Remembering Lois Boe Hyslop

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Lois Boe Hyslop, a long-time member of the advisory board of *Nineteenth-Century French Studies*, died in Sioux Falls, South Dakota on December 22, 2003, at the age of 95. A member of a distinguished South Dakota family (her brother, Nils Boe was governor), Lois Hyslop was a graduate of Augustana College and the University of Wisconsin, graduating with a Ph.D. in 1935. After serving at Susquehanna University and Skidmore College, she joined the faculty at the Pennsylvania University, University Park, in 1948, where she served until her retirement in 1974. At Penn State she was a pioneering woman faculty member and was the first woman to be named a senior fellow of the Institute for the Arts and Humanistic Studies.

Although she was the author of one volume on Henry Becque (1972), Lois Hyslop was known primarily as a Baudelaire specialist. Like W.T. Bandy, in some sense one of her models, she made an important contribution to Baudelaire studies by stressing for American readers hitherto unappreciated aspects of the poet's work. Often working in collaboration with her husband Francis Hyslop, an art historian, she emphasized Baudelaire's literary criticism and gave more detailed analyses of Baudelaire's relationship to nineteenth-century art. Useful volumes include the edition and translation, *Baudelaire as a Literary Critic* (1964), as well as *Baudelaire as a Love Poet* (1969), and *Charles Baudelaire Revisited* (new edition, 1990). Her balanced and judicious account of Baudelaire's interaction with the nineteenth-century world, *Baudelaire, Man of His Time* (Yale, 1980), constitutes a summary of Lois Boe Hyslop's scholarly interest in presenting a full portrait of Baudelaire's wide-ranging intellectual and artistic interests.

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The Black Galatea: Claire de Duras's *Ourika*

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The 1823 publication of the French novella *Ourika* by de Duras (Claire-Rose-Louise-Bonne de Coëtnempren de Kersaint, 1777-1828) transforms the ovidian Pygmalion tradition giving us now the story from the perspective of she who is molded, sculpted and fashioned.[1] The fictional story of *Ourika* explores the interior conflicts that occur when a Senegalese child is rescued from slavery and raised in a white aristocratic society of pre-revolutionary France and is then refused a place in that society. Ourika is educated in the style appropriate to any young French girl of the upper class in the period. She loves her guardian Mme de B., loves her adopted siblings, Mme de B.'s grandsons, and comes to fall in love with one of them, Charles. Because she is awakened to her racial difference, and all that it implies, she never reveals her love and becomes more and more despondent as she watches Charles begin his married family life. Ourika tries to save herself from despair by turning to religion and enters a convent where she dies of a broken heart, in what Margaret Waller has termed "the pathologizing of emotion."[2]

At its most literal level *Ourika* is itself like a work of sculpture, for the story must be chipped and sculpted out of a framing narrative: the white doctor-narrator's *récit* descibing his encounter with this seriously ill nun contains/restrains the protagonist's own chronicle.[3] Ourika hopes for healing through the narration of her tragic past and speaks to the reader through the doctor's narrative. It is his voice which frames the story, but it is the protagonist herself who evokes the Pygmalion myth by implicitly comparing herself to Galatea, providing the reader with an interpretive schemata:

> Me sauver de l'esclavage, me choisir pour bienfaitrice Mme de B., c'était me donner deux fois la vie: je fus ingrate envers la Providence en n'étant point heureuse; et cependant le bonheur résulte-t-il toujours de ces dons de l'intelligence? Je croirais

plutôt le [illegible]re: il faut payer le bienfait de savoir par le désir d'ignorer, et la fable ne nous dit pas si Galatée trouva le bonheur après avoir reçu la vie. (7)

Ourika's interrogation about the ultimate happiness of the animated statue Galatea indicates that she identifies with the created object: she feels herself to be a colored commodity, sculpted in the image of her white benefactress. But this is the point of departure from the ovidian myth: this black Galatea gives voice to her alienation from herself. Rather than merely reflect her creator as a mirror image, Ourika reflects on and about her white creator and her black self. In *Ourika*, the statue's experience breaks out of the stony container of the doctor-narrator's text to give the reader Ourika's perspective on the existence created for her; *Ourika* is story within a story, based on historical fact, projected onto the grid of an ovidian character. This is a creation story in which knowledge is punished, as the protagonist struggles to understand "Pourquoi était-elle condamnée à la vie?" (32). The goal of this article is to consider the ways in which Claire de Duras rewrites the ovidian story privileging a different voice.

Most traditions of the Pygmalion narrative tell the story of the lonely sculptor who longs for a woman worthy of his attention. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Pygmalion is thoroughly disgusted by the women in his community and prays to Venus to grant him a spouse "like [his] ivory maid," his sculpted statue which is eventually granted life, but is never granted a name.[4] While Ovid never provided an appellation for Pygmalion's companion, Ovid did bestow the name of Galatea upon that beleagured nymph pursued by a cyclops.

It is the eighteenth century which baptizes Pygmalion's statue with the name Galatea. In the first half of the century, Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe de Cordonnier uses this appellation in reference to the statue. And then in his *scène lyrique, Pygmalion*, written in 1762, Jean-Jacques Rousseau perpetuates this appellation, conflating Pygmalion's sculpture with the ovidian nymph.[5] In France there followed a play entitled *Galathée*, written by François Martin Poultier d'Elmolte (1795) and two paintings referring to Pygmalion's statue as Galathea: that by Laurent Pécheux, *Pygmalion et Galatea* (1785) and that by Girodet, *Pygmalion et Galathée* (1819).[6] If eighteenth-century artists and writers finally baptized Pygmalion's statue with a name, it remained to Claire de Duras to imagine the interior life of a being created to assuage another human's dilemma.

In Rousseau's theatrical version, Pygmalion is completely distanced from any exchange with other people because of his narcissistic preoccupation with his art, specifically his current crisis of lack of inspiration. To spur himself on, he turns to a previous work, the ivory maid, the one which surpassed even his own sculptural intentions. Speaking to his statue, he says:

O Galathée! recevez mon hommage. Oui je me suis trompé: j'ai voul[illegible] faire Nymphe, et je vous ai fait Déesse: Vénus même est moins belle que vous. Vanité, foiblesse humaine! je ne puis me lasser d'admirer mon ouvrage; je m'enivre d'amour-propre; je m'adore dans ce que j'ai fait . . . Non jamais rien de si beau ne parut dans la nature; j'ai passé l'ouvrage des Dieux. . . .(11: 1226)

Pygmalion recognizes in his art the completion of something much more magnificent than he had intended when he set out to depict the sea-nymph loved by the Cyclops. The transformation of his statue from inanimate object to human being is thus pre-figured in this initial transformation from sea-nymph to ideal woman. Pygmalion's place in history will be assured by his art: "Quand mon esprit éteint ne produira plus rien de grand, de beau, de digne de moi, je montrerai ma Galathée, et je dirai: Voilà mon ouvrage! O ma Galathée! quand j'aurai tout perdu, tu me resteras, et je serai consolé" (11: 1225). In contrast to Ovid's Pygmalion, who, disgusted by the lack of morality among women, fashions his own ideal wife, Rousseau's Pygmalion is motivated by artistic angst and egotism. Furthermore, the conflation of the statue with the sea-nymph implies the conflation of the sculptor with the cyclops, the deformed figure, set apart from the rest of society, consonant with image of the romantic poet. Like his predecessors, Rousseau still continues the tradition of telling the story principally from Pygmalion's point of view, focusing on the artist's emotional experience triggered by his own art and creative potential which seems limitless.

The first moments of animation of Rousseau's Galathea focus on her discovery of personal boundaries: "C'est moi . . . Ce n'est plus moi." She touches Pygmalion and realizes: "Ah! encore moi." To this, Pygmalion replies: "Oui, cher et charmant objet: oui, digne chef-d'œuvre de mes mains, de mon cœur et des Dieux . . . c'est toi, c'est toi seule: je t'ai donné tout mon être; je ne vivrai plus que par toi" (11: 1230-231). That is, Galathea's identity is a reflection of Pygmalion in which and through which he can admire himself. While he seems to disappear behind his art, he insists on his status as superb creator. While he suggests that he will from now on only live through her, he still reminds Galathea that she remains his chef-d'œuvre. The subject of this story thus remains the creator.

Based on a true story, Duras's *récit* revises the ovidian myth to reconsider the dynamics between creator and created, and reminds us of the short distance between freedom and enslavement. Her first presentation of this story was as an oral narration in her literary salon in 1821. The true story is one of a little Senegalese girl who is purchased by Stanislas Jean, chevalier de Boufflers and governor of Senegal from 1785-1787.[7] Boufflers gave the little black girl to his aunt Mme la Maréchale de Beauvau (who also had a literary salon of her own). Upon the death of this Ourika in 1799 at the age of sixteen, the Maréchale wrote:

"La mort d[illegible]hère Ourika a été douce comme sa vie; elle n'a pas connu son danger, et les plus affectueux, les plus tendres soins lui ont été prodigués jusqu'à ses derniers moments par ceux qui me sont attachés et qui la pleurent avec moi."[8] Of the experience of purchasing the child, Boufflers wrote: "... je me sens touché aux larmes en pensant que cette pauvre enfant m'a été vendue comme un petit agneau."[9] Boufflers and the Maréchal de Beauvau were members of the abolitionist group founded in 1788 and known as the *Société Française des Amis des Noirs*. Interestingly enough, Boufflers had written the following shortly before he became a member of this group:

> J'ai perdu un perroquet à tête rouge que je destinais à Elzéar, deux petits singes que je réservais à M. de Poix, ... Il me reste une perruche pour la reine, un cheval pour le maréchal de Castries, une petite captive pour M. de Beauvau [ailleurs appelée Hourica], une poule sultane pour le duc de Laon, une autruche pour M. de Nivernois....[10]

While he may have saved a small child from the horrors of slavery, he still regarded her as a curiosity that made an interesting gift.

In her psychoanalytic treatment of *Ourika*, which considers "la condition féminine" of nineteenth-century France as illustrated in the novella, C. Bertrand-Jennings also briefly evokes the Pygmalion-Galatea story as an underlying narrative structure for this novella, without considering, however, the post-ovidian attribution of the name Galatea to the statue. In response to Ourika's identification with the statue, Bertrand-Jennings equates the chevalier de B. with Pygmalion, while I tend to see Mme de B. as the "creator" of Ourika's new life. Bertrand-Jennings sees the chevalier's act as a kind of "appropriation de la maternité par un personnage incarnant le système patriarcal."[11] While this reading is entirely plausible, I suggest another reading which interprets Mme de B.'s actions as feminine complicity with the patriarchy which sets up a young woman to fail within the system that has shown her such "generosity." Since Mme de B. is the active agent who educates and shapes Ourika's social behavior and tastes, I tend to view her as the Pygmalion figure who tries to live out her idea of Christian charity. Duras's use of the name Galatea to designate Pygmalion's creation also suggests the author's alliance with her pre-romantic predecessors, an acknowledgement of her literary parentage.[12]

Despite Mme de B.'s humane intentions in generously raising a Senegalese child along with her grandsons, Ourika, like Galathea, becomes an artistic object of consumption.[13] She is presented as something to be observed and enjoyed esthetically, serving to amuse and delight by her very exotic nature. An especially good example of this is the ball given by the benefactress at which Ourika dances:

> Tout entière au plaisir du bal, je dansai la *Comba*, et j'eus tout le s[illegible] qu'on pouvait attendre de la nouveauté du spectacle et du choix des spectateurs, dont la plupart, amis de Mme de B., s'enthousiasmaient pour moi . . . La danse d'ailleurs était piquante; elle se composait d'un mélange d'attitudes et de pas mesurés; on y peignait l'amour, la douleur, le triomphe et le désespoir. Je ne connaissais encore aucun de ces mouvements violents de l'âme; mais je ne sais quel instinct me les fait deviner; enfin je réussis. On m'applaudit, on m'entoura, on m'accabla d'éloges; ce plaisir fut sans mélange; rien ne troublait alors ma sécurité. (10-11)

It is after this physical performance that Ourika suddenly becomes aware of the consequences of her blackness, the moment of her emotional animation when she understands her function in this benevolent househould where she is "un jouet, un amusement pour ma bienfaitrice" (12). Ourika is awakened to her physical nature which triggers her first strong emotions, a transformation which takes places after she overhears a conversation between Mme de B. and the marquise. The young woman understands she may have a dance partner, but never a marriage partner. After the ball, the marquise calls on Mme de B. specifically to discuss Ourika's future, in light of her explicit dance:

> Mais elle a quinze ans; à qui la marierez-vous, avec l'esprit qu'elle a et l'éducation que vous lui avez donnée? Qui voudra jamais épouser une négresse? Et si, à force d'argent, vous trouvez quelqu'un qui consent à avoir des enfants nègres, ce sera un homme d'une condition inférieure, et avec qui elle se trouvera malheureuse. Elle ne peut vouloir que de ceux qui ne voudront pas d'elle. (12-13)

Later, the question becomes even more basic: "Il fallait bien se faire expliquer comment une négresse était admise dans la société intime de Mme de B" (28).[14] Furthermore, in addition to this fundamental question of her presence among the members of this elite social class, there is the dilemma over what to do with her now that she has benefited from a privileged upbringing. These two issues, presence in an aristocratic household and the question of marriage reflect the historical context of the novella: the often revised Code Noir which outlawed intermarriage.[15] Louis x's interdiction of slavery in France was seriously edited in the eighteenth century: from a general understanding that the French empire recognized no slaves among its citizens, to the policy that slaves would automatically be freed once they reached the nation of France itself, Paris came to know the presence of slaves markets.[16] In 1777, Louis xvi formally barred blacks from entering France, and eliminated the possibility of manumission for any black servants working in France. And in 1778, the King forbade: "à tous ses sujets blancs de l'un ou l'autre sexe, de contracter mariage avec les Noirs, Mulâtres ou gens de couleur."[17]

Ourika's initial entry then into Mme de B.'s household is perhaps due to her Senegalese origin, a country where race relations between the French and Africans were slightly more tolerant than they were in other colonies. Furthermore, there was a degree less anxiety here about miscegenation, since the French sometimes sent their Eurafrican children to Europe for schooling.[18] And in 1789 Louis Lamiral wrote of the Senegalese and their relationship to the French: "Negroes or mulattoes, we are all French, since it is the blood of Frenchmen that flows in our veins, or in those of our nephews. This origin fills us with pride and lifts up our souls!"[19] The French had established a presence in Senegal by 1630 and promoted a slightly more "harmonious" existence which allowed French whites and Senegalese to contract marriage, but a marriage which was valid only in Senegal.[20] This was in distinct contrast with the Code Noir B, article 6, which expressly forbade intermarriage: "Défendons a nos sujets blancs de l'un et l'autre sexe de contracter mariage avec les Noirs, a peine de punition et d'amende arbitraire."[21] We must also bear in mind that during the century before the publication of *Ourika* a noble who married a woman of color would be stripped of his title by Louis XIV. And in 1733, Louis XV declared: "Tout habitant de sang-mêlé ne pourra exercer aucune charge dans la judicature ni dans les milices . . . je veux aussi que tout habitant qui se mariera avec une négresse ou mulâtresse ne puisse être officier, ni posséder aucun emploi dans les colonies."[22] The marquise's assessment of Ourika's marriage options or lack thereof are quite in keeping with the tenor of the times: only a few decades earlier, 1787 to be exact, a theatrical production representing intermarriage sparked a riot.[23] It would take more than one revolution to change such attitudes. Indeed the 1794 emancipation of blacks by the revolutionaries was short-lived. Slavery was again allowed in 1802 by Napoleon who now refused entry into France for blacks, including the Senegalese. This refusal of entry prevented slaves from acquiring freedom by default.[24] Duras's interest in Ourika's story was a timely one, given the theme of the 1823 poetry competition set by the *Academie française*: the abolition of the *traite des noirs*. Ourika's impressive exotic dance performance with her partner clearly contrasts with the function to which she aspires, but can never perform in this society because of her race: aristocratic marriage and procreation. Her function is limited to generating feelings of Christian charity; Ourika cannot and must not aspire to a marital partnership with a French man. This cultural anxiety of miscegenation is summarized in the words of a former colonialist plantation owner named Deslozières: "[the mixing of races] will attack the heart of the nation by deforming its traits and darkening it. Morality will, like the color of the body, be blackened, and in no time the degeneration of the entire French people will occur."[25] In contrast to Ovid's Pygmalion who needs to use his

artistic talents to create his own ideal companion, since he is surrounded by immoral women, Ourika, shaped by the mold of the proper young aristocratic French woman, is perceived to be inadequate as a potential partner. Formed to reflect her benefactress's social charity, her survival depends on arresting and paralysing her sexual desire. Mme de B's response – "Pour la rendre heureuse, il eût fallu en faire une personne commune" (13) – suggests she sees Ourika as her handiwork, her creation, one in which she, like Rousseau's Pygmalion surpassed her own aspirations. However, while Pygmalion's super-art will assure him a glorious reputation, Mme de B. senses the ironic failure of too much success: she has educated Ourika according to class expectations, but this young woman cannot expect to fit into this society.[26] Or as Françoise Massardier-Kenney has explained it: "the white world can only accommodate her as long as she does not reproduce," (191). Ourika, instead of waking to find her prince-charming and true love, only becomes sensitized to her abject condition as a curiosity become monstrous in her elegant blackness, or her "mal de peau."[27]

This awakening unleashes physical illness, characterized by self-alienation and self-loathing, making Ourika an anti-narcissus, developing even further the underlying ovidian grid of this story:

> Ma figure me faisait horreur, je n'osais plus me regarder dans une glace; lorsque mes yeux se portaient sur mes mains noires, je croyais voir celles d'un singe; je m'exagérais ma laideur, et cette couleur me paraissait comme le signe de ma réprobation; c'est elle qui me séparait de tous les êtres de mon espèce. . . . (15)

In fact, the marquise depicts Ourika as destined to play the role of Echo: "Elle ne peut vouloir que de ceux qui ne voudront pas d'elle" (13). In contrast to the soft, tender flesh Pygmalion feels, and the kisses and sunlight the ivory maid experiences in Ovid's narrative (the only reference to her perception), Ourika experiences her own flesh as repulsive which she reduces to that of an animal species. As in the creation story of Adam and Eve, Ourika seeks to cover herself and hide her flesh from sight. Rather than Galatea's transformation from stone to flesh, Ourika longs for a transformation from flesh to non-flesh.

Self-loathing gives way to long-lasting despair, or as one critic has termed it a kind of "cultural depression."[28] Ourika is once again confronted with harsh realities by the marquise who believes she has guessed the true source of her illness: Ourika is in love with her guardian's grandson, Charles. "Oui, Ourika, tous vos regrets, toutes vos douleurs ne viennent que d'une passion malheureuse, d'une passion insensée; et si, vous n'étiez pas folle d'amour pour Charles, vous prendriez fort bien votre partie d'être négresse" (41). This declaration comes as a revelation to Ourika who has never even suspected

anything abnormal in her feelings for her childhood companion, the young man she loves as a sister, even as a mother. Evoking the innocence and intimacy of their relationship, she says: "Depuis si longtemps il comptait sur moi, que mon amitié était pour lui comme sa vie; il en jouissait sans la sentir . . . il savait bien qu'en me parlant de lui, il me parlait de moi, et que j'étais plus lui que lui-même . . ." (26). With this description, Ourika echoes Rousseau's Galathea blending into Pygmalion. Ourika exists through and because of her benefactors. As for Charles, he cannot imagine that Ourika could have a separate life from his good fortune. However, with the marquise's assessment of dark, secret desires, Ourika now sees herself as abominable: "Je demeurai anéantie. . . . Quelle lumière affreuse avait-elle jetée sur l'abîme de mes douleurs! . . . c'était comme la lumière qui pénétra une fois au fond des enfers, et qui fit regretter les ténébres à ses malheureux habitants . . . j'avais une passion criminelle!" (41). While a black woman's love for a white man at this time constituted a "passion criminelle," this revelation also recalls a creation myth only to be followed by the fall from grace, as B. Woshinky has so astutely pointed out: in this case the insinuation of pseudo-incestuous feelings, are reminiscent of Phèdre's lamentations of her own "passion criminelle."[29] Ourika believes herself to be confronted with the knowledge of her own evilness in the form of her love for the man whom she has previously considered as a brother. But even beyond the racinian echo, this "passion criminelle" also evokes the descendancy of the ovidian Pygmalion's union with his maiden: the daughter Paphos who gives birth to Cinyras who unwittingly commits incest with his daughter Myrrha. The expression "passion criminelle" with these intertextual echoes substitutes an "anxiety of incest" for the social anxiety of miscegenation, the two being flip sides of the same coin, as it were – the fear of sexual relationships with a closely-related partner versus the social imperative to pursue sexual relationships only with a partner of the same race.[30]

During an earlier epiphany, Ourika saw herself as a "jouet" of her benefactress. Now, she believes herself to be manipulated by and subject to her own uncontrollable secret desires: "Jouet insensé des mouvements involontaires de mon âme, j'avais couru après les jouissances de la vie, et j'en avais négligé le bonheur" (44). Recognizing her previous errors, she decides to devote herself to the religious life. When Charles objects to her solution, Ourika pleads: "Laissez-moi aller, Charles, dans le seul lieu où il me soit permis de penser sans cesse à vous . . ."(45).[31] At this point in the novella, Ourika understands her feelings and her mission in life in an entirely different way, sublimating her erotic love and thoughts, her racialized sexuality, under a layer of love which allows her to be "la mère de tous les orphelins, la fille de tous les pauvres vieillards, la sœur de tous les malheureux" (44). In this thought system, Ourika

can freely, without fear of sin, think of Charles and perhaps even make a virtue out of her feelings, returning them to the realm of sisterly Christian concern.[32] That Ourika should consider the Church and the convent as a refuge is entirely consonant with a recent 1818 Parisian publication (and 1822 reprint) of a *Manuel de piété à l'usage des hommes de couleur et des noirs* by Henri Grégroire. This prayer book addressed the needs of people of color to feel implicated in Christian history and ritual, by including illustrations of Africans at the foot of the Cross, and Africans receiving communion along with whites, from the hands of a white priest.[33] Furthermore, her residence in a convent might have been considered a better solution than attempting to send her to the colonies or return her to Senegal, for she could have been classified as one of those Africans, ". . . spoiled, corrupted, instructed in more than is necessary for them, by their sojourn in Europe," an individual whose deportation to a colony could "lead to the greatest disorders."[34]

David O'Connell has labelled *Ourika* "the first novel in French to describe the effects of racism on a black person."[35] Françoise Massardier-Kenney has described Ourika as "a radical work that uncovered the foundations of the racist prejudices of the aristocracy."[36] And Roger Little has proclaimed this story to be "une prise de conscience féminine annonciatrice de celle de la Négritude."[37] However, this insightful narrative has not always been so appreciated. Léon Fanoudh-Siefer criticized the novella for its lack of verisimilitude: how could one even imagine a Senegalese girl speaking such "fine" French?[38] While some nineteenth-century critics and authors such as Chateaubriand and Goethe[39] appreciated the ideas expressed in Duras' work, certain literary salons jeered. The author herself was sometimes referred to as Ourika and her daughters were nicknamed "Bourgeonika" and "Bourika."[40] Martiniquais colonists disparaged the novella accusing Duras "d'avoir rendu intéressant dans son détestable roman une négresse qui n'avait pas même l'avantage d'être une négresse créole."[41]

While the ivory maiden's story ends with her animation, or with the moment when she becomes human, the story of Ourika, or the black Galatea, ends with a kind of de-animation, the feeling of being less than human and the need to be more than human. Instead of progressing, her close friendship with Charles regresses so that "son amitié présente ressemblait à son amitié passée, comme la fleur articielle ressemble à la fleur véritable" (37). It is almost as if Ourika has gone from living flesh to a mere representation of a human form, inverting Galatea's journey. From the very beginning of the novella, her descent into death is evoked by the narrator who describes the funeral dalles which pave the entrance to the convent: "Nous traversâmes en marchant sur de longues pierres plates, qui formaient le pavé de ces galeries: je m'aperçus que c'etaient des

tombes . . . [illegible]ques-unes de ces pierres avaient été brisées pendant la Révolution: . . [illegible]œur me le fit remarquer, en me disant qu'on n'avait pas encore eu le temps de les réparer" (3). Replacing her earlier social confinement and alienation which produced figurative "murs [dressés] autour d'elle pour la cloîtrer dans sa condition réelle,"[42] this next cloister, like its tombstones, in ruins still, is a reminder of the turbulence of the Revolution and those hopes which were not realized by the Revolution: "le cloître était à découvert d'un côté par la démolition de l'antique église, dont on ne voyait plus que quelques arceaux" (3). The nun's remark about not having had time to effect any repairs to the cloister evokes the moment in 1802 when Napoleon allowed restoration of ecclesiastical buildings. Ironically, other important napoleonic decrees date from this time period: the re-institution of the slave trade and the re-institution of the Code Noir.[43] In the midst of these stone ruins and this renewal of slavery, Ourika attempts to re-invent and re-animate herself. As Pygmalion hoped to find a life within his stone sculpture, Ourika's challenge is to build a new life for herself within this stone debris. But unlike Galatea who is awakened to life, Ourika's life only slips away from her as she takes her place among the stones in a convent.[44]

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NOTES

1 Claire de Duras, *Ourika*, Joan DeJean, Margaret Waller, eds. (New York: MLA, 1994) uses the 1824 manuscript. All citations are from this edition. However, there are two other editions of note: Claudine Herrmann, ed., *Ourika: une édition féministe* (Paris: Editions des Femmes, 1979) and Roger Little, ed. *Ourika* (Exeter: U of Exeter P 1993). The first English translation is an anonymous one, dating from 1829, followed by John Fowles's translation in 1977, republished by the MLA in 1994. The edition *Translating Slavery: Gender and Sex in French Women's Writing, 1783-1823*, ed. Doris Kadish and Françoise Massardier-Kenney (Kent, Ohio: Kent State UP, 1994) also includes another translation of *Ourika*.

2 Margaret Waller in DeJean, ed., *Ourika*, p. xv. Ourika's presence in the convent is the subject of an 1824 painting by François Gérard, friend of Claire de Duras. Also depicted in the painting is the surprise of the doctor-narrator encountering a woman of color in this institution. See Hugh Honour, *The Image of the Black in Western Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1989), Part IV, vol. 1, 132-33.

3 Grant Crichfield, *Three Novels of Madame de Duras: Ourika, Edouard, Olivier* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), refers to an "outer narrator," p. 40. See C. Bertrand-Jennings,

"Problématique d'un sujet féminin en régime patriarcal: Ouri[illegible]Duras," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies*, 23:1-1 (1994-95), p. 43, who refers to "deux récits enchâssés" and to the "autorité morale" of the doctor/narrator. See pp. 43-45 for a narratological analysis. Marie-Ange Somdah, "Ourika ou l'univers antithéthique d'une héroïne," *LittéRéalité*, 8: 2 (1996), p. 55, refers to this particular example of MISE EN ABIME as "un alibi aryen" to describe the white narrator's récit which contains the story of the black protagonist. Anjali Prabhu, "Deux nègres à Paris: la voix de l'autre," *Romance Languages Annual*, 7 (1995), p. 135, also notes the apparent need of a white male voice to validate the young black woman's story. See also Massardier-Kenney, "Duras, Racism, and Class," in Kadish, (Doris) & (Françoise) Massardier-Kenney, (eds.). (*Translating Slavery: Gender and Sex in French Women's Writing, 1783-1823* [Kent, Ohio: Kent State UP, 1994]), p. 192. Werner Sollors aptly describes this type of narrative structure reproduced in another novella as "a formal reminder of the theme of racial hierarchy," *Neither Black nor White, yet Both: Thematic Explorations of Interracial Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1997), p. 168.

4 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, rev. G. P. Goold, (Macbride, Massachusetts: Harvard UP, 1984), p. 85, book x, 1. 275: "similis meas eburnae."

5 Meyer Reinhold, "The Naming of Pygmalion's Animated Statue," *Classical Journal*, 66: 4 (April - May, 1971), pp. 316-19 continues Helen Law's earlier research on this topic. Rousseau's play is performed in Lyon in 1770, then in Paris in 1775. Reinhold suggests that it is a character in Virgil's *Eclogues* which inspires the eighteenth century to name Pygmalion's statue by the same name, p. 318.

6 Reinhold, p. 318.

7 Massardier-Kenney, p. 185. Lucien Scheler, "Un best-seller sous Louis XVIII: *Ourika* par Duras," *Bulletin du bibliophile* (Paris: 1988), pp. 21-22. See C. Perroud, "La Société Française des Amis des Noirs," *La Révolution française* (Paris: La Société, 1916). See Roger Little, "Le nom et les origines d'Ourika," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 98 (1998), pp. 635, who explains that the name Ouri-Ka comes from the Peulh language and means "j'ai vécu" or "I have lived."

8 As cited by Little, *Ourika*, p. 40.

9 As cited by Little, *Ourika*, p. 39. He gives a date of February 8, 1786 for this journal entry.

10 Little, *Ourika*, p. 38 indicates that this remark dates from a letter to the Comtesse De Sabran, dated July 19, 1786. *La Société des Amis des Noirs 1788-1799: Contribution à l'histoire de l'abolition de l'esclavage*, ed. Marcel Dorigny and Bernard Gainot (Paris: Editions UNESCO: 1998), p. 174 adds that this poet-governor "prendra position en faveur de l'esclavage contre l'abbé Grégoire en 1808."

11 Bertrand-Jennings, p. 46. See also her fn 15, pp. 56-57.

12 And the name Ourika also suggests acknowledgement of another sort: a connection with a secondary character by the same name in Mme de Staël's *Mirza*.

13 Bertrand-[illegible]ngs, p. 45, speaks of Ourika's "statut de 'marchandise' de l'héroïne qu'on achète ou qu'on donne comme un objet monnayable . . . " See also p. 54.

14 The black population in eighteenth-century France has been variously estimated between one and five thousand, with most of this population associated with marginal, or even criminal groups. William Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530-1880* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1980), p. 64 and p. 111. Shelby McCloy, *The Negro in France* (U of Kentucky P, 1961) insists that the African population could have been no more than one thousand at any time during the last 20 or so years of the eighteenth century, p. 52. France had a total population of about 20 million at this time, p. 112.

15 See introduction of DeJean ed., pp. ix-x for a brief history of the Code Noir and the abolitionist movement in France.

16 Pierre Titi Nwell explains that in 1738 Louis XV prohibited the use of black domestic servants in the Hexagon, to avoid the possibility of automatic manumission of a slave once introduced into France. See his article "L'Emancipation des Noirs et les principes de la Révolution française," in *Le Code noir et l'Afrique*, Ambroise Kom, Lucienne Ngoué, eds., (Ivry: Nouvelles du Sud, 1991), p. 22. He cites the following, from a document issued by the Amirauté de France, 1762: "La France, surtout la capitale, est devenue un marché public où l'on a vendu les hommes au plus offrant et dernier enchérisseur, il n'est pas de bourgeois ou d'ouvriers qui n'ait eu son Nègre esclave . . . Nous sommes constamment occupés à faire ouvrir les prisons aux Nègres qui y sont détenus, sans autre formalité que la volonté de leurs maîtres qui osent exercer sous nos yeux un pouvoir contraire à l'ordre public et à nos lois," p. 23. See also Louis Sala-Molins, *Le Code Noir ou le calvaire de Canaan* (Paris: PUF, 1987), p. 219. Cohen, p. 45 cites the example of a slave ship required to release the Africans on board when it entered a French harbor in 1691. Cohen also reports that automatic manumission of slaves reaching France ceased in 1716, p. 110.

17 Nwell, p. 23. Sala-Molins, p. 220, cites a report from the 1770s: "Les nègres se multiplient chaque jour en France. On y favorise leurs mariages avec des Européens, les maisons publiques en sont infectées; les couleurs se mêlent, le sang s'altère. Une prodigieuse quantité d'esclaves enlevés à la culture dans les colonies ne sont amenés en France que pour flatter la vanité de leurs maîtres et ces mêmes esclaves, s'ils retournent en Amérique, y rapportent l'esprit de liberté, d'indépendance et d'égalité qu'ils communiquent aux autres." And yet McCloy, p. 53 notes that official reports from 1777 on list as many as 60 mixed-race marriages.

18 Cohen, p. 100 and, pp. 120-27.

19 Cohen, p. 123. This is in stark contrast with Louis Lamiral's theory on the Africans' position at the bottom of the "chain of being," pp. 87-88. He also insisted on "the distance that must exist between the two species [white and colored] . . . We must always establish a profound respect for our blood," as cited on p. 127.

20 Cohen, pp. 120-27.

21 Sala-Molins, p. 109. See also André Ntonfo, "Le roman antillais à la lumière du Code Noir: étude de cas," in *Le Code Noir et l'Afrique*, Ambroise Kom et Lucienne Ngoué, ed. (Ivry: Nouvelles du Sud,1991), p. 197.

22 Sala-Molins, p. 201. Valerie Quinney, "Decisions on Slavery, the Slave-Trade and Civil Rights for Negroes in the Early French Revolution," *The Journal of Negro History*, LV (1970), p. 126, indicates that intermarriage still resulted in loss of nobility in 1789. See also Cohen, p. 51.

23 Cohen, p. 113.

24 Cohen, pp. 188-20. See Barbara R. Woshinsky, "Tombeau de *Phèdre*: Repression, Confession and *Métissage* in Racine and Claire de Duras," *Dalhousie French Studies*, 49 (1999), footnote 3, p. 168.

25 Cohen, p. 119.

26 See Michelle Chilcoat, "Confinement, the Family Institution, and the Case of Claire de Duras's *Ouika*," *L'Esprit Créateur*, 38: 3 (1998), p. 15, who situates Ourika's social exclusion in both her race *and* her education.

27 Marie-Ange Somdah, "Ourika ou l'univers antithétique d'une héroïne," *LittéRéalité*, 8: 2 (1989), p. 59.

28 Crichfield, p. 55. See Sarah Maza in Denis Hollier, ed., *A New History of French Literature* (Cambridge, MA; Harvard UP, 1989), p. 624: "Ourika recounts the life of a Senegalese girl raised to gentility in France, whose growing awareness of the barriers of race turns into self-hatred and self-destruction."

29 See Woshinsky, pp. 167-81 for a thorough analysis of the similarities between Phèdre and Ourika. Crichfield, p. 8, refers to an "'incestuous' passion." Since Ourika and Charles were raised together as children, Crichfield argues that Ourika's horror at the marquise's revelation are colored by, albeit, unrealized, incestuous feelings. Little, *Ourika*, acknowledges that Ourika is "traumatisée par les accusations d'amour quasi-incestueux," p. 56. Other critics reject implied incest as a cause for Ourika's despair, concluding that race is the precipitating factor. In contrast, Michèle Bissière, "Union et désunion avec le père dans *Ourika* et *Edouard*," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies*, 23: 3-4 (1995), p. 320, refers to adulterous love since Charles is married at the time of the marquise's accusation.

30 Regarding the connection between incest and miscegenation in literature, see Werner Sollors, *Neither Black Nor White Yet Both: Thematic Explorations of Interracial Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1997), pp. 286-334 and pp. 345-48. The two concepts were also linked in law: in Mississippi in 1880, a law forbiddening marriages between persons of different races referred to these unions as "'incestuous and void,'" as cited in Sollors, p. 299.

31 Chilcoat hears in Ourika's plea an admission not of sensual love, but rather an expression of envy for the happy future assured Charles, p. 15.

32 Joachim [illegible]t, *Le Roman personnel de Rousseau à Fromentin* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), [illegible]p. 311-12, explained the protagonist's choice this way: "Si quelque chose est à conclure de cette très jolie nouvelle, c'est que la religion est là, à point, pour corriger les inévitables rigueurs de la société, ses torts nécessaires, ses préjugés, sur lesquels reposent son institution, et qui offrent aux belles âmes qu'ils oppriment l'occasion précieuse de développer tous leurs mérites. Vienne à disparaître la notion du mérite, et cette morale sera sans prise."

33 See Honour, p. 128 for illustrations.

34 From letter by Devaivre de De Sartine, 15 Jan. 1778, Archives Nationales, Colonies, F1B4, as cited by McCloy, p. 49.

35 As cited by Massardier-Kenney, p. 190.

36 Massardier-Kenney, p. 189

37 Little, *Ourika*, p. ix.

38 "De cette Ourika authentique qui a été emportée par un mal mystérieux à l'âge de seize ans, nous dit-on, qu'a fait Mme de Duras? C'est là que la transposition romanesque touche à l'invraisemblance. Il est vrai qu'Ourika a grandi en France, élevée par des Français, mais peut-on admettre facilement de l'entendre parler, comme les grandes dames du XVIIIe siècle, une langue précieuse qui suppose une mentalité, une tournure d'esprit non africaine?" Léon Fanoudh-Siefer, *Le Mythe du Nègre et de l'Afrique noire dans la littature française (de 1800 à la 2e guerre mondiale)* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1968), p. 27. Even while he refers to this work as "cette œuvre légère et pleine d'invraisemblances criantes," (p. 25), he notes Duras's social awareness regarding racism, p. 29.

39 Herrmann, p.7. Little, *Ourika*, p. 62 and p. 65.

40 Massardier-Kenney, p. 189.

41 Herrmann, citing a letter written to Humboldt, 1825, p. 21. See also Little, p. 65.

42 Somdah, p. 59.

43 Nwel, p. 16. The *Code Noir* had been suspended by the Convention in 1794.

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Uprooting the Lyric: Baudelaire in Wagner's Forests

JOSEPH ACQUISTO

Richard Wagner's arrival on the Parisian opera scene rocked Paris in 1860.[1] Small riots also broke out the next year, when Wagner staged *Tannhäuser* in Paris. To defend Wagner against his Parisian detractors, Charles Baudelaire wrote *Richard Wagner et* Tannhäuser *à Paris*, his only music criticism, an essay that would also turn out to be a fundamental performance of Baudelaire's own esthetics. I examine here the intertextual relationship between Wagner and Baudelaire, arguing that the latter's reworking of Wagner has important implications for the status of lyric poetry reinscribed within an urban context. My analyses of a network of intertexts will suggest that Baudelaire transformed his consideration of music into a prolonged meditation on memory. It is through his reflections on textual and cultural memory that Baudelaire rewrites the nature of esthetic experience in the early 1860s.

Toward the end of the first section of *Richard Wagner et* Tannhäuser *à Paris*, between two paragraphs, Baudelaire inserts the quatrains of his famous sonnet "Correspondances":

> Le lecteur sait quel but nous poursuivons: démontrer que la véritable musique suggère des idées analogues dans des cerveaux différents. D'ailleurs, il ne serait pas ridicule ici de raisonner *a priori*, sans analyse et sans comparaisons; car ce qui serait vraiment surprenant, c'est que le son *ne pût pas* suggérer la couleur, que les couleurs *ne pussent pas* donner l'idée d'une mélodie, et que le son et la couleur fussent impropres à traduire des idées; les choses s'étant toujours exprimées par une analogie réciproque, depuis le jour où Dieu a proféré le monde comme une complexe et indivisible totalité.
>
> La nature est un temple où de vivants piliers
> Laissent parfois sortir de confuses paroles;
> L'homme y passe à travers des forêts de symboles
> Qui l'observent avec des regards familiers.

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