important psychological and social lesson to be learned from the fact that Brummell's folly was his making, for his theatrical antics served well to mirror not his own vanity so much as the vanity, the pretension and the arrogance of the age. The "King of Fashion," as he was called, was not a despot; he was crowned by both royal and public acclaim.

## PART ONE: CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup> William Jesse, The Life of George Brummell, Esq. Commonly Called Beau Brummell (London: John C. Nimmo, 1886), I, 53-54. Jesse's work in two volumes was first published at London in 1844. The publisher is not listed in the British Museum Catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Du dandysme et de George Brummell," in Oeuvres romanesques complètes (1966; rpt. Paris: Gallimard, 1972), II, 680.

Henceforth both volumes of this edition of Barbey's works will be abbreviated: ORC.

In French the plural spelling of "dandy" is variously "dandys" and "dandies." In addition, "dandyism" in French is normally spelled "dandysme," although it occasionally appeared as "dandisme" in nineteenth-century texts. I shall make no attempt to standardise these spellings, and shall reproduce them as originally printed without further comment. Throughout this work all original spellings will be maintained in citations taken from works published in the nineteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., II, 672-673.

<sup>4</sup> Jesse, I, 55.

<sup>5</sup> In the realm of the physical sciences, Heisenberg's uncertainty principle lends a ready analogy in this case. The electron has long been considered to be a theoretical entity. When its position is determined, its velocity cannot be determined. Conversely, when its velocity is determined, its position cannot be determined. Similarly, when the term "dandy" is isolated, it has been applied to personalities as opposite as Baudelaire and Hugh Hefner. Conversely, when a personality such as Brummell is isolated, Barbey d'Aurevilly and Jesse, as we have seen, were not able to agree on terminology.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Carlyle, "Sartor Resartus," in Sartor Resartus. On Heroes and Hero Worship (1908; rpt. London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1975), p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> Ellen Moers, The Dandy: Brummell to Beerbohm (London: Secker and Warburg, 1960), p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> v. Oxford English Dictionary, 1961.

<sup>9</sup> v. The Century Dictionary, 1899.

<sup>10</sup> v. Littre, 1863.

11 v. Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, 1879. A similar definition is given in Robert, 1955.

12 v. Larousse, 1972.

13 v. Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, 1860.

14 The mythology associated with this term is firmly rooted in the history of dandyism, although the origin of the word itself is uncertain. It first appeared in 1792, and was used in the sense of "souteneur de tripot" (v. Robert). What is certain, however, was the existence, in the early part of the nineteenth century in France, of one Milord l'Arsouille, "ce dandy de la canaille" (Emilien Carassus, Le Mythe du dandy [Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1971,] p. 323). "De 1831 à 1835 ou 1836," writes Jacques Boulenger (Sous Louis-Philippe: les dandys [Paris: Calmann-Lévy Editeurs, 1932], p. 109), "Paris s'amusa vraiment dans la rue, au temps du carnaval," and it was invariably Arsouille, whose real name was Charles de La Battut, who led the raucous procession in a princely appointed carriage through the streets of Paris to the outskirts of town. Tradition would have it that this "héros des Descentes de La Courtille et des Bals de Barrière" (Carassus, p. 323) was responsible for launching the French cancan in 1832 (Boulenger, [1932], p. 114). It was not unusual for the police to be called in on these occasions of notoriety to bring the festivities to an end.

15 Maud Sacquard de Belleruche, Du dandy au play-boy: étude (Paris: Editions mondiales, 1964; rpt. Paris: Cino del Duca, 1965), p. 21.

16 Ibid., p. 123.

17 Ibid., p. 223.

18 v. Larousse, 1972.

19 Emilien Carassus, Le Mythe du Dandy (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1971), p. 5.

20 Jesse, I, 55.

21 Ibid., I, 53.

22 It is beyond the scope of this study to compile an exhaustive bibliography of works on dandyism. For more extensive references to works and articles on dandyism, and for complete publication details for the above mentioned works, see my bibliography.

23 Moers, p. 13.

24 Jules Lemaitre, "Barbey d'Aurevilly," in Les Contemporains: études et portraits littéraires. Quatrième série (Paris: H. Lecène et H. Oudin, 1889), pp. 57-58.

25 Marcel Thiry, "La Raison des éclipses," in Journées Baudelaire. Actes du colloque Namur-Bruxelles 10-13 octobre 1967 (Bruxelles:



Académie royale de langue et de littérature françaises, 1968), p. 57. The citation is taken from the discussion following the delivery of Thiry's paper.

26 Jean-Paul Sartre, Baudelaire (1963; rpt. Paris: Gallimard, 1976), pp. 168-169.

27 Albert Camus, L'Homme révolté (1951; rpt. Paris: Gallimard, 1960), pp. 71, 74.

28 Roger Kempf, Dandies: Baudelaire et Cie (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1977), pp. 12-13.

29 Roger Kempf, "Du délire et du rien," in Sur le dandysme, ed. Roger Kempf (Paris: Union Générale d'Édition, 1971), p. 16.

30 John C. Prevost, Le Dandysme en France (1817-1839) (Genève: Librairie E. Droz, et Paris: Librairie Minard, 1957), p. 9.

31 Lady Thomas Charles Morgan, La France (Paris et Londres: Treuttel et Würtz, 1817), I, 175.

32 Jacques Petit has reproduced the article in its entirety in his "Notes et variantes," in Barbey d'Aurevilly, ORC, II, 1421-1424.

33 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "De l'élégance," ORC, II, 1421.

34 Ibid., p. 1422.

35 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Notes et variantes," ORC, II, 1429.

36 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Du dandysme et de George Brummell," ORC, II, 673.

37 Ibid., pp. 676-677.

38 Brummell did however publish one work on costume—Male and Female Costume; Grecian and Roman Costume. British Costume from the Roman Invasion until 1822 and the Principles of Costume Applied to the Improved Dress of the Present Day.

39 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Du dandysme et de George Brummell," ORC, II, 693, 696.

40 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Notes et variantes," ORC, II, 1427.

41 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Du dandysme et de George Brummell," ORC, II, 673.

42 Ibid., p. 693.

43 Ibid., pp. 673-674.

44 Jean-Pierre Saldah, "Mérinée et le dandysme," Europe  
(septembre 1975), p. 92.

"A Dandy is a Clothes-wearing Man."  
--Carlyle, Sartor Resartus

## CHAPTER II

### THE SOCIAL PHENOMENON IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

As difficult as it may be to define "dandy" and "dandyism," it is equally difficult to ascribe historical parameters to what may be termed the social phenomenon of dandyism. Alcibiades is frequently cited as a specimen of the dandy before the letter, his fame as such resting above all upon one singular exploit: "avoir coupé la queue d'un chien acquis au prix de 7000 drachmes."<sup>1</sup> Kempf adds Julius Caesar and Catilina to the list,<sup>2</sup> and "some wags," states Ellen Moers, "have traced [dandyism] to the Old Testament."<sup>3</sup> Chateaubriand's René discovered it even among the savages of North America under the magnificent and primeval "dômes des bois," as Chactas related how his captors had dressed him splendiferously as a prelude to sacrifice on the funeral pyre:

Aussitôt on me couronne de fleurs; on me peint le visage d'azur et de vermillon; on m'attache des perles au nez et aux oreilles et l'on me met à la main un chichikoué.<sup>4</sup>

Thus attired Chactas was brought before the imposing spectacle of the council of enemy chieftans painted for war, magic men in flowing capes, elders in beaver skin mantles, and women in robes of swan feathers. Mérimée's Captain Ledoux, a white slave trader, discovered on the coasts of Africa a black dandy, himself a dealer in slaves. Tamango was a superb African warrior, dressed in odds and ends of military uniforms and gear: "Ainsi équipé, le guerrier africain croyait surpasser en élégance

le petit-maitre le plus accompli de Paris ou de Londres."<sup>5</sup> As Roger Kempf-maintains, "Le dandysme avait toujours existé et partout."<sup>6</sup> Writing a century before Kempf, Barbey d'Aurevilly was the first to have made this observation. "Le Dandysme a sa racine," he wrote, "dans la nature humaine de tous les pays de tous les temps. . . ." <sup>7</sup> In particular, Barbey saw Richelieu, and even more so Lauzun, as "un dandy d'avant les dandys":

On a cité Richelieu et on l'a opposé à Brummell. . . . Un Dandy encore, d'avant les Dandys, comme Richelieu, avant même que la chose nommée Dandysme fût nommée et que des observateurs à l'analyse superfine l'eussent étudiée comme une chose en soi, fut Lauzun--Lauzun, bien plus fort que Richelieu, quoiqu'il n'ait pas pris Port-Mahon. . . .<sup>8</sup>

Writing in La Mode in 1840, Commander d'Espalières traced the dandy in France back as far as the Renaissance. In his article he gave in some detail what may be termed the genealogy and the onomasiology of the dandy, "d'après les traditions et les souvenirs qui nous en restent":

Les lions, en France et surtout à Paris, sont les princes du dandysme, ce sont les élus parmi les élus, c'est la fine fleur du monde élégant et fashionable. . . . Ce qu'on appelle lion aujourd'hui, est un type fort connu en France depuis près de trois siècles; c'est nous qui, les premiers, l'avons emprunté à l'Espagne au temps de Philippe II et à l'Italie aux jours d'éclat de Venise et de Florence; nous l'avons prêté ensuite à l'Angleterre, qui s'en fait à présent les honneurs et qui en a fait ses dandys, qui ne remontent guère qu'à une vingtaine, peut-être une trentaine d'années. Brummel [sic], le falstaff [sic] du prince de Galles, . . . fut un des premiers et des plus célèbres dandys. Entre les beaux et les dandys, l'Angleterre avait eu les macaronis. . . . Les lions du seizième siècle s'appelaient les raffinés . . . plus tard des mignons. . . . Après eux vinrent, sous Louis XIII et sous Louis XIV, les petits-maitres et les beaux. . . . Molière a peint les lions de son temps dans les marquis de quelques-unes de ses comédies. . . . Les lions les plus fameux de cette époque, furent les Vardes, les Lauzun, les d'Ayen, les Marsillac. . . . Les roués furent les lions de la régence; ce furent les

compagnons de débauche du duc d'Orléans. . . . Ce fut à l'école du Palais-Royal, par l'exemple des roués du Régent, des Nocé, Pompadour, des Canillac et des Riom, que se forma ce jeune duc de Fronsac, qui plus tard, sous le nom de duc de Richelieu, fut le plus célèbre lion de la cour de Louis XV, et qui, pendant soixante ans, étonna l'Europe par ses folies, son élégance, ses aventures et ses profusions. . . . Après lui, vint le duc de Lauzun, ce brillant grand seigneur qui fut élevé sur les genoux de madame de Pompadour. . . . Ensuite vinrent ces incroyables, pendant de ces merveilleuses qui étaient les lions et les lionnes du directoire.<sup>9</sup>

#### A. England

But dandyism, as the term is generally understood and accepted today, originated in the social and political upheavals of the late eighteenth century, specifically in England. The industrial revolution, the impact of which was realised much earlier in Great Britain than on the continent, undermined to a great extent the social and economic hierarchy of English society, as François Dreyfus points out:

Déjà depuis 1760, l'Angleterre a commencé sa révolution industrielle. . . . Une société nouvelle naît: aux différenciations juridiques fondées encore sur les ordres se juxtapose une nouvelle société fondée sur les rapports économiques, où triomphe une bourgeoisie et s'agite un prolétariat essentiellement urbain. . . . Tout-puissant en Grande-Bretagne, . . . un groupe nouveau est apparu d'entrepreneurs, de manufacturiers, de négociants.<sup>10</sup>

"When such solid values as wealth and birth are upset," adds Ellen Moers, "ephemera such as style and pose are called upon to justify the stratification of society."<sup>11</sup> An essential element of this pose, as La Varenne maintains, was the spleen of the English aristocrat--"cette fameuse neurasthénie du grand seigneur anglais"<sup>12</sup>--which served to set him apart from the growing and influential utilitarian middle class. The

times and the circumstances being thus favourable, dandyism as a truly social phenomenon finally flowered in the figure of George "Beau" Brummell, who reigned as its high priest during the Regency in England.

The Beau's dash, his imaginative and acidic wit, and his sense of sartorial aesthetics were not in themselves enough to launch dandyism. Only in the political and social climate of the Regency, "when aristocracy and monarchy were more widely despised (hence more nastily exclusive) than ever before or since in English history,"<sup>13</sup> could a character such as Brummell rise to fame through sheer folly. Indeed, Brummell understood only too well the dynamics of vanity, and from his own example may be drawn an enlightening lesson on egoism and the less commendable aspects of the nature of man.

And yet Brummell himself has often been misjudged. Jesse found that although there was much to amuse in Brummell, there was little to admire or to commend. "[L]et us recollect, however," he hastened to add, "that Brummell wore the bells of folly rather than the brand of vice."<sup>14</sup> In spite of his folly, the Beau did have a profound sense of integrity and honour.<sup>15</sup> He was vain--that cannot be denied; but he did give his vanity a truly artistic expression. As both Jesse and Barbey d'Aurevilly pointed out, Brummell's impeccable taste, his social charm and grace, his innovative dress, his imaginative wit all constituted the magnificent work of art which was his life. He was cutting, proud, and conceited--that too cannot be denied; but he gave no quarter in revealing the vanity of others:

As [Brummell] turned over the pages of life, he found that impudence, well seasoned with wit, was one of the stepping-stones to notoriety; and also that a vain man, of whatever rank, was as easily cowed by ridicule, as a boy of the first form by an incipient Hercules. Of this discovery he took ample advantage,

using it both as an offensive and defensive weapon; and, when he had once gained the rostrum of fashionable life, he kept it, and lashed most unmercifully many of those who, in their simplicity, had assisted in placing him there.<sup>16</sup>

That Brummell had such an alluring career in the midst of the wantonness and extravagance of Regency society, however, cannot fail to raise questions of a serious moral and social nature--"not only as connected with the individual himself, but on the society of which he was the courted, brilliant, and pampered ornament," observed Jesse.<sup>17</sup> Vanity and pretension were indeed the passwords of the day, and the high society which made Brummell its "pampered ornament" was quick to imitate his style and taste--a domain in which even the Regent often numbered among the Beau's foremost rivals. As the prototype of the dandy figure in England from 1800 on, Brummell was also emulated by an ever increasing number of would-be elegants, all of whom claimed the title of "dandy." However, in England up until 1816, writes Prevost, "le terme dandy s'applique exclusivement au beau de la haute société."<sup>18</sup> After that date, the term came to be more universally applied, and Brummell was obliged to share it with his imitators--a veritable multitude of counterfeit dandies. "Multitude: le mot accuse la contrefaçon," Kempf indignantly remarks.<sup>19</sup> It was for this reason, as we have seen, that Jesse maintained that it was improper to call Brummell a "dandy," and insisted that he was a "beau"--the latter term at least being somewhat more restrictive in its connotations. By the late 1830s the term "dandy" had become pejorative, and had given way to other terms. "The thing, the 'dandy,' however, still exists . . . but the term is nearly obsolete," wrote Jesse in 1844, "and has been replaced by the 'tiger' in England, and, oddly enough, by the 'lion' in France."<sup>20</sup> But a change in

terminology did not stem the tide of counterfeit dandies. Writing in La Mode in 1840, Roger de Beauvoir, himself a genuine dandy or "lion,"<sup>21</sup> distinguished "le véritable lion" from "le faux" and in his satirical fashion identified various species of the counterfeit "lion": "le lion politique," "le lion littéraire," "le lion artiste," "le vieux lion." "Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que, de même qu'en Belgique, il y a des contrefacteurs de livres," he continued, "il y a chez nous des contrefacteurs de dandysme. Les lions sont copiés au sein de Paris même, contrefaits, estropiés!"<sup>22</sup>

Indeed, the problem persists of how to distinguish what Carassus calls "le dandy authentique"<sup>23</sup> from the would-be dandy, from—to introduce yet another term—the snob. "On confond volontiers le dandy et le snob," Carassus continues. "Il est toujours des osmose possibles dans la réalité, mais les principes qui régissent les deux attitudes sont foncièrement différents."<sup>24</sup> The distinction, difficult perhaps to articulate, is nonetheless central to any discussion of dandyism.

As was the case with dandyism, snobbery also first took definitive form in England. In his study Le Snobisme, Philippe Du Puy de Clinchamps has pointed out that the word itself—"snob"—was a general term of common English slang at the end of the eighteenth century, and that the present day meaning of the word is derived from a specific term of student slang dating from the turn of the nineteenth century.<sup>25</sup> Borrowing the term from student slang, W.M. Thackeray wrote a series of satirical articles, The Snob Papers, which appeared in the London journal Punch before being published in 1848 in volume form under the title The Book of Snobs.<sup>26</sup> Thackeray's psychological studies of bourgeois social climbers consecrated, not only in England but on the continent and



in America as well, the generally accepted meaning of the word "snob" which Du Puy de Clinchamps defines as follows:

Dans tous les milieux, le snob est celui qui, dans une part au moins de ses activités professionnelles ou de loisirs, dans sa pensée et ses croyances, s'efforce d'appartenir, par imitation, ou appartient à un clan dont les membres sont assurés d'être supérieurs au commun par le seul fait qu'ils se donnent cette supériorité et se la reconnaissent mutuellement, et cela en dehors de toute valeur humaine réelle qui peut être aussi bien nulle que de premier plan.<sup>27</sup>

However, Du Puy de Clinchamps does confound the dandy and the snob: "[U]n dandy est la réussite parfaite d'un snob, ce qui ne va pas sans une intelligence aiguë et qui a fait dire qu'un dandy était un snob intelligent."<sup>28</sup> Jean d'Ormesson is scarcely more successful in differentiating the dandy not merely from the snob but from the arriviste as well:

Arrivistes, snobs et dandys demandent aux autres de les aider à vivre en les regardant. Ils ont besoin d'être reconnus par leur public. Mieux que les autres pour les arrivistes, avec les autres pour les snobs, loin des autres pour le dandy, c'est en tout cas dans l'esprit des autres qu'ils ont à vivre.<sup>29</sup>

It is precisely such a confusion of terms that leads to a serious misunderstanding of the true nature of dandyism, as Carassus has succinctly illustrated:

Toutes ces formules invitent, avec une certaine justesse, à considérer le snobisme comme une dégradation du dandysme. Mais leur insuffisance apparaît; elles ne peuvent rendre compte de l'originalité propre à chacune des deux démarches ni des intentions qui les orientent. . . . L'échine du dandy se refuse aux courbettes quand la croupe du snob se contorsionne. Dans la magie sociale, le snob se laisse fasciner, le dandy se construit une personnalité fascinante.<sup>30</sup>

In a word, then, the true dandy was born, not made, and his dandyism consisted of innate qualities which defied imitation. "On ne devient pas

plus dandy qu'aristocrate," writes Kempf in distinguishing between true dandyism and "ce dandysme de surface."<sup>31</sup> "Dépense, parure, éclats d'extravagance, art de la table et de la conversation," adds Carassus, "ce sont là simulacres de dandysme plus que dandysme authentique."<sup>32</sup> To maintain the distinction between the authentic dandy and his emulators, for the most part snobs, we shall follow Roger de Beauvoir's example in speaking henceforth of "true dandies" and "false dandies."

During the Regency period in England, no one of course could imitate Brummell's personality or equal his success in society. But the external manifestation of his dandyism, notably his dress, could be and was more readily copied. Contrary to the dictionary definitions of the dandy, Brummell was not an extravagant or an ostentatious dresser. Jesse relates that "in the commencement of [Brummell's] career, he, perhaps, varied his dress too frequently; the whim, however, was of short duration."<sup>33</sup> Brummell was "never the slave of fashion"<sup>34</sup> and he always dressed with great care:

His chief aim was to avoid anything marked; one of his aphorisms being, that the severest mortification a gentleman could incur was, to attract observation in the street by his outward appearance. He exercised the most correct taste in the selection of each article of apparel, of a form and colour harmonious with all the rest, for the purpose of producing a perfectly elegant general effect; and no doubt he spent much time and pains in the attainment of his object.<sup>35</sup>

He did not hesitate to criticise the want of neatness in the dress of others, but what he criticised most of all was the lack of harmony and imagination in attire. When unimaginative imitators flocked to Brummell's tailors, the Beau refused "to share his fame with his tailor," Jesse tells us, "and trusted alone to that ease and grace of manner which he possessed in a remarkable degree."<sup>36</sup> Brummell's dress, then, always

created an effect of balanced, harmonious and imaginative elegance, and in this sense his life was his art and his attire his vestimentary metaphor. It is precisely this cognitive significance of costume which Barthes analyses in his Essais critiques:

La cellule intellectuelle, ou cognitive du costume de théâtre, son élément de base, c'est le signe. . . . En somme, le bon costume de théâtre doit être assez matériel pour signifier et assez transparent pour ne pas constituer ses signes en parasites. Le costume est une écriture et il en a l'ambiguïté: l'écriture est un instrument au service d'un propos qui la dépasse; mais si l'écriture est ou trop pauvre ou trop riche, ou trop belle ou trop laide, elle ne permet plus la lecture et faillit à sa fonction. Le costume aussi doit trouver cette sorte d'équilibre rare qui lui permet d'aider à la lecture de l'acte théâtral sans l'encombrer d'aucune valeur parasite.

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The dress of Brummell's emulators, the counterfeiters of costume as writing, all too frequently lacked "cette sorte d'équilibre rare" of which Barthes speaks, and consequently created an effect of utter ridiculousness, of which Barbey d'Aurevilly relates a classic example:

Un jour même le croirait-on? les Dandys ont eu la fantaisie de l'habit râpé. . . . Ils étaient à bout d'impertinence, ils n'en pouvaient plus. Ils trouvèrent celle-là, qui était si dandie (je ne sais pas un autre mot pour l'exprimer), de faire râper leurs habits avant de les mettre, dans toute l'étendue de l'étoffe, jusqu'à ce qu'elle ne fût plus qu'une espèce de dentelle--une nuée. . . . L'opération était très délicate et très longue, et on se servait, pour l'accomplir, d'un morceau de verre aiguisé.<sup>38</sup>

Prevost suggests that the factor of ridiculousness might well serve in distinguishing the true dandy from the false dandy. "Mais le dandy véritable n'est pas un type ridicule," he writes. "Il sait exciter et retenir l'admiration de toute une foule d'émules moins heureux."<sup>39</sup> Writing elsewhere on the dichotomy between dandyism and fashion, Barthes adds: "[Le dandy] ne doit jamais tomber dans l'excentrique, qui est une

forme éminentement imitable."<sup>40</sup> And indeed, imitation all too often falls into the category of parody, even though it be unintentional. Jesse, for instance, describes the dress of one of Brummell's less fortunate imitators thus:

[E]xcessive padding, trousers containing cloth enough for a coat besides, shirt-collars sawing off the wearer's ears and the corners threatening to put out his eyes, wristbands intruding upon his plate, . . . an expansive shirt-front like a miniature bleachgreen. . . .<sup>41</sup>

Encased in a whale-bone corset; head, bedecked with a derisive little hat, protruding from a starched shirt-collared; throat entombed behind an enormous starched tie suggesting a block of chiselled marble rather more than a piece of cloth, and seemingly kept afloat on billows of shirt-front frills escaping the confines of a padded and close fitting riding coat and an even closer fitting vest--the false dandy of the Regency period in England cut a truly ridiculous figure. In motion he appeared even more ridiculous, for he propelled himself with all the grace of a corpse defying the laws of rigor mortis, or of a stranded sea turtle, or of an unhorsed knight in full armour. "S'il arrivait à l'un d'entre eux de tomber," observes Prevost, "il ne pouvait plus se remettre tout seul debout."<sup>42</sup> In his comic fantasy, Sartor Resartus, first published in 1831, Thomas Carlyle penned a truly ingenious mock apology of the British dandy, claiming to see in him a character worthy more of piteous curiosity than of hasty and unsympathetic derision:

[T]he essential nature of the British Dandy, and the mystic significance that lies in him, cannot always remain hidden under laughable and lamentable hallucination. . . . [W]hat is it that the Dandy asks in return? Solely, we may say, that you would recognise his existence; would admit him to be a living object; or even failing this, a visual object, or thing that will reflect rays of light. . . . Understand his mystic significance, or altogether

miss and misinterpret it; do but look at him, and he is contented. May we not well cry shame on an ungrateful world, which refuses even this poor boon; which will waste its optic faculty on dried Crocodiles, and Siamese Twins; and over the domestic wonderful wonder of wonders, a live Dandy, glance with hasty indifference, and a scarcely concealed contempt!<sup>43</sup>

However, by lampooning and lambasting what he termed "the Dandiacal Body,"<sup>44</sup> Carlyle brought his wit to bear not merely upon the ridiculous fads and fashions of the day, but in a larger sense upon the empty-headed philosophy, the pessimism and the spiritual restlessness of his age, inherent not only in the implications of Diogenes Teufelsdröckh's very name, but also in the somewhat loose-ended logic which lay behind the Professor's philosophy of clothes:

First, touching Dandies, let us consider, with some scientific strictness, what a Dandy specially is. A Dandy is a Clothes-wearing Man, a Man whose trade, office and existence consists in the wearing of Clothes. Every faculty of his soul, spirit, purse and person is heroically consecrated to this one object, the wearing of Clothes wisely and well: so that as others dress to live, he lives to dress. The all-importance of Clothes, which a German Professor of unequalled learning and acumen, writes his enormous Volume to demonstrate, has sprung up in the intellect of the Dandy without effort, like an instinct of genius; he is inspired with Cloth, a Poet of Cloth. . . . All visible things are emblems; what thou seest is not there on its own account; strictly taken, is not there at all: Matter exists only spiritually, and to represent some Idea, and body it forth. Hence Clothes, as despicable as we think them, are so unspeakably significant. . . . On the other hand, all Emblematic things are properly Clothes, thought-woven or hard-woven. . . . Men are properly said to be clothed with Authority, clothed with Beauty, with Curses, and the like.\* Nay, if you consider it, what is Man himself, and his whole terrestrial Life, but an Emblem; a Clothing or visible Garment for that divine ME of his, cast hither, like a light-particle, down from Heaven?  
 . . . Language is called the Garment of Thought.  
 . . . Why multiply instances? It is written, the Heavens and the Earth shall fade away like a Vesture; which indeed they are: the Time-Vesture of the

Eternal. Whatsoever sensibly exists, whatsoever represents Spirit to Spirit, is properly a Clothing, a suit of Raiment, put on for a season, and to be laid off. Thus in this one pregnant subject of CLOTHES, rightly understood, is included all that men have thought, dreamed, done, and been: the whole External Universe and what it holds is but Clothing; and the essence of all Science lies in the PHILOSOPHY OF CLOTHES.<sup>45</sup>

In addition to the philosophy of clothes, of near equal importance to the dandy was the philosophy of equitation—an observation which did not escape the vitriolic pen of the author of Sartor Resartus. "Girt with thick double-milled kerseys; half-buried under shawls and broad-brims, and overalls and mudboots, thy very fingers cased in doeskin and mittens, thou hast bestrode that 'Horse I ride,'" quips Carlyle. "Without Clothes, without bit or saddle, what hadst thou been; what had thy fleet quadruped been?"<sup>46</sup> Indeed, without a horse the dandy, not unlike mad Richard, had reason to cry out: "A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!"<sup>47</sup> In many ways the dandies conquered a great portion of their kingdom on horseback. Membership in the Jockey Club was essential to any self-respecting dandy, and horses and horse racing, fashionable carriages, tilburies and elaborate harnesses numbered among the most important manifestations of Regency dandyism as a social phenomenon. The horse was also reputedly actively involved in the setting of a new fashion in noses—much to the displeasure of Brummell, owner of the particular nose in question. By the age of eighteen Brummell had been promoted to the rank of captain in the prince's Tenth Dragoons. "Un jour, à la parade, son cheval le renversa," wrote Frémy, "et il eut le nez brisé sous la visière de son casque. La cicatrice lui en est toujours restée. . . ." <sup>48</sup> Somewhat tongue in cheek, Boulenger adds: "[C]ela mit la fracture nasale à la mode, mais le désobligea."<sup>49</sup> A fad

of fractured noses doubtlessly did not catch on, but the dandy did show deference to the Beau's choice of career by frequently affecting a military air. When not on horseback, the dandy strove to appear as though he had just dismounted, and consequently boots, spurs and riding crops were not an uncommon sight in the salons of London.

Ideally, the dandy's devotion to sports was not limited to horses and riding alone, but included also other favourite pastimes such as hunting, shooting, fencing, bare-fist boxing, and of course drinking. Lord Byron, for example, drank enormous quantities of gin while working late at night, reported Stendhal in an account of his visit to Italy in 1816, and despite a deformed right foot the poet was a most excellent swimmer.<sup>50</sup> On the whole, however, Stendhal's Italian friends found Byron to be "hautain, bizarre et même un peu fou":

[Il] était toujours et constamment occupé de soi et de l'effet qu'il produisait sur les autres. . . . Plusieurs s'attendaient que lord Byron demanderait à leur être présenté. Soit orgueil, timidité ou plutôt désir de dandy, de faire précisément le contraire de la chose à laquelle on s'attendait, il déclina toujours cet honneur.<sup>51</sup>

Indeed, in the eyes of the public at the opening of the nineteenth century, the dandy did appear to be a rather bizarre and notorious figure. He seemed to find life to be frightfully tedious, a sentiment which was betrayed by the splenetic frown which usually creased his brow. He found it almost impossible to be decently clothed and nourished, and consequently was obliged to patronise a select few tailors, and even fewer restaurateurs. He stuttered purposely, affected to speak English incorrectly, was often obliged to wear a monocle, and always sought ways to do the unexpected. Above all, the dandy professed a deep hatred of the profane and the vulgar, and sought to shock the public with a display

of studied insolence and a pose of glacial impassibility. In Chateaubriand's judgement, Byron was in many respects such a poseur:

Mme Albrizzi m'a conté tout Lord Byron. . . . Sa Seigneurie ne parlait ni aux Anglais, ni aux Français, mais il échangeait quelques mots avec les Vénitiens et surtout avec les Vénitiennes. . . . La comtesse Benzoni m'a parlé de Lord Byron. . . . C'était un acteur, ne faisant rien comme les autres afin qu'on le regardât, ne se perdant jamais de vue, posant incessamment devant lui, toujours à l'effet, à l'extraordinaire, toujours en attitude, toujours en scène, même en mangeant. . . .<sup>52</sup>

The notoriety of the more prominent dandies was of course based on wealth, which permitted a life of idleness and opulence. During his many stays in London, Chateaubriand had ample opportunity to observe English high society from the inside, and he has left several humorous sketches of fashionable life in the capital throughout his Mémoires d'outre-tombe:

La journée de Londres était ainsi distribuée: à six heures du matin, on courait à une partie fine, consistant dans un premier déjeuner à la campagne; on revenait déjeuner à Londres; on changeait de toilette pour la promenade de Bond-Street ou de Hyde-Park; on se rhabillait pour l'Opéra; à minuit, on se rhabillait pour une soirée ou pour un raout. . . . Le suprême bon ton était de ne pouvoir pénétrer dans les petits salons d'un bal privé, de rester dans l'escalier obstrué par la foule, et de se trouver nez à nez avec le duc de Somerset; béatitude où je suis arrivé une fois.<sup>53</sup>

The ostentation, and pretension which Chateaubriand had observed did not pass unnoticed in the press of the period, for the dandies, and Brummell in particular, were frequently victims of journalistic satire. For example, one of the mainstays of the successful Regency dandy was membership in a celebrated club, the exclusivity of which was assured by high membership dues, reckless gambling, and rules and regulations the infringement of which led to a member's being "cut" or "blackballed" from



the club. The frivolity of Regency dandyism readily came to the fore within the framework of such clubs, and it is not surprising that dandyism, in the public eye, came to be viewed as a ridiculous social institution, a club-oriented sect or society of empty-headed characters who "really never could see the use of a head,"<sup>54</sup> as one writer put it. Dandyism thus conceived was endlessly lampooned in articles such as "The Dynasty of Dandies" which appeared in 1818 in The Literary Gazette:

I am a member of a society consisting of certain distinguished persons, whose manners or merits have raised them above the level of the world. Upon this society some busy people, who would fain be considered the wits of the day, have thought proper to inflict the absurd title of "Dandies." . . . Our Sect, or Society, is unquestionably the first and the most select in the empire of Taste. . . . Our form of government is an absolute (but not hereditary) monarchy; and our laws are framed as far as possible according to the strictest letter of courtesy. . . . No oaths are permitted by the laws—tho' some few exclamations, as "By Gad," "Pon honneur," etc. are tolerated in emergencies. . . . No person wearing shoes in the morning or boots in the evening, can be admitted a member of the Society. The same penalty attaches to those who presume to stare at pretty women without the aid of an eye-glass. Every member, on being admitted into the Society, must forswear the use of some liquid called "porter," and must abjure also a certain herbaceous plant or grass of disagreeable odour, entitled (I believe) "coppage," or "cabbage". . . . There is now unhappily an interregnum with us: for poor B-- --, who was elected unanimously, and with the expression of a feeling almost amounting to acclamation (the recollection makes me shudder even now) has--retired, without giving up the sceptre of command.<sup>55</sup>

"Poor B-- --," obviously a reference to Brummell, had "retired" in some haste from the London social scene in 1816, first to Calais and later to Caen. Brummell had of course had a falling-out with the Prince Regent, but the real reason for which he was forced to flee the London he loved so well was to escape his English creditors. The Beau had not inherited

a large estate, and yet had miraculously managed for years to live well beyond his means--paying outrageous sums for snuff boxes, of which he had an impressive collection, and canes of great beauty; losing unflinchingly at the gambling tables of the famous clubs of the period--Almack's, White's, Watier's. "[T]here were Regency characters who would bet on anything, two flies on a wall," writes J.B. Priestley. "Watier's, Byron's Dandy Club, which had Brummell as its president for some years, was notorious throughout this period for its wild night-long gambling, which claimed the value of many an old estate."<sup>56</sup> But it was at Almack's in particular that the high life of London held court, as Chateaubriand noted in his Mémoires:

Là [à Almack's] se rencontraient les vieux et les jeunes dandys. Parmi les vieux brillait le vainqueur de Waterloo, qui promenait sa gloire comme un piège à femmes tendu à travers les quadrilles; à la tête des jeunes se distinguait lord Clanwilliam, fils, disait-on, du duc de Richelieu. Il faisait des choses admirables: il courait à cheval à Richmond et revenait à Almack's après être tombé deux fois. Il avait une certaine façon de parler à la manière d'Alcibiade, qui ravissait.<sup>57</sup>

Up until 1830, therefore, English dandyism represented little more than adherence to a system of superficial signs, as John Prevost has stressed:

Le dandy signifia-t-il quelque chose de profond pour les esprits d'avant 1830? Nous croyons que non. . . . Seul l'aspect extérieur du dandy, les cols et les cravates, . . . l'air empesé et guindé, l'impertinence du propos et du regard, arrêterent l'attention du public. Brummell à part, rien jusqu'ici n'annonce le dandysme préconisé par Barbey d'Aurevilly et Charles Baudelaire.<sup>58</sup>

J.B. Priestley has likewise viewed dandyism under the Regency to have been little more than a sort of mock-heroic game:

To discuss for hours the shape of a cravat, to shrink with horror from a badly-cut coat, to spend half the

day choosing clothes and putting them on, these were moves in a game being played with mock solemnity. In its indifference to serious matters and its intense concentration upon trivia, Regency dandyism . . . was a half-defiant, half-humorous way of life. There was in it a good deal of poker-faced impudence, and to be temporarily successful it needed a considerable audience of non-dandies, ordinary people who were either amused or shocked.<sup>59</sup>

Not everyone, however, was amused or shocked by the false dandies. Many, and particularly the true dandies, were simply disgusted. In an unsigned article entitled "Les Dandys" which appeared in the Revue de Paris in 1832, "le fat anglais" is described as an insulting ignoramus whose only language is "jeu, chasse et chevaux," who sprawls himself "sur un canapé, comme un paysan dans un sillon," who has "tout juste la grâce d'un ours m<sup>6</sup> dressé"--"rien de tout cela n'empêche qu'il ne soit un fashionable!"<sup>60</sup> Writing in La Mode in 1830, Astolphe de Custine, himself numbering among the true dandies, deplored the vulgarity and the rudeness of the London dandies:

J'ai vu chez lady \*\*\* les trois ou quatre dandys du moment. . . . Ce sultan de raout, assis sur un canapé, avec un bâton à la main, la barbe mal faite, à dessein, des habits ridicules, et quelquefois un lorgnon fixé entre l'os du sourcil et la paupière inférieure, paraît écouter ce qu'on ne lui dit pas, et ne répond jamais à ce qu'on lui dit; car l'impolitesse est aujourd'hui la première qualité requise pour se mettre à la mode.<sup>61</sup>

Chateaubriand--referred to by Baudelaire as the father of true French dandyism<sup>62</sup> --also found little to admire in the English dandies, whom he had ample occasion to observe, both abroad and in England, throughout his long diplomatic career. In a letter dated 15 November 1828, sent from Rome where he was then the French ambassador, Chateaubriand complained to Madame Récamier of the deplorable conduct of the English dandies on tour. "[C]ette multitude d'insipides Anglaises et de frivoles dandys," he wrote

indignantly, "promènent leur bizarrerie, leur ennui, leur insolence dans vos fêtes, et s'établissent chez vous comme à l'auberge."<sup>63</sup> Writing in 1839, he recalled those months of 1822 when he was French ambassador in London, and has left a memorable portrait of the British dandy whose evolution he had observed over a period spanning nearly twenty years:

En 1822 le fashionable devait offrir au premier coup d'oeil un homme malheureux et malade; il devait avoir quelque chose de négligé dans sa personne, les ongles longs, la barbe non pas entière; non pas rasée, mais grandie un moment par surprise, par oubli, pendant les préoccupations du désespoir; mèche de cheveux au vent, regard profond, sublime, égaré et fatal; lèvres contractées en dédain de l'espèce humaine; coeur ennuyé, byronien, noyé dans le dégoût et le mystère de l'être.

Aujourd'hui ce n'est plus cela: le dandy doit avoir un air conquérant, léger, insolent; il doit soigner sa toilette, porter des moustaches ou une barbe taillée en rond comme la fraise de la reine Elisabeth, ou comme le disque radieux du soleil; il décèle la fière indépendance de son caractère en gardant son chapeau sur la tête, en se roulant sur les sofas, en allongeant ses bottes au nez des ladies assises en admiration sur des chaises devant lui; il monte à cheval avec une canne qu'il porte comme un cierge, indifférent au cheval qui est entre ses jambes par hasard. Il faut que sa santé soit parfaite, et son âme toujours au comble de cinq ou six félicités. Quelques dandys radicaux, les plus avancés vers l'avenir, ont une pipe.

Mais sans doute, toutes ces choses sont changées dans le temps même que je mets à les décrire. On dit que le dandy de cette heure ne doit plus savoir s'il existe, si le monde est là, s'il y a des femmes, et s'il doit saluer son prochain.<sup>64</sup>

The death of George IV in 1830 signalled not only the demise of Regency dandyism, but also the end of a particular era in British history which had favoured the follies of Brummell and fostered the growth of dandyism. That same year also witnessed the birth of Fraser's Magazine, a publication which from the beginning bemoaned and satirised the decadence of English society and English letters.<sup>65</sup> It was in Fraser's that first appeared in serial form Carlyle's Sartor Resartus—a work

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which was to give voice to an ever growing public reaction against dandyism. In particular the third last chapter of the book--"The Dandiacal Body"<sup>66</sup>--might well be interpreted as a sort of banner for what later came to be the Victorian campaign against the Regency period in general and dandyism specifically. Carlyle concluded his work with a somewhat ominous portrait of the social ramifications of dandyism. In opposing the frivolous luxury of the "Dandiacal Household" to the abject misery and poverty of the very lowest class in Britain, the "Poor-Slave Household,"<sup>67</sup> Carlyle's work took on all the dimensions of a pre-Marxist prophecy of class struggle:

Such are the two Sects which, at this moment, divide the more unsettled portion of the British People. . . . To the eye of the political Seer, their mutual relation, pregnant with the elements of discord and hostility, is far from consoling. . . . If, indeed, there were to arise a Communion of Drudges, as there is already a Communion of Saints, what strangest effects would follow therefrom! Dandyism as yet affects to look-down on Drudgism: but perhaps the hour of trial, when it will be practically seen which ought to look down, and which up, is not so distant.<sup>68</sup>

And indeed the seven year reign of William IV was punctuated with social disorder and political upheavals. The passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 brought about a complete overhauling of the electoral system and dealt "a death-blow to oligarchical politics in England,"<sup>69</sup> and by extension to many other forms of privilege and exclusivism. Consequently, dandyism perished to a large extent with the establishment of the democratic principles which the great Bill encompassed. As a social phenomenon it had flourished during the period of England's history which was to see a general transference of power from the aristocracy to the people. "Le dandysme apparaît surtout aux époques transitoires," Baudelaire observed in his essay on Guys, "où la

démocratie n'est pas encore toute-puissante, où l'aristocratie n'est que partiellement chancelante et avilie."<sup>70</sup> Victoria was crowned in 1837, and the domestic, utilitarian and pious mentality that characterised her reign would force dandyism underground until the end of the century.

As Ellen Moers has pointed out, the year 1830 truly marked "a turning-point in the history of dandyism in both France and England."<sup>71</sup> In England, as we have discussed, dandyism was to be greatly diminished in the years immediately following the death of George IV. In France, however, the July Revolution of 1830 firmly entrenched dandyism on French soil.

#### B. France

One of the most prominent dandies whom Chateaubriand observed in London in 1822 was a countryman, Count Alfred d'Orsay. In 1821 d'Orsay arrived in London where he soon reigned over dandyism as Brummell had done before him. He quickly became the favourite of Lord and Lady Blessington, married their daughter—whom he totally neglected, seemingly preferring Lady Blessington<sup>72</sup>—and spirited the entire family and most of the Blessington household away on a seven year European tour, stopping for a time in Genoa to visit Byron. Of d'Orsay Chateaubriand left an unflattering portrait:

Rien ne réussissait, à Londres, comme l'insolence, témoin d'Orsay, frère de la duchesse de Guiche: il s'était mis à galoper dans Hyde-Park, à sauter des barrières, à jouer, à tutoyer sans façon les dandys: il avait un succès sans égal, et, pour y mettre le comble, il finit par enlever une famille entière, père, mère et enfants.<sup>73</sup>

After the voyage in the company of the Blessingtons, d'Orsay

returned to Paris for a time, where through him, according to Jacques Boulenger, dandyism finally became French:

C'est par lui que le Dandysme, se dérochant peut-être au modèle idéal établi par les Beaux d'outre-Manche, devient français--et vivant. Il a pénétré--par intuition ou par étude--l'essence du dandysme et deviné que le génie de la mise sans la souplesse et l'esprit n'est qu'art glacé de fantoche.<sup>74</sup>

The first wave of anglomania to hit France, however, dated from well before d'Orsay's triumph in Paris. From the turn of the century on English travellers and returning émigrés brought with them into France English customs and manners, and of course artifacts bearing the all-important label: "~~Made in England.~~" ~~But it was not until after the~~ peace of 1815 that dandyism truly began to flower in France. "The fall of the Emperor, the return of Louis XVIII in 1814; the Cent Jours, the defeat at Waterloo, the second return of the House of Bourbon in 1815," writes Moers, "these were the necessary preludes to the dandy occupation of Paris and the triumph of anglomania."<sup>75</sup> The first English dandies to disembark in Paris caused as much astonishment as would have the sudden appearance of a mythological creature in a zoo. Writing in 1817, Lady Morgan in her memoirs described the sensation created by "ces enfans de la mode" in the salons of Paris:

[J]'ai vu un dandy de Londres, paroissant tout à coup dans une assemblée en France, y produire une aussi grande sensation par la nouveauté de ce caractère, et par l'impossibilité où l'on se trouvoit de pouvoir le définir, que lorsque l'ornitho synchus paradoxus vint confondre les systèmes, et troubler les arrangemens des naturalistes au jardin des Plantes.

J'étois un soir chez la princesse de Volkonski, dame russe, attendant le commencement d'un de ses jolis opéras italiens, quand un de ces enfans de la mode, . . . nouvellement arrivé à Paris, parut à la porte du salon, tout fier de sa toilette apprêtée, et faisant une reconnaissance dans la compagnie par le moyen du verre de sa lorgnette. Il me fit l'honneur de me reconnoître, s'approcha de moi, et me fit, en

bâillant à demi, quelques questions dont il n'attendit pas la réponse, m'ayant quittée pour s'avancer vers quelque autre personne qu'il avoit aussi reconnue. . . . Madame de Volkonski le regarda d'un air de curiosité qu'elle ne pouvoit rassasier, et parut s'en amuser, quand il nous eut quittées, elle me demanda: "Mais qu'est-ce que cela?" Je répondis: "Un dandy."

"Un dandy! répéta-t-elle: un dandy! c'est donc un genre parmi vous qu'un dandy?"

"Non, répondis-je, c'est plutôt une variété dans l'espèce."<sup>76</sup>

In 1817, then, the dandy was generally unknown in France, and it would be some years before Paris could claim an indigenous population of the species. Count Alfred d'Orsay and Lord Henry Seymour, who were the ~~"figures de proue du vaisseau dandysme"~~<sup>77</sup> in France, were both born after 1800—d'Orsay in 1801 and Seymour in 1805. Furthermore, these two figureheads were not thoroughbred French dandies; d'Orsay lived a number of years in London, and Seymour was an Englishman, the illegitimate son of Lady Yarmouth, residing in Paris. Even as late as 1830 there was a dearth of Parisian dandies, as Lady Morgan remarked in her description of France in 1829 and 1830. This she attributed to the fact that the very notion of dandyism seemed to be quite foreign to the French conscience:

[J]'eus l'opportunité de remarquer combien l'espèce des dandies est plus rare en France qu'en Angleterre. La fatuité convient si peu aux goûts, aux habitudes de l'intelligente et studieuse jeunesse de ce pays et aux idées d'égalité qui y dominent, que le merveilleux, comme l'on appelle le dandy parisien, est regardé généralement plutôt comme un ridicule que comme un modèle. Il a même peine à conserver les honneurs de sa profession; car, en dépit des soins journaliers et ponctuels qu'il apporte à sa toilette, il paraît toujours endimanché; parce qu'il est exagéré dans tous les articles de mode, depuis le noeud de sa cravate jusqu'aux cordons de ses souliers.<sup>78</sup>

Writing fifteen years after Lady Morgan, Barbey d'Aurevilly expressed at some length the doubt that dandyism, that delicate hothouse flower native to English soil, could ever survive as anything but a



hybrid in France:

[L]e nom de Dandysme cherche depuis quelque temps à s'acclimater à Paris. . . . Il restera étranger comme la chose qu'il exprime . . . et voilà pourquoi le mot Dandysme n'est pas français. . . . Nous avons beau réfléchir toutes les couleurs: le caméléon ne peut réfléchir le blanc, et le blanc pour les peuples, c'est la force même de leur originalité. . . . Eh bien! c'est la force de l'originalité anglaise, s'imprimant sur la vanité humaine . . . qui produit ce qu'on appelle le Dandysme. Nul moyen de partager cela avec l'Angleterre. . . . Singerie n'est pas ressemblance. . . . [L]e pays de Richelieu ne produira pas de Brummell.<sup>79</sup>

Barbey judged d'Orsay to be too agreeable, too full of good will and simply too French to be considered a dandy. "Mais d'Orsay," he wrote, "ce lion dans le sens de la fashion, et qui n'en avait pas moins la beauté de ceux de l'Atlas, d'Orsay n'était pas un Dandy. On s'y est mépris."<sup>80</sup>

Until well into the 1830s, then, French dandyism was but an imitation of the most superficial aspects of English dandyism and English customs. One of the first manifestations of anglomania in the France of the early nineteenth century was the importation of the English language itself. The word "dandy" was naturally among the first English words to be imported, and was soon followed by innumerable others: club, fashionable, high life, snob, swell, fast, smart, wit, rout. But of course the English language often fared no better than did English dandyism on French soil, as English words were all too frequently mispronounced and misspelled beyond recognition. "Riding coat" became "redingote" and "plum pudding" occasionally became "plomb pouding." "[I]ls ignoraient l'anglais, ces anglomanes, et ils ne savaient même pas mettre leur nom au pluriel: tout le monde écrivait et prononçait dandys," chides Boulenger. "Quoique leur conversation fût farcie de

termes britanniques, bien peu parlaient cette langue, si quelques-uns la lisaient."<sup>81</sup>

For those few fashionables who had mastered English, essential reading was Thomas Bryon's The Sportsman's Companion for the Turf, especially as the mania of the English for horses and horse racing had been quick to catch on in France. In 1826 Bryon founded the "Société d'amateurs de courses,"<sup>82</sup> and for those who had still not managed to master the English language but found it indispensable to be up to date with racing terminology, a bilingual edition of Bryon's work was published in 1827.<sup>83</sup> In 1833 "La Société d'encouragement pour l'amélioration et le perfectionnement des races de chevaux en France"<sup>84</sup> was founded. Shortly afterwards the Jockey Club was established, and Roger de Beauvoir, himself a great connoisseur of horses, saluted, in a short story about an English groom in Paris, "la société du club des jockeis [sic], qui vient de se former à Paris, et à laquelle se sont empressés de concourir les plus illustres de nos dandies."<sup>85</sup> From 1834 on races were held regularly at Chantilly, and were applauded enthusiastically by the public and the press, as the account which appeared in the Revue de Paris of May 1834 reveals:

Jeudi, tous les amateurs de courses de chevaux s'étaient donné rendez-vous à Chantilly. Ce spectacle sera peu à peu aussi fashionable en France qu'en Angleterre. Les noms des coureurs rivaux deviennent populaires; il fallait voir, jeudi, comme ont été accueillis avec honneur Hélène, Arlette et Noëma! Un temps superbe a favorisé les courses de Chantilly. Au milieu de cette foule de voitures et de cavaliers, on pouvait se croire aux races d'Ascott.<sup>86</sup>

Other sports "à l'anglaise" were also in vogue: boxing, shooting, fencing, hunting. But invariably sports became a pretext for gambling. The Jockey Club was soon renowned for elegant dining and reckless

betting. "Tout, au Jockey-Club, se réglait par un pari," writes Boulenger.<sup>87</sup> Lord Seymour, the first president of both La Société d'encouragement and of the Jockey Club, resigned his post in disgust:

{Lord Seymour} était un des seuls à y prendre à coeur les courses, et en 1836, quand il s'aperçut qu'on s'y occupait surtout de souper et de jouer à la bouillotte, il démissionna.<sup>88</sup>

When not engaged in racing, gambling or dining, the Parisian dandies either took to horseback themselves, or paraded in a splendiferous array of tilburies and carriages through the grand boulevards and down the Champs-Élysées to the Bois de Boulogne. A man's worth, in all senses of the word, came to be judged by the fineness of his horses and his carriages. An episode in Eugène Sue's novel Arthur dramatically depicts this attitude. In the chapter entitled "Les Gentlemen Riders,"<sup>89</sup> two rivals for the favours of Mme de Penâfiel challenge each other, not to a commonplace duel, but to a murderous steeplechase in the Bois de Boulogne, during the course of which one rider falls to his death. For the Sunday dandy whose financial resources were limited, horses and carriages of quality could be hired, and for those of even more limited means, a pair of spurs became an essential accoutrement for a fashionable stroll in the Tuileries.

Above all it was imperative to be ever visible, for dandyism as a social phenomenon was dependent on the act of being seen. To that effect, high society devoted afternoons to endless rounds of social calls, and evenings to grand balls, the theatre, and of course the opera. An evening out was not complete without dinner at Tortoni's (noted also for its ice cream) or at one of the other few ultra-fashionable restaurants of the period: the Café Anglais, the Café de Paris, the Café Riche, the Café Hardy. The prices were high and the fare was rich, as a

common quip of the day clearly expressed: "[I]l faut être riche pour dîner au Café Hardy, et hardi pour dîner au Café Riche."<sup>90</sup> Café conversation invariably centred on money, horses and fashion. The café was also a hotbed of high society gossip, as Félix Deriège wryly observed in 1842: "La nouvelle de l'abdication du roi Louis-Philippe et celle de la chute des cataractes du Niagara sont parties du Café de Paris."<sup>91</sup> But above all, the fashionable café was the place to be seen in, and more importantly, the place in which to be seen.<sup>92</sup>

Moreover, it was important that one display oneself in the appropriately chic quarters of the city. In the Paris of 1830, the heart of this area was the boulevard de Gand, presently the boulevard des Italiens, such as Lady Morgan described in her memoirs:

Nous terminâmes notre promenade devant Tortoni, et nous parvîmes, non sans difficulté, à nous procurer des sièges à l'une des fenêtres du salon, où la collation accoutumée de glaces, etc. nous fut servie avec une promptitude, une élégance, qui ne se trouvent que dans cette capitale de Paris, dont les frontières sont le Palais-Royal et la Chaussée d'Antin.<sup>93</sup>

Beyond these boundaries fashionable life was unthinkable, if not practically impossible. "Tout le monde sait," reports Carassus, "qu'au-delà des Variétés ce sont les Indes."<sup>94</sup> Only within the circle of an appreciative public, or more precisely, within the circle of a restricted and onied elite initiated to the codes of high life—and in the Europe of the early nineteenth century this invariably implied large cities, specifically capital cities such as London and Paris—only within such a setting could dandyism truly flourish. "Mais un personnage suppose un public; le dandy ne peut se poser qu'en s'opposant," writes Camus. "Il ne peut s'assurer de son existence qu'en la retrouvant dans le visage des autres. . . . Être seul pour le dandy revient à n'être

rien."<sup>95</sup> Indeed, rather than leave London, Brummell resigned his commission when his regiment was transferred to Manchester--a lowly manufacturing town. When he was finally obliged to leave London and to take up residence in France, Brummell sadly witnessed the decline and demise of his influence and glory amidst the bourgeois provincialism of Calais, and eventually of Caen. As a social phenomenon, then, dandyism was necessarily an urban phenomenon, to the extent that outside the urban context its existence was either impossible or distorted. For instance, Arthur, the young dandy-protagonist of Sue's novel, leaves Paris to escape the social life which he had grown to detest, precisely because he knew that such a life style was impossible in the provinces. In La Vénus d'Ille Mérimée illustrates that provincial attempts at dandyism could all too readily lapse into ridiculous distortion of the sophisticated fashionable life of the capital:

[M. Alphonse de Peyrehorade] était ce soir-là habillé avec élégance, exactement d'après la gravure du dernier numéro du Journal des Modes. Mais il me semblait gêné dans ses vêtements; il était raide comme un piquet dans son col de velours, et ne se tournait que tout d'une pièce. Ses mains grosses et hâlées, ses ongles courts contrastaient singulièrement avec son costume. C'étaient des mains de laboureur sortant des manches d'un dandy.<sup>96</sup>

Not unlike Mérimée's fictional character, the well-dressed gentleman in both town and country found that in order to keep abreast of the vagaries of fashion, he had absolutely to subscribe to a number of illustrated fashion periodicals which were launched throughout the 1830s: La Mode, revue des modes, galerie de mœurs, album des salons (1829); Le Dandy, journal non politique (1833); Le Bon Ton, journal des modes (1834); Ariel, journal du monde élégant (1836); Le Dandy, journal spécial de la coupe pour messieurs les tailleurs (1838); Réunions des modes,

journal spécial de MM. les tailleurs, coiffeurs, chapeliers, bottiers, etc., etc. (1838). Such reviews contained coloured illustrations, clothing patterns, reports on shoes, hats and new materials. Some of the most illustrious dandies and men of letters of the day were regular contributors. Articles by Roger de Beauvoir, art criticism by Théophile Gautier, poems by Alfred de Musset, theatre critiques and poems by Alfred de Vigny appeared regularly in Ariel, for example.

Fashion itself was of course based on the predictable profusion of canes and cravats and hats, to which was added on occasion a monocle necessary to a gentleman wishing to ogle impudently a lady. Thus boldly attired, the ultra-fashionable of the Paris of the 1830s was frequently lampooned in publications such as Le Charivari, publiant chaque jour un nouveau dessin—a satirical daily which came out in 1832. One such drawing portrays a fashionable, sporting a beard and moustache, outfitted in a "bibli," a rakishly tailored "redingote," boots, spurs, and carrying a massive cane resembling a club or a log rather more than an elegant accessory. With a pompous gesture he is examining—with the aid of a monocle attached to a ribbon passing around his neck—a statue in the Tuileries. He is half-standing, half-sitting on his cane in such a way as to block the path of two young ladies. The caption of the drawing reads as follows:

Il est toujours à Paris une classe d'ultra fashionables, qui semble vouloir faire ressortir le côté baroque de la mode, et qui se charge, comme nous pourrions le faire, nous caricaturistes, de ridiculiser le goût du jour. --Nous ne prendrons pas la peine d'inventer des compositions que nous trouvons toutes faites dans les promenades publiques, dans les salons, à l'Opéra; nous copierons fidèlement les originaux qui auront la bonté de poser pour amuser le public, et M. Numa sera le peintre des incroyables de notre époque. Ce dessin reproduit la coupe et la tournure de ces extraits de chapeaux que

l'on nomme des bibis.<sup>97</sup>

By 1833, however, Le Charivari was carrying a fashion column for men. The "Modes d'hommes" article in the issue of 21 January commences: "Le nombre des chemises de couleur a diminué considérablement; quelques élégans les ont pourtant conservées pour le matin."<sup>98</sup> In general fashion changed quickly, as a young Parisian dandy once explained to Lady Morgan:

Le gilet lui-même qui a paru hier pour la première fois aux Tuileries et qui sera vu demain dans tout Paris, ne se montrera plus nulle part la semaine prochaine, si ce n'est dans quelque coin du Marais, le grand dépôt des choses oubliées et l'antipode de la mode.<sup>99</sup>

Indeed, the unwary dandy's reputation could at any moment be snipped by the tailor's scissors: by January of 1833, "les gilets ne forment presque plus la pointe sur le bas, et ils ne doivent pas dépasser le pan de l'habit."<sup>100</sup>

In addition to the fashion reviews and magazines which sprang up in the 1820s and 1830s, several manuals were also inspired by the vanity of the period and were published from the 1820s through the 1840s. A goodly number of these manuals were frivolous in nature, and with mock solemnity offered lessons in practical dandyism. In 1825 Jean Brillat-Savarin published a two volume work entitled Physiologie du goût, ou méditations de gastronomie transcendante. Ouvrage théorique, historique et à l'ordre du jour, dédié aux gastronomes parisiens. His theory of transcendent gastronomy was based on the following premise: "La table est le seul endroit où l'on ne s'ennuie jamais pendant la première heure."<sup>101</sup> In 1826 and 1827, Emile Marc Hilaire published no less than five guides to social success: L'Art de réussir en amour, enseigné en 25 leçons; L'Art de fumer et de priser sans déplaire aux belles, enseigné en 14 leçons; L'Art de ne jamais déjeuner chez soi, et de dîner toujours

chez les autres, enseigné en huit leçons; L'Art de mettre sa cravate de toutes les manières connues et usitées, enseigné et démontré en seize leçons; L'Art de payer ses dettes et de satisfaire ses créanciers, sans déboursier un sou, enseigné en dix leçons.<sup>102</sup> In his Manuel du fashionable, ou guide de l'élégant, published in 1829, Eugène Ronteix cautioned, however, that becoming a dandy was a task not to be taken lightly: "[I]l faut autant de travail pour devenir un élégant parfait ou fashionable, que pour parvenir au premier rang dans les sciences ou dans les arts."<sup>103</sup> Ronteix also brusquely reminded aspiring fashionables that dandyism, like alchemy, was based on a complex system of esoteric laws:

[I]l ne faut avoir précisément ni richesse, ni naissance, ni talens, ni gloire, et cependant il faut posséder un je ne sais quoi composé de tous ces élémens . . . et voilà un dandy, goddam! . . . Ceci n'est pas clair, dites-vous? Soit. . . si vous l'avez déjà compris, je n'aurais pas besoin, pour vous l'expliquer, de faire un livre.<sup>104</sup>

As had been the case earlier in England, dandyism in the France of the 1830s had come to signify in general the glorification of all the basest aspects of the human character: egoism, wanton frivolity, vanity, cold-heartedness verging on cruelty, impudence, insolence, idleness, grandiose displays of wealth and gross extravaganzas of dress. In an anonymous article entitled "Les Dandys," published in 1832 in the Revue de Paris, the author pondered the curious inversion of social values which the superficial manifestations of dandyism had brought about:

[Le dandy] a beau n'avoir d'autre conversation que des plaisanteries triviales et des médisances qu'il répète tout bas à l'oreille d'une dame, au milieu d'une société nombreuse, sans daigner s'apercevoir qu'il n'est pas seul avec elle dans le salon; . . . il a beau être d'une ignorance grossière sur tout autre objet; . . . rien de tout cela n'empêche qu'il ne soit un fashionable!<sup>105</sup>



In an unsigned article which appeared in the Revue britannique in 1837, the writer deplored "la fashionable affection . . . à la mode" that had contaminated Europe and had destroyed man's nobler sentiments and faculties, and he would see in dandyism the dire symptom of social decay: "[O]n s'aperçoit que c'est le fruit d'un siècle tout mécanique, d'une civilisation industrielle, d'un jeu de ressort auquel l'âme manque."<sup>106</sup>

But it was Honoré de Balzac who, in a series of short articles published in 1830, most severely castigated the follies and frivolities of that social attitude which had come to be known as dandyism. Balzac dissected the dandy to reveal "tous les ressorts de ce charmant polichinelle"<sup>107</sup> and humorously portrayed the ways in which everyday life was subjected to the dictates of "les disciples de la FASHION."<sup>108</sup>

Costume was above all "le critérium auquel on reconnaîtrait l'homme comme il faut et l'homme sans éducation," wrote Balzac. "Tant vaut l'homme, tant vaut la cravate."<sup>109</sup> And he continued:

Ces habits à collets et à revers rembourrés, drap au dehors, carton en dedans, ne sont-ils pas le produit de la plus étrange aberration d'esprit? . . . Pour moi, je suis encore à concevoir comment deux hommes ainsi vêtus peuvent se regarder sans rire.<sup>110</sup>

Balzac also ridiculed the dandy's costume repeatedly throughout his novels. In Le Contrat de mariage he elevated Paul de Manerville to the station of "Brummel bordelais"<sup>111</sup> for having imported not merely "la personnalité britannique et ses barrières glaciales," but also "le vernis" and "les gants jaunes."<sup>112</sup> In La Cousine Bette he depicted Hulot junior as "le jeune homme tel que l'a fabriqué la Révolution de 1830," and pronounced such young men to be "des cercueils ambulants . . . toujours vêtus de drap noir."<sup>113</sup> In all of Balzac's works, the speech of Count de Vandenesse in Autre étude de femme surely numbers

among the most comical and succinct summaries of the dandy as a clothes-clad creature:

Aujourd'hui tout drôle qui peut convenablement soutenir sa tête sur un col, couvrir sa puissante poitrine d'homme d'une demi-aune de satin en forme de cuirasse, montrer un front où reluit un génie apocryphe sous des cheveux bouclés, se dandiner sur deux escarpins vernis ornés de chaussettes en soie qui coûtent six francs, tient son lorgnon dans une de ses arcades sourcilières en plissant le haut de sa joue, et, fût-il clerc d'avoué, fils d'entrepreneur ou bâtard de banquier, il toise impertinamment la plus jolie duchesse, l'évalue quand elle descend l'escalier d'un théâtre, et dit à son ami habillé par Buisson, chez qui nous nous habillons tous, et monté sur vernis comme le premier duc venu: —"Voilà, mon cher, une femme comme il faut."<sup>114</sup>

Even the lacerating humour of Jules Vallès, who was anything but a dandy, was brought to bear upon the tyranny of tailors and of fashion. In the chapter entitled "La Toilette" in *L'Enfant*, the first of his trilogy of novels, Vallès' protagonist Jacques Vingtras describes the costume that his mother ("[O]n est pauvre, mais on a du goût," she says. "Moi d'abord, je veux que mon enfant soit bien mis."<sup>115</sup>) had made for him when he was twelve years of age:

[U]ne étoffe criante, qui a des reflets de tigre au soleil; —une étoffe comme une lime, qui exaspère les doigts quand on la touche, et qui flambe au grand air comme une casserole! . . . des boutons, vert vif, vert gai, en forme d'olives, . . . un chapeau haut de forme . . . qui se dressait comme une menace sur ma tête. . . . Un pantalon blanc à sous-pieds! . . . [J]'avais l'air d'un léopard. . . .<sup>116</sup>

Vingtras the child-dandy, the "tigre au soleil," the "léopard" was but a parody of the "lion" of the 1840s.<sup>117</sup>

The dandies had completely revolutionised not only dress, but dining as well Balzac remarked. Indeed, they had done away with the word itself:

En ce moment le déjeuner n'est plus qu'un préjugé.

Qui déjeune? . . . [U]n fashionable aura mangé, mais il n'aura pas le droit de dire: J'ai déjeuné. Seulement il aura pris quelque chose, un rien; c'est le mot de tout le monde, c'est-à-dire de la jeune France.<sup>118</sup>

The vocabulary "à la mode" of the day went far beyond the confines of the dinner table, however, for words like everything else, observed Balzac, were in fashion one day and out of fashion the next:

Il y a autant de danger à se servir d'un mot usé, qu'à ne pas le prononcer comme il faut, et quand il faut. Un jeune homme arriéré qui croirait faire de l'effet avec pyramidal, est aussi ridicule qu'un dandy qui porterait un bolivar. . . .<sup>119</sup>

Smoking too suddenly became fashionable. "La pipe est devenue comme un délire," complained Balzac, with the result that one could not set foot in the street or in the salon "sans aspirer le nuage empesté de quelque insolent tabacolâtre."<sup>120</sup>

Even certain doctors and certain diseases were in vogue among the wealthy. "Ne nous étonnons donc pas," wrote Eugène Sue in 1830 in a satirical article entitled Les Médecins à la mode, "de voir aussi la tête fraîche et souriante de la Mode s'épanouir sous le bonnet doctoral."<sup>121</sup> In his novel Arthur, published in serial form in 1838-1839, Sue also pointed out that there were two types of Christians in the fashionable world:

Il existe deux sortes de jeunes chrétiens de salon, . . . les jeunes chrétiens qui dansent, et ceux qui ne dansent pas. . . . Les premiers, les chrétiens danseurs, sont plus ou moins gros et gras, rosés, potelés, bouclés, frisés, cravatés, gourmés, guindés, parfumés. Ce sont les Beaux, les Cavaliers, les Lions de ce christianisme de boudoir, de ce catholicisme de table à thé. . . . Le chrétien danseur doit donc connaître les prédicateurs à la mode. . . . Loin des chrétiens danseurs qui s'épanouissent sous les bougies des lustres florît modestement dans l'embrasure des portes: le jeune chrétien qui ne danse pas. . . . Graves, austères, pâles, maigres, sombres, négligés, plus pudibonds que

saint Joseph, ils ont bien de la peine à ne pas se couvrir de cendres. . . . Dès qu'il s'agit de faiblesse humaine, pour lui, c'est-à-dire pour les autres, il n'y a pas de milieu, de moyen terme, l'enfer, le diable et ses cornes, c'est net, c'est tranché.<sup>122</sup>

By the early 1840s there was even a new type of woman in fashion, the prototype being George Sand. The "lionne" was of course an avid reader of Sand, and according to an article published in La Mode in 1842, "[la lionne] parle courses comme lord Henry Seymour, chasse comme le marquis du Halay, trente et quarante comme M. de Montrou, cigares et cigarettes comme le duc d'Olivarès."<sup>123</sup> In his Physiologie du lion, published in 1842, Félix Deriège also puzzled over the functioning of these curious female dandies--the "lionnes":

C'étaient de petits êtres féminins richement mariés, coquets, jolis, qui maniaient parfaitement le pistolet et la cravache, montaient à cheval comme des lanciers, prisaient fort la cigarette, et ne dédaignaient pas le Champagne frappé.<sup>124</sup>

In a recent publication Jean Ziegler has cast some new historical light on a celebrated "lionne" of the 1840s--Marie-Elisabeth Sergent, better known as Pomaré,<sup>125</sup> the "ami--avec des hanches" in Baudelaire's Choix de maximes consolantes sur l'amour.<sup>126</sup> Initially Pomaré enjoyed "un triomphe dû à ses polkas endiablées,"<sup>127</sup> and her reputation grew as she took to wearing men's attire and to spending nights in cafés talking with writers, painters and musicians:

Ce n'est donc pas à son physique qu'Elise dut sa renommée, mais à son entrain de danseuse, peut-être à sa lascivité, à son esprit intarissable de soupeuse du boulevard et aussi à l'audace de l'artiste équestre qu'elle était restée.<sup>128</sup>

Pomaré died in 1847, and in a sense her death heralded the end of dandyism as a social phenomenon in France. In a historical context, the golden age of French dandyism spanned the period between the Revolution

of 1830 and the Revolution of 1848. "Il n'est pas sérieusement question de dandysme en France avant 1830," writes Prevost. "Le dandysme est un phénomène caractéristique du règne de Louis-Philippe."<sup>129</sup> The reign of Louis-Philippe, who was "le modèle du 'roi citoyen' tel que le concevait la bourgeoisie parisienne," increasingly took on "le caractère de 'monarchie bourgeoise,'" write A. Jardin and A.J. Tudesq. "Les nominations, hâtives, donnèrent lieu à une course aux places qui fut dénoncée même par des partisans de la révolution de Juillet."<sup>130</sup> Balzac's novels abound with descriptions of the scrambles for administrative posts, the influence of money and power, the importance of appearances and social status, and the bourgeois attitude of self-satisfaction characteristic of what would today be termed the "upwardly mobile" class. Of the "arriviste" and "parvenu" of the 1830s and 1840s, Balzac has left many a memorable portrait:

- [L]'esprit infatué de politique, respectueux envers ses espérances, les contenant sous une fausse gravité, très envieux des réputations faites, lâchant des phrases au lieu de ces mots incisifs, les diamants de la conversation française, mais plein de tenue et prenant la morgue pour la dignité.<sup>131</sup>

As a social phenomenon, then, the growth of dandyism was favoured by two historical factors: the steady rise to power of the bourgeoisie following the revolutionary wars, and the sudden upsurge of vanity and egoism which permeated French society following the Revolution of 1830. "C'est avec la montée de la bourgeoisie et l'effacement des anciennes élites, ou du moins l'obligation pour elles de se plier à un mode de vie mieux approprié aux nouvelles conceptions," writes Carassus, "que le dandysme se développe."<sup>132</sup> As a specifically bourgeois phenomenon, dandyism was associated with social climbing and the accumulation of goods and wealth. Since birth and financial resources were no longer

prerequisites to enter the social scene, the would-be dandy and the snob of every category—"fût-il clerc d'avoué, fils d'entrepreneur ou bâtard de banquier," Balzac had remarked<sup>133</sup>--was free to step forth and prove his worth. The more prominent dandies of the period, therefore, included not primarily aristocrats, but diplomats, financiers, bankers, industrialists, notorious men of letters; "le pur dandysme," Carassus hastens to add, "réclamait peut-être moins de qualifications professionnelles."<sup>134</sup> Artists and true dandies soon revolted against the bourgeois mentality, despising the complacency, the utilitarianism and the materialism of the age. Indeed, dandyism had practically become a capitalist enterprise by the time Marx and Engels published The Communist Manifesto in 1848. As early as 1842 Félix Deriège had underscored the social and political implications of dandyism in his caustic satire Physiologie du lion, complete with illustrations by Gavarni and Daumier:

[L]e dandysme actuel se résume, malheureusement comme toutes les classes de la hiérarchie sociale, en deux espèces d'hommes: les exploités, marquis sans nom, financiers sans argent, braves sans épée et dons Juans sans maîtresses, qui spéculent sur le luxe de leurs amis; et les exploités, malheureux jeunes gens qui dépensent l'argent, et quelquefois l'honneur de leur famille, en élégantes folies.<sup>135</sup>

By 1847 the political situation throughout Europe had become extremely unstable,<sup>136</sup> and with the abdication of Louis-Philippe in 1848, the concerns of dandyism in France were swept aside for a time by the ensuing social, political and ideological turmoil.

Notes

PART ONE: CHAPTER II

- 1 Carassus, p. 6.
- 2 Kempf, Dandies: Baudelaire et Cie, pp. 137-145.
- 3 Moers, p. 12.
- 4 François-René de Chateaubriand, "Atala," in Atala. René (1964; rpt. Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1976), p. 88.
- 5 Prosper Mérimée, "Tamango," in Nouvelles complètes (1964; rpt. Paris: Gallimard, 1977), I, 56.
- 6 Kempf, "Du délire et du rien," in Sur le dandysme, p. 17.
- 7 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Du dandysme et de George Brummell," ORC, II, 719. Barbey d'Aurevilly's study of Lauzun, "Un dandy d'avant les dandys," was added to the 1879 edition of "Du dandysme et de George Brummell." The study had been previously published in Le Constitutionnel in 1873, under the title "Un séducteur par une princesse" (v. "Notes et variantes," ORC, II, 1436-1437).
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 719.
- 9 Le commandeur d'Espalières, "Les Lions d'autrefois," La Mode, 4 juillet 1840, pp. 1-4. By the 1840s the term "dandy" had given way to the term "lion" in France.
- 10 François G. Dreyfus, Le Temps des révolutions: 1787-1870 (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1968), pp. 10, 11, 29-30.
- 11 Moers, p. 12.
- 12 La Varende, "Du dandysme," Les Cahiers aurevilliens: bulletin de la Société Barbey d'Aurevilly (juin 1939; rpt. Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1972), p. 29.
- 13 Moers, p. 12.
- 14 Jesse, II, 346.
- 15 It was his own folly, particularly at the gambling table, that led Brummell to ruin. Later, on the verge of poverty while in France, he could have re-made his fortune by publishing his memoirs and revealing what he knew of the intimate life of the Regent with whom he was never to be reconciled following their dispute in 1813. \*[Les libraires de

Londres lui proposèrent des sommes immenses pour prix de ses indiscretions," wrote Barbey ("Du dandysme et de George Brummell," ORC, II, 711). As a dandy and a gentleman, Brummell refused to sink to the depths of such a vulgar financial transaction, and chose to remain discreetly silent.

16 Jesse, II, 329. Brummell's cutting and satirical sense of humour served not only as a means of unmasking the pretension of others, but also as a method of dealing with the endless, tedious raptures of those who had fallen under his spell. "A lady at dinner, observing that he did not take any vegetables," wrote Jesse elsewhere (I, 111), "asked him whether such was his general habit, and if he never ate any? He replied, 'Yes, Madam, I once ate a pea.'"

17 Ibid., II, 327.

18 Prevost, p. 18.

19 Kempf, Dandies: Baudelaire et Cie, p. 18.

20 Jesse, I, 53-54.

21 Roger de Beauvoir "taught Baudelaire and Barbey d'Aurevilly most of what they knew about practical dandyism," maintains Ellen Moers (p. 127).

22 Roger de Beauvoir, "Le Lion d'aujourd'hui," La Mode, 11 juillet 1840, pp. 31-34.

23 Carassus, p. 48.

24 Ibid., p. 50.

25 Philippe Du Puy de Clinchamps, Le Snobisme, 3<sup>e</sup> édition (1964; rpt Paris; Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), pp. 9-17. The possible etymologies suggested for the word "snob" are as varied as those suggested for the word "dandy." Du Puy de Clinchamps has noted that in addition to the many fanciful origins proposed for the word, "snob" was also simply a slang term for "cobbler" in the London of the 1780s (p. 15). In any case, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, explains Du Puy de Clinchamps, the meaning of the term came to be fixed once and for all by the slang of English university students at the nation's first schools:

En effet, dans les nobles collèges anglais mais déjà peu à peu envahis par la bourgeoisie d'argent, les élèves auraient obtenu que, pour les gentilshommes, leur nom soit suivi de l'adjectif nobilis, résumé par ses trois premières lettres nob.; quant aux élèves sortis de la bourgeoisie, ils auraient été contraints de faire suivre leur patronyme des deux mots . . . sine nobilitate à leur tour contractés en s.nob. puis snob. . . . Un élève de Cambridge traitait de snobs tous ceux qui n'avaient pas l'honneur d'appartenir à



sa coterie, et tout spécialement le pauvre bourgeois qui rêvait de l'imiter tout en conservant, secrètement, ses complaisances pour ce qu'il devait, alors, publiquement, renier. (pp. 12-14).

The snob, of course, existed well before the letter.

26 Ibid., pp. 39-40. Snobs and snobbery had long needled Thackeray. As early as 1829, while a student at Cambridge, he had launched a short-lived periodical entitled The Snob (Le Snobisme, p. 39).

27 Ibid., pp. 56-57.

28 Ibid., p. 105.

29 Jean d'Ormesson, "Arrivisme, snobisme, dandysme," Revue de métaphysique et de morale (octobre-décembre 1963), p. 458.

30 Carassus, pp. 54-55.

31 Kempf, Dandies: Baudelaire et Cie, pp. 18, 21.

32 Carassus, p. 40.

33 Jesse, I, 56.

34 Ibid., p. 63.

35 Ibid.; p. 56.

36 Ibid., p. 56.

37 Roland Barthes, "Les Maladies du costume de théâtre," in Essais critiques (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1964), pp. 58, 61.

38 Barbey d'Aurevilly, Note de l'auteur dans "Du dandysme et de George Brummell," ORC, II, 673-674.

39 Prevost, p. 105.

40 Roland Barthes, "Le Dandysme et la mode," in Dandies and Dandyism (United State Lines, 1962).

41 Jesse, I, 55.

42 Prevost, p. 19.

43 Carlyle, pp. 205-206.

44 Ibid., p. 204.

45 Ibid., pp. 54-55, 204.

46 Ibid., pp. 43-44.

- 47 William Shakespeare, Richard III (1954; rpt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 138.
- 48 Arnould Frémy, "Le Roi de la mode," Revue de Paris (octobre 1836), p. 258.
- 49 Boulenger, (1932), p. 6.
- 50 Stendhal, "Lord Byron en Italie. Récit d'un témoin oculaire (1816)," Revue de Paris (mars 1830), pp. 186-204.
- 51 *Ibid.*, pp. 191, 196.
- 52 François-René de Chateaubriand, Mémoires d'outre-tombe (1949; rpt. Paris: Flammarion, 1964), II, 379, 382-383.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 104.
- 54 "The Dynasty of Dandies," The Literary Gazette, Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Politics, etc., 26 September 1818, p. 620.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p. 620.
- 56 J.B. Priestley, The Prince of Pleasure and His Regency 1811-20 (New York and Evanston: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 43.
- 57 Chateaubriand, Mémoires d'outre-tombe, II, 101. Writing elsewhere in his Mémoires (I, 252, 446-447), Chateaubriand completed his description of the famous club:
- A Almack's . . . se tinrent, jusque vers 1840, des réunions mondaines et des bals, organisés par de grandes dames qui n'invitaient que l'élite. Collinet et la musique d'Almack's enchantèrent la mélancolie fashionable des dandys et les élégances rêveuses des ladies pensivement dansantes.
- 58 Prevost, p. 26.
- 59 Priestley, p. 47.
- 60 "Les Dandys," Revue de Paris (mars 1832), pp. 262-263.
- 61 Astolphe de Custine, "Moeurs étrangères. Lettre écrite de Londres," La Mode (janvier-mars 1830), p. 125.
- 62 In his correspondence Baudelaire mentions several times his project of writing a study on literary dandyism, a study to complement his essay on Constantin Guys. On three separate occasions, Baudelaire refers to Chateaubriand specifically as the father or head of literary dandyism in France. Writing to Auguste Lacaussade in early May 1861, the poet envisaged entitling his projected study: "'Chateaubriand, père des Dandies, et sa postérité'" (C, II, 147). Four years later, in a letter

dated 9 March 1865, he wrote to Michel Lévy: "J'ai commencé et je continue un petit travail sur Chateaubriand considéré comme le chef du dandysme dans le monde moral, où je vengerai ce grand homme des insultes de toute la jeune canaille moderne" (C, II, 472). At the end of March 1865, he wrote to Sainte-Beuve of his intention to finish the study on Chateaubriand, which was to be entitled: "'Chateaubriand et sa famille.'" And he added: "Vous savez que ma passion pour ce vieux DANDY est incorrigible" (C, II, 491).

63 Chateaubriand, Mémoires d'outre-tombe, II, 442.

64 Ibid., pp. 101-102.

65 v. Moers, pp. 167-177.

66 The word itself--"dandiacal"--was of Carlyle's own invention; and was particularly suited to his satirical purpose, for it is suggestive of "maniacal" and "demoniacal," as Moers has pointed out (p. 181).

67 Carlyle, pp. 213-214.

68 Ibid., p. 214.

69 Moers, p. 185.

70 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 711;

71 Moers, p. 124.

72 In his biography of d'Orsay--Le Beau d'Orsay (Paris: Julliard, 1978), p. 57--Serge-Fortis Rolie would move the count's preference yet one more: order up in the Blessinton family hierarchy: "Si [d'Orsay] était l'amant de son mari, pour Margaret Blessington il faisait office de chevalier servant."

73 Chateaubriand, Mémoires d'outre-tombe, II, 102-103.

74 Jacques Boulenger, Sous Louis-Philippe: les dandys (Paris: Librairie Paul Ollendorff, 1907), p. 54.

75 Moers, p. 107.

76 Morgan, La France (1817), I, 174-175.

77 Carassus, p. 35.

78 Lady Thomas Charles Morgan, La France en 1829 et 1830 (Paris: H. Fournier jeune, 1830), I, 334.

79 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Du dandysme et de George Brummell," ORC, II, 670, 671.

80 Barbey d'Aurevilly, Note de l'auteur dans "Du dandysme et de George Brummell," ORC, II, 699.

81 Boulenger, (1932), pp. 51-52.

82 Ibid., pp. 161-162.

83 In the 1827 edition of Bryon's work, the English text and the French text are printed on opposing pages. The full titles read as follows: The Sportsman's Companion for the Turf, Containing Articles, Rules and Orders as Observed at the English Horse Races, with T. Gard's Mathematical Calculation for Betting, Intended as a Guide to Paris Races / Manuel de l'amateur des courses, contenant les règles qui sont observées en Angleterre aux courses de chevaux, suivi des calculs mathématiques de T. Gard, pour parler et servir de guide aux amateurs de courses de Paris.

84 Boulenger, (1932), p. 164.

85 Roger de Beauvoir, "David Dick," Revue de Paris (juin 1834), p. 284.

86 [Courses de chevaux à Chantilly], Revue de Paris (mai 1834), pp. 206-207.

87 Boulenger, (1932), p. 170.

88 Ibid., p. 137.

89 Eugène Sue, Arthur (Paris: S.E.C.L.E.—Régine Deforges, 1977), pp. 103-110.

90 Carassus, p. 23.

91 Félix Deriège, Physiologie du lion (Paris: J. Delahaye, 1842), p. 86.

92 A not entirely flattering report on high life society, on the displays of costumes and on other typical goings-on at the cafés appeared in a short article entitled "Le Café Tortoni et le Café Desmares," published in La Mode (janvier-mars 1830), pp. 9-12.

93 Morgan, La France en 1829 et 1830, I, 344. In the London of Brummell's day, the fashionable quarter was bordered by Oxford Street to the north, Bond Street to the east, Pall Mall and Piccadilly to the south, and Park Lane to the west (v. Carassus, p. 22).

94 Carassus, p. 22.

95 Camus, L'Homme révolté, p. 73.

96 Prosper Mérimée, "La Vénus d'Ille," in Nouvelles complètes, I, 285.

97 Spécimen n° 22 du Prospectus, Le Charivari, lundi 1832 [sic], p. 4.

- 98 "Modes d'hommes," Le Charivari, 21 janvier 1833, p. 2.
- 99 Morgan, La France en 1829 et 1830, I, 339.
- 100 "Modes d'hommes," Le Charivari, 21 janvier 1833, p. 3.
- 101 Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, Physiologie du goût, ou méditations de gastronomie transcendante. Ouvrage théorique, historique et à l'ordre du jour, dédié aux gastronomes parisiens (Paris: A. Sautelet et Cie, 1826), I, ix-x. This work was first published in 1825.
- 102 Emile Marc Hilaire was also known as Emile Marco de Saint-Hilaire. Hilaire's titles in full, which are listed in the bibliography, are clearly indicative of the frivolous tone which dominates his manuals. According to the printed catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, L'Art de payer ses dettes has also been attributed to Honoré de Balzac. L'Art de mettre sa cravate was very likely based on an English work—Neckclothitania or Tietania, Being an Essay on Starchers. By One of the Cloth. London: Stockdale, 1818.
- 103 Eugène Ronteix, Manuel du fashionable, ou guide de l'élégant (Paris: Audot libraire-éditeur, 1829), p. 131.
- 104 Ibid., pp. 10, 19.
- 105 "Les Dardys," Revue de Paris (mars 1832), p. 263.
- 106 "Etudes de moeurs: les affectations," Revue britannique ou choix d'articles traduits des meilleurs écrits périodiques de la Grande-Bretagne (août 1837), pp. 154-155. The article originally appeared in Fraser's Magazine.
- 107 Honoré de Balzac, "De la vie de château," in Oeuvres complètes, XXVI (Paris: Club de l'honnête homme, 1962), 280. The article originally appeared in the 26 June 1830 issue of La Mode.
- 108 Balzac, "Nouvelle théorie du déjeuner," La Mode (avril-juin 1830), p. 218.
- 109 Balzac, "Physiologie de la toilette," La Silhouette (juin-juillet 1830), p. 83.
- 110 Ibid., p. 23.
- 111 Balzac, "Le Contrat de mariage," in Oeuvres complètes, IV (Paris: Club de l'honnête homme, 1957), 478.
- 112 Ibid., p. 481.
- 113 Balzac, "La Cousine Bette," in Oeuvres complètes, XII (Paris: Club de l'honnête homme, 1959), 71.
- 114 Balzac, "Autre étude de femme," in Oeuvres complètes, IV (Paris: Club de l'honnête homme, 1957), 614.

115 Jules Vallès, L'Enfant (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1968), p. 76.

116 *Ibid.*, pp. 76-79.

117 Jules Vallès was born in 1832. Given that the trilogy of novels are semi-autobiographical in nature, Jules/Jacques was twelve years old (L'Enfant, p. 75) circa 1844—the high point of the reign of the "lions" in France.

118 Balzac, "Nouvelle théorie du déjeuner," La Mode (avril-juin 1830), pp. 216, 219. Corpulence was not a virtue among dandies. Lord Byron, for example, frequently fasted, and would occasionally dine on vegetables alone. "Une des horreurs de lord Byron était de grossir. C'était là son idée fixe," wrote Stendhal ("Lord Byron en Italie. Récit d'un témoin oculaire (1816)," Revue de Paris [mars 1830], p. 191). Similarly, Barbey d'Aurevilly often dined simply—"Dîné de légumes et de viande bouillie" ("Deuxième memorandum," ORC, II, 920)—and habitually fasted. "Je ne mangeai point," he wrote on more than one occasion in his journals, "par respect pour les femmes et pour les baleines de mon gilet, deux choses d'une égale importance" ("Premier memorandum," ORC, II, 778). For those who transgressed the dietary laws of dandyism, the punishment was most severe. When the Prince Regent put on weight, Brummell ruthlessly dubbed him "Big Ben." In his later years Roger de Beauvoir suffered cruelly from gout—the result of his excesses at the table.

119 Balzac, "Des mots à la mode," La Mode (avril-juin 1830), p. 193.

120 Balzac, "Nouvelle théorie du déjeuner," La Mode (avril-juin 1830), p. 217. In his Mémoires d'outre-tombe (II, 102), Chateaubriand also sarcastically remarked: "Quelques dandys radicaux, les plus avancés vers l'avenir, ont une pipe." But the cigar too was in fashion, thanks to Lord Seymour, "l'ardent propagandiste des cigarres (avec deux 'r,' s'il vous plaît), accessoire désormais indispensable du dandysme" (Carassus, p. 35).

121 Eugène Sue, "Les Médecins à la mode," La Mode (janvier-mars 1830), p. 13.

122 Sue, Arthur, pp. 161-163.

123 "Extraits des mémoires d'un lion," La Mode, 15 juin 1842, p. 389.

124 Derrière, p. 2.

125 Jean Ziegler has devoted the first chapter of his work—Gautier, Baudelaire. Un carré de dames: Pomaré, Marix, Bébé, Sisina. Paris: A.-G. Nizet, 1977—to a study of Elise Sergent, known "comme chanteuse sous le nom de Rosita" (p. 17) and known also as "la reine Pomaré" (p. 18).

126 Baudelaire, "Choix de maximes consolantes sur l'amour," OC, I,

548. Baudelaire knew Pomaré casually during the period when he lived in the Pimodan on Ile Saint-Louis. Although "les hanches et les reins cambrés de la polkeuse" (Ziegler, Gautier, Baudelaire. Un carré de dames, p. 19) were legendary, Pomaré was not a particularly beautiful woman, nor was she buxom (v. Ziegler, pp. 19-21). Hence Baudelaire's description of her in his "Choix de maximes consolantes sur l'amour" (OC, I, 548):

Ne médisez jamais de la grande nature, et si elle vous a adjugé une maîtresse sans gorge, dites: "Je possède un ami--avec des hanches!" et allez au temple rendre grâces aux dieux.

Pomaré also inspired the song which was finally attributed to Baudelaire—"Combien dureront nos amours?" (v. Ziegler, pp. 9-14). Some of the traits of the Fanfarlo are also reminiscent of Pomaré (Ziegler, p. 32).

127 Ziegler, p. 18.

128 Ibid., p. 21.

129 Prevost, p. 128.

130 André Jardin et André-Jean Tudesq, L'Evolution générale: 1815-1848, vol. I de La France des notables (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1973), pp. 125-126.

131 Balzac, "La Cousine Bette," in Oeuvres complètes, XII, 71.

132 Carassus, p. 69.

133 Balzac, "Autre étude de femme," in Oeuvres complètes, IV, 614.

134 Carassus, p. 37.

135 Deriège, pp. 15-16.

136 Dreyfus, Le Temps des révolutions: 1787-1870, p. 347.

"Aujourd'hui nous prenons un livre  
bien plus pour la façon que pour  
l'étoffe."

—Balzac, Physiologie du mariage

"Ce n'est que du dandisme."

—Désiré Nisard, Journal des débats

### CHAPTER III

#### THE LITERARY PHENOMENON IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

In addition to being a major social phenomenon, dandyism also manifested itself as a major literary phenomenon in the early nineteenth century, first in England, and then in France around 1830. In particular, literary dandyism was to become one of the principal influences in the evolution of French letters throughout the entire nineteenth century.

#### A. • England

The dandy made his first definitive, literal appearance in English letters in Byron's poem "Beppo," which was published in February of 1818: "But I am but a nameless sort of person, / A broken Dandy lately on my travels."<sup>1</sup> In the same year the dandy also made his appearance in Thomas Moore's The Fudge Family in Paris, a volume of light verse in letter form. Moore however penned a satirical sketch of the dandy right from the very first "letter" of the work:

You remember how sheepish Bob looked at Kiltrandy,  
But Lord! he's quite alter'd—they've made him  
[a Dandy;

.....



And Bob's far the best of the genus I've seen:  
 An improving young man, fond of learning, ambitious,  
 And goes now to Paris to study French dishes.<sup>2</sup>

Between 1825 and 1830, dandies and dandyism were portrayed in a somewhat more serious vein in a number of what were termed "fashionable" novels, which described in infinite detail the vagaries of Regency dandyism and the events of high life in London. Most notable of these works were Robert Plumer Ward's Tremaine (1825), Thomas Henry Lister's Granby (1826), Benjamin Disraeli's Vivian Grey (1826), and Edward Bulwer's Pelham (1828). In Lister's Granby and Bulwer's Pelham, the representation of the protagonist is, respectively, a portrait of Brummell during the success of his youth in London, and during his exile in France.<sup>3</sup>

From the outset, however, literary dandyism in England came to be closely associated with the brand of Romanticism exemplified by Byron. One of the foremost characteristics of this Romanticism was the image of Luciferian revolt, as depicted in the irony and satanism of "Don Juan" for example. In his new prominent role in letters the devil was frequently portrayed as a dandy. As early as the turn of the century Coleridge dressed Satan in finery and accoutrements worthy of a dandy in his poem "The Devil's Thoughts,"<sup>4</sup> and in De l'Allemagne Madame de Staël described the Mephistopheles of Goethe's Faust as "un diable civilisé" who exhibited all the characteristics of the Regency dandy.<sup>5</sup>

Charles Maturin's protagonist in his gothic novel Melmoth the Wanderer, first published in 1820, is likewise a figure of satanic dandyism. Akin to Faust, the Flying Dutchman and the Wandering Jew, Melmoth the Wanderer had long ago made a pact with Satan to wander the earth seducing and securing souls for the demon, in exchange for

supernatural powers, universal knowledge and prolonged life. A typically Romantic hero, Melmoth is not merely a rebellious and damned soul, but also a dandy in the best tradition, as evidenced by his boredom, his impassibility, his impudence and the sardonic laughter with which he judges men and the world. At the very end of the tale when he is finally called to his master, Melmoth takes leave of this world with a supreme gesture of despite worthy of Beau Brummell. On a cliff overlooking the sea, the Wanderer leaves behind but a single memento of his existence--his neckcloth, which his descendant, the young John Melmoth, finds the following morning:

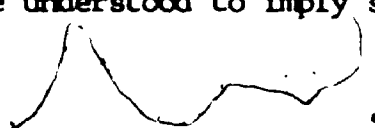
The ocean was beneath--the wide, waste, engulfing ocean! On a crag beneath them, something hung as floating to the blast. Melmoth clambered down and caught it. It was the handkerchief which the Wanderer had worn about his neck the preceding night--that was the last trace of the Wanderer!<sup>6</sup>

In France the satanic dandyism of Maturin's protagonists, and indeed of Maturin himself,<sup>7</sup> did not escape the attention of both Balzac and Baudelaire. In 1831 Balzac praised Maturin as Great Britain's most original author:

[L]'auteur moderne le plus original dont la Grande-Bretagne puisse se glorifier, Maturin, le prêtre auquel nous devons Eva, Melmoth, Bertram, était coquet, galant, fêtait les femmes et l'homme aux conceptions terribles devenait, le soir, un dameret, un dandy.<sup>8</sup>

Four years later, in 1835, Balzac published his own sequel to Maturin's novel, which he entitled Melmoth réconcilié. Throughout his works Baudelaire made numerous references to Maturin and Melmoth, perhaps most notably in his essay De l'essence du rire, and in February of 1865 he wrote to Michel Lévy of his plan to translate Melmoth.<sup>9</sup>

However, literary dandyism should not be understood to imply simply



the portrayal, whether favourable or unfavourable, of dandies and dandyism in works of fiction. Literary dandyism might better be defined as the very form of the work itself—and by form we mean to include the style of the author, the pose the author adopts before his work, and the attitude of the author vis-à-vis his readers. In Byron's "Beppo," for instance, the tale of the Venetian couple seems almost incidental. The dominant discourse in the poem is indeed that of the narrator, whose digressions and interruptions constitute, it would seem, the essential ambiance and matter of the poem. It is the narrator who casts himself as the carefree and footloose dandy of letters in stanza LII:

But I am but a nameless sort of person,  
A broken Dandy lately on my travels  
.  
.  
.  
Not caring as I ought for critics' cavils;  
I've half a mind to tumble down to prose,  
But verse is more in fashion--so here goes.<sup>10</sup>

After making a few disparaging remarks about the "rabble" and the "vulgar set" that a man of "ton" had to put up with "during the dynasty of Dandies,"<sup>11</sup> the narrator-poet concludes the poem in the most cavalier fashion, thereby dismissing his reader in like manner, for the simple reason that he has reached the bottom of his page:

My pen is at the bottom of a page,  
Which being finish'd, here the story ends;  
'Tis to be wish'd it had been sooner done,  
But stories somehow lengthen when begun.<sup>12</sup>

It is precisely this cavalier attitude present in Byron's works that constitutes his literary dandyism, as Prevost has pointed out:

Interrompre une pensée, un sentiment de haute volée par une parole, une image vulgaire, placer la vertu au service du vice et, ainsi, se moquer du lecteur, voilà ce qui, selon Hazlitt, constitue le dandysme de Byron.<sup>13</sup>

## B. France

In the France of the late 1820s and the 1830s many aspiring dandies, as we have seen previously, based their dress and conduct on the maxims set forth in the numerous manuals and fashion periodicals published during this period. These writings clearly do not constitute works of great literary merit, but the attitudes of Brummell's French emulators were undoubtedly also influenced by English fashionable novels, many of which were readily available in their original editions in the bookshops of Paris, and most of which were also available in French translations which appeared soon after the publication of the English editions. However, in spite of the influence of English fashionable novels on the social history of dandyism in France, such novels had negligible influence on the development of dandyism as a literary phenomenon in France.

There were published, nevertheless, a number of French novels in which dandyism was a central theme. Stendhal was perhaps the first to draw inspiration for his works from the vanity and fatuity of the period. In his most widely read work, Le Rouge et le noir, published in 1830, he portrayed the initiation of Julien Sorel into the rites of dandyism:

A Londres, il connut enfin la haute fatuité. Il s'était lié avec de jeunes seigneurs russes qui l'initiaient.

--Vous êtes prédestiné, mon cher Sorel, lui disaient-ils, vous avez naturellement cette mine froide et à mille lieues de la sensation présente, que nous cherchons tant à nous donner.

--Vous n'avez pas compris votre siècle, lui disait le prince Korasoff: faites toujours le contraire de ce qu'on attend de vous. Voilà, d'honneur, la seule religion de l'époque. Ne soyez ni fou, ni affecté, car alors on attendrait de vous des folies et des affectations, et le précepte ne serait plus accompli.

.....  
Julien était un dandy maintenant, et comprenait l'art

de vivre à Paris.<sup>14</sup>

Balzac's novels abound with meticulous descriptions of dandies and the intricacies of dandyism, and Sue's Arthur is perhaps the most poignant portrait of a dandy to have been written during the first half of the nineteenth century in France.

However, such novels were not merely French versions of the English fashionable novels, and they quite often contained viewpoints which were in fact hostile to dandyism. Stendhal avowed a profound distaste for the ridiculous vanity and rudeness of the English dandies, including Byron. "Après tout," he wrote, "l'âme de lord Byron était tellement exaltable quand il n'était pas dandy."<sup>15</sup> Despite his own social pretensions and his somewhat garish attempts at dandyism, Balzac ruthlessly did not hesitate to lay bare all the connivings and the baseness of the social climbers and would-be dandies in his works. Similarly, Sue's Arthur is not so much a glorification of high life as it is a decrying of it, and indeed one should not lose sight of the fact that throughout the novel Arthur seeks to shun such a life and its corrupting influences. Later, in Les Mystères de Paris which were published in serial form in 1842, Sue was to transform completely the image of the aloof, rude dandy into that of Rodolphe, the princely dandy and agent of social justice.

A decade before the transformation of the image of the dandy in Les Mystères de Paris, however, the notion of dandyism itself had already begun to change in the French capital. The dandies of this period, says Carassus, offered "une image plus souriante, plus détendue que ne faisaient leurs prédécesseurs anglicisés", whom Lady Morgan had described in her memoirs. Furthermore, Carassus continues, "il arrive même que les frontières entre le dandysme et la 'bohème dorée' se fassent

incertaines."<sup>16</sup> In an article entitled "Le Pays latin en 1832," Roger de Beauvoir described just such a rapprochement between dandyism and the Bohemian world of artists, scholars and students:

Depuis trois siècles au moins, légers dandys de la capitale, la rue Saint-Jacques est pour vous la province. Une étroite et longue cité plâtrée de rouge et de noir, enrouée, criarde et savante, encombrée de professeurs et de livres, d'usuriers et de colléges, de restaurateurs et de savans. . . . Un soir même, et chez Torton, j'ai surpris l'un de vous parlant encore de Flicoteaux, le lendemain d'un bal aux Tuileries où il avait cru le retrouver.<sup>17</sup>

The new breed of dandies of the 1830s also professed an interest in arts and letters, and many were themselves writers of one sort or another. "Brummell et ses émules," states Carassus, "professaient un certain mépris à l'égard des artistes. Ces nouveaux dandys, eux, sont parfois journalistes; ils font même des livres."<sup>18</sup> Periodical publishing was immensely successful during the reign of Louis-Philippe, and many authors of the period contributed regularly to the journals. A few even managed to carve out successful careers in journalism, but for the majority of them who were much less affluent than Roger de Beauvoir and "la jeunesse dorée," joining "la bohème journaliste" was borne of necessity. Such was the case of Barbey d'Aurevilly who, in his constant need for "some money"<sup>19</sup> to support himself and his career as an author, was obliged to take up journalism and to produce "ces prostitutions masquées qu'on appelle des articles."<sup>20</sup>

As dandyism came to be associated more and more with art and literature, and no longer exclusively with the world of fashion, Byron rather than Brummell became the ideal of the dandy—specifically the dandy as littérateur. With Byron, "le dandysme est descendu de ses hauteurs aristocratiques," wrote the anonymous author of an 1838 review

7

of Théophile Gautier's Fortunio; "le génie d'un Anglais, grand seigneur et surtout grand poète, [ouvrit] une voie nouvelle en mettant le dandysme dans ses écrits."<sup>21</sup> Writing more than a century later, Prevost confirms that it was Byron alone who influenced most directly French literary dandyism: "L'influence des lettres anglaises sur le développement du dandysme littéraire français se réduit presque entièrement à celle des oeuvres de Lord Byron, particulièrement de Beppo et de Don Juan."<sup>22</sup>

In particular, it was the cavalier attitude which characterised Byron's pose before his work and before his reader which would influence greatly the literary dandyism of French authors. Stendhal, whether or not one might speak of an influence of Byron in his case, certainly shared Byron's repugnance for the vulgar and the profane, an attitude which he readily transferred into the realm of letters. Stendhal envisaged his reading public as a select and cultivated few, and referred to them as "ces Happy few, pour lesquels seuls j'ai écrit, très fâché que le reste de la canaille humaine lise mes rêveries."<sup>23</sup> And it was precisely for these "happy few" that the author makes his off-hand interjection at the outset of Le Rouge et le noir: "Mais, quoique je veuille vous parler de la province pendant deux cents pages, je n'aurai pas la barbarie de vous faire subir la longueur et les ménagements savants d'un dialogue de province."<sup>24</sup> Stendhal's haughty attitude toward his readers--particularly those who fall into the category of "la canaille humaine"--is but a manifestation of the often contradictory and always extremely subjective complex of opinions which, as Moers has remarked, constitutes his "beylisme": "At many points the core of his personality--that cluster of prejudices, principles and eccentricities that he himself called beylisme--touched on what a later generation would

consider dandyism."<sup>25</sup>

Perhaps more than in the works of Stendhal, the influence of Byron's literary dandyism is most manifestly evident in the works of "la Jeune-France," that generation of writers of the 1830s often referred to as "les frénétiques,"<sup>26</sup> who set out to shock, to mystify and to mock the reading public. Foremost among the authors of this generation was Théophile Gautier.

In 1829 and 1830, Gautier became embroiled in the literary debate of the period, and adamantly defended Romanticism and the literary views of Victor Hugo in what was to become known as the battle of Hernani. Aged nineteen, and still unpublished at the time, Gautier gained immediate notoriety by wearing a flamboyant red vest to the opening performance of Hugo's play, given on 25 February 1830. "Si l'on prononce le nom de Théophile Gautier devant un philistin, n'eût-il jamais lu de nous deux vers et une seule ligne," Gautier later wrote, "il nous connaît au moins par le gilet rouge que nous portions à la première représentation d'Hernani."<sup>27</sup>

In a sense, the episode of "le gilet rouge" marked the entrance of the dandy as writer into the realm of French letters. In the following years, Gautier was quick to adopt a Byronic pose toward his writing and his reader in the haughty prefaces to his works, an art form at which he truly excelled. The preface to Les Jeunes-France, which appeared in 1833, is a masterpiece of irony and mockery, and constitutes an excellent profession of the young Parisian dandy-littérateur of the 1830s. The young author outraged society by relentlessly ridiculing bourgeois values such as morality and industry:

Le seul plaisir qu'un livre me procure encore, c'est  
le frisson du couteau d'ivoire dans ses pages non



coupées: c'est une virginité comme une autre, et cela est toujours agréable à prendre.

Je ne suis rien, je ne fais rien; je ne vis pas, je végète; je ne suis pas un homme, je suis une huître.<sup>28</sup>

Professing not the slightest interest or purpose in life, and seemingly convinced that it is less boring and more agreeable to write a novel than to read one, our author confesses that by default he has channelled his energies into literary pursuits: "Ainsi, n'étant bon à rien, pas même à être dieu, je fais des préfaces et des contes fantastiques; cela n'est pas si bien que rien, mais c'est presque aussi bien, et c'est quasi synonyme."<sup>29</sup> In other prefaces Gautier not only systematically mocked the use of prefaces which he suspected readers never read ("Depuis bien longtemps l'on se récrie sur l'inutilité des préfaces, et cependant l'on fait toujours des préfaces."<sup>30</sup>), but he also mocked the act of writing itself ("L'auteur du présent livre . . . fait des vers pour avoir un prétexte de ne rien faire, et ne fait rien sous prétexte qu'il fait des vers."<sup>31</sup>).

Also characteristic of the pose of the dandy-littérateur was the cavalier, almost insulting fashion in which Gautier, on more than one occasion, addressed his reading public--sometimes as an impersonal collective "personnage éminemment respectable dont on a abusé de tant de manières,"<sup>32</sup> sometimes as a plurality of individual "lecteurs (pluriel ambitieux)."<sup>33</sup> It would seem that in each reader Gautier recognised a potential dolt, for in his manifesto of Romanticism; the celebrated preface to Mademoiselle de Maupin, he expressed the wish that "notre lecteur se tienne éveillé jusqu'à la fin de cette bienheureuse préface."<sup>34</sup>

Such a literary attitude or pose exemplified by Gautier was

prevalent among most authors of the period. In Alfred de Musset's long poem "Mardoche," in which the protagonist—an aristocratic dandy ("A peine / Le spleen le prenait-il quatre fois par semaine"<sup>35</sup>)—considers committing suicide because of a lost love, the tale ends rather abruptly and frivolously with a simple rhetorical question and answer: "Et que fit Mardoche?—Pour changer / D'amour, il lui fallut six mois à voyager."<sup>36</sup> In one of his Contes Immoraux, Petrus Borel's disgruntled and suicidal hero, "Champavert le lycanthrope," spurns the world and the reader with "un rire goguenard."<sup>37</sup> In Prosper Mérimée's Le Vase étrusque, the story of the dandy Saint-Clair, the narrator seemingly grows impatient with the telling of his tale, and he does not hesitate to communicate his boredom by means of an impertinent intervention directed at the reader: "On venait de déboucher une autre bouteille de vin de Champagne; je laisse au lecteur à en déterminer le numéro. Qu'il lui suffise de savoir qu'on était venu à ce moment . . . où tout le monde veut parler à la fois. . . ." <sup>38</sup>

But the ultimate impertinence directed at the reader was the mystifying vocalic "profession de foi par l'auteur" printed on the title page of Charles Lassailly's novel Les Roueries de Trialph, notre contemporain avant son suicide, published in 1833:

Ah!  
Eh! hé?  
Hi! hi! hi!  
Oh!  
Hu! hu! hu! hu! hu!  
Profession de foi par l'auteur. — 39

Throughout the work Lassailly also relentlessly satirises the art of writing. At the very outset of the novel the narrator mocks literary convention, specifically the purpose of the preface and the role of the reader:

Mon cher lecteur, écoutez-moi, et retenez ceci: avant de commencer son poème, il est bon que l'artiste en prépare les effets par un morceau d'ouverture.

Or, prenez ce qui a été écrit déjà pour une préface.<sup>40</sup>

At the end of the novel, the narrator wearily confesses that he has become utterly bored with his literary enterprise:

Je pourrais étaler ici une tartine d'épithètes sur ce sujet magnifique de la mer où je me plonge vivant; mais je suis las des atrocités que j'ai composées, et je ne demande qu'à me débarrasser de ce fardeau pesant.

A la mer, à la mer, le Triomphe!<sup>41</sup>

Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly also adopted a Byronic pose in his early writings. Shortly after the appearance of Musset's "Mardoche" (1830) and Gautier's "Albertus" (1832), Barbey composed La Bague d'Annibal, which was not published until 1842, and then in serial form. In evident admiration of Byron, Barbey referred to his tale as "mon conte de Beppo, ou plutôt de Beppa."<sup>42</sup> The dandy in the first tale which Barbey wrote, Le Cachet d'onix, composed in 1831, was obviously inspired by another great dandy of the age, Count Alfred d'Orsay. The story was undoubtedly deemed to be too outrageous for publication, and consequently was not published until 1919. But the shocking and unexpected conclusion of the tale, worthy indeed of de Sade, situates it clearly within the tradition of literary dandyism in the 1830s:

"Tu m'appartiens,--dit-il à voix basse,--et depuis longtemps je ne veux plus de toi. Tu es déshonorée. Je t'ai mis une empreinte au front. Eh bien, pour que tu ne sois jamais à d'autres, tu seras encore marquée ailleurs."

Il prit sur la table à écrire la cire argent et azur et un cachet. Jamais bourreau ne s'était servi d'instruments plus mignons. Le cachet, où était artistement gravée une mystérieuse devise d'amour, était un superbe onyx que lui, Dorsay, avait donné à Hortense dans un temps où la devise ne mentait pas. Il présenta à la flamme de la bougie la cire odorante, qui se fondit toute bouillonnante, et dont

il fit tomber les gouttes étincelantes là où l'amour avait épuisé tout ce qu'il avait de nectar et de parfums.

La victime poussa un cri d'agonie et se souleva pour retomber. Dorsay, intrépide et la main assurée, imprima sur la cire bleue et pailletée qui s'enfonçait dans les chairs brûlées le charmant cachet à la devise d'amour!<sup>43</sup>

As had been the case earlier in English letters, a form of satanism was also a theme or an aspect common to the literary dandyism of the 1830s in France. Gautier for example spoke of a "Belzébuth dandy"<sup>44</sup> in his poem "Albertus," and Lassailly in his novel speaks of Triumph as the "favori du Diable" and of Satan as the "protecteur de Triumph."<sup>45</sup> In 1837 Frédéric Soulié published Les Mémoires du diable, and Barbey d'Aurevilly would later group a collection of stories under the general title Les Diaboliques. Themes of Luciferian revolt, the fantastic, horror, death, despair and suicide were quite commonplace in these works, and hence literary dandyism overlapped "le romantisme noir" or "le frénétisme" of the early nineteenth century.<sup>46</sup>

As we have seen in the preceding pages, literary dandyism dominated French letters throughout the 1830s and into the 1840s: firstly in the sense that the dandy appeared as a character in works of literature—in the novels of Balzac<sup>47</sup> and Sue, in the short stories of Mérimée and Barbey d'Aurevilly; and secondly in the sense that dandyism had now come to take on a specific stylistic connotation. To recapitulate, the principal stylistic characteristics of literary dandyism during this period might be summarised as follows: shocking subjects and themes; a penchant for mystification on the part of the author; the impertinent tone and language in which the author-narrator addressed his reader; the apparent indifference which he revealed for his themes and his characters; the ironic distance from which he viewed the role of the

reader, his own role as story teller, and the purpose and nature of his art in general.

On the whole, the reaction of critics to the earliest manifestations of literary dandyism was to evaluate such works as little more than exercises in frivolity, if not outright bad taste. In his review published in 1830 of Alfred de Musset's Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie, Désiré Nisard judged the young poet's work to be flawed by a certain kind of dandyism:

[Alfred de Musset] aime mieux qu'on le croie roué qu'innocent; mais, malgré lui, sa jeunesse fleurie et sa fraîche imagination le trahissent, et j'ai bien peur que ce maître libertin de vingt ans n'ait pas réussi auprès des gens d'expérience à se faire croire tout à fait mauvais sujet. Dans un poète du caractère et du génie de lord Byron, la rouerie même a de la grandeur, parce qu'elle cache un mépris profond de l'humanité, et qu'elle est la réaction naturelle d'un homme irrité et fort, contre une société qui ne veut pas de ses vices au prix même de sa gloire. Dans un jeune homme, ce n'est que du dandisme.<sup>48</sup>

In 1832, in his review of Paul de Musset's novel La Table de nuit, H.C. de Saint-Michel was the first to use the specific term "dandysme littéraire" and the first to define the phenomenon almost as a genre:

Ce roman appartient à l'école du dandysme littéraire. Il y a de l'esprit dans cette école, un grand penchant pour la moquerie, une sorte d'analyse superficielle des passions et des caractères qui ne manque pas de grâce, une certaine prédilection pour les héros à bonnes fortunes et les héroïnes coquettes; une affectation prononcée de parler parties fines, cabinet particulier au cabaret, vin de champagne, cigarettes [sic], musique italienne, chasse, chevaux, etc., etc., un peu de crudité, du cynisme même dans certains passages; un ton de frivolité enfin jouant assez bien l'aisance du grand seigneur qui n'écrit que par oisiveté.<sup>49</sup>

The following year, in a brief review of Paul de Musset's novel Samuel, Saint-Michel gave yet a further precision to his definition of the new

genre:

Le dandysme littéraire est tout juste l'opposé de ce lycanthropisme dont les poésies et la prose de M. Petrus Borel sont le type. Samuel, dans sa préface adressée aux dames et aux jeunes gens, joue admirablement l'insouciance du dandy qui daigne laisser un moment sa cravache pour saisir la plume et écrire un conte au milieu d'un nuage de cigares [sic] de la Havane.<sup>50</sup>

The editorial of the first number of L'Europe littéraire, which came out in March of 1833, was particularly hostile to the school of literary dandyism. The author of the article spoke of "la mission sociale du talent et des lettres," and called for a new and more dignified literary movement to replace the literary dandyism "qui marqua ces dernières années." And he continued: "[T]âchons de parler une langue vigoureuse et précise. Quittons l'immobilité pour le mouvement, et, sans brusquer la convenance et le bon goût, n'affectons plus les formes énervées du dandisme."<sup>51</sup>

Nor did the phenomenon of literary dandyism escape the vituperative pen of Balzac. As early as 1829, in his introduction to Physiologie du mariage, Balzac implied that the reading public had begun to succumb to a certain style of writing. "Aujourd'hui," he complained, "nous prenons un livre bien plus pour la façon que pour l'étoffe."<sup>52</sup> In an article entitled "De la mode en littérature," published in La Mode in May of 1830, Balzac further noted the presence of an insidious code which had permeated the realm of letters in the capital. "En littérature, nous avons aujourd'hui," he wrote, "une sorte d'étiquette à laquelle doivent se soumettre la personne et le livre d'un auteur."<sup>53</sup> In his preface to the first edition of La Peau de chagrin, which appeared in 1831, he railed against such an "étiquette" which gave rise, for example, to the "impertinences . . . de tant de préfaciers," and he furthermore qualified

the literature of the period in general as "notre vandalisme actuel . . . où les auteurs [se tiennent] toujours droits et raides."<sup>54</sup> This rigidity which had permeated not only literature but all aspects of life in general, was, as Balzac fumed and ranted, every bit as ubiquitous as was "bougran" in the year 1830:

En effet, dans l'état actuel des choses, la bourrure des habits n'est point un fait isolé, sans analogie; elle me semble avoir sa cause dans un fait général du même genre, dans une certaine roideur qu'on remarque de toute part autour de nous, dans les moeurs, dans les lettres, dans les arts. Cette grosse toile gommée qui sert à rendre si ferme nos revers d'habits, s'appelle en langue technique, du bougran! c'est le bougran qui donne aux choses simples et aisées en elles-mêmes une roideur artificielle. Eh bien! de tous côtés, sous mille noms, sous mille formes différentes, nous retrouvons le bougran . . .  
 bougran moral . . . bougran constitutionnel . . .  
 bougran philosophique . . . bougran dramatique . . .  
 bougran académique . . . bougran de la peinture.

. . . .<sup>55</sup>

What Balzac had so disparagingly termed literary "bougran" the anonymous author of an 1833 review of Gautier's "Albertus" described as a sort of "atonie lâche et molle, . . . la nonchalance et le dandysme le plus complet, le plus douteux, le plus dédaigneux, le plus byronien."<sup>56</sup> In reply to such accusations, Gautier himself declared war on critics and journalists in his 1834 preface to Mademoiselle de Maupin;

Ne serait-ce pas quelque chose à faire que la critique des critiques? car ces grands dégoûtés, qui font tant les superbes et les difficiles, sont loin d'avoir l'infailibilité de notre saint père. Il y aurait de quoi remplir un journal quotidien et du plus grand format. Leurs bévues historiques ou autres, leurs citations controuvées, leurs fautes de français, leurs plagats, leur radotage, leurs plaisanteries rebattues et de mauvais goût, leur pauvreté d'idées, leur manque d'intelligence et de tact, leur ignorance des choses les plus simples.

. . . .<sup>57</sup>

Just as critics categorised authors and their works, so Gautier

classified critics throughout his preface: virtuous critics, moral critics, utilitarian critics, progressive critics, blasé critics, critics of the future for whom only prospective works could possibly be promising or worthwhile—all of whom Gautier dismissed as "pieux feuilletonistes, qu'effarouchent les ouvrages nouveaux et romantiques."<sup>58</sup> Although he himself would later become a renowned journalist and critic, Gautier explained that "l'antipathie naturelle du critique contre le poète" was a result of hypocrisy and envy on the part of the critic, for the simple reason that, as Gautier claimed with pointed exaggeration, most critics were failed poets.<sup>59</sup>

As Deriège observed in his satirical Physiologie du lion, the dispute between critic and dandy-littérateur continued into the 1840s, by which time the "dandy" had given way to the "lion":

Certains lions littéraires bravent cependant la critique, et lancent hardiment leurs livres à travers la société. Et vraiment ces représentans du monde fashionable ne réussissent pas trop mal. Les femmes recherchent avec curiosité les ouvrages de ces scélérats enchanteurs; elles aiment les allures indépendantes de leur style, et jusqu'à ces titres cavaliers qu'ils semblent écrire du bout de leur cravache sur la couverture jaune paille de l'in-8.<sup>60</sup>



Notes

PART ONE: CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup> George Gordon Noel Byron, "Beppo," in Poetical Works, ed. Frederick Page, new edition corrected by John Jump (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 629.

<sup>2</sup> [Thomas Moore], The Fudge Family in Paris, ed. Thomas Brown, the younger, author of The Twopenny Post Bag, 7th ed. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818), p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Barbey d'Aurevilly judged these two works severely, and felt that Lister's and Bulwer's novels portrayed little more than "quelques traits faciles à travers lesquels on vit Brummell. C'était charmant de légèreté spirituelle et de pénétration négligente." Of the many attempts to portray in fiction either Brummell's dandyism or Brummell himself, Barbey was convinced that "il n'y a point de livre, en Angleterre, qui montre Brummell comme il fut" ("Du dandysme et de George Brummell," ORC, II, 678).

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "The Devil's Thoughts," in The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge (1912; rpt. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 319-323. The poem, which was first published in 1799, begins thus:

From his brimstone bed at break of day  
A walking the Devil is gone,  
To visit his snug little farm the earth,  
And see how his stock goes on.

Over the hill and over the dale,  
And he went over the plain,  
And backward and forward he switched his long tail  
As a gentleman switches his cane.

And how then was the Devil drest?  
Oh! he was in his Sunday's best:  
His jacket was red and his breeches were blue,  
And there was a hole where the tail came through.

<sup>5</sup> The passage in question—De l'Allemagne (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1969), I, 344-345—reads in part as follows:

Le Méphistophélès de Goethe est un diable civilisé.  
Il manie avec art cette moquerie légère en apparence  
qui peut si bien s'accorder avec une grande  
profondeur de perversité, il traite de niaiserie ou  
d'affectation tout ce qui est sensible. . . . [I]l a

. . . quelque chose de doucereux auprès des femmes, parce que, dans cette seule circonstance, il a besoin de tromper pour séduire. . . . Le caractère de Méphistophélès suppose une inépuisable connaissance de la société, de la nature et du merveilleux.

6 Charles Robert Maturin, Melmoth the Wanderer: A Tale, ed. Alethea Hayter (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1977), p. 703.

7 In the Introduction to her edition of Melmoth the Wanderer, Alethea Hayter relates that Maturin, the clergyman-dandy, had found the idea for his novel in a rhetorical question, verging on blasphemy, about sin and salvation which he had put to his congregation one Sunday:

The question which he asked from the pulpit was 'At this moment is there one of us present, however we may have departed from the Lord, disobeyed His will, and disregarded His word--is there one of us who would, at this moment, accept all that man could bestow, or earth afford, to resign the hope of his salvation?' (p. 9).

8 Honoré de Balzac, "Préface de la première édition de 'La Peau de chagrin' et moralité accompagnant la même édition," in Oeuvres complètes, XVIII (Paris: Club de l'honnête homme, 1960), 570.

9 Baudelaire, C, II, 461.

10 Byron, "Beppo," p. 629.

11 Ibid., pp. 629-630.

12 Ibid., p. 635.

13 Prevost, Le Dandysme en France, p. 41.

14 Stendhal, Le Rouge et le noir: chronique du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, ed. Henri Martineau (Paris: Garnier frères, 1939), pp. 276, 280.

15 Stendhal, "Lord Byron en Italie. Récit d'un témoin oculaire (1816)," Revue de Paris (mars 1830), p. 195.

16 Carassus, p. 33.

17 Roger de Beauvoir, "Le Pays latin en 1832," Revue de Paris (mars 1832), pp. 251-252. This article is an extract from the introduction to Beauvoir's novel L'Écolier de Clumy, which had not yet been published. Flicoteaux was the famous restaurateur of the period, celebrated by students for his inexpensive fare.

18 Carassus, p. 33.

19 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Premier memorandum," ORC, II, 863.

20 Ibid., pp. 846-847. Similarly, in Balzac's Illusions perdues (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1979), pp. 250 ff., Etienne Lousteau vividly describes for Lucien de Rubempré the dark and distasteful side of journalism.

21 "'Fortunio,' par M. Théophile Gautier," Revue française (juillet 1838), p. 373.

22 Prevost, p. 134.

23 Stendhal, Correspondance, ed. Henri Martineau, V (Paris: Le Divan, 1934), 314-315. Stendhal wrote this in a letter to Thomas Moore, dated 25 March 1820. In his marginal notes on the manuscript of the Chroniques italiennes (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1977), p. 411, Stendhal indicated that the happy few were indeed few: "To the happy few. Toute ma vie j'ai désiré être lu par fort peu de personnes, trente ou quarante, des amis, comme Mme Roland, M. de Tracy... Je me réjouis de ma mauvaise écriture qui dégoûtera les sots et me tiendra lieu de chiffre."

24 Stendhal, Le Rouge et le noir, p. 9.

25 Moers, p. 138.

26 v. Jean-Luc Steinmetz, "L'Acte manqué du romantisme," in La France frénétique de 1830. Choix de textes, ed. Jean-Luc Steinmetz (Paris: Editions Phébus, 1978), pp. 9-45.

27 Théophile Gautier, Histoire du romantisme. Suivie de Notices romantiques et d'une Etude sur la poésie française 1830-1868, nouvelle édition (Paris: G. Charpentier et Cie, [1874]), p. 90.

28 Théophile Gautier, Préface, Les Jeunes-France, romans goguenards, suivis de Contes humoristiques (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1878), pp. VII, XI.

29 Ibid., p. XIV.

30 Théophile Gautier, Préface, Fortunio, nouvelle édition (Paris: H.L. Delloye, 1840), p. 1. The novel was first published in 1837.

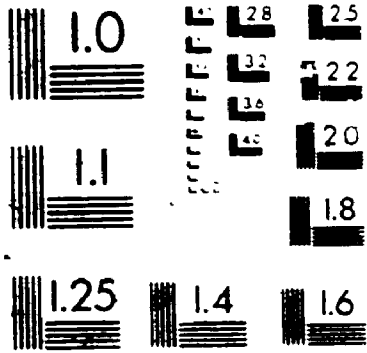
31 Théophile Gautier, Préface, "Albertus ou l'âme et le péché, légende théologique," in Poésies complètes, ed. René Jasinski (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1932), I, 81. "Albertus" was first published in 1832.

32 Gautier, Préface, Fortunio, p. 1.

33 Ibid., p. 1.

34 Théophile Gautier, Préface, Mademoiselle de Maupin, ed. Geneviève van den Bogaert (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1966), p. 42.

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35 Alfred de Musset, "Mardoche," Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie, in Poésies complètes, nouvelles éditions (Paris: Charpentier, 1850), p. 109.

36 Ibid., p. 131.

37 Petrus Borel, "Champavert, le lycanthrope," in Champavert: contes immoraux (Paris: Editions des Autres, 1979), p. 365.

38 Prosper Mérimée, "Le Vase étrusque," in Nouvelles complètes, ed. Pierre Josserand, I (1964; rpt. Paris: Gallimard, 1977), 84.

39 Charles Lassailly, Les Roueries de Trialph, notre contemporain avant son suicide (Paris: Editions Plasma, 1978), p. 5.

40 Ibid., p. 18.

41 Ibid., p. 189.

42 Barbey d'Aurevilly, Notices, Notes et Variantes, ORC, I, 1266.

43 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Le Cachet d'onyx," ORC, I, 19-20.

44 Théophile Gautier, "Albertus," in Poésies complètes, I, 184.

45 Lassailly, Les Roueries de Trialph, p. 149.

46 v. Jean-Luc Steinmetz, "L'Acte manqué du romantisme," in La France frénétique de 1830. Choix de textes, ed. Jean-Luc Steinmetz (Paris: Editions Phébus, 1978), pp. 9-45.

47 In Le Dandysme en France, pp. 125, 132, John Prevost stresses the importance of the role of the dandy in the works of Balzac:

Les plus célèbres dandys de la littérature française se retrouvent dans l'oeuvre d'Honoré de Balzac. . . . Jusqu'en 1834 le dandy n'est, dans l'oeuvre de cet auteur, qu'un simple élégant; à partir de 1835, première année de sa grande vogue, le dandy joue dans l'oeuvre balzacienne un rôle beaucoup plus important. Le dandy reparait jusque dans les derniers ouvrages de Balzac, mais après 1840 il doit partager la scène avec le lion. . . . Le tableau balzacien a certains défauts, tels que l'inexactitude dans la chronologie du dandysme, ou encore les invraisemblances dans les carrières de certains dandys. . . .

48 [Désiré Nisard], "Variétés . . . 'Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie,' par M. Alfred de Musset," Journal des débats politiques et littéraires, 8 avril 1830, p. [3].

49 [H.C. de Saint-Michel], "'La Table de nuit,' par M. Paul de Musset," Revue de Paris (mars 1832), p. 270.

50 H.C. de Saint-Michel, "Bulletin critique," Revue de Paris (mars 1833), pp. 344-345.

51 [Editorial], L'Europe littéraire, journal de la littérature nationale et étrangère, 1er mars 1833, p. 1.

52 Honoré de Balzac, Introduction, "Physiologie du mariage," in Oeuvres complètes, XXI (Paris: Club de l'honnête homme, 1961), 195.

53 Balzac, "De la mode en littérature", in Oeuvres complètes, XXVI (Paris: Club de l'honnête homme, 1962), 272. The article originally appeared in the 29 May 1830 issue of La Mode.

54 Balzac, "Préface de la première édition de 'La Peau de chagrin' et moralité accompagnant la même édition," in Oeuvres complètes, XVIII (Paris: Club de l'honnête homme, 1960), 573, 576.

55 Balzac, "Physiologie de la toilette," La Silhouette (juin-juillet 1830), pp. 25-26.

56 "'Albertus, ou l'âme et le péché: légende théologique,' par Théophile Gautier," Le Charivari, 16 janvier 1833, p. 3.

57 Gautier, Préface, Mademoiselle de Maupin, p. 57.

58 Ibid., p. 32.

59 Ibid., pp. 34-35.

60 Félix Deriège, Physiologie du lion (Paris: J. Delahaye, 1842), pp. 26-27.

"La réalité du Dandysme est humaine,  
sociale, et spirituelle."  
--Barbey d'Aurevilly, Du dandysme  
et de George Brummell

#### CHAPTER IV

#### THE APOLOGIA OF LITERARY DANDYISM IN FRANCE

Behind the supercilious mask of literary dandyism in France as it developed throughout the 1830s and into the 1840s, there evolved as well a more serious facet of the phenomenon--a genuine concern for questions of art and aesthetics. "Vers 1832, une nouvelle conception du dandysme prit forme," writes Prevost. "Elle eut son origine dans le Petit Cénacle, dont les membres, selon Gautier, haïssaient et repoussaient autant que possible ce qu'Horace appelait le profane vulgaire."<sup>1</sup>

Not only for the "Petit Cénacle," but for many authors of the period the question of vulgarity also applied to literary matters. Stendhal, as Hubert Juin has noted, "a très présent à l'âme la médiocrité de son époque,"<sup>2</sup> and one indeed hears the voice of Stendhal himself intoning through that of his character François Cenci: "'Comment étonnerai-je mes sots contemporains? Comment pourrais-je me donner le plaisir si vif de me sentir différent de tout ce vulgaire?'"<sup>3</sup> As we have already noted, Stendhal explicitly separated himself and his art from the vulgar masses by dedicating works "to the happy few."<sup>4</sup> Some authors did however verge on a type of vulgarity, as Gautier implied in his Histoire du romantisme when reminiscing about the literary disputes of the early thirties:

Pour nous le monde se divisait en flamboyants et en grisâtres, les uns objet de notre amour, les autres de notre aversion. . . . Grisâtre avait aussi des acceptions

littéraires dans notre pensée: Diderot était un flamboyant, Voltaire un grisâtre, de même que Rubens et Poussin.<sup>5</sup>

Gautier in his red vest was of course one of the "flamboyants," and for him literary dandyism also was flamboyant in the sense that it opened up a new mode of aesthetic and artistic statement, a new mode of expressing sensitivity and creativity. In Le Roman de la momie he wrote that "le pouvoir de la beauté est sans bornes, l'étrangeté fait naître le caprice,"<sup>6</sup> and in Mademoiselle de Maupin the power of beauty and the strangeness of the unexpected combine to activate the highly refined sensitivity of d'Albert, elevating him to a state of spiritual ecstasy and artistic reverie:

Je ne pensais pas, je ne rêvais pas, j'étais confondu avec la nature qui m'environnait, je me sentais frissonner avec le feuillage, miroiter avec l'eau, reluire avec le rayon, m'épanouir avec la fleur. . . . Alors le rossignol, qui probablement n'attendait que cet instant pour commencer à chanter, fit jaillir de son petit gosier une note tellement aiguë et éclatante que je l'entendis par la poitrine autant que par les oreilles. Le son se répandit subitement dans ce ciel cristallin, vide de bruits, et y fit une atmosphère harmonieuse, où les autres notes qui le suivirent voltigeaient en battant des ailes. Je comprenais parfaitement ce qu'il disait, comme si j'eusse eu le secret du langage des oiseaux. . . . Je n'essayerai pas de te décrire sa beauté. Il est des choses auxquelles les mots se refusent. Comment dire l'indicible? comment peindre ce qui n'a ni forme ni couleur? comment noter une voix sans timbre et sans paroles?<sup>7</sup>

Interestingly, Gautier's Mademoiselle de Maupin, and Lassailly's Les Roueries de Trialph as well, were both literary innovations from a structural point of view. Unlike the linear construction and realism in the works of Balzac and Hugo, for example, the concerns of plot, setting, character, time and reality--fragmentary, unfixed, often vague and incomplete in both of these novels--are superseded by the undulations of



the reverie of the artist and the endeavour to articulate the oneiric.

But it was Théophile Dondey who first explicitly associated dandyism with artistic reverie and ecstasy, in his poem entitled "Dandysme" which dates from 1831 and which was published two years later in his collection of poems Feu et flamme:

Je savoure à loisir les sourdes voluptés  
Que la nature envoie à mes nerfs enchantés.  
Les émanations des feuilles et des tiges  
M'enveloppent le corps d'un réseau de vertiges.

.....  
Mon être intérieur me semble en ce moment  
Une île orientale aux palais magnifiques,  
Où deux grands magiciens, athlètes pacifiques,  
Font, sous l'oeil d'une fée, assaut d'enchantement.<sup>8</sup>

As though to justify the conception of art which Dondey's poem and his own works exemplified, Gautier penned the following apology in the preface to "Albertus," published in 1832:

A quoi cela sert-il? -- Cela sert à être beau. --  
N'est-ce pas assez? comme les fleurs, comme les  
parfums, comme les oiseaux, comme tout ce que l'homme  
n'a pu détourner et dépraver à son usage. . . . Tout  
l'art est là. -- L'art, c'est la liberté, le luxe;  
l'efflorescence, c'est l'épanouissement de l'âme dans  
l'oisiveté. . . . Il y a et il y aura toujours des  
âmes artistes à qui les tableaux d'Ingres et de  
Delacroix, les aquarelles de Boulanger et de Decamps  
sembleront plus utiles que les chemins de fer et les  
bateaux à vapeur.<sup>9</sup>

In this light literary dandyism became much more than a simple attempt to "épater le bourgeois"; it became an expression of defiance and spiritual revolt in an age of growing utilitarianism. In the celebrated preface to Mademoiselle de Maupin, Gautier addressed the dichotomy between "utile" and "beau" in even greater detail and with greater vehemence:

Utilité: quel est ce mot, et à quoi s'applique-t-il?  
. . . [J]e me passerais plus volontiers de bottes que  
de poèmes. . . . Rien de ce qui est beau n'est  
indispensable à la vie. . . . Il n'y a de vraiment  
beau que ce qui ne peut servir à rien; tout ce qui  
est utile est laid, car c'est l'expression de quelque

besoin, et ceux de l'homme sont ignobles et dégoûtants, comme sa pauvre et infirme nature.-- L'endroit le plus utile d'une maison, ce sont les latrines.<sup>10</sup>

Out of such a stance grew Gautier's philosophy of "l'art pour l'art" which was much more than an aesthetic statement; it was as well a statement with social and political ramifications--ramifications which were clearly perceived by the author of a review of Gautier's Fortunio, who saw in the works of Gautier "l'expression de ce dandysme nouveau":

Un mépris systématique et souverain pour les idées, les sentimens, les habitudes et les convenances vulgaires, un profond dégoût de la vie réelle et de "ses étroites limites, le rêve d'une existence plus large au moyen de combinaisons matérielles plus hardies, tel est le fond de cette nouvelle sagesse dont Fortunio nous paraît jusqu'à ce jour le programme le plus complet.<sup>11</sup>

"[L]e dandysme," continued the reviewer, "changeait de conditions; il quittait la sphère des réalités pour entrer dans le domaine de l'intelligence."<sup>12</sup> The key word here is "intelligence"--an attribute which critics of the period rarely if ever conceded to literary dandyism, but the use of which was markedly significant in that literary dandyism was now gradually coming to be considered as a serious literary endeavour.

Oddly enough, even Honoré de Balzac lauded the intelligence of the artist--of that special "oisif" who might be termed a dandy-littérateur--in the most ambitious and the longest of the articles which he published in 1830, Traité de la vie élégante: "L'artiste est toujours grand. Il a une élégance et une vie à lui, parce que chez lui tout reflète son intelligence et sa gloire."<sup>13</sup> Although never fully completed, Traité de la vie élégante is a cogent and curiously serious work in which Balzac articulated the necessity and the importance of elegance--in costume,

manners and metaphysics--for the new bourgeois society of France. Despite the sweeping social changes brought about by the Revolution of 1789, the society of 1830 consisted, according to Balzac, of three distinct classes:

L'homme qui travaille,  
L'homme qui pense,  
L'homme qui ne fait rien.<sup>14</sup>

These three classes corresponded to three modes of existence:

1. La vie occupée,
2. La vie d'artiste,
3. La vie élégante.<sup>15</sup>

These social classes might otherwise be defined by the manner in which each conceived of the concepts of work and rest, as expressed in the first four aphorisms in Balzac's treatise:

I

Le but de la vie civilisée ou sauvage est le repos.

II

Le repos absolu produit le spleen.

III

La vie élégante est, dans une large acception du terme, l'art d'animer le repos.

IV

L'homme habitué au travail ne peut comprendre la vie élégante.<sup>16</sup>

Now the artist is an exception among men, for he alone can fluctuate at will between "l'homme occupé" and "l'oisif":

L'artiste est une exception: son oisiveté est un travail, et son travail est un repos; il est élégant et négligé tour à tour. . . . Qu'il s'occupe à ne rien faire ou médite un chef-d'oeuvre sans paraître occupé . . . il est toujours l'expression d'une grande pensée et domine la société.<sup>17</sup>

This is in essence a definition of the dandy-littérateur of the

1830s, although Balzac categorically refused to equate elegance with dandyism, or the artist ("l'homme qui pense"<sup>18</sup>) with the dandy ("un être pensant? . . . jamais"<sup>19</sup>). Indeed, Balzac avoided using the terms "dandy" and "dandysme" throughout his treatise. Even during the imaginary interview with Brummell in the third chapter of the work, the Beau is never referred to as a dandy. As we have seen previously, the dandyism of the early 1830s in France was generally characterised by superficial displays of frivolity, gross extravaganzas of dress and blatant egoism. Thus, on the sole occasion when Balzac mentions dandyism in his Traité, he does so only in the most disparaging terms:

XXXIX

Le Dandysme est une hérésie de la vie élégante.

En effet le Dandysme est une affectation de la mode. En se faisant Dandy, un homme devient un meuble de boudoir, un mannequin extrêmement ingénieux qui peut se poser sur un cheval ou sur un canapé, qui mord ou tête habilement le bout d'une canne; mais un être pensant? . . . jamais. L'homme qui ne voit que la mode dans la mode est un sot. La vie élégante n'exclut ni la pensée, ni la science; elle les consacre. Elle ne doit pas apprendre seulement à jouir du temps, mais à l'employer dans un ordre d'idées extrêmement élevé.<sup>20</sup>

Balzac's denigration and rejection of the word "dandysme" in his treatise may be viewed as but a question of semantics, for his close analysis of "la vie élégante" is an earnest examination of the more serious aspects of a phenomenon which first Barbey d'Aurevilly and then Baudelaire would define as the philosophy and, indeed, the religion of dandyism. Furthermore, in associating the notion of elegance with the role of the artist, Balzac was exploring the more serious aspects of literary dandyism before the letter. (Saint-Michel first spoke of "dandysme littéraire" in 1832<sup>21</sup>), as evidenced by his discussion of the far-

reaching effects, and hence the importance, of fashion and elegance:

Alors dans notre société les différences ont disparu: il n'y a plus que des nuances. Aussi, le savoir-vivre, l'élégance des manières, le je ne sais quoi, fruit d'une éducation complète, forment la seule barrière qui sépare l'oisif, de l'homme occupé. S'il existe un privilège, il dérive de la supériorité morale. . . . Aussi, en dictant les lois de l'élégance, la mode embrasse-t-elle tous les arts. Elle est le principe des oeuvres comme des ouvrages. . . . [E]lle fait les révolutions de la musique, des lettres, du dessin et de l'architecture. Or, un traité de la vie élégante, étant la réunion des principes incommutables qui doivent diriger la manifestation de notre pensée par la vie extérieure, est en quelque sorte la métaphysique des choses.<sup>22</sup>

"Un ordre d'idées extrêmement élevé, "la supériorité morale," "la métaphysique des choses"--these are indeed quite new and profound, even spiritual claims for dandyism, especially coming from the pen of a writer who always so accurately and ruthlessly revealed much of the superficial silliness of dandies and dandyism. Before Barbey and before Baudelaire, Balzac recognised in "la toilette" a succinct expression of "l'homme avec ses opinions politiques, l'homme avec le texte de son existence, l'homme hiéroglyphié."<sup>23</sup> He was, then, among the very first to intimate a connexion between elegance and art, between dandyism and spirituality.

In 1836, six years after the publication of Traité de la vie élégante, Arnould Frémy published an article entitled "Le Roi de la mode" which was one of the first serious attempts in France to elaborate a theory of dandyism. In European dandyism he saw a unique, complex and spiritual undertaking of the highest order:

Il faut bien se rendre compte d'ailleurs de ce qu'il entre d'éléments et de conditions dans cette existence incomparable qu'on appelle le dandisme, qualification incomplète et avilie aujourd'hui! . . . L'empire du dandisme est exclusif et absorbe toutes les facultés de ses adeptes. C'est peut-être pour cela qu'il est le premier de tous les pouvoirs, et que tant de gens ont passé leur vie à l'ambitionner. . . . [P]our

remplir dignement la mission du dandisme, il [faut]  
surtout l'instinct divin, le sceau de la  
prédestination.<sup>24</sup>

Although Frémy describes dandyism as a highly intellectual pursuit ("l'un des plus hauts emplois que l'homme puisse faire de ses facultés"<sup>25</sup>), he curiously did not include the artist in his theory of dandyism. "L'homme qui écrit, qui remue des phrases et des passions, sera nécessairement l'antipode du dandy," he wrote. "Il en est de même de celui qui excelle dans un art quelconque. . . ." <sup>26</sup>

In 1844, the year following the publication of Barbey d'Aurevilly's article "De l'élégance," Eugène Chapus published a volume entitled Théorie de l'élégance. As though to dissociate his study from the frivolous guides and manuals on practical dandyism which appeared in the late 1820s, such as those published by Hilaire in 1826 and 1827, Chapus declared the serious intention of his work from the outset: "On n'enseigne pas l'élégance, on l'aime, on la voit, on la comprend d'intuition, on se l'approprie, mais on n'en reçoit pas de leçons."<sup>27</sup> For Chapus, as for Balzac and Frémy, there was a definite correlation between elegance and civilisation. "De tout temps les peuples qui ont été les moins élégamment habillés ont été les plus arriérés en civilisation," he wrote. "[L]e contraire a lieu chez tous ceux qui, comme les Grecs, se sont avancés dans le perfectionnement de l'esprit humain."<sup>28</sup> In addition Chapus's work did not fail to emphasise a cardinal tenet of vestimentary and literary dandyism alike: "la théorie des couleurs"<sup>29</sup> and "les parfums"<sup>30</sup> were as essential to Chapus's theory of elegance as they would later be to the poetic theories of Baudelaire, the symbolist poets and Huysmans.

Of all the apologists of dandyism, not only as a social but as a

literary and philosophical phenomenon as well, Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly was unquestionably one of the most eloquent. Composed by 1844 and first published in 1845, his Du dandysme et de George Brummell was the first concerted, serious attempt in France to set down a philosophy of dandyism, and the work would exert great influence on generations of writers after Barbey.

From the time of his arrival in Paris in the early 1830s, where he was obliged to become a journalist to support himself, Barbey led the life of a dandy to the extent that his finances would permit. The first two of his Memoranda, which cover the period from August 1836 to January 1839, contain abundant details of his early dandyism:

Commandé aussi des boutons d'acier fin ciselé pour un gilet de velours noir, sublime invention qui doit me faire plus d'honneur que n'importe quelle découverte scientifique. . . .<sup>31</sup>

Levé à huit heures. -- Essayé un pantalon et commandé une redingote, affaires graves, choses presque religieuses.<sup>32</sup>

"[Barbey cherchait] constamment à étonner, à produire de l'effet, à 'épater le bourgeois,' comme on dit," reports Boulenger.<sup>33</sup> And indeed, in his journal Barbey revels in recounting his singular adventures: proving to a lady that he was "plus mince sans corset qu'elle avec le sien,"<sup>34</sup> being arrested for spending an entire night writing letters "sur le divan de deux catins,"<sup>35</sup> creating a scandal at a Christmas dinner by eating "du gigot parfaitement cru, avec un appétit de cannibale."<sup>36</sup> Barbey was particularly pleased to be viewed as a sensitive and refined mystifier. "A dit de moi," he wrote in his journal, "que j'étais un beau palais dans lequel il y a un labyrinthe. . . . [L]e mot est remarquable et me plaît."<sup>37</sup>

Despite the self-indulgences of his early years in Paris, Barbey did

view dandyism seriously. "C'est le côté intellectuel et nuancé de l'élégance du dandysme qui l'intéresse," Elizabeth Creed has affirmed.<sup>38</sup> He deplored the fact that many of those who had masqueraded as dandies were little better than "des jockeys et des fouetteurs de chiens,"<sup>39</sup> and he stressed vehemently that "le Dandysme n'est pas l'art brutal de mettre une cravate."<sup>40</sup> In this respect, he felt that Carlyle in particular had completely mistaken the true nature of dandyism in viewing it to be a mere philosophy of clothes. Quite to the contrary, Barbey asserted that "la réalité du Dandysme est humaine, sociale et spirituelle."<sup>41</sup> He further took Carlyle to task for having omitted "le Héros Dandy" from his gallery of great men portrayed in On Heroes and Hero Worship. "Mais il l'a oublié," Barbey wryly surmised.<sup>42</sup>

In 1853 he once again came to the defence of dandyism by contesting Balzac's summary judgement of the dandy in Traité de la vie élégante: "En se faisant Dandy, un homme devient un meuble de boudoir . . . mais un être pensant? . . . jamais."<sup>43</sup> In his review of the 1853 edition of Balzac's treatise, Barbey wrote:

Eh bien, Stendhal avait peint le dandysme en homme qui, sous les impertinences de l'attitude, en comprenait la profondeur! Enfin, pour citer Balzac lui-même à Balzac, les têtes les plus étonnantes de la Comédie humaine, celles dans lesquelles il a versé le plus d'intelligence, sont des têtes de dandys.<sup>44</sup>

Contrary to Balzac's opinion, Barbey reaffirmed that one could not make oneself into a dandy: "On ne se fait pas Brummell. On l'est ou on ne l'est pas."<sup>45</sup> But what kind of man then was a dandy? As early as 1838 Barbey had reflected on "la différence qu'il y a entre un homme supérieur et un homme ordinaire."<sup>46</sup> By 1845 he clearly viewed the dandy, in a word, as "l'homme supérieur"<sup>47</sup>--"un homme qui porte en lui quelque chose de supérieur au monde visible."<sup>48</sup>



Barbey's study of Brummell was generally well received by the critics of the period, who considered it to be a serious work. In 1845 Edelestand Du Méril wrote of it:

Les choses les plus frivoles ont leur côté sérieux; le tout est de l'apercevoir, de savoir remonter aux causes et pénétrer au cœur de la réalité. Pour la plupart des moralistes, le dandysme est une fatuité malveillante et un ridicule. M. Barbey d'Aurevilly ne s'est point condamné à tourner machinalement autour de ce lieu-commun. . . . [S]a peinture du dandysme est très fine et étudiée con amore. . . .<sup>49</sup>

In his review of the 1861 edition of the work, Paul de Saint-Victor judged the book to be "sérieux sous une forme étincelante et légère."<sup>50</sup> Barbey himself maintained that his book was "aussi sérieux que tout autre livre d'histoire."<sup>51</sup>

In terms of the history of French letters the work was indeed a landmark, for it was largely due to the influence of Barbey and his "Strange Book"<sup>52</sup> that, as Moers states, "French dandyism achieved intellectual maturity."<sup>53</sup> For Barbey, as we have seen, dandyism was an artistic, intellectual and spiritual matter—far removed from what it had started out as in the 1820s. Thus, in Elizabeth Creed's assessment, Barbey marked "la transition entre le narcissisme . . . et le dandysme purement intellectuel."<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, the literary dandyism of Barbey d'Aurevilly was to have a profound effect upon French letters in the years following the publication of Du dandysme et de George Brummell—a work particularly admired by Baudelaire. Describing the dandy as "l'homme supérieur,"<sup>55</sup> linking dandyism and "élégance" to "la fantaisie et, l'imagination, de la partie mobile de nos facultés,"<sup>56</sup> defining dandyism as an anti-bourgeois attitude, giving dandyism a serious literary expression: in these ways the dandyism of Barbey d'Aurevilly—the "apôtre"<sup>57</sup> of dandyism in France—was indeed precursory to the

evolution of the intellectual, interior and profoundly spiritual dandyism  
of Baudelaire--"le prêtre du Dandysme." 58

Notes

PART ONE: CHAPTER IV

1 Prevost, Le Dandysme en France, p. 160. Members of the "Petit Cénacle" included Gérard de Nerval, Jehan Le Seigneur, Augustus Maquet (MacKeat), Théophile Dondey (Philothée O'Neddy), Napoléon Tom, Joseph Bouchardy, Célestin Nanteuil, Pétrus Borel, Alphonse Brot, Jules Vabre.

2 Hubert Juin, "Stendhal et Raymonde branlée," in Lectures du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, II (Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1977), 48.

3 Stendhal, "Les Cenci," in Chroniques italiennes, ed. Béatrice Didier (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1977), p. 244. In his "Deuxième memorandum"--ORC, II, 953--Barbey d'Aurevilly, when reading Stendhal for the first time, noted the aversion of the author for the vulgar: "Belle haine du commun!"

4 v. Le Rouge et le noir, Promenades dans Rome, La Chartreuse de Parme, Projets de préface pour les Chroniques italiennes.

5 Gautier, Histoire du romantisme, p. 93.

6 Théophile Gautier, Le Roman de la momie, ed. Geneviève van den Bogaert (1966; rpt. Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1973), p. 81.

7 Gautier, Mademoiselle de Maupin, p. 131.

8 Théophile Dondey, "Dandysme," in Feu et flamme, ed. Marcel Hervier (Paris: Éditions des Presses Françaises, 1926), pp. 35, 37.

9 Gautier, Préface, "Albertus," in Poésies complètes, I, 82-83.

10 Gautier, Préface, Mademoiselle de Maupin, pp. 44-45.

11 "'Fortunio,' par M. Théophile Gautier," Revue française (juillet 1838), pp. 373-374.

12 Ibid., p. 373.

13 Honoré de Balzac, "Traité de la vie élégante," in Sur le dandysme, ed. Roger Kempf (Paris: Union Générale d'Édition, 1971), p. 40. Balzac's treatise was first published in serial form in La Mode in the issues dated October 2, 9, 16, 23 and 6 November 1830.

14 Ibid., p. 34.

15 Ibid., p. 34.

- 16 Ibid., pp. 38-39. The treatise contains a total of fifty-three aphorisms.
- 17 Ibid., p. 39.
- 18 Ibid., p. 34.
- 19 Ibid., p. 84.
- 20 Ibid., p. 84
- 21 [H.C. de Saint-Michel], "'La Table de nuit,' par M. Paul de Musset," Revue de Paris (mars 1832), p. 270.
- 22 Balzac, Traité de la vie élégante, pp. 51, 54.
- 23 Ibid., pp. 90-91.
- 24 Arnould Frémy, "Le Roi de la mode," Revue de Paris (octobre 1836), pp. 269-271. Frémy's article is also a paean to Beau Brummell, to whom he would restore "le titre de roi de la mode anglaise et de prophète du dandisme européen" (p. 255).
- 25 Ibid., p. 271.
- 26 Ibid., p. 270.
- 27 Eugène Chapus, Théorie de l'élégance (Paris: Comptoir des Imprimeurs-Unis, 1844), p. 13.
- 28 Ibid., p. 140. In aphorism XL of his Traité de la vie élégante, p. 89, Balzac expresses a similar belief: "La toilette est l'expression de la société."
- 29 Chapus, Théorie de l'élégance; p. 144.
- 30 Ibid., p. 152.
- 31 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Premier memorandum," ORC, II, 894.
- 32 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Deuxième memorandum," ORC, II, 950.
- 33 Jacques Boulenger, Sous Louis-Philippe: les dandys, avec une Préface de Marcel Boulenger (Paris: Société d'Éditions Littéraires et Artistiques, Librairie Paul Ollendorff, 1907), p. 345.
- 34 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Premier memorandum," ORC, II, 847.
- 35 Ibid., p. 876.
- 36 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Deuxième memorandum," ORC, II, 1006.
- 37 Ibid., p. 982.

38 Elizabeth Creed, Le Dandysme de Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly (Paris: E. Droz, 1938), p. 41.

39 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Du dandysme et de George Brummell," ORC, II, 699.

40 Ibid., p. 699.

41 Ibid., p. 673.

42 Ibid., p. 674.

43 Balzac, Traité de la vie élégante, p. 84.

44 Barbey d'Aurevilly, [Article sur le "Traité de la vie élégante" de Balzac], Le Pays, 22 juin 1853. Jacques Petit has reproduced an extract from Barbey's article in Notes et Variantes, ORC, II, 1433.

45 Barbey d'Aurevilly, Préface à l'édition de 1861 de "Du dandysme et de George Brummell," ORC, II, 1435.

46 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Deuxième memorandum," ORC, II, 913.

47 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Du dandysme et de George Brummell." ORC, II, 680.

48 Ibid., p. 692.

49 [Edelestand Du Méril], "'Du dandysme et de G. Brummel [sic],'" par J.-A. Barbey d'Aurevilly, Revue de Paris, 15 avril 1845, p. 552(b). Jules Lemaitre may represent one of the "moralistes" to whom Du Méril referred, for in his portrait of Barbey—Les Contemporains: études et portraits littéraires. Quatrième série (Paris: H. Lecène et H. Oudin, 1889), p. 56—Lemaitre wrote a caustic criticism of Barbey's work: "La dernière illusion (est-ce la dernière?) de M. d'Aurevilly consiste à croire que le dandysme est quelque chose de considérable et qui fait honneur à l'esprit humain."

50 Paul de Saint-Victor, "'Du dandysme et de Brummel [sic],'" La Presse, 18 novembre 1861, n. pag.

51 Barbey d'Aurevilly, Préface à l'édition de 1861 de "Du dandysme et de George Brummell," ORC, II, 1436.

52 Maurice de Quérin, upon whose request Barbey had set out to write his Memoranda, had written "Strange Book!" in English on the manuscript of Barbey's journal (v. Notes et Variantes, ORC, II, 1459). The phrase might certainly be applied equally to Du dandysme et de George Brummell as well. The work was a serious study of dandyism, but it was also a dandy book in the details of its physical composition and publication. Barbey and Trebutien considered with painstaking care questions concerning the kind of paper to be used, the format of the book, punctuation, type size, the colour and quality of the binding (v. Kempf, Dandies, pp. 27-32). In his preface to the 1861 edition of the

work, Barbey described the refined air of mystery which surrounded the publication of the first edition of his book: "Tiré à quelques exemplaires, il fut donné, il y a plusieurs années, de la main à la main, à quelques personnes, et cette espèce de publicité intime et mystérieuse lui porta bonheur" (ORC, II, 1434). Barbey included a number of new notes in the second edition, and strangely even included a note within a note: "J'ai si bonne envie d'être clair et d'être compris que je risquerai une chose ridicule. Je mettrai une note dans une note" (ORC, II, 674). A text on such a rarified subject as dandyism, buttressed by an elaborate marginal structure of notes and opinions, affords one a most curious reading experience indeed, as Kempf --Dandies, p. 31--remarks: "L'auteur parade en ces lieux inhabituels, épigraphes et notes, d'ordinaire empruntés. La marge est si spacieuse qu'on glisse de Brummell au dandysme de Barbey et à l'annotation des notes."

53 Moers, p. 270.

54 Creed, Le Dandysme de Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, p. 122.

55 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Du dandysme et de George Brummell," ORC, II, 680. "Qu'est-ce que l'homme supérieur?" Baudelaire pondered in his intimate journal, wherein he also jotted down the answer to his question: "Eternelle supériorité du Dandy" (OC, I, 682, 689).

56 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "De l'élégance," ORC, II, 1423. Baudelaire many times referred to the imagination as "la reine des facultés" (v. "Exposition universelle 1855," OC, II, 585; "Notes nouvelles sur Edgar Poe," OC, II, 328; "Salon de 1859," OC, II, 620).

57 Creed, Le Dandysme de Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, p. 122.

58 André Ferran, L'Esthétique de Baudelaire, (Paris: Hachette, 1933; rpt. Paris: Nizet, 1968), p. 72.

PART TWO

BAUDELAIRE--THE EMERGENCE OF A DANDY: 1821-1857

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"Ma jeunesse ne fut qu'un ténébreux orage,  
Traversé çà et là par de brillants  
soleils."  
— Baudelaire, "L'Ennemi"

## CHAPTER I

### THE FORMATIVE YEARS

#### A. "Un dandy précoce": 1821-1831

Charles-Pierre Baudelaire was born in Paris at 13, rue Hautefeuille on 9 April 1821. Little is known of the early years of his mother, Caroline Archimbaud Dufays, who was born in London in 1793, "fille d'un officier émigré à Londres pendant la Révolution."<sup>1</sup> She had been brought back to France as a child, and she became an orphan at the age of seven when her mother died in Paris on 23 November 1800.<sup>2</sup> Thereafter Caroline was raised with the family of her guardian, Pierre Pérignon. A penniless orphan and alone in the world, Caroline in her mid-twenties was long past her maidenly prime. She was undoubtedly rescued from a life of poverty and loneliness by her marriage on 9 September 1819, to a man more than twice her age, Joseph-François Baudelaire.

François Baudelaire was born in 1759. It has generally been considered that Baudelaire's claim: "Moi, fils d'un prêtre"<sup>3</sup> was little more than a fanciful mystification or a desire to shock his contemporaries. But Marcel Ruff has convincingly demonstrated that the young Baudelaire was raised in a Jansenist environment<sup>4</sup> and furthermore that François Baudelaire was ordained a priest in 1783 or 1784: "Il n'y



a pas de doute que François Baudelaire avait été ordonné prêtre."<sup>5</sup> However, at the height of the Revolution in 1793, he renounced the priesthood, and later Citizen Baudelaire sought employment "dans les bureaux de l'instruction publique."<sup>6</sup>

Before the Revolution, and fresh from his studies, François Baudelaire's first post was that of tutor to the sons of the Duc de Choiseul-Praslin, in whose house he met the liberal-minded aristocracy of the day--people such as Cabanis, Condorcet and Madame Helvétius. He also frequented painters such as Naigeon, Regnault, Prud'hon, and he was somewhat of an amateur painter and poet himself. Largely due to the influence of the Choiseul family, he held a succession of administrative posts under the Consulate and the Empire. He married in 1797, and his son, Claude-Alphonse Baudelaire, was born in 1805. His wife died in 1814, and in 1819 when he married Caroline he had a considerable estate and was living in retirement on an adequate pension.

This, then, was the environment into which Charles Baudelaire was born in 1821. His father was an erudite man of sixty-two, a vestige of eighteenth-century sensitivities and tastes, an amateur of the arts, a distinguished and well-mannered gentleman. His mother was a young woman of twenty-eight. In a long letter which she sent to Charles Asselineau on 24 March 1868, Baudelaire's mother wrote fondly of her first meeting with François Baudelaire and of the six and a half years which she and her first husband shared together:

M. Baudelaire était un homme très distingué, sous tous les rapports, avec des manières exquisés, tout à fait aristocratiques. . . . Lorsque j'ai connu M. Baudelaire, c'était chez M. Pérignon, mon tuteur, chez qui j'ai été élevée. . . . Ce vieillard (il me paraissait vieux--j'étais si jeune!--avec ses cheveux gris frisés et ses sourcils noirs comme de l'ébène) me plaisait par son esprit si original. . . . Si le

père Baudelaire avait vu grandir son fils, il ne se serait certes pas opposé à sa vocation d'homme de lettres, lui qui était passionné pour la littérature et qui avait le goût si pur!

Apart from these details, little factual evidence of Baudelaire's early childhood and youth was known, until recently. Let us first turn our attention to Baudelaire's life up to the death of his father in 1827. Following the death of François Baudelaire, the inventory of the Baudelaire household at 13, rue Hautefeuille, lists several paintings, prints, sculptures, even a model ship—objects which must have exerted a powerful visual influence upon the young Baudelaire during the first six years of his life, as he himself has indicated in the Salon de 1859: "Très jeunes, mes yeux remplis d'images peintes et gravées n'avaient jamais pu se rassasier,"<sup>8</sup> and also in an autobiographical note: "Goût permanent depuis l'enfance de toutes les représentations plastiques".<sup>9</sup> Such an influence also elucidates in part an entry in Mon cœur mis à nu: "Glorifier le culte des images (ma grande, mon unique, ma primitive passion)."<sup>10</sup> The visual experience is without question an extremely important element of Baudelaire's aesthetics, particularly important when one considers that he wrote some of the most important and most perceptive art criticism of the nineteenth century. Indeed, Robert T. Cargo has found that, if the singular and plural forms are combined, the most frequently occurring noun in Les Fleurs du Mal is the noun "oeil."<sup>11</sup> In his article "L'Oeil de Baudelaire," Marcel Ruff maintains that all of Baudelaire's sensations are subordinated to "le regard":

Baudelaire s'éveille à la vie par le regard. . . .  
Tableaux, gouaches, gravures, plâtres, au nombre  
d'une centaine, s'imposent de toutes parts à sa  
vision dans le logement de quatre à cinq pièces où il  
passe ses premières années. . . . Cette source  
originelle, jamais oubliée, est celle à laquelle il  
reviendra inlassablement s'abreuver, cédant au double

attrait d'une satisfaction esthétique et de l'enfance retrouvée. Son attachement aux arts plastiques pourrait bien être une forme de fidélité à cette enfance et à la mémoire de son père.<sup>12</sup>

In the room in which Baudelaire lived as a child, Jean Adhémar relates that there were "une petite toilette à glace, et un porte-musique," as well as other items of furniture designed for a child—all of which indicated that Baudelaire's parents sought to stimulate the imagination and the natural curiosity of their son:

Les petits meubles prouvent une certaine aisance des parents, et aussi une grande sollicitude; on voit que François Baudelaire et sa femme tenaient à créer autour de leur fils un univers à sa taille, et qu'ils ne cherchaient pas à en faire un homme avant l'âge.<sup>13</sup>

One easily imagines that it is in this childhood room, or universe, that Baudelaire's great long poem "Le Voyage" opens: "Pour l'enfant, amoureux de cartes et d'estampes, / L'univers est égal à son vaste appétit."<sup>14</sup> François Baudelaire painted in this same room, and it was there that he had his library, the memory of which Baudelaire evokes in "La Voix," first published in 1861:

Mon berceau s'adossait à la bibliothèque,  
Babel sombre, où roman, science, fabliau,  
Tout, la cendre latine et la poussière grecque,  
Se mêlaient. J'étais haut comme un in-folio.<sup>15</sup>

It was also in the apartment on rue Hautefeuille that the mysteries of the senses and the mysteries of the feminine world were first opened to Baudelaire, as he later wrote in Fusées:

Le goût précoce des femmes. Je confondais l'odeur de la fourrure avec l'odeur de la femme. Je me souviens . . . Enfin, j'aimais ma mère pour son élégance. J'étais donc un dandy précoce.<sup>16</sup>

Elsewhere Baudelaire writes that in the child's precocious sensitivity to the feminine world lies the germ of a superior genius: "Enfin, je veux dire que le goût précoce du monde féminin, mundi muliebris, de tout cet

appareil ondoyant, scintillant et parfumé, fait les génies supérieurs."<sup>17</sup> He furthermore links "les génies supérieurs" with the figure of the dandy in his intimate journals, under the heading "Dandysme": "Eternelle supériorité du Dandy. Qu'est-ce que le Dandy? . . . Qu'est-ce que l'homme supérieur?"<sup>18</sup> In this context, then, in this series of terms-- "le goût précoce du monde féminin," "les génies supérieurs," "l'homme supérieur," "le Dandy"--Baudelaire elucidates in part his own particular conception of dandyism, and thereby gives fuller meaning to his assertion of having been "un dandy précoce."

This linking of the mysteries of the senses with the mysteries of the feminine world is also evinced in Morale du joujou, wherein Baudelaire recalls an early childhood memory of a visit--"cela remonte aux temps nébuleux de la première enfance"<sup>19</sup> -- which he and his mother made to Madame Panckoucke. "Je me rappelle très distinctement," he writes, "que cette dame était habillée de velours et de fourrure."<sup>20</sup> In this essay, Baudelaire further postulates that a child's initial sense of the aesthetic, a child's initiation to art, is realised through the medium of the toy and more particularly through the sense of play which derives from the child's sensitivity and imagination: "Les enfants témoignent par leurs jeux de leur grande faculté d'abstraction et de leur haute puissance imaginative."<sup>21</sup> Describing the visit made to Madame Panckoucke, Baudelaire relates how the gracious lady led him by the hand into a room filled with splendid toys, and invited him to choose one as a memento of his visit. "Je m'emparai immédiatement," writes Baudelaire, "du plus beau, du plus cher, du plus voyant, du plus frais, du plus bizarre des joujoux."<sup>22</sup> In this choice of a toy, Baudelaire recognised his own budding innate sense of beauty and aesthetic sensitivity: "Cette

facilité à contenter son imagination témoigne de la spiritualité de l'enfance dans ses conceptions artistiques. Le joujou est la première initiation de l'enfant à l'art."<sup>23</sup>

"Beau," "cher," "voyant," "frais," "bizarre," "spiritualité" and "imagination"--"l'imagination, cette reine des facultés," Baudelaire writes in Exposition universelle 1855 and in the Salon de 1859.<sup>24</sup> In Baudelaire's mind these terms are clearly to be associated with the early experiences and the sensitivity of the young child. And indeed, need one stress how important these terms are to a full understanding of Baudelaire's own view of art, aesthetics, modernity, and his particular conception of dandyism--important to a full understanding, in a word, of Baudelaire's genius? There can be no doubt that Baudelaire was himself a very sensitive child. And it is precisely to such an acute sensitivity, evident from childhood on, that Baudelaire attributes the genius of the mature artist, as he succinctly writes in Fusées: "Ne méprisez la sensibilité de personne. La sensibilité de chacun, c'est son génie."<sup>25</sup> This crucial link which Baudelaire saw between childhood and genius, and which we shall discuss shortly at greater length, is again emphasised in his essay on Constantin Guys: "Mais le génie n'est que l'enfance retrouvée à volonté."<sup>26</sup>

Baudelaire also tells us that it was in early childhood that he first experienced the feeling of the spiritual dualism of man's existence. "Tout enfant," he writes in Mon coeur mis à nu, "j'ai senti dans mon coeur deux sentiments contradictoires, l'horreur de la vie et l'extase de la vie."<sup>27</sup> Recalling the Jansenist formation of François Baudelaire, Raymond Isay suggests: "Et ne peut-on penser que Charles a tenu de son père l'obsession, et comme la hantise, l'horreur et l'attrait

à la fois des idées de la prédestination, du péché et de l'enfer?"<sup>28</sup> This austerity and severity of the Jansenist doctrine was undoubtedly felt by the young Baudelaire, who later wrote in Mon coeur mis à nu: "Dès mon enfance, tendance à la mysticité. Mes conversations avec Dieu."<sup>29</sup> And yet, on the other hand, François Baudelaire also brought into the realm of the experience and the imagination of his young son the riches of the arts and the refined and dignified customs and manners of the enlightened society that disappeared under the Revolution. This Baudelaire himself sums up in an autobiographical sketch of his childhood: "ENFANCE: Vieux mobilier Louis XVI, antiques, consulat, pastels, société dix-huitième siècle."<sup>30</sup> Added to this, as we have already discussed, was the mystique of the feminine, sensual world represented by his mother. Such a background might well have instilled in the young Baudelaire a sense of the bipolarity of the universe—"deux sentiments contradictoires." As Isay aptly remarks: "A l'obsession religieuse est lié chez Baudelaire l'appel des sens."<sup>31</sup> In the apartment on rue Hautefeuille, then, one finds in the young "dandy 'précoce'" the first awareness of dualism and of the dialectics of the Dandy and the Saint that were to become one of the principal elements of Baudelaire's aesthetics and metaphysics.

Following the death of François Baudelaire, Caroline left the large apartment in rue Hautefeuille and she, her young son, her servant Mariette, as well as Alphonse moved to an apartment overlooking place Saint-André-des-Arts, and later to an apartment in rue du Bac. The summer months were spent in a small house in what was then the village of Neuilly on the western outskirts of Paris.<sup>32</sup> In his letter of 6 May 1861--one of the most touching letters Baudelaire ever wrote to his

mother--he recalls the secure little domestic paradise which his mother and Mariette created for him during the period of Caroline's widowhood, a period which was for the very young Baudelaire "le bon temps":

Crois-tu que j'aie une mémoire terrible? Plus tard, la place Saint-André-des-Arts et Neuilly. De longues promenades, des tendresses perpétuelles! Je me souviens des quais, qui étaient si tristes le soir. Ah! ç'a été pour moi le bon temps des tendresses maternelles. Je te demande pardon d'appeler bon temps celui qui a été sans doute mauvais pour toi.<sup>33</sup>

In two untitled poems published for the first time in the 1857 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, Baudelaire evoked his memory of Mariette, "la servante au grand coeur,"<sup>34</sup> and as well his memory of the little house in Neuilly: "Je n'ai pas oublié, voisine de la ville, Notre blanche maison, petite mais tranquille."<sup>35</sup>

Soon another figure entered the paradise of the 'six year old child, for in February 1828 Caroline married Jacques Aupick, a military officer who was in the process of making a splendid career for himself, and who would go on to become an ambassador and in 1853 a senator. Aupick served in Algeria throughout much of 1830 through June of 1831. Sent to quell the popular uprisings in Lyons in late 1831, Aupick sent for his wife and stepson, and they joined him in Lyons in January of 1832. Baudelaire would turn eleven three months later.

For want of substantiating documents, Baudelaire's early years have often been the subject of mere conjecture and speculation on the part of his biographers and critics, some of whom have extrapolated some of the outrageous things Baudelaire said in later life about his early years, back into his childhood. For example, one might speculate endlessly about the autobiographical significance of a curious entry in Fusées: "Mes ancêtres, idiots ou maniaques, dans des appartements solennels, tous

victimes de terribles passions."<sup>36</sup> But knowing Baudelaire's penchant for mystification and exaggeration, and knowing that because of the many difficulties of Baudelaire's adult life he might well have looked back upon the past through embittered eyes, one cannot but help wonder sometimes where the truth about his childhood and early years might lie.

One of the most controversial issues of Baudelaire's very early youth has been the nature of his relationship with his father, his mother and his stepfather, General Aupick. François Baudelaire died on 10 February 1827, and Caroline Baudelaire married Jacques Aupick on 8 November 1828. From these facts François Porché, in his biography of Baudelaire, has made a number of psychoanalytical speculations. He has seen first of all "dans la grande disproportion d'âge qui existait entre les parents de Baudelaire la première fatalité physiologique qui pesa lourdement sur sa vie." Invoking the laws of heredity, Porché goes on to conclude that "une telle union est quasi monstrueuse" and infers that precisely from this union stemmed Baudelaire's "tempérament nerveux, . . . son caractère débile et violent."<sup>37</sup> Secondly, Porché would see in the relationship of the young Baudelaire and his mother, following the death of François Baudelaire, a case of the Oedipus' complex, which he bases in part on an excerpt from Baudelaire's letter to his mother, dated 6 May 1861: "Il y a eu dans mon enfance une époque d'amour passionné pour toi; écoute et lis sans peur. Je ne t'en ai jamais tant dit."<sup>38</sup> Porché's conclusion is that the object of Baudelaire's first love was his mother. "Entendez-moi bien," writes Porché, "il ne s'agit pas uniquement d'affection; de tendresse . . . surtout lorsque la mère est jeune et coquette."<sup>39</sup>

As an adjunct to his theory of the Oedipus complex, Porché would see



in Caroline's marriage to Aupick "l'une des sources les plus certaines du malheur baudelairien."<sup>40</sup> In his study of Baudelaire Jean-Paul Sartre concurs with Porché's assessment of the second marriage:

En novembre 1828 cette femme tant aimée se remarie à un soldat; Baudelaire est mis en pension. De cette époque date sa fameuse "fêlure". . . . Il y avait, dans son existence, un événement qu'il n'avait pu supporter: le second mariage de sa mère.<sup>41</sup>

As a result of this psychic wound, of this betrayal, "l'enfant éprouve," concludes Porché, "de la haine pour cet intrus qui lui a ravi sa mère."<sup>42</sup> For Porché, then, the monstrous union of Baudelaire's parents, the erotic love of the young Charles for his mother, the psychic wound of the second marriage, the deep hatred of the seven year old boy for his stepfather-- these elements constitute, for Porché, "le fond psychologique"<sup>43</sup> of the young Baudelaire.

A number of critics have taken exception to this type of narrow psychoanalytical appraisal of Baudelaire's early years. Enid Starkie writes:

Much nonsense has been written about the Oedipus complex in connection with Baudelaire, and of his sexual jealousy of his stepfather, while many foolish stories have been related to support this theory. It must be remembered that most of them were probably invented by the poet himself in later life. . . .<sup>44</sup>

Marcel Ruff maintains that if Baudelaire felt a hatred for Aupick, it did not date from his childhood, but resulted rather from a mutual incompatibility which developed between the two men in later years:

Oui, Baudelaire a eu pour [Aupick] une haine violente, aggravée par la jalousie. Mais quand? Lorsque le général s'est opposé à la vocation de son beau-fils et à son mode de vie. Baudelaire a pu par la suite, avec plus ou moins de sincérité, faire refluer cette haine rétrospectivement jusqu'au premier soir du mariage. Mais il y a là une déformation manifeste de la vérité et il est regrettable que la plupart des commentateurs aient

pris plaisir à accentuer cette déformation et à l'exploiter avec un zèle qu'il aurait mieux valu employer à une vérification attentive.<sup>45</sup>

W.T. Bandy notes that Aupick had a "concession à perpétuité" at the Montparnasse Cemetery, whereas Joseph-François Baudelaire had only a temporary concession of five years which was never renewed. Consequently, the final resting place of Baudelaire's father's mortal remains is to this day unknown. Bandy suggests that this neglect might well have been one of the sources of the hostility which Baudelaire in his later years directed toward Aupick, his mother, and even his half-brother.<sup>46</sup>

A.E. Carter allows that Aupick may have been a bit of a stuffed shirt--"but certainly no ogre, no stepfather of legend."<sup>47</sup> Carter suggests that Baudelaire's hatred of Aupick was in essence a type of artistic, Byronic pose well-suited to the image of an emerging dandy:

While he was growing up, during the eighteen-thirties and forties, every budding poet wanted to be a fatal man, his soul ravaged by some appalling secret. Baudelaire looked into the past and what he saw intrigued him: his father had been a priest who married; his mother had remarried. If the first circumstance had satanic possibilities, the second was a wonderful excuse for acting Hamlet.<sup>48</sup>

As we have seen, then, there is considerable disparity in the views of critics writing on Baudelaire's childhood and early years. In particular, the so-called psychic wound of his early childhood has been an especially problematic issue. A recent discovery, however, has shed considerable new and incontrovertible light on the adolescence of Baudelaire, to which we now turn our attention.

## B. Early Correspondence: 1832-1840

Without doubt the childhood and youth of a great artist are not without interest if one wishes to comprehend fully the aesthetics, the creative principles and the sensitivities of the mature artist. This Baudelaire himself eloquently states in Les Paradis artificiels:

C'est dans les notes relatives à l'enfance que nous trouvons le germe des étranges rêveries de l'homme adulte, et, disons mieux, de son génie. Tous les biographes ont compris, d'une manière plus ou moins complète, l'importance des anecdotes se rattachant à l'enfance d'un écrivain ou d'un artiste. Mais je trouve que cette importance n'a jamais été suffisamment affirmée. Souvent, en contemplant des ouvrages d'art, non pas dans leur matérialité facilement saisissable, dans les hiéroglyphes trop clairs de leurs contours, ou dans le sens évident de leurs sujets, mais dans l'âme dont ils sont doués, dans l'impression atmosphérique qu'ils comportent, dans la lumière ou dans les ténèbres spirituelles qu'ils déversent sur nos âmes, j'ai senti entrer en moi comme une vision de l'enfance de leurs auteurs. Tel petit chagrin, telle petite jouissance de l'enfant, démesurément grossis par une exquise sensibilité, deviennent plus tard dans l'homme adulte, même à son insu, le principe d'une oeuvre d'art. Enfin, pour m'exprimer d'une manière plus concise, ne serait-il pas facile de prouver, par une comparaison philosophique entre les ouvrages d'un artiste mûr et l'état de son âme quand il était enfant, que le génie n'est que l'enfance nettement formulée, douée maintenant, pour s'exprimer, d'organes virils et puissants?<sup>49</sup>

Until recently, however, there were precious few documents--"notes relatives à l'enfance" as Baudelaire writes in the passage above--relating to Baudelaire's own early years. Miraculously, in the decade following the Second World War, a bundle containing ninety-two unpublished letters written by the young Baudelaire to his family members was discovered. The letters were finally published by Philippe Auserve in 1966, under the title Lettres inédites aux siens: The earliest of

these letters, dated 9 January 1832, was written by a boy of ten to his half-brother, Alphonse Baudelaire, and the bulk of these letters were written by Baudelaire before his twentieth year. Consequently, these letters represent a veritable biographical treasure trove, and a close examination of them sheds much light on the early years of Baudelaire's life and reveals the first germs of the future artist's poetics. The letters represent, in short, "l'enfance retrouvée"<sup>50</sup> of the future poet of Les Fleurs du Mal.

Before examining the letters in detail, let us first give a brief sketch of a most important chapter of Baudelaire's life, the period between 1832 and 1840. In January of 1832, Charles and his mother left Paris to join Aupick in Lyons. There Baudelaire was placed in a boarding house, the pension Delorme, while attending classes at the Collège royal, a school with a rigid military tradition where he became a boarder later in the same year. In January of 1836, Aupick was posted to Paris, where in March of that year Baudelaire was enrolled, again as a boarder, at the collège Louis-le-Grand. In his final year of studies, and just shortly before he was to sit the "baccalauréat" exam, Baudelaire was expelled from Louis-le-Grand on 18 April 1839, ostensibly for having refused to turn over and subsequently swallowing a note which a fellow student had passed to him in class. As a result, he was sent to board with the Lasègue family, whose son Charles gave Baudelaire private tutoring to prepare him for the "baccalauréat." Baudelaire passed his exam with ease at the first try, and became a "bachelier" on 12 August 1839, the same day that Aupick was promoted to the rank of "général de brigade."<sup>51</sup>

In November Baudelaire enrolled at the Ecole de droit, but it is unlikely that he attended many, if indeed any, classes. Around this

time, free of the regimen imposed by boarding schools and masters, free also to a certain extent of the watchful eyes of his parents, Baudelaire adopted a somewhat freewheeling life style, frequenting cafés and women and indulging himself to the full in the life of the artistic Bohemia of the Latin Quarter.--"Vie libre à Paris," he wrote of this period in an autobiographical note<sup>52</sup> --all of which led him to contract debts. In the autumn of 1839, he contracted his most severe debt--the venereal disease<sup>53</sup> that would eventually cause his death. It was around this time that he made the acquaintance of a squint-eyed prostitute, a Jewish girl named Sara, also called "Louchette"<sup>54</sup>, and it might well have been from her that he first caught his fatal venereal infection.

It was also at this time that Baudelaire became friends with Ernest Prarond, Gustave Le Vavas seur, Philippe de Chennevières, Jules Buisson and others--students and artists of Baudelaire's own age--who were boarders at the pension Bailly situated on the place de l'Estrapade in the Latin Quarter.<sup>55</sup> Together they formed the "Ecole normande"<sup>56</sup> at the pension Bailly. The group had no manifesto, no artistic credo, and was in essence but a group of friends who enjoyed the intellectual atmosphere of debate at the pension, and whose discussions invariably centred on art, literature and philosophy. Jean Pommier proposes that it was during these literary and philosophical group discussions that Baudelaire first encountered the religious, mystical writings of the eighteenth-century Swedish scientist and philosopher Emmanuel Swedenborg.<sup>57</sup> Swedenborg's visionary philosophy of the connexions between the spiritual realm and the natural world was well known "to most writers from the beginning of the reign of Louis-Philippe," Starkie writes.<sup>58</sup> Although Baudelaire's knowledge of Swedenborg's works was not very profound, the general

principles and ideas of Swedenborg's philosophy did influence Baudelaire's aesthetics and spirituality, most notably in the sonnet "Correspondances." In any case, we know that he was familiar with the writings of Swedenborg before the publication of La Fanfarlo in January of 1847, for we read that Samuel Cramer, Baudelaire's fictional dandy in the Jeune-France tradition, kept at his bedside "un volume de Swedenborg."<sup>59</sup> Throughout 1840 Baudelaire tells us that he made the acquaintance of some of the most prominent literary men of the day. Between the time of his "expulsion de Louis-le-Grand" and his "voyages dans l'Inde" commencing in June of 1841, the entry in his autobiographical notes reads: "premières liaisons littéraires: Ourliac, Gérard, Balzac, Le Vavas seur, Delatouche."<sup>60</sup> And to this list we might add Victor Hugo, to whom Baudelaire addressed an enthusiastic letter dated 25 February 1840. Of the atmosphere that reigned during late 1839 and throughout the early 1840s at the pension Bailly, and of the young band that constituted the "Ecole normande," Marcel Ruff writes:

Certes ils sont joyeux, bruyants, rimaillant tous plus ou moins et jouant volontiers aux Jeunes-France. Mais leurs folies restent sous le contrôle vigilant de la sagesse et de la raison bourgeoises, et quand ils verront Baudelaire s'écarter résolument de la voie familière (et familiale), abandonner la règle et la sécurité, ils ne pourront se retenir de le mettre en garde et de lui prodiguer leurs avertissements amicaux. . . .<sup>61</sup>

As we shall see, Baudelaire's path from 1840 on did indeed start to stray ever more from the path of wisdom and "la voie familière."

These, then, are the known external facts of Baudelaire's life during the period from 1832 to 1840. Let us now turn our attention to the interior being of Baudelaire during these nine years—an interior being that is brought clearly into the light by his correspondence of

this period. Rather than discuss the letters in a strict chronological order, we shall examine them as a block and focus our attention on a variety of areas of interest throughout the period in question.

Prophetically, the first letter--indeed, the first written document--we possess from Baudelaire's pen is on the topic of voyage and departure. In this letter to his half-brother, Alphonse, dated 9 January 1832, he writes of the nearing departure of himself and his mother to join Aupick in Lyons: "[T]oujours, nous partirons plus tôt que plus tard. . . ."62 Having arrived, he again writes to Alphonse: "Je te vais raconter mon voyage. . . . Nous montons dans la diligence, nous partons enfin."63 In "Le Voyage," published some twenty-seven years later, how astonishing it is to hear the exact echo, the refrain of the excitement and the enthusiasm of the young traveller, whom we might count among "les vrais voyageurs . . . coeurs légers, semblables aux ballons," about to set out on life's journey: "Un matin nous partons, le cerveau plein de flamme."64 Or to cite yet another example, to the "amateur de géographie" of the early correspondence65 responds the "enfant, amoureux de cartes et d'estampes" of "Le Voyage."66 Baudelaire's life was full of incessant movement, journeys, displacements and spiritual agitations right up to the end. Pichois lists some twenty-six known addresses in Paris of Baudelaire during his lifetime67 and the theme of voyage is one of the central themes throughout Les Fleurs du Mal. One need not be surprised, therefore, to discover this trait so strongly pronounced in the eleven year old boy who writes of himself: "[M]oi qui suis toujours en mouvement"68--"il faut toujours que je sois en mouvement, que je coure et que je sois sur un pied ou sur l'autre."69

Through travelling, of course, the adolescent has the opportunity to

exert his independence, to test his own wings so to speak. In 1832, for example, Baudelaire wrote to his half-brother:

A l'approche de cette ville, il y eut une montée et nous descendîmes, maman, la domestique et moi. . . . [J]'allais bien en avant, et de maman, et de la diligence. Bientôt je les perdîs de vue tous les deux. Il faut avouer ici que j'étais fort content, car j'avais l'air d'un monsieur seul sur la grande route de Chalon à Lyon.<sup>70</sup>

In 1838 Baudelaire exhibited this same desire to exert and to test his independence—"faire l'homme" he wrote in a letter to his mother who had joined his stepfather at Barèges where Aupick, who suffered from a bullet wound he had received in 1815, went for hydrotherapy treatment at the spa from early May to the beginning of September 1838. Baudelaire wrote:

Maintenant l'impatience me brûle; la malle est faite. . . . Bien loin de m'effrayer parce que je fais un voyage tout seul, j'en suis content, heureux: me voilà obligé de faire l'homme, de me surveiller; d'écrire ma dépense, [de voir] les curiosités, monter les côtes, me promener à Toulouse, j'ai toutes les peines du monde à ne pas crier partout que je suis content.<sup>71</sup>

We also know from his early correspondence that as an adolescent Baudelaire was interested in travel literature. He owned copies of the Premier Voyage and Second Voyage of the naturalist and traveller François Levassant, Baudelaire's great-uncle on his mother's side, who had made two trips into the interior of southern Africa in the 1780s.<sup>72</sup> In 1837 Baudelaire was proud of having purchased two eighteenth-century works of travel: a French translation of Laurence Sterne's A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy, and an edition of Madame Françoise de Graffigny's Lettres d'une Péruvienne. "Tu sais que je voulais acheter un ouvrage; pour mes 14 sous," he wrote to his mother, "j'en ai acheté deux; c'est mieux encore; Voyage sentimental et Lettres péruviennes."<sup>73</sup>

But with Baudelaire one also senses that in his early correspondence



the notion of travel, of voyages, is symbolic of some deeper value, symbolic too of the urge toward some spiritual need. Like the "Bohémiens en voyage" of Les Fleurs du Mal, Baudelaire too was possessed of a Bohemian spirit to which he gave expression as early as 1832: "[I]l me semble que toujours voyager serait mener une vie qui me plairait beaucoup."<sup>74</sup> In his account of a sunset which he saw in the course of his journey to Lyons, one is also aware of the intimation of a metaphysical and indeed a poetic and aesthetic dimension inherent in the description of his visual experience: "Le jour étant tombé, je vis un bien beau spectacle, c'était le soleil couchant; cette couleur rougeâtre formait un contraste singulier avec les montagnes qui étaient bleues comme le pantalon le plus foncé."<sup>75</sup> The sensitivity of the young man to the world around him, to the world through which he was travelling, is enhanced by the analogy inherent in the conjunction "comme," an analogy which prefigures Baudelaire's adaptation in his thought and works of Swedenborgian correspondences between heaven and man, as he wrote in his article on Victor Hugo published in 1861: "Swedenborg . . . nous avait déjà enseigné que le ciel est un très grand homme; que tout, forme, mouvement, nombre, couleur, parfum, dans le spirituel comme dans le naturel, est significatif, réciproque, converse, correspondant."<sup>76</sup> The analogy also prefigures Baudelaire's conception of the poet as "un traducteur, un déchiffreur" of "l'inépuisable fonds de l'universelle analogie" which he describes in the same article on Hugo.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, in the analogy of "les montagnes qui étaient bleues comme le pantalon le plus foncé" we find a preliminary but cogent expression of the anthropocentrism which is so characteristic of Baudelaire's work—the tendency to reduce, to translate the natural world into anthropomorphic

forms. In "Correspondances," for example, all of nature becomes a temple—"La Nature est un temple"<sup>78</sup>--and similarly in "Obsession" forests are transformed into cathedrals--"Grands bois, vous m'effrayez comme des cathédrales."<sup>79</sup> Implicit in the reduction of the natural dimension to the human dimension, implicit in this triumph of man over nature is man's desire to displace and to improve upon the imperfections of nature through art and artifice, through what Baudelaire calls "la majesté superlative des formes artificielles" in his discourse on "le maquillage."<sup>80</sup> In the analogy in question we find the figure of a well-dressed man--dare we suggest "dandy"--in dark blue trousers who is equal to, if not superior to, the natural spectacle of blue mountains at sunset. Herein we find the initial thrust of Baudelaire's dandyism--to outdo man and nature--and as well the germ of his spirituality--to improve upon man's base inclinations by attempting to become a superior man.

Baudelaire was of course capable of appreciating the beauty of a natural setting. "Sans exagérer nous avons une vue des plus belles de Lyon," he wrote to Alphonse. "Tu ne peux pas te figurer comme c'est beau, comme c'est magnifique, comme c'est beau, comme ce coteau est riche, comme il est vert."<sup>81</sup> But, not unlike Brummell who could not suffer prolonged absences from the only place in which he could shine--the boulevards, the restaurants, the fashionable shops and the high society of his beloved London--the young "dandy précoce" likewise missed the French capital and found Lyons to be an aesthetically unpleasing and somewhat boring provincial town:

Encore un an d'écoulé; au mois d'avril j'aurai treize ans, et deux se seront passés loin . . . de Paris que je regrette tant. Qu'on s'ennuie au collège, surtout au collège de Lyon. Les murs en sont très tristes,

si crasseux et si humides, les classes si obscures, le caractère lyonnais si différent du caractère parisien! Mais enfin le temps s'approche où je vais retourner à Paris. . . . Je regrette les boulevards, et les bonbons de Berthellemot, et l'universel magasin de Giroux, et les riches bazars. . . . A Lyon, une seule boutique pour les beaux livres, deux pour les gâteaux et les bonbons, ainsi du reste. Oh! Rari nantes in gurgite vasto, c'est bien le cas d'appliquer le précepte. Dans cette ville noire des fumées du charbon de terre, on n'y trouve que de gros marrons et de fines soieries.<sup>82</sup>

We see thus that this early correspondence may be said to prefigure the aesthetic of modernity of the future poet, for the letters reveal that at an early age Baudelaire's aesthetics was already essentially centred not on nature, but on man situated in a large metropolitan setting.

Baudelaire's earliest experiences of travel were indeed rich in suggestive powers to spark his sensitive imagination and creativity. Upon returning from his trip to Barèges, he described his travels in an enthusiastic letter to Alphonse: "Voici quel a été notre voyage. . . . Mais j'aurais mille choses à te raconter. . . . J'ai des récits interminables."<sup>83</sup> One of the "récits" brought back from Barèges fully revealed the depth of Baudelaire's creative talents, which had been fired by his voyage, in the form of one of his earliest poems, a poem of seven stanzas which was inspired by an excursion which he made with his stepfather into the Pyrenees in September of 1838. The poem was untitled, although until quite recently it was known erroneously under the title "Incompatibilité."<sup>84</sup> In the opening of this poem we hear the clear tones of the voice of the future author of "Elévation":

Tout là-haut, tout là-haut, loin de la route sûre,  
Des fermes, des vallons, par-delà les coteaux,  
Par-delà les forêts, les tapis de verdure,  
Loin des derniers gazons foulés par les troupeaux,

On rencontre un lac sombre encaissé dans l'abîme  
Que forment quelques pics désolés et neigeux;

L'eau, nuit et jour, y dort dans un repos sublime,  
Et n'interrompt jamais son silence orageux.

The poem ends on a note of serene, spiritual tranquillity sought by the future poet of Les Fleurs du Mal throughout his life:

On dirait que le ciel, en cette solitude,  
Se contemple dans l'onde, et que ces monts. là-bas,  
Écoutent, recueillis, dans leur grave attitude,  
Un mystère divin que l'homme n'entend pas.

Et lorsque par hasard une nuée errante  
Assombrit dans son vol le lac silencieux,  
On croirait voir la robe ou l'ombre transparente  
D'un esprit qui voyage et passe dans les cieux.<sup>85</sup>

This beautifully lyric poem bears witness to one of the happiest moments of Baudelaire's youth, and it is worth repeating that it was inspired by an excursion which Baudelaire made in the company of his stepfather, Jacques Aupick. The circumstance of this happy sentiment indeed seems to stand in contradiction with the theory of Baudelaire's supposed hatred of Aupick occasioned by the second marriage of his mother, as proposed by Porché and others.

The early correspondence indisputably does dispel the myth of Baudelaire's hatred of Aupick during his childhood and early adolescence. Throughout these letters Baudelaire reveals respect, warmth, concern and affection for his stepfather, to whom he refers repeatedly as "papa" or "mon père." Writing in 1832 he proudly described two beautiful objects he had bought to offer as gifts to his stepfather: "Ces deux objets sont en premier lieu un cure-oreille et cure-dent en ivoire, cure-dent qui me coûte 10 sous, et en deuxième lieu une plume anglaise de Clays dans un étui de bois des îles."<sup>86</sup> Nor does he disguise his pleasure in describing the gift of a curious and bizarre invention which his stepfather offered him: "Papa aussi m'a fait un cadeau; il m'a donné un phénakistiscope. Ce mot est aussi bizarre que l'invention."<sup>87</sup> The

phenakistoscope which Aupick gave him made a lasting impression on Baudelaire who twenty years later described the instrument in intricate detail in Morale du joujou:

Le phénakistoscope . . . est moins connu. Supposez un mouvement quelconque, par exemple un exercice de danseur ou de jongleur, divisé et décomposé en un certain nombre de mouvements . . . tous dessinés autour d'un cercle de carton. Ajustez ce cercle, ainsi qu'un autre cercle troué, . . . à un pivot au bout d'un manche. . . . Les petites figures se reflètent dans une glace située en face de vous. . . . [F]aites tourner rapidement les cercles . . . [V]ous voyez se réfléchir dans la glace [des] figures dansantes. . . . Je crois que généralement les enfants agissent sur leurs joujoux, en d'autres termes, que leur choix est dirigé par des dispositions et des désirs. . . . Cependant je n'affirmerais pas . . . que les joujoux n'agissent pas sur l'enfant, surtout dans le cas de prédestination littéraire ou artistique.<sup>88</sup>

In 1837 Baudelaire wrote a letter to his mother which was full of concern for the health of Aupick who was once again suffering from the old bullet wound in his left thigh:

Je voudrais savoir des nouvelles de papa, s'il souffre beaucoup, si l'on pensera bientôt à fermer la plaie, s'il s'ennuie bien, s'il te parle de moi, tout ce que tu pourras me dire . . . car il faut songer à papa avant tout; et puisque lorsqu'il est en bonne santé, il s'occupe tant de nous amuser, il faut être à lui quand il est malade.<sup>89</sup>

And in 1839 Baudelaire wrote a warm and affectionate letter to congratulate his stepfather on his promotion to the rank of general:

Je viens de voir une bonne nouvelle et j'en ai une bonne à t'annoncer. J'ai lu ce matin ta nomination dans Le Moniteur, et je suis bachelier depuis hier soir à 4 heures. . . . Je suis bien heureux de ta nomination--de fils à père, ce ne sont pas des félicitations banales comme toutes celles que tu recevras. Moi je suis heureux, parce que je t'ai vu assez souvent pour savoir combien cela t'était dû; j'ai l'air de faire l'homme, et de te féliciter comme si j'étais ton égal ou ton supérieur.<sup>90</sup>

In this letter we do not find a tone of hatred—indeed, Baudelaire uses

que je remets toujours tout au lendemain"<sup>116</sup>; "je m'ennuie tellement que je pleure sans savoir pourquoi. . . . Ainsi je m'ennuie moi-même, les autres m'ennuient encore plus"<sup>117</sup>; "indolence, maussaderie, ennui."<sup>118</sup>  
 This darker side of Baudelaire's spirit was most movingly summed up in a letter to his parents written in 1834:

Ce n'est pas mon coeur qu'il faut corriger, il est bon, c'est mon esprit qu'il faut fixer. . . . Vous avez désespéré de moi comme d'un fils au mal duquel on ne peut remédier et auquel tout est devenu indifférent, qui passe son temps dans la paresse, qui est mou, lâche, et n'a pas le courage de se relever. . . . J'ai pensé que je pouvais vous écrire et vous communiquer les réflexions que m'avaient suggérées l'ennui que me procure une vie passée dans la paresse et les punitions.<sup>119</sup>

That such a profound and eloquent note of despair—profound in its content which prefigures the whole metaphysic of "ennui" which would find its full expression in Les Fleurs du Mal; eloquent in its remarkable stylistic features and mastery of language, a mastery of style and language which pervades all of Baudelaire's early correspondence—should come from the pen of a child not yet thirteen, is clearly indicative of a superior mind, of a superior genius. Contrary to the contention of Baudelaire's teachers—"Il paraît que je n'ai pas du tout l'air d'un philosophe," he wrote to Alphonse<sup>120</sup>—the early correspondence gives clear testimony of a spirit already caught up in the throes of the metaphysical and existential anguish of the modern age, of a spirit pressed, as Baudelaire himself wrote, "tantôt vers le bon, tantôt vers le mauvais."<sup>121</sup>

Thus one sees that very early in his life Baudelaire was torn between "le bon" and "le mauvais," for the young author of these letters was already cognisant of man's duality, of man's predicament of being caught between the two opposing tendencies of what Baudelaire would term

"Je l'ai cependant aimé, et d'ailleurs j'ai aujourd'hui assez de sagesse pour lui rendre justice."<sup>94</sup>

Although he succeeded reasonably well at school and won a number of scholastic prizes, most notably for his proficiency in Latin verse, Baudelaire loathed the stifling regimen of boarding schools and did not retain pleasant memories of his school years, as he indicated in an autobiographical note: "Après 1830, le collège de Lyon, coups, batailles avec les professeurs et les camarades, lourdes mélancolies. Retour à Paris, collège et éducation par mon beau-père (le général Aupick)."<sup>95</sup>

Again, it is in the early correspondence that we find evidence to substantiate Baudelaire's claim. He detested living at boarding houses and boarding schools: "Je me déplaçais horriblement à la pension, elle est sale, mal tenue, en désordre, les élèves pochants et malpropres comme tous les Lyonnais."<sup>96</sup> Nor did he get along well with the majority of his

classmates at Lyons. "[S]ur cinq Parisiens que nous sommes dans la pension, il n'y en a que deux que je puisse aimer," he wrote in 1832.<sup>97</sup> Later, while attending Louis-le-Grand, he described himself as a bit of an outsider: "Les conversations que nous faisons au collège sont souvent fort inutiles et fort ennuyeuses; aussi ai-je souvent quitté la société de camarades avec qui je suis lié, tantôt pour me promener seul, tantôt pour aller essayer d'autres sociétés et d'autres conversations. . . ."<sup>98</sup>

Furthermore, Baudelaire's revolutionary instinct, his strong spirit of independence and defiance undoubtedly made life difficult for his schoolmasters. "Je suis dans les mutins. Je ne veux pas être de ces lèche-culs qui craignent de déplaire aux pions," he wrote while at Lyons. "Vengeance sur ceux qui ont abusé de leurs droits. C'était une inscription des barricades de Paris."<sup>99</sup> Even in the letter of apology

and explanation for his conduct, addressed to the headmaster of Louis-le-Grand on the very day of Baudelaire's expulsion from school, one still detects his spirit of defiant revolt:

J'ai refusé de livrer un papier qui aurait fait punir un camarade, un papier à peu près insignifiant, vous le savez; quelque exagéré que cela vous parût, vous me l'auriez pardonné sans doute; mais quand vous m'avez dit que j'exposais mon camarade à des soupçons infâmes, cela m'a semblé si extraordinaire que j'ai ri et que je vous ai manqué de respect.<sup>100</sup>

In the letter sent to Aupick on 18 April 1839 to announce Charles' expulsion from school, the headmaster Jules Pierrot did not mince words: "Je vous renvoie donc ce jeune homme, qui était doué de moyens assez remarquables, mais qui a tout gâté par un très mauvais esprit, dont le bon ordre du collège a eu plus d'une fois à souffrir."<sup>101</sup> For Aupick, Charles' expulsion from Louis-le-Grand was a source of disappointment, further exacerbated by Charles' inclination to be a man of letters and by the Bohemian life style he adopted in late 1839. This Madame Aupick stated in a letter to Asselineau in 1868:

[Le général Aupick] a fait pour Charles des rêves dorés d'un brillant avenir: il voulait le voir arriver à une haute position sociale, ce qui n'était pas irréalisable, étant l'ami du duc d'Orléans. Mais quelle stupéfaction pour nous, quand Charles s'est refusé à tout ce qu'on voulait faire pour lui, a voulu voler de ses propres ailes, et être auteur! Quel désenchantement dans notre vie d'intérieur si heureuse jusque-là! Quel chagrin!<sup>102</sup>

Indeed, any real falling-out between Aupick and Baudelaire dated from 1839, and it stemmed not from a deep hatred, not from a psychic wound, but rather from an increasingly evident incompatibility of minds, for Baudelaire did not believe himself cut out for the civil service or the diplomatic career which Aupick could have assisted him in pursuing. In any case, the poetic and philosophic bent of his temperament and



mentality are clearly evident in the early correspondence.

Increasingly as Baudelaire came of age, he became aware of a dichotomy within: on one hand a desire to please his mother and father, and the desire to follow the dictates of his own heart on the other. Promises to work harder, to get better grades, to be worthy of his parents are all too evident in his early letters:

Quand la dernière fois encore je vous ai promis de ne plus vous donner de chagrin, je parlais de bonne foi, j'avais la résolution de travailler et de travailler ferme pour que vous puissiez dire: nous avons un fils qui reconnaît nos soins; mais l'étourderie et la paresse m'ont fait oublier les sentiments qui me possédaient, quand je promettais.<sup>103</sup>

Enfin, un nouveau trimestre va commencer, ma conversion va s'accomplir et je serai un travailleur.<sup>104</sup>

A force de m'exercer je parviendrai à être digne de ton affection. Je parviendrai à te contenter.<sup>105</sup>

As his schooling drew to an end, Baudelaire grew ever more concerned about the choice of a profession. In the summer of 1838 he wrote to his mother: "Je sens venir la vie avec encore plus de peur. Toutes les connaissances qu'il faudra acquérir, tout le mouvement qu'il faudra se donner pour trouver une place vide au milieu du monde, tout cela m'effraie."<sup>106</sup> The following summer, after passing his "baccalauréat," he was even more anxious and worried. "Voici donc la dernière année finie, et je vais commencer un autre genre de vie; cela me paraît singulier, et parmi les inquiétudes qui me prennent, la plus forte est le choix d'une profession à venir," he wrote to Alphonse. "Cela me préoccupe déjà, me tourmente, d'autant plus que je ne me sens de vocation à rien, et que je me sens bien des goûts divers qui prennent alternativement le dessus."<sup>107</sup>

In truth, Baudelaire felt no calling to any of the professional

vocations which his parents had envisaged for him, for he was drawn, as he wrote above, by "bien des goûts divers qui prennent alternativement le dessus." In this letter we divine all the contradictions and paradoxes, all the turmoil of a poetic and philosophic mind that would prove to be such a rich, if sometimes painful, mother lode for the future poet. Throughout the early correspondence we find ample evidence of Baudelaire's diverse tastes, one of which was an acute and critical appreciation of literature and art.

At the age of eleven he had a marked preference for "le romantique et l'histoire dans le genre des Contes de Jacob à ses petits-enfants."<sup>108</sup> While at Louis-le-Grand he developed a taste for modern authors, but was ever discerning in his taste and discriminating in his judgement, as he revealed in a letter to his mother:

Je n'ai lu qu'ouvrages modernes; mais de ces ouvrages dont on parle partout, qui ont une réputation, que tout le monde lit, enfin ce qu'il y a de meilleur; eh bien, tout cela est faux, exagéré, extravagant, boursoufflé. C'est à Eugène Sue que j'en veux, je [n'ai] lu de lui qu'un livre, il m'a ennuyé à mourir. Je suis dégoûté de tout cela: il n'y a que les drames, les poésies de Victor Hugo et un livre de S[ain]te-Beuve (Volupté) qui m'aient amusé.<sup>109</sup>

Baudelaire gave vent to his enthusiasm for letters and his admiration of Victor Hugo in particular in the letter which he sent to the great poet in February of 1840: "[I]l me semble . . . que je comprends tous vos ouvrages. . . . [J]e vous aime comme on aime un héros, un livre, comme on aime purement et sans intérêt toute belle chose. . . . [V]ous devez comprendre cet amour que nous donne un livre pour son auteur. . . ."<sup>110</sup> And during a school outing to the museum at Versailles in 1838, Baudelaire had the occasion to exercise his critical acumen of painters and painting: "[J]e dis peut-être une bêtise, mais à la réserve de

quelques tableaux d'Horace Vernet, de deux ou trois tableaux de Scheffer, et de la Bataille de Taillebourg de Delacroix je n'ai gardé souvenir de rien. . . . [J]e ne rends compte que de mes impressions."<sup>111</sup>

Baudelaire's voracious curiosity also drew him to the mysteries of religion and philosophy. Again his tastes were varied and diverse, ranging from "le magnétisme animal"--"moi qui aime beaucoup le merveilleux, je ne crois pas, il est vrai, mais je n'en ris pas," he wrote in June 1838 to his mother<sup>112</sup>--to "la partie dogmatique de la religion . . . et l'Esthétique ou la philosophie des arts," as he wrote in a letter dated 26 February 1839 to his stepfather to request a tutor for extracurricular studies:

Mais moi, qui n'ai pas besoin d'aide pour suivre la classe proprement dite, ce que je demanderais à mon répétiteur, ce serait un surcroît de philosophie, ce serait ce qui ne se fait pas en classe, savoir, la religion dont l'étude n'entre pas dans le programme de l'Université, et l'Esthétique ou la philosophie des arts que notre professeur à coup sûr n'aura pas le temps de nous faire voir.

Ce que je lui demanderais aussi, ce serait du grec. . . . Tu sais que je me suis pris de goût pour les langues anciennes, et le grec m'inspire une grande curiosité. . . . Quant à la partie dogmatique de la religion, c'est aussi une chose qui me tourmente depuis le commencement de l'année. . . . Que puis-je désirer de mieux pour le moment que l'étude d'une langue qui me permettra de lire dans les originaux des livres fort utiles? et que l'étude de la plus belle partie de la philosophie, de la religion?<sup>113</sup>

The energetic curiosity, enthusiasm and idealism which we have found in Baudelaire's early correspondence also have, however, a dark and splenetic counterpoint. Time and time again a litany of depressing, melancholic terms escaped his pen as he described this darker state of his mind: "un naturel léger; un penchant invincible à la paresse"<sup>114</sup>; "l'engourdissement où je suis tombé"<sup>115</sup>; "une éternelle paresse, qui fait

que je remets toujours tout au lendemain"<sup>116</sup>; "je m'ennuie tellement que je pleure sans savoir pourquoi. . . . Ainsi je m'ennuie moi-même, les autres m'ennuient encore plus"<sup>117</sup>; "indolence, maussaderie, ennui."<sup>118</sup>  
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"spleen et idéal" in Les Fleurs du Mal, cognisant of being "un homo duplex" as he would write in 1859 in his preface to La Double Vie, a collection of short stories by Charles Asselineau: "Qui parmi nous n'est pas un homo duplex? Je veux parler de ceux dont l'esprit a été dès l'enfance touched with pensiveness; toujours double, action et intention, rêve et réalité; toujours l'un nuisant à l'autre, l'un usurpant la part de l'autre."<sup>122</sup> Moreover, throughout his adolescence Baudelaire's actions invariably failed to match his intentions, as his unbridled, poetic spirit was incapable of conforming to the world of reality. Upon being expelled from Louis-le-Grand, Baudelaire felt a deep humiliation, a feeling of having failed not only his parents, but himself also. He even wondered whether his expulsion was not after all a beneficial chastisement of his too wayward and too poetic spirit. "[J]e suis descendu d'un cran dans ma propre opinion . . . --aussi bas qu'on peut l'être," he wrote to his mother. "C'est peut-être un bien d'avoir été dénudé et dépoétisé, je comprends mieux ce qui manquait--c'est peut-être, comme on dit, un état de transition."<sup>123</sup>

Caught between dream and reality, and touched with pensiveness as he was from childhood on, Baudelaire on the threshold of his adult life was also preoccupied with becoming a distinguished man. "[I]l faut être un homme distingué!" he wrote to his mother on two occasions in 1838,<sup>124</sup> perhaps recalling the childhood memory of the distinguished and refined gentleman that his father had been. "M. Baudelaire était un homme très distingué, sous tous les rapports," Madame Aupick wrote of François Baudelaire in a letter to Asselineau, "avec des manières exquises, tout à fait aristocratiques."<sup>125</sup> In his appreciation of manners and refinement and aesthetics, it is indeed quite plausible that Baudelaire

the dandy should model himself after his father, as Henry Bonnier has suggested: "[I]l me semble que la grande figure qui domine de haut le ciel baudelairien n'est pas celle de la mère, mais celle du père, à qui ce fils fut fidèle jusqu'à la caricature."<sup>126</sup> At the end of his life, when Baudelaire's spirituality was most predominant, he listed his father as one of his divine intercessors. In his private journals, under the heading Hygiène, Baudelaire wrote: "Faire tous les matins ma prière à Dieu, réservoir de toute force et de toute justice, à mon père, à Mariette et à Poe, comme intercesseurs. . . ."<sup>127</sup>

Throughout these letters which document "l'enfance retrouvée" of Baudelaire, and in the specific areas of interest which we have examined—voyages, intellectual curiosity and poetic impulse; love and revolt; artistic ideals and "ennui"; "homo duplex" and "homme distingué," the latter suggesting the "homme supérieur" which Baudelaire associates with his particular conception of the dandy in Mon cœur mis à nu<sup>128</sup>-- we see the emerging pattern, the prefiguration of the entire drama played out in the evolution of Baudelaire's thought and works as well as in the evolution of his life. The early correspondence constitutes an extremely important chapter of Baudelaire's life and thought, a chapter happily rescued from oblivion by a fortuitous discovery in the years following the Second World War.

For the moment, however, Baudelaire's intention of becoming "un homme distingué" was dampened by two irreversible actions: the contraction of a venereal infection in late 1839,<sup>129</sup> and the contraction of debts which accrued at an alarming rate as Baudelaire set about leading the life of a dandy in the Latin Quarter of the 1840s. The letter which Baudelaire wrote to Alphonse in 1832 contained a premonition

of the disastrous financial situation that would plague him to the end of his days. "[T]u es aussi fort, comptant sur mon intelligence dans les affaires d'argent," he wrote, "mais je n'y comprends rien."<sup>130</sup>

Baudelaire's conduct which had in his youth resulted in the public humiliation of being expelled from school was to prove to be far more than just a state of transition. It was indeed but the first in a number of reality's chastisements lying in store for him. The next was to be the appointment of a "conseil judiciaire" in 1844 to administer what was then left of his inheritance. And as for this supreme chastisement, it would be only near the end of his life that Baudelaire would finally attain the spiritual wisdom to be able to look back upon his many humiliations and conclude: "Mes humiliations ont été des grâces de Dieu."<sup>131</sup>

#### C. Exotic Interlude and Reality's Chastisement: 1841-1845

By May of 1841 Aupick had become quite concerned about the future of his stepson. He was particularly displeased with Baudelaire's lifestyle --the directionless and dissolute lifestyle of the artists and writers in the Latin Quarter of the 1840s, many aspects of which Henri Murger captured so vividly in his Scènes de la vie de Bohème.<sup>132</sup> Judging from his correspondence of the period, Baudelaire spent vast amounts of money on clothing and accessories. In January of 1841 he sent an urgent letter to Alphonse, requesting money to pay off an astounding array of debts--totalling 2140 francs--owed to an assortment of tailors, shoemakers, shirtmakers and glovemakers. The list included very urgent debts ("Je serai bien aise de donner quelque argent à mon tailleur. Je le soupçonne

de me négliger," he wrote) and less urgent debts ("200 F . . . vieille dette, consacrée à habiller une fille").<sup>133</sup> Aupick convened a family council, and it was decided to send Baudelaire abroad on a long sea voyage in order to separate him from "des bohèmes de la pire espèce, vers lesquels l'attirait sa curiosité des côtés mystérieux du Paris dépravé."<sup>134</sup>

On 9 June 1841 Baudelaire departed from Bordeaux en route for Calcutta. After weathering a violent storm at sea, the Paquebot-des-Mers-du-Sud stopped for repairs at île Maurice on 1 September. There Baudelaire was warmly received by Adolphe Autard de Bragard and his wife, whose beauty and charm inspired Baudelaire to write "A une dame créole."<sup>135</sup> On 18 September the ship with Baudelaire aboard left for île Bourbon, presently Saint-Denis-de-la-Réunion. Having arrived at île Bourbon, Baudelaire refused to continue any further on the voyage to India, and set sail for France on 4 November, arriving in Bordeaux on 15 February 1842. The following day he wrote to General Aupick: "Je crois que je reviens avec la sagesse en poche."<sup>136</sup>

Events would soon demonstrate that Baudelaire did not return from his sea voyage with a great deal of practical wisdom in his pocket. What he did bring back from his voyage, however, were "des impressions qu'il avait reçues des pays lointains et des cieux inconnus contemplés pendant son voyage."<sup>137</sup> The sea journey undoubtedly stimulated Baudelaire's artistic sensitivity and imagination, and provided him with many of the exotic images and sensations, the themes of journeys and of the sea, that are characteristic of much of his poetry.

On 9 April 1842 Baudelaire reached the age of majority and claimed the considerable inheritance left to him by his father. He immediately



took up residence on the île Saint-Louis, "espèce d'oasis de solitude au milieu de Paris, que le fleuve, en l'entourant de ses deux bras, semble défendre contre les empiètements de la civilisation."<sup>138</sup> He took rooms first at 10, quai de Béthune, moving in June of 1843 to 15, quai d'Anjou, and two months later to 17, quai d'Anjou, where he lived in an apartment "sous les combles"<sup>139</sup> in the lavish hôtel Lauzun, which at that time was known as the hôtel Pimodan. This was the private mansion built in the seventeenth century by the duc de Lauzun, whom Barbey d'Aurevilly qualified as "un Dandy d'avant les Dandys" in his essay on Brummell.<sup>140</sup>

The painter Fernand Boissard de Poisselier also resided in the hôtel Pimodan, where he organised exotic artistic soirées of music and literature--including experimentation with hashish--known as "fantasias." Gautier, Nerval, Daumier, Balzac (as a spectator only), and other writers and artists of the period attended these evenings which Gautier described in his account entitled "Le Club des hachichins."<sup>141</sup> It was during one of these "fantasias" in mid-1843 that Gautier first met Baudelaire.<sup>142</sup> Pichois maintains that Baudelaire, like Balzac, was "un simple spectateur" at Boissard's raucous gatherings: "Ces dîners philanthropiques, ces fantasias de rapins devaient répugner au dandysme orgueilleux de Baudelaire."<sup>143</sup> But Baudelaire's spiritual and metaphysical curiosity was piqued by the ramifications of the expansion of the mind and of the senses induced by intoxicants, and he would later plumb the matter fully in Les Paradis artificiels.

Installed on the île Saint-Louis, "seigneurialement logé dans . . . ce fameux hôtel Pimodan,"<sup>144</sup> Baudelaire led the life of a prodigal dandy, to the extent that by July of 1844 he had squandered almost half of his inheritance on women, cafés, furniture, paintings and clothes.

Shortly after returning from his sea voyage Baudelaire made the acquaintance of a mulatto actress named Jeanne Duval (or Lémer, or Prosper) whom he promptly established in an apartment of her own. He also contracted heavy debts with Arondel, a dealer in secondhand furniture and paintings who also loaned money to Baudelaire at exorbitant rates.<sup>145</sup>

Baudelaire's tailor must have been rich indeed, for the testimony of friends and acquaintances of the period attest the sartorial splendour of the young Baudelaire who manifested "l'étrange supériorité du dandysme."<sup>146</sup> Asselineau wrote of "un Baudelaire barbu, ultra-fashionable, et voué à l'habit noir," whose costume, topped by "un chapeau de dandy," created a magnificent spectacle of "un luxe de toilette inusité."<sup>147</sup> But it was Nadar, with the observant eye of the photographer, who best captured the portrait of Baudelaire the dandy of the île Saint-Louis:

A mesure que l'apparition se rapprochait, comme aimantée sur nous, plus distinctement nous percevions un jeune homme de bonne taille moyenne, élégant, tout de noir vêtu sauf la cravate sang de boeuf, en habit, --ça se rencontrait encore de jour, par-ci par-là: --l'habit, qui dut être médité, démesurément évasé du torsé en un cornet d'où émergeait comme bouquet la tête, et à basques infinitésimales, en sifflet; --l'étroit pantalon sanglé par le sous-pied sur la botte irréprochablement vernie. Col de chemise largement rabattu, manchettes non moins amples en linge très blanc de fine toile protestaient par la proscription du moindre empois contre le supplice d'encarcanement dont l'étrange goût s'obstine à ankyloser nos générations présentes dans les roideurs du calicot silicaté: émancipation du corps n'aurait-elle quelque accointance avec dégagement de l'esprit? --A la main, gantée de rose pâle, --je dis de "rose", --il portait son chapeau, superflu de par la surabondance d'une chevelure bouclée et très noire qui retombait sur les épaules.<sup>148</sup>

Baudelaire's dandyism at this time also bore the imprint of the

influence of English dandyism. Le Vavasasseur described his costume as being "une tenue à la fois anglaise et romantique, Byron habillé par Brummel."<sup>149</sup> Gautier recognised in Baudelaire's dandyism the soberness peculiar to English dandyism, and spoke of Baudelaire's dress as being, "méticuleusement propre et correct, avec un cachet voulu de simplicité anglaise."<sup>150</sup> In the final analysis, for Gautier Baudelaire was "un dandy égaré dans la bohème, mais y gardant son rang et ses manières et ce culte de soi-même qui caractérise l'homme imbu des principes de Brummel."<sup>151</sup>

The image of himself which Baudelaire took such care to project in the early 1840s is most powerfully revealed in the oil portrait painted by Emile Deroy in 1843 or 1844, as well as in Deroy's lithograph done in 1844 which is based on the painting.<sup>152</sup> In the portrait Baudelaire is dressed in black, his head resting nonchalantly against his left hand, his eyes and mouth emitting an ironical and rapier wit. On the whole, the portrait gives the impression of a studied pose of a poseur. "De ses portraits: dessins, peintures, gravures, photographies, Baudelaire est, chaque fois qu'il le peut, le collaborateur, s'il n'en est pas l'auteur," writes Pichois.<sup>153</sup> Buisson maintained that even Baudelaire's "habit noir . . . était une pose."<sup>154</sup> This posing on Baudelaire's part Asselineau attributed to his desire to shock the bourgeois mentality of the age: "On ne posait, si pose il y a, que pour le bourgeois; et les habits funèbres et les chevelures désordonnées ne servaient que, comme les monstres que les Chinois portent à la guerre, d'épouvantails à l'ennemi."<sup>155</sup>

But Baudelaire's posing also served another purpose: to distinguish him from the common man. "Mais persuade-toi donc bien une chose, que tu

sembles toujours ignorer; . . . je ne suis pas fait comme les autres hommes," Baudelaire wrote to his mother in 1844.<sup>156</sup> "Tout est calculé pour établir une distance bien respectueuse entre le dandy et le reste du monde," writes André Beaunier. "Et à cette fin, tout lui sert, l'impertinence fréquemment, le paradoxe presque toujours, les sortes variées de l'ironie, l'humour. . . ."157

The exotic interlude in Baudelaire's life, which began at the end of his school years, was brought to an abrupt halt on 21 September 1844. Narcisse-Désiré Ancelle, a notary residing in Neuilly, was appointed Baudelaire's "conseil judiciaire" and would administer what remained of Baudelaire's fortune by limiting him to a monthly allowance. As we have seen, when Baudelaire did have access to his capital, he did not pay his debts. And since Baudelaire from 1844 on would not have access to the capital remaining from his inheritance, he could not pay his outstanding debts. Thus, the prodigality of his youth would leave Baudelaire under the perpetual financial burden of interest constantly accruing on old debts. Reality's chastisement was "une humiliation affreuse"<sup>158</sup> for the young dandy, a humiliation which would haunt him for the rest of his life. In Baudelaire's view, it was the appointment of the "conseil judiciaire" that ruined his life. ". . . le Conseil Judiciaire! Cette épouvantable faute qui a ruiné ma vie, flétri toutes mes journées et donné à toutes mes pensées la couleur de la haine et du désespoir," he angrily wrote to his mother in 1860.<sup>159</sup>

Deprived of the means to maintain his extravagant and lavish lifestyle, and faced with the pressing necessity of earning money to support himself and to pay his debts, Baudelaire turned to journalism. His first major publication was the Salon de 1845 which came out in May

of that year. Asselineau maintains that Baudelaire's first publications were art criticism rather than poetry because in the 1840s "une évolution se fit dans l'esprit public. . . . [L]a Peinture détrôna la Poésie."<sup>160</sup> One might add, however, that published journalism paid; poetry, and Baudelaire at this time was still an unpublished poet, did not. By mid-1845, depressed and discouraged by his lack of financial and literary success, Baudelaire felt that life was too difficult and too complicated. At the end of June he attempted to take his own life. He even had Jeanne deliver to Ancelle his suicide note and last testament—a letter dated 30 June 1845:

Quand Mlle Jeanne Lemer vous remettra cette lettre, je serai mort. . . . Je me tue—sans chagrin. . . . Je me tue parce que je ne puis plus vivre, que la fatigue de m'endormir et la fatigue de me réveiller me sont insupportables. Je me tue parce que je suis inutile aux autres—et dangereux à moi-même.<sup>161</sup>

While recovering from his self-inflicted knife wound, Baudelaire stayed briefly at the home of his parents at 7, place Vendôme. Shortly thereafter he gave up his three rooms at the hôtel Pimodan, and henceforth he would be obliged to live in more modest accommodations. On the quai d'Anjou Baudelaire left behind a turbulent youth aptly summed up by the opening lines of his sonnet "L'Ennemi": "Ma jeunesse ne fut qu'un ténébreux orage, / Traversé çà et là par de brillants soleils."<sup>162</sup>

Notes

PART TWO: CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup> François Porché, Baudelaire: histoire d'une âme (1944; rpt. Paris: Flammarion, 1967), p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Marcel A. Ruff, L'Esprit du mal et l'esthétique baudelairienne (Paris: Colin, 1955), p. 147. Ruff has reproduced the death certificate of Caroline's mother in "Appendice V," p. 463, and he has provided additional details about her parents culled from the marriage contract, dated 6 September 1819, of "Caroline Archimbaut Dufays, née de M. Charles Dufays, ancien officier militaire, et de dame Louise-Julie Foyot-Lacombe, son épouse, décédée sa veuve" (p. 147).

<sup>3</sup> Eugène Crépet, Charles Baudelaire, étude biographique d'Eugène Crépet, revue et mise à jour par Jacques Crépet (Paris: Vanier éditeur, Messein successeur, 1906), Note n° 1, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter XII, "Un berceau janséniste," in Ruff's L'Esprit du mal et l'esthétique baudelairienne, pp. 142-153.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 143. See also Marcel Ruff, "Baudelaire 'fils d'un prêtre'," and Dominique Julia, "Baudelaire, fils d'un prêtre," in La Quinzaine littéraire, 16-31 mai 1969.

<sup>6</sup> Ruff, "Appendice III," L'Esprit du mal, p. 462.

<sup>7</sup> Eugène Crépet, Charles Baudelaire, pp. 260, 264-266. Madame Aupick's letter to Charles Asselineau, dated 24 March 1868, is reproduced in full in Eugène Crépet. Charles Baudelaire, pp. 257-268. Madame Aupick also relates in her letter (p. 265) an anecdote which reveals that François Baudelaire was not only a distinguished gentleman, but also one whose sense of integrity was irreproachable:

Je me rappelle que les jours de gala, lorsqu'il y avait beaucoup d'invités à dîner à Auteuil, campagne de M. Pérignon, et que je voyais M. Baudelaire descendre d'une voiture armoriée avec un laquais à cheveux blancs, l'air vénérable, galonné sur toutes les coutures, tout resplendissant d'or, et qui restait debout derrière lui, à dîner, pour le servir, comme c'était l'usage alors d'emmener avec soi un domestique pour vous servir à table, M. Baudelaire me faisait l'effet d'un grand seigneur. Quand, depuis, étant sa femme, je lui ai raconté cela, il me dit: "Mais, enfant, vous ne pensiez donc pas que cette voiture aux armes du Sénat et ce domestique étaient mis à ma disposition pour les convocations que

j'avais à faire, et, lorsque je m'en servais pour mon compte, je ne manquais jamais de donner un louis au cocher, au retour, comme si j'avais pris une remise."

- 8 Baudelaire, OC, II, 624.
- 9 Baudelaire, "Notices bio-bibliographiques," OC, I, 785.
- 10 Baudelaire, OC, I, 701.
- 11 Robert T. Cargo, Introduction, A Concordance to Baudelaire's "Les Fleurs du Mal" (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965) p. xi.
- 12 Marcel A. Ruff, "L'Oeil de Baudelaire," L'Arc, 10 (printemps 1960), 13.
- 13 Jean Adhémar, "L'Univers enfantin de Baudelaire," La Nef (février 1958), p. 75.
- 14 Baudelaire, OC, I, 129.
- 15 Baudelaire, OC, I, 170.
- 16 Baudelaire, OC, I, 661.
- 17 Baudelaire, "Les Paradis artificiels," OC, I, 499. Baudelaire also writes of "le mundus muliebris" in "Le Peintre de la vie moderne" (OC, II, 714) and in a letter to Poulet-Malasis, dated 23 April 1860 (C, II, 30-31).
- 18 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 682, 689.
- 19 Baudelaire, "Morale du joujou," OC, I, 581. Pichois demonstrates that this visit which Baudelaire and his mother made to Madame Panckoucke was prior to the departure of Baudelaire and his mother in January of 1832 to join Aupick in Lyons. See note n° 2, OC, I, 1430.
- 20 Baudelaire, "Morale du joujou," OC, I, 581. This association of the sensual and the feminine, of "l'odeur" or "le parfum," "la fourrure" and "la femme," finds its perfect amalgam in the image or symbol of the feline in Baudelaire's three poems on cats, most specifically in the seventh stanza of "Le Chat" (OC, I, 51):

De sa fourrure blonde et brune  
Sort un parfum si doux, qu'un soir  
J'en fus embaumé, pour l'avoir  
Caressée une fois, rien qu'une.

In a second poem bearing the same title (OC, I, 35), this association is again explicitly stated:

Viens, mon beau chat, sur mon coeur amoureux;  
.....

Lorsque mes doigts caressent à loisir  
 Ta tête et ton dos élastique,  
 . . . . .  
 Je vois ma femme en esprit . . .  
 . . . . .  
 Et, des pieds jusques à la tête,  
 Un air subtil, un dangereux parfum  
 Nagent autour de son corps brun.

See also the poem "Les Chats," OC, I, 66.

21 Baudelaire, "Morale du joujou," OC, I, 582-583.

22 Ibid., p. 582.

23 Ibid., p. 583.

24 Baudelaire, "Exposition universelle 1855," OC, II, 585, and "Salon de 1859," OC, II, 620.

25 Baudelaire, OC, I, 661.

26 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 690.

27 Baudelaire, OC, I, 703.

28 Raymond Isay, "Le Printemps de Baudelaire," La Revue des Deux Mondes, 1<sup>er</sup> juillet 1957, p. 87.

29 Baudelaire, OC, I, 706.

30 Baudelaire, "Notices bio-bibliographiques," OC, I, 784.

31 Raymond Isay, "Le Printemps de Baudelaire," La Revue des Deux Mondes, 1<sup>er</sup> juillet 1957, p. 99.

32 It has long been thought that the house in Neuilly had been left to Caroline by François Baudelaire. However, Pichois points out (Note n° 1, C, II, 725) that François Baudelaire only owned "des terrains non bâtis" in Neuilly: "Charles avait déjà connu un Neuilly encore agreste pendant l'été de 1827. Sans doute sa mère et lui logeaient-ils dans une maison qui avait été louée ou que des amis avaient mise à leur disposition."

33 Baudelaire, C, II, 153. This time was undoubtedly a bad period for Caroline, for she was widowed in February of 1827 and had a small child to raise. The following year was most likely equally painful for her. Recently Jean Desjardins--"La Demi-soeur de Baudelaire," Le Cramérien, 1<sup>er</sup> avril 1971--has discovered that about three weeks after her marriage to Aupick, Caroline was delivered of a stillborn girl on 2 December 1828. Great pains had obviously been taken to conceal this pregnancy, which otherwise would have caused a social scandal for the promising career officer and the young widow Baudelaire.



34 Baudelaire, OC, I, 100.

35 Baudelaire, OC, I, 99. Baudelaire makes specific reference to these two poems in a letter to his mother (C, I, 445) dated 11 January 1858:

Vous n'avez donc pas remarqué qu'il y avait dans Les Fleurs du Mal deux pièces vous concernant, ou du moins allusionnelles à des détails intimes de notre ancienne vie, de cette époque de veuvage qui m'a laissé de singuliers et tristes souvenirs,—l'une: Je n'ai pas oublié, voisine de la ville . . . (Neuilly), et l'autre qui suit: La servante au grand coeur dont vous étiez jalouse. . . (Mariette)? J'ai laissé ces pièces sans titres et sans indications claires parce que j'ai horreur de prostituer les choses intimes de famille.

36 Baudelaire, OC, I, 661. Pichois doubts that this entry is autobiographical in nature, for no biographical information which would lend credence to such a statement has ever been uncovered. See Note n° 2, OC, I, 1482, wherein Pichois proposes the following interpretation of the entry in question: "Ou ne serait-ce pas une de ces belles phrases par lesquelles Baudelaire s'enjoignait de commencer une nouvelle?"

37 Porché, Baudelaire: histoire d'une âme, p. 38.

38 Baudelaire, C, II, 153.

39 Porché, Baudelaire: histoire d'une âme, p. 44.

40 Ibid., p. 55.

41 Jean-Paul Sartre, Baudelaire (1963; rpt. Paris: Gallimard, 1976), p. 19. Sartre's work was first published in 1947.

42 Porché, Baudelaire: histoire d'une âme, p. 56.

43 Ibid., p. 55.

44 Enid Starkie, Baudelaire (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), p. 40.

45 Ruff, L'Esprit du mal, p. 150.

46 William Thomas Bandy, "Les morts, les pauvres morts . . .," Revue des sciences humaines (juillet-septembre 1967), pp. 477-480.

47 Alfred Edward Carter, Charles Baudelaire (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977), p. 19.

48 Ibid., p. 19.

49 Baudelaire, OC, I, 497-498. Baudelaire expresses the same idea

in "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 690: "Mais le génie n'est que l'enfance retrouvée à volonté, l'enfance douée maintenant, pour s'exprimer, d'organes virils et de l'esprit analytique qui lui permet d'ordonner la somme de matériaux involontairement amassée." It is of interest to note that Porché-Baudelaire: histoire d'une âme, p. 51—finds that Baudelaire, in linking genius and childhood, is speaking "en précurseur de la psychanalyse."

50 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 690.

51 See Note n<sup>o</sup> 1, C, I, 726, concerning Baudelaire's letter to Aupick, dated 13 August 1839.

52 Baudelaire, "Notices bio-bibliographiques," OC, I, 784.

53 Consult Claude Pichois, "La Maladie de Baudelaire," in Baudelaire: études et témoignages (Neuchâtel: Editions de la Baconnière, 1967), pp. 219-241.

54 Sara inspired three of Baudelaire's poems: "Tu mettrais l'univers entier dans ta ruelle" (OC, I, 27-28), "Une nuit que j'étais près d'une affreuse Juive" (OC, I, 34), and "Je n'ai pas pour maîtresse une lionne illustre" (OC, I, 203-204).

55 Marcel Ruff (L'Esprit du mal, p. 163) maintains that Baudelaire himself was likely not a boarder at the pension Bailly: "A vrai dire, aucune preuve positive n'établit qu'il y ait été pensionnaire. Mais il est très certain qu'il y a fréquenté assidûment entre la fin de 1839 et son départ pour l'île Bourbon."

56 Starkie, Baudelaire, p. 62, and Ruff, L'Esprit du mal, p. 173.

57 Jean Pommier, "Du nouveau sur la pension Bailly," Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, 2 (avril-juin 1967), pp. 227-238.

58 Starkie, Baudelaire, p. 261. Starkie goes on to add: "Balzac especially was influenced by [Swedenborg], and Baudelaire greatly admired Balzac . . ." (p. 261). In particular, Starkie points (loc. cit.) to the influence of Swedenborg in Balzac's Livre mystique, comprised of Louis Lambert, Séraphita and Les Proscrits, published as one book in 1835.

59 Baudelaire, OC, I, 555.

60 Baudelaire, "Notices bio-bibliographiques," OC, I, 784. To underscore the moral and spiritual atmosphere implicit in the works of these authors who left such a marked impression on Baudelaire in his twenties, Marcel Ruff (L'Esprit du mal, p. 165) adds the following epithets: "Ourliac qui allait mourir 'saintement' . . . , Gérard, à demi mystique . . . , Balzac le swedenborgien, De Latouche l'initié."

61 Ruff, L'Esprit du mal, pp. 164-165.

62 Baudelaire, C, I, 3. This is the first of the letters which Auserve published under the title Lettres inédites aux siens. The.

letters published in the Auserve edition are included in the two volumes of Baudelaire's Correspondance published in the 1973 Gallimard edition ("Bibliothèque de la Pléiade") edited by Claude Pichois in collaboration with Jean Ziegler. All quotations from Baudelaire's correspondence will be taken from the Pichois edition.

- 63 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 1 February 1832, C, I, 3-4.
- 64 Baudelaire, OC, I, 129-130.
- 65 In his letter of 12 July 1833 (C, I, 19), Baudelaire wrote to Alphonse: "Dans ta réponse fais-moi une description de tout Fontainebleau. Car tu sais que je suis amateur de géographie."
- 66 Baudelaire, OC, I, 129.
- 67 See "Répertoire des adresses de Baudelaire," C, II, 1087-1088.
- 68 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 1 February 1832, C, I, 4.
- 69 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 3 March 1832, C, I, 5.
- 70 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 3 March 1832, C, I, 5.
- 71 Letter to Madame Aupick, 23 August 1838, C, I, 62.
- 72 Letter to Madame Aupick, 6 February 1834, C, I, 24. For additional information on François Levailant, see Note n<sup>o</sup> 2, C, I, 703, as well as Pichois' "Répertoire des personnes citées," C, II, 1016-1017.
- 73 Letter to Madame Aupick, 30 July 1837, C, I, 42. Sterne's A Sentimental Journey, a parody of fashionable works of travel, was first published in 1768, and was translated into French in 1769. Madame de Graffigny's Lettres d'une Péruvienne, first published in 1747; is an epistolary novel consisting of the correspondence supposedly written by a young Peruvian lady in France.
- 74 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 1 February 1832, C, I, 4.
- 75 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 1 February 1832, C, I, 4.
- 76 Baudelaire, "Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains," OC, II, 133.
- 77 Ibid., p. 133.
- 78 Baudelaire, OC, I, 11.
- 79 Baudelaire, OC, I, 75.
- 80 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 716.
- 81 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 6 September 1832, C, I, 10.

82 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 1 January 1834, C, I, 22-23. For Baudelaire's quotation from Virgil's Aeneid, Pichois gives the following translation (Note n° 3, C, I, 702): "De rares naufragés nageant sur le vaste abîme."

83 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 23 October 1838, C, I, 64.

84 Concerning this title, see Pichois' discussion, OC, I, 1225-1227.

85 Baudelaire, OC, I, 199-200.

86 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 25 April 1832, C, I, 7. These two items, a toilet article and a writing instrument, are choices worthy of a young dandy-littérateur.

87 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 23 November 1833, C, I, 22.

88 Baudelaire, OC, I, 585-586.

89 Letter to Madame Aupick, 23 April 1837, C, I, 39. Aupick was wounded by a bullet which lodged in his left thigh during the battle of Fleurus, prior to the battle of Waterloo in 1815. The bullet was finally removed in 1835, but Aupick suffered from this wound throughout his life until his death in 1857. For further details, consult Note n° 2, C, I, 707, and Note n° 1, C, I, 708.

90 Letter to General Aupick, 13 August 1839, C, I, 77.

91 Baudelaire, OC, I, 693. See also OC, I, 684: "Il n'existe que trois êtres respectables: Le prêtre, le guerrier, le poète."

92 Eugène Crépet, "Appendice VI," Charles Baudelaire, p. 254.

93 Eugène Crépet, "Appendice VI," Charles Baudelaire, p. 258.

94 Letter to Madame Aupick, 6 May 1861, C, II, 153.

95 Baudelaire, "Notices bio-bibliographiques," OC, I, 784.

96 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 3 July 1832, C, I, 8.

97 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 3 July 1832, C, I, 8.

98 Letter to Madame Aupick, dated around 10 June 1838, C, I, 52.

99 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 25 March 1833, C, I, 17.

100 Letter to Jules Pierrot, 18 April 1839, C, I, 69. Pichois suggests that this letter might not have been sent to the headmaster. See Note n° 1, C, I, 723.

101 Pierrot's letter to Aupick is reproduced in full in Baudelaire, C, I, 723.

- 102 Eugène Crépet, "Appendice VI," Charles Baudelaire, pp. 254-255.
- 103 Letter to Lieutenant-Colonel and Madame Aupick, 25 February 1834, C, I, 26.
- 104 Letter to Madame Aupick, of 1834 or 1835, C, I, 31.
- 105 Letter to Madame Aupick, 3 July 1839, C, I, 73.
- 106 Letter to Madame Aupick, 27 June 1838, C, I, 55.
- 107 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 23 August 1839, C, I, 78.
- 108 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 30 December 1832, C, I, 14. Contes de Jacob by Paul Lacroix was published in 1831.
- 109 Letter to Madame Aupick, 3 August 1838, C, I, 61. Sainte-Beuve's novel Volupté was published in 1834.
- 110 Letter to Victor Hugo, 25 February 1840, C, I, 81-82. In a letter to Alphonse, dated 5 March 1838 (C, I, 50), Baudelaire expressed the desire to read the verse of a lesser poet than Hugo—the verse written by his own father: "Maman m'a dit que tu avais un assez grand nombre de pièces de vers que notre père avait faites. Veux-tu m'en envoyer quelques-unes, toutes si c'est possible; il m'a pris une grande curiosité de les voir; et ce sera un grand plaisir que de les lire."
- 111 Letter to Colonel Aupick, 17 July 1838, C, I, 58.
- 112 Letter to Madame Aupick, 19 June 1838, C, I, 54.
- 113 Letter to Colonel Aupick, 26 February 1839, C, I, 67-68.
- 114 Letter to Lieutenant-Colonel and Madame Aupick, 25 February 1834, C, I, 27.
- 115 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 26 February 1834, C, I, 28.
- 116 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 2 November 1837, C, I, 43.
- 117 Letter to Madame Aupick, 3 August 1838, C, I, 60-61.
- 118 Letter to Madame Aupick, 16 July 1839, C, I, 76.
- 119 Letter to Lieutenant-Colonel and Madame Aupick, 25 February 1834, C, I, 26.
- 120 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 31 December 1838, C, I, 66.
- 121 Letter to Madame Aupick, 16 July 1839, C, I, 76.
- 122 Baudelaire, OC, II, 87.
- 123 Letter to Madame Aupick, 16 July 1839, C, I, 76.

- 124 Letter to Madame Aupick, 10 June 1838, C, I, 52. See also the letter to Madame Aupick, 19 June 1838, C, I, 53.
- 125 Eugène Crépet, "Appendice VI," Charles Baudelaire, p. 260.
- 126 Henry Bonnier, "L'Archétype du poète: Baudelaire," Les Nouvelles littéraires, 21 novembre 1968, p. 6.
- 127 Baudelaire, OC, I, 673.
- 128 Baudelaire, OC, I, 689.
- 129 Consult the letters to Alphonse Baudelaire of 20 November, 2 December and 3 December 1839, C, I, 79-81. See also Note n° 2 and Note n° 3, C, I, 727.
- 130 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 30 December 1832, C, I, 14.
- 131 Baudelaire, "Hygiène," OC, I, 671.
- 132 Mirger's Scènes de la vie de Bohème was first published serially in 1846 in the Le Corsaire-Satan. The work was published in volume form in 1851.
- 133 Letter to Alphonse Baudelaire, 20 January 1841, C, I, 85-86.
- 134 Eugène Crépet, Charles Baudelaire, p. 27.
- 135 Baudelaire included the poem in his letter of 20 October 1841 (C, I, 89-90) to Autard de Bragard, which he sent from île Bourbon.
- 136 Letter to General Aupick, 16 February 1842, C, I, 90.
- 137 Eugène Crépet, Charles Baudelaire, p. 29.
- 138 Théophile Gautier. "Le Club des hachichins," in Baudelaire, Les Paradis artificiels, précédé de "La Pipe d'opium," "Le Hachich," "Le Club des hachichins" par Théophile Gautier, ed. Claude Pichois (1961: rpt. Paris: Gallimard, 1977), p. 45.
- 139 Charles Asselineau, Charles Baudelaire: sa vie et son oeuvre, p. 67.
- 140 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Du dandysme et de George Brummell." ORC, II, 719.
- 141 The complete text of Gautier's "Le Club des hachichins" is included in Baudelaire, Les Paradis artificiels, ed. Claude Pichois (1961; rpt. Paris: Gallimard, 1977), pp. 43-66. "Le Club des hachichins" was first published in February 1846 in the Revue des Deux Mondes.
- 142 Théophile Gautier, "Charles Baudelaire," in Souvenirs romantiques, introduction et notes par Adolphe Boschot (Paris: Garnier

Frères, 1929), p. 268.

143 Claude Pichois, Introduction, in Baudelaire, Les Paradis artificiels (1961; rpt. Paris: Gallimard, 1977), p. 11. In his Introduction (p. 11) Pichois points out that Baudelaire had experimented with hashish immediately after returning from his sea voyage, at the apartment of Louis Ménard, a school friend from Baudelaire's days at Louis-le-Grand. Baudelaire's sketch of himself under the influence of hashish, in which he portrays himself larger than the Vendôme column, dates from this period. Pichois has included this drawing in his Album Baudelaire (Paris: Gallimard, 1974), p. 34.

144 Asselineau, Charles Baudelaire: sa vie et son oeuvre, pp. 66-67.

145 Pichois has included the "lettres de change" drawn up by Arondel, which Baudelaire signed between November of 1843 and August of 1845, in his edition of Baudelaire's correspondence. See Baudelaire, C, I, 101, 103, 114, 121, 123, 124.

146 Eugène Crépet, Charles Baudelaire, p. 22.

147 Asselineau, Charles Baudelaire: sa vie et son oeuvre, pp. 69-70.

148 Nadar (pseudonyme de Félix Tournachon), Charles Baudelaire intime: le poète vierge (Paris: Blaizot, 1911), pp. 36-37. Nadar had previously published this portrait of Baudelaire in his article "Charles-Pierre Baudelaire" which appeared in Figaro on 10 September 1867.

149 Le Vavasseau's description of Baudelaire in 1842 is reproduced in Crépet's Charles Baudelaire, pp. 44-45. Crépet also cites descriptions by others who knew Baudelaire in the 1840s—descriptions which illustrate "cette toilette, empreinte de britannisme, et qui visait à l'excentricité" (p. 45).

André Beaunier—"Charles Baudelaire et l'esthétique de la décadence," The Nineteenth Century (March 1911), p. 534—also describes Baudelaire's Brummellian elegance:

On connut un jeune Baudelaire qui était l'élégance même. . . . Le costume, invariable été comme hiver, était, au dire des connaisseurs, de qualité anglaise; et l'on cite Brummell à son propos: l'habit noir, très ample, et qu'il laissait flotter, les manches larges, les basques longues et carrées, le gilet de casimir noir, long et bien étoffé, la cravate noire, à larges bouts et nouée sans brutalité; le pantalon de drap fin, pas trop collant et à sous-pieds; souliers ou escarpins noirs l'hiver et blancs l'été. Avec cela, du linge parfait, une propreté d'hermine. L'allure lente, souple, bien rythmée. Au doigts, une petite canne à pomme d'or. Et puis un air cérémonieux, distant, un peu guindé, narquois, dédaigneux et très poli.

150 Théophile Gautier, "Charles Baudelaire," in Souvenirs romantiques, p. 270. Gautier (p. 270) continues his praise of Baudelaire's dandyism thus: "Rien de trop frais ni de trop voyant dans cette tenue rigoureuse. Charles Baudelaire appartenait à ce dandysme sobre qui râpe ses habits avec du papier de verre pour leur ôter l'éclat endimanché et tout battant neuf si cher au philistin et si désagréable pour le vrai gentleman."

151 Ibid., p. 273.

152 Deroy's portrait and lithograph of Baudelaire are reproduced by Pichois in his Album Baudelaire (Paris: Gallimard, 1974), pp. 48, 50.

153 Claude Pichois, Album Baudelaire (Paris: Gallimard, 1974), p. 7.

154 Eugène Crépet, Charles Baudelaire, p. 46.

155 Asselineau, Charles Baudelaire: sa vie et son oeuvre, p. 71.

156 Letter to Madame Aupick, summer 1844, C, I, 108.

157 André Beaunier, "Charles Baudelaire et l'esthétique de la décadence," The Nineteenth Century (March 1911), p. 534.

158 Letter to Madame Aupick, summer 1844, C, I, 111.

159 Letter to Madame Aupick, 11 October 1860, C, II, 96.

160 Asselineau, Charles Baudelaire: sa vie et son oeuvre, p. 72.

161 Letter to Narcisse Ancelle, 30 June 1845, C, I, 124-125.

162 Baudelaire, "L'Ennemi," OC, I, 16.



"Ivresse littéraire. . . . De quelle nature était cette ivresse?"  
—Baudelaire, Mon coeur mis à nu

## CHAPTER II

### THE EARLY WORKS

Baudelaire undoubtedly read Barbey d'Aurevilly's Du dandysme et de George Brummell when it first came out in 1845. By that time Baudelaire himself already had the reputation of a notorious dandy-littérateur. He had already contracted a venereal infection, had gone on a long sea journey, had squandered most of his inheritance, had lived in Lauzun's former residence, and had become embroiled in a tempestuous relationship with the mulatto actress Jeanne Duval. He had also established friendships with a number of young bohemian writers and artists, and had himself composed a number of literary pieces, including most of the poems in Les Fleurs du Mal according to Asselineau.<sup>1</sup>

With his access to his inheritance limited by the appointment in 1844 of a "conseil judiciaire," the year 1845 marked the end of Baudelaire's bohemian days. Pressed by the necessity of paying his debts, and by the immediate necessity of supporting himself,<sup>2</sup> he, like Barbey d'Aurevilly before him, was obliged to turn to journalism. His first publications were art criticism, short pieces of literary criticism and a number of short essays. His first two major pieces of art criticism were the Salon de 1845 and a much more important work, the Salon de 1846, wherein Baudelaire reveals an astute and sound aesthetic judgement, establishing his reputation as an art critic. In later years

Théophile Gautier, whose own art criticism was of the highest order, wrote: "Baudelaire était un critique d'art d'une sagacité parfaite, et il apportait dans l'appréciation de la peinture une subtilité métaphysique et une originalité de point de vue qui font regretter qu'il n'ait pas consacré plus de temps à ce genre de travail."<sup>3</sup>

Already at the age of twenty-four, in the Salon de 1845 Baudelaire recognised the greatness of Delacroix, who represented for him "le génie dans la peinture."<sup>4</sup> Indeed, following his introduction, Baudelaire devotes the very first line of his text to the praise of Delacroix: "M. Delacroix est décidément le peintre le plus original des temps anciens et des temps modernes."<sup>5</sup> Again in the Salon de 1846 Baudelaire devotes an entire section to his discussion of Delacroix, heralding him as "le vrai peintre du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,"<sup>6</sup> and attributing to him a position second to none, even Ingres. "M. Ingres occupe après Eugène Delacroix la place la plus importante," Baudelaire writes.<sup>7</sup> Of course Baudelaire did not discover Delacroix, but he did come to the artist's defence at a time when Delacroix's works were not generally admired. "Jusqu'à présent on a été injuste envers Eugène Delacroix. La critique a été pour lui amère et ignorante," he writes.<sup>8</sup>

In these two salons Baudelaire also sets the groundwork for what will evolve into his aesthetic theory over the years. In the Salon de 1845 he intimates a relation between "quelque chose d'inattendu"<sup>9</sup> and beauty--an association to which he gives a much richer and fuller expression in his journals written near the end of his life: "Ce qui n'est pas légèrement difforme a l'air insensible;—d'où il suit que l'irrégularité, c'est-à-dire l'inattendu, la surprise, l'étonnement sont une partie essentielle et la caractéristique de la beauté."<sup>10</sup> In the

works of Delacroix and Corot he admires "la valeur d'une touche spirituelle."<sup>11</sup> He also admires "la naïveté et l'originalité"<sup>12</sup> in Camille Corot's landscapes which were not finished and sterile copies of nature, but rather powerful and magnificent suggestions of the beauty of nature: "[U]ne oeuvre de génie--ou si l'on veut--une oeuvre d'âme--où tout est bien vu, bien observé, bien compris, bien imaginé--est toujours très-bien exécutée, quand elle l'est suffisamment."<sup>13</sup> Any painting which lacks naïvety and originality Baudelaire disparagingly relegates to the category "du chic et du poncif."<sup>14</sup> In his later works, notably in the Salon de 1859, Baudelaire would develop the notion of "naïveté" into his theory of the imagination--"cette reine des facultés."<sup>15</sup>

In the Salon de 1846, Baudelaire further associates the notion of "naïveté" with his conception of Romanticism:

Le grand artiste sera donc . . . celui qui unira à . . . la naïveté . . . le plus de romantisme possible. . . . Le romantisme n'est précisément ni dans le choix des sujets ni dans la vérité exacte, mais dans la manière de sentir. . . . Pour moi le romantisme est l'expression la plus récente, la plus actuelle du beau. . . . [L]e romantisme ne consistera pas dans une exécution parfaite. . . . Qui dit romantisme dit art moderne,--c'est-à-dire intimité, spiritualité, couleur, aspiration vers l'infini, exprimées par tous les moyens que contiennent les arts.<sup>16</sup>

In defining Romanticism as the most recent and most modern artistic expression, Baudelaire not only offers a preliminary formulary of his aesthetic of beauty, but he also establishes for the first time in his work a link between modernity and his aesthetic of dandyism. In a brief conclusion to the Salon de 1845 he writes:

[L]'héroïsme de la vie moderne nous entoure et nous presse. . . . Celui-là sera le peintre, le vrai peintre, qui saura arracher à la vie actuelle son côté épique, et nous faire voir et comprendre, avec de la couleur ou du dessin, combien nous sommes

grands et poétiques dans nos cravates et nos bottes vernies.<sup>17</sup>

This link between modernity and dandyism is explicitly stated in the concluding section, entitled "De l'héroïsme de la vie moderne," of the Salon de 1846. "En relisant le livre du Dandysme, par M. Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly," writes Baudelaire, "le lecteur verra clairement que le dandysme est une chose moderne et qui tient à des causes tout à fait nouvelles."<sup>18</sup>

In relation to the aesthetic of dandyism, Baudelaire writes that beauty consists of an eternal element and a transitory element. For modern man, the transitory element is aptly symbolised by "l'habit, la pelure du héros moderne."<sup>19</sup> Of the artists whose works were displayed at the salon, Baudelaire judged that Eugène Land--"le poète du dandysme hasardeux et d'occasion"--and Paul Gavarni--"le poète du dandysme officiel"<sup>20</sup>--succeeded best in capturing the transitory element of the beauty of modern times represented in "le spectacle de la vie élégante et des milliers d'existences flottantes qui circulent dans . . . une grande ville."<sup>21</sup>

Baudelaire's aesthetic of dandyism is thus announced in his first two published works of art criticism. He first spoke briefly of "l'héroïsme de la vie moderne" at the end of his Salon de 1845. And in the three and a half pages which he devotes to the subject in the conclusion of the Salon de 1846, we find a prefiguration of his essay Le Peintre de la vie moderne, published in 1863, in which he treats at great length and in great detail the topic of modernity and dandyism.

Baudelaire's debut as a dandy-journalist is however marked by a startling and peculiar ambiguity. In his introduction to the Salon de 1845 Baudelaire seemingly comes to the defence of "le bourgeois . . . cet

être inoffensif."<sup>22</sup> He also writes that he admires in Louis-Philippe "l'esprit éclairé et libéralement paternel d'un roi à qui le public et les artistes doivent la jouissance de six musées."<sup>23</sup> Again in Le Musée classique du Bazar Bonne-Nouvelle, a short piece published in January 1846, Baudelaire writes a glowing defence of the bourgeois:

Nous avons entendu maintes fois de jeunes artistes se plaindre du bourgeois, et le représenter comme l'ennemi de toute chose grande et belle. --Il y a là une idée fausse qu'il est temps de relever. Il est une chose mille fois plus dangereuse que le bourgeois, c'est l'artiste-bourgeois, qui a été créé pour s'interposer entre le public et le génie; il les cache l'un à l'autre.<sup>24</sup>

Finally, in his dedication "Aux bourgeois" which prefaces the Salon de 1846, Baudelaire writes: "Vous êtes les amis naturels des arts, parce que vous êtes, les uns riches, les autres savants."<sup>25</sup>

That such praise for the bourgeoisie should flow from the pen of a young dandy-littérateur is indeed startling, and it has been a matter of consternation for many critics writing on Baudelaire. The texts addressed to the bourgeois have been interpreted variously as being serious, ambiguous and ironic. Annie Becq sees on Baudelaire's part "une oscillation de l'ironique au sérieux" in the prefaces to his two salons.<sup>26</sup> But it is Marcel Ruff who offers one of the most convincing explanations of the contradiction inherent in the defence of the bourgeois by Baudelaire the young dandy. Ruff sees in the dedication an expression of Baudelaire's reaction against the peculiar kind of political conformity which characterised the period:

Or à ce moment l'opposition à la malheureuse monarchie de Juillet est pour ainsi dire un article de foi, les légitimistes, les républicains et les bonapartistes s'alliant sans scrupules pour accabler leurs adversaires sous un faisceau d'arguments et de convictions parfaitement contradictoires. C'en était assez pour persuader Baudelaire de prendre le parti

contraire.<sup>27</sup>

In another sense, however, the contradiction in Baudelaire's praise of the bourgeois may be summed up in the paradox inherent in the term "dandy-littérateur." The dandy as writer produced a work which, in the mid-nineteenth century, was a commodity destined essentially for a bourgeois marketplace. The success of the writer, then, was directly dependent upon a reading public—a public that the dandy, by virtue of his aestheticism and his asceticism, abhorred.<sup>28</sup> Viewed in this light, Baudelaire's persuasive appeal to the bourgeois may also be interpreted as ironic and somewhat self-serving, for in affirming a harmony between art and the bourgeois, the artist ratifies the necessity and the value of his art. Indeed, the conclusion of the preface to the Salon de 1846 may be regarded as a masterpiece of ironic persuasion: "Vous êtes les amis naturels des arts, parce que vous êtes, les uns riches, les autres savants. . . . C'est donc à vous, bourgeois, que ce livre est naturellement dédié; car tout livre qui ne s'adresse pas à la majorité,— nombre et intelligence,—est un sot livre."<sup>29</sup> To imagine Baudelaire writing either "un sot livre" or a book addressed "à la majorité" is certainly unthinkable. And so at one point in the Salon de 1845 the voice of irony pricks the discourse of flattery. Baudelaire, not unlike Stendhal addressing the "happy few," wryly confesses: "Nous savons que nous serons compris d'un petit nombre, mais cela nous suffit."<sup>30</sup>

Although muted, the ironic tone of the preface "Aux bourgeois" cannot be denied. As we have seen earlier in Part One, irony was chief among the characteristics of literary dandyism. And Baudelaire himself considered irony to be one of the essential qualities of all literature: "Deux qualités littéraires fondamentales: surnaturalisme et ironie."<sup>31</sup>

The ironic and insolent pose of Baudelaire the dandy-littérateur is manifestly evident in the short essays which he published in 1845 and 1846. In Comment on paie ses dettes quand on a du génie, published in November 1845, Baudelaire relates what is ostensibly an anecdote about Balzac and his creditors. The piece opens with a flagrant and mocking boast about breaching a confidence: "L'anecdote suivante m'a été contée avec prières de n'en parler à personne; c'est pour cela que je veux la raconter à tout le monde."<sup>32</sup> In Choix de maximes consolantes sur l'amour, published in March 1846, Baudelaire offers advice on how to choose "l'héroïne de votre coeur."<sup>33</sup> His advice to the reader ranges from the casual and the scandalous—"Chez les Incas l'on aimait sa soeur; contentez-vous de votre cousine"<sup>34</sup>--to the mock serious:

Bien qu'il faille être de son siècle, gardez-vous bien de singer l'illustre don Juan qui ne fut d'abord, selon Molière, qu'un rude coquin, bien stylé et affilié à l'amour, au crime et aux arguties;— puis est devenu, grâce à MM. Alfred de Musset et Théophile Gautier, un flâneur artistique, courant après la perfection à travers les mauvais lieux, et finalement n'est plus qu'un vieux dandy éreinté de tous ses voyages, et le plus sot du monde auprès d'une honnête femme bien éprise de son mari.<sup>35</sup>

Comment on paie ses dettes quand on a du génie and Choix de maximes consolantes sur l'amour are reminiscent of the many frivolous manuals on popular dandyism which appeared in France throughout the 1820s and the 1830s, as we have already seen in the first part of the present study. In a tone of mock seriousness these manuals prescribed the correct method and deportment required in matters ranging from the tying of ties to the avoiding of paying debts. The two pieces by Baudelaire are particularly reminiscent of two manuals by Emile Marc Hilaire: L'Art de réussir en amour, enseigné en 25 leçons (1826) and L'Art de payer ses dettes et de satisfaire ses créanciers, sans déboursier un sou (1827).

Having offered advice to debtors and lovers, Baudelaire offers advice to writers with great mock solemnity in Conseils aux jeunes littérateurs, published in April 1846. Since "la littérature . . . est avant tout un remplissage de colonnes,"<sup>36</sup> Baudelaire advises learning to write quickly: "Pour écrire vite, il faut avoir beaucoup pensé,—avoir trébuché un sujet avec soi, à la promenade, au bain, au restaurant, et presque chez sa maîtresse."<sup>37</sup>

In "Prométhée délivré" par L. de Senneville, published in February 1846, Baudelaire adopts an insolent and superior attitude toward his reader: "Pauvre lecteur, comme vous prenez le mors au dents, quand on vous met sur une pente!"<sup>38</sup> Such a cavalier attitude toward the reader is again present in Baudelaire's novella La Fanfarlo, his only piece of prose fiction which first appeared in the January 1847 volume of the Bulletin de la Société des gens de lettres. In the novella the narrator, with an air of great superiority and impudence, takes great care to establish a distance between Samuel Cramer and the more common species of man: "Quelques lecteurs scrupuleux et amoureux de la vérité vraisemblable trouveront sans doute beaucoup à redire à cette histoire. . . . Cette portion du public qui est essentiellement pusillanime ne comprendra guère le personnage de Samuel. . . ." <sup>39</sup>

In terms of Baudelaire's early literary dandyism, La Fanfarlo is the masterpiece of his use of irony.<sup>40</sup> In the novella, irony functions on a number of levels simultaneously. The narrator brushes a portrait of Samuel Cramer as the consummate dandy-poet, "l'homme le plus faux, le plus égoïste, le plus sensuel, le plus gourmand, le plus spirituel,"<sup>41</sup> part Brummell and part Byron:

Parmi tous ces demi-grands hommes que j'ai connus dans cette terrible vie parisienne, Samuel fut,



plus que tout autre, l'homme des belles oeuvres ratées;--créature malade et fantastique, dont la poésie brille bien plus dans sa personne que dans ses oeuvres, . . . esprit chez qui le paradoxe prenait souvent les proportions de la naïveté, et dont l'imagination était aussi vaste que la solitude et la paresse absolues.<sup>42</sup>

By agreeing to seduce la Fanfarlo in order to save the marriage of his childhood friend Mme de Cosmelly, Samuel--"notre jeune roué"<sup>43</sup>--assumes that the "honnête femme"<sup>44</sup> will oblige him with her favours in the future. In this case, however, the irony is directed against Samuel, for Mme de Cosmelly is not in the least duped by his displays of false passion: "Mme de Cosmelly, cette aimable Elmire qui avait le coup d'oeil clair et prudent de la vertu, vit promptement le parti qu'elle pouvait tirer de ce scélérat novice, pour son bonheur et pour l'honneur de son mari. Elle le paya donc de la même monnaie; elle se laissa presser les mains. . . ."<sup>45</sup> She understands Samuel's character only too well, for she had already been the victim of her husband's "dandysme . . . la vie anglaise,--cette mort du coeur,--la vie des clubs et des cercles. . . ."<sup>46</sup>

Samuel himself uses irony as a shield and as a weapon in his seduction of la Fanfarlo. In seducing the actress, Samuel strives to maintain an ironic detachment from all passion. He is intrigued by la Fanfarlo, not because she is a woman, but because she, like him, is a performer. Samuel is fascinated by the artifice of her art, and when alone with her in her room, he demands that she put on the costume she wore in the role of Colombine. "Eh! n'oubliez pas le rouge!" he hastens to add.<sup>47</sup> Both Samuel the dandy-poet and la Fanfarlo the actress--two "créatures d'élite"<sup>48</sup>--maintain an ironic distance from the natural world through their respective art forms. But their detachment from the world,

and indeed from each other, falls victim to an ironic twist of fate at the end of the tale. Throughout the novella, Samuel is portrayed as an impassible dandy who aloofly preys upon the world, not unlike the birds of prey in his work Orfraies. However, at the end of the tale the bird of prey is summarily plucked: "[A]près avoir dénigré pendant trois mois la Fanfarlo, il en devint éperdument amoureux. . . ."49

In falling victim to his own passion, Samuel's mask of ironic and impassible detachment is shattered. In becoming the respectable, productive and successful author of "quatre livres de science," he falls from the status of dandy-poet: "Pauvre chantre des Orfraies! . . . Il est tombé bien bas."<sup>50</sup> Like the poet in Baudelaire's prose poem "Perte d'auréole,"<sup>51</sup> Samuel too has lost his poet's halo, and has become one of the bourgeois that he despised. Furthermore, in settling down to the semblance of a family life with la Fanfarlo, he has sinned against dandyism: "Quant à lui, il a été puni par où il avait péché. Il avait souvent singé la passion; il fut contraint de la connaître. . . ."52 He has become but "un vieux dandy éreinté . . . et le plus sot du monde auprès d'une honnête femme bien éprise de son mari."<sup>53</sup> In Baudelaire's view, woman was part of the natural world, and consequently she was the opposite of the dandy. "La femme a faim et elle veut manger. Soif, et elle veut boire. Elle est en rut et elle veut être foutue," Baudelaire wrote. "La femme est naturelle, c'est-à-dire abominable. Aussi est-elle toujours vulgaire, c'est-à-dire le contraire du Dandy."<sup>54</sup> Thus, woman as a creature of the physical world represents a perilous danger for the dandy, as Max Milner writes: "[E]lle invite l'homme à pratiquer un anti-dandysme dans lequel sombre sa dignité de créature spirituelle. . . ."55 Such indeed was Samuel's fate.


In terms of Baudelaire's early dandyism, La Fanfarlo is the most important text among his early works which were published before the 1857 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal. The novella is generally interpreted as being largely autobiographical. Reflecting on Emile Deroy's portrait of Baudelaire painted in 1843 or 1844, Charles Asselineau had very early pointed out a marked similarity between Baudelaire and his fictional hero, Samuel Cramer: "Il m'est impossible, en regardant cette peinture, de n'avoir pas aussitôt présent à la mémoire le portrait de Samuel Cramer dans La Fanfarlo, nouvelle écrite à la même date, et dont le héros me semble l'exacte ressemblance de l'auteur."<sup>56</sup> Claude Pichois sees in the work a reflexion of Baudelaire's dandyism as a social code and as a literary aesthetic: "Ainsi, à chaque page, à chaque ligne de La Fanfarlo, on reconnaît intimement mêlées la vie et la littérature, constante imbrication. . . ."<sup>57</sup> This imbrication is evident right from the very outset of the story, where we learn that Samuel had signed his early works under the name Manuela de Monteverde—a name whose nobiliary particle served to elevate him well above the common man. Baudelaire himself had signed La Fanfarlo under the name Charles Defayis—a version of his mother's maiden name which he used to sign his correspondence and his works of the mid-1840s.<sup>58</sup>

For André Ferran, however, Baudelaire's autobiographical sketch in his novella is also a rigorous self-analysis and a self-criticism: "La Fanfarlo . . . est une confession, un fragment autobiographique, une critique. Baudelaire se peint et se juge. . . . Un auteur se peint toujours un peu dans ses héros. Et Trialph c'est Lassailly, comme Cramer est Baudelaire."<sup>59</sup> It is this self-portrait of the dandy, this mirror image of Baudelaire's dandyism that constitutes the essential meaning of

La Fanfarlo. Indeed, judged by traditional criteria of literary analysis, the novella as a narrative discourse has great weaknesses in plot and in character development, and is sparse and often lacking in descriptive passages to explain the actions and the psychology of the characters.<sup>60</sup> What we observe reflected behind the narrative is the creation and the subsequent contemplation of the many mirror images of Samuel the dandy. Mme de Cosmelly even explicitly alludes to Samuel's penchant for studying himself in his mirror. Speaking of their childhood past, she says to him: "[J]e me regardais moins souvent que vous dans la glace."<sup>61</sup> From early childhood on, then, Samuel had lived by one of the cardinal rules of dandyism: "Le Dandy doit aspirer à être sublime sans interruption; il doit vivre et dormir devant un miroir."<sup>62</sup>

Baudelaire's theme of self-contemplation and his exploration of the role of the dandy-poet in La Fanfarlo is a crucial key to the understanding of the early phase of his own dandyism. "The story is, in fact, Baudelaire's first mirror," writes C.A. Hackett.<sup>63</sup> But the story is also more than an ironic parable of dandyism. It is also, as Nathaniel Wing states, "a far reaching examination of the artist and the nature of artistic creation."<sup>64</sup> As such, "Baudelaire's only piece of prose fiction offers us a remarkable self-portrait of Baudelaire the dandy-poet at the age of twenty-five.

At the end of La Fanfarlo, Samuel founds a socialist journal and makes plans to enter politics. The sincerity of Samuel's socialist commitment is suspect, as indeed the irony inherent in the epigraph of one of his books suggests: "Auri sacra fames!"<sup>65</sup> From early 1848 to the end of 1851 Baudelaire too took up the socialist cause, and the earnestness of his political commitment has also been questioned by many



critics. During this period Baudelaire the dandy took on the guise of a revolutionary. Crépet writes that he even took to wearing a workman's smock: "La blouse étant de mise pendant la période où Baudelaire afficha des sympathies démocratiques, de 1848 à 1851, il la porta souvent, au cours de ces trois ans."<sup>66</sup> Asselineau adds that even when wearing such clothing, Baudelaire's dress was ever meticulous and impeccable: "On le rencontrait . . . sur les boulevards extérieurs, vêtu tantôt d'une vareuse et tantôt d'une blouse; mais aussi irréprochable, aussi correct dans cette tenue démocratique que sous l'habit noir des jours prospères."<sup>67</sup> During the evening of the day the Revolution broke out, on 24 February 1848, Jules Buisson described a Baudelaire splendidly decked out in accoutrements befitting a dandy-revolutionary. "Il portait un beau fusil à deux coups luisant et vierge, et une superbe cartouchière de cuir jaune tout aussi immaculée," Buisson wrote. "Il . . . criait beaucoup; et toujours son refrain: il fallait aller fusiller le général Aupick."<sup>68</sup> It is doubtful that Baudelaire intended his "battle cry" to be taken seriously. In all probability his display of bravado was meant to shock his friend Buisson. After all, Baudelaire had already discovered in 1835 that "la poudre fait peur aux mamans."<sup>69</sup>

In addition to taking up arms, Baudelaire also took up his pen in 1848 to collaborate on journals which supported the Republican cause.<sup>70</sup> Mouquet and Bandy write that throughout 1848 more than five hundred socialist journals appeared, most of which published only two or three issues.<sup>71</sup> At the end of February 1848, Baudelaire, Champfleury and Toubin founded Le Salut public which was republican and socialist in tone. Two issues only were published. From 10 April to early May Baudelaire was sub-editor of La Tribune nationale which was a moderate

socialist journal.<sup>72</sup> Finally, in October 1848 Baudelaire again set his hand to journalism at Châteauroux as editor of Le Représentant de l'Indre. The directors of the journal were so conservative, however, that he left Châteauroux by the end of the month.

In addition to his journalism, Baudelaire's works and literary criticism published during his revolutionary phase also reveal a marked socialist sentiment. In Du vin et du hachisch, published in March 1851, he praised wine as a support for the people in their struggle against oppression and the hardships of life: "Le vin exalte la volonté. . . . Le vin est un support physique. . . . Le vin rend bon et sociable. . . . Enfin le vin est pour le peuple qui travaille et qui mérite d'en boire."<sup>73</sup> In his article Pierre Dupont, published in August 1851, he praised the Republican patriotism and the "sentiment indomptable d'égalité"<sup>74</sup> of the poet and author of popular songs: "La Révolution de Février activa cette floraison impatiente et augmenta les vibrations de la corde populaire; tous les malheurs et toutes les espérances de la Révolution firent écho dans la poésie de Pierre Dupont."<sup>74</sup> In Les Drames et les romans honnêtes, published in November 1851, Baudelaire reproved "la sottise hypocritique bourgeoise" typified by certain plays and novels which he disparagingly dubbed "l'école du bon sens."<sup>76</sup>

Baudelaire's social idealism came to an abrupt end with Louis-Napoléon's seizure of power on 2 December 1851. "Ma fureur au coup d'Etat. Combien j'ai essuyé de coups de fusil. Encore un Bonaparte! quelle honte!" he wrote in his intimate journal.<sup>77</sup> Thereafter he showed little interest in politics. "LE 2 DECEMBRE m'a physiquement dépolitiqué. Il n'y a plus d'idées générales," he wrote to Ancelle on 5 March 1852. "Que tout Paris soit orléaniste, c'est un fait, mais cela ne

me regarde pas."<sup>78</sup> Writing in Mon coeur mis à nu near the end of his life, Baudelaire completely discredited his political involvement in the Revolution of 1848. "Mon ivresse en 1848. De quelle nature était cette ivresse? Goût de la vengeance. Plaisir naturel de la démolition. Ivresse littéraire," he wrote. "1848 ne fut amusant que parce que chacun y faisait des utopies comme des châteaux en Espagne. 1848 ne fut charmant que par l'excès même du Ridicule."<sup>79</sup> Baudelaire viewed the Revolution as his "ivresse littéraire" since for him at that time it embodied a part of his poetic vision. In his essay on Pierre Dupont, for example, he equated poetry with the notion of revolt: "C'est une grande destinée que celle de la poésie! Joyeuse ou lamentable, elle porte toujours en soi le divin caractère utopique. . . . [E]lle se fait révolte. . . ."80

Most critics agree that Baudelaire's involvement in the Revolution of 1848 was not, in the final analysis, the result of a profound political commitment. In his biography of Baudelaire, Asselineau states that the poet was drawn to the Revolution principally for aesthetic reasons:

Baudelaire aimait la Révolution; plutôt il est vrai, d'un amour d'artiste que d'un amour de citoyen. Ce qu'il en aimait, ce n'était pas les doctrines qui, au contraire, choquaient en lui un certain sens supérieur de mysticisme aristocratique; c'était l'enthousiasme, la fervente énergie qui bouillonnaient dans toutes les têtes et emphatisaient les écrits et les oeuvres de toutes sortes.<sup>81</sup>

Pierre Pluchon views Baudelaire's foray into journalism and his "ivresse de 1848" as "véritables confessions d'égotisme" and interprets Baudelaire's entire revolutionary episode as the dandy's ultimate intoxicating experience: "L'insurrection ne serait-elle pas devenue le plaisir suprême réservé à l'élite dandy? A Byron l'indépendance grecque,

à Baudelaire l'avènement républicain!"<sup>82</sup> Indeed Baudelaire himself lends credence to Pluchon's analysis, for he later wrote in his journal: "Vous figurez-vous un Dandy parlant au peuple, excepté pour le bafouer?"<sup>83</sup>

His revolutionary phase finished, Baudelaire wrote in Mon coeur mis à nu, under the heading "POLITIQUE": "Je n'ai pas de convictions, comme l'entendent les gens de mon siècle. . . ." <sup>84</sup> In the years immediately following the coup d'état, however, there began to emerge in Baudelaire convictions of another order—convictions of an increasingly spiritual and metaphysical nature. "Cependant, j'ai quelques convictions," he wrote, "dans un sens plus élevé, et qui ne peut pas être compris par les gens de mon temps."<sup>85</sup> As early as January 1852, Baudelaire gave clear evidence of a heightened spiritual concern in his short essay L'Ecole païenne, in which he wrote: "Renier les efforts de la société précédente, chrétienne et philosophique, c'est se suicider, c'est refuser la force et les moyens de perfectionnement. . . . Puissent la religion et la philosophie venir un jour, comme forcées par le cri d'un désespéré!"<sup>86</sup> Baudelaire soon recognised the cry of just such a desperate soul in the works of Edgar Allan Poe.

In 1852 Baudelaire read for the first time the major poetry, essays and fiction of Edgar Poe. In Poe Baudelaire immediately discovered a kindred poetic spirit, and this discovery did much to inspire and to confirm him in his newly emerging spiritual orientation. From 1852 to 1865, Baudelaire regularly published translations of Poe's works, and these translations proved to be the most successful of his literary enterprises.<sup>87</sup> As W.T. Bandy writes, during his lifetime "les plus remarquables de ses travaux littéraires étaient ses traductions d'Edgar Poe."<sup>88</sup>



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Baudelaire wrote three major studies on Poe which were published in 1852, 1856 and 1857.<sup>89</sup> In Edgar Poe, sa vie et ses oeuvres Baudelaire readily identifies with Poe's hatred of the United States' single-minded preoccupation with material progress. "Le temps et l'argent ont là-bas une valeur si grande! L'activité matérielle, exagérée jusqu'aux proportions d'une manie nationale, laisse dans les esprits bien peu de place pour les choses qui ne sont pas de la terre," Baudelaire wrote. "[Poe] considérait le Progrès, la grande idée moderne, comme une extase de gobe-mouches. . . ."<sup>90</sup> But it was the spiritual and metaphysical dimension of Poe's works which was of particular interest to Baudelaire. Poe, like Baudelaire, had convictions which were not understood by his countrymen. His soundings of the mysterious dark regions of the human soul, his belief that "la Perversité naturelle" of man was "le résultat des suggestions du Diable"<sup>91</sup>, went against the grain of a nation of material-minded optimists given over to the philosophy of wealth and progress. In Notes nouvelles sur Edgar Poe Baudelaire expressed his admiration for the American poet: "[C]et auteur, produit d'un siècle infatué de lui-même, enfant d'une nation plus infatuée d'elle-même qu'aucune autre, a vu clairement, a imperturbablement affirmé la méchanceté naturelle de l'Homme."<sup>92</sup>

The spiritual affinity between Poe and Baudelaire is indeed so great that Baudelaire was accused of imitating Poe. W.T. Bandy maintains that Poe merely reinforced Baudelaire's own spiritual orientation: "A mon avis, Poe a inspiré Baudelaire plus qu'il ne l'a influencé, si l'on peut faire cette distinction. Pour lui, Poe était un martyr de la littérature. . . ."<sup>93</sup> But it was Baudelaire himself who best explained that what he found in Poe was an echo, a mirror image of his own thought.

In a letter to Théophile Thoré, dated 20 June 1864, he wrote:

Eh bien! on m'accuse, moi, d'imiter Edgar Poe! Savez-vous pourquoi j'ai si patiemment traduit Poe? Parce qu'il me ressemblait. La première fois que j'ai ouvert un livre de lui, j'ai vu, avec épouvante et ravissement, non seulement des sujets rêvés par moi, mais des PHRASES pensées par moi, et écrites par lui vingt ans auparavant.<sup>94</sup>

Poe was to remain Baudelaire's spiritual alter ego throughout his life. His feeling of identification with the American poet ran so deep that writing near the end of his life he included Poe among the intercessors to whom he prayed.<sup>95</sup>

Two other works which Baudelaire published in 1855 also reflect the spiritual and metaphysical concerns which he revealed in his studies of Poe. In Exposition universelle 1855 Baudelaire gives evidence of his awakening spirituality in voicing concern about the evil inherent in the notion of material progress:

Demandez à tout bon Français . . . ce qu'il entend par progrès, il répondra que c'est la vapeur, l'électricité et l'éclairage au gaz, miracles inconnus aux Romains. . . . Le pauvre homme est tellement américanisé par ses philosophes zoocrates et industriels qu'il a perdu la notion des différences qui caractérisent les phénomènes du monde physique et du monde moral, du naturel et du surnaturel.<sup>96</sup>

Baudelaire's spirituality is even more strongly expressed in De l'essence du rire et généralement du comique dans les arts plastiques which was published in July 1855. Laughter, for Baudelaire, is satanic in origin and is inextricably linked to man's fateful fall from grace through original sin:

Il est certain, si l'on veut se mettre au point de vue de l'esprit orthodoxe, que le rire humain est intimement lié à l'accident d'une chute ancienne, d'une dégradation physique, et morale. Le rire et la douleur s'expriment par les organes où résident le commandement et la science du bien ou du mal: les

yeux et la bouche.<sup>97</sup>

In 1855 this "point de vue de l'esprit orthodoxe" was new to Baudelaire's thought. "La notion chrétienne du péché originel n'a pas de place dans la partie de son oeuvre antérieure à 1855," writes Milner.<sup>98</sup>

Baudelaire's growing conviction that "nous sommes tous nés marqués pour le mal"<sup>99</sup> was given explicit expression in his poem "Au lecteur"--the poem that was to serve as the preface to Les Fleurs du Mal--which was first published on 1 June 1855 in Revue des Deux Mondes. From 1845 on Baudelaire published a number of poems in various journals.<sup>100</sup> Finally, in 1857 he published his poems in volume form under the title Les Fleurs du Mal. The 1857 edition, centred primarily on the experience of the artist, is to a large extent a chronicle of Baudelaire's early phase of egotistical dandyism. And yet, poems such as "Au lecteur" and "L'Irrémédiable"<sup>101</sup> do presage the poet's awakening spirituality. As we shall see, Baudelaire's emerging spiritual and metaphysical concerns were brought into sharp focus by the condemnation of the first edition of Les Fleurs du Mal. The obscenity trial of August 1857 precipitated a crisis in Baudelaire which resulted in a profound spiritual and literary reassessment on his part.

PART TWO: CHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup> Charles Asselineau, "Charles Baudelaire: sa vie et son oeuvre," in Baudelaire et Asselineau, textes recueillis et commentés par Jacques Crépet et Claude Pichois (Paris: Nizet, 1953), pp. 64-65.

<sup>2</sup> Baudelaire complained bitterly of his inability to work "à cause du manque perpétuel d'argent" in a letter which he sent to his mother on 4 December 1847 (C, I, 142-143): "[I]l m'est arrivé de rester trois jours au lit, tantôt faute de linge, tantôt faute de bois," he wrote. "La dernière fois que vous avez eu l'obligeance de me donner 15 francs, je n'avais pas mangé depuis deux jours--quarante-huit heures."

<sup>3</sup> Théophile Gautier, Souvenirs romantiques (Paris: Garnier, 1929), pp. 267-268.

A.E. Carter—"A propos d'une visite de Baudelaire au château de Versailles," in Etudes baudelairiennes III (Neuchâtel: Editions de la Baconnière, 1973), p. 40—maintains that Gautier's art criticism, which appeared regularly in various journals throughout all of Baudelaire's youth, undoubtedly had a great influence on the young Baudelaire:

Les feuillets ont exercé une influence moins évidente, mais plus profonde et plus constante. Pendant des années ils furent pour Baudelaire une espèce d'école des beaux-arts, un reportage renouvelé sur toutes les nouveautés du monde de la peinture, de la littérature et de la musique.

<sup>4</sup> Baudelaire, "Salon de 1845," OC, II, 355. In his Souvenirs romantiques (Paris: Garnier, 1929), p. 268, Théophile Gautier expressed admiration for the many pages which Baudelaire devoted to Delacroix throughout his art criticism: "Les pages qu'il a écrites sur Delacroix sont des plus remarquables."

<sup>5</sup> Baudelaire, "Salon de 1845," OC, II, 353.

<sup>6</sup> Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846," OC, II, 440.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 459.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 430.

<sup>9</sup> Baudelaire, "Salon de 1845," OC, II, 357.

<sup>10</sup> Baudelaire, "Fusées," OC, I, 656.

<sup>11</sup> Baudelaire, "Salon de 1845," OC, II, 390. For the reference to

Delacroix in this respect, see OC, II, 355-356.

- 12 Ibid., p. 389.
- 13 Ibid., p. 390.
- 14 Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846," OC, II, 468.
- 15 Baudelaire, "Salon de 1859," OC, II, 620.
- 16 Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846," OC, II, 419-421.
- 17 Baudelaire, "Salon de 1845," OC, II, 407.
- 18 Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846," OC, II, 494.
- 19 Ibid., p. 494.
- 20 Ibid., p. 494.
- 21 Ibid., p. 495.
- 22 Baudelaire, "Salon de 1845," OC, II, 351.
- 23 Ibid., p. 352.
- 24 Baudelaire, "Le Musée classique du Bazar Bonne-Nouvelle," OC, II, 414.
- 25 Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846," OC, II, 417.

26 Annie Becq, "Baudelaire et 'l'Amour de l'Art': la dédicace 'aux bourgeois' du 'Salon de 1846,'" Romantisme, 17-18 (1977), 71. In Becq's view, the ambiguity of the position of the modern artist stems from the fact that the artist himself is part of the dominant bourgeois social class. The young Baudelaire typifies "la contradiction propre à l'artiste qui, ressortissant à la classe dominante, ne peut s'en couper totalement pour mener contre elle un véritable combat. . ." (p. 74).

Hartmut Stenzel--"Les Ecrivains et l'évolution idéologique de la petite bourgeoisie dans les années 1840: le cas de Baudelaire," Romantisme, 17-18 (1977), 85-87--allows for an antibourgeois sentiment in the young Baudelaire, yet sees in the preface "Aux bourgeois" a statement of idealistic socialism:

[I]l est justifié de parler d'une esthétique "antibourgeoise" du jeune Baudelaire. Mais il faut cependant faire des nuances. Baudelaire se réfère à la petite bourgeoisie et au socialisme utopique. C'est dans le contexte de ces théories et de leur signification sociale qu'il faut comprendre l'attitude critique du Salon de 1846 envers la bourgeoisie. . . . Nous croyons donc pouvoir affirmer que la position esthétique de Baudelaire est à situer dans le cadre d'une idéologie petite-bourgeoise,

notamment à cause des implications fouriéristes et des options politiques que contient cette position esthétique. Baudelaire conçoit l'art moderne, le romantisme, comme un moyen pour dépasser l'état actuel de la société et pour atteindre un état d'harmonie. Cet art moderne représente en même temps une possibilité de former une alliance spécifique entre petite bourgeoisie et prolétariat, alliance où la petite bourgeoisie garderait la prédominance.

D.J. Kelley--"Deux aspects du 'Salon de 1846' de Baudelaire: la dédicace aux bourgeois et la couleur," Forum for Modern Language Studies (October 1969), pp. 345-346--argues that, despite his social preoccupations in the late 1840s, Baudelaire's viewpoint remained essentially egocentric:

[P]our le Baudelaire de 1846 préoccupations esthétiques et préoccupations sociales se retrouvent dans une conception de l'harmonie intégrale. . . . [Mais] Baudelaire reste foncièrement égocentrique et artiste, et les bases de son optimisme social et moral sont moins fermes que ses croyances esthétiques.

Dolf Oehler--"Le Caractère double de l'héroïsme et du beau modernes: à propos de deux faits divers cités par Baudelaire en 1846," in Etudes baudelairiennes VIII (Neuchâtel: Editions de la Baconnière, 1976), p. 212--concludes that Baudelaire's viewpoint is ironic: "[E]n 1846, Baudelaire est ironique et allusif. . . ."

27 Ruff, L'Esprit du mal et l'esthétique baudelairienne, pp. 205-206. In Baudelaire: enfer ou ciel, qu'importe! (Paris: Plon, 1967), p. 64, Max Milner gives a similar interpretation of Baudelaire's defence of the bourgeois:

Cette haine de tous les conformismes l'avait amené, dans les préfaces de ses Salons de 1845 et de 1846, à faire l'éloge du bourgeois, non sans ironie, il est vrai, mais aussi avec le désir de prendre le contrepied des idées courantes dans le monde de bohèmes et de démocrates qu'il fréquentait.

28 In Sartre's view--Baudelaire (1963; rpt. Paris: Gallimard, 1976), pp. 184-185--the dandy-littérateur is "le parasite des parasites: le dandy parasite du poète, qui est lui-même parasite d'une classe d'opresseurs."

29 Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846," OC, II, 417.

30 Baudelaire, "Salon de 1845," OC, II, 357.

31 Baudelaire, "Fusées," OC, I, 658.

32 Baudelaire, "Comment on paie ses dettes quand on a du génie," OC,

II, 6.

33 Baudelaire, "Choix de maximes consolantes sur l'amour," OC, I, 550.

34 Ibid., p. 551.

35 Ibid., p. 551.

36 Baudelaire, "Conseils aux jeunes littérateurs," OC, II, 14-15.

37 Ibid., p. 17.

38 Baudelaire, "'Prométhée délivré' par L. de Senneville," OC, II, 9.

39 Baudelaire, "La Fanfarlo," OC, I, 568-569.

40 For a detailed study of some of the many complexities of irony in La Fanfarlo, see Nathaniel Wing, "The Poetics of Irony in Baudelaire's 'La Fanfarlo,'" Neophilologus (April 1975), pp. 165-189.

41 Baudelaire, "La Fanfarlo," OC, I, 574.

42 Ibid., pp. 553-554.

43 Baudelaire, "La Fanfarlo," OC, I, 569. In "'Anti-husbandry' and Self-Creation: A Comparison of Restoration Rake and Baudelaire's Dandy," Texas Studies in Literature and Language (Winter 1973), pp. 591-592, Barbara L. Rubin maintains that the rake and the dandy are identical in their misogyny and in their refusal to join the social order:

Dandyism thus has, as a driving force, a repugnance to women. . . . The rake and the dandy are identical . . . in their refusal to join the social order through marriage, fatherhood, or "husbandry." For both, beauty, joy, and value are found only in the fictive world they create and sustain by will, talent, and discipline.

In the novella ("La Fanfarlo," OC, I, 577) Baudelaire's fictional alter ego makes quite explicit his view of the social order:

Quoique Samuel fût une imagination dépravée, et peut-être à cause de cela même, l'amour était chez lui moins une affaire des sens que du raisonnement. C'était surtout l'admiration et l'appétit du beau; il considérait la reproduction comme un vice de l'amour, la grossesse comme une maladie d'araignée. Il a écrit quelque part: Les anges sont hermaphrodites et stériles. —Il aimait un corps humain comme une harmonie matérielle, comme une belle architecture, plus le mouvement; et ce matérialisme absolu n'était pas loin de l'idéalisme le plus pur.

44 Baudelaire, "La Fanfarlo," OC, I, 579.

45 Ibid., p. 569.

46 Ibid., p. 566.

47 Ibid., p. 577.

48 Ibid., p. 575.

49 Ibid., p. 571.

50 Ibid., p. 580.

51 Baudelaire, "Perte d'auréole," OC, I, 352.

52 Baudelaire, "La Fanfarlo," OC, I, 579.

53 Baudelaire, "Choix de maximes consolantes sur l'amour," OC, I, 551.

54 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 677.

55 Max Milner, "Baudelaire et l'Eros noir," in Journées Baudelaire (Bruxelles: Académie royale de langue et de littérature françaises, 1968), p. 127.

In Baudelaire's own case, life with Jeanne proved to be a generally frustrating experience which on more than one occasion overwhelmed his poetic spirit. In a letter to his mother, dated 27 March 1852 (C, I, 193), he wrote:

Jeanne est devenue un obstacle non seulement à mon bonheur, . . . mais encore au perfectionnement de mon esprit. . . . Jamais les grands devoirs que j'ai à accomplir, paiement de mes dettes, la conquête de mes titres de fortune, l'acquisition de la célébrité . . . ne se pourront accomplir dans de pareilles conditions. . . . VIVRE AVEC UN ETRE qui ne vous sait aucun gré de vos efforts, qui les contrarie par une maladresse ou une méchanceté permanente, qui ne vous considère que comme son domestique et sa propriété, avec qui il est impossible d'échanger une parole politique ou littéraire, . . . --enfin est-ce possible cela? Est-ce possible?

56 Charles Asselineau, Charles Baudelaire: sa vie et son oeuvre, p. 70. In particular Asselineau cites the following portrait of Samuel (see Baudelaire, "La Fanfarlo," OC, I, 553): "Samuel a le front pur et noble, les yeux brillants comme des gouttes de café, le nez taquin et railleur, les lèvres impudentes et sensuelles, le menton carré et despote, la chevelure prétentieusement raphaélesque."

57 Claude Pichois, Introduction, in Charles Baudelaire, La Fanfarlo, texte établi, présenté et annoté par Claude Pichois (Monaco: Editions du



Rocher, 1957) p. 30.

58 For the correspondence, see Pichois' "Index des signatures de Baudelaire autres que ses signatures habituelles," in *Baudelaire*, C, II, 1089. The Salon de 1845 and the Salon de 1846 were both signed Baudelaire Dufays, and Choix de maximes consolantes sur l'amour and Conseils aux jeunes litterateurs, both published in 1846, were signed Baudelaire-Dufays.

In The Aristocrat as Art: A Study of the "Honnête Homme" and the "Dandy" in Seventeenth- and Nineteenth-Century French Literature (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 92, Donna C. Stanton writes: "[T]he passion for noble names was equally pervasive in dandyistic life as in literature. . . . Even non-nobiliary foreign names, like Samuel Cramer, set the dandy apart from common French stock." Adopted nobiliary names became, ironically, almost commonplace in French letters in the nineteenth century. To mention but a few examples, in Balzac's Illusions perdues Lucien Chardon adopts his mother's name and becomes Lucien de Rubempré. In 1831 Balzac himself added the nobiliary particle and became Honoré de Balzac. Similarly, Gérard Labrunie became Gérard de Nerval, and Jules Barbey exhumed the long discarded d'Aurevilly patronym.

59 André Ferran, "Baudelaire juge de Baudelaire," Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France (juillet-septembre 1929), pp. 449, 453.

60 For example, the matter of Samuel's former acquaintance with Mme de Cosmelly is summarily dispatched in one brief sentence (OC, I, 556): "Samuel l'avait connue aux environs de Lyon, jeune, alerte, folâtre et plus maigre." Further details and explanations are not forthcoming, and the reader's curiosity remains unsatisfied as the narrator simply announces that Samuel relates, and only to himself, "dans son imagination . . . détail par détail, tout ce jeune roman" (OC, I, 556).

61 Baudelaire, "La Fanfarlo," OC, I, 564.

62 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis a nu," OC, I, 678.

63 C.A. Hackett, "Baudelaire and Samuel Cramer," Australian Journal of French Studies (May-December 1969), p. 318.

64 Nathaniel Wing, "The Poetics of Irony in Baudelaire's 'La Fanfarlo,'" Neophilologus (April 1975), pp. 167-168.

André Ferran—"Baudelaire juge de Baudelaire," Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France (juillet-septembre 1929), p. 456—also points out that Baudelaire's tale is more than a play of irony: "Ce conte, pourtant, va plus loin qu'un jeu. Baudelaire distingue ce qu'il fut, ce qu'on est autour de lui, ce que, peut-être, il est encore."

65 Baudelaire, "La Fanfarlo," OC, I, 580. The Latin phrase is itself ambiguous, and may be translated as "accursed hunger for gold" or "sacred hunger for gold." The expression is used in the unfavourable sense in Book III of Virgil's Aeneid.

66 Eugène Crépet, Charles Baudelaire, p. 46.

67 Charles Asselineau, Charles Baudelaire: sa vie et son oeuvre, p. 91.

68 This excerpt from Buisson's letter to Eugène Crépet is reproduced by Bandy and Pichois in Baudelaire devant ses contemporains (Paris: Union Générale d'Édition, 1967), pp. 96-97.

69 See Baudelaire's letter to his brother Alphonse Baudelaire, 27 December 1835, C, I, 35. In Baudelaire: histoire d'une âme (1944; rpt. Paris: Flammarion, 1967), p. 165, François Porché goes to the extreme of suggesting that Baudelaire's cry ("Il faut aller fusiller le général Aupick") was a serious expression of his "goût de la vengeance" directed against a step-father who had been instrumental in bringing about the appointment of the "conseil judiciaire."

70 In the Pléiade edition of Baudelaire's works, Pichois has included the texts from the journals to which Baudelaire contributed. See Baudelaire, OC, II, 1012-1063.

71 Jules Mouquet and W.T. Bandy, Baudelaire en 1848. La Tribune nationale (Paris: Editions Emile-Paul Frères, 1946), p. 17.

72 Mouquet and Bandy—Baudelaire en 1848, pp. 39-41—state that initially La Tribune nationale was socialist and democratic in tone, but soon became quite conservative. This change in editorial policy would seem to put into question the sincerity of Baudelaire's socialist sentiments. "Comment expliquer un tel revirement d'opinions chez Baudelaire en moins de six semaines? Baudelaire . . . était complètement démuné d'argent," Mouquet and Bandy write. "On peut donc expliquer la volte-face politique de Baudelaire en partie par le dénûment dans lequel il se trouvait."

73 Baudelaire, "Du vin et du hachisch," OC, I, 397.

74 Baudelaire, "Pierre Dupont," OC, II, 28.

75 Ibid., pp. 31-32. Baudelaire goes on to write of Dupont (OC, II, 27): "[J]e préfère le poète qui se met en communication permanente avec les hommes de son temps, et échange avec eux des pensées et des sentiments traduits dans un noble langage suffisamment correct." This portrait of the poet as a socialist revolutionary stands in sharp contrast to the portrait of the poet as a dandy (Samuel Cramer, for instance) who strives to maintain an aloof and ironic distance between himself and the common herd.

76 Baudelaire, "Les Drames et les romans honnêtes," OC, II, 39-40.

77 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 679.

78 Letter to Narcisse Ancelle, 5 March 1852, C, I, 188.

79 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 679-680.

80 Baudelaire, "Pierre Dupont," OC, II, 35.

81 Charles Asselineau, Charles Baudelaire: sa vie et son oeuvre, p. 85.

Richard J. Klein--"Baudelaire and Revolution: Some Notes," Yale French Studies, 39 (1967), 89--concludes that Baudelaire's interest in the Revolution was purely literary: "It is clear that Baudelaire denied any ultimate value to revolution and that he claimed for literature a higher prerogative than that to which any political act can aspire."

Claude Pichois--Baudelaire: études et témoignages (Neuchâtel: Editions de la Baconnière, 1967), p. 96--writes that Baudelaire sought "dans les événements de 1848 un prétexte à libérer ses instincts de révolte."

For a discussion of the influences of socialism and Fourierism on Baudelaire, see Hartmut Stenzel, "Sur quelques souvenirs socialistes dans l'oeuvre de Baudelaire," Bulletin baudelairien (été 1976), pp. 3-13.

82 Pierre Pluchon, "Baudelaire: nihilisme et contre-révolution," Revue politique et parlementaire (mars 1968), p. 74.

83 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 684.

Jean Williet--"Baudelaire et deux autres mythes: le peuple et le bourgeois," Revue des sciences humaines (avril-juin 1968), p. 225--argues that Baudelaire's admiration for the people operates only through his poetic vision:

Il n'a pas d'amis parmi les humbles; le dandy en a la nausée et ne voit pas comment sympathiser de près et de façon durable avec des gens qu'il croit grossiers et qui ne prennent pas la peine de maquiller dans leurs manières, la misère de leur âme.

84 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 680.

85 Ibid., p. 680.

86 Baudelaire, "L'Ecole païenne," OC, II, 47-48.

87 For a detailed chronology of Baudelaire's translations of Poe, see Y.-G. Le Dantec's "Bibliographie" in Edgar Allan Poe, Oeuvres complètes, traduites par Charles Baudelaire (1951; rpt. Paris: Gallimard, 1975), pp. 1150-1151, 1155-1156.

According to Asselineau--Charles Baudelaire: sa vie et son oeuvre, p. 93--Baudelaire first discovered Poe through Isabelle Meunier's French translation of Poe's The Black Cat. Meunier's Le Chat noir was published in La Démocratie pacifique on 27 January 1847. Prior to 1852, Baudelaire himself published his first translation of Poe, Révélation magnétique, in La Liberté de penser on 15 July 1848.

88 W.T. Bandy, "Baudelaire et Poe: vers une nouvelle mise au point," Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, 2 (avril-juin 1967), p. 329.

89 W.T. Bandy--"New Light on Baudelaire and Poe," Yale French Studies, 10 (1953), 65-69--has shown that Baudelaire's Edgar Allan Poe, sa vie et ses ouvrages, published in 1852, was essentially a translation.

of an American text. Edgar Poe, sa vie et ses oeuvres served as the preface to the collection of translated tales entitled Histoires extraordinaires which was published in March 1856. Notes nouvelles sur Edgar Poe served as the preface to the collection of translated tales entitled Nouvelles Histoires extraordinaires which was published in March 1857.

90 Baudelaire, "Edgar Poe, sa vie et ses oeuvres," OC, II, 299.

91 Baudelaire, "Notes nouvelles sur Edgar Poe," OC, II, 323.

92 Ibid., p. 322.

93 W.T. Bandy, "Baudelaire et Edgar Poe," Revue de littérature comparée (avril-juin 1967), p. 194.

94 Letter to Théophile Thoré, 20 June 1864, C, II, 580.

95 In "Hygiène," OC, I, 673, Baudelaire wrote: "Faire tous les matins ma prière à Dieu, réservoir de toute force et de toute justice, à mon père, à Mariette et à Poe, comme intercesseurs. . . ."

96 Baudelaire, "Exposition universelle 1855," OC, II, 386.

97 Baudelaire, "De l'essence du rire et généralement du comique dans les arts plastiques," OC, II, 527-528.

98 Max Milner, Baudelaire: enfer ou ciel, qu'importe! (Paris: Plon, 1967), p. 75.

99 Baudelaire, "Notes nouvelles sur Edgar Poe," OC, II, 323.

100 F.W. Leakey has included a complete Chronological Index of Baudelaire's poems and works in his Baudelaire and Nature (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969), pp. 341-373.

101 "L'Irrémédiable" was first published on 10 May 1857 in L'Artiste.

"Le Dandy doit aspirer à être sublime sans interruption; il doit vivre et dormir devant un miroir."

—Baudelaire, Mon coeur mis à nu

### CHAPTER III

#### THE 1857 EDITION OF LES FLEURS DU MAL

##### A. The Dandy-Poet Goes to Press

The first edition of Les Fleurs du Mal was put on sale on 25 June 1857. In their critical edition of the work, Jacques Crépet and Georges Blin maintain that it is impossible to establish an exact and complete chronology for the poems in the volume: "[L]e procès de composition des Fleurs reste enveloppé de voiles qu'on ne peut guère espérer de percer."<sup>1</sup> F.W. Leakey is somewhat less pessimistic in this regard, and recognising the importance of chronology in the evolution of Baudelaire's thought, he maintains that "tout point de repère chronologique, tel la date de composition présumée d'un premier texte perdu, peut avoir son importance pour l'étude de l'oeuvre et de la pensée de Baudelaire."<sup>2</sup> However, even Leakey claims only a qualified success in his endeavours to establish the chronology for all the poems in Les Fleurs du Mal. For example; concerning his attempt to fix the date of composition of "Harmonie du soir" in the last months of 1845 or the first months of 1846, he admits: "Il nous manque sans doute les preuves documentaires dont nous aurions besoin pour établir de façon absolue la date de composition de ce poème."<sup>3</sup>

According to two of Baudelaire's closest friends during the period

3



1.0



1.1



1.25



1.4



1.6



1.8

2.0

2.2

2.5

2.8

3.2

3.6

4.0

4.5

5.0

5.6

6.3

7.1

8.0

9.0

10



of the poet's early adulthood, Baudelaire had composed many, if not most, of the poems published in Les Fleurs du Mal by the mid-1840s. In the letter which he sent to Eugène Crépet in October of 1886, Ernest Prarond, Baudelaire's friend from the early days at the pension Bailly, recalled "quelques-uns des poèmes déjà composés par Baudelaire en 1843." Prarond went on to list sixteen poems, and in conclusion affirmed: "Je suis certain que toutes ces pièces étaient composées avant la fin de 1843."<sup>4</sup> In his biographical study of Baudelaire published in 1869, Charles Asselineau stated that most of the poems in Les Fleurs du Mal had been composed by 1844: "En ce temps-là déjà (1843-44) la plupart des pièces imprimées dans le volume des Fleurs du Mal étaient faites; et douze ans plus tard, le poète, en les publiant, n'eut rien à y changer. Il fut prématurément maître de son style et de son esprit."<sup>5</sup>

Asselineau goes on to state that in 1850 Baudelaire showed him "le manuscrit de ses poésies magnifiquement copié par un calligraphe, et qui formait deux volumes in-4<sup>o</sup> cartonnés et dorés. C'est ce manuscrit qui a servi pour l'impression des Fleurs du Mal."<sup>6</sup> In 1850 Baudelaire himself made reference to the manuscript copy of his poems in a letter to Narcisse Ancelle, dated 10 January. In his letter Baudelaire complained of the poor workmanship of the calligrapher and of the poor quality of the binding:

Des fautes ridicules et folles, . . . la dorure pleine de taches, la reliure qui devait être en chagrin et qui est en papier imitant le chagrin, des corrections indiquées par moi au crayon et qui n'ont pas été accomplies, témoignent qu'il a profité de mon absence pour ne pas faire son devoir, de plus, pour me voler.<sup>7</sup>

It is thus, one may conclude, impossible to establish a definitive chronology for Les Fleurs du Mal; Baudelaire himself not having furnished

any indications about the dates of composition of his poems.

Although Baudelaire often read his poems aloud to his friends, with very few exceptions he was reluctant for a long time to publish poems under his own name. For example, in 1843 Baudelaire's young friends of the "Ecole normande" published a collective work of poems under the title Vers. Baudelaire had initially agreed to contribute to the volume, but at the last moment he declined. Ruff cautiously allows that it is possible that some of Baudelaire's poems did appear in the volume:

"[A]vec la complicité de Prarond Baudelaire y aura peut-être glissé quelques-uns de ses poèmes sous la signature de son ami."<sup>8</sup> After all, in 1843 Baudelaire and Prarond were also collaborating on the unfinished drama Idéolus. Writing in 1929, Jules Mouquet argued that more than two thirds of the lines published in Vers were from Baudelaire's pen, but most critics do not completely agree with Mouquet.<sup>9</sup>

In the final analysis, it is not certain whether Baudelaire did or did not try his poems out by surreptitiously publishing some of them under the names of his friends. However, such a mystifying ploy or practical joke would be in keeping with the image of Baudelaire as a young dandy-poseur, a type of latter day Alcibiades, for in casually tossing off his own poems unsigned, Baudelaire would be acting like the impassible Alcibiades cutting off the tail of his own very expensive dog. Indeed, according to Arsène Houssaye, who in the 1840s was the director of the review L'Artiste, Baudelaire in his beginnings used Privat d'Anglemont as his literary mask:

Baudelaire dicta ses premiers sonnets à son ami, qui les signa. D'Anglemont me les apporta en compagnie du poète, qui voulait juger de l'effet qu'ils produiraient. . . . Baudelaire prit les sonnets de d'Anglemont, — ou plutôt ses sonnets à lui, — et me pria de les publier dans l'Artiste, ce que je fis.



J'avais percé le mystère. Baudelaire aimait beaucoup ce jeu de cache-cache. Alors il jouait aussi à l'Alcibiade, mais il coupait trop souvent la queue de son chien. . . .<sup>10</sup>

Writing in 1849 Auguste Vitu portrayed a Baudelaire basking in the mysterious and impenetrable reticence of the unpublished poet, referring to him as a "poète étrange et grandiose, qui tient à l'honneur de rester inédit."<sup>11</sup>

The first poem which Baudelaire finally did publish under his own name, and then under the exotic cognomen Baudelaire Dufays, was "A une Créole," later entitled "A une dame créole," which appeared in L'Artiste on 25 May 1845. With the exception of a few other poems published in various journals and reviews, it was not until the very day of his thirtieth birthday, 9 April 1851, that Baudelaire published a group of poems, eleven sonnets under the general title Les Limbes, in Le Messager de l'Assemblée. Four years later, on 1 June 1855, eighteen of Baudelaire's poems were published under the general title Les Fleurs du Mal in the Revue des Deux Mondes.<sup>12</sup> Finally, in 1857 Baudelaire published the first edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, the work upon which his reputation largely rests and the work which was destined to become a landmark in French literature. The collection consisted of one hundred and one poems: "Au lecteur" plus one hundred numbered poems. As we have seen, prior to the publication of the first edition, Baudelaire in his early youth exhibited a rather curious reluctance to publish his poems under his name. He also seemed reluctant to gather his poems together in a volume form. If most of the poems in Les Fleurs du Mal were composed by 1844, and if the manuscript copy of the work existed in 1850, as Asselineau stated, then why would Baudelaire have waited until he was thirty-six to publish his volume of poetry?

One possible explanation for this hesitation might well have been Baudelaire's fear that he had not composed enough poems to constitute a solid body of work. He confided his distaste of the slim volume of poetry to his publisher, Auguste Poulet-Malassis, on two occasions: in a letter dated 16 February 1857--"[J]e suis toujours préoccupé de l'horreur de la plaquette" <sup>13</sup>; and again in a letter dated 7 March 1857--"Je suis toujours très préoccupé de la terreur de la plaquette."<sup>14</sup> Baudelaire felt that a "plaquette" of verse, by the very nature of its brevity, would not be considered a profound and serious body of work, which he most definitely intended Les Fleurs du Mal to be. His concern that his volume be regarded as a serious work is most movingly expressed in a letter to Narcisse Ancelle, dated 18 February 1866:

Et vous avez été assez ENFANT pour oublier que la France a HORREUR de la poésie; de la vraie poésie; . . . enfin, qu'une poésie profonde, mais compliquée, amère, froidement diabolique (en apparence), était moins faite que toute autre pour la frivolité éternelle.--!

Faut-il vous dire, à vous qui ne l'avez pas plus deviné que les autres, que dans ce livre atroce, j'ai mis tout mon cœur; toute ma tendresse, toute ma religion (travestie), toute ma haine? Il est vrai que j'écrirai le contraire, que je jurerai mes grands dieux que c'est un livre d'art pur, de singerie, de jonglerie; et je mentirai comme un arracheur de dents.<sup>15</sup>

Marcel Ruff offers a perspicacious explanation for Baudelaire's hesitation by interpreting it as Baudelaire's safeguard against being misunderstood: "Cette réserve . . . s'explique principalement sans doute par l'appréhension de livrer au public des œuvres qui risquent de n'être ni comprises ni appréciées."<sup>16</sup>

On 30 December 1856 Baudelaire signed the contract to publish Les Fleurs du Mal with the firm of Poulet-Malassis and de Broise. By the terms of the contract, Baudelaire's manuscript was to be delivered "le

vingt janvier prochain."<sup>17</sup> However, there were delays as the process of correcting proof-sheets proved to be a long and tedious task, for Baudelaire was a meticulous perfectionist, constantly revising and reworking his material. In the months preceding the publication of the 1857 edition, his correspondence to Poulet-Malassis is rife with myriad concerns relating to pagination, punctuation, typography, the quality of paper to be used--"toutes ces petites choses, d'ailleurs importantes."<sup>18</sup> For example, he was greatly concerned that the size of type to be used not be too small, lest his work have the appearance of a "plaquette." "Quant à la question typographique, je n'y entends rien, ou du moins je n'y entends qu'avec mon oeil," he wrote to Poulet-Malassis on 10 February 1857. "Le huit me paraît bien petit et bien peu grave."<sup>19</sup> In a second letter, also dated 10 February, Baudelaire again wrote to his publisher: "Mon cher ami, je vous demande pardon de revenir à la charge aujourd'hui pour la question du huit. . . . Je viens de regarder du huit dans deux ou trois journaux. C'est bien petit, surtout pour un volume--trois cents pages en huit."<sup>20</sup> Writing a month later, he exhibited the most meticulous concern about the aesthetic appearance of the dedication to Théophile Gautier which followed the title page:

Il me semble d'abord qu'il vaudrait mieux baisser un peu toute la dédicace, de manière qu'elle se trouvât au milieu de la page; je laisse d'ailleurs cela à votre goût. --Ensuite, je crois qu'il serait bon de mettre Fleurs en italiques, --en capitales penchées, puisque c'est un titre-calembour. Enfin, bien que chacune de ces lignes et de ces lettres soit dans de bonnes proportions, (chacune relativement aux autres,) je les trouve toutes trop grosses; je crois que l'ensemble gagnerait en élégance si vous preniez un oeil un peu plus petit pour chaque ligne, toujours en gardant l'importance proportionnelle. Le C.B. seul me paraît un peu petit.<sup>21</sup>

And Baudelaire was beside himself with frustration and impatience at

Poulet-Malassis' delay in sending him a proof of the cover of Les Fleurs du Mal. "Vous ne voulez donc pas me montrer la couverture!" he wrote to his publisher in mid-May of 1857, adding forty-one exclamation marks after his curt phrase.<sup>22</sup>

Throughout his life, Baudelaire proved to be a careful, thorough and meticulous writer. "Tu connais l'effroyable soin que je mets à toute chose," he wrote to his mother.<sup>23</sup> When his translation of Poe's The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket was being readied for printing in volume form, Baudelaire again confided in his mother: "Malgré le soin obstiné que j'apporte à toute chose littéraire, je ne suis pas tout à fait satisfait de ce dernier ouvrage. Il me semble toujours que cela pourrait être mieux."<sup>24</sup> In 1857, as Les Fleurs du Mal was being prepared for printing, he expressed exactly the same concerns to Poulet-Malassis: "Je veux tout relire encore, tant j'ai peur des fautes."<sup>25</sup> Such then were Baudelaire's work habits, but once he had revised and reworked his material to the highest degree of perfection, he would not tolerate errors or changes in the final printed copy. Angered by changes made in two of his prose poems, Baudelaire wrote a terse letter to the director of the Revue nationale et étrangère in 1863:

Je viens de lire les deux extraits (Les Tentations et Dorothée) insérés dans la Revue nationale. J'y trouve d'extraordinaires changements introduits après mon bon à tirer. Cela, Monsieur, est la raison pour laquelle j'ai fui tant de journaux et de revues.  
 . . . J'ai passé ma vie entière à apprendre à construire des phrases, et je dis, sans crainte de faire rire, que ce que je livre à une imprimerie est parfaitement fini.<sup>26</sup>

In his biographical study of Baudelaire, Asselineau explains Baudelaire's excruciatingly meticulous work habits and methods as a specific function of his dandyism. "Baudelaire travaillait en dandy," he

writes, and goes on to give a general description of the poet's "méthode":

J'ai déjà signalé ailleurs . . . l'habitude systématique chez de certains écrivains, de colporter leurs sujets, de les causer, de les cuire, si je puis ainsi parler, à tous les fours, en les soumettant au jugement des grands et des petits, des lettrés et des naïfs. Cette méthode était aussi celle de Baudelaire; et c'est ce qui explique à la fois le petit nombre et l'excellence de ses ouvrages. Baudelaire travaillait en dandy. Nul ne fut moins besogneux que lui. S'il aimait le travail, comme art, il avait en horreur le travail-fonction. J'ai entendu des gens qui l'avaient mal connu, ou qui l'avaient connu trop tard, s'étonner que, "avec un si grand talent", Baudelaire ne gagnât pas beaucoup d'argent. C'était le méconnaître absolument. Quoiqu'il ait longtemps manifesté la prétention et même la conviction de s'enrichir par son travail, Baudelaire était trop délicat et trop respectueux de lui-même pour devenir un money-making author. . . . La vérité est que Baudelaire travaillait lentement et inégalement, repassant vingt fois sur les mêmes endroits, se querellant lui-même pendant des heures sur un mot, et s'arrêtant au milieu d'une page pour aller, comme je l'ai dit, cuire sa pensée au four de la flânerie et de la conversation.<sup>27</sup>

In many ways, then, the act of writing for Baudelaire was indeed an act of dandyism, an act of egoism. We have shown that the preparation of his poems for publication was not unlike an act of meticulous grooming. As we have seen in Part One of our study, Brummell ever strove to achieve a balanced and harmonious unity in his dress, and would spend an entire morning wrinkling any number of freshly starched ties in the pursuit of the elusive perfection of an aesthetically pleasing knot. Similarly, Baudelaire sought perfection in his art and often sparred with a recalcitrant line of poetry. "Je m'escrime contre une trentaine de vers insuffisants, désagréables, mal faits, mal rimants," he wrote to Poulet-Malassis, who was becoming impatient waiting for Baudelaire's revisions. And in a postscript to the same letter, Baudelaire nonchalantly begged

the pardon of his publisher for not having affixed postage: "Mille pardons de ne pas affranchir.--Ni timbres, ni monnaie."<sup>28</sup> In this portrait of Baudelaire as a writer, we see a reflexion of the image of the dandy as Narcissus persistently transfixed in front of his mirror, oblivious to the world around him. "Le Dandy doit aspirer à être sublime sans interruption; il doit vivre et dormir devant un miroir," Baudelaire wrote in Mon cœur mis à nu.<sup>29</sup> The image of Baudelaire as a poet-dandy is also borne out by the accounts of his contemporaries. In 1860 J.-F. Vaudin wrote: "M. Baudelaire est sans cesse à l'affût de l'originalité, dans ses écrits comme dans ses cravates. Il pose pour la mise excentrique, le foulard rouge, la voix de magister, la main, le geste, le regard. . . ." <sup>30</sup> And in 1864 Alcide Dusolier wrote: "M. Baudelaire est artificiel en tout. Il se poudre, affirment ses familiers, et même il se peint. Comme Eglé, belle et poète, il fait son visage; il est vrai qu'il fait aussi ses vers, et fort bien."<sup>31</sup>

Baudelaire's meticulous precision, his attention to detail, his concern about the effect to be created by his work—his concern about all the minute and intricate details of his art—find a ready parallel in his "éloge du maquillage" in Le Peintre de la vie moderne. In this essay he establishes a comparison between the subtleties of make-up and the subtleties of art, for both the woman at her dressing table and the poet at his writing table aspire to be sublime through seeking unity in "le beau jusque dans ses plus minutieuses manifestations":

Il importe fort peu que la ruse et l'artifice soient connus de tous; si le succès en est certain et l'effet toujours irrésistible. C'est dans ces considérations que l'artiste philosophe trouvera facilement la légitimation de toutes les pratiques employées dans tous les temps par les femmes pour consolider et diviniser, pour ainsi dire, leur fragile beauté. L'énumération en serait innombrable;

mais, pour nous restreindre à ce que notre temps appelle vulgairement maquillage, qui ne voit que l'usage de la poudre de riz, si naïvement anathématisé par les philosophes candides, a pour but et pour résultat de faire disparaître du teint toutes les taches que la nature y a outrageusement semées, et de créer une unité abstraite dans le grain et la couleur de la peau, laquelle unité, comme celle produite par le maillot, rapproche immédiatement l'être humain de la statue, c'est-à-dire d'un être divin et supérieur? . . . Je permets volontiers à ceux-là que leur lourde gravité empêche de chercher le beau jusque dans ses plus minutieuses manifestations, de rire de mes réflexions et d'en accuser la puérile solennité; leur jugement austère n'a rien qui me touche; je me contenterai d'en appeler auprès des véritables artistes, ainsi que des femmes qui ont reçu en naissant une étincelle de ce feu sacré dont elles voudraient s'illuminer tout entières.<sup>32</sup>

Indeed, a misplaced comma, like a misplaced beauty spot, could well ruin the overall effect or the unity of the work, as Baudelaire in a fit of vehement exaggeration indicated in a letter to the director of the Revue nationale: "Je vous avais dit: supprimez tout un morceau, si une virgule vous déplaît dans le morceau, mais ne supprimez pas la virgule; elle a sa raison d'être."<sup>33</sup> The physical appearance of Les Fleurs du Mal was not more important than its content, but as we have seen its appearance was certainly not of a lesser importance in Baudelaire's eyes, right down to the sharply contrasting colours--red and black--which adorned the cover of the 1857 edition. It is of interest to note the symbolic metaphysical value which Baudelaire attributed to these two colours in the pages devoted to his praise of "maquillage":

Quant au noir artificiel qui cerne l'oeil et au rouge qui marque la partie supérieure de la joue, bien que l'usage en soit tiré du même principe, du besoin de surpasser la nature, le résultat est fait pour satisfaire à un besoin tout opposé. Le rouge et le noir représentent la vie, une vie surnaturelle et excessive; ce cadre noir rend le regard plus profond et plus singulier, donne à l'oeil une apparence plus décidée de fenêtre ouverte sur l'infini; le rouge,

qui, enflamme la pommette, augmente encore la clarté de la prunelle et ajoute à un beau visage féminin la passion mystérieuse de la prêtresse.<sup>34</sup>

Baudelaire was ineluctably drawn to "la passion mystérieuse" of woman as the high priestess of the artificial, for the cult of artificiality is of course one of the cornerstones of the dandyism of Baudelaire, whom André Ferran ordains "le prêtre du Dandysme."<sup>35</sup>

Baudelaire's selection of an appropriate title for his volume also proved to be a tedious venture. The first title envisaged for the work, Les Lesbiennes, was announced on the cover of the Salon de 1846. It was a provocative title, in keeping with the tradition of "Jeune-France" Romanticism. Baudelaire's calculated intention that the title be shocking is also, as Max Milner states, an example of the poet's early "dandysme intellectuel."<sup>36</sup> Les Lesbiennes admirably summed up Baudelaire's penchant for the "titre-calembour"<sup>37</sup> and for "titres pétards." "J'aime les titres mystérieux ou les titres pétards," he wrote to Poulet-Malassis on 7 March 1857.<sup>38</sup> Baudelaire was steeped in the dandyism of the artistic Bohemia of the mid-1840s, and the title was expressly designed to shock and to rattle the bourgeoisie, as Crépet and Blin point out:

Baudelaire voulut par là braver le public. Et de fait vers 1846 le poète qui vient de quitter en insurgé le foyer du général Aupick et qui s'est vu attribuer un conseil judiciaire (1844) n'aime rien tant que de scandaliser le bourgeois dont il réprovoie les goûts orthodoxes. Il convient aussi de rappeler que les lesbiennes furent fort à la mode dans le second tiers du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>39</sup>

That Baudelaire intended that his poetry shock the reading public—"causer l'étonnement ou l'épouvante" as he himself said<sup>40</sup>—is clear.

"[J]e suis intéressé à savoir--car je ne l'ai jamais su que très vaguement, très incomplètement— l'effet que peut produire sur le public



un gros paquet de poésies de moi," he wrote to Emile Montégut on 18 January 1855.<sup>41</sup> And in his letter of 7 April 1855 to Victor de Mars, secretary of the Revue des Deux Mondes, Baudelaire wrote of his intention to write a shocking epilogue, which was never completed, to accompany the eighteen poems which would be published in the review on 1 June of that year:

L'Epilogue (adressé à une dame) dit à peu près ceci: Laissez-moi me reposer dans l'amour. --Mais non,-- l'amour ne me reposera pas. --La candeur et la bonté sont dégoûtantes. --Si vous voulez me plaire et rajeunir les désirs, soyez cruelle, menteuse, libertine, crapuleuse, et voleuse; --et si vous ne voulez pas être cela, je vous assommerai, sans colère. Car je suis le vrai représentant de l'ironie, et ma maladie est d'un genre absolument incurable. --Cela, comme vous voyez, fait un joli feu d'artifice de monstruosité, un véritable Epilogue, digne du prologue au lecteur, une réelle Conclusion.<sup>42</sup>

Baudelaire's fictional dandy-poet Samuel Cramer had likewise set out to scandalise the bourgeois with a volume of verse bearing a "titre pétard" --Orfraies--to which Mme de Cosmelly reacted with all the appropriate indignity of the comfortable and complacent bourgeois class of the 1840s:

"Monsieur, je ne suis qu'une femme, et par conséquent mon jugement est peu de chose; mais il me paraît que les tristesses et les amours de messieurs les auteurs ne ressemblent guère aux tristesses et aux amours des autres hommes. . . . De plus, j'ignore pourquoi vous chérissez tant les sujets funèbres et les descriptions d'anatomie. Quand on est jeune, qu'on a comme vous un beau talent et toutes les conditions présumées du bonheur; il me paraît bien plus naturel de célébrer la santé et les joies de l'honnête homme, que de s'exercer à l'anathème, et de causer avec des Orfraies."<sup>43</sup>

However, Baudelaire soon became caught up in the hysteria of social consciousness that led him to a brief involvement in the Revolution of 1848. His disposition changed somewhat, and in November of 1848 he announced a new title for his work, Les Limbes, a volume which various

reviews of the time described as a book "destiné à représenter les agitations et les mélancolies de la jeunesse moderne," a book "destiné à retracer l'histoire des agitations spirituelles de la jeunesse moderne."<sup>44</sup> This title, which was more "mystérieux" than "pétard," would have given adequate expression to the vision of man that Baudelaire would finally publish in 1857—a vision of Byronic youth and its "agitations spirituelles," and in more general terms a vision of man torn between the ideal and the splenetic, between God and Satan. However, the title was abandoned, in all probability because of the publication in May of 1852 of "une plaquette de vers portant le même titre, sous la signature d'un obscur poète provincial nommé Durand."<sup>45</sup>

The title that finally headed the volume was proposed by Hippolyte Babou around 1855. "Les Fleurs du Mal. Le livre n'avait pas de titre alors—grande affaire! et Dieu sait s'il en fut question," Asselineau wrote in the notes for his biographical study of Baudelaire. "Celui qui donna le titre définitif—Fleurs du Mal—c'est Hippolyte Babou, je m'en souviens très bien, un soir, au café Lemblin, après une longue dissertation sur le sujet."<sup>46</sup> The image of the flower was in all likelihood of Baudelaire's own invention, since he had frequently used this term to refer to his poems during his youth. In a letter to his mother written in May of 1841, for example, he wrote: "Je t'embrasse et je t'enverrai dans ma prochaine lettre des fleurs qui te paraîtront singulières."<sup>47</sup>

The originality of the title was in the association of the image of flowers with the image of Evil, a curious association of terms which created an effect both "mystérieux" and "pétard," and which was admirably suited to the content and the intention of Baudelaire's volume, as he

himself explained in one of his projected prefaces for the 1861 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal: "Des poètes illustres s'étaient partagé depuis longtemps les provinces les plus fleuries du domaine poétique. Il m'a paru plaisant, et d'autant plus agréable que la tâche était plus difficile, d'extraire la beauté du Mal."<sup>48</sup> This seemingly impossible task--"extraire la beauté du Mal"--was not unlike an alchemical transmutation which Baudelaire described in a verse fragment in Bribes: "J'ai pétri de la boue et j'en ai fait de l'or."<sup>49</sup> The difficulty of the task would require all the skills of a poet-magician. "Il y a dans le mot, dans le verbe, quelque chose de sacré qui nous défend d'en faire un jeu de hasard. Manier savamment une langue, c'est pratiquer une espèce de sorcellerie évocatoire," Baudelaire wrote in his article on Théophile Gautier,<sup>50</sup> and he added in an entry in Fusées: "De la langue et de l'écriture, prises comme opérations magiques, sorcellerie évocatoire."<sup>51</sup>

Albert Thibaudet thought the title to be ridiculous and rococo, typical of the affected exaggerations of the Jeune-France style: "Il est des baudelairiens fanatiques qui ne veulent pas reconnaître la moindre défaillance dans la beauté de Baudelaire, la moindre paille dans son métal. Mais je crois que même parmi ceux-là nul ne défendra le titre ridicule et rococo des Fleurs du Mal."<sup>52</sup>

Most critics, however, have judged the title to be thoroughly appropriate. Théophile Gautier felt that the title was a happy discovery, perfectly reflecting the general idea of the work. In his preface to the posthumous 1868 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, he wrote: "Les Fleurs du Mal étaient un de ces titres heureux, plus difficiles à trouver qu'on ne pense. Il résumait sous une forme brève et poétique l'idée générale du livre et en indiquait les tendances."<sup>53</sup>

Enid Starkie, who admits that one of the chief values of the title was that "it was bound to startle and to arouse interest," nevertheless points out a symbolical meaning of Baudelaire's title:

He probably did not intend that it should be interpreted in its usual meaning, but in its medieval and symbolical sense, that is to say that certain plants are his emblems of sins and vices. This is borne out by his description of the frontispiece he wished Bracquemond to draw for the second edition, which was to depict plants symbolizing the seven deadly sins stifling the tree of knowledge and goodness.<sup>54</sup>

Alfred Engstrom points out that the word "Mal" is an extremely rich and polyvalent word and does not signify only Evil, but includes as well the full range of Baudelaire's major themes--pain, ennui, death, sorrow, anguish, despair, moral and spiritual suffering. "Les Fleurs du Mal suggests, then, Flowers of Evil, with rich possibilities for interpretation," Engstrom writes. "Thus, amidst the grim and brooding sense of Original Sin, the word Mal appears even more richly and variously pertinent to Baudelaire's poems and affords a further complexity of meanings to enhance the metaphorical significance of Les Fleurs du Mal."<sup>55</sup>

Baudelaire himself attributed a metaphorical and a metaphysical significance to the word "Mal," as he indicated in a letter to Alphonse Toussenel, dated 21 January 1856:

[L]a Nature est un verbe, une allégorie, un moule, un repoussé, si vous voulez . . . et à propos de péché originel, et de forme moulée sur l'idée, j'ai pensé bien souvent que les bêtes malfaisantes et dégoûtantes n'étaient peut-être que la vivification, corporification, éclosion à la vie matérielle, des mauvaises pensées de l'homme. Aussi la nature entière participe du péché originel.<sup>56</sup>

Les Fleurs du Mal is, in many respects, the testimony of man's "mauvaises pensées," and as such the work bears out Baudelaire's contention that

"toute littérature dérive du péché."<sup>57</sup> "Je veux dire que l'art moderne a une tendance essentiellement démoniaque," he wrote in his study of Théodore de Banville, contending that Beethoven, Maturin, Byron, Poe, Alfred de Musset and others—and here we may include Baudelaire himself as well—"ont projeté des rayons splendides, éblouissants, sur le Lucifer latent qui est installé dans tout coeur humain."<sup>58</sup> Given that Baudelaire deemed it to be man's nature to desire to conquer duality and to regain unity, or paradise, and since all literature stems from sin, as Baudelaire wrote, it follows that "Tout poète lyrique, en vertu de sa nature, opère fatalement un retour vers l'Eden perdu. Tout, hommes, paysages, palais, dans le monde lyrique, est pour ainsi dire apothéosé."<sup>59</sup> In Baudelaire's case, his poems are indeed flowers that blossomed out of his own bitter and pessimistic view of life, poems that grew out of man's suffering and man's experience of Evil in the midst of a fallen Creation. Engstrom maintains that Baudelaire's poems afford us "one of the most memorable legacies of suffering in the modern world,"<sup>60</sup> but it should be noted that in keeping with Baudelaire's spirit of contradiction, despair is inextricably coupled with hope, and that suffering is set fully within the Christian framework of redemption, as the poet in the poem "Bénédiction" himself states: "'Soyez béni, mon Dieu, qui donnez la souffrance / Comme un divin remède à nos impuretés."<sup>61</sup> The title of Baudelaire's volume is indeed fitting, for as Pichois remarks, "Mal indique bien la dimension métaphysique du recueil."<sup>62</sup>

B. The Architecture of Egoism: A Portrait of the Dandy at the Heart of His Poetry

Baudelaire had always insisted upon the importance of the order of his poems in a collection. Even in 1855, in preparation for the publication of eighteen of his poems in the Revue des Deux Mondes, Baudelaire wrote to the secretary of the review, Victor de Mars: "Je voulais vous dire ceci,—que je tiens vivement, quels que soient les morceaux que vous choisirez, à les mettre en ordre avec vous, de manière qu'ils se fassent, pour ainsi dire, suite—de même que nous avons fait pour la première partie."<sup>63</sup> In December of 1856 he again exhibited his concern about the disposition of his poems, this time in his volume. He wrote to Poulet-Malassis: "[N]ous pourrions disposer ensemble l'ordre des matières des Fleurs du Mal,—ensemble, entendez-vous, car la question est importante. Il nous faut faire un volume composé seulement de bonnes choses: peu de matière, qui paraisse beaucoup, et qui soit très voyante."<sup>64</sup> In the notes which Baudelaire drew up for his lawyer, Gustave Chaix d'Est-Ange, in preparation for the obscenity trial of August 1857, he spoke of "ce parfait ensemble de [son] livre."<sup>65</sup> He further stated: "Le Livre doit être jugé dans son ensemble, et alors il en ressort une terrible moralité."<sup>66</sup> This insistence upon the word "ensemble" is a clear indication that Baudelaire intended a specific structure to be an inherent feature of Les Fleurs du Mal. In December of 1861 Baudelaire offered a copy of the second edition of his work to Alfred de Vigny, and in his accompanying letter he again explicitly stated that a specific order existed in his volume:

Voici les Fleurs, le dernier exemplaire sur bon papier. La vérité est qu'il vous était destiné

depuis très longtemps. Tous les anciens poèmes sont remaniés. Tous les nouveaux, je les marque au crayon à la table des matières.

Le seul éloge que je sollicite pour ce livre est qu'on reconnaisse qu'il n'est pas un pur album et qu'il a un commencement et une fin. Tous les poèmes nouveaux ont été faits pour être adaptés au cadre singulier que j'avais choisi.<sup>67</sup>

Barbey d'Aurevilly was the first to use the term "architecture" to describe the ordering of poems which, as we have seen, was of ultimate importance to Baudelaire. Following the judicial order for an investigation of Les Fleurs du Mal in early July of 1857, in an article dated 24 July which was destined for but never published in the daily Le Pays, Barbey d'Aurevilly wrote:

Nous ne pouvons ni ne voulons rien citer du recueil de poésies en question, et voici pourquoi: une pièce citée n'aurait que sa valeur individuelle, et il ne faut pas s'y méprendre, dans le livre de M. Baudelaire, chaque poésie a, de plus que la réussite des détails ou la fortune de la pensée, une valeur très importante d'ensemble et de situation qu'il ne faut pas lui faire perdre, en la détachant. Les artistes qui voient les lignes sous le luxe et l'efflorescence de la couleur percevront très bien qu'il y a ici une architecture secrète, un plan calculé par le poète, méditatif et volontaire. Les Fleurs du Mal ne sont pas à la suite les unes des autres comme tant de morceaux lyriques, dispersés par l'inspiration, et ramassés dans un recueil sans d'autre raison que de les réunir. Elles sont moins des poésies qu'une oeuvre poétique de la plus forte unité.<sup>68</sup>

In 1896, in an article published in Le Tombeau de Charles Baudelaire, Prince Alexandre Ourousof re-examined d'Aurevilly's statement and produced both the first critical examination of the architecture of Les Fleurs du Mal, and a short commentary on the three editions of the work, the third being the one prepared posthumously by Barville et Asselineau and published in 1868. Ourousof stressed that in the 1857 edition the "architecture secrète" of which Barbey d'Aurevilly had

written was an a posteriori structure: "Il est bien entendu que l'ordre des poèmes a été établi après coup, et n'a rien de préconçu."<sup>69</sup> That the architecture of the volume was established after the composition of the poems is certain, for as we have seen in Baudelaire's letter to Poulet-Malassis mentioned above, the poet proposed that he and his publisher together establish the order of the poems in the volume.

In recent years the question of the architecture of Les Fleurs du Mal has spawned a number of critical works, one of the earliest and indeed one of the most important being Marcel Ruff's article Sur l'architecture des "Fleurs du Mal" published in 1930.<sup>70</sup> It is beyond the scope of our present study to examine in any great detail the architecture of Baudelaire's volume, or to comment in depth on each poem such as Feuillerat, Chérix and Galand have done.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, Claude Pichois cautions that one should not be too restrictive in one's perception of the architecture of the work, nor should one seek a specific meaning in the strict numerical succession of the poems: "[S]eules les grandes masses doivent intéresser le déchiffreur."<sup>72</sup> Pichois' contention is borne out by what Baudelaire himself said of painting in the Salon de 1846: "[L]'art n'étant qu'une abstraction et un sacrifice du détail à l'ensemble, il est important de s'occuper surtout des masses."<sup>73</sup> In the present study, therefore, we shall limit our observations to a discussion of some of the key poems in the volume and an examination of the general structures or "masses" of Les Fleurs du Mal in order to illustrate how the overall organisation of the 1857 edition constitutes an architecture of egoism.

Excluding "Au lecteur," the 1857 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal is comprised of one hundred poems in five sections: "Spleen et idéal,"



"Fleurs du Mal," "Révolte," "Le Vin," and "La Mort."<sup>74</sup> The largest section of the volume is "Spleen et idéal" which contains more than three quarters of the poems—seventy-seven poems to be exact. Within the "Spleen et idéal" section there are a number of poem cycles, although critics are generally not in complete accord about the description or title best suited to each cycle, nor indeed about the number of poems which constitute each cycle. In general, we perceive three major cycles in the "Spleen et idéal" section: the cycle of art (from "Bénédiction" to "La Géante" inclusive); the cycle of love (from "Les Bijoux" to "Moesta et errabunda" inclusive); and the cycle of spleen (from "Les Chats" to "La Pipe" inclusive). The cycle of love includes three sub-cycles that have traditionally been named after the women who inspired them: the Jeanne Duval cycle (from "Les Bijoux" to "Je te donne ces vers . . ." inclusive); the Madame Sabatier cycle (from "Tout entière" to "Le Flacon" inclusive); and the Marie Daubrun cycle (from "Le Poison" to "Causerie" inclusive). These are followed by four poems on the theme of love inspired by diverse women or "les héroïnes secondaires"<sup>75</sup> (from "L'Héautontimoréménos" to "Moesta et errabunda" inclusive). Thereafter the general lines of the architecture are more readily visible, as Jean Pommeroy suggests: "D'une section à l'autre, un mouvement se perçoit. . . . [L]es deux postulations du cœur de l'homme ('Spleen' et 'Idéal') conduisent au Mal dans l'érotisme, à une contre-religion, à l'évasion par l'ivresse, enfin à la Mort."<sup>76</sup>

The introductory poem "Au lecteur" is not included in the numerical ranking of the poems, and does not figure within the five-part structure of Les Fleurs du Mal, for the prime function of this poem is to serve as an overture to the whole of the volume. The poem depicts in a precise

and condensed form the subject matter of the entire work: man in all his anguish struggling in the midst of fallen Creation. Within the framework of the Adamic myth, Baudelaire has portrayed the agony of man in the midst of Evil; he has depicted man's obstinacy in sin and he has attributed the responsibility for this to "ce savant chimiste"—"Satan Trismégiste."

The reader is inexorably inscribed in the world depicted in "Au lecteur" through the universality or the primordial nature of the Adamic myth. In addition, the reader is inevitably included in the forms of the first person plural which dominate fully eighteen lines of the poem:

Nos péchés sont têtus, nos repentirs sont lâches;  
 Nous nous faisons payer grassement nos aveux,  
 Et nous rentrons gaîment dans le chemin bourbeux,  
 Croyant par de vils pleurs laver toutes nos taches.

Furthermore, in addressing the reader informally as "tu" in the last stanza, Baudelaire is insisting that the reader include himself in the "nous" of the poem, and that the reader recognise himself in the horrifying portrait of man. Indeed, the compelling apostrophe which terminates the poem is tantamount to an act of aggression by the poet directed at the complacent reader: "Tu le connais, lecteur, ce monstre délicat, / --Hypocrite lecteur,--mon semblable,--mon frère!"<sup>77</sup>

Baudelaire's exhortation to his "hypocrite lecteur" to recognise his sins and crimes was in itself enough to scandalise the complacent bourgeois middle class of the nineteenth century, a class whose philosophy of bourgeois liberalism was best summed up by one of France's most prominent politicians of the period, François Guizot, who declared: "Enrichissez-vous par le travail et par l'épargne."<sup>78</sup> Such a society had given itself entirely over to a belief in material prosperity and progress, and was little inclined to hear of Satan and of sins, or to

accept that it is "le Diable qui tient les fils qui nous remuent." This Baudelaire expressed in his draughts of a preface for Les Fleurs du Mal: "La France traverse une phase de vulgarité. Paris, centre et rayonnement de bêtise universelle. Malgré Molière et Béranger, on n'aurait jamais cru que la France irait si grand train dans la voie du Progrès. . . . [I]l est plus difficile pour les gens de ce siècle de croire au Diable que de l'aimer."<sup>79</sup>

In "Le canevas banal de nos piteux destins" depicted in "Au lecteur" Baudelaire describes the full range of man's sins, from man's common and universal weaknesses--"La sottise, l'erreur, le péché, la lésine"--to the horrific and satanic manifestations of Evil represented by the archetypal symbols of maleficent beasts which prowl in "la ménagerie infâme de nos vices."<sup>80</sup> In the menagerie of man's vices there is however one monster that is "plus laid, plus méchant, plus immonde!"—"C'est l'Ennui!" The ultimate vice to which man is prone is that spiritual taedium vitae which is ennui. Pierre Emmanuel maintains that Baudelaire was the first to state that modern man was oppressed by ennui specifically.<sup>81</sup> It is difficult to define the term precisely, and many attempts have been made.<sup>82</sup> But the most pertinent definition for our purposes is that of Reinhard Kuhn who, in his study of ennui in Western literature, links ennui with that spiritual lassitude and emptiness known as acedia or "the noontide demon of the Psalms."<sup>83</sup> Kuhn offers one of the most comprehensive definitions of ennui to be found:

[W]e can tentatively define ennui as the state of emptiness that the soul feels when it is deprived of interest in action, life, and the world (be it this world or another), a condition that is the immediate consequence of the encounter with nothingness, and has as an immediate effect a disaffection with reality. Such alienation . . . can bring about, as in the case of Emma Bovary, a morose joylessness that

occasionally culminates in total despair and even suicide. Or it can result in the Byronian pride of the children of the century who consider themselves superior to the reality from which they have been divorced, who sometimes, as in the case of Manfred, think themselves the equals of the Divinity. . . . Schizophrenics, supermen, artists, and saints—these are but a few of the types who people the landscape of ennui.<sup>84</sup>

From Kuhn's definition, then, we see that ennui is a sentiment that lends itself readily to the cult of dandyism. In its subtle and delicate complexities, and even in its impulse to the Luciferian revolt of the "enfants du siècle," ennui is an integral part of Baudelaire's aesthetic of Evil.

In terms of the architecture of Les Fleurs du Mal, ennui is in fact the very foundation upon which the structure of the work is erected. Thematically, ennui functions as a backdrop or a leitmotif throughout the entire volume, appearing at every turn in the poet's psychological voyage from "Bénédiction" to "La Mort des artistes." Yet behind the dandy-poet's encounters with ennui lurks a metaphysical dimension, for Baudelaire saw ennui as the very root of Evil. In its emptiness ennui is capable of accommodating anything. Like a great vacuum, "ce monstre délicat" is a Cronus that would devour the world, that can obliterate man and his world by sucking everything into its own great void of a yawn: "Il ferait volontiers de la terre un débris / Et dans un bâillement avalerait le monde" ("Au lecteur"). In terms of the general structure of Les Fleurs du Mal, ennui is therefore the mechanism behind a repetitive cyclical movement throughout the work. The trajectory of the poet's experiences traces out an ever narrowing gyre, a pattern in which the poet's various aspirations to the ideal are repeatedly crushed, causing him to fall deeper and deeper into the abysmal void of ennui.

In its overall design, the 1857 edition is, of course, egocentric in that the volume is primarily centred on the persona of the artist or the dandy-poet. The volume opens with the birth of the poet in "Bénédiction" and closes with his anticipation of escaping ennui and achieving recognition after death in the final poem, "La Mort des artistes." Moreover, the psychological drama of the poet is twofold in that he plays two roles simultaneously: that of an artist creating a work based on an aesthetic of Evil, and that of a superior man experiencing Evil on a metaphysical level.

The first two lines of "Bénédiction" declare the divine election of the poet ("... par un décret des puissances suprêmes, / Le Poète apparaît en ce monde ennuyé"), and though scorned and misunderstood by all around him, the poet finds solace in his certainty that he is one of God's chosen superior beings ("Je sais que vous gardez une place au Poète / Dans les rangs bienheureux des saintes Légions"). In the poem which immediately follows, "Le Soleil," the poet likens himself to the sun which as a king has the power to penetrate all places. In "Élévation" we find that the poet does indeed possess a spirit of dimensions uncommon to most men, for he alone possesses the divine gift of being able to understand "sans effort / Le langage des fleurs et des choses muettes!"

The poet, in his very privileged position of superiority at the centre of creation, is moreover gifted with the ability to perceive the integral parts of the "profonde unité" ("Correspondances") of creation. He alone is the man able to perceive the universal analogies and correspondences between the diverse parts of creation—correspondences which for other men are merely "de confuses paroles" ("Correspondances"). The use of synaesthesia in "Correspondances" is rarely appreciated as

anything more than a poetic technique, but as Ruff states it is foremost for Baudelaire a mystical phenomenon.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, the theory of correspondences is directly related to Baudelaire's aesthetics of dandyism, for his poetics is not centred on nature, as was the case with the Romantics before him, but is clearly anthropocentric. "L'homme est pour lui le centre du monde et la raison d'être de toutes choses. La Nature elle-même ne le retient que dans la mesure où elle ramène à l'homme, pour qui elle est faite," states Ruff,<sup>86</sup> whose opinion is confirmed by Leakey in his study of Nature in Baudelaire: "But Nature is at the periphery rather than at the centre of his universe. . . . Nature is seen almost always in some human relation, is viewed through the screen of some remembered personal emotion, idea or sensation."<sup>87</sup> In a letter to Fernand Desnoyers Baudelaire himself wrote: "Dans le fond des bois, enfermé sous ces voûtes semblables à celles des sacristies et des cathédrales, je pense à nos étonnantes villes, et la prodigieuse musique qui roule sur les sommets me semble la traduction des lamentations humaines."<sup>88</sup> This transformation of the natural world into the human dimension (as in "Correspondances" when nature is transformed into "un temple" and is thereby reduced to a construct of man's invention) is constant in Baudelaire's works. In his abhorrence of the natural order which he found "shocking," Baudelaire elevated the cult of artificiality and the cult of the self to the order of first importance.<sup>89</sup>

Although besieged by introspective self-doubt in "La Muse malade" and "Le Guignon," and subjected to the distasteful compromising of artistic principles in "La Muse vénale," idleness and laziness in "Le Mauvais Moine," despair and exasperation in "L'Ennemi," the poet maintains a pose of haughty impenitence and outright arrogance in the

guise of the hero in "Don Juan aux enfers." In this poem Don Juan, "l'oeil fier comme Antisthène," is not merely a libertine; he is an impassible and unrepentant dandy "qui jette son défi à Dieu et à l'humanité"<sup>90</sup> at the end of the poem: "Mais le calme héros courbé sur sa rapière / Regardait le sillage et ne daignait rien voir."

In keeping with the satanic character of Don Juan, the poet elects as an expression of his ideal the image of Beauty which is as impassible as a cold "rêve de pierre" ("La Beauté) which never cries nor laughs. The poet thus has settled on an ideal which is by far more sinister and darker than "Le langage des fleurs et des choses muettes" ("Élévation"). This movement from "idéal" to "spleen" in the cycle of art prefigures the thematic evolution which is repeated throughout the "Spleen et idéal" section.

Similarly, in the love cycles the poet's notion of love, or the idealisation of woman as the "human referent"<sup>91</sup> of the poet's quest for beauty, undergoes a transformation. In the Duval cycle, the poet's attitude toward carnal love is transformed from the ideal to the splenetic, yet the final note upon which that cycle ends is the artist's pardon of the "Etre maudit" in "Je te donne ces vers. . ."

The ideal of spiritual love in the Sabatier and Daubrun cycles undergoes a similar movement from the ideal to the splenetic, with the notable difference that this time it is "le Démon" who presides over the disintegration of the ideal, by first appearing in the poet's room in "Tout entière," and by finally extinguishing all light and hope "aux carreaux de l'Auberge" in "L'Irréparable."

In terms of the thematic evolution of Les Fleurs du Mal, the cycle of spleen presents the second powerful force or tension which is

operative in Baudelaire's vision of man, as is indicated by the title of the section: "Spleen et idéal." Throughout the cycle of spleen, the diverse characteristics of the poet's state of spleen or ennui are minutely enumerated. Ennui denotes the fatigue of body and soul, the distaste of life and of people, the lack of curiosity ("L'ennui, fruit de la morne incuriosité," says the poet in "Spleen," n° LX), and it also denotes the lack of hope:

—Et d'anciens corbillards, sans tambours ni musique,  
Défilent lentement dans mon âme; et, l'Espoir  
Pleurant comme un vaincu, l'Angoisse despotique  
Sur mon crâne incliné plante son drapeau noir.  
("Spleen", n° LXII)

Baudelairean ennui is a profound metaphysical ennui, taking the form of a pessimistic non-participation in life which is characterised by the desire to sleep "dans l'oubli comme un requin dans l'onde" ("Le Mort joyeux"), by the desire to become "un granit . . . Assoupi dans le fond d'un Sahara brumeux" ("Spleen," n° LX). To obliterate the sense of being, to sleep the unconscious and dreamless sleep of animals, to become inanimate and immobile, such are the manifestations of "the state of emptiness," to borrow Kuhn's expression again,<sup>92</sup> which the poet seeks when besieged by ennui. It is the recognition of man's dual nature—his double postulation—which lies at the centre of the poet's metaphysical ennui. Thus, to the question: "Se livrer à Satan, qu'est-ce que c'est?"<sup>93</sup> the answer is quite simply: to submit to Satan is to feel that there is a lack of unity between man and the universe, between man and God. It is in this sense that the "deux postulations simultanées"<sup>94</sup> may be construed as an expression of man's primordial desire for unity in a world which is subject to multiplicity. In Paul Arnold's terms: "La postulation vers Satan . . . c'est la tendance au multiple. La



postulation vers Dieu, c'est la tendance originelle à l'unité."<sup>95</sup> Indeed, Arnold's interpretation of Baudelaire's entry in Mon coeur mis à nu is borne out within Les Fleurs du Mal. In the cycle of art, the universe is depicted ideally as "une ténébreuse et profonde unité" ("Correspondances"). However, in the cycle of spleen this unity is fragmented and the universe is inhabited by "des monstres visqueux" ("L'Irrémédiable"). The term "monstres" here is significant, for the monstrous signifies that which is bizarre, grotesque, incoherent, that which is formed of disparate parts; in short, the monstrous embodies the lack of unity. Let us recall that in "Au lecteur" the world described is devoid of unity and harmony, but it is a world teeming with monsters.

In the love cycles as well the disintegration of the ideal is also an expression of the fragmentation of unity. In "Tout entière," for example, it is the demon of multiplicity that entices the poet to analyse and thus to break up the integral beauty and the overall harmony of the loved one. Furthermore, in Fusées Baudelaire speaks of love as a sort of decomposition, "une torture ou . . . une opération chirurgicale": "[C]ertes, je croirais faire un sacrilège en appliquant le mot: extase à cette sorte de décomposition. --Épouvantable jeu où il faut que l'un des joueurs perde le gouvernement de soi-même!"<sup>96</sup> Love ultimately represents for Baudelaire not only the decomposition of an ideal feeling of unity between two lovers, but also the loss of self-control, which is quite simply the fragmentation of the unity of the self. This is precisely what the poet experiences in the love cycles.

The dandy of course always strives to maintain the unity of the self, for as Baudelaire wrote in Le Peintre de la vie moderne, dandyism is among other things "une gymnastique propre à fortifier la volonté et à

discipliner l'âme."<sup>97</sup> Now since the vaporisation of the will and of the self leads to multiplicity, to the feeling that there is no unity between man and the universe, then the dandy, in burnishing the image of the self and in attempting to centralise and to concentrate the self, is in essence performing a ritual which effects a symbolical return to the state of primordial unity. To achieve this state of sublimity, the dandy must be ever vigilant against the satanic postulation, against the great gaping yawn of ennui which would shatter the unified image of the self. This is the reason why the dandy must live and sleep wrapped in solitude before his own image: "Le Dandy doit aspirer à être sublime sans interruption; il doit vivre et dormir devant un miroir."<sup>98</sup> Moreover, since Baudelaire associates the love for woman with the loss of unity, and hence with the satanic postulation ("C'est à cette dernière que doivent être rapportés les amours pour les femmes," he wrote<sup>99</sup>), then the conclusion that necessarily follows is: "La femme est le contraire du Dandy."<sup>100</sup>

The dandy-poet in Les Fleurs du Mal falls into the state of spleen, then, when he fails to centralise the self, when he allows the self to become dispersed or vaporised: "De la vaporisation et de la centralisation du Moi. Tout est là."<sup>101</sup> For Baudelaire, the dandy, the artist, the man of genius are all solitary guiding lights—"Les Phares"—that point the way back to the state of primordial unity, to the state of oneness between man and the universe. Unicity is thus the characteristic of the superior man for Baudelaire:

Goût invincible de la prostitution dans le cœur de l'homme, d'où naît son horreur de la solitude. —Il veut être deux. L'homme de génie veut être un, donc solitaire. . . . C'est cette horreur de la solitude, le besoin d'oublier son moi dans la chair extérieure, que l'homme appelle noblement besoin d'aimer.<sup>102</sup>

The centralisation of the self may only be brought about, in Arnold's terminology, "par l'hyperconscience dans le mal (l'existence), laquelle seule distingue le moi du non-moi. C'est pourquoi Baudelaire dans 'L'Irrémédiable' a joint les deux idées de chute et de conscience dans le mal."<sup>103</sup>

The cycle of spleen brings to a close the most important part of Les Fleurs du Mal. Within the "Spleen et idéal" section the poet has articulated, in terms of his own psychological drama, a vision of duality, a vision of man torn between two simultaneous postulations. This state of suspended tension next gives rise to the poet's spirit of revolt in the sections "Fleurs du Mal" and "Révolte."

"Fleurs du Mal," which in 1857 followed "Spleen et idéal," is perhaps the most shocking section of the first edition. In this section the poet adopts the cool Byronic pose of an outrageous dandy-writer: a "poète sinistre, ennemi des familles, / Favori de l'enfer, courtisan mal renté" ("Les Deux Bonnes Soeurs"), and a consummate histrionic poseur who plays "artistement son rôle" ("La Béatrice")--"cette caricature / Et cette ombre d'Hamlet imitant sa posture, / Le regard indécis et les cheveux au vent" ("La Béatrice"). Like the proud young lord in "Don Juan aux enfers," the poet in "La Béatrice" likewise is capable of remaining impassible when confronted by "un troupeau de démons vicieux":

J'aurais pu--mon orgueil aussi haut que les monts  
Recevrait sans bouger le choc de cent démons!--  
Détourner froidement ma tête souveraine.

His cool impassibility is broken only by his surprise at the appearance of his muse, his "Béatrice," in the company of the host of demons. Colin Burns even compares the "femmes damnées" of this section with the dandy: "Just as the Dandy expressed his spiritual superiority by living an

independent, aristocratic life divorced from mundane cares, so too, on a different social plane, do the 'femmes damnées' seek to rise above the orthodox patterns of human behaviour."<sup>104</sup>

Throughout this section centred on the double theme of Eros-Thanatos, the images of lesbianism, murder, torture, debauchery, and death scandalised bourgeois morality and propriety, as evidenced by the trial for obscenity which ensued in August of 1857. Yet the poet of Les Fleurs du Mal certainly did not invent debauchery and sin. Speaking of "la Perversité naturelle" of man, Baudelaire asserts that "nous sommes tous nés marquis [sic] pour le mal!"<sup>105</sup> The perversity of man which is portrayed in the "Fleurs du Mal" section was purposely intended to be a seductive depiction of the nature of Evil, as Baudelaire himself intimated in Les Drames et les romans honnêtes:

Le vice est séduisant, il faut le peindre séduisant; mais il traîne avec lui des maladies et des douleurs morales singulières; il faut les décrire. . . . En effet, il faut peindre les vices tels qu'ils sont, ou ne pas les voir. Et si le lecteur ne porte pas en lui un guide philosophique et religieux qui l'accompagne dans la lecture du livre, tant pis pour lui.<sup>106</sup>

Marcel Ruff has perceptively remarked that the obstinacy to see in Baudelaire's work an element of sadism or abnormality is perhaps the reaction of a too self-righteous reader.<sup>107</sup>

Moreover, in the section "Fleurs du Mal" vice certainly does not preclude moral consequence and metaphysical anguish. In "Femmes damnées," for example, Hippolyte confesses: "'Je sens s'élargir dans mon être / Un abîme béant.'" The submission to vice, or the "joie de descendre" of which Baudelaire wrote, may also be viewed as the manifestation of a conscious revolt—a revolt of the flesh in spleen against spleen. All the forms of voluptuousness—"l'appareil sanglant de

la Destruction" ("La Destruction")<sup>108</sup>—are expressions of a willing self-damnation, a willing self-destruction. "Moi, je dis: la volupté unique et suprême de l'amour gît dans la certitude de faire le mal. —Et l'homme et la femme savent de naissance que dans le mal se trouve toute volupté," says Baudelaire in Fusées.<sup>109</sup> However, the certainty of doing Evil also implies the recognition of Good or even of God. Accordingly, the revolt of the flesh in "Fleurs du Mal" is indirectly a manifestation of the aspiration for Good. It is such an aspiration that Baudelaire calls "le goût de l'infini" in Les Paradis artificiels:

Hélas! les vices de l'homme, si pleins d'horreur qu'on les suppose, contiennent la preuve (quand ce ne serait que leur infinie expansion!) de son goût de l'infini; seulement, c'est un goût qui se trompe souvent de route. . . . C'est dans cette dépravation du sens de l'infini que gît, selon moi, la raison de tous les excès coupables. . . .<sup>110</sup>

And so the women of "Femmes damnées" are "Chercheuses d'infini," and the conscious pursuit of Evil by the damned souls in the "Fleurs du Mal" section reflects a longing for the infinite in the midst of the finite world, a longing for "le radieux sourire / Entrevu vaguement au bord des autres cieux" ("Lesbos"). Thus, in this section the "joie de descendre" is simultaneously "l'invocation à Dieu, ou spiritualité."

The trilogy of poems in the "Révolte" section constitutes the supreme manifestation of the poet's satanic postulation. Exiled in a world "où l'action n'est pas la soeur du rêve" ("Le Reniement de Saint Pierre")—in a world where the ideal is inevitably corrupted, where there is no feeling of oneness between man and God, between man and the universe—the poet, "une nature exilée dans l'imparfait,"<sup>111</sup> seeks an escape from his frustration in a spiritual revolt; he willingly conspires against God by delivering himself to Satan—"Bâton des exilés, Lampe des

Inventeurs, 'Confesseur des pendus et des conspirateurs' ("Les Litanies de Satan"). As we have seen in Part One, the theme of Luciferian revolt and a fascination with Satan were common to the literary dandyism of the 1830s and 1840s in France. The proud and rebellious, impudent and impenitent archangel who in Milton's Paradise Lost would rather reign in hell than serve in heaven was a heroic figure of fierce independence and great majesty, a figure that lent himself well to the image of the dandy. Baudelaire concluded that "Satan,--à la manière de Milton,"<sup>112</sup> was the most perfect type of virile beauty. And yet, in revolting consciously against God, the consciousness of God is paradoxically all the more heightened. Consciousness of Satan implies consciousness of God, just as in "Fleurs du Mal" we have seen that the awareness of Good is implied in the awareness of Evil. Thus there is a redemptive value in the satanic revolt, for Satan evokes "le goût du Paradis" ("Les Litanies de Satan"). As Baudelaire wrote in his essay on laughter, "l'élément angélique et l'élément diabolique fonctionnent parallèlement."<sup>113</sup>

In its position near the end of the 1857 edition, the section "Le Vin" is intended to present wine as a means of enduring and of fleeing the frustration of spleen and the anguish of existence in Evil. In the poem which closes the section, "Le Vin des amants," wine is the method of flight from this anguish for those "qui [voudraient] s'emparer immédiatement, sur cette terre même, d'un paradis révélé"<sup>114</sup>:

Partons à cheval sur le vin  
 Pour un ciel féérique et divin!  
 . . . . .  
 Nous fuirons sans repos ni trêves  
 Vers le Paradis de mes rêves!

In Ruff's words, "'Le Vin' apparaît en effet à cette place comme une consolation ou un remède: il permet d'oublier le mal qu'on a commis

aussi bien que celui dont on souffre."<sup>115</sup>

Whereas "Le Vin" proposes merely a temporary solution to the problem of Evil, the section "La Mort" proposes the definitive solution and the idealised escape from the tortures of ennui. Each of the three poems in the section closes with an image of transcendence or resurrection. For lovers, after death an angel will bring back to life "les flammes mortes" ("La Mort des amants"); for the poor death leads to a new life--"C'est le portique ouvert sur les Cieux inconnus!" ("La Mort des pauvres"); for artists death will resurrect "les fleurs de leur cerveau" ("La Mort des artistes"). In Prévost's words: "[L]a mort est la seule certitude qui reste à l'homme et le poète essaie d'en faire le seul espoir."<sup>116</sup> The supreme hope, the sole hope of the poet is that through death he will attain the "beau diadème éblouissant et clair" promised in "Bénédiction." Through death, the poet may escape the duality of human existence in Evil and achieve finally the state of unity with God which he anticipates in "Bénédiction":

Je sais que vous gardez une place au Poète  
 Dans les rangs bienheureux des saintes Légions,  
 Et que vous l'invitez à l'éternelle fête  
 Des Trônes, des Vertus, des Dominations.

Thus, in the final analysis the structure of the 1857 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal is an architecture of egoism, for the work revolves entirely around the central figure of the dandy-poet.<sup>117</sup> Furthermore, the 1857 edition is an example of what Asselineau termed a work of literary dandyism: "Le dandysme en littérature serait donc tout ce qui est l'opposé de la culstrerie, du pédantisme et de la besogne."<sup>118</sup> Such indeed is the image of Les Fleurs du Mal which Baudelaire himself projected in his notes for a preface intended for the work: "Il m'a paru plaisant, et d'autant plus agréable que la tâche était plus difficile,

d'extraire la beauté du Mal. Ce livre, essentiellement inutile et absolument innocent, n'a pas été fait dans un autre but que de me divertir et d'exercer mon goût passionné de l'obstacle."<sup>119</sup> In describing his book as being essentially useless, as being little else than a pleasant diversion and a literary game, Baudelaire the dandy was challenging the bourgeois values of progress, propriety, work, and profit.<sup>120</sup>

However, Baudelaire the poet certainly did intend Les Fleurs du Mal to be a serious work of literature. But in publishing the volume he did not seek popularity; on the contrary, he sought notoriety. "Votre mot 'popularité' m'a beaucoup fait rire," he wrote to Poulet-Malassis on 9 December 1856. "Point de popularité, je le sais, mais un bel éreintage général qui attirera la curiosité; et puis nous saurons avoir quelques articles dans les revues étrangères."<sup>121</sup> In this egoism and haughty disdain of the world and its values ("L'homme de lettres est l'ennemi du monde," Baudelaire wrote<sup>122</sup>), Baudelaire himself as well as the fictional dandy-poet who is the principal actor in Les Fleurs du Mal both embody the following definition which Asselineau gives in his biographical study of Baudelaire:

Le dandy . . . était l'homme parfait, souverainement indépendant, ne relevant que de lui-même, et régnant sur le monde en le dédaignant. L'écrivain-dandy était celui qui méprise l'opinion commune et ne s'attache qu'au beau, et encore selon sa conception particulière.<sup>123</sup>

But above all it is the underlying theme of ennui in Les Fleurs du Mal which serves best to accentuate the refined sensibility and the superiority of the dandy-poet in his suffering and in his seeking new forms of release from ennui, as Stanton writes:

Whether out of boredom or melancholia or some



anxiety-ridden combination of the two, the dandy exhibits ennui as a sign of exquisite sensibility, and ultimately uses it as an instrument of conquest. . . . Artifice or sincerity, the source is irrelevant; what matters is the effective production and emission of the sign in the pursuit of superiority. For ennui, as sign and/or catalyst, triggers a determined and sometimes desperate quest for new sensations with heroic overtones.<sup>124</sup>

Such indeed is the quest of the egoistic dandy-poet in the 1857 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal.

PART TWO: CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup> Jacques Crépet et Georges Blin, "Notes critiques," Les Fleurs du Mal, édition critique établie par Jacques Crépet et Georges Blin (Paris: Librairie José Corti, 1942), p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> F.W. Leakey, "Pour une étude chronologique des 'Fleurs du Mal,'" Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France (avril-juin 1967), p. 346.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 356.

<sup>4</sup> Claude Pichois, Baudelaire: études et témoignages (Neuchâtel: Editions de la Baconnière, 1967), pp. 24-25. Pichois has reproduced the full text of Prarond's letter, pp. 12-36. Prarond's references to the poems listed relate to the 1868 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Asselineau, "Charles Baudelaire: sa vie et son oeuvre," in Baudelaire et Asselineau, textes recueillis et commentés par Jacques Crépet et Claude Pichois (Paris: Nizet, 1953), pp. 64-65.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>7</sup> Baudelaire, C, I, 158.

<sup>8</sup> Ruff, L'Esprit du Mal, p. 173..

<sup>9</sup> Concerning Jules Mouquet's article, see Pichois' Notes in Baudelaire, OC, I, 1249-1254.

<sup>10</sup> In his Confessions Houssaye first related the anecdote of this visit, which Crépet reproduced in Charles Baudelaire. Etude biographique; pp. 40-41.

<sup>11</sup> Cited by W.T. Bandy and Claude Pichois in Baudelaire devant ses contemporains (Paris: Union Générale d'Edition, 1967), p. 136.

<sup>12</sup> For the titles of the poems included in each of these two collections, see Pichois' "Chronologie" in Baudelaire, OC, I, xxxv, xxxviii.

<sup>13</sup> Baudelaire, C, I, 376.

<sup>14</sup> Baudelaire, C, I, 378.

<sup>15</sup> Baudelaire, C, II, 610.

- 16 Marcel A. Ruff, Baudelaire (Paris: Hatier-Boivin, 1955), p. 87.
- 17 Baudelaire, C, I, 368.
- 18 Letter to Poulet-Malassis, 18 March 1857, C, I, 385.
- 19 Baudelaire, C, I, 374-375.
- 20 Baudelaire, C, I, 375.
- 21 Letter to Poulet-Malassis, 16 or 17 March 1857, C, I, 382.
- 22 Baudelaire, C, I, 402.
- 23 Letter to Madame Aupick, 19 February 1858, C, I, 450.
- 24 Letter to Madame Aupick, 1 April 1858, C, I, 491.
- 25 Letter to Poulet-Malassis, 30 March 1857, C, I, 391.
- 26 Letter to Gervais Charpentier, 20 June 1863, C, II, 307.
- 27 Charles Asselineau, Charles Baudelaire: sa vie et son oeuvre, pp. 98-100. In a lengthy footnote (p. 99) Asselineau defines Baudelaire's particular use of the word "dandy": "Ce mot de dandy, Baudelaire l'employait fréquemment dans sa conversation et dans ses écrits, en le prenant dans un sens particulier, --héroïque et grandiose. Le dandy était à ses yeux l'homme parfait, souverainement indépendant, ne relevant que de lui-même, et régnant sur le monde en le dédaignant."
- 28 Letter to Poulet-Malassis, 14 May 1857, C, I, 399-400.
- 29 Baudelaire, OC, I, 678.
- 30 Cited by Bandy and Pichois in Baudelaire devant ses contemporains, p. 209.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 210.
- 32 Baudelaire, OC, II, 717-718.
- 33 Letter to Gervais Charpentier, 20 June 1863, C, II, 307.
- 34 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 717. In a letter to Poulet-Malassis, dated 10 February 1857 (C, I, 374), Baudelaire did however question the use of too much red on the title page: "Cependant il serait peut-être bon de ne pas donner à un manuscrit moderne les archaïsmes et les gentillesse du rouge. Pas de coquetterie." On the title page of the 1857 edition the use of red was limited to the words "Fleurs du Mal," the publishers' device and motto, and the name of the firm "Poulet-Malassis et de Broise."
- 35 André Ferran, L'Esthétique de Baudelaire (Paris: Hachette, 1933; rpt. Paris: Nizet, 1968), p. 72.

- 36 Max Milner, Baudelaire: enfer ou ciel, qu'importe! (Paris: Plon, 1967), p. 104.
- 37 Letter to Poulet-Malassis, 16 or 17 March 1857, C, I, 382.
- 38 Baudelaire, C, I, 378.
- 39 Jacques Crépet et Georges Blin, "Notes critiques," Les Fleurs du Mal, p. 272.
- 40 Letter to François Buloz, 13 June 1855, C, I, 314.
- 41 Baudelaire, C, I, 309.
- 42 Baudelaire, C, I, 312.
- 43 Baudelaire, "La Fanfarlo," OC, I, 559.
- 44 Le Magasin des familles, June 1850, and Le Messager de l'Assemblée, 9 April 1851, respectively. Cited by Pichois in "Notice," OC, I, 792-793.
- 45 Marcel A. Ruff, Baudelaire (Paris: Hatier-Boivin, 1955), p. 89.
- 46 Charles Asselineau, "Notes d'Asselineau sur Baudelaire," in Baudelaire et Asselineau, textes recueillis et commentés par Jacques Crépet et Claude Pichois (Paris: Nizet, 1953), p. 187. See also James S. Patty, "Baudelaire et Hippolyte Babou," Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France (avril-juin 1967), pp. 260-272. In Esotérisme de Baudelaire (Paris: J. Vrin, 1972), p. 50, Paul Arnold suggests that Baudelaire found the title for Les Fleurs du Mal in the 1579 translation by François de Foix of the Pimandre of Hermes Trismegistus. See also Arnold's "Appendice," p. 178.
- 47 Baudelaire, C, I, 88.
- 48 Baudelaire, "Projets de préfaces," OC, I, 181.
- 49 Baudelaire, OC, I, 188.
- 50 Baudelaire, OC, II, 117-118.
- 51 Baudelaire, OC, I, 658.
- 52 Albert Thibaudet, Histoire de la littérature française de 1789 à nos jours (Paris: Stock, 1936), p. 325.
- 53 Théophile Gautier, "Charles Baudelaire," in Souvenirs romantiques, introduction et notes par Adolphe Boschot (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1929), p. 298.
- 54 Starke, Baudelaire, p. 359.
- 55 Alfred Engstrom, "Baudelaire's Title for 'Les Fleurs du Mal,'"

Orbis litterarum, 12 (1957), 201.

56 Baudelaire, C, I, 337.

57 Letter to Poulet-Malassis, end of August 1860, C, II, 85.

58 Baudelaire, "Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains," OC, II, 168.

59 Baudelaire, "Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains -- Théodore de Barville," OC, II, 165.

60 Alfred Engstrom, "Baudelaire's Title for 'Les Fleurs du Mal,'" Orbis litterarum, 12 (1957), 202.

61 Charles Baudelaire, "Bénédiction," in Les Fleurs du Mal (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 1857; fac-similé de l'édition de 1857, Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), p. 14.

In the present chapter all subsequent citations from poems in the 1857 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal shall be taken from the above edition.

62 Claude Pichois, Notice, OC, I, 797.

63 Letter to Victor de Mars, 7 April 1855, C, I, 312.

64 Letter to Auguste Poulet-Malassis, 9 December 1856, C, I, 364.

65 Baudelaire, "Notes pour mon avocat," OC, I, 194.

66 Ibid., p. 193.

67 Letter to Alfred de Vigny, around 16 December 1861, C, II, 195-196.

68 Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, Le XIXe Siècle, ed. Jacques Petit (Paris: Mercure de France, 1964), I, 204. Pichois has reproduced Barbey d'Aurevilly's justificatory article in its entirety in Baudelaire, OC, I, 1191-1196.

69 Alexandre Ourousof, "Etude sur les textes des 'Fleurs du Mal,'" in Le Tombeau de Charles Baudelaire (Paris: Bibliothèque artistique et littéraire, 1896), p. 9.

70 Marcel A. Ruff, "Sur l'architecture des 'Fleurs du Mal,'" Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, 37 (1930), 51-69, 393-402. The following is a list of works dealing specifically with the architecture of Les Fleurs du Mal:

Benedetto, L.F. "L'Architecture des 'Fleurs du Mal.'" Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur, 39 (1912), 18-70.

Burns, Colin A. "'Architecture secrète': Notes on the Second Edition of 'Les Fleurs du Mal.'" Nottingham French Studies, October 1966, pp. 67-79.

- Burns, Colin A. "Notes on the First Edition of 'Les Fleurs du Mal.'" Nottingham French Studies, May 1963, pp. 14-24.
- Feuillerat, Albert. "L'Architecture des 'Fleurs du Mal.'" In Studies by Members of the French Department of Yale University. Ed. Albert Feuillerat. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.
- Hambly, Peter. "The Structure of 'Les Fleurs du Mal': Another Suggestion." Australian Journal of French Studies, September-December 1971, pp. 269-296.
- Le Dantec, Yves-Gérard. "Une architecture secrète." Les Nouvelles littéraires, 6 juin 1957, p. 5.
- Lindberger, Orjan. "De l'architecture dans 'Les Fleurs du Mal.'" Studia neophilologica, 2 (1956), 244-248.
- Mossop, Deryk Joseph. Baudelaire's Tragic Hero: A Study of the Architecture of "Les Fleurs du Mal".
- Pichois, Claude. "L'Univers des 'Fleurs du Mal.'" In Baudelaire: études et témoignages. Neuchâtel: Editions de la Baconnière, 1967, pp. 201-218.
- Sörensen, Hans. "Le Cycle des 'héroïnes secondaires' des 'Fleurs du Mal.'" Orbis litterarum, 12 (1957), 222-243.

71 The works in question are the following:

- Feuillerat, Albert. "L'Architecture des 'Fleurs du Mal.'" In Studies by Members of the French Department of Yale University. Ed. Albert Feuillerat. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.
- Chérix, Robert-Benoît. Commentaire des "Fleurs du Mal". Genève: Droz, 1962.
- Galand, René. Baudelaire: poétiques et poésie. Paris: Nizet, 1969.

72 Claude Pichois, "L'Univers des 'Fleurs du Mal,'" in Baudelaire: études et témoignages (Neuchâtel: Editions de la Baconnière, 1967), p. 207.

73 OC, II, 424.

74 All citations from the 1857 edition shall be taken from the following facsimile: Baudelaire. Les Fleurs du Mal. Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broisé, 1857; facsim. Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1968. For a Comparative Table of the 1857 edition and the 1861 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, see Appendix.

75 Hans Sörensen, "Le Cycle des 'héroïnes secondaires' des 'Fleurs du Mal,'" Orbis litterarum, 12 (1957), 222-243.

76 Jean Pommer, Autour de l'édition originale des "Fleurs du Mal" (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), p. 136.

77 In "L'Univers des 'Fleurs du Mal,'" in Baudelaire: études et

témoignages (Neuchâtel: Editions de la Baconnière, 1967), p. 216, Claude Pichois writes that Baudelaire's poetry is innovative in the sense that with him, poetry is no longer simply a pleasant and passive diversion, but "une invitation pressante à la communion poétique" in which the reader must perforce participate: "Le lecteur ne saurait se contenter d'être le spectateur intelligent et sensible de ce que lui offre le poète: le chant, la plainte, le débat que contient le poème. Il doit être pris à son jeu. Il doit vivre la souffrance. . . ."

78 André Jardin and André-Jean Tudesq, La France des notables (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1973), I, 161.

79 Baudelaire, "Projets de préfaces," OC, I, 182-183.

80 In Baudelaire's use of the bestial metaphor to portray man's sins and vices, Gonzague de Reynold—Charles Baudelaire (Paris: G. Crès et Cie, 1920), p. 340—points out that he makes "des animaux féroces, des monstres, un emploi symbolique absolument analogue à celui qu'en fait l'art médiéval, surtout au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle." Baudelaire himself expressed precisely this sentiment in his letter to Alphonse Toussenel, dated 21 January 1856 (C, I, 337): "[J]'ai pensé bien souvent que les bêtes malfaisantes et dégoûtantes n'étaient peut-être que la vivification, corporification, éclosion à la vie matérielle, des mauvaises pensées de l'homme. —Aussi la nature entière participe du péché originel."

81 Pierre Emmanuel, "Baudelaire et nous," Revue des sciences humaines (janvier-mars 1958), pp. 153-165.

82 As we have seen previously, in his early correspondence Baudelaire stated that he suffered from ennui very early in his life. Guy Sagnes—L'Ennui dans la littérature française de Flaubert à Laforgue (1848-1884) (Paris: Armand Colin, 1969), p. 146—maintains that Baudelairean ennui or spleen is essentially "l'insatisfaction de soi," but Benjamin Fondane—Baudelaire et l'expérience du gouffre (Paris: Seghers, 1947), p. 325—specifies that Baudelairean ennui is not to be confused simply with "cet ennui des dimanches vides, des pianos désaccordés, des terrains vagues, des loisirs sans buts." For Théophile Gautier—"Charles Baudelaire," in Souvenirs romantiques (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1929), p. 299—ennui was "le grand monstre moderne . . . qui, avec sa lâcheté bourgeoise, rêve platement les férociétés et les débauches romaines." For Robert Vivier—L'Originalité de Baudelaire (1924; rpt. Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1965), p. 95—there is a distinct difference between "spleen" and "ennui": "Le spleen de Baudelaire n'est ni la tristesse, ni le désespoir, ni l'ennui, bien qu'il possède quelque chose de chacun de ces états d'âme. Plus amer que la tristesse, plus morne que le désespoir, il est plus aigu que l'ennui dont il offre pour ainsi dire la correspondance positive." To use Martin Turnell's expression—Baudelaire: A Study of His Poetry (London: Hamilton, 1953), p. 159—ennui is a "portmanteau word" which denotes a great number of physical and metaphysical implications, such as Baudelaire himself described in his letter to his mother dated 30 December 1857 (C, I, 437-438):

Certainement, j'ai beaucoup à me plaindre de moi-

même, et je suis tout étonné et alarmé de cet état. Ai-je besoin d'un déplacement, je n'en sais rien. Est-ce le physique malade qui diminue l'esprit et la volonté, ou est-ce la lâcheté spirituelle qui fatigue le corps, je n'en sais rien. Mais ce que je sens, c'est un immense découragement, une sensation d'isolement insupportable, une peur perpétuelle d'un malheur vague, une défiance complète de mes forces, une absence totale de désirs, une impossibilité de trouver un amusement quelconque. . . . Je me demande sans cesse: à quoi bon ceci? A quoi bon cela? C'est là le véritable esprit de spleen. . . . [J]e ne me rappelle pas être tombé jamais si bas et m'être traîné si longtemps dans l'ennui.

83 Reinhard Kuhn, The Demon of Noontide: Ennui in Western Literature (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 43. In Psalm 91.6, ennui is referred to as "the destruction that wasteth at noonday."

84 Kuhn, The Demon of Noontide, p. 13.

85 In L'Esprit du mal et l'esthétique baudelairienne, pp. 290-291, Ruff states: "[I]l arrive trop souvent aux commentateurs de ne s'arrêter qu'à la question des synesthésies. Pour un peu, on n'y verrait guère que l'apport d'un procédé technique. Or celui-ci n'est qu'une conséquence, une application. . . . La synesthésie n'est pas pour Baudelaire un phénomène physique, mais mystique."

86 Marcel A. Ruff, "Sur l'architecture des 'Fleurs du Mal,'" Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, 37 (1930), 397.

87 F.W. Leakey, Baudelaire and Nature (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969), p. 318.

88 Letter to Fernand Desnoyers, end of 1853 or beginning of 1854, C, I, 248.

89 Baudelaire indicated this in his letter to Desnoyers written in late 1853 or early 1854 (C, I, 248):

Mon cher Desnoyers, vous me demandez des vers pour votre petit volume, des vers sur la Nature, n'est-ce pas? sur les bois, les grands chênes, la verdure, les insectes,—le soleil sans doute? Mais, vous savez bien que je suis incapable de m'attendrir sur les végétaux et que mon âme est rebelle à cette singulière religion nouvelle, qui aura toujours, ce me semble, pour tout être spirituel je ne sais quoi de shocking. Je ne croirai jamais que l'âme des Dieux habite dans les plantes, et quand même elle y habiterait, je m'en soucierais médiocrement, et considérerais la mienne comme d'un bien plus haut prix que celle des légumes sanctifiés. J'ai même



toujours pensé qu'il y avait dans la Nature, florissante et rajeunie, quelque chose d'impudent et d'affligeant.

In Baudelaire's constant tendency to anthropocentrise nature, nature becomes the mirror which reflects his inner being or self. For Charles Mauron—"La Personnalité affective de Baudelaire," Orbis litterarum, 12 (1957), 207—this reduction of the milieu to the role of mirror is one of the chief characteristics of Baudelaire's poetics:

Depuis Rousseau, les littérateurs projetaient leurs affects sur le milieu, selon un mécanisme primitif devenu procédé littéraire. Baudelaire va au-delà. Le poète des Fleurs du Mal ne se contente pas de projeter ses sentiments sur le milieu, il fait, de ce mécanisme psychologique, l'essentiel d'une méthode poétique. Sous le nom et dans la catégorie, d'ailleurs plus large, des "correspondances," il réduit le milieu au rôle de miroir: l'âme cherchant l'objet n'y voit que son image symétrique. . . . Le bois, la mer ont perdu presque toute réalité concrète. Ils n'existent que comme reflets de nos états intérieurs.

90 Pichois, Notes, OC, I, 868.

91 Richard Lance Barnett, "Baudelaire and the Ambiguity of Women," Renascence (Winter 1973), p. 60.

92 Kuhn, The Demon of Montide, p. 43.

93 Baudelaire, "Fusées," OC, I, 663.

94 This is one of the most frequently cited entries in "Mon cœur mis à nu" (OC, I, 682-683):

Il y a dans tout homme, à toute heure, deux postulations simultanées, l'une vers Dieu, l'autre vers Satan. L'invocation à Dieu, ou spiritualité, est un désir de monter en grade; celle de Satan, ou animalité, est une joie de descendre. C'est à cette dernière que doivent être rapportés les amours pour les femmes. . . .

95 Paul Arnold, Le Dieu de Baudelaire (Paris: Savel, 1947), p. 60.

96 OC, I, 651.

97 OC, II, 711.

98 Baudelaire, "Mon cœur mis à nu," OC, I, 678.

99 Ibid., p. 683.

- 100 Ibid., p. 677.
- 101 Ibid., p. 676.
- 102 Ibid., p. 700.
- 103 Paul Arnold, Le Dieu de Baudelaire (Paris: Savel, 1947), pp. 62-63.
- 104 Colin A. Burns, "'Architecture secrète': Notes on the Second Edition of 'Les Fleurs du Mal,'" Nottingham French Studies (October 1966), p. 69.
- 105 Baudelaire, "Notes nouvelles sur Edgar Poe," OC, II, 323. In many editions of Baudelaire's works one reads "marqués pour le mal." Pichois states (Note n° 4, OC, II, 1238) that according to Baudelaire's own corrections, the word which should be used is "'marquis,' et non 'marqués' comme on lit dans quelques éditions." Pichois further suggests that the word "marquis" is an allusion to the "'divin Marquis,' l'un des princes du Mal."
- 106 OC, II, 41-42.
- 107 In L'Esprit du mal et l'esthétique baudelairienne, p. 299, Ruff writes:
- A la vérité, il y a peut-être une raison plus subtile de cet acharnement à voir en Baudelaire un anormal. Il a proclamé la perversité de l'homme en général et de lui-même en particulier. Si on le prend à la lettre, on avoue qu'on participe soi-même de cette perversité. Il est plus commode et plus confortable de lui répondre: "Parlez pour vous." Il y a là un réflexe de défense.
- 108 "La Destruction" was entitled "La Volupté" when it was published in the Revue des Deux Mondes, in 1855.
- 109 OC, I, 652.
- 110 OC, I, 402-403.
- 111 Baudelaire, "Notes nouvelles sur Edgar Poe," OC, II, 334.
- 112 Baudelaire, "Fusées," OC, I, 658.
- 113 Baudelaire, "De l'essence du rire et généralement du comique dans les arts plastiques," OC, II, 533.
- 114 Baudelaire, "Théophile Gautier," OC, II, 114.
- 115 Ruff, L'Esprit du mal et l'esthétique baudelairienne, p. 312.
- 116 Jean Prévost, Baudelaire: essai sur l'inspiration et la

création poétiques (Paris: Mercure de France, 1953), p. 125.

117 In Baudelaire (Paris: Hatier-Boivin, 1955), p. 103, Marcel Ruff writes that "l'édition de 1857 est centrée tout entière sur le destin du poète, plutôt que de l'homme en général."

118 Charles Asselineau, Charles Baudelaire: sa vie et son oeuvre, p. 99.

119 OC, I, 181.

120 In The Aristocrat as Art: A Study of the "Honnête Homme" and the "Dandy" in Seventeenth- and Nineteenth-Century French Literature (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 98, Donna C. Stanton writes.

Whether the dandy-writer dismisses his writing as diversion and love for obstacles, or whether he exalts it as a serious agon, he is laying down a double challenge—to the bourgeois perception of the literary work as a commodity for consumption, but primarily to the archbourgeois notion of "work" itself.

In the 1857 edition, Baudelaire's literary dandyism is manifested also in his choice of subjects which shocked bourgeois tastes and morality: crime, sin, vice, ennui, satanism, Evil. Furthermore, in "Dialogue in Baudelaire's Poetic Universe," L'Esprit créateur (Summer 1973), p. 121, Russell S. King argues that the use of dialogue, which is predominant in the pre-1857 poems, is an additional attempt by the dandy-poet to shock the reader:

Thus the speeches, in dialogue form in the pre-1857 poems, are speeches of the poet-dandy, addressing an audience, directly the woman or person addressed, but indirectly a more general "shockable" audience. This in a sense is the role of dialogue in such poems as "Le Vampire," "Tout entière," "La Béatrice," "Femmes damnées" and "Les Métamorphoses du vampire," all of which contain substantial portions of dialogue.

121 Letter to Auguste Poulet-Malassis, 9 December 1856, C, I, 364.

122 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 695.

123 Charles Asselineau, Charles Baudelaire: sa vie et son oeuvre, p. 99.

124 Stanton, The Aristocrat as Art, p. 103.

PART THREE

TRANSFIGURATION--THE DANDY AND THE SAINT: 1858-1867

"Ma phase d'égoïsme  
est-elle finie?"  
--Baudelaire, Hygiène

## CHAPTER I

### EGOISM TRANSFIGURED

#### A. A Spiritual and Literary Reassessment

The first edition of Les Fleurs du Mal went on sale on 25 June 1857. Ten days later, in an article published in Figaro on 5 July, Gustave Bourdin wrote a scathing condemnation of the work: "L'odieux y coudoie l'ignoble; le repoussant s'y allie à l'infect. . . . Ce livre est un hôpital ouvert à toutes les démences de l'esprit, à toutes les putridités du cœur. . . . [R]ien ne peut justifier un homme de plus de trente [ans] d'avoir donné la publicité du livre à de semblables monstruosités."<sup>1</sup> Bourdin's article touched off a chain of events which culminated in the obscenity trial of August 1857. In one sense, the trial sealed Baudelaire's reputation as a "poète maudit." In another sense, however, the trial was a great public humiliation for Baudelaire, for it also represented society's chastisement of the dandy-poet. On 20 August Baudelaire was condemned for having committed "le délit d'outrage à la morale publique et aux bonnes mœurs."<sup>2</sup> The court ordered him to pay a fine of 300 francs, and condemned six poems in the volume.<sup>3</sup>

Like the appointment of the "conseil judiciaire" in 1844, the trial of 1857 was a major humiliation for Baudelaire, and it weighed heavily upon his mind. "Histoire des Fleurs du Mal, humiliation par le

malentendu, et mon procès," he wrote in Mon coeur mis à nu.<sup>4</sup> His feeling of humiliation and of having been misunderstood ran so deep, that as late as 1865, in a letter to Julien Lemer which he wrote from his exile in Belgium, Baudelaire added to a list of his works a projected "Histoire des Fleurs du Mal."<sup>5</sup>

Baudelaire's humiliation brought about a profound reassessment of his spiritual and aesthetic values. The years between the first and second editions of Les Fleurs du Mal were the formative years of his aesthetic maturity, a period after which his spiritual and aesthetic positions did not greatly alter. For Marcel Ruff this period marks Baudelaire's return to the Catholic idea.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, in the Salon de 1859 when Baudelaire speaks of religion as "la plus haute fiction de l'esprit humain," he hastens to add: "[J]e parle exprès comme parlerait un athée professeur de beaux-arts, et rien n'en doit être conclu contre ma foi."<sup>7</sup> And writing about the second edition of Les Fleurs du Mal in a letter to his mother dated 1 April 1861, he stated that "le livre partait d'une idée catholique."<sup>8</sup> This period of reassessment also marks the beginning of the spiritualisation or the transfiguration of Baudelaire's dandyism, a transformation which is manifestly evident in his works published after the first edition of Les Fleurs du Mal. Henceforth his works were to reveal a markedly more spiritual and less egotistical tone.<sup>9</sup>

One of the most striking examples of this transfiguration of the dandy-poet comes to light when one compares two of Baudelaire's works, which were published a number of years apart, on the subject of intoxicants: Du vin et du hachisch, comparés comme moyens de multiplication de l'individualité published in 1851; and Les Paradis artificiels: opium et hachisch published in 1860.<sup>10</sup> The change in

Baudelaire's attitude toward hashish in particular is very illuminating. However, as Maurice Saillet points out, when one compares Du vin et du hachisch with Les Paradis artificiels it is essential to consider Baudelaire's change of view on the subject of intoxicants not as a contradiction or a lack of philosophical consistency, but as a clear sign of the poet's spiritual growth. "Les variations de Baudelaire à l'égard des Excitants illustrent à merveille ce droit de se contredire [dont parle Baudelaire]," Saillet writes. "[I]l importe de considérer Les Paradis artificiels . . . comme un très précieux morceau de géologie intime dont les strates correspondent aux différents âges du poète."<sup>11</sup>

One might argue that since intoxicants enable man to alter his personality and his perception of reality, then the use of intoxicants would appeal to the dandy's desire to construct and to alter at will his own universe around him. Although in Du vin et du hachisch Baudelaire does state that with the use of hashish "c'est la volonté qui est attaquée,"<sup>12</sup> his conclusion on the use of intoxicants is far from damning: "Enfin, le vin est pour le peuple qui travaille et qui mérite d'en boire. Le hachisch appartient à la classe des joies solitaires. . . ."<sup>13</sup>

In Les Paradis artificiels, however, Baudelaire's condemnation of intoxicants is unequivocal. Indeed, the term "artificiel" is the operative word in the title, for hashish as "l'idéal artificiel" is, in Baudelaire's final analysis, "un faux idéal"--a satanic manifestation of "l'Esprit du Mal"<sup>14</sup> in all his glory:

Qu'on prenne, si l'on veut, cette forme de langage pour une métaphore excessive, j'avouerai que les poisons excitants me semblent non-seulement un des plus terribles et des plus sûrs moyens dont dispose l'Esprit des Ténèbres pour enrôler et asservir la déplorable humanité, mais même une de ses

incorporations les plus parfaites.<sup>15</sup>

Under the influence of hashish, the erosion of man's liberty and spiritual integrity culminates in "la croyance de l'individu en sa propre divinité,"<sup>16</sup> which in turn leads to a blasphemous and egotistical avowal of superiority: "Je suis devenu Dieu! . . . toutes ces choses ont été créées pour moi, pour moi, pour moi!"<sup>17</sup> This portrayal of "l'homme-dieu"<sup>18</sup> in Les Paradis artificiels brings to mind Baudelaire's early sketch of himself under the influence of hashish, during the period of the "fantasias" held at the hôtel Pimodan. In the drawing, which dates from the period 1842-1844, Baudelaire is dressed in black and stands larger than life, more than twice as high as the Vendôme column<sup>19</sup>--a representation of "l'homme-dieu" at the centre of creation, or in Baudelaire's case a portrait of the satanic dandy-god of the île Saint-Louis.

In his earlier works Baudelaire had sought to project just such a crafted image of the dandy-poet. However, in Les Paradis artificiels his gaze turns inward, into his own being where he situates what he terms "l'oeil intérieur."<sup>20</sup> The inward-turning gaze, the mood of introspective reflexion in Les Paradis artificiels is tantamount to an abjuration of Baudelaire's earlier phase of egotistical dandyism. In one instance we find a clear condemnation of the figure of the dandy-Narcissus transfixed in self-admiration in front of his own mirror image:

Ajouterai-je que le hachisch, comme toutes les joies solitaires, rend l'individu inutile aux hommes et la société superflue pour l'individu, le poussant à s'admirer sans cesse lui-même et le précipitant jour à jour vers le gouffre lumineux où il admire sa face de Narcisse?<sup>21</sup>

Moreover, throughout Les Paradis artificiels there is indisputably a heightened sense of spirituality, for Baudelaire castigates the spiritual



evil which he associates not only with intoxicants, but also with contemporary discoveries such as ether and chloroform—all of which "au point de vue de la philosophie spiritualiste . . . tendent à diminuer la liberté humaine et l'indispensable douleur."<sup>22</sup> He finds redemptive value in work and inner contemplation—"la rédemption . . . par le travail successif et la contemplation"<sup>23</sup>--a value which stands in sharp contrast to the indolence of the dandy--"Un Dandy ne fait rien."<sup>24</sup> To "ce paradis d'occasion" which hashish offers man, Baudelaire opposes the simple virtue of "l'exercice assidu de la volonté."<sup>25</sup> Man's "goût de l'infini"<sup>26</sup> often leads him astray in his quest to regain paradise, but at the end of "Le Poème du hachisch" Baudelaire warns: "Qu'est-ce qu'un paradis qu'on achète au prix de son salut éternel?"<sup>27</sup> In Les Paradis artificiels the dandy of Baudelaire's early years has clearly undergone a spiritualisation. Like the mysterious J.G.F.<sup>28</sup> addressed in the dedication prefacing the work--the unidentified woman "qui tourne maintenant tous ses regards vers le Ciel, ce lieu de toutes les transfigurations"<sup>29</sup>--now too Baudelaire the dandy turns his gaze from his mirror and looks upward.

Throughout Baudelaire's works, the struggle to maintain control over the will is a central feature of his ethics and his aesthetics. "De la vaporisation et de la centralisation du Moi. Tout est là," reads the very first entry in Mon cœur mis à nu.<sup>30</sup> In Les Paradis artificiels Baudelaire also laments the destruction and the vaporisation of man's will--a will which is usurped by intoxicants. Specifically, for the artist, drug-induced dreams--or rather "hallucinations" as Baudelaire terms them in the third section of "Le Poème du hachisch"--do not constitute the raw material of a work of art, precisely because the

artist is not in control of his own will. "L'homme a voulu rêver, le rêve gouvernera l'homme," Baudelaire writes.<sup>31</sup> Marc Eigeldinger argues that dreams must be tamed, organised and recomposed before becoming the substance of poetry, and that requires an effort of "la volonté lucide": "Mais le rêve ne devient matière d'art et de poésie que s'il est volontaire et gouverné par la Conscience, reconstruit et structuré par l'intervention de l'esprit. . . ."32

In Baudelaire's terms, the shaping of the poetic vision or dream is achieved through the exercise of the creative imagination, which is directly dependent upon the freedom of a lucid will. "[L]'Imagination seule contient la poésie," writes Baudelaire in his essay on Théophile Gautier published in 1859.<sup>33</sup> When one accepts that "la condition génératrice des oeuvres d'art, c'est . . . l'amour exclusif du Beau, l'Idée fixe,"<sup>34</sup> art has a profoundly spiritualising virtue which offers man a glimpse of "un paradis révélé"--not an artificial paradise, but an eternal paradise:

C'est cet admirable, cet immortel instinct du Beau qui nous fait considérer la Terre et ses spectacles comme un aperçu, comme une correspondance du Ciel. . . . Ainsi le principe de la poésie est, strictement et simplement, l'aspiration humaine vers une Beauté supérieure, et la manifestation de ce principe est dans un enthousiasme, un enlèvement de l'âme. . . .<sup>35</sup>

Such a spiritual conception of poetry is far removed from the superficial nature and the intent to shock inherent in the title of Samuel Cramer's Orfraies or the young Baudelaire's Les Lesbiennes. As we have already seen, in his early works Baudelaire's ironic pose of the dandy-poet was in part intended to shock the public. But in the Salon de 1859, Baudelaire states that it is the aesthetic value of a work which must take precedence over its "shock" value. "Je parlais tout à l'heure

des artistes qui cherchent à étonner le public," he writes. "Parce que le Beau est toujours étonnant, il serait absurde de supposer que ce qui est étonnant est toujours beau."<sup>36</sup> Here again, then, is a clear indication of the transition in Baudelaire's aesthetic of artistic dandyism.

Baudelaire only touches briefly upon his theory of the creative imagination in his essay on Gautier, but his discussion of "cette reine des facultés"<sup>37</sup> is at the very heart of his Salon de 1859. His analysis of individual artists is entirely centred on this theme. The work is a vast elaboration on the nature of the imagination, and as such it represents one of Baudelaire's most profound writings on his aesthetic theory. From the very beginning of the Salon, Baudelaire speaks out vehemently against "la médiocrité . . . et le calme plat de la fatuité"<sup>38</sup> which characterised the "official" art of the period. "L'artiste, aujourd'hui et depuis de nombreuses années," he writes, "est, malgré son absence de mérite, un simple enfant gâté."<sup>39</sup> The majority of contemporary artists—"faiseurs de babioles actuelles," Baudelaire calls them<sup>40</sup>—were skilled but mediocre talents coddled by an indiscriminating public that was unappreciative of the creative imagination of a truly great artist such as Eugène Delacroix. And Baudelaire attributed the general debasement of art to the artist's lack of imagination. "Discrédit de l'imagination, mépris du grand, amour (non, ce mot est trop beau), pratique exclusive du métier," he writes, "telles sont, je crois, quant à l'artiste, les raisons principales de son abaissement."<sup>41</sup>

The general public of the mid-nineteenth century, caught up in the great swell of technological progress and the ethic of utilitarianism, found little value in the aesthetics of the poetic imagination. "Le goût

exclusif du Vrai . . . opprime ici et étouffe le goût du Beau," Baudelaire complains. "Où il faudrait ne voir que le Beau . . . , notre public ne cherche que le Vrai."<sup>42</sup> In particular, "une industrie nouvelle"<sup>43</sup>--photography--symbolised for Baudelaire the triumph of technology over aesthetics. He was convinced that "les progrès mal appliqués de la photographie ont beaucoup contribué, comme d'ailleurs tous les progrès purement matériels, à l'appauvrissement du génie artistique. . . ."<sup>44</sup> For Baudelaire, "[l'imagination] est l'analyse, elle est la synthèse. . . . Elle est la sensibilité."<sup>45</sup> The implication of these equations is clear: without imagination, the artist becomes a mere copier, an imitator, a skilled technician.<sup>46</sup>

In a more general sense, Baudelaire deplored the idolatry of material progress since it was indicative of a diminishing of man's spiritual sensitivity. "[D]ans ce culte niais de la nature, non épurée, non expliquée par l'imagination," he writes, "je vois un signe évident d'abaissement général."<sup>47</sup> For Baudelaire, one of the links between man and the spiritual lay in the faculty of the imagination. Throughout the Salon de 1859 he repeatedly underscores the divine origin of the imagination, most notably in his translation of a passage from a work by a contemporary English author, Catherine Crowe:

Par imagination je ne veux pas seulement exprimer l'idée commune impliquée dans ce mot dont on fait si grand abus, laquelle est simplement fantaisie, mais bien l'imagination créatrice, qui est une fonction beaucoup plus élevée, et qui, en tant que l'homme est fait à la ressemblance de Dieu, garde un rapport éloigné avec cette puissance sublime par laquelle le Créateur conçoit, crée et entretient son univers.<sup>48</sup>

In denying the imagination, therefore, modern man was, in Baudelaire's view, severing one of his last links with the divine.

In the works published between the first and second edition of Les

Fleurs du Mal, then, Baudelaire's point of view clearly takes on a more universal and a more spiritual dimension than was the case in his early works. The concern that he expresses in these later works about the spiritual erosion inherent in man's blind faith in "la Fatuité moderne . . . et le progrès"<sup>49</sup> is admirably and succinctly summed up in his intimate journals:

Quoi de plus absurde que le Progrès . . . ?<sup>50</sup>

Il ne peut y avoir de progrès (vrai, c'est-à-dire moral) que dans l'individu et par l'individu lui-même.<sup>51</sup>

Théorie de la vraie civilisation. Elle n'est pas dans le gaz, ni dans la vapeur, ni dans les tables tournantes, elle est dans la diminution des traces du péché originel.<sup>52</sup>

Margaret Gilman sees in the works of this period of reassessment in Baudelaire's life an indication of "a period of questioning, of uncertainty, of pondering over the whole problem of the relation of art to life, to philosophy, to religion."<sup>53</sup>

It is also a period during which the young dandy-poet of the early works matured, and the most dramatic evidence of the transfiguration of the dandy is to be seen in the architectural changes made in the 1861 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal. In turning away from a total egotistical preoccupation with the self, Baudelaire's vision expands to a universal consideration of modern man's spiritual condition.

#### B. The 1861 Edition of Les Fleurs du Mal

The judgement of 20 August 1857 was a shattering blow which left Baudelaire discouraged and disheartened in the months immediately following. The sentence of the court was the catastrophic fulfilment of

his apprehension of being misunderstood, despite the precautions he had taken which he felt would ensure that Les Fleurs du Mal would not be misjudged. The epigraph, taken from Les Tragiques of Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, was intended to justify his examination of Evil in the volume. The prologue "Au lecteur," in which man's obstinacy in sin is attributed to the machinations of Satan, was intended to be a further moral justification and explanation, as was the precautionary note which headed the "Révolte" section in the 1857 edition. But all of these precautions were of no avail. Baudelaire even felt that the title, which had been chosen so carefully, had failed to serve its purpose. "J'ai eu le malheur," he wrote to the *Empress*, "d'être condamné pour un recueil de poésies intitulé: Les Fleurs du Mal, l'horrible franchise de mon titre ne m'ayant pas suffisamment protégé."<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, since "le livre portait d'une idée catholique,"<sup>55</sup> the fact that the volume had been judged to be offensive to religious, as well as social, morals represented for Baudelaire the ultimate misunderstanding of his work.<sup>56</sup> "S'il y a quelque gloire à n'être pas compris, ou à ne l'être que très peu," he wrote, "je peux dire, sans vanterie, que, par ce petit livre, je l'ai acquise. . . ."<sup>57</sup>

Although he was exhausted and discouraged,<sup>58</sup> Baudelaire was not defeated. By Christmas of 1857 he was already thinking of publishing a second edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, even if this would require him to become a poet, if not by inspiration, then "artificiellement, par volonté."<sup>59</sup> At first, he planned simply to replace the six condemned poems. "Je frissonne de paresse," he wrote to his mother on Christmas Day 1857, "en pensant qu'il faudra, pour que ce livre puisse se vendre légalement, le réimprimer tout entier, et composer six poèmes nouveaux

pour remplacer les six condamnés."<sup>60</sup> Within a year, however, the projected number of new poems had more than tripled. "Je commence à croire qu'au lieu de six fleurs," Baudelaire wrote to Poulet-Malassis in early November 1858, "j'en ferai vingt."<sup>61</sup> It was during his stay with his mother at Honfleur in 1859 that Baudelaire experienced, in the tranquillity of the little house known as "la Maison-Joujou," a renaissance of his inspiration and creativity. "Ici, dans le repos, la faconde m'est revenue," he wrote to Sainte-Beuve.<sup>62</sup> During his stay at Honfleur Baudelaire probably first conceived his idea for the frontispiece which he planned to include in the second edition.<sup>63</sup> It was also at Honfleur, in February of 1859, that Baudelaire composed "Le Voyage," and it was from Honfleur that he sent copies of "Le Voyage" and "L'Albatros" to his friends.

By 1859, then, the second edition of Les Fleurs du Mal was well under way. By adding thirty-two new poems, by altering the architecture of the work, and by planning to include a frontispiece of his own conception, Baudelaire hoped that in his new edition he would not be misunderstood. "Je m'arrangerai de façon à être bien compris," he wrote to Alphonse de Calonne. "Il n'y aura plus que les gens d'une mauvaise foi absolue qui ne comprendront pas l'impersonnalité volontaire de mes poésies."<sup>64</sup> Baudelaire maintained that "tous les morceaux nouveaux . . . étaient tous faits pour le cadre."<sup>65</sup> However, it is unlikely that all of the new poems were expressly composed for the positions they occupy in the 1861 edition. Neither is it likely that all of the new poems were composed between 1857 and 1861. A case in point is "L'Albatros," which according to Prarond and others dated from the 1840s, probably from the time of Baudelaire's sea journey.<sup>66</sup> In any event, the thirty-two poems

added in the 1861 edition were new to Les Fleurs du Mal.

"L'Albatros" is the first of the new poems which the reader encounters in the 1861 edition. It replaces "Le Soleil" which is transposed to the new section entitled "Tableaux parisiens."<sup>67</sup> The albatros—"ce voyageur ailé"<sup>68</sup>--tortured and mocked by the sailors, is an allegory of the poet who too is mocked and misunderstood by men. In an autobiographical sense, the poem may be construed as a rather bitter reminiscence of Baudelaire's experience of the summer of 1857. Thematically, however, the poem is better suited to the opening of the volume than was "Le Soleil" in the 1857 edition, for "L'Albatros" is a continuation of the theme of "Bénédiction." In both poems the poet is misunderstood, and is consequently mocked and put to the test of suffering. In replacing "Le Soleil" with "L'Albatros," the beginning of the cycle of art is made much more cohesive thematically.

The tone of the conclusion of the cycle of art is altered in particular by the addition of "Le Masque." The poem adds a much stronger spiritual and universal dimension to the cycle of art--a dimension which is lacking in this cycle in the 1857 edition. In "Bénédiction," for example, redemptive suffering is described solely in relation to the poet. However, in "Le Masque" the poet looks beyond himself to find spiritual sustenance in the suffering--"l'indispensable douleur," Baudelaire writes in Les Paradis artificiels<sup>69</sup>--of the universal human mask of the statue: ". . . mon âme s'abreuve / Aux flots que la Douleur fait jaillir de tes yeux!" The human mask weeps for having lived, and for living--"comme nous!"<sup>70</sup> As one reads through the 1861 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, "Le Masque" is the first evidence of a shift away from a preoccupation with the destiny of the artist, toward a more universal and



compassionate consideration of man in general. And this shift is an indication of the spiritualisation and the transfiguration of egoism which becomes increasingly apparent in Baudelaire's works after 1857.

This shift is evident not only in the new poems added in the second edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, but also in the general restructuring and reorganising of the volume. In the 1861 edition the cycle of spleen is so completely restructured that the tone of the entire volume is significantly changed. Excluding "L'Irrémédiable," the fourteen poems which follow the four "Spleen" poems in the 1857 edition are repositioned in the 1861 edition. The last seven poems of this group are now placed before the quartet of "Spleen" poems, while the other seven poems are transposed to the new section, "Tableaux parisiens." In the 1857 edition, "La Musique" and "La Pipe" close the cycle of spleen upon a rather optimistic note. Music soothes the poet, and his pipe is "un puissant dictame" which offers some respite from his anguish and ennui. However, the new position of "La Pipe" near the beginning of the cycle of spleen reveals that the "puissant dictame" has become a passing illusion, a powerless remedy for a spirit "comblé de douleur." Likewise, the new position of "La Musique" indicates that music can no longer soothe the poet; it is now simply the "grand miroir / De [son] désespoir!"

In the 1861 edition, the poet's meditation in the cycle of spleen ends upon a resonant note of despair with "L'Héautontimorouménos," "L'Irrémédiable," and a new poem, "L'Horloge." In the 1857 edition the powerful concluding line of "L'Irrémédiable"--"La conscience dans le Mal!"--is somewhat obscured by the thirteen poems, thematically incoherent as a group, which terminate the section. However, in the 1861 edition "L'Irrémédiable," together with "L'Héautontimorouménos," serve as

a very forceful epilogue to the cycle of spleen.<sup>71</sup> "L'Horloge," the new poem which now ends the "Spleen et idéal" section, resounds a theme which is echoed throughout the entire volume: "la clepsydre se vide." The poem is a cry of despair--not only of the poet, but of "chaque homme"--a cry of fear that it is perhaps too late to salvage a life caught in the abyss of Evil, too late to achieve a unity of man with God, of man with the universe. It is poems such as "L'Irrémédiable" and "L'Horloge," with their note of urgency, with their frightful reminders of the dangers inherent in the pursuit of Evil, which make of Les Fleurs du Mal "un livre qui ne respire que la terreur et l'horreur du Mal."<sup>72</sup>

The cycle of spleen in the 1861 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal presents a much more sombre and pessimistic vision than is presented in the 1857 version. Indeed, all of the new poems added to the cycle of spleen are permeated by a mood of nihilism. In the first edition, the termination of the cycle with "La Musique" and "La Pipe" leaves the reader with the impression that for the poet at least it is possible to escape the state of spleen. Man in general is denied such an escape since in "La Pipe" it is solely the poet's salvation which is in question. However, in the second edition the focus of the entire cycle is shifted from the poet's evasion of reality (and his state of spleen) to the question of the salvation of man in general. Thus, the cycle no longer ends with the consideration of the artist's destiny, but is universalised to include that of "chaque homme" ("L'Horloge").

To recapitulate, the "Spleen et idéal" section in the 1857 edition closes, as it opens, upon the consideration of the destiny of the poet. However, in the 1861 version the poet appears in a much more objective role and becomes a witness of the human condition. As a result, there is

a much closer identification between the poet and mankind, as Ruff points out:

Il semble bien que se manifeste là l'intention de donner une portée plus étendue à cet examen de conscience, et, en omettant les attributs et privilèges de l'artiste, d'évoquer dans la conscience du lecteur un écho plus direct et plus profond.<sup>73</sup>

The broadening of the scope of Baudelaire's vision of man is evident in the new section which immediately follows—"Tableaux parisiens." Of the eighteen poems in this section, ten are new. The section itself possesses a rigid interior unity. In order to examine all facets of life in the capital, the section is set within the temporal framework of a twenty-four hour period. The first half of the section consists of a series of diurnal poems, and the last half consists of a series of nocturnal poems. In "Le Crépuscule du matin," the section closes, as it opens, with the dawning of a new day in the city.

In this study of the city, Baudelaire paints a series of vignettes of what he describes as "le paysage des grandes villes" in the Salon de 1859:

[C]'est-à-dire la collection des grandeurs et des beautés qui résultent d'une puissante agglomération d'hommes et de monuments, le charme profond et compliqué d'une capitale âgée et vieillie dans les gloires et les tribulations de la vie.<sup>74</sup>

The beauty which Baudelaire found in the spectacle of the city was not in its architecture and monuments, however, but rather in the human drama which daily unfolded there. Consequently, the "Tableaux parisiens" section is a refrain of Les Fleurs du Mal as a whole, and Baudelaire's main theme of the relationship between man and Evil is echoed throughout the entire section. In Ruff's words, these eighteen poems are "des tableaux du Mal sous ses formes spécifiquement parisiennes."<sup>75</sup>

Although the poet is essentially a witness of the Evil which reigns over the inhabitants of "Tableaux parisiens," he does not distance himself spiritually or morally from them. Even "dandys à face glabre" are not set apart from the wretched, the poor and the aged, for all are caught up in "Le branle universel de la danse macabre" ("Danse macabre"). By mingling with the crowd, by taking "un bain de multitude" as Baudelaire says in "Les Foules" in Petits Poèmes en prose—by adopting as his own "toutes les professions, toutes les joies et toutes les misères que la circonstance lui présente"<sup>76</sup>--the poet himself assumes the role of "[un] damné quotidien de la capitale."<sup>77</sup> As a result, a bond of empathy is established between himself and the characters who people this section. Such is the case in "Les Petites Vieilles":

Je vois s'épanouir vos passions novices;  
Sombres ou lumineux, je vis vos jours perdus;  
Mon cœur multiplié jouit de tous vos vices!  
Mon âme resplendit de toutes vos vertus!

Ruines! ma famille! ô cerveaux congénères!

It is because of this feeling of intimacy with the inhabitants of the city that the poet is able to express such great compassion for their suffering in "A une mendiante rousse," "Les Sept Vieillards," "Les Petites Vieilles," "Les Aveugles," "Le Crépuscule du soir." His presence never overshadows the universal human suffering of which he is a witness.

What "Tableaux parisiens" ultimately achieves is to universalise the themes presented in the "Spleen et idéal" section. In taking his themes and images from the common life of the city, Baudelaire not only greatly broadens the scope of his vision of man, but he also intensifies the human resonance of the entire volume and strikes a sympathetic chord in his audience.<sup>78</sup> In this way, according to T.S. Eliot, Baudelaire creates a mode of expression for all of mankind:

It is not merely in the use of imagery of common life, not merely in the use of imagery of the sordid life of a great metropolis, but in the elevation of such imagery to the first intensity--presenting it as it is, and yet making it represent something much more than itself--that Baudelaire has created a mode of release and expression for other men.<sup>79</sup>

The section entitled "Le Vin" follows immediately after "Tableaux parisiens" in the 1861 edition. In the first edition the section on wine stood second last, preceding the section on death. The reason for this architectural alteration is not at first evident. The order of the poems in this section remains the same as it was in the 1857 edition. No poems have been removed, nor have any new poems been added. In the 1857 edition "Le Vin" is thematically complementary to the section entitled "La Mort." Since wine offers the poet a method of escaping ennui, of fleeing "Vers le paradis de [ses] rêves" ("Le Vin des amants"), the section on wine is well suited to the optimistic conclusion of the 1857 edition. Moreover, the transition between these two sections is almost imperceptible in the first edition, since the first poem in the section on death--"La Mort des amants"--is in essence a continuation of the last poem in the section on wine--"Le Vin des amants." However, as we have seen earlier in our discussion of Du vin et du hachisch and Les Paradis artificiels, Baudelaire's attitude toward intoxicants changed after 1857. In Les Paradis artificiels he condemns "tous les excès coupables, depuis l'ivresse solitaire et concentrée du littérateur . . . obligé de chercher dans l'opium un soulagement . . . jusqu'à l'ivrognerie la plus répugnante des faubourgs. . . ."80 Wine, therefore, is no longer viewed by Baudelaire as a support for man in his suffering. Far from being "profondément humain,"81 wine erodes the human will. Since it is ultimately Satan who vaporises "le riche métal de notre volonté" ("Au

lecteur"), then wine too is one of Satan's instruments. The change in Baudelaire's attitude toward intoxicants accounts for the change of position which "Le Vin" undergoes in the 1861 edition. In "Tableaux parisiens" and "Fleurs du Mal," the machinations of Satan are clearly denounced. The section on wine, then, is well suited to its new position between these two sections, for the five poems in "Le Vin" now constitute an additional study of the relationship between man and Evil. Furthermore, "Le Vin" now serves as an extension of "Tableaux parisiens" in that the poet has, in both of these sections, looked beyond himself to examine the destiny of man in general.

The transposition of "Le Vin" also greatly alters the conclusion of the volume. In the 1857 edition, "Le Vin" terminates the work upon a rather optimistic note which is repeated in the theme of resurrection in "La Mort des amants," "La Mort des pauvres," and "La Mort des artistes." However, the new poems added to "La Mort" dictate a change in the architecture of the volume. "Le Vin" is no longer compatible with the augmented section on death. Instead, the triple thunder of "Fleurs du Mal," "Révolte," and "La Mort" makes a much more forceful conclusion to the work. As Jean Pommier states, the transposition of the section on wine in the 1861 edition "procure à la trilogie qu'elle interrompait une condensation bien plus forte."<sup>82</sup>

The conclusion of the 1861 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal is much graver and much more pessimistic than the conclusion of the first edition. By virtue of the three new poems added to the section on death the theme of revolt evolves even further to encompass man's ultimate expression of revolt—the revolt against existence itself. In "La Fin de la journée" we find that "la Vie" is denounced as being "sans raison,"

"impudente" and "criarde." In the three poems which constituted "La Mort" in the 1857 edition, the poet saw in death a symbol of the spiritual transcendence of the state of Evil in which man exists. Indeed, these poems were in one sense revelations of "les splendeurs situées derrière le tombeau," as Baudelaire writes in Notes nouvelles sur Edgar Poe<sup>83</sup>--revelations of a rebirth after death. However, by 1861 Baudelaire's attitude toward death had changed considerably. Death no longer represented a triumph over ennui. In "Le Rêve d'un curieux" the poet dreams that he is a spectator in a theatre, anxiously waiting for his death to reveal the splendours behind the tomb. But he is surprised to discover that death reveals nothing and changes nothing:

Enfin la vérité froide se révéla:  
 J'étais mort sans surprise, et la terrible aurore  
 M'enveloppait. --Eh quoi! n'est-ce donc que cela?  
 La toile était levée et j'attendais encore.

This apprehension is also voiced earlier in "Le Squelette laboureur," one of the new poems in "Tableaux parisiens."

At most, the poet concludes that death will only obliterate the consciousness of the anguish of existence. Death is no longer a transcendence, but simply a deliverance--"la délivrance absolue, la délivrance de tout," Baudelaire wrote to his mother.<sup>84</sup> In "Le Voyage" death is viewed as just such a release from the torments of life:

O Mort, vieux capitaine, il est temps! levons l'ancre!  
 Ce pays nous ennuie, ô Mort! Appareillons!

Verse-nous ton poison pour qu'il nous reconforte!  
 Nous voulons, tant ce feu nous brûle le cerveau,  
 Plonger au fond du gouffre, Enfer ou Ciel, qu'importe?  
 Au fond de l'Inconnu pour trouver du nouveau!

Whether this deliverance leads to heaven or to hell is not clear.<sup>85</sup>

"N'importe où! n'importe où! pourvu que ce soit hors de ce monde!" utters the exasperated soul in "Any Where Out of the World,"<sup>86</sup> the prose

counterpart of "Le Voyage." The three poems added to "La Mort" definitely alter the tone of the entire section, and consequently the tone of the entire volume. With the addition of these poems, the movement within the section becomes more attuned to the movement of Les Fleurs du Mal as a whole, for there is now in "La Mort" an interior movement—similar to the interior movements in the love cycles and in the entire "Spleen et idéal" section—which progresses from the ideal to the splenetic.

In the second edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, Baudelaire's vision of man is greatly universalised to include the destiny of man in general.<sup>87</sup> In terms of Baudelaire's spirituality, in the first edition the poet somewhat arrogantly assumes that his own salvation will be granted. In the second edition, specifically in poems such as "Le Voyage," the efficacy of divine grace is not denied, but damnation is also postulated: "Enfer ou Ciel, qu'importe?" This is the double postulation in man of which Baudelaire writes in what is one of the key passages in Mon coeur mis à nu: "Il y a dans tout homme, à toute heure, deux postulations simultanées, l'une vers Dieu, l'autre vers Satan."<sup>88</sup> The change of tone brought about by architectural alterations in the second edition intensifies the feeling of the horror of Evil. Consequently, Baudelaire's vision of man is more spiritually poignant in the second edition—the 1861 edition which throughout gives evidence of a profound spiritual concern lacking in Baudelaire's early works, among which we include the 1857 edition. We find it impossible, therefore, to agree with Mossop's contention that the two editions are essentially identical.<sup>89</sup>

The spirituality and the universality of the 1861 edition of Les



Fleurs du Mal are a most eloquent answer to the question which Baudelaire asks in his journal: "Ma phase d'égoïsme est-elle finie?"<sup>90</sup> Without question, the egoism of the dandy-poet has been transfigured.

Notes

PART THREE: CHAPTER I

1 Cited in Baudelaire devant ses contemporains, ed. Bandy and Pichois, pp. 13-14.

2 Jean Pommier, Autour de l'édition originale des "Fleurs du Mal" (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), p. 91. For further details about Baudelaire's trial, consult pp. 58-97.

3 The fine was later reduced to 50 francs, due to the intervention of Empress Eugénie in the matter. See Baudelaire's letter to the Empress, dated 6 November 1857 (C, I, 432). The six poems condemned were: "Les Bijoux," "Le Léthé," "A celle qui est trop gaie," "Lesbos," "Femmes damnées" ("A la pâle clarté . . ."), and "Les Métamorphoses du vampire."

4 OC, I, 685.

5 Letter of 3 February 1865, C, II, 445.

6 Marcel A. Ruff, "Les années climatériques de Baudelaire," L'Information littéraire (septembre-octobre 1955), pp. 133-137.

7 OC, II, 628.

8 C, II, 141.

9 In L'Esprit du mal, p. 329, Marcel Ruff points out that the humiliation caused by the appointment of the "conseil judiciaire" had also brought about in Baudelaire a socially oriented spiritual reaction: "[L]a crise de 1844-1845 avait été accompagnée et suivie d'un grand élan de spiritualité qui s'était alors orienté, sous l'effet de l'entourage et des circonstances, vers la religiosité humaine. . . ."

10 Du vin et du hachisch was published in serial form in Le Messager de l'Assemblée in March 1851. Baudelaire reworked part of this text and published the revised version under the title De l'idéal artificiel - le hachisch in the Revue contemporaine in September 1858. In January 1860 he published Enchantements et tortures d'un mangeur d'opium in the Revue contemporaine. The text on opium was an adaptation of Thomas de Quincey's Confessions of an English Opium Eater, to which Baudelaire added his own reflexions and commentaries. Finally, Baudelaire published the 1858 text on hashish and the 1860 text on opium under the title Les Paradis artificiels: opium et hachisch which went on sale at the end of May 1860. The two major sections in Les Paradis artificiels carry separate subtitles: "Le Poème du hachisch" and "Un mangeur d'opium."

- 11 Maurice Saillet, Sur la route de Narcisse (Paris: Mercure de France, 1958), pp. 97, 99.
- 12 OC, I, 396.
- 13 OC, I, 397.
- 14 Baudelaire, "Les Paradis artificiels," OC, I, 403.
- 15 OC, I, 428-429.
- 16 OC, I, 430.
- 17 OC, I, 437.
- 18 OC, I, 426.
- 19 The sketch is reproduced in Pichois' Album Baudelaire (Paris: Gallimard, 1974), p. 34.
- 20 OC, I, 431.
- 21 OC, I, 440.
- 22 OC, I, 439.
- 23 OC, I, 441.
- 24 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 684.
- 25 OC, I, 441.
- 26 OC, I, 402.
- 27 OC, I, 441.
- 28 The mysterious initials J.G.F. have been interpreted in a variety of fashions: Jeanne Gentille Femme, Jeanne Grande Femme, Jeanne Généreuse Femme. René Galand--"Une énigme baudelairienne," The Romantic Review (April 1967), pp. 77-82--proposes "Jeanne glorieux fantôme," arguing that Jeanne Duval had inspired the four sonnets under the general title "Un fantôme" which were published in L'Artiste in 1860. Louis Levionnois--"De la dédicataire des 'Paradis artificiels,'" Bulletin baudelairien (hiver 1977), p. 16--concludes that the meaning of the initials is not of great importance. "Qu'il nous suffise," he writes, "et c'est déjà considérable, de savoir que Jeanne Duval a toute chance d'être la dédicataire des Paradis artificiels. . . ."
- 29 Baudelaire, "Les Paradis artificiels," OC, I, 400.
- 30 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 676.
- 31 Baudelaire, "Les Paradis artificiels," OC, I, 409.

32 Marc Eigeldinger, "Baudelaire et le rêve maîtrisé," Romantisme, 15 (1977), 37. Eigeldinger (p. 40) suggests that "Rêve parisien" is an excellent example of the "rêve maîtrisé":

C'est le "Rêve parisien" qui, dans Les Fleurs du Mal, donne la mesure de ce qu'est le songe créateur de poésie. Exemple privilégié du rêve maîtrisé il évoque un paysage urbain, né des miracles du sommeil et entièrement reconstruit au gré des exigences de la conscience poétique.

33 Baudelaire, "Théophile Gautier", OC, II, 115.

34 Ibid., p. 111.

35 Ibid., pp. 113-114.

36 Baudelaire, "Salon de 1859," OC, II, 616.

37 Baudelaire, "Salon de 1859," OC, II, 620. Writing on Ingres in the Exposition universelle (1855), Baudelaire also described the imagination as "cette reine des facultés" (OC, II, 585). And in Notes nouvelles sur Edgar Poe, published in 1857, he again used the same expression (OC, II, 328). Robert Vivier—"Critique et métaphysique," Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France (avril-juin 1967), p. 423--offers an interesting definition of the Baudelairean imagination:

L'imagination au sens baudelairien du mot est en effet autre chose que la faculté de percevoir et de retenir. . . . Elle met en branle la perception, réveille la mémoire, oriente le calcul. Plutôt qu'une faculté c'est une énergie, et si elle est la reine des facultés c'est parce qu'elle les convoque, les exalte et les conduit.

38 Baudelaire, "Salon de 1859," OC, II, 610.

39 Ibid., p. 611.

40 Ibid., p. 612.

41 Ibid., p. 612.

42 Ibid., p. 616.

43 Ibid., p. 616.

44 Ibid., p. 618.

45 Ibid., pp. 620-621.

46 In terms of dandyism, as we have seen in the first part of this study the would-be dandy who lacked imagination could never be more than a mere emulator of Beau Brummell.

- 47 "Salon de 1859," OC, II, 660.
- 48 "Salon de 1859," OC, II, 624. The passage in question is from Catherine Crowe's The Night Side of Nature which was published in 1848. Elsewhere in the Salon de 1859--OC, II, 621--Baudelaire writes of the divine nature of the imagination: "C'est l'imagination qui a enseigné à l'homme le sens moral. . . . Elle est positivement apparentée avec l'infini."
- 49 "Salon de 1859," OC, II, 618.
- 50 "Fusées," OC, I, 663.
- 51 "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 681.
- 52 "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 697.
- 53 Margaret Gilman, Baudelaire the Critic (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1971); p. 71.
- 54 Letter of 6 November 1857, C, I, 432.
- 55 Letter to Madame Aupick, 1 April 1861, C, II, 141.
- 56 In "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 707, Baudelaire inveighs against the bourgeois morality that had brought about the condemnation of his work:

Tous les imbéciles de la Bourgeoisie qui prononcent sans cesse les mots: "immoral, immoralité, moralité dans l'art" et autres bêtises, me font penser à Louise Villedieu, putain à cinq francs, qui m'accompagnant une fois au Louvre, où elle n'était jamais allée, se mit à rougir, à se couvrir le visage, et me tirant à chaque instant par la manche, me demandait, devant les statues et les tableaux immortels, comment on pouvait étaler publiquement de pareilles indécences.

- 57 Baudelaire, "Projet de préface pour 'Les Fleurs du Mal,'" OC, I, 184.
- 58 On Christmas Day 1857 Baudelaire sent his mother a truly pathetic letter (C, I, 435-436) in which he wrote:

[J]e suis tombé depuis plusieurs mois dans une de ces affreuses langueurs qui interrompent tout; ma table est depuis le commencement du mois chargée d'épreuves auxquelles je n'avais pas le courage de mettre la main. . . . Ces maudites fêtes ont le privilège de nous rappeler cruellement la fuite du temps, et comme il est mal rempli, et comme il est plein de douleurs! . . . Je suis dans un état assez pitoyable, d'esprit et de corps, à ce point que j'envie le sort de tout

le monde.

Five days later he again wrote to her concerning his unbearable feeling of discouragement (C, I, 437-438):

Mais ce que je sens, c'est un immense découragement, une sensation d'isolement insupportable, une peur perpétuelle d'un malheur vague, une défiance complète de mes forces, une absence totale de désirs, une impossibilité de trouver un amusement quelconque.

59 Letter to Madame Aupick, 19 February 1858, C, I, 451.

60 Letter to Madame Aupick, 25 December 1857, C, I, 436. The six condemned poems were not in fact replaced in the 1861 edition. The positions occupied by these six poems in the 1857 edition are left as breaches in the structure of the 1861 edition. See the Comparative Table of the first two editions in the Appendix.

61 Letter to Auguste Poulet-Malassis, around 5 November 1858, C, I, 522.

62 Letter to Sainte-Beuve, 21 February 1859, C, I, 553.

63 See the letter to Nadar, 16 May 1859, C, I, 575-580. Poulet-Malassis proposed that Félix Bracquemond design the frontispiece. Claude Pichois has reproduced excerpts from the correspondence of Poulet-Malassis to Bracquemond concerning the progress of the engraving for the frontispiece in Baudelaire: études et témoignages (Neuchâtel: Editions de la Bacoisnière, 1967), pp. 187-200. Baudelaire was never satisfied with Bracquemond's work, so the project was abandoned.

64 Letter to Alphonse de Calonne, 10 November 1858, C, I, 522-523.

65 Letter to Madame Aupick, 1 April 1861, C, II, 141. See also Baudelaire's letter to Alfred de Vigny, around 16 December 1861, C, II, 195-196.

66 Jacques Crépet et Georges Blin, "Notes critiques," Les Fleurs du Mal (Paris: Librairie José Corti, 1942), pp. 289-291.

67 See the Comparative Table of the first two editions of Les Fleurs du Mal in the Appendix.

68 Baudelaire, "L'Albatros," OC, I, 10. All subsequent citations from the 1861 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal shall be taken from this source.

69 Baudelaire, "Les Paradis artificiels," OC, I, 439.

70 The well-known statue by Ernest Christophe inspired Baudelaire's "Le Masque." In the Salon de 1859 (OC, II, 678) Baudelaire described "le secret de l'allégorie, la morale de la fable" of Christophe's bicephalous statue of a woman:

Ce qui avait d'abord enchanté vos yeux, c'était un masque, c'était le masque universel, votre masque, mon masque, joli éventail dont une main habile se sert pour voiler aux yeux du monde la douleur ou le remords.

Pichois has included photographs revealing the mask and the face of the statue in Album Baudelaire (Paris: Gallimard, 1974), p. 262.

71 In his letter of 7 April 1855 (C, I, 312), Baudelaire wrote to Victor de Mars that he was preparing an epilogue for the eighteen poems which were to be published, under the title Les Fleurs du Mal, in the Revue des Deux Mondes in June of 1855. The description which Baudelaire gave of the piece is in large part a description of "L'Héautontimorouménos." From this evidence, the poem was then originally intended to serve in the rôle of a conclusion. This it does in the 1861 edition, bringing to a powerful conclusion the major section of the work—"Spleen et idéal."

72 Baudelaire's letter to Achille Fould, 20 July 1857, C, I, 416.

73 Ruff, L'Esprit du mal et l'esthétique baudelairienne, p. 340.

74 Baudelaire, "Salon de 1859," OC, II, 666.

75 Ruff, L'Esprit du mal et l'esthétique baudelairienne, p. 343.

76 Baudelaire, "Les Foules," OC, I, 291.

77 Jules Laforgue, "Notes sur Baudelaire," in Mélanges posthumes (Paris: Mercure de France, 1919), p. 111.

78 Confiding in the reader is one of Baudelaire's greatest innovations in his poetry. "Le premier," wrote Jules Laforgue—"Notes sur Baudelaire," in Mélanges posthumes (Paris: Mercure de France, 1919), p. 111—"il se raconta sur un mode modéré de confessionnal et ne prit pas l'air inspiré."

79 Thomas Stearns Eliot, "Baudelaire," in Selected Essays (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), p. 426.

80 Baudelaire, "Les Paradis artificiels," OC, I, 403.

81 Baudelaire, "Du vin et du hachisch," OC, I, 388.

82 Jean Pommer, Autour de l'édition originale des "Fleurs du Mal" (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), p. 140.

83 Baudelaire, "Notes nouvelles sur Edgar Poe," OC, II, 334.

84 Letter to Madame Aupick, 1 April 1861, C, II, 140.

85 For an interesting discussion on the topic "Angélisme et satanisme chez Baudelaire," see William Bush, ed., Regards sur

Baudelaire: actes du colloque de London (Canada) 1970 (Paris: Minard, 1974), pp. 113-131.

86 Baudelaire, "Any Where Out of the World," OC, I, 357.

87 In Baudelaire (Paris: Hatier-Boivin, 1955), p. 103, Marcel Ruff writes:

[L]'édition de 1857 est centrée tout entière sur le destin du poète, plutôt que de l'homme en général. . . . Ce ne sont pas seulement les trente-cinq poèmes nouveaux qui transforment le livre en 1861, mais aussi la disposition générale qui en modifie l'éclairage et en étend la portée. Le poète reste nécessairement le sujet, puisque Les Fleurs du Mal sont pour la plus grande partie l'expression d'une expérience intérieure. Mais il apparaît désormais comme un témoin de l'humanité, et tout lecteur, quel qu'il soit, se sent atteint au même degré.

88 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 682.

89 In Baudelaire's Tragic Hero: A Study of the Architecture of "Les Fleurs du Mal" (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 14, Deryk J. Mossop writes:

One should, theoretically speaking, be able to arrive at the same conclusions about both editions of Les Fleurs du Mal, whether one chooses to study the second edition in the light of the first, or the first in the light of the second.

90 Baudelaire, "Hygiène," OC, I, 671.



"Etrange spiritualisme! . . .  
En vérité, je n'avais pas tout  
à fait tort de considérer le  
dandysme comme une espèce de  
religion."

—Baudelaire, Le Peintre de la  
vie moderne

## CHAPTER II

### THE SEARCH FOR REDEMPTION

#### A. Spirituality, Modernity and Dandyism

The spiritual transfiguration of Baudelaire's dandyism became increasingly stronger in his works published after the second edition of Les Fleurs du Mal. In many respects, Baudelaire spoke to his age with the voice of a prophet in his late works. "[J]e sens quelquefois en moi . . . un prophète," he confessed in Fusées.<sup>1</sup> In his notes for a projected preface for the 1861 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, the concerns which Baudelaire expressed about the spiritual condition of modern man are admirably suited to serve as a preface for all of his late works:

[J]e n'aurais jamais cru que notre patrie pût marcher avec une telle vélocité dans la voie du progrès. Ce monde a acquis une épaisseur de vulgarité qui donne au mépris de l'homme spirituel la violence d'une passion. . . . Il est plus difficile d'aimer Dieu que de croire en lui. Au contraire, il est plus difficile pour les gens de ce siècle de croire au Diable que de l'aimer. Tout le monde le sert et personne n'y croit. Sublime subtilité du Diable.<sup>2</sup>

In Richard Wagner et "Tannhäuser" à Paris, published in May 1861, Baudelaire states that when he first heard Wagner's music he underwent "une opération spirituelle, une révélation," and experienced "la

sensation de la béatitude spirituelle et physique."<sup>3</sup> He had attended the concerts directed by Wagner at the Théâtre-Italien in late January and ~~early~~ February 1860.<sup>4</sup> In the letter which he sent to Wagner on 17 February 1860, he expressed his great admiration for Wagner's music. He also expressed the indignation he felt upon reading the unfavourable reviews of Wagner's music--"des articles indignes, ridicules"<sup>5</sup>--which appeared in the French press. As in the case of Poe's works, Baudelaire recognised in Wagner's music the voice of a kindred spirit: "D'abord il m'a semblé que je connaissais cette musique, et plus tard en y réfléchissant, j'ai compris d'où venait ce mirage; il me semblait que cette musique était la mienne, et je la reconnaissais comme tout homme reconnaît les choses qu'il est destiné à aimer."<sup>6</sup>

Baudelaire was particularly sensitive to the spirituality of Wagner's music which he equated with the energy and power of "une extase religieuse."<sup>7</sup> In Wagner's use of the eternal myths of man's suffering in the state of duality--"c'est-à-dire de la chair avec l'esprit, de l'enfer avec le ciel, de Satan avec Dieu"<sup>8</sup>--the German composer focused the listener's consciousness upon "le jour où Dieu a proféré le monde comme une complexe et indivisible totalité."<sup>9</sup> In portraying man's quest for unity in the midst of a fallen creation, Wagner's music ultimately directed man toward "le véritable sens de la vie, le but de l'universel pèlerinage, c'est-à-dire Dieu."<sup>10</sup> For Baudelaire it was above all this profound spiritual dimension of Wagner's music that made the composer "le représentant le plus vrai de la nature moderne."<sup>11</sup>

Baudelaire's association of spirituality with his aesthetic of modernity is further expressed in a series of short articles on contemporary authors which were published from June through August of

1861 in the Revue fantaisiste. These articles were later published under the general title Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains. In his article on Théodore de Banville, Baudelaire argues that until recently art had sought chiefly to enchant and to amuse the human spirit, completely ignoring "l'horrible vie de contention et de lutte dans laquelle nous sommes plongés."<sup>12</sup> However, contemporary or modern art—and in this respect Baudelaire mentions Beethoven, Maturin, Byron, Poe, Alfred de Musset (we might here add Wagner to Baudelaire's list)—focuses attention upon what Baudelaire terms "le Lucifer latent qui est installé dans tout coeur humain."<sup>13</sup> It is in this context, then, that Baudelaire affirms that "l'art moderne a une tendance essentiellement démoniaque."<sup>14</sup> Or, as he wrote to Poulet-Malassis, "toute littérature dérive du péché."<sup>15</sup> This spiritual dimension, as we have already seen in his article on Wagner, is in Baudelaire's view one of the prime characteristics of modernity, even to the extent that spirituality becomes for Baudelaire the maxim of the modern artist: "Tout poète lyrique, en vertu de sa nature, opère fatalement un retour vers l'Eden perdu. Tout, hommes, paysages, palais, dans le monde lyrique, est pour ainsi dire apothéosé."<sup>16</sup> And thus in Banville's poetry Baudelaire finds the expression of "un retour très volontaire vers l'état paradisiaque."<sup>17</sup> Similarly, "cette ardente . . . curiosité des religions" is at the very centre of Leconte de Lisle's work. "Peindre en beaux vers, d'une nature lumineuse et tranquille, les manières diverses suivant lesquelles l'homme a, jusqu'à présent, adoré Dieu et cherché le beau, tel a été," Baudelaire wrote, "le but que Leconte de Lisle a assigné à sa poésie."<sup>18</sup>

Baudelaire found one of the most poignant expressions of modern man's spiritual anguish in "la contemplation suggestive du ciel"<sup>19</sup> which

lay at the very heart of Victor Hugo's works. Throughout the vast realms of Hugo's universe moved "une âme collective qui interroge, qui pleure, qui espère, et qui devine quelquefois."<sup>20</sup> In portraying the anguished desire of this universal soul to escape man's state of duality and to return to "l'unité originelle,"<sup>21</sup> Hugo's works spoke vividly to the spirit of all men. In Baudelaire's view, what most distinguished Hugo as a poet was precisely his universality, and his universality lay in his spirituality:

Ainsi Victor Hugo possède non seulement la grandeur, mais l'universalité. . . . Celui qui n'est pas capable de tout peindre, . . . tout ce qu'il y a de plus doux et tout ce qui existe de plus horrible, le sens intime et la beauté extérieure de chaque religion, . . . tout enfin, depuis le visible jusqu'à l'invisible, depuis le ciel jusqu'à l'enfer, celui-là, dis-je, n'est vraiment pas poète dans l'immense étendue du mot et selon le cœur de Dieu.<sup>22</sup>

The spiritual transfiguration of Baudelaire's dandyism is again clearly underscored in his short article on Léon Cladel. In "Les Martyrs ridicules" par Léon Cladel, first published on 15 October 1861 in the Revue fantaisiste, Baudelaire penned another prophetic warning to the modern age: "[A]u train dont nous marchons vers les ténèbres, il y a lieu d'espérer qu'en l'an 1900 nous serons plongés dans le noir absolu."<sup>23</sup> In the preamble to his discussion of Cladel's novel, Baudelaire criticised the fatuity and the Epicureanism of modern youth: "Le règne de Louis-Philippe, vers sa fin, fournissait déjà de nombreux échantillons de lourde jeunesse épicurienne et de jeunesse agioteuse."<sup>24</sup> In particular Baudelaire pillories what he considered to be the four categories of young people that constitute "la gentry parisienne."<sup>25</sup> But his most acerbic criticism was reserved for "la jeunesse littéraire" that would aspire to greatness and genius without submitting itself to

the self-discipline—to what Baudelaire calls "gymnastique" <sup>26</sup>—that is so necessary to the act of poetic creation: "[L]'inspiration, en un mot, n'est que la récompense de l'exercice quotidien."<sup>27</sup> It is precisely this "jeunesse littéraire" that Cladel portrays as being "martyrs ridicules" in his satirical novel. "Je vis défiler les martyrs de la sottise, de la fatuité, de la débauche, de la paresse juchée sur l'espérance, des amourettes prétentieuses, de la sagesse égoïstique, etc., tous ridicules, mais véritablement martyrs," wrote Baudelaire, "car ils souffrent pour l'amour de leurs vices et s'y sacrifient avec une extraordinaire bonne foi."<sup>28</sup>

In Cladel's novel Baudelaire must have readily recognised the portrait of his own prodigal youth. Indeed, Baudelaire's fictional alter ego of his early days, Samuel Cramer, readily fits in with the parade of "martyrs" that Cladel satirises. Inherent in Baudelaire's praise of Cladel's work, then, is a self-criticism and an abnegation of the egotistical phase of his own early dandyism. Moreover, Baudelaire is particularly sensitive to the spiritual transfiguration which Cladel's principal protagonist, Alpinien, undergoes in awakening to "les sentiments religieux les plus purs" at the end of the novel:

[C]e n'est pas sans un délicieux et douloureux attendrissement qu'on voit par instant son esprit harassé . . . se retourner vers les salutaires impressions de l'enfance, vers la Vierge Marie, vers le chant fortifiant des cloches, vers le crépuscule consolant de l'Eglise, vers la famille, vers sa mère.

29

The above passage may be applied equally well to Baudelaire's own life, for by 1861 his spirit too was marking out a return to memories of his past, a return to spiritual values, and a return also to his mother.

Nowhere is this more clearly evident than in the long and beautiful

though painful letter, written on 6 May 1861, which Baudelaire sent to his mother. In this letter which he qualified as "ce retour vers le passé," Baudelaire opened "toute [son] âme" to his mother—"le seul être à qui ma vie est suspendue," he wrote—and took stock of his entire life: his childhood, his stepfather, his family life, his education, the appointment of his "conseil judiciaire," his debts, his venereal infection, his concerns about Jeanne, his literary career, his feelings of solitude.<sup>30</sup> Overwhelmed by the difficulties of his life, he was frequently preoccupied by thoughts of death and suicide. "Et moi, je suis sans cesse, sans que tu t'en doutes, au bord du suicide," he wrote to his mother.<sup>31</sup> Marc Eigeldinger maintains that "l'idée de la mort implique, chez Baudelaire, une certitude de nature religieuse."<sup>32</sup> This Baudelaire himself intimated in another letter to his mother, dated 1 April 1861, wherein he wrote that on one occasion when he had been obsessed by the notion of suicide, he had prayed for three months:

Dans cette horrible situation d'esprit, impuissance et hypocondrie, l'idée du suicide m'est revenue; je peux le dire maintenant que c'est passé; à toute heure de la journée, cette idée me persécutait. Je voyais là la délivrance absolue, la délivrance de tout. En même temps, et pendant trois mois, par une contradiction singulière, mais seulement apparente, j'ai prié! à toute heure. . . .<sup>33</sup>

Thus, in his letter of 6 May 1861, while in the desperate throes of an anguished crisis, Baudelaire pondered "[sa] santé spirituelle" and submitted himself to a most profound spiritual introspection: "Je désire de tout mon coeur (avec quelle sincérité, personne ne peut le savoir que moi!) croire qu'un être extérieur et invisible s'intéresse à ma destinée; mais comment faire pour le croire?"<sup>34</sup> Here Baudelaire is not expressing doubt; on the contrary, he is on the threshold of redemption. From this moment on we may say of him, as he himself said of Cladel's protagonist

Alpinien: "On peut espérer qu'à partir de ce moment Alpinien est à moitié sauvé; il ne lui manque plus que de devenir un homme d'action, un homme de devoir, au jour le jour."<sup>35</sup>

Baudelaire himself in his last years resolved to seek redemption by becoming a man of action and a man of duty. "Le Plaisir nous use. Le Travail nous fortifie. Choisissons," he wrote in Hygiène. "Faire son devoir tous les jours et se fier à Dieu, pour le lendemain. . . . Une sagesse abrégée. Toilette, prière, travail."<sup>36</sup> His feeling of contrition for his past life and his desire to make amendments took on an even keener sense of urgency as a result of a recrudescence of his venereal disease in 1861-1862.<sup>37</sup> In early 1862 he experienced "un singulier avertissement" which quickened his resolve:

J'ai cultivé mon hystérie avec jouissance et terreur. Maintenant j'ai toujours le vertige, et aujourd'hui 23 janvier 1862, j'ai subi un singulier avertissement, j'ai senti passer sur moi le vent de l'aile de l'imbécillité. . . . A Honfleur! le plus tôt possible, avant de tomber plus bas. Que de pressentiments et de signes envoyés déjà par Dieu, qu'il est grandement temps d'agir, de considérer la minute présente comme la plus importante des minutes, et de faire ma perpétuelle volupté de mon tourment ordinaire, c'est-à-dire du Travail!<sup>38</sup>

Baudelaire's spiritual and metaphysical preoccupations are also reflected in his article "Les Misérables" par Victor Hugo, which was published in Le Boulevard on 20 April 1862. He judged Hugo's novel to be "un livre de charité, un étourdissant rappel à l'ordre d'une société trop amoureuse d'elle-même."<sup>39</sup> He also stressed the underlying religious theme of Hugo's work, which addressed "tous les mystères inquiétants de la vie" by means of explanations firmly rooted "dans la doctrine orthodoxe, dans la pure théorie catholique."<sup>40</sup> In a moment of introspection in his article on Hugo, Baudelaire also assesses what may

be viewed as his own spiritual evolution throughout the years:

Le poète, dans son exubérante jeunesse, peut prendre surtout plaisir à chanter les pompes de la vie; car tout ce que la vie contient de splendide et de riche attire particulièrement le regard de la jeunesse. L'âge mûr, au contraire, se tourne avec inquiétude et curiosité vers les problèmes et les mystères.<sup>41</sup>

And in his mature years one of the particular problems to which Baudelaire ever more turned his attention was that of original sin. Such is the theological consideration upon which his article on Les Misérables ends: "Hélas! du Péché Originel, même après tant de progrès depuis si longtemps promis, il restera toujours bien assez de traces pour en constater l'immémoriale réalité."<sup>42</sup>

In the issues of La Presse published on 26 August, 27 August and 24 September 1862, Baudelaire published twenty prose poems under the general title Petits Poèmes en prose. He had first published two prose poems—"le Crépuscule du soir" and "La Solitude"—in June 1855, and he continued to publish and to republish his prose poems in a variety of journals and reviews right up to his death. However, the twenty poems which appeared in La Presse in 1862 represent the largest number of prose poems to be published together, prior to the posthumous publication of all of Baudelaire's prose poems. In 1869 they were published under the title Petits Poèmes en prose in the fourth volume of the Lévy edition of Baudelaire's Oeuvres complètes.<sup>43</sup> As is the case with the poems in Les Fleurs du Mal, it is impossible to discuss the prose poems in Petits Poèmes en prose in a systematic and chronological order, since the dates of composition are generally unknown. We do know, however, that the prose poems date from the last years of Baudelaire's life. As we have stated, his first two prose poems to be published appeared in 1855. Between that time and the date of publication of the twenty poems which



appeared in La Presse, six prose poems (including the two already published in 1855) were published in 1857, and nine (including the six already published in 1857) were published in 1861. In his correspondence Baudelaire for the first time refers to his prose poems (which he originally called "poèmes nocturnes") in his letter to Poulet-Malassis of 25 April 1857: "Je comptais vous demander un nouveau service (les poèmes nocturnes) qui seront faits après les Curiosités, voilà donc un projet au panier."<sup>44</sup>

Baudelaire was not the first to have written poetic passages in prose.<sup>45</sup> Rousseau's Les Confessions, for example, contain many passages of poetic prose. Most notable, however, was Aloysius Bertrand's Gaspard de la nuit, which was composed around 1830 and published posthumously in 1842. Bertrand's collection of poems had a mediaeval setting, and as such reflected the Romantic revival of interest in the Middle Ages. However, Baudelaire's prose poems were original in that they were set in a modern urban milieu. This Baudelaire himself stressed in the dedication to Arsène Houssaye which was published in La Presse on 26 August 1862, and which served as the preface to the twenty prose poems published in the journal at that time:

C'est en feuilletant, pour la vingtième fois au moins, le fameux Gaspard de la nuit, d'Aloysius Bertrand . . . que l'idée m'est venue de tenter quelque chose d'analogue, et d'appliquer à la description de la vie moderne . . . le procédé qu'il avait appliqué à la peinture de la vie ancienne, si étrangement pittoresque.<sup>46</sup>

The subject matter of Baudelaire's prose poems is in many instances similar to that of his poems in verse, as he himself has stated. "Je suis assez content de mon Spleen," he wrote to Jules Troubat. "En somme, c'est encore Les Fleurs du Mal, mais avec beaucoup plus de liberté, et de

détail. . . .<sup>47</sup> In a restricted sense, the prose poems may be viewed as an elaborate expansion of the "Tableaux parisiens" section which was added in the 1861 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal. But in comparison with Les Fleurs du Mal as a whole, however, the Petits Poèmes en prose is an even stronger expression of Baudelaire's aesthetic of modernity in that the prose poems are entirely inspired by the life and the inhabitants of the modern metropolis. "C'est surtout de la fréquentation des villes énormes, c'est du croisement de leurs innombrables rapports que naît cet idéal obsédant," Baudelaire wrote in his dedicatory letter to Houssaye.<sup>48</sup> Georges Blin maintains that of all of Baudelaire's works, the Petits Poèmes en prose is in fact the most cogent expression of Baudelaire's modernity: "Nous dirons que c'est l'ouvrage le plus directement inspiré par les vues de notre poète sur la modernité dans les arts."<sup>49</sup>

In addition to the question of subject matter, the Petits Poèmes en prose is also an expression of Baudelaire's aesthetic of modernity from a stylistic point of view. In his prose poems, as he himself stated, he sought to realize "le miracle d'une prose poétique, musicale sans rythme et sans rime, assez souple et assez heurtée pour s'adapter aux mouvements lyriques de l'âme, aux ondulations de la rêverie, aux soubresauts de la conscience."<sup>50</sup> Aloysius Bertrand's poems, although written in prose form, were nevertheless pervaded by the rhythmic cadences characteristic of verse forms. By comparison, Baudelaire's achievement in his Petits Poèmes en prose is original and innovative, for he created a new and malleable form of poetry—"un lyrisme moderne"<sup>51</sup>—which was capable of encompassing resonances, tones and nuances often impeded by the formal structures and limitations of poetry in verse. As Suzanne Bernard

states, Baudelaire's genius in this respect lies in his poetic mastery of the prose form to capture all the complexities of modern life:

Il est en effet essentiel ici, je crois, de ne pas séparer la forme "prose" choisie par Baudelaire de son intention moderniste: pour traduire dans toute leur complexité la vie et l'âme des hommes du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, il était nécessaire d'employer une forme souple . . . ; seule une prose très souple et dégagée de toute contrainte formelle (ce qui, notons-le tout de suite, distingue Baudelaire de Bertrand) pourra épouser sans durcissement les palpitations de la vie, les fluctuations du sentiment au sein d'une grande cité.<sup>52</sup>

Baudelaire's Petits Poèmes en prose is also a testimony of the transfiguration of his dandyism, and gives indisputable evidence of his spirituality and of his compassion during his final years. For example, in "A une heure du matin" the poet makes a plaintive supplication to God and to his fellow man for moral fortitude and courage:

Âmes de ceux que j'ai aimés, âmes de ceux que j'ai chantés, fortifiez-moi, soutenez-moi, éloignez de moi le mensonge et les vapeurs corruptrices du monde, et vous, Seigneur mon Dieu! accordez-moi la grâce de produire quelques beaux vers qui me prouvent à moi-même que je ne suis pas le dernier des hommes.

53

In "Les Veuves" the poet reveals deep compassion for "le deuil du pauvre,"<sup>54</sup> and in "Les Fenêtres" the poet accepts with humility and pride the privilege of having shared the suffering of others: "Et je me couche, fier d'avoir vécu et souffert dans d'autres que moi-même."<sup>55</sup> But the most moving example of Baudelaire's spirituality and of his compassion in the Petits Poèmes en prose is the prayer which concludes "Mademoiselle Bistouri":

Seigneur, mon Dieu! vous, le Créateur, vous, le Maître; vous qui avez fait la Loi et la Liberté; vous, le souverain qui laissez faire, vous le juge qui pardonnez; vous qui êtes plein de motifs et de causes, et qui avez peut-être mis dans mon esprit le goût de l'horreur pour convertir mon cœur, comme la

guérison au bout d'une lame; Seigneur, ayez pitié, ayez pitié des fous et des folles! O Créateur! peut-il exister des monstres aux yeux de Celui-là seul qui sait pourquoi ils existent, comment ils se sont faits et comment ils auraient pu ne pas se faire?<sup>56</sup>

In view of the marked spirituality which pervades Baudelaire's Petits Poèmes en prose, we find it impossible to accept John Lyons' summary appraisal that these poems are nothing more than the hallucinatory and amusing anecdotes of a nonchalant dandy-poet. "On the whole," writes Lyons, "the texts which comprise Baudelaire's Petits Poèmes en prose are narratives—anecdotes of life in a great city, hallucinatory adventures recounted in the first person, stories swapped by a group of dandies over their cordial."<sup>57</sup> There is no swapping of tales, there is no ironic distance between the narrator and his subject matter, or between the narrator and his reader in Baudelaire's prose poems. "On the contrary, there is a sense of profound intimacy and sincerity, a sense of accessibility and of universality in these poems. As Marcel Ruff points out, "les poèmes en prose s'insinuent en nous, nous pénètrent comme une voix familière, et, par un prestige plus subtil encore que celui des vers, s'emparent d'un lecteur désarmé. Entre lui et le poète, plus d'intermédiaire."<sup>58</sup> With the exception of the second edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, in none of Baudelaire's works are his compassion, his humanity, his modernity and his spirituality so singularly and so admirably fused as in his Petits Poèmes en prose. "Horrible vie! Horrible ville!" he wrote of the spectacle of evil and of suffering that daily unfolded in the capital.<sup>59</sup> "Je t'aime, ô capitale infâme!" he added in his "Epilogue" to the Petits Poèmes en prose.<sup>60</sup>

The fusion of Baudelaire's spirituality and his aesthetic of modernity, such as we have seen in his prose poems, is explicitly

associated with his aesthetic of dandyism in his major study of Delacroix. The great painter died on 13 August 1863. Baudelaire's L'Oeuvre et la vie d'Eugène Delacroix was published shortly thereafter in L'Opinion nationale, in the issues of 2 September, 14 November and 22 November 1863. In his letter to the editor which served as a preface to his study, Baudelaire wrote: "Je voudrais, une fois encore, une fois suprême, rendre hommage au génie d'Eugène Delacroix. . . ."61 As we have seen previously, Baudelaire's admiration for Delacroix is expressed throughout his art criticism. In fact, much of the 1863 study is taken directly from the passages devoted to Delacroix in the Salon de 1859.

What is new in the "hommage" of 1863 is that Baudelaire now speaks of Delacroix's dandyism and links it with the painter's spirituality: "Car enfin, il faut bien que je le dise, puisque je trouve en ceci un nouveau motif d'éloge, E. Delacroix, . . . parce qu'il était un homme de génie complet, participait beaucoup du dandy. . . . Eugène Delacroix était un curieux mélange de scepticisme, de politesse, de dandysme . . . qui accompagne toujours le génie."62 The dandy's code of rigorous self-discipline and concentration was translated in Delacroix's art into "la concision et une espèce d'intensité sans ostentation, résultat habituel de la concentration de toutes les forces spirituelles vers un point donné."63 For Baudelaire, this concentration of spiritual forces makes of Delacroix's work "un des diagnostics de l'état spirituel de notre siècle."64 In the final analysis, Baudelaire saw in Delacroix's work "un retour vers l'idée catholique"65 which contributed in great part to the status of "homme supérieur"66 and "grand homme"67 which the poet conferred upon the painter. In his article on Delacroix, then, we see yet a further example of Baudelaire's fusion of spirituality and

dandyism, a fusion upon which he reflects repeatedly in his personal journals: "Eternelle supériorité du Dandy. Qu'est-ce que le Dandy? . . . Qu'est-ce que l'homme supérieur?"<sup>68</sup>

Of all Baudelaire's works, however, it is in Le Peintre de la vie moderne that his fusion of spirituality, modernity and dandyism is most expressly and most succinctly stated. Baudelaire's essay on Constantin Guys was composed in 1859-1860, but it was not published until 1863.<sup>69</sup> Baudelaire had great difficulty placing his text for publication for a number of reasons. His essay on Guys is the most complete and the most detailed exposition of his theory of modern art. The works of Guys, however, were for the most part unknown in France at the time. Guys was considered to be primarily an illustrator of journals, and was perhaps best known for the sketches he made while an artist-correspondent for the Illustrated London News during the Crimean War. In addition, Baudelaire was obliged to refer to Guys simply as "M.G." throughout his essay, for Guys was a modest man who shunned publicity. "Grand amoureux de la foule et de l'incognito, M.C.G. pousse l'originalité jusqu'à la modestie," Baudelaire wrote.<sup>70</sup> That Baudelaire had chosen a largely unknown "illustrator"—who moreover insisted on remaining anonymous in the essay—as the representative painter of modern life, made editors reluctant to consider his manuscript for publication. Finally, however, Le Peintre de la vie moderne appeared in the three issues of Figaro published on 26 November, 29 November and 3 December 1863.

For Baudelaire, Guys' genius lay in his unfettered curiosity and imagination, in his ability to see all things "en nouveauté" as would a child. "[P]renez-le aussi pour un homme-enfant, pour un homme possédant à chaque minute le génie de l'enfance, c'est-à-dire un génie pour lequel

aucun aspect de la vie n'est émoussé," Baudelaire wrote. "[L]e génie n'est que l'enfance retrouvée à volonté, l'enfance douée maintenant . . . de l'esprit analytique. . . ."71 In his drawings and water colours Guys excelled in capturing all the details and all the aspects of urban life:

Il admire l'éternelle beauté et l'étonnante harmonie de la vie dans les capitales, harmonie si providentiellement maintenue dans le tumulte de la liberté humaine. Il contemple les paysages de la grande ville, paysages de pierre caressés par la brume ou frappés par les soufflets du soleil. Il jouit des beaux équipages, des fiers chevaux, de la propreté éclatante des grooms, de la dextérité des valets, de la démarche des femmes onduleuses, des beaux enfants . . . ; en un mot, de la vie universelle.<sup>72</sup>

For Baudelaire, as for Guys, Paris was a universal allegory. "Paris, sous tous ses aspects, est pour Baudelaire une inépuisable source de symboles et d'allégories," observes Albert Feuillerat, "une riche matière à rêveries ou méditations sur l'incertitude et les mensonges de la vie, sur l'universalité de la souffrance humaine, sur l'ubiquité du mal et surtout sur la fuite du temps et l'imminence de la mort."<sup>73</sup>

In his portrayal of the beauty of urban life, Guys ever sought to give expression to that elusive quality which Baudelaire calls modernity. "Il cherche ce quelque chose qu'on nous permettra d'appeler la modernité; car il ne se présente pas de meilleur mot pour exprimer l'idée en question," Baudelaire wrote.<sup>74</sup> "Modernity" was an integral part of Baudelaire's aesthetic of beauty. In the first section of Le Peintre de la vie moderne, he writes that beauty is of a double composition, even though the impression it creates is one of unity: "Le beau est fait d'un élément éternel, invariable, dont la qualité est excessivement difficile à déterminer, et d'un élément relatif, circonstanciel, qui sera, si l'on veut, tour à tour ou tout ensemble, l'époque, la mode, la morale, la

passion."<sup>75</sup> Specifically, modernity constituted the "élément relatif" in Baudelaire's conception of beauty: "La modernité, c'est le transitoire, le fugitif, le contingent, la moitié de l'art, dont l'autre moitié est l'éternel et l'immuable."<sup>76</sup> Baudelaire's great admiration for Guys lay in the fact that Guys, like Baudelaire himself, associates the idea of beauty with the idea of modernity. "Il a rempli volontairement une fonction que d'autres artistes dédaignent," Baudelaire states at the end of his essay. "Il a cherché partout la beauté passagère, fugace, de la vie présente, le caractère de ce que le lecteur nous a permis d'appeler la modernité."<sup>77</sup>

Baudelaire's theory of the duality inherent in the ultimate unity of beauty is in keeping with his spiritual conception of man's own duality. "La dualité de l'art est une conséquence fatale de la dualité de l'homme," he maintained.<sup>78</sup> And Guys in his works did not neglect to portray the dark side of man's double nature—"le vice inévitable, c'est-à-dire le regard du démon embusqué dans les ténèbres."<sup>79</sup> As Baudelaire had set out to do in Les Fleurs du Mal, Guys in his work also extracted "la beauté particulière du mal, le beau dans l'horrible."<sup>80</sup>

Baudelaire found in Guys, as he found too in Delacroix, many traits of the dandy. It is of crucial importance to note, however, that in the case of Delacroix and Guys, Baudelaire's use of the term "dandy" carries a marked spiritual connotation. Baudelaire explicitly identifies Guys with a spiritualised form of dandyism: "Je le nommerais volontiers un dandy, et j'aurais pour cela quelques bonnes raisons; car le mot dandy implique une quintessence de caractère et une intelligence subtile de tout le mécanisme moral de ce monde. . . ."<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, as an artist dominated by the passion to see and to feel all aspects of life around



him--and in this regard Baudelaire refers to Guys as "un homme du monde entier" and "un citoyen spirituel de l'univers"<sup>82</sup>--Guys dissociated himself from the image of the dandy as a being that is impertinent, indifferent and impassive "par politique et raison de caste."<sup>83</sup>

Although the scope of Guys' work covered all ranges of the human experience--"ces longues galeries du high life et du low life"<sup>84</sup>--he was particularly adept at capturing the aspects of refined life. "J'ai déjà dit que le pinceau de M.G.," Baudelaire wrote, "était merveilleusement propre à représenter les pompes du dandysme et l'élégance de la lionnerie."<sup>85</sup> In the Paris of the mid-nineteenth century, dandies, dandyism and "high life" certainly figured among the most spectacular manifestations of that transitory element of beauty that is modernity. In the terms of Dominique Rincé, "la philosophie du dandysme . . . est l'envers 'mondain' de la théorie esthétique de la modernité."<sup>86</sup> In the brief ninth section of Le Peintre de la vie moderne, which is entitled "Le Dandy," Baudelaire digresses from his analysis of Guys to discuss the significance of dandyism in general.

The three and a half pages of text which Baudelaire devotes to "Le Dandy" is the preliminary sketch of a treatise on dandyism--never completed--which Baudelaire had planned over a long period of time. In early 1860 he first mentioned his project to write a treatise on "Le Dandysme littéraire ou la grandeur sans convictions."<sup>87</sup> In 1861 he changed his title to "Chateaubriand, père des Dandies, et sa postérité"<sup>88</sup> and included among Chateaubriand's posterity "de Maistre, de Custine; Ferrari, Paul de Molènes, d'Aurevilly."<sup>89</sup> By 1863 his title had again changed to "Les Raffinés et Les Dandies."<sup>90</sup> In 1865, during his stay in Brussels, the treatise was still foremost in his mind. "J'ai commencé et

je continue un petit travail sur Chateaubriand considéré comme le chef du dandysme dans le monde moral," he wrote to Michel Lévy.<sup>91</sup> Unfortunately, Baudelaire's manuscript has not survived.

In his sketch of the dandy in Le Peintre de la vie moderne, Baudelaire finds dandyism as difficult to define and to describe as had Barbey d'Aurevilly before him. His definitions are paradoxical—"Un dandy peut être un homme blasé, peut être un homme souffrant. . . ."92— and metaphorical—"Le dandysme est un soleil couchant; comme l'astre qui décline, il est superbe, sans chaleur et plein de mélancolie."<sup>93</sup> What is clear in Baudelaire's brief chapter on the dandy is that in the last years of his life Baudelaire's conception of dandyism had undergone a spiritual transfiguration. For him dandyism most certainly was not "un goût immodéré de la toilette et de l'élégance matérielle."<sup>94</sup> He elevated dandyism to the level of a spiritual doctrine in his battle against triviality, material progress and "la marée montante de la démocratie, qui envahit tout et qui nivelle tout."<sup>95</sup> In terms of Baudelaire's spiritual evolution, his essay on *Guy* is a most eloquent expression of the fusion of his spirituality, his aesthetic of modernity and his aesthetic of dandyism. "Etrange spiritualisme! . . . une gymnastique propre à fortifier la volonté et à discipliner l'âme," he wrote. "En vérité je n'avais pas tout à fait tort de considérer le dandysme comme une espèce de religion."<sup>96</sup>

Le Peintre de la vie moderne was the last of Baudelaire's major works to be published during his lifetime. With its publication, the wheel is come full circle, for Baudelaire's essay on *Guy* is his answer to the question he had asked at the outset of his literary career: "[Q]uel peut être le côté épique de la vie moderne?"<sup>97</sup>

By the end of 1863 Baudelaire was exhausted both mentally and physically. Although he continued to publish his translations of Poe's works until near the end of his life, his financial situation grew steadily worse. His financial difficulties were further exacerbated by the bankruptcy in late 1862 of his friend and publisher Poulet-Malassis, to whom Baudelaire owed some 5,000 francs. In August 1863 Baudelaire wrote to the Minister of Arts and to the Minister of Education to request "une indemnité littéraire" in order to travel to Belgium to give a series of public lectures on art and literature, and to commence a book on Belgium. His request was turned down.<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, he resolved to go to Brussels at his own expense. "Je suis malade de corps et de volonté. J'ai besoin de changer de place," he wrote to Arthur Stevens on 21 April 1864. "Je veux travailler à Bruxelles comme un Démon. J'y veux finir mon Spleen de Paris et mes Contemporains."<sup>99</sup> On 24 April he arrived in Brussels where he took a room at the Hôtel du Grand Miroir.

In May and June of 1864, Baudelaire gave a series of five public lectures in Brussels—one lecture on Delacroix, one on Gautier, and three on the general topic of stimulants and Les Paradis artificiels. Much to his chagrin, the lectures were very poorly attended. Moreover, Baudelaire's efforts to find a Belgian publisher for his complete works were unsuccessful. As he grew more and more exasperated during his stay in Brussels, Baudelaire gave vent to his frustrations in the considerable number of acrimonious notes and observations which he made in preparation for his work on Belgium. Although he did not live to complete his book, his notes were published posthumously under the title Pauvre Belgique!. At the same time he also wrote a number of satirical epigrams in verse which were also published posthumously, under the title

Amoenitates Belgicae.

In Pauvre Belgique! Baudelaire directs his vehemence against a country which, not unlike the United States; was emblematic of the Godless pursuit of material progress:

La Belgique est plus remplie que tout autre pays de gens qui croient que Jésus-Christ était un grand homme, que la nature n'enseigne rien que de bon, que la morale universelle a précédé les dogmes dans toutes les religions, que l'homme peut tout et que la vapeur, le chemin de fer et l'éclairage au gaz prouvent l'éternel progrès de l'humanité.<sup>100</sup>

As Baudelaire wrote in Mon coeur mis à nu, "la vraie civilisation" was not founded on technology—"elle est dans la diminution des traces du péché originel."<sup>101</sup> Not only was Belgium antispiritual in Baudelaire's view, it was also antipoetic: "Race antipathique.—Haine de la Beauté.—Pudeur belge.—Dandysme belge."<sup>102</sup> Belgian dandyism was indeed far removed from the spiritual conception of dandyism which Baudelaire expressed in Le Peintre de la vie moderne. Indeed, when he refers to the Belgian dandy in Pauvre Belgique! he uses the pejorative term "gandin": "Singes en tout. Petit croquis du gandin belge."<sup>103</sup>

Baudelaire's notes on Belgium have been harshly judged because of their excessively vituperative tone. However, in his correspondence of this period Baudelaire explains that he intended his book to speak out against "la sottise moderne" and "la bêtise moderne."<sup>104</sup> Moreover, Baudelaire expressly states that human folly knows no nationality: "Ce livre sur la Belgique est . . . un essayage de mes griffes. Je m'en servirai plus tard contre la France . . . pour bien montrer mon dégoût de la sottise universelle."<sup>105</sup> In terms of Baudelaire's personal evolution, his satire of human folly in Pauvre Belgique! is clearly yet another example of the call to spiritual order that characterises his last years

and his last works. "Le but de ce livre satyrique [sic]," he wrote to Ancelle in February 1866, "est la raillerie de tout ce qu'on appelle progrès, ce que j'appelle, moi: le paganisme des imbéciles,—et la démonstration du gouvernement de Dieu."<sup>106</sup>

At the end of February 1866 Baudelaire, in collaboration with Poulet-Malassis, published in Brussels Les Epaves, a collection of twenty-three of Baudelaire's poems including the six poems condemned during the trial of August 1857. In mid-March 1866, during a trip to Namur, Baudelaire collapsed while visiting the Saint-Loup church. He was returned hastily to Brussels. His health deteriorated so rapidly that by the end of March he was paralysed on the right side of his body, and had been stricken by aphasia. He was able to utter only two syllables: "cré nom." On 31 March 1866 the Nouvelles Fleurs du Mal, consisting of fifteen poems by the poet who could speak or write no more, appeared in Le Parnasse contemporain. The fifteen poems had been published previously in various journals, for the most part between 1861 and 1865.<sup>107</sup> None of these poems had been included in either the first or the second edition of Les Fleurs du Mal. All of them were included in the posthumous third edition prepared by Asselineau and Barville. In general, the poems in Nouvelles Fleurs du Mal convey a sense of spiritual urgency which is most succinctly expressed in the guardian angel's exhortation to the "mécréant" in "Le Rebelle": "Avant que ton cœur ne se blase, / A la gloire de Dieu, rallume ton extase."<sup>108</sup>

On 2 July 1866 Madame Aupick, accompanied by Arthur Stevens, brought Baudelaire by train back to Paris, where he entered the nursing home and clinic of Doctor Emile Duval. Over the next thirteen months, his physical health steadily declined. In a moving account of his last visit

with Baudelaire, Nadar affirmed that the poet, although unable to speak, had nonetheless embraced the word of God:

La dernière fois que je le vis, à la maison Duval, nous disputions de l'immortalité de l'âme. Je dis nous, parce que je lisais dans ses yeux aussi nettement, moi, que s'il eût pu parler: "Voyons, comment peux-tu croire en Dieu?" répétais-je. Baudelaire s'écarta de la barre d'appui où nous étions accoudés, et me montra le ciel. Devant nous, au-dessus de nous, c'était, embrasant toute la rue, cernant d'or et de feu la silhouette puissante de l'Arc de Triomphe, la pompe splendide du soleil couchant. "Crénom! oh, crénom!" protestait-il encore, me reprochait-il, indigné, à grands coups de poing vers le ciel.<sup>109</sup>

On 31 August 1867 Charles-Pierre Baudelaire died. He was interred in the vault with General Aupick in Montparnasse Cemetery, where his mother joined him four years later.

#### B. Baudelaire--Dandy and Saint

PRIERE. Ne me châtiez pas dans ma mère et ne châtiez pas ma mère à cause de moi.—Je vous recommande les âmes de mon père et de Mariette.—Donnez-moi la force de faire immédiatement mon devoir tous les jours et de devenir ainsi un héros et un Saint.<sup>110</sup>

In this beautiful prayer recorded in Mon cœur mis à nu, Baudelaire confounds the dandy or the hero and the saint. Mon cœur mis à nu, along with Fusées and Hygiène, constitute Baudelaire's intimate journals written in the last years of his life.<sup>111</sup> The notes, observations, aphorisms and reflexions which comprise these journals are the ultimate repository of Baudelaire's aesthetics and of his spirituality, and as such they are a most fitting epilogue for his works, for his thought and for his life.

In regard to our subject of the evolution of Baudelaire's dandyism,

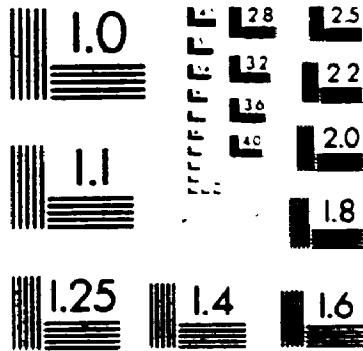
his journals are particularly illuminating. In them he retraces the evolution of his life from the "dandy précoce"<sup>112</sup> of the rue Hautefeuille to the dandy-poet—"enivré de son sang-froid et de son dandysme"<sup>113</sup>—of the hôtel Pimodan, and finally to the "héros" and the "Saint"<sup>114</sup> that he aspired to become in his late years. He retraces too the evolution of his work and of his thought, from the "Ivresse littéraire"<sup>115</sup> of his early writings to the "Sobriété. Spiritualité"<sup>116</sup> of his late works.

Throughout his intimate journals Baudelaire proclaims the "éternelle supériorité du Dandy"<sup>117</sup> to the extent that he ultimately confounds the dandy and the saint: "Avant tout, Etre un grand homme et un Saint pour soi-même."<sup>118</sup> A great man and a saint, a hero and a saint, a dandy and a saint. Most critics are inclined to see in Baudelaire either a dandy or a saint. Claude Pichois writes: "Baudelaire voit dans le christianisme une magie blanche, et une mythologie poétique dont le Christ rédempteur est exclu. Le dandy ne peut être un chrétien."<sup>119</sup> Jacques Vier charges Baudelaire with angelism: "Pourquoi s'obstiner à faire un saint de celui qui n'entendait le devenir que pour lui-même et qui s'est infiniment plus occupé d'angélisme que de sainteté?"<sup>120</sup> However, Christian Dédé argues that Baudelaire "se présente comme un pécheur, dans un état de totale humilité."<sup>121</sup> Max Milner sees in Baudelaire an example of satanism—an example of the dandy revolting against God since "le Dieu un, par un crime de lèse-dandysme, a donné naissance au multiple."<sup>122</sup> For T.S. Eliot, however, Baudelaire's satanism "was an attempt to get into Christianity by the back door."<sup>123</sup> Marcel Ruff firmly maintains that "l'esthétique de Baudelaire reste établie sur ses assises spirituelles."<sup>124</sup> In response Pichois taxes Ruff with "le prosélytisme, désir de christianiser Baudelaire."<sup>125</sup> Ernest Raynaud affirms: "Nous

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savons bien que Baudelaire va tout résoudre dans le sens du dogme chrétien. . . ."<sup>126</sup> Writing in 1857, Barbey d'Aurevilly deemed that Baudelaire had no alternative but to embrace Christianity: "Après Les Fleurs du Mal, il n'y a plus que deux partis à prendre pour le poète qui les fit éclore: ou se brûler la cervelle . . . ou se faire chrétien!"<sup>127</sup> As Paul Arnold states, Baudelaire does indeed have "le privilège de passer tantôt pour un catholique, tantôt pour un athée et tantôt pour un païen inspiré ou révolté."<sup>128</sup> Even Baudelaire's own school friends have left us contradictory portraits of the young Baudelaire. Charles Cousin wrote of "Baudelaire à vingt ans, . . . raffiné, paradoxal, bohème et dandy."<sup>129</sup> In a letter to his parents written in July 1839, Henri Hignard spoke of the young Baudelaire who was "charmant, . . . sérieux, studieux et religieux."<sup>130</sup>

Dandy and saint. The phrase is seemingly paradoxical; the two words would appear to be mutually exclusive terms. However, the juxtaposition of contradictory terms is one of the most salient characteristics of Baudelaire's works and of his thought. Bipolarity, ambiguity and irreconcilable opposites are prevalent Baudelairean themes ("spleen et idéal," Good and Evil, God and Satan). Throughout his works Baudelaire constantly seeks to perform what would seem to be an impossible exercise: to achieve a state of unity through the reconciliation of opposites. In his article Conseils aux jeunes littérateurs, published in 1846, he spoke of "la loi des contrastes, qui gouverne l'ordre moral et l'ordre physique." In particular, he linked two diametrically opposed functions—inspiration and daily work—which when combined result in the unity of the creative act which produces the work of art: "L'inspiration est décidément la soeur du travail journalier. Ces deux contraires ne

s'excluent pas plus que tous les contraires qui constituent la nature."<sup>131</sup>

The law of contrasts operates in Baudelaire's own poetry through his use of rhetorical figures of speech such as oxymoron and paradox.<sup>132</sup> Through the use of oxymoron Baudelaire underscores man's consciousness of duality—"La conscience dans le Mal!" he calls it in "L'Irrémédiable"<sup>133</sup>—a consciousness which is also simultaneously the expression of a desire or a longing for a lost unity. "L'oxymoron réalise l'union des contraires, la coïncidentia oppositorum," writes Léon Cellier. "Bref, le poète est celui qui en usant de l'antithèse et de l'oxymoron, passe d'un univers tragique à un paradis, de la dualité à l'unité."<sup>134</sup> Thus we see that Baudelaire's spirituality is also rooted in the concept of "coïncidentia oppositorum," as is evident for example in his study of Hugo:

Le vers de Victor Hugo sait traduire pour l'âme humaine . . . tout ce qu'il y a d'humain dans n'importe quoi, et aussi tout ce qu'il y a de divin, de sacré ou de diabolique. . . . Mais c'est surtout dans ces dernières années qu'il a subi l'influence métaphysique qui s'exhale de toutes ces choses, curiosité d'un Oedipe obsédé par d'innombrables Sphirx. . . . Comment le père un a-t-il pu engendrer la dualité et s'est-il enfin métamorphosé en une population innombrable de nombres? Mystère! La totalité infinie des nombres doit-elle ou peut-elle se concentrer de nouveau dans l'unité originelle? Mystère! . . . Tout ce qui est multiple deviendra-t-il un . . . ?<sup>135</sup>

In Part One of our study we have seen that contradiction is also an innate feature of dandyism. Seeking a definition of dandyism, Roger Kempf settles on an expression which is in itself a contradiction: "un exercice impossible"<sup>136</sup>—impossible in the sense that the spirit of contradiction inherent in dandyism itself makes it impossible to give a simple and unified definition of the term. Barbey d'Aurevilly

encountered the same difficulty when writing on dandyism: "Ceci est presque aussi difficile à décrire qu'à définir."<sup>137</sup> Dandyism implies a type of symbiotic relationship of opposites and a simultaneity of opposites. As we have already seen, at the outset of his treatise on modernity and dandyism--Le Peintre de la vie moderne--Baudelaire states that his conception of beauty involves the fusion of contrasting elements: "[L]e beau est toujours, inévitablement double, bien que l'impression qu'il produit soit une. . . ."138. In Fusées he further defines his conception of beauty by linking pairs of opposite terms, as in an oxymoron: "des besoins spirituels, des ambitions ténébreusement refoulées," "la Beauté" and "le Malheur," "la Joie" and "la Mélancolie." And immediately following in a parenthetical remark Baudelaire explicitly associates the notion of the simultaneity of opposites with dandyism: "[L]e type idéal du Dandy n'est pas à négliger dans ce sujet."<sup>139</sup>

Baudelaire's fusion of the dandy and the saint in his intimate journals is, therefore, entirely in keeping with the principle of the union of opposites which, as we have just briefly demonstrated above, runs throughout his thought and works. Throughout Baudelaire's life we have seen that he underwent a profound spiritual transfiguration. One of the ways in which his personal evolution is reflected is through the evolution of the image of the dandy in his works. The meaning which he associated with the word "dandy" shifted throughout his life. Writing in Hygiène Baudelaire looks back upon his early days which he qualifies as his "phase d'égoïsme"<sup>140</sup>--a period during which he was "enivré de son sang-froid et de son dandysme."<sup>141</sup> The appointment of his "conseil judiciaire" was a humiliating affront to the haughty dignity of the young dandy. However, by the end of his life Baudelaire, accepted as divine

gifts the many chastisements he had suffered: "Mes humiliations ont été des grâces de Dieu."<sup>142</sup>

He also recognised that through suffering--"l'indispensable douleur" he wrote in Les Paradis artificiels<sup>143</sup>--lay the pathway to redemption: "Que béni soit ton fouet, / Seigneur! que la douleur, ô Père, soit dénie!"<sup>144</sup> He expresses this thought most succinctly in his essay on Wagner: "Comme le péché est partout, la rédemption est partout. . . . Rien de plus cosmopolite que l'Eternel."<sup>145</sup> Through suffering, then, the egoism of the dandy of the île Saint-Louis is transfigured into the humility and the prayer of the hero and the saint. As Baudelaire writes in Mon cœur mis à nu: "Dieu est l'éternel confident dans cette tragédie dont chacun est le héros."<sup>146</sup>

"Être un grand homme et un saint pour soi-même, voilà l'unique chose importante."<sup>147</sup> In adopting this maxim Baudelaire transforms dandyism into a code of spiritual and moral "hygiène" to be lived and cultivated within himself, as he further explains in an entry in Fusées: "Du culte de soi-même . . . au point de vue de la santé, de l'hygiène, de la toilette, de la noblesse spirituelle et de l'éloquence."<sup>148</sup> No longer is the poet's dandyism a distorting mirror which he holds up to himself for the shocked and surprised public to gaze at. The code of dandyism has been internalised and spiritualised to become "une gymnastique propre à fortifier la volonté et à discipliner l'âme."<sup>149</sup> "Saint Baudelaire? Pourquoi pas?" writes Marcel Ruff. "Le saint n'est-il pas avant tout celui qui conçoit la sainteté . . . comme une nécessité intégrale, comme une règle inflexible?"<sup>150</sup>

If, indeed, "a Dandy is a Clothes-wearing Man," as Carlyle satirically quipped,<sup>151</sup> then with Emiliën Carassus let us qualify that

"Baudelaire unit l'habit du dandy et la bure du saint."<sup>152</sup> Baudelaire,  
dandy and saint. "En vérité," the poet himself writes, "je n'avais pas  
tout à fait tort de considérer le dandysme comme une espèce de  
religion."<sup>153</sup>

PART THREE: CHAPTER II

- 1 OC, I, 667.
- 2 Baudelaire, "Projets de préfaces," OC, I, 181, 182-183.
- 3 OC, II, 785.
- 4 For further details about Wagner's concerts given in Paris, see Pichois' Notice, OC, II, 1456.
- 5 Letter to Richard Wagner, 17 February 1860, C, I, 672.
- 6 Ibid., pp. 672-673.
- 7 Ibid., p. 673.
- 8 Baudelaire, "Richard Wagner et 'Tannhäuser' à Paris," OC, II, 794. Baudelaire gives a similar expression of man's duality in "Mon cœur mis à nu," OC, I, 682: "Il y a dans tout homme, à toute heure, deux postulations simultanées, l'une vers Dieu, l'autre vers Satan."
- 9 Baudelaire, "Richard Wagner et 'Tannhäuser' à Paris," OC, II, 784.
- 10 Ibid., p. 794.
- 11 Ibid., p. 806.
- 12 Baudelaire, "Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains--Théodore de Barville," OC, II, 168.
- 13 Ibid., p. 168.
- 14 Ibid., p. 168.
- 15 Letter to Auguste Poulet-Malassis, and of August 1860, C, II, 85.
- 16 Baudelaire, "Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains--Théodore de Barville," OC, II, 165.
- 17 Ibid., p. 168.
- 18 Baudelaire, "Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains--Leconte de Lisle," OC, II, 177-178.
- 19 Baudelaire, "Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains--Victor Hugo," OC, II, 137.

- 20 Ibid., p. 139.
- 21 Ibid., p. 137.
- 22 Ibid., pp. 134-135.
- 23 Baudelaire, "'Les Martyrs ridicules' par Léon Cladel," OC, II, 183. Baudelaire's notice served as the preface to Cladel's novel when it was published in 1862.
- 24 Ibid., p. 183.
- 25 Ibid., p. 182.
- 26 Ibid., p. 183.
- 27 Ibid., p. 183.
- 28 Ibid., p. 184.
- 29 Ibid., p. 187.
- 30 Letter to Madame Aupick, 6 May 1861, C, II, 150-157.
- 31 Ibid., p. 150. In a letter to Poulet-Malassis, dated 20 March 1861 (C, II, 135), Baudelaire also stated that he was "au bord du suicide."
- 32 Marc Eigeldinger, "Baudelaire et la conscience de la mort," Etudes littéraires, 1 (avril 1968), 64. Eigeldinger further maintains (p. 60) that Baudelaire saw in death not merely an escape from the vicissitudes of life, but also a return to the state of unity: "La mort est une puissance transfiguratrice dans la mesure où elle rompt avec l'univers de la division et de la multiplicité pour opérer le retour à l'unité."
- 33 Letter to Madame Aupick, 1 April 1861, C, II, 140.
- 34 Letter to Madame Aupick, 6 May 1861, C, II, 151.
- 35 Baudelaire, "'Les Martyrs ridicules' par Léon Cladel," OC, II, 187.
- 36 OC, I, 669, 671.
- 37 In his letter to his mother dated 6 May 1861 (C, II, 152), Baudelaire wrote that he was suffering from a fresh outbreak of his venereal disease:

Tu sais qu'étant très, jeune j'ai eu une affection véroléque, que plus tard j'ai crue totalement guérie. A Dijon, après 1848, elle a fait une nouvelle explosion. Elle a été de nouveau palliée. Maintenant elle revient et elle prend une nouvelle

forme, des taches sur la peau, et une lassitude extraordinaire dans toutes les articulations.

- 38 Baudelaire, "Hygiène," OC, I, 668.  
 39 Baudelaire, "'Les Misérables' par Victor Hugo," OC, II, 224.  
 40 Ibid., p. 224.  
 41 Ibid., p. 219.  
 42 Ibid., p. 224.

43 Pichois has adopted the 1869 Lévy edition of Baudelaire's Petits Poèmes en prose, which contains fifty prose poems numbered I through L, plus the "Epilogue" in verse. Poems I-IX were published in La Presse on 26 August 1862, poems X-XIV on 27 August 1862, and poems XV-XX on 24 September 1862. This ranking of the first twenty poems was maintained in the posthumous 1869 edition. During his lifetime Baudelaire also referred to his prose poems as Le Spleen de Paris.

44 Letter to Auguste Poulet-Malassis, 25 April 1857, C, I, 395.

45 In Le Poème en prose de Baudelaire jusqu'à nos jours (1959; rpt. Paris: Nizet, 1962), p. 10, Suzanne Bernard writes that the prose poem, by its very definition, was unthinkable during the classical period in France.

Pour nos pères, en effet, les domaines de la poésie et de la prose étaient nettement délimités, la poésie étant l'art des vers, et se trouvant ainsi définie comme une forme, et rien d'autre. Il est évident que si l'on identifie ainsi poésie et versification, la question du poème en prose ne se pose plus—il est impossible par définition. L'âge classique, qui pose en principe la distinction des genres, et qui souhaite voir régner l'ordre dans les belles-lettres comme ailleurs, ne pouvait voir dans le poème en prose qu'un affreux bâtard, un monstre non viable. De même qu'à la prose poétique, on lui refuse toute possibilité d'exister.

In "Baudelaire et le poème en prose," Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur; 1-2 (Januar 1967), 116, Marcel Ruff points out that by the early eighteenth century the rigidity of the classical rules was beginning to be questioned: "Des 1719, l'abbé Du Bos, influencé par le sensualisme de Locke, conteste l'efficacité des règles [de la poésie traditionnelle]."

46 Baudelaire, "A Arsène Houssaye," OC, I, 275. Houssaye was the director of the literary section of La Presse in 1861-1862.

47 Letter to Jules Troubat, 19 February 1866, C, II, 615. Baudelaire also referred to his prose poems as Le Spleen de Paris.



- 48 OC, I, 276.
- 49 Georges Blin, Le Sadisme de Baudelaire (Paris: Corti, 1948), pp. 168-169.
- 50 Baudelaire, "A Arsène Houssaye," OC, I, 275-276.
- 51 Suzanne Bernard, Le Poème en prose de Baudelaire jusqu'à nos jours (1959; rpt. Paris: Nizet, 1962), p. 122.
- 52 *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.
- 53 OC, I, 288.
- 54 OC, I, 293.
- 55 OC, I, 339.
- 56 Baudelaire, "Mademoiselle Bistouri," OC, I, 355-356. "Mademoiselle Bistouri" was refused by the Revue nationale et étrangère in 1865. The poem was published for the first time in the posthumous edition of 1869.
- 57 John D. Lyons, "A Prose Poem in the Nominal Style: 'Un hémisphère dans une chevelure,'" L'Esprit créateur (Summer 1973), p. 137.
- 58 Marcel A. Ruff, "Baudelaire et le poème en prose," Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur, 1-2 (Januar 1967), 122. Robert Guette—"Baudelaire et le poème en prose," Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, 3 (1964), 852—also maintains that the reader participates directly in Baudelaire's prose poems: "Ce n'est pas dans le texte, mais dans le lecteur que doit se produire l'illumination."
- 59 Baudelaire, "A une heure du matin," OC, I, 287.
- 60 OC, I, 191.
- 61 Baudelaire, "L'Oeuvre et la vie d'Eugène Delacroix," OC, II, 742.
- 62 *Ibid.*, pp. 756, 759.
- 63 *Ibid.*; pp. 754-755. Baudelaire goes on to add: "'The hero is he who is immovably centred,' dit le moraliste d'outre-mer Emerson" (p. 755).
- 64 *Ibid.*, p. 744.
- 65 *Ibid.*, p. 767.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 768.
- 67 Baudelaire, "Exorde de la conférence faite à Bruxelles en 1864 sur Eugène Delacroix," OC, II, 773.

68 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 682, 689.

69 Baudelaire referred for the first time to his project of writing an essay on Guys in his letter to Poulet-Malassis dated 15 November 1859 (C, I, 619). On 12 August 1860 (C, II, 76) Baudelaire wrote to Poulet-Malassis that he had submitted his "Guys" to Le Constitutionnel, which however expressed no interest in immediately publishing the text. For details concerning Baudelaire's endeavors to publish Le Peintre de la vie moderne, see Pichois' Notes, OC, II, 1416-1417.

70 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 688. Baudelaire expressed his frustration about Guys' mania for anonymity in a letter to Poulet-Malassis dated 16 December 1859 (C, I, 639): "Ah! Guys! Guys! si vous saviez quelles douleurs il me cause! Ce maniaque est un ouragan de modestie. Il m'a cherché querelle quand il a su que je voulais parler de lui."

71 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 690-691. Baudelaire also expressed this idea in "Les Paradis artificiels," OC, I, 498: "[L]e génie n'est que l'enfance nettement formulée, douée maintenant, pour s'exprimer, d'organes virils et puissants."

72 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 692-693. From 1859 on the theme of the city as an expression of modernity became predominant in Baudelaire's works. In the "Salon de 1859," OC, II, 666, he praised Meryon's etchings of Parisian cityscapes--"un genre que j'appellerais volontiers le paysage des grandes villes," he wrote. And of course the French capital is a central theme in the "Tableaux parisiens" section of the 1861 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, as well as in the Petits Poèmes en prose.

73 Albert Feuillerat, "L'Architecture des 'Fleurs du Mal,'" in Studies by Members of the French Department of Yale University, ed. Albert Feuillerat (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); p. 314.

74 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 694.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 685. Baudelaire gives his most complete exposition of his theories of beauty and of modernity in Le Peintre de la vie moderne. However, in the "Salon de 1846," OC, II, 493, he does state very briefly that beauty consists of two essential elements: "Toutes les beautés contiennent, comme tous les phénomènes possibles, quelque chose d'éternel et quelque chose de transitoire,--d'absolu et de particulier."

76 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 695.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 724.

78 *Ibid.*, pp. 685-686. "Qui parmi nous n'est pas un homo duplex?" Baudelaire asks in his article on Asselineau's "La Double Vie," OC, II, 87.

79 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 722.

- 80 Ibid., p. 722. In his "Projets de préfaces," OC, I, 181, Baudelaire stated his intention in writing Les Fleurs du Mal thus: "extraire la beauté du Mal."
- 81 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 691.
- 82 Ibid., p. 689.
- 83 Ibid., p. 691.
- 84 Ibid., p. 722.
- 85 Ibid., p. 722.
- 86 Dominique Rincé, Baudelaire et la modernité poétique (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984), pp. 26-27. —
- 87 Letter to Auguste Poulet-Malassis, 4 February 1860, C, I, 664.
- 88 Letter to Auguste Lacaussade, early May 1861, C, II, 147.
- 89 Letter to Armand Du Mesnil, 9 February 1861, C, II, 128.
- 90 Letter to the Director of Le Pays, 2<sup>d</sup> December 1863, C, II, 335.
- 91 Letter to Michel Lévy, 9 March 1865, C, II, 472.
- 92 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 710.
- 93 Ibid., p. 712.
- 94 Ibid., p. 710.
- 95 Ibid., p. 712.
- 96 Ibid., p. 711.
- 97 Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846," OC, II, 493.
- 98 See Baudelaire's letter to Vaillant, 3 August 1863, C, II, 309-310, and his letter to Victor Duruy, 7 August 1863, C, II, 310-311. In his letter to Duruy of 26 August 1863, C, II, 315, Baudelaire bitterly acknowledged receipt of "le refus de Votre Excellence."
- 99 Letter to Arthur Stevens, 21 April 1864, C, II, 355-356.
- 100 Baudelaire, "Pauvre Belgique," OC, II, 895-896.
- 101 OC, I, 697.
- 102 Baudelaire, "Pauvre Belgique," OC, II, 868.
- 103 Ibid., p. 846.

- 104 Letter to Narcisse Ancelle, 13 October 1864, C, II, 409.
- 105 Letter to Narcisse Ancelle, 13 November 1864, C, II, 421.
- 106 Letter to Narcisse Ancelle, 18 February 1866, C, II, 611.
- 107 "A une Malabaraise" was first published in 1846, "Hymne" in 1857, and "La Rançon" also in 1857.
- 108 Baudelaire, "Le Rebelle," OC, I, 139-140.
- 109 Nadar, Charles Baudelaire intime (Paris: Blaizot, 1911), p. 139.
- 110 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 692-693.
- 111 Baudelaire first mentioned Mon coeur mis à nu in his letter to his mother dated 1 April 1861 (C, II, 141), in which he wrote: "un grand livre auquel je rêve depuis deux ans: Mon coeur mis à nu. . . . Ah! si jamais celui-là voit le jour, les Confessions de J[ean]-J[acques] paraîtront pâles." Judging from his letter, Baudelaire was preoccupied by the project of writing a work of an intimate confessional nature from 1859 on. However, attempts to establish a chronology for Mon coeur mis à nu, Fusées and Hygiène have been inconclusive. Baudelaire's journals were not published during his lifetime. In 1887 Eugène Crépet published Mon coeur mis à nu and Fusées. For further details, see Pichois' Notice, OC, I, 1467-1472.
- 112 Baudelaire, "Fusées," OC, I, 661.
- 113 Ibid., p. 667.
- 114 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 693.
- 115 Ibid., p. 679.
- 116 Baudelaire, "Carnet," OC, I, 734.
- 117 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 682.
- 118 Ibid., p. 691.
- 119 Claude Pichois, Notice, OC, I, 801.
- 120 Jacques Vier, "Baudelaire poète chrétien?" La Pensée catholique, 71 (1961), 70.
- 121 Christian Dédéyan, "Baudelaire et Dieu," Points et contrepoints (décembre 1967), p. 16.
- 122 Max Milner, Le Diable dans la littérature française de Caizotte à Baudelaire: 1772-1861 (Paris: Corti, 1960), II, 465. In this regard, Milner cites Baudelaire's entry in "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 688-689: "Qu'est-ce que la chute? Si c'est l'unité devenue dualité, c'est Dieu

qui a chuté. En d'autres termes, la création ne serait-elle pas la chute de Dieu?"

123 T.S. Eliot, "Baudelaire," in Selected Essays (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), p. 421.

124 Marcel A. Ruff, L'Esprit du mal et l'esthétique baudelairienne (Paris: Colin, 1955), p. 357.

125 Claude Pichois, Notice, OC, I, 1469.

126 Ernest Raynaud, Baudelaire et la religion du dandysme (Paris: Mercure de France, 1918), p. 68.

127 This dramatic sentence is the conclusion of Barbey d'Aurevilly's "article justificatif" which was written in July 1857 in preparation for Baudelaire's trial for obscenity. The article was to appear in Le Pays, but was not published. Pichois has reproduced Barbey's article in its entirety in OC, I, 1191-1196.

128 Paul Arnold, Le Dieu de Baudelaire (Paris: Savel, 1947), p. 9.

129 Cited in Baudelaire devant ses contemporains, ed. W.T. Baridy and Claude Pichois (Paris: Union Générale d'Édition, 1967), p. 52.

130 Cited in Baudelaire devant ses contemporains, pp. 52-53.

131 OC, II, 18-19.

132 Examples of oxymoron, paradox and antithesis abound in Baudelaire's poetry. The following examples have been taken from the poems indicated in parentheses: "O lutteurs éternels, ô frères implacables" ("L'Homme et la mer"); "la candeur unie à la lubricité" ("Les Bijoux"); "fangeuse grandeur, sublime ignominie" ("Tu métrais l'univers . . ."); "Je suis la plaie et le couteau! . . . Et la victime et le bourreau!" ("L'Héautontimoroumenos"); "Riche, mais impuissant, jeune et pourtant très-vieux" ("Spleen"); "Timide et libertine, et fragile et robuste" ("Les Métamorphoses du vampire"). The very title which Baudelaire finally chose for his volume—Les Fleurs du Mal—is in itself an oxymoron which sets the image of beauty, flowers and growth into contrast with the image of Evil, corruption and ugliness.

133 OC, I, 80.

134 Léon Cellier, "D'une rhétorique profonde: Baudelaire et l'oxymoron," Cahiers internationaux de symbolisme, 8 (1965), 5. Cellier (p. 4) gives the definition of oxymoron found in Morier's Dictionnaire de poétique: "L'oxymoron, selon M. Morier, est une sorte d'antithèse, dans laquelle on joint deux mots contradictoires, l'un paraissant exclure logiquement l'autre." In his article Cellier also points out that in the fifteenth century Nicolas of Cusa used "coincidentia oppositorum" as an expression of the least imperfect definition of God. What Cellier terms "coincidentia oppositorum" in Baudelaire's works, Arnolds Grava ("L'Intuition baudelairienne de la réalité bipolaire," Revue des sciences

humaines (juillet-septembre 1967), pp. 397-415) calls "l'unité bipolaire" or "la réalité bipolaire."

135 Baudelaire, "Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains--Victor Hugo," OC, II, 132, 137-138.

136 Roger Kempf, Dandies: Baudelaire et Cie (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1977), p. 12.

137 Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Du dandysme et de George Brummell," ORC, II, 673.

138 OC, II, 685.

139 Baudelaire, "Fusées," OC, I, 657.

140 OC, I, 671.

141 Baudelaire, "Fusées," OC, I, 667.

142 Baudelaire, "Hygiène," OC, I, 671.

143 OC, I, 439.

144 Baudelaire, "L'Imprévu," OC, I, 172.

"L'Imprévu" was first published in Le Boulevard on 25 January 1863. In his letter dated 24 May 1865 (C, II, 500), Baudelaire wrote to Madame Paul Maurice: "Passez par la fournaise, chacun y gagne. . . . Je crois qu'il est bon que les innocents souffrent."

145 Baudelaire, "Richard Wagner et 'Tannhäuser' à Paris," OC, II, 800.

146 Baudelaire, "Mon coeur mis à nu," OC, I, 705.

147 Ibid., p. 695.

148 OC, I, 659.

149 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 711.

150 Marcel A. Ruff, "Sur l'architecture des 'Fleurs du Mal,'" Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, 37 (1930), 397.

151 Thomas Carlyle, Sartor Resartus (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1975), p. 204.

152 Emilien Carassus, Le Mythe du dandy (Paris: Colin, 1971), p. 9.

153 Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la vie moderne," OC, II, 711.

APPENDIX

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE FIRST TWO EDITIONS OF LES FLEURS DU MAL

In the following table, each poem in the 1857 edition which undergoes a change of position in the 1861 edition is indicated by a cross reference number in parentheses. For example, in the 1857 edition, poem 2--"Le Soleil"--is followed by (87), which indicates the numerical position of the poem in the 1861 edition. Similarly, in the 1861 edition "Le Soleil" is followed by (2), which indicates the numerical position of the poem in the 1857 edition.

Each new poem added to the second edition is preceded by an asterisk.

1857 EDITION	1861 EDITION
Au Lecteur	Au Lecteur
SPLEEN ET IDEAL	SPLEEN ET IDEAL
1 Bénédiction	1 Bénédiction
2 Le Soleil (87)	*2 L'Albatros
3 Elévation	3 Elévation
4 Correspondances	4 Correspondances
5 "J'aime le souvenir . . ."	5 "J'aime le souvenir . . ."
6 Les Phares	6 Les Phares
7 La Muse malade	7 La Muse malade
8 La Muse vénale	8 La Muse vénale
9 Le Mauvais Moine	9 Le Mauvais Moine
10 L'Ennemi	10 L'Ennemi
11 Le Guignon	11 Le Guignon
12 La Vie antérieure	12 La Vie antérieure
13 Bohémiens en voyage	13 Bohémiens en voyage
14 L'Homme et la mer	14 L'Homme et la mer
15 Don Juan aux enfers	15 Don Juan aux enfers
16 Châtiment de l'orgueil	16 Châtiment de l'orgueil
17 La Beauté	17 La Beauté
18 L'Idéal	18 L'Idéal
19 La Géante	19 La Géante
	*20 Le Masque
	*21 Hymne à la Beauté
20 Les Bijoux (condemned)	22 Parfum exotique
21 Parfum exotique	*23 La Chevelure
22 "Je t'adore à l'égal . . ."	24 "Je t'adore à l'égal . . ."
23 "Tu mettrais l'univers . . ."	25 "Tu mettrais l'univers . . ."

- |    |   |     |                              |
|----|---|-----|------------------------------|
| 24 | Sed non satiata                         | 26  | Sed non satiata              |
| 25 | "Avec ses vêtements . . ."              | 27  | "Avec ses vêtements . . ."   |
| 26 | Le Serpent qui danse                    | 28  | Le Serpent qui danse         |
| 27 | Une Charogne                            | 29  | Une Charogne                 |
| 28 | De profundis clamavi                    | 30  | De profundis clamavi         |
| 29 | Le Vampire                              | 31  | Le Vampire                   |
| 30 | Le Léthé (condemné)                     |     |                              |
| 31 | "Une nuit que j'étais . . ."            | 32  | "Une nuit que j'étais . . ." |
| 32 | Remords posthume                        | 33  | Remords posthume             |
| 33 | Le Chat ("Viens . . .")                 | 34  | Le Chat ("Viens . . .")      |
|    |   | *35 | Duellum                      |
| 34 | Le Balcon                               | 36  | Le Balcon                    |
|    |   | *37 | Le Possédé                   |
|    |   | *38 | Un Fantôme                   |
| 35 | "Je te donne ces vers . . ."            | 39  | "Je te donne ces vers . . ." |
|    |   | *40 | Semper eadem                 |
| 36 | Tout entière                            | 41  | Tout entière                 |
| 37 | "Que diras-tu ce soir . . ."            | 42  | "Que diras-tu ce soir . . ." |
| 38 | Le Flambeau vivant                      | 43  | Le Flambeau vivant           |
| 39 | A celle qui est trop gaie<br>(condemné) |     |                              |
| 40 | Réversibilité                           | 44  | Réversibilité                |
| 41 | Confession                              | 45  | Confession                   |
| 42 | L'Aube spirituelle                      | 46  | L'Aube spirituelle           |
| 43 | Harmonie du soir                        | 47  | Harmonie du soir             |
| 44 | Le Flacon                               | 48  | Le Flacon                    |
| 45 | Le Poison                               | 49  | Le Poison                    |
| 46 | Ciel brouillé                           | 50  | Ciel brouillé                |
| 47 | Le Chat ("Dans . . .")                  | 51  | Le Chat ("Dans . . .")       |
| 48 | Le Beau Navire                          | 52  | Le Beau Navire               |
| 49 | L'Invitation au voyage                  | 53  | L'Invitation au voyage       |
| 50 | L'Irréparable                           | 54  | L'Irréparable                |
| 51 | Causerie                                | 55  | Causerie                     |
| 52 | L'Héautontimorouménos (83)              |     |                              |
|    |   | *56 | Chant d'automne              |
|    |   | *57 | A une Madone                 |
|    |   | *58 | Chanson d'après-midi         |
|    |   | *59 | Sisina                       |
| 53 | Franciscae meae laudes                  | 60  | Franciscae meae laudes       |
| 54 | A une dame créole                       | 61  | A une dame créole            |
| 55 | Moesta et errabunda                     | 62  | Moesta et errabunda          |
|    |   | 63  | Le Revenant (72)             |
|    |   | *64 | Sonnet d'automne             |
|    |   | 65  | Tristesses de la lune (75)   |
| 56 | Les Chats                               | 66  | Les Chats                    |
| 57 | Les Hiboux                              | 67  | Les Hiboux                   |
|    |   | 68  | La Pipe (77)                 |
|    |   | 69  | La Musique (76)              |
|    |   | 70  | Sépulture (74)               |
|    |   | *71 | Une Gravure fantastique      |
|    |   | 72  | Le Mort joyeux (73)          |
|    |   | 73  | Le Tonneau de la haine (71)  |
| 58 | La Cloche fêlée                         | 74  | La Cloche fêlée              |
| 59 | Spleen ("Pluviôse . . .")               | 75  | Spleen ("Pluviôse . . .")    |



60 Spleen ("J'ai plus . . .")  
 61 Spleen ("Je suis . . .")  
 62 Spleen ("Quand . . .")  
 63 Brumes et pluies (101)

64 L'Irrémédiable

65 A une mendiante rousse (88)  
 66 Le Jeu (96)  
 67 Le Crépuscule du soir (95)  
 68 Le Crépuscule du matin (103)  
 69 "La servante . . ." (100)  
 70 "Je n'ai pas oublié . . ." (99)  
 71 Le Tonneau de la haine (73)  
 72 Le Revenant (63)  
 73 Le Mort joyeux (72)  
 74 Sépulture (70)  
 75 Tristesses de la lune (65)  
 76 La Musique (69)  
 77 La Pipe (68)

76 Spleen ("J'ai plus . . .")  
 77 Spleen ("Je suis . . .")  
 78 Spleen ("Quand . . .")

\*79 Obsession  
 \*80 Le Goût du néant  
 \*81 Alchimie de la douleur  
 \*82 Horreur sympathique  
 83 L'Héautontimorouménos (52)  
 84 L'Irrémédiable  
 \*85 L'Horloge

#### TABLEAUX PARISIENS

\*86 Paysage  
 87 Le Soleil (2)  
 88 A une mendiante rousse (65)  
 \*89 Le Cygne  
 \*90 Les Sept Vieillards  
 \*91 Les Petites Vieilles  
 \*92 Les Aveugles  
 \*93 A une passante  
 \*94 Le Squelette laboureur  
 95 le Crépuscule du soir (67)  
 96 Le Jeu (66)  
 \*97 Danse macabre  
 \*98 L'Amour du mensonge  
 99 "Je n'ai pas oublié . . ." (70)  
 100 "La servante . . ." (69)  
 101 Brumes et pluies (63)  
 \*102 Rêve parisien  
 103 Le Crépuscule du matin (68)

#### LE VIN

104 L'Ame du vin (93)  
 105 Le Vin des chiffonniers (94)  
 106 Le Vin de l'assassin (95)  
 107 Le Vin du solitaire (96)  
 108 Le Vin des amants (97)

## FLEURS DU MAL

- 78 La Destruction
- 79 Une Martyre
- 80 Lesbos (condemned)
- 81 Femmes damnées (condemned)
- 82 Femmes damnées ("Comme . . .")
- 83 Les Deux Bonnes Soeurs
- 84 La Fontaine de sang
- 85 Allégorie
- 86 La Béatrice
- 87 Les Métamorphoses du vampire  
(condemned)
- 88 Un Voyage à Cythère
- 89 L'Amour et le crâne

## REVOLTE

- 90 Le Reniement de Saint Pierre
- 91 Abel et Caïn
- 92 Les Litanies de Satan

## LE VIN

- 93 L'Ame du vin (104)
- 94 Le Vin des chiffonniers (105)
- 95 Le Vin de l'assassin (106)
- 96 Le Vin du solitaire (107)
- 97 Le Vin des amants (108)

## LA MORT

- 98 La Mort des amants
- 99 La Mort des pauvres
- 100 La Mort des artistes

## FLEURS DU MAL

- 109 La Destruction
- 110 Une Martyre
- 111 Femmes damnées ("Comme . . .")
- 112 Les Deux Bonnes Soeurs
- 113 La Fontaine de sang
- 114 Allégorie
- 115 La Béatrice
- 116 Un Voyage à Cythère
- 117 L'Amour et le crâne

## REVOLTE

- 118 Le Reniement de Saint Pierre
- 119 Abel et Caïn
- 120 Les Litanies de Satan

## LA MORT

- 121 La Mort des amants
- 122 La Mort des pauvres
- 123 La Mort des artistes
- \*124 La Fin de la journée
- \*125 Le Rêve d'un curieux
- \*126 Le Voyage

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