

Advertising/Pornography/Art: The French Drink Poster

Advertising is "an art like another, and infinite like all the arts."

Henry James, The Ambassadors

Beginning in the 1880s, the transient poster art of Jules Chéret and others layered swatches of color and images of gaiety on the walls of Paris, transforming the gray city recently constructed by Baron Haussmann. Edmond de Goncourt toasted Chéret in 1890: "I drink to the foremost painter of the walls of Paris, to the inventor of the art of the poster" (Abdy 28). De Goncourt went on to say that the province of the poster artist was "the laughter of color and the laughter of physiognomy and the laughter of frisking bodies" (Wagner 13). The French advertising poster was an explosion of gaiety comparable only to the musical gaiety launched thirty years earlier in Paris by Jacques Offenbach.

Both art forms were given over to gaiety in its inevitable carpe diem formation: the story of La Vie Parisienne, for example, urged women not to take life seriously, while

advertising posters showed women savoring the pleasures of the moment. In a 1905 poster by Francisco Tamagno [fig. 1],

The young passenger is so preoccupied savoring the fruity-wine of Framboisette that she forgets it's only a "3-minute stop" at this station and is entirely oblivious to the fact that everyone [the conductor and engineer of the waiting train] is anxious to get her back on board: the woman leans on a café table, eyes closed and beaming, with the glass to her lips (Rennert 13).

Chéret and his coterie of fellow artists, "Les Incohérents," championed gaiety as a sufficient motive for art; but of course it was not simply an aesthetic of gaiety, it was gaiety in thrall to commerce (Collins 91 and 198). Beginning with the Belle Epoque poster gaiety became the primary mode of merchandising in the West. The fin-de-siècle advertising poster has not yet been introduced into contemporary critical discourse. I plan to do this before I move on to my main intention, which is to place historical product advertising in some sensible relationship to its two sister-systems, pornography and art.

The masters of the new art form included Chéret, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Theophile-Alexandre Steinlen, Alphonse Mucha, and Pierre Bonnard. "Allowing oneself a literary conceit," Bevis Hillier wrote, "one might say that Chéret was the springtime of the poster, with his fresh, insouciant colors; Lautrec was its high summer; Steinlen, with his roughness and brown-yellow tones,

its autumn; and Mucha its winter, snow mixed with every color on the palette." Bonnard's posters, he added, "have an icy fragility that none of the four great masters was quite dilettant or 'Japanese' enough to achieve, or even want" (73-79).

In both typography and style, Chéret's art pointed back to an earlier regime of pleasure, the Rococo art of Watteau, Fragonard, and Tiepolo: Edouard Manet hailed Chéret as the Watteau, Felicien Champseur as the Fragonard, of the street; Felix Fenéon called him "the Tiepolo of the billboards" (Weill 25, Collins 120 and Rewald 138). According to Marcus Verhagen, the poster "was instrumental in reviving la gaité française, a national tradition of public festivity and humor, of which the eighteenth-century fête galante and its representations in Rococo painting were particularly refined expressions" (Verhagen 111).

Alcohol and tobacco, the fashionable soft drugs of Western civilization, were among the objects most prominently displayed in these posters. Drink posters were central to Chéret's work and the Belle Epoque poster as a whole. Pierre Bonnard's first poster, the "France-Champagne" of 1891, was highly influential; its success which persuaded Toulouse-Lautrec to enter this field of art [fig. 2]. Of the range of products advertised, drink particularly was common to both the poster and contemporary art. Drink and drinking was shared subject matter, but their signification was also challenged and tarnished in the art of Manet and Edgar Degas. I suggest that this competition, involving as it did the look of modernity (how the "modern" would enter

representation), was the aesthetic trigger for the style and contours of advertising art.

Whatever the product they advertised, posters were intoxicating in themselves (as all advertising was, according to an early commentator, Christian Heinrich von Dillmann: "As wine is to the body, so is the advertisement for business"). The aesthetic of gaiety was essentially an aesthetic of intoxication. Advertising acted out the logic of intoxication: liquor does not merely promise a pleasant drink, the automobile a smooth and relaxing ride; these and other products offer instead a glorious transformation of life (the fulfilment of desire, an end to anxiety), and they continue to work on us no matter how often we have been disappointed in the past. Of the products advertised, drink is the only one that effectively lights you up and makes you smile.

At any rate, these were the metaphors that writers reached for: "To catch sight of the posters is to be caught up in an extrovert release of happiness--a pictorial equivalent of the expectation aroused by the sound of the cork released from a bottle of champagne" (Barnicoat 20). Felix Fénéon described Chéret's work as "An intoxication of high spirits that never leads to grimaces, bodies bend low and leap into the air with never an ugly movement; dizzy and delightful are the arms and legs that shoot out from the high kicking group," while Joris-Karl Huysmans declared Chéret's art to be the essence of Paris, "a delicious tipsiness of foaming wine, a tipsiness which is

scented, and tinted rose" (Abdy 30). The meaning of intoxication is also held in play by various markers of gaiety, particularly the abandon of free floating, which may be read as a specific metaphor for intoxication: a punning renunciation of the gravity of everyday existence (1).

Because advertisements are intoxicating in themselves, liquor ads neatly allegorize the pleasures of consumption as well as the power of advertising. A. M. Cassandre's Dubonnet poster [fig. 3], for example, displays a male figure who becomes whole as he drinks. The letters that spell out the product are also sequentially filled in: dubo, dubon, Dubonnet (doubtful, it's good, Dubonnet). Drink brings him to life and he responds by filling the glass again.

But something else happened at this moment of graphic enhancement which transformed the entire project of advertising, giving it much greater affective power and making it capable of vast feats of mass marketing. A comely young woman entered the visual field, coquetting in a "lively fashion with passersby" and "lending the charm of her petite person to all the offerings of business"; she was even more of an intoxicant than the liquor (Gelfer-Jorgensen 81 and Rosalind Williams 91). The strategy was instantly successful and determined the future of the advertising scene. James Joyce's Leopold Bloom, a one-time canvasser himself, imagines that he can improve his old firm's advertising campaign "by filling a mobile float with pretty secretaries in the act of using products from Hely's," while the advertising man in Delbert

Mann's film Lover Come Back believes that with a "well-stacked dame in a bathing suit," he can "sell after-shave lotion to beatniks" (Richards 226 and Krutnik 184).

Women had not been prominent in product advertising up to that time. If they were part of a pictured scene, they were functional creatures, maidservants or washerwomen. The alluring advertising woman was a substitute for something that had once "belonged" to the product. According to Wolfgang Schivelbusch, original advertising images were local and vaguely historical; in the case of tobacco ads, for example, they tended to be colonial narratives. At a certain point women replaced this narrative of origins and acquisition (182). As Thomas Richards writes of the English advertizing woman, "the seaside girl did not just personalize and customize the spectacular representation of the commodity: she removed from the spectacle all soiling trace of historical origin and went about it with such brio that the resulting lack of specificity seemed timely and contemporary" (247).

Standard histories of advertising disavow such a sexual strategy at the heart of the discipline (2). Only in the margins--in random generalizations or writing that reflects on advertising from another field of study--can one find an acknowledgment of the actual dynamics of advertising; from Jennifer Wicke--"Advertising is a mobile, fluctuating sexual subject position within writing, erotic above all because advertisement puts commodities of all kinds into sexualized

narrativity, makes them labile sexualized encounters"--or Simone Weil Davis (who states what should be the case)--"Certainly this linkage of sex and consumerism is omnipresent enough that it barely needs to be stated--it works more like a founding principle of consumer society than a revelation to be unearthed" (Wicke 102 and Davis 48).

Invented by Chéret, this woman became known as the chérette (see "Vin Mariani" [fig. 4]). According to Jane Abdy,

The personification of gaiety in his posters is the laughing, twirling, sparkling girl whom he uses as a model His girls are always smiling, sometimes a little giggly, often dishevelled by the steps of the dance, with their apricot hair falling in stray curls. Living for pleasure, totally irresponsible, always kind and always careless, they tumble from the posters in the mood of the party (31) (3).

Chérettes "spiral upward as though they are airborne deities who have wandered from a ceiling fresco by Tiepolo" (Feinblatt 40). They float (another metaphor for intoxication) through the scenic atmosphere. Chéret's feel for a "'floating world' of upturned line and airborne leaps," Kirk Varnedoe and Adam Gopnik write, "provided a formula for the levity of entertainment" (240). Accordingly, these posters are also filled with fizz, froth, and images of twisting, winding and unwinding. Bonnard's "France-Champagne" spills over with champagne fizz, while, in Jean D'Ylen's "Marsala Florio," the woman rises from a sea of

peacock feathers [fig. 5], and in his "Spa-Monopole," a clown is borne aloft by the fizz from a champagne bottle (4).

The U. S. equivalents of the ch rette were various "girls," like the "Sozodent Girl," the "White Rock Girl," the "Kodak Girl," and, in a more general way, the "Gibson Girl" (Sivulka 64). In an excellent study of literature and advertising, Richards discusses the "seaside girl," a British advertising model who appears in the "Nausicaa" episode of Ulysses. The ch rette became a new art ideal, closely related to that other French pinup, La Parisienne, who populated contemporary illustrations ; "Balzac once said that he would prefer the elegant coquettish Parisienne to the Venus de Milo any day" (Ross 43). Operetta also produced a new type of laughing, dancing woman, personified best as Franz Lehar's "merry widow."

In a comparable merchandising scene, the display window (a three-dimensional poster), the mannequin represented yet another version of commercialized femininity: svelte, often scantily clad female figures who organized the affective space. They were presented by Emile Zola in The Ladies' Paradise:

The dummies' round bosoms swelled out the material, their wide hips exaggerated the narrow waists, and their missing heads were replaced by large price tags with pins stuck through them into the red bunting round the collars, while mirrors on either side of the windows had been skilfully arranged to reflect the dummies multiplying them endlessly, seeming to fill the

street with these beautiful women for sale with huge price tags where their heads should have been (6).

The poster achieved what all advertising desires: to arrest the attention of the grazing eye and etch an image on the mind of the viewer; "a vibrant, dynamic force" ["breathes from every Chéret poster"], Huysmans exclaimed, "that virtually compels you to stop, look and be enchanted" (Rennert 1). Advertising art must hail before it can seduce, and the poster did this, first through its size, simplified color scheme and clear outlines, and its style; and second through the stopping and absorbing power of the woman, heightened by having her look at the viewer, thereby turning fragments of narrative into spectacle. The chérètte was both a purveyor and consumer of goods: the floating woman poured drinks, drank invitingly, or offered the glass to us (5).

If the poster works by stopping the passerby and interpellating him into the artwork through its imagery, color, and style, the images of women simply bump all of that up to a much higher degree. The woman, after all, articulates the workings of capitalism: she allegorizes the process of commodity fetishism, attaching desirability to the product (6). She is Jean Baudrillard's hyperreal sign, a "new, dissimulating aura . . . injected into the commodity, easing its passage into the dream world of the private consumer" (Buck-Morss 184).

The transformation of advertising involved a move from a product to a woman and, ultimately, the substitution of the woman for the product. "Women are the preferred image in many posters,"

Linda Saladin observes, "because of their functional value as the embodiment of masculine property" (159). Business in early capitalism, John Berger tells us, "was often conducted in rooms lined with paintings of passive female nudes, whose display of sexual difference and availability reassured the businessmen of their own power" (Rowe 120). How does the woman work this miracle? Are the psychodynamics of this commercial transference presexual or sexual, maternal dyad or oedipal triangle? Is the fantasy of advertising one of sucking or fucking?

On the one hand the woman is clearly pre-oedipal. She is the milk mother of the Freudian dyad, displayed in a maternal relationship to the product, offering maternal nourishment to the viewer as well. In Federico Fellini's contribution to Boccaccio '70, "La tentazioni del Dottor Antonio," a comic pedant crusades against sexual advertising and chooses as his target a huge billboard displaying a film star (Anita Ekberg) holding a glass of milk:

The good doctor mounts an attack on the poster . . . by physically assaulting the billboard with ink pellets. His victory is short-lived, for the woman on the billboard comes to gigantic life and tempts him not only to distraction but to insanity with her ample charms. Eventually the doctor is placed in a strait jacket and taken off to an asylum (Alpert 157) (7).

And yet the transaction is just as clearly sexualized (of the products advertised, drink is the only one that leads to

sexual activity). Posters shared their cult of seductive beauty with a wide range of popular illustration in which the woman offers the male viewer both the product and herself (8).

Colta Ives contrasts the chérie, a "pastel-sweet, neo-Fragonard dainty" who offers "a drink as a covert pretext for sex" with "Bonnard's inebriated cocotte, turning complicitously toward the viewer/consumer as she waves a glass of champagne . . . [and] offers the sex up front" (13). Contemporary commentary identified the advertising woman as a prostitute, the identification of any woman who displayed herself in the theater and high art as well. There is a large body of literature on the cultural equation between female representation and a fantasy of prostitution (see T. J. Clark and Ross particularly) (9). In this way also the poster allegorized itself: "the poster was itself involved in a form of prostitution. Like a streetwalker, it accosted passersby in public, using every artifice to gain their attention; like her, it was garish and immodest" (Verhagen 117) (10).

The sexuality of poster advertising may work even better when the woman is unavailable, as with Mucha's goddesses, those abstracted beauties who seem to be beyond sexual desire. However, their hair--"scampering off in wild abandon"--gives their imminent sensuality away, conveying also "the notion of the effervescent effect of the champagne. Here, the hair actually has the function of subtly conveying a quality of the product, a rather novel use of a physical attribute in advertising in its

day" (Rennert 1984: 17) (11).

The chérette serves us; as for the goddess, we should serve her. Nevertheless, all the women ultimately serve us; hence their frequent appearance as maids or waitresses. They are all our servants and, thus, associated with the bottle, not the glass. The bottle and glass that make up the product in the drink posters are often pointedly separated: on either side of the woman's body; one looked at, the other looked away from; or held by different agents. The glass is dainty, the bottle gross, the glass is social, the bottle alcoholic.

The sort of argument I am making is usually short-circuited by assuming that these images are addressed to and received by women. This is the customary cover story, but these representations inevitably take their place in a circuit of male desire--by design, one would think, considering that the producers and advertising agents were overwhelmingly male. So, Stuart Ewen, for example, believes the advertising woman is a screen for a woman in the world, not a lure for a man (179). Many commentators, however, share my skepticism (see Saladin 157 and Millum 65). Even after the goods markets came to be dominated by women after 1816, the heterosexual text remained active. Apparently, the strength of identification overcame any amount of distortion and visual abuse, as Ruth Iskin and Pamela Laird assert: "Many posters used blatantly seductive images of women even as they appealed primarily to them as consumers" (Bowlby 381 and Iskin and Laird 93).

The chérette is situated somewhere between the woman of pornography and the female nude of art. Advertising is one of three major art projects in the nineteenth century centered on a sexually idealized woman (12). Its resemblance to the first is sufficiently strong to allow it to be known as "the pornography of everyday life" (Caputi 58). In his study of pornography, Bernard Arcand almost admits that the border between these two disciplines is in danger of collapse but then wryly asserts a familiar separation: If "the commercialization of images of a sexual nature" were "accepted as a valid definition [of pornography] . . . a significant amount of advertising would be classified as pornographic." With some amusement he notes an argument "that English Canadians were introduced to sexuality through the woman's underwear section of the Eaton's catalogue" (25-26). It would stretch common meaning to call the catalogue pornographic, but it would be accurate to claim that the catalogue was produced to exploit this pornographic potential.

Art pinned its existence on the exemption of one particular female type, the nude, from the register of sexuality. Gazing at the nude was not sexually arousing--indeed, just the opposite. The Greek Slave of Hiram Powers was defended on the grounds that her nudity was a sign of her purity and chastity; the "nude represented prelapsarian innocence" (Smith 12). If the viewer became aroused, then the experience was not art but pornography. This aesthetic proposition was succinctly tucked into Joyce's Portrait of an Artist as a Young Man where Stephen Daedalus

lectures his friend Lynch on aesthetics, insisting that art must not excite desire. Lynch tells him that "one day I wrote my name on the backside of the Venus of Praxiteles. Was that not desire?" Stephen repeats that beauty "expressed by the artist cannot awaken in us an emotion which is kinetic or a sensation which is purely physical" (205-206).

While this belief seems quite delusional, it held sway until well after the publication of its official codification in Kenneth Clark's The Nude (1956). The nude of art was officially not sexually arousing for two reasons. The first was formal or claimed to be: the artistic representation was removed as far as possible from its biological history, the folds and sags and blemishes of actual human flesh. The second reason reinforced the first, stipulating that there could be no signs of contemporaneity connected to the nude--as if it were the surround that titillated and not the female body--hence the turn to mythology, allegory, pastoral, etc.

The nude was protected from nakedness but its rationale was always slipping. If there was nothing else contemporary about the representation, there was always the model. And it is an insight into this mode of contemporaneity that transforms the highest art into pornography for Hilda in Nathaniel Hawthorne's Marble Faun. This pure young woman, an American copyist of classic paintings, falls into a depression and wanders through the galleries of the "great, old palaces" [of Rome] whose paintings she had once so ideally copied. Hilda has lost her faculty for appreciating works

of art. She "grew acquainted," Hawthorne writes, "with that icy Demon of Weariness, who haunts great picture-galleries," and the long and brilliant dissertation that follows is, the text tells us, a transcription of what that "plausible Mephistopheles" whispers in our ears when we have fallen under his spell. This demon exposes the painters of the High Renaissance as lechers and pornographers. Hilda is initiated into the moral deceptiveness of art when she realizes that the model of a particularly spiritual madonna may have sat, only a matter of hours before, for one of the painter's fleshly Venuses, or that painter and model might even have begun their sitting after making love (336-337). Another character in the romance demolishes this distinction at the center of art: "'Not a nude figure, I hope!' observed Miriam . . . 'An artist . . . cannot sculpture nudity with a pure heart, if only because he is compelled to steal guilty glimpses at hired models'" (Myrone 31) (13).

However unstable its valence, the female nude was at the center of the art project, "not simply one subject among others, one form among many, it is the subject, the form" (Nead 202). But as Nead goes on to say, it pointed outside art to something unseemly:

More than any other subject, the female nude connotes "Art"; it is the most important icon of Western culture, a kind of hieroglyph which expresses civilization and accomplishment. And yet there is something awkward about the nude The female

nude pushes to the edge, presses to the very limit and can spill over into something which is not art at all but a cliché, a poor joke, smut, even obscenity (199-201).

Art was the third representational mode to employ a seductive woman at its center. It was declared by fiat to be other than pornography, where the female image is sexually arousing, and other than advertising, where the seduction is a lure that is immediately directed towards economics.

Nineteenth-century art, however, certainly served the fantasy needs of young men. Pornography emerged from within Western art, according to one story, outed by Manet's *Olympia*. It was then at liberty to assume its own boundaries (14). The earlier buried existence of this formation is sufficiently clear: in Henry James's The American, the New England Unitarian minister, Benjamin Babcock, visits the art galleries of Europe, resisting the lure of a representation until he can first certify its morality. Babcock fears contamination by Western art, specifically art that bears a pornographic load--a difference he fears he will not be able to mark without help. To that end he clutches a copy of Anna Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art as a guide to the European collections, a practice that the hero of the novel, Christopher Newman, finds contemptible.

Much of what I've said about posters applies to Manet's "The Bar at the Folies-Bergere," a painting of a pretty young woman selling alcoholic drink in almost direct address (15). In her

article on the work, Ruth Iskin finally determines that the similarity between the painting and a poster is spurious-- "Manet's painting literally foregrounds selling and seduction. Yet it steers clear of the overt seduction of advertising posters like La Framboisette. Instead, the attractive marchande at the bar possesses the remote gaze that Benjamin finds in Baudelaire's poetry, eyes that 'have lost their ability to look'"--but she forgets the great commercial success of Mucha's posters (43).

If, instead of Manet's "Bar," we choose another obvious binary alternative to the posters of Chéret, Degas's "Absinthe," then instead of similarity we have a great division between art and advertising. French realist art--the tradition of Gustave Courbet, Manet, and Degas--was accused of destroying beauty. Octave Mirbeau, for example, declared that "Those who admire sacred flesh and feline, snakelike curves will find no joy in the drawings of M. Degas I know nothing more cruel than this drawing of a woman [The Bathers]--fat, dumpy, her flesh puffy, resting her hands on her enormous buttocks" (Dawkins 73 and 72).

In advertising art, drink and the woman sparkle and scintillate; in modern art they are drab and depressing. Poster art is devoted to a culture of excitement and exhilaration, however false; high art to a culture of depression (see Goodson 20) (16). Can we not read the triumph of the poster as a counter-formation to this degenerative practice? Poster art would then represent the reassertion of an aesthetics of beauty after contemporary art had delivered the world to a drab modernity.

What was at stake in this new art movement, as much as the sale of product, was the allure of femininity. Allure was not merely a sexual strategy, it was also the aesthetic issue.

The borderline between advertising and art may be cloudy as well as clear. For John Berger, art has always been confusingly close to advertising:

Oil paintings often depict things. Things which in reality are buyable. To have a thing painted and put on a canvas is not unlike buying it and putting it in your house Oil painting did to appearances what capital did to social relations. It reduced everything to the equality of objects. Everything became exchangeable because everything became a commodity What distinguishes oil painting from any other form of painting is its special ability to render the tangibility, the texture, the lustre, the solidity of what it depicts (83 and 87-88).

T. J. Barratt, manufacturer of Pears Soap, committed, Anne McClintock writes, an act of "breathtaking cultural transgression" when he bought John Everett Millais's "Bubbles" and "inserted into the painting a bar of soap stamped with the totemic word Pears. At a stroke he transformed the artwork of the best known painter in Britain into a mass-produced commodity" (Sharp 308). Why should writing Pears on a painting transform a work of art into something else? Manet's "Bar" is not an advertisement even though we can identify bottles of Bass Ale for

sale on the counter. But why not? In Steven Heller's collection Sex Appeal there is a 1980 reproduction of Manet's painting with three clearly labeled Campari bottles inserted at the barmaid's right hand, the work of the Steve Campbell advertising agency (213).

Recognizing the model or reacting to a particular hang of flesh transforms art into pornography. A word like "Pears" can de-auratize art, it can desexualize porn. As Bernard Arcand writes, "all that was necessary in the past was to declare the work in question a work of art . . . or, again, maintain that the photographs were essential for the sale of underwear" (29).

Notes.

(1). Chéret's "L'Horlage" demonstrates the spring that drink induces as a waiter holds up a tray with a bottle of champagne on which an acrobat is standing on his head and a mug of beer on which a clown does a handstand. Also see Andre Louis Armand Rassenfosse's "Distillerie Constant Denis."

(2). The principles that energize advertising in the standard histories are few. A standard way of telling the story of advertising is to divide it into an earlier "rational" period and a subsequent period of irrational appeal, fed by contemporary discoveries in psychology. This division can also be figured as France and America (see Haas 66). For Raymond Williams advertising only works through exaggeration or lying, claiming all good results from the product; while Martin Davidson makes success depend on the progress of "branding." These competing advertising strategies are gendered: lying or exaggeration is male, and the woman silences these bragging voices by making grandiose claims unnecessary. There are, however, several anecdotal histories of advertising that touch on this sexual dynamic; see Heller, Reichert, and Sivulka.

(3). Most commentary agrees that the Chérette was based on Chéret's favorite model, Charlotte Wiehe, a Danish actress and dancer, although a range of originals has been proposed,

including Loie Fuller (Wagner 14).

(4). The fizz was also stylistic: Chéret's technique, "revolutionary after the sober black and white of the Paris placards," was an "excited fizz of color and light"; while Bonnard's poster "carried its brand name in an undulating parade of type suggesting the giddy effects of the product" (Rickards 16 and Ives 17).

(5). In the anonymous "Gentiane Arnaud," the woman, who looks tipsy, reclines on a sliver of moon in the night sky with glass raised and eyes beckoning the viewer. See Chéret's "Kinia Raffard" and "Pippermint" [figs. 6 and 7], Walter Crane's "Hau & Co. Champagne" and Rassenfosse's "Brasserie Van Belsen."

(6). For Bill Brown this is a vulgar error that emerges from Walter Benjamin's misreading of Marx. Nevertheless, the erasure of the scene of origins and replacement by the woman noted by Schivelbusch is precisely the shape of commodity fetishism: "For Marx, as hardly needs repeating now, the fetish is a product of man's labor that detaches itself from and conceals its material and social provenance, masquerading as an autonomous entity independent of the social totality that produces it" (Sarris 56).

(7). Analyzing an ad equating cups of noodles and bra cups, Robbie Goh concludes that "There is in fact little or no link between noodles and female sexuality (or specifically here, breast size), except for the conventional pun" on "cup"--ignoring the much more fundamental equation of liquid nourishment (201). In Soares's "Rhum St. Esprit," a woman looks at the bottle cradled in her arm. See also Cappiello's "Citronade a l'Ananas" and J. C. Leyendecker's "McAvoy Malt-Marrow."

Jean Baudrillard has a maternal theory of advertising at one remove from the image:

What the individual does respond to, on the other hand, is advertising's underlying leitmotiv of protection and gratification, the intimation that its solicitations and attempts to persuade are the sign, indecipherable at the conscious level, that somewhere there is an agency (a social agency in the event, but one that refers directly to the image of the mother) which has taken it upon itself to inform him of his own desires (167).

(8). The chérette often offers her invitation in a particularly seductive way, looking back at us over her shoulder in a "come hither" pose, the classic pinup stance of Betty Grable. In Chéret's poster for Job cigarette papers, a red-headed Chérette looks back over her shoulder, sucking on a cigarette. See Chéret's "Quinquina Dubonnet" [fig. 8], Mucha's "Cognac Bisquit," and Abel Chalon's "Champagne Delbeck."

(9). In a sprightly and upbeat echo of Gustave Courbet's L'Origin du Monde, Lucien-Henri Weilluc in "Le Frou-Frou" displays two black-clad legs, surrounded by frothy white petticoats, over which eyes appear. In PAL's "Bock-Orbec" [Jean de Paléologue] the top of the bottle breaks away explosively and a nude flies out surrounded by spray [figs. 9 and 10]. The goddess/valkyrie figure in Louis Theophile Hingré's "Champagne Theophile Roederer" is almost pornographically costumed in a net vest and figured metal corset [fig. 11]. Posters are filled with specific sexual markers (cymbals, cats, goats, etc.), while the generic qualities of floating and abandon also act as sexual cues. The chêrette also trailed a history of sexual promiscuity behind her by way of the Rococo image of Columbine. See Victor Mignot's "Champagne Berton" and Tamagno's "Terminus Abs Bienfaisante." Advertisers exploited the connection between the product and the woman: an ad by the car rental company Sixt in Munich Airport in 1988 "showed a very scantily dressed young woman, sitting decoratively on the bonnet of a sports car and holding up a sign saying 'DM 199 per day,'" and an ad for National Airlines [London] from the early 1970s depicts an attractive flight attendant saying "I'm Cheryl. Fly me" (Falkner 111 and Romaine 259).

(10). There are a series of poster puns on fallen (or falling) women: In Georges Meunier's "Lox Aperitif," for example, a man and a woman bicyclist sit at a table at an outdoor cafe, a bottle in front of them. Glass in hand, he ogles her. She tilts the glass to her lips as she racks back in her chair, just about to fall.

(11). See Mucha's "Champagne Ruinart," Privat Livemont's "Bitter Oriental" and "Absinthe Robette," or Hingré's "Champagne Theophile Roederer" [figs. 12, 13, and 14].

(12). Abigail Solomon-Godeau would include ballet as still another art project centering on the seductive woman:

All considerations of the nineteenth-century ballet stress that it produced the most highly articulated and aestheticized expression of idealized femininity That a significant proportion of audiences that thronged the ballet in London and Paris were there to ogle the dancers' bodies--and particularly their legs--was a fact of ballet life Discursively constructed to represent a purified essence of femininity, enacting the body's transformation into art, the dancers themselves are simultaneously erotic spectacle, bazaar of legs, panoply of potential mistresses Her lower-class origins presumed, her legs exposed, her favors for sale, the equivalency of the dancer with prostitution had by mid-century become fully acknowledged. (85-92).

(13). This was all a game for the men of the cultural elite: "This public--predominantly male, of course--also liked to recognize, or to claim to recognize, the courtesans who had served as models for the Venuses and bacchantes: a way of having your decorous classicistic reference while also decoding the contemporary erotic reality behind it"; "it had become an established critical tactic in the 1860s to detect the contemporary . . . beneath the skin of a Venus or Phryne" (Brooks 138 and Clark 86).

(14). Like art, anthropology was similarly empowered in the nineteenth century to express genital meanings, sexual arrangements, homosexualities, i.e., to function as pornography.

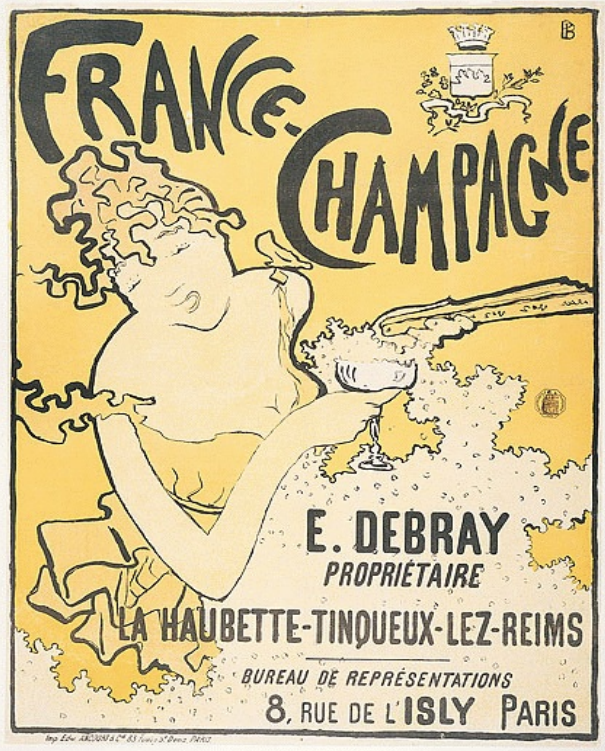
(15). Iskin links Manet's painting to advertising in several ways: the proximity of the commodities to the viewer; Manet's signing of both the bottle label and the canvas; and the iteration of the mass-produced bottles (30-31).

(16). There are a great many apparent exceptions to this generalization, most notably, Pierre Renoir, Bonnard himself, Georges Seurat, and a host of non-realist symbolist painters. Renoir was the "soft option" among French artists, an "uncomplicated celebrant of the good life" (Spalding 42). Within posters this binary between beauty and ugliness is performed by Chéret and Toulouse-Lautrec, who was said to offer female ugliness and awkwardness in place of the delights of the chêrette. "Edmond de Goncourt complained of what one can only translate as a 'sick' interpretation of women by the new modern artist. There is a sharp contrast between the posters of Chéret, aimed to please and delight, and those of Lautrec which appeared to be 'ugly' and were uncomfortable" (Barnicoat 26). Uniquely in poster art, Lautrec's women are not figures of allure.

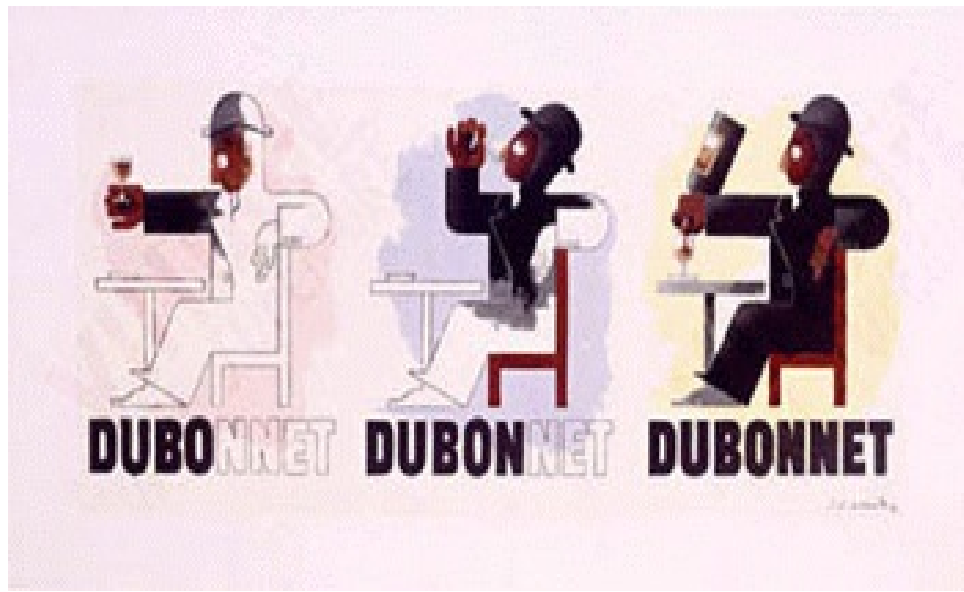
Figures.



Tamagno, "La Framboisette"



Pierre Bonnard, "France-Champagne"



A. M. Cassandre, "Dubonnet"



Figure 4 Fig. 4. Jules Chéret, "Vin Mariani"



Figure 5 Fig. 5. Jean D'Ylen, "Marsala Florio"



Figure 6 Fig. 6. Jules Chéret, "Kinia Raffard"



Figure 7 Fig. 7. Jules Chéret, "Pippermint"



Figure 9 Fig. 8. Jules Chéret, "Quinquina Dubonnet"



Figure 10 Fig. 9. Weiluc, "Frou-Frou"

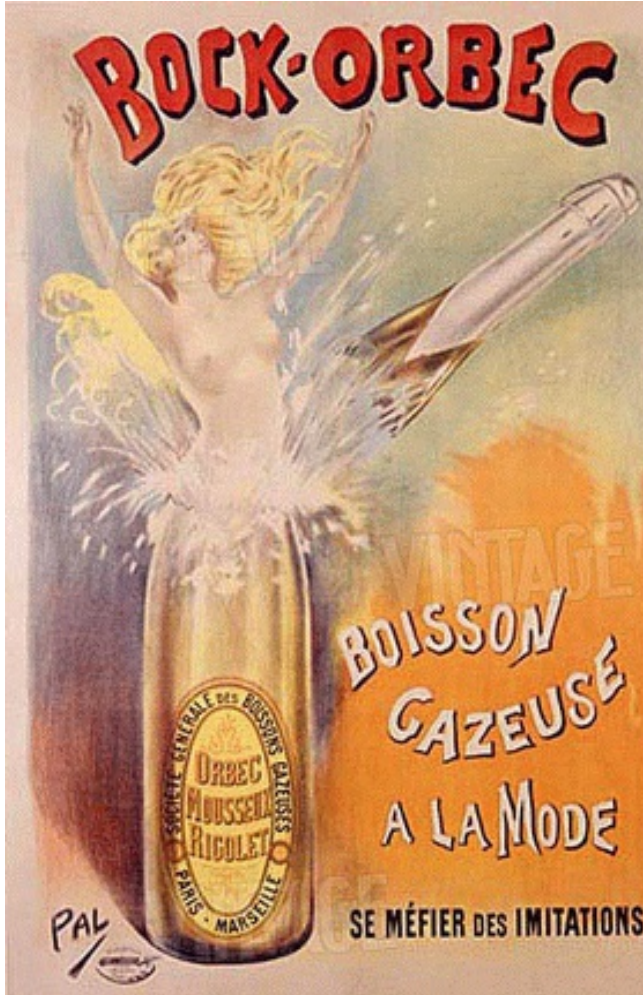


Figure 11 Fig. 10. PAL, "Bock-Orbec"



Figure 12 Fig. 11. Hingré, "Champagne Roederer"



Figure 14 Fig 12. Figure 13 Fig. 13, Privat Livemont, "Bitter Oriental"
 Alphonse Mucha,
 "Champagne Ruinart"

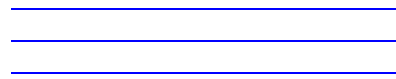


Figure 15Fig. 14. Privat Livemont, "Absinthe Robette"

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