

# Impressionism and Its Canon



James E. Cutting

# **Impressionism and Its Canon**

James E. Cutting

**2006**  
**University Press of America**  
**Library of Congress Control Number: 2005934187**  
**ISBN 0-7618-3344-7**

*For Claudia Lazzaro, my wife,  
who offered encouragement,  
a wry smile, an open mind, and a  
promise of what could be*

## Contents

Image Credits	vii
Preface	ix
Chapter 1: Culture, Art, and Science	1
Chapter 2: Canons and Their Structure	9
Chapter 3: Categories and Their Measure	21
Chapter 4: The Impressionist Artists	41
Chapter 5: Museums	69
Chapter 6: Dealers and Collectors	91
Chapter 7: The Core Canon	119
Chapter 8: The Broader Canon	135
Chapter 9: Scholars and Curators	157
Chapter 10: A Second Sample	169
Chapter 11: The Public and Mere Exposure	183
Chapter 12: A Theory of Canon Formation and Maintenance	199
Appendices	219
Bibliography	269
Index	279
Author Information	299



## Image Credits

Cover:

Jean-Louis Forain, *Au café* (At the café, ~1879, Dixon Gallery and Gardens, Nashville, TN). This image was exhibited at the 4th Impressionist exhibition. Forain is not usually considered an Impressionist painter, and this image definitely not in the Impressionist canon. (New image for this edition.)

Figure 2.1, page 11:

Edgar Degas, *La mélancholie* (Melancholy, 1867-70, The Phillips Collection, Washington, DC).

Edgar Degas, *Repasseuses* (Women ironing, 1884-86, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).

Figure 4.2, page 50:

Armand Guillaumin, *Place Valhubert, Paris* (1875, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).

Claude Monet, *Le bassin d'Argenteuil* (The Argenteuil basin, 1872, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).

Figure 4.3, page 52:

Jean-François Raffaëlli, *La place d'Italie après la pluie* (Place d'Italie after the rain, 1877, Dixon Gallery and Gardens, Nashville, TN).

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Le pont neuf* (Pont Neuf, Paris; 1872, National Gallery, Washington, DC).

Figure 5.3, page 80:

Camille Pissarro, *Verger en fleurs, Louveciennes* (Orchard in bloom, Louveciennes, 1872, National Gallery, Washington, DC).

Camille Pissarro, *Printemps. Pruniers en fleurs* (Orchard with flowering fruit trees, Pontoise, 1877, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).

Figure 6.2, page 101:

Gustave Caillebotte, *Le pont de l'Europe (variante)* (On the European bridge, 1876-77, Kimball Art Museum, Fort Worth, TX).

Gustave Caillebotte, *Raboteurs de parquet* (Floor scrapers, 1875, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).

Figure 6.3, page 109:

Edgar Degas, *La leçon de danse* (The Dance Lesson, 1879, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

Edgar Degas, *Danseuses à la barre* (Dancers Practicing at the Bar, 1876-77, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

Figure 8.1, page 138:

Berthe Morisot, *Dans les blés* (In the wheat fields, 1875, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).

Berthe Morisot, *La chasse aux papillons* (The butterfly chase, 1873, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).

Figure 11.1, page 186:

Alfred Sisley *Village de Voisins* (Village of Voisins, 1874, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).

Alfred Sisley, *Cour de ferme à Saint-Mammès* (Farmyard at St. Mammès, 1884, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).

Figure 11.2, page 188:

Paul Cézanne, *Les cinq baigneurs* (Five bathers, 1875-77, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).

Paul Cézanne, *Baigneurs au repos, III* (Bathers at Rest, 1876-77, Barnes Foundation, Merion, PA).

Figure 12.1, page 213:

Edouard Manet, *Croquet à Boulogne* or *La partie de croquet* (The croquet game, 1868-71, private collection)

Edouard Manet, *Plage avec personnages* (On the beach, Boulogne-sur-mer, 1869, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, VA).



## Preface

If ever there was a study . . . needing as it does the co-operation of so many sciences . . . it is surely that of Art-history, and I would make the claim that the benefits it would confer would be at least equal to those it would receive. . . . We have such a crying need for systematic study in which scientific methods will be followed wherever possible.

Roger Fry, *Last Lectures*

With these words Roger Fry (1866-1934)—artist, art critic, Bloomsbury group member, and enthusiast for the arts and humanities—invited the appearance of a book like this one. He recognized that there is much to learn in art from science and in science from art. Moreover, throughout his varied career he was very much involved with the topic of study here—French Impressionism. Fry was among the first art professionals in the English-speaking world to extol its virtues. From 1905 to 1910 he was a curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, and he urged expansion of its collections in Impressionism. In 1907 he arranged for the museum’s purchase of Pierre-Auguste Renoir’s *Mme Charpentier et ses enfants* (Madame Georges Charpentier and her children, 1878).<sup>1</sup> It was purchased for a considerable price from the Paris art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel after the Charpentier estate sale. It is now one of the prized Impressionist possessions of the Met. Moreover, as I will show, it is one of the thirty most reproduced images in the Impressionist literature. Fry may also have lost his job in the fallout over this acquisition. Nonetheless, he soon returned to England and much later was made a professor at Cambridge. He inhabited an important intellectual niche prior to the “two cultures” era, where at the same university C. P. Snow would later decry the lack of communication between humanities and the sciences.<sup>2</sup>

Unlike Fry or Snow, however, I will not try to address or redress any larger division within larger intellectual pursuits. Instead, my aim is more modest. This book is an example showing that empirical analysis, although it can take vastly different forms, can be applied appropriately and usefully to many fields

beyond its usual purview. Moreover, as a psychologist and cognitive scientist I feel I have some things to offer those concerned with the arts and culture. I am bold enough to offer, and to provide evidence supporting, an explicit theory of canon formation and maintenance.

My key motivation stems from a personal experience that many will have shared. I have enjoyed going to art museums in North America and Europe for decades. I am consistently pleased by, and interested in, the images in them that I had never seen before. These are often more interesting and more rewarding to study than better known works—indeed, than the very ones I went to the museum to see. I have often asked myself: Why have I not seen these images before? The answer usually is that they are not part of any artistic canon. Why not? This book attempts to provide an answer.

Among other forces acting on individuals within a society, there would seem to be genes that guide us to our particular pursuits and interests. Surely, as I will suggest in Chapter 1, we all possess genes that help shape a focus on art. Music, painting, dance, and more—even if officially banned in a given culture—are everywhere, universal to all peoples. Equally surely, there would appear to be genes channeling analytic pursuits. The history of science and technology across all cultures is testament to this. Today, academics may lead a broader society in the possession of this trait, but engineers, doctors, lawyers, stockbrokers, chefs, hackers, numismatists, coaches, media commentators, and others cannot be far behind. Nonetheless, the unrestrained enjoyment of one peculiar type of analysis—the use of statistical methods on freshly culled data—may be the manifestation of one of the rarest of genes. Happily and unapologetically, I confess to be such an individual. Indeed, this book is the result of the intersection of what may be the most widespread of our predispositions—interest in things artful—and perhaps one of the least widespread—interest in things statistical.

Nonetheless, the statistically averse should not worry. What I present is neither frightful nor arcane. Statistics are merely rhetorical devices that many scientists use to convince one another. Since my intended audience is only partly a scientific community, I have placed obfuscating numbers and statistical tests outside the text in endnotes. With these adjustments, the flow of my argument is less disrupted by needless visual noise. Given that statistical rhetoric is appreciated by a smallish sector of humanity, it is necessary to convert its force into something more widely digestible. Indeed, the author of this revelation in my own educational background was fond of noting that the most powerful of all statistical tests is “the intraocular trauma test.”<sup>3</sup> That is, the important patterns deserving of our attention are those that, when properly presented, are so obvious that they just hit you between the eyes. The key here is in finding an effective medium in which to deliver this blow. The best way to do this, I believe, is to graph the data of interest, making it a picture. But what are these pictures of?

A pivotal distinction for research in the humanities, and particularly in the study of history, is that between primary and secondary sources.<sup>4</sup> Given a particular event, primary sources are those told by actors or written immediately thereafter by witnesses; secondary sources are those written at a distance, in

space or time. Of course, most historical study uses primary sources. It is less common, but by no means rare, to study history through secondary sources. Indeed, this is called historiography. Since this book is the result of the study of many hundreds of secondary sources and since it uses statistics, it is an example—likely the first—of an empirical historiography of art.

My secondary texts are all books ever published on Impressionist art and related topics. To limit the scope manageably, I confined my search to all books in the Cornell University Library, one of the premier research library systems in the world, with more than seven million bound volumes and with an extensive Fine Arts collection. But more particularly I am interested in the images in these books—those that authors have chosen to reproduce for the reader. This book is a study of those images selected by their relative occurrences. I claim that their analysis can provide deep insights into the structure of the Impressionist canon as we know it today. Secondarily, I am also interested in the contents of the Internet. What one finds there is a wealth of wisdom, opinion, and drivel. But more than any other source I can think of, it represents our cultures—the amalgam of American, European, and non-Western thoughts. Since late 2002, less than half of what was on the web was in English, and that segment continues to diminish. But the best aspect of the web, for me and for most others, is that it is searchable. One can Google™, to use the emergent verb, and find wonderful, strange, and incredible things simply for the asking. The web will never replace books, but it is a new world that may soon be as rich as books. And so different.

Finally, to think about art one needs images to look at. However, I have generally chosen *not* to present the most obvious canonical images.<sup>5</sup> Why not? The reason is that everyone else has, and one can find them on the Internet with a stroke of Google. Instead, I will present ten pairs of images for the reader to ponder, interspersed throughout these chapters, only to discuss them fully in Chapter 12. Enjoy these pairs, for the differential responses to them by scholars and by the public are the grist of my story.<sup>6</sup>

James E. Cutting  
Ithaca, NY  
July 2005

## Notes

Epigraph: Fry (1939), p. 3.

1. The convention I have adopted throughout is that a painting, on its first citation, will be referred to by its French title in open text and in italics, followed between parentheses by its English title (unless that is identical or nearly so to the French), its date, and often the museum it in which it is found or else listed as in a private collection. When relevant to the discussion this will also be followed by the name of the individual who bequeathed it to the museum. French titles are either those from the artist's *catalogue raisonné* or the name used by the museum, which often differ. English titles are either those used by the museum or those that commonly appear in texts. Mary Cassatt's work does not often appear in French texts and her *catalogue raisonné* (Breeskin, 1970) is in English. Thus, when her work only appeared in English-language works the titles are given only in English. Cézanne's

second *catalogue raisonné* (Rewald, Feilchenfeldt, and Warman, 1996) is also in English, but it uses French titles for the artworks. On the second and subsequent citations of each painting only the French title will be used, often with the date, the museum, and the legacy. French and English titles are used together in Appendices 7.1 and 8.1.

2. On Fry and the Met: Bazin (1967, p. 250) reported that the Metropolitan Museum of Art purchased Renoir's painting in 1907 for \$17,800. He suggested that Fry promptly lost his job. Other records show that he stayed at the Met until 1910. In addition, Sir Charles Percy Snow first used the phrase *two cultures* for an article in 1956. His book by the same title appeared a bit later, and then expanded (Snow, 1964). Part of the fame of Snow's ideas was due to a harsh attack by F.R. Leavis, which then attracted further commentary on all sides. One of the purposes of this book is to show that publicity sustains a canon; the *two cultures* idea certainly belongs to a twentieth century canon of ideas, and there is no question that Leavis, who did not like the idea, contributed greatly to its currency. Similarly, it is often said that the early scorn of the French establishment towards Impressionism certainly contributed to its rise.

3. Robert Abelson. For a delightful presentation of his view of statistics see Abelson (1995).

4. See, for example, Hairston and Ruszkiewics (1996), p. 547.

5. Although there are none here in what I will call the first tier of the Impressionist canon, there are six images from the second tier: Degas' *Repasseuses* (Women ironing, 1884-86, Musée d'Orsay), in Chapter 2; Monet's *Le bassin d'Argenteuil* (The Argenteuil basin, 1872, Musée d'Orsay) in Chapter 4; Renoir's *Le pont neuf* (1872, National Gallery Washington) in Chapter 4; Pissarro's *Printemps. Pruniers en fleurs* (Orchard with flowering fruit trees, Pontoise, 1877, Musée d'Orsay) in Chapter 5; Caillebotte's *Raboteurs de parquet* (Floor scrapers, 1875, Musée d'Orsay) in Chapter 6; and Morisot's *La chasse aux papillons* (The butterfly chase, 1873, Musée d'Orsay) in Chapter 8.

6. I thank the very many colleagues who were kind enough to listen to or read ill-formed versions of this, but I am most indebted to John Bargh, Anna Brzyski, Michael Kammen, Peter Ornstein, Jesse Prinz, Arthur Reber, Buzz Spector, and Kirk Varnedoe who offered encouragement at critical times. I also thank Kathleen Gifford for her editorial work, and the librarians of Cornell University for facilitating what must have appeared to be a very curious project.

# 1: Culture, Art, and Science

Culture ... is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.

Edward Tylor, *Primitive Culture*

Culture started in gardens. That is, the meaning of the term starts with the literal cultivation of the soil before the metaphorical cultivation of the mind. From the Renaissance to today, gardens have been ways of organizing, changing, and improving upon nature.<sup>1</sup> Terms like agriculture, floriculture, horticulture, and viticulture give substance to this precedent.

Much happened after gardening. Raymond Williams (1921-1988), a prominent twentieth-century anthropologist, laid out a history of the growth and change in the concept of culture. First, culture was thought to condition and shape an individual; acculturation improved the “general state or habit of the mind.” Second, culture described a society’s “state of intellectual and moral development.” Third, culture came to represent the esteemed products of society—the “body of the arts and intellectual work.” Finally, culture included of all of these attributes and more as it became “the whole way of life, material, intellectual, and spiritual of a given society.”<sup>2</sup>

These different meanings of the term culture have led to some great intellectual tensions. The first meaning focused on perfecting individuals. This was, in large part, what the massive nineteenth- and twentieth-century Western European and American programs for schooling and education were about. This force of culture improved upon the “natural” state of ignorance in the individual. The second meaning, however, embraced and explored differences across groups of individuals, and not recently with any idea that they have been perfected in different ways, or perfected at all. Peoples often dress differently, act differently, and think differently; and it is often said that it is their “nature” to do so. Of course, these are very different views of culture and of nature—culture as the

imperative for improvement, culture as difference; nature as the raw and bestial, nature as an inner guiding force.

Although the study of the change in individuals by education is a worthy intellectual pursuit, it is only an indirect focus of this book. Here, I will look more centrally at acculturation in the collective, in societies and of their products. In fact, I focus on a single culture and a narrow collective product. Nonetheless, at the end of this chapter it will be worth briefly revisiting the focus on individuals and on *cultural literacy*. And before proceeding to the main presentation, it is also necessary to discuss issues of how this study fits within a scientific approach to culture and the arts. Consider each pair of terms.

### Culture and Science

Initial scientific interest in culture focused on culture's second meaning, a society's general state of intellectual and moral development. As did so much of science, this interest began in the nineteenth century. It was given the name anthropology. Much of the early and continued interest in culture from this perspective tends to be with nonwestern and now postcolonial peoples. Psychology's early interest in culture generally followed this tradition as well. Wilhelm Wundt's (1832-1920) multivolume *Völkerpsychologie* (typically translated as *folk psychology*) was published in ten volumes between 1900 and 1920. Unlike his earlier work in psychophysics, Wundt's interest in culture was nonexperimental and ethnographic.<sup>3</sup> He divided the history of humankind into a developmental sequence of four stages—a primitive age, a totemic age, an age of heroes and gods, and a current age of national states and national religions. The implied imperative of progression is unmistakable, but this should be excused as part of his *fin de siècle* intellectual heritage. The idea of progression as it might lead towards a Western ideal faded by the latter half of the twentieth century, but keen psychological interest in culture remained.

A less colonial concept of culture embraced differences across peoples without an implied hierarchy, and searched for coherence among central concepts. But an implied monolithic structure of culture continued to plague academics. Indeed, today anthropology seems often not to know exactly what to do with the term *culture*. Some anthropologists would do away with it, whereas others think it too useful to discard.<sup>4</sup> Much of the debate is focused on factors Edward Tylor (1832-1917), often called a founder of anthropology, outlined at the beginning of this chapter—knowledge, belief, morals, and customs. The prevailing nineteenth- and twentieth-century view was that these were generally shared across the members of a society.

But how much must be shared among members of a group to properly speak of culture? Clearly, cultures are not monoliths. Not everyone in twenty-first century Western culture equally embraces Shakespeare, denim, the Pope, professional football, fast food, cell phones, Derrida, Warhol, rap music, Wagner, Prairie-style architecture, and reality TV. Nonetheless, all of these play important roles in our culture that we might seek to understand. But the structural amorphousness of the relative endorsements of such varied touchstones within a culture, sometimes hoped to be putative features of a culture, yields a situation

like that seen in many areas of cognitive science. Moreover, it can be dealt with and studied for its own merits. The idea that allows for this amorphousness is the idea of a *category*. Cultures are categories, and categories have a well understood, but fuzzy, structure that I explore in Chapter 3.

Like other fields, psychology also grappled with the concept of culture across the twentieth century. Early work focused on cross-cultural approaches to cognition and perception, a topic that is quite lively even today. Paralleling early developments in anthropology, some of this work looked for psychological universals; later, however, this kind of approach generally fell out of favor. But typically hidden within various psychological approaches to culture was a noncross-cultural approach, which can be called simply *cultural psychology*.<sup>5</sup> A core idea here is that to understand the mind and to understand culture one has to ask and answer many of the same questions. Unfortunately, very little of cultural psychology has yet to focus on the study of the arts. This book can serve as an example of how that might be done.

### Culture and Art

Were the contrasts between culturing the mind and culturing society not sufficient to create intellectual difficulties, a third meaning emerged that was increasingly tangential to both predecessors. This is the culture of art, and its change and development over time. Traditionally, its central intellectual focus has been on what is now known as *high culture*, and its primary field of study as it developed in the nineteenth century is called art history. Much later, a twenty-first century field now known as visual studies has applied itself to *popular culture*, and to more global concerns. This book is focused on implications of this third meaning of culture, and a small segment of high culture as it has spread into a wider society.

More deeply, however, when speaking of art and culture, which arts do we mean? And when did they begin? Although seldom enumerated, we speak often of nine major arts. In the order of their likely emergence in human societies they are: music and dance, sculpture and painting, then architecture, poetry, and theater, then literature, and finally film.<sup>6</sup> It seems incontrovertible that the same genetic endowment that gave us language has given us the arts. Modern humans have been on earth for about 250,000 years and, barring those arts deeply dependent on technology, each seems to have become part of culture as soon as the population density was sufficiently high enough to support it and encourage it.

The origins of the first four arts are clearly prehistoric by every sense of the term. Music and dance are probably as old, perhaps even older, than language. But they leave few obvious traces and thus we can only speculate on their beginnings. To be sure, we have a few Paleolithic musical instruments, one from at least 40,000 BCE. This is called the Neanderthal flute (not even from our own lineage), a reamed out femur of a cave bear with as many as four holes. In addition, some Paleolithic paintings depict dancing, and the oldest of these may be in a rock shelter at Perna (Brazil) dating from 6,000 BCE. But it would be a surprise if music and dance were not as old as modern *Homo sapiens*, dating from a quarter of a million years ago or perhaps even from our forbearers.

Sculpting and painting have more concrete estimates for their beginnings, although these are occasionally revised backwards in time. We have many old, sculpted figurines. The oldest we currently have is from Berekhat Ram (Israel) and probably carved before 250,000 BCE. There are many old petroglyphs, and several from the Auditorium Cave, Bhimbetka (India) may have been carved 200,000 years ago or even much before. We know of paintings from the Grotte Chauvet (France) that are from about 35,000 BCE, not long after the appearance of *Homo sapiens* in Europe. Given the vastly diminished likelihood of the survival of paintings compared to carved figures, it seems probable that production of both types of representations began roughly at the same time, and certainly very long ago.<sup>7</sup>

The five other arts almost certainly came later. Although crude housing is extremely old, architecture as we typically know it began in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China. This occurred after the spread of agriculture, and its fostering of increases in population density and eventually cities. Poetry and theater were fully formed a bit later in the West with the Greeks, although oral ceremonial and performance traditions undoubtedly began very much earlier, and perhaps indistinguishably from dance and music. But literature in its full sense needed to wait for movable type, and film even longer for celluloid.

No book could do justice to all of these arts, and few to a wide historical sweep across even one of them. My purpose is to focus much more narrowly on paintings and pastels depicting a segment of the modern era. The point here is that an appreciation of painting goes deep into our psyche, even our genome. Painting, its production and appreciation, is part of what it means to be human.

### Science and Art

The separation of science from the arts and humanities has, as noted in the brief discussion in the preface, often been decried—most notably by C. P. Snow and his *Two cultures* (1964). Snow's critique was levied on a mid-century trend he saw in the separation of academic disciplines. Previous to this, artists had often been interested in scientific and technological advances, and scientists in art. The invention and development of linear perspective and of photography and film are high points in this history. But subsequent to, and even during, the period of Snow's critique much interdisciplinary work was done as well. For example, two scientists at MIT were working throughout this period—Cyril Smith (see Smith, 1981) and Harold Edgerton (see Edgerton and Killian, 1981)—covering metallurgy and art and science and photography, respectively. In psychology at the same time Lev Vygotsky (see Vygotsky, 1971) wrote deeply about all the arts, and Carl Seashore (1938, 1947) was exploring relations between physical and mental structures in music. And today there are many explorations of the arts written by psychologists.<sup>8</sup> To be sure, there has never been a coherent discipline of science and art. But how there could be? There are so many relevant sciences—of materials and analytic techniques—and so many arts. Coherence should not be expected; great diversity should be embraced.



### Why French Impressionism?

The category of art that I will address is the relatively narrow field of French Impressionism in late nineteenth-century art. I chose it for many reasons. First, Impressionism is modern. This fact makes thorough documentation of its formation, its maintenance, and its structure much easier than for the canons of earlier periods. Indeed, the available literature is vast and varied. Classical Greek, Gothic, and even Renaissance and Baroque canons, for example, have very little documentation written at the time the works were wrought. The fact that Impressionism is modern also brings it closer to popular culture, and this provides substance for increased day-to-day impact.

Second, Impressionism is relatively crystallized. That is, although it is modern, it is also old enough so that there is little change going on within it, at least in terms of the artworks themselves and how often they are reproduced in texts. Indeed, as I will demonstrate, the crystallization has taken place largely within the last four or five decades. Moreover, within French Impressionism most all of the contributors have been dead for a century. Virtually the entire corpus of its art produced by these individuals is known and owned by museums or in private hands. Although, as we will see later, certain sales are still brisk, fewer and fewer of its paintings are resold each year. Often, none of this is the case for many newer forms of art.

Third, in all of high art, Impressionism may be the most popular and publicly successful school, period, or corpus—however it be categorized. This fact was no doubt fed initially in reaction to the official scorn cast upon it in the 1870s and beyond. It also seems likely that the general accessibility and color of Impressionist works have pleased many. The images appear easy to “understand.” No heritage of iconography, classical or Biblical, seems necessary to enjoy them.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps for these reasons and others that I will touch on, French Impressionist paintings often commanded the highest sales prices at art auctions throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century. Over the course of the 1980s and 1990s the largest and best attended touring art exhibits were often those focused on French Impressionism. Although Impressionism had a shaky start, the force of its canon was soon felt in museums. Within France, many of its images were housed in the museum of the Luxembourg Palace and elsewhere in Paris. These were finally grouped in the Louvre by the early- to mid-1930s and sent to the Jeu de Paume in 1947. Ironically, the Jeu de Paume was where the Nazis kept their looted art, often Impressionist, during their occupation of Paris just a few years before. In the Musée du Jeu de Paume overcrowding by visitors became a problem. In the 1960s through the mid-1980s it was the most heavily trafficked museum per square meter in the world. Of course, the collections now reside in the gloriously expansive Musée d'Orsay, moved there in 1986. Although the Orsay specializes in art, sculpture, and decorative arts spanning the political dates of 1848 through 1919, it can readily be said that the centerpieces of its holdings are Impressionist works. Moreover, since its opening, the Musée d'Orsay has continuously been one of the most visited museums in the world, receiving over four million visitors annually.<sup>10</sup> All of this hoopla over Impressionism over the years has created a thick texture of works on the

artists and their *oeuvres* that I draw upon. Without such documentation, the type and line of analysis I have followed would not be possible, nor would it make sense. And all of this publicity brings Impressionism very close to popular culture. One of my goals here is to try to understand why these paintings are so much enjoyed.

Finally, although undeniably French, Impressionism has a distinctively American cachet. One way to assess the centrality of Impressionism within the aspirations of American culture is by perusing mail-order catalogs. Across the hundreds of catalogs my household received during 2003, many had images of living rooms with furniture, lamps, and rugs for sale, but also with a few books on bookshelves, coffee tables, and desks. Inspection of these books is interesting. Obviously they were not for sale, but part of the image portrayed of each room. They were mostly about cooking, travel, or general books about art. Most art books were books on single artists, and these are the most interesting. Seventeen catalogs we received are pertinent, and I took care to exclude duplicate images across catalogs. In these, twenty-one different artists were featured, excluding artists of the mid- and late-twentieth century: Van Gogh was the most common (6 catalogs), with Cézanne second (5). Others included Picasso (4), Rembrandt (4), Leonardo (3), Michelangelo (3), Mondrian (2), Piranesi (2), Sargent (2). Those in one catalog were Breugel, Cassatt, Duchamp, Gauguin, Goya, Monet, Renoir, Seurat, Toulouse-Lautrec, Velazquez, Vermeer, and Whistler. It is interesting that so many of these were painted in France at the end of the nineteenth century—11 of 21—and six participated in the Impressionist exhibitions.

Perhaps even more strikingly, Edward Hirsch in his *Cultural literacy: What every American should know* (1987) listed five Impressionist painters among a total of 31 artists he felt it necessary for US citizens to know in order to meet a minimal standard. His is an extreme, and highly particular view of the first definition of culture—the improvement through education of individuals. Nonetheless, it is impressive how low Hirsch set the bar.<sup>11</sup>

More seriously, many of the greatest collectors of Impressionist works were American, with Louisine and Harry Havemeyer leading the way. Indeed, five of the seven leading museums with Impressionist collections are in the United States: the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the National Gallery of Art in Washington, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The works within their galleries—along with those of the Musée d'Orsay and the National Gallery, London—are icons of modernism, deeply embedded within our own culture. They also forge strong ties with a Europe of the nineteenth century, where modernism began. And they are a focus of this book.

### Bases of the Argument

My presentation of the establishment and maintenance of the French Impressionist canon relies on several elements. Five are necessary and two are obvious: Discussions of the artists (Chapter 4) and discussions of the museums in which their artworks appear (Chapter 5). Two may be a bit less obvious: Dis-

cussions of the dealers and then collectors of the works by the artists who eventually gave their works to the museums (Chapter 6), and discussions of the scholars and their presentations of Impressionism over the last century (Chapters 7 through 10). The linchpin, and certainly the most surprising part, is the discussion of a contemporaneous public and its reception to the presentation of what scholars had to offer (Chapter 11). My focus is on this five-part network of interrelating forces. I believe it is foolhardy to stress too much the importance of individual artists and artworks, or the force of the academy and the publishing industry, or the intellectual and aesthetic carrying capacity of the culture. The truth is in this whole mix, and more. But first I need to discuss canons and their cultural import, the topic of Chapter 2, and the methods by which I will explore the historiographic texture of Impressionism, the topic of Chapter 3.

### Notes

Epigraph: Tylor (1871), p. 1.

1. See Lazzaro (1990). Also, the Latin *cultivare* means “to till.”

2. Williams (1967) p. 273. See also Williams (1958).

3. Wundt’s last volume was on culture and history, but the whole series has not been translated into English. A shorter summary version was translated before the last volumes appeared (Wundt, 1916). Quite clearly, much of what Wundt presents in overview creaks with colonialism, but the focus on culture is nonetheless compelling.

4. On anthropology, of course, there is much more than this, including archeology and physical anthropology, but cultural anthropology dominates the field. Abu-Lughod (1991, 1999) is one anthropologist who thinks the concept of culture creates more problems than it solves, and on the other side Brumann (1999) thinks there is much important life left in the idea.

5. See Adamopoulos and Lonner (2001) for a good historical summary of psychology and culture, and Nisbett (2003) for a contemporary approach to cross-cultural psychology. Miller (1997) outlines one view of cultural psychology; the work of Cole (1996) is another.

6. I exclude opera here because it can be considered a subgenre either of music or of theatre.

7. For sculpture and painting, see Bahn (1998). For a discussion of early humans and speculation of their cognitive abilities, see Mithin (1996).

8. Within psychology there has been an active subdiscipline of psychology and the arts continuously since Seashore. See, for example, Berlyne (1971), Kubovy (1986), Krumhansl (1990), and Solso (1994).

9. Interestingly, at the time critics often wrote that the absence of iconography was an assault on memory, and merely decorative (Herbert, 2002, pp. 79-90).

10. On Impressionist art sales, see *The Art Newspaper*, February, 2000 (p. 61). It reported that six of the twelve most expensive paintings sold at auction in 1999 were Impressionist works—three Cézannes, two Monets, and a Degas. Two others in the top twelve were Van Goghs. *The Art Newspaper*, September 2001 (p. 70, *Art Market*) also commented on the skyrocketing sales prices of Impressionist art over the decade of the 1990s. In addition, among the five most expensive paintings ever sold through 2004 are two Van Goghs, a Cézanne, a Picasso, and a Renoir. Of the next six, five are by Picasso and one by Van Gogh—[http://www.soyouwanna.com/site/top\\_tens/painting/paintings.html](http://www.soyouwanna.com/site/top_tens/painting/paintings.html). Even more striking is the tally of artists with most works sold at auction for over one million dollars through 2001 (Ash, 2002): First is

Picasso (272), but the next five are Impressionists—Monet (218), Renoir (196), Degas (100), Cézanne (80), and Pissarro (74). On art exhibitions, see *The Art Newspaper*, February, 2001 (p. 20). It reported, for example, that 2000 was the first year since 1994 that there wasn't an Impressionist exhibit in the ten most frequented exhibitions worldwide. In 1999 there were three in the top ten (and five if you count Van Gogh), and in 1998 there were two (and three with Van Gogh). For the volume of visitors to the Jeu de Paume and the Orsay, see Schneider (1998, pp. 12 & 106).

11. Hirsch (1987) and two University of Virginia colleagues (Joseph Kett and James Trefil) listed *impressionism* and *French Impressionism* as terms a literate American needs to know. Among the artists (in the form they are listed) are: Botticelli, Breugel, Calder, Mary Cassatt, Cézanne, Salvador Dali, Degas, Paul Gauguin, Giotto, El Greco, Winslow Homer, Leonardo da Vinci, Edouard Manet, Henri Matisse, Grandma Moses, Pablo Picasso, Jackson Pollock, Raphael, Rembrandt, Renoir, Diego Rivera, Norman Rockwell, Rodin, Rubens, Gilbert Stuart, Tintoretto, Titian, Vincent Van Gogh, Vermeer, and Andrew Wyeth. Among images (supposedly that must be recognized) are: *The birth of Venus* (presumably by Botticelli), *David* (presumably by Michelangelo although he was not listed among the artists), *Laocoön* (first century, CE), *Pietà* (again, presumably by Michelangelo), *Sistine Chapel* (in its entirety), *Portrait of Washington* (by Gilbert Stuart), *Taj Mahal* (a photograph), *Venus de Milo* (second century BCE). The five Impressionists are Cassatt, Cézanne, Degas, Manet, and Renoir, plus one could also include Gauguin, who also exhibited at four of the Impressionist exhibitions. It is interesting that the list excludes Monet; probably an oversight, as with Michelangelo.

## 2: Canons and Their Structure

A vital canon provides the richest imperatives to make ourselves new: In the works it preserves, we find alternatives to what the dominant culture imposes on us. . . . Yet, even as I say this I sense the reader's eyebrows arching. If humanism has all these capacities, why does it now seem so contaminated a set of cultural practices?

Charles Altieri,  
*Canons and Consequences*

When it first came into use in English the term *canon* was a rule, law, or decree. Such strictures, of course, occurred within the Christian Church and were set forth by an ecclesiastical council. A new notion of a canon, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, appeared in the fourteenth century. It didn't deal with churchmen or laws that might govern them. Instead, the canon was "list of books of the Bible accepted by the Christian Church as genuine and inspired." In the middle twentieth century this idea was secularized to discuss Platonic and Shakespearean canons, works written by these particularly "inspired" authors. By the late twentieth century within academia in the United States this idea was generalized further to entail a collection of works tacitly approved by a discipline and used widely to teach undergraduate students. This broader notion implies, and I think rightly, that each traditional academic field has its canon (or perhaps even many). Each field has endorsed it, even cherished it, as inspired. Indeed, as Griselda Pollock has noted, canons are a "legitimizing backbone of cultural and political identity."<sup>1</sup>

The context of Charles Altieri's statement above is that canons were hot topics in the late 1980s and early 1990s, particularly on college campuses in the United States. Canons were central to a deeply argued debate, one side of which was usually called multiculturalism. Strangely, canons are no longer in the academic spotlight. In fact, today it almost seems in bad taste to broach the topic. Why? Perhaps the battle was won; perhaps the arch-defenders of a traditional canon are dying out, or retiring. Perhaps our universities, under constraints of constant resources, have replaced older faculty with new ones interested in more

global and contemporary issues. Fortunately, students vote with their feet, and many courses on canonical material have enrollments as high as before, and sometimes even higher. Canons will survive, and this book—at least by the end—will provide one part of an explanation why.

At the end of this chapter I will return to aspects of the debate over canons within academia, but here let me simply claim the following: As cultural structures, canons are immensely interesting objects of inquiry. This book investigates the structure of one of them. My particular purpose is to examine an artistic canon as it was received in, and was created within, twentieth-century Western culture. I will try to generalize to other canons when possible. No value judgments are made about whether some works are better than others. Readers will find here no passion about what *should* be in a canon, only statements that an image is canonical, and why it might happen to be so. Indeed, as mentioned in the preface, what drove me to write this book was a wonderment over why some artworks are so revered—and seen again and again—when, at least to me, there seems to be little reason for this when one simply looks at and studies the works themselves. As examples, consider the two images in Figure 2.1.

The bottom panel shows a justly important image by Edgar Degas—his *Repasseuses* (Women ironing, 1884-86, Musée d'Orsay). In keeping with much of the focus of Impressionism, the everyday of modernity, the image is of two underclass women ironing, one yawning apparently at the drudgery of it all. It shows a small but important aspect of what kept a large city going in the late nineteenth century. It is also quite late for an important Impressionist work, having been painted after all but the last Impressionist exhibition. In the top panel is an earlier Degas, *La mélancholie* (Melancholy, 1867-70, Phillips Collection, Washington, DC), which shows the anguish of a young woman—surely almost universal in time and place—over something we can only imagine. Both images are quite compelling, quite important, and yet *Repasseuses* is seen in the literature I will discuss almost ten times more often than *La mélancholie*. Indeed, as I will demonstrate later, *Repasseuses* is one of the fifty most frequently reproduced of all Impressionist images. Why? And why is *La mélancholie* almost unknown? In this book I hope to provide the structure, and much evidence, for answering such questions. I will discuss these image pairs, and all the others that appear in subsequent chapters, again in Chapter 12.

I will look at the shape of a canon, at its contents as determined by an objective, if curious, measurement standard. I will also look at the factors that fostered canon formation and canon maintenance. What I offer, however, is different than one might expect. My methods are empirical. These will diverge from what readers in the arts or humanities would be familiar with. However, my purpose is not to denigrate those methods—indeed I rely on them unreservedly. Everything I report here is predicated on what has transpired within the discipline of art history for over a century.

Let me continue to lay my cards on the table in three ways. First, I wish to make clear my assumptions about canons. The ten listed below seem prudent. Some may be obvious; some will be controversial, but will receive backing in later chapters. After these assumptions, I will make further statements about



Figure 2.1: Two images by Edgar Degas: *La mélancholie* (Melancholy, 1867-70, The Phillips Collection) and *Repasseuses* (Women ironing, 1884-86, Musée d'Orsay).

canons and their worth. Third, I will then look to the humanities literature to demonstrate how my assumptions differ.

### **Ten Assumptions about Canons and Their Structure**

First, canons are collections of highly esteemed cultural objects, selected from much broader corpora of particular art forms. These collections are studied and combed in detail by academics and professionals, but they are also appreciated quite widely by a cultured and educated public. They are not under the control of anyone, or any group, in particular. Canons are promoted in part, but never as a whole, by specific and more focused collections of objects or events. These can occur in radio and television broadcasts, in cinema, audiotapes, videotapes, compact disks, college courses, public lectures, textbooks and trade books, web pages, anthologies, concert series, festivals, exhibitions, and theatrical season offerings. And the canons of architecture, dance, film, literature, music, painting, poetry, sculpture, and theater are divided into many subcanons by time, culture, and other factors.

Second, the tokens of canon members can take many forms. For example, although there may be a few original quarto and folio editions of Hamlet, Hamlet exists equally as a Penguin paperback, and even as high school theatrical productions. Each of these latter Hamlets helps to maintain its place in literature. Similarly, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony exists in many written copies and many recordings. It is performed publicly many times a year, broadcast on radio from compact disks, and played privately countless times a year. Each is important to reinforcing its place in music. And there are endless copies of the Eiffel Tower, both as statuettes and photos, and these copies help reinforce its place in monumental architecture. The same reproduction effects apply to paintings. Moreover, since the mid-twentieth century many paintings—and perhaps the Mona Lisa (*La Joconde*, 1503-05) in the Louvre is the archetype—have been mocked in advertisements, even in other paintings used in advertisements. They have been promoted more broadly on greeting cards, coasters, posters, scarves, towels, and tee shirts. They have been appropriated and placed on book covers that often have nothing whatever to do with the artworks themselves. Yet each of these instances contributes to a particular image's membership in a canon. Although it is undeniable that there are textual differences across book editions,<sup>2</sup> musical differences across performances, and color differences across reproductions of paintings, each recognizable token of a particular member of a canon serves the maintenance of its position within the canon. More importantly, I will assume that the relative place of an artwork within a canon is represented, in part, by the relative frequency of its reproduction in scholarly and popular sources. This assumption plays an important methodological role in what follows.

Third, canons are sustained intellectually and emotionally across broad, culturally stable periods of time. This span is better measured in decades than in months. Thus, the contents of a canon are not objects of fashion, although fash-



ion—the sudden appearance and promotion of a particular artist or artwork—may contribute to entrance into the canon. As intellectual tastes change, so too the canon will drift, but that drift is typically slow. Small, more peripheral changes will be more prevalent than large, central ones; inertia is less on the edges of a canon than in its midst. Aspects of canonical constancy and drift will also be addressed in Chapters 4, 9, and 10.<sup>3</sup>

Fourth, canons of broadest sweep are heterogeneous collections of worthy objects. Membership is diffuse. Items become members sometimes for vastly different reasons. Members may share only the fact that they are members of the same group, and that they are revered to a generally equal extent. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and James Joyce's *Ulysses* share very little; Piero della Francesca's *Flagellation of Christ* and Picasso's *Guernica* are not easily discussed together; the Parthenon in Athens and the Chrysler Building in Manhattan make an odd couple. Of course, these examples range wildly across time and place. Other canons are more centered on a subdiscipline, and particular time and place. Indeed, here I focus on late nineteenth-century French Impressionist art. Nonetheless, even if on a narrower scale, heterogeneity rules.

Fifth, membership in a canon—even one constrained in time and place—is not sharply determined. All canons are loose canons. Some works would be agreed on by almost all in a field as part of the canon. Others would be agreed on by most; still others only by some; and, of course, most others by essentially none at all. Thus, there is no sharp distinction between canon and the broader corpus. The latter contains all those works that could be conceivable candidates for canonization, not all of which are sufficiently deserving; the former contains a graded hierarchy with some works primary, others secondary, still others tertiary, and so forth, until one reaches the base corpus. In Chapters 7 and 8 I will attempt to quantify this.<sup>4</sup>

Sixth, the presence of any and all works within a given canon at a given time is intellectually and artistically justifiable. That is, it is easily argued that each work deserves to be there. In most cases, intellectuals and the public could be rallied to defend any given member. Although initial membership may be quite accidental in a canon, and perhaps some initial “errors” made, any deserving work will be intellectually and publicly sustained for a long period of time.

Seventh, and more important for this discussion, in every domain that has a canon there are very many other works typically considered extracanonically. More interestingly, by any rational or aesthetic criteria, many of these deserve equally to be revered. Why are they not? The answer, I claim, lies not in their denial by a few all-powerful critics or members of some intellectual establishment. Instead, this is the result of a few historical coincidences, in the artwork's systematic but accidental omission from promotions, in its lack of broad cultural exposure, and thus in its lack of a chance at acceptance. Fortunately, one doesn't have to look far to find such deserving candidates. One simply has to look beyond the norm; and it is certainly delightful to do so, whether finding these images in books or on walls of museums. This idea plays a role in later chapters and, as suggested earlier, throughout I will offer a smattering of Impressionist image pairs for the reader to contemplate.

Eighth, university libraries are the near-perfect resources for assessing the structure, the maintenance, and the reception of a canon. Libraries are the long-term repositories for many of our cultural objects, for our reproductions of them, and for our culture's thoughts about them. This assumption forms a backbone of Chapters 4, and 7 through 10.

Ninth, images are increasingly omnipresent. Nonetheless, despite this they remain largely peripheral to most of our day-to-day concerns. Because of the visual, planar, and immobile nature of paintings, their mechanical reproduction has burgeoned. Pleasantly, this growth has been with increasing quality. Images can be browsed easily in quantity. Point of view is assumed. Pictures are shown as if one is always directly in front of them. None of this can be assumed for members of an architectural canon or necessarily even for those in a sculptural one. Members of multimodal canons that require time—those in dance and cinema—cannot be browsed or dealt with quickly. And those of essentially non-visual canons—literature, poetry, and music—also require time and cannot be glanced at or even inspected as a brief event. Casually absorbing one's surroundings, without focused attention, is called mere exposure. It may be a phenomenon best used in exploring the canons of a graphic art. This will be explored in Chapter 11.<sup>5</sup>

And tenth, in the discussion of canons it is useful to discuss both canon formation and canon maintenance. The literature in the humanities focuses on the former almost exclusively, and with some reason. Academics in the humanities may regard canon maintenance as a matter of current scholarship, taste, classroom assignments, and publication. This view, however, ignores popular reception of the canon as a critical force. This process, I think, is at least as important to canon maintenance as anything scholars and professionals might otherwise do.<sup>6</sup>

### Canons and Academia

Whatever I assume, however, I can ignore neither the academic debate about canons in the recent past, nor its context. Some have thought that canons are the central structures of academic life; others have called for them to be dismantled and abolished. One can reasonably ask: What was the point of this debate? The contents of canons can be wonderful things. Why the paroxysms of doubt? The reason is that canons are culturally relative and culturally dependent. In an age when most of us hope for a tolerance and openness to other peoples, other cultures, and other ways of thinking, our Western canons seem particularly vulnerable to attack as being imperialistic, parochial, and even unimportant. But not everyone has believed so.

Let me claim that a reasonable, appropriate, and intellectually justifiable response to both sides of this debate is to recognize that there are many canons, each with many works, and that colleges and universities ought to encourage undergraduates strongly to sample them broadly.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the pursuit of a higher education can be said to have two goals. The first is to read, understand, or learn about some of the central works of given fields—whether they are paintings, poems, plays, pagodas, piano sonatas, or—stretching the idea a bit—proofs of theorems, reports of plant reproductive strategies, or patterns of experimental

results. The second goal is to learn to think critically. Combining these two, most academics and professionals teach themselves and their more advanced students and younger colleagues to examine thoroughly, to question, and to try to reshape the canon of their field. This is largely what academia is about.

It is not evident how many academics or others would disagree with this analysis. Clearly some would. On the one hand, some may argue that to privilege any text, piece of music, painting, or building is simply wrong—often morally wrong. But classroom time will likely revolve around some cultural content. Since one will wind up analyzing and criticizing some work anyway, and since there is often so much to say for or against a canonical work, these will be amply represented. For Italo Calvino, in his *Why read the Classics?* canonical works create “a pulviscular cloud of critical discourse” that is simply not generated by most other works. Thus, some analysis and acknowledgment of a traditional canon will almost certainly take place. On the other hand, some may say that one must first read, listen to, or look at the classics before educating oneself about other works. Since life is short and the classics many, this would leave little time for anything else.<sup>8</sup> The debate aside, I am interested precisely in why some works have become canonical and remain so.

Debate within the humanities, particularly in literature, was so charged over the notion of canons, that in promoting that context this book may be misunderstood. To help insure that I am not said to be endorsing any status quo, which emphatically I am not, let me address aspects of that debate. For guidelines I will look to the field of literature where the debate about the desirability and inevitability of canons was loudest and festered longest.

## Views on Canons from the Humanities

### What Is a Canon Good For?

Harold Bloom in his *The Western canon* presented his customary and outrageous polemic. He makes short shrift, but rightly so, of the notions that members of the canon are necessarily good, beautiful, or morally reflective of the best of a culture. He is not wrong in stating: “Reading the very best writers—let us say Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Tolstoy—is not going to make us better citizens. Art is perfectly useless.” Instead, he insists, all members of the canon are *strange*, and this strangeness is good for the reader. Franz Kafka said it better and more strongly: “I firmly believe one should read only such books as bite and sting.” That strangeness, the bite in canonical books, causes us to think. It allows us to continually reread certain texts with rewarding consequences. For example, Calvino suggested that “A classic is a book which with rereading offers as much of a sense of discovery as the first reading,” and as a corollary that “A classic is a book which even when we read it for the first time gives us the sense of rereading something we have read before.” Nonetheless, for Bloom, Calvino, and Kafka the rewards, discoveries, and experiences are private, not broadcast widely in a culture binding individuals to a set of norms. Emphatically, they are not guidelines for citizenship.<sup>9</sup>

These ideas transfer well to canons of paintings. A classic painting is also one in which restudy over years is continually rewarding, and just as in literature the rewards are private. Picasso's *Guernica*, depicting the horrors of the Spanish civil war, certainly bites and stings. Leonardo's *Mona Lisa* is certainly enigmatic, even strange, with its surreal landscape, let alone the subject herself. Both invite personal reinvestigations separated by months and years. In this light, one might think that the bulk of Impressionist work is too "pretty" to fit this idea. But such a view is overly simplistic. Even on the surface, the depiction of prostitutes is common in Impressionism, as is the pollution of industrializing Paris and exurban regions. More deeply, however, one must recognize that Impressionism was the first art to depict modernity. And modernity is, at times, very strange.

### **Where Does a Canon Come From? Who Controls It?**

Every view of canons and their formation assumes answers to these questions. Some believe that the artists play the only important role; some believe that it is critical discourse carried out among intellectuals, academics, and professionals; and some search more widely to society itself. Consider each in turn.

Bloom, among others, was quite clear in his view on the creation of canons. In the same voice that decried the necessity of sharing Yale's corridors with "professors of hip-hop," he claimed:

the deepest truth about secular canon-formation is that it is performed by neither critics nor academics, let alone politicians. Writers, artists, composers themselves determine canons, by bridging between strong precursors and strong successors.<sup>10</sup>

Clearly, Bloom had no truck with the idea of canon formation as anything but a natural flow of what the most brilliant artists and writers have given us. The only real discourse in a canon is among those artists and writers; the world of criticism, academics, and a broader laity is simply on another plane, in another—perhaps a nether—world. In the context of paintings, this would mean that collectors, museums, scholars, and the public have no roles in canon formation. Perhaps in some sympathy with Kant<sup>11</sup> his view is that canonical pictures would simply radiate their brilliance for all to see. However romantic, this view seems overly naïve. For example, many pictures, particularly those in private collections, are simply not able to be seen, yet may be equally as brilliant as those in museums. Paintings cannot radiate beyond closed doors.

A second group of voices finds opprobrious the reverence of any artworks. Canons are an intellectual enemy, a crystallization of an often colonial past that disenfranchises too many voices. Robert Scholes, in his book *Textual power: Literary theory and the teaching of English*, suggested:

In an age of manipulation, when our students are in dire need of critical strength to resist the continuing assaults of all the media, the worst thing we can do is to foster in them an attitude of reverence before texts.<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps. But Scholes's critique, and those much more strident than his, are based on the assumption that it is those who control the presentation of the texts, images, and music in the classroom can somehow control a canon. This postmodern position—warning professors not to privilege any work—suggests an extraordinary pedagogical power I have never witnessed in a classroom. My experience as a teacher is that students are a fairly wizened lot. Few respond blindly and accept the antics and beliefs of their teachers. They are not easily sucked in. In fact, this is a central *problem* in teaching—to suck them in to something, anything. It would seem that the “continuing assaults of all the media” have already taught them to be skeptical, not reverential.

The postmodern view, when transferred to a discussion of paintings, suggests that the empowered few—the professor, the museum curator, and the publisher—call the shots on what is, and what is not, in the canon. Like Bloom's, this view also seems overly simplistic. Canons may be capital, but I think there is an adventitious following of canons, not their control, in the creation of artistic capital. And of course today the real capital is in popular culture, not in high culture and its canons of art.

Views on canons are not limited to these. They abound. Alistair Fowler's *Kinds of literature* represents a third. Rather than focusing on the academic few as the corsairs of discourse, Fowler focuses on society at large. He suggests that changes in the canons can be traced to reevaluation of genres that the members of the canon represent. In this, society is limited in what it can deal with. It has what in cognitive science we would call a capacity constraint:

We have to allow for the fact that the complete range of genres is never equally, let alone fully, available in any one period. Each age has a fairly small repertoire of genres that its readers and critics can respond to with enthusiasm . . . Each age makes new deletions from the repertoire.<sup>13</sup>

In other words, like genres, a few canons can coexist within a culture and at a given time, but only so many. This is an interesting idea, but the disembodiment of society and its capacity makes it difficult to critique. Who is it that is paying attention to these canons such that they only can pay attention to three, or five, or nineteen? Any long-term reading of the Sunday *New York Times Magazine* and *Arts & Leisure* sections might suggest that there are at least 52 canons, if not genres, extant in a given year. But Fowler is right; society, at least instantiated by the expanse of individuals that look at, read, and listen to art, is part of the mix. My goal in this book is to be concrete, and to say what parts of society have which roles in canon formation and maintenance.

Yet a fourth idea is abroad in the discussion of canons, and those on all sides of the debate within the humanities may share it. The idea is that canons are the proper objects *only* of polemic discourse. This notion suggests that they cannot be studied analytically, much less statistically. This view is well captured by Altieri, who suggested:

Clearly, canons are not natural facts and do not warrant the kinds of evidence we use in discussing matters of fact. We are not likely to find general laws governing our acts as canon-formers, nor is extended empirical inquiry likely to resolve any essentially theoretical issues. Canons are based on both descriptive and normative claims; we cannot escape the problem of judging others' value statements by our own values.<sup>14</sup>

There is much to agree with here. However, I hope to demonstrate that canons *are* subject to natural facts, even natural laws, although these are likely different than those Altieri might have had in mind. Moreover, I think that extended empirical inquiry can play a role in constraining the discourse, and can resolve certain issues. We may not be able to escape the problem of judging others' values by our own, but we can learn a lot by stepping outside a value-laden literature and simply seeing what is there, in toto.<sup>15</sup> In other words, the "descriptive and normative claims" are themselves subject to quantification and broad analysis.

### Summary

Although canons are no longer a focus of debate on college campuses, they remain central to most disciplines in the humanities. Moreover, they are intricately structured and fascinating cultural objects. In this book I focus on French Impressionism, and trace its formation and establishment. Framing that argument needs five elements: Discussions of the artists, museums, dealers and collectors, scholars and their representations of Impressionism over the last century, and the public and its reception to the presentation of what scholars and curators have had to offer. With these in place, I will then present a theory of canon formation and maintenance as it applies to French Impressionism.

Before presenting the details of the argument, however, I need to familiarize readers with the logic of some of the analysis—the "extended empirical inquiry" that Altieri thought could not elucidate theoretical issues. These include some rudiments of our current understanding of categories, some notions of measurement, and an odd and somewhat magical set of relationships within categories called Zipf's Law. These are the focus of Chapter 3.

### Notes

Epigraph: Altieri (1990), p. 10.

1. Pollock (1999), p. 3.

2. The differences across editions of Shakespeare virtually created the field of bibliography. For an engaging analysis, see Darnton (2003).

3. Although there is much to admire in Pollock's (1999) discussion of canons, I would not ascribe to the idea that "the canon is fundamentally a mode for the worship of the artist, which is in turn a form of ... narcissism." [The word elided here is "masculine." Whereas there is no denying the omission of women artists from canons, it is the rest of the sentence I wish to focus on.] Canons, as I conceive of them, are mostly about the works of art, less about the artists. But if worship = study or appreciation, and narcissism = enjoyment or understanding, then perhaps I would agree (admitting that all words had lost any distinctive meaning).

4. This view is a generalization of, and borrowed from, Rosch's (1973) account of the structure of any natural category, and it too plays a role in experiments to follow. This idea is also a focus of Chapter 2. And on loose canons, my apologies to Gates (1992).

5. On image reproduction, of course, Benjamin (1968) and more recently Gaskell (2000) have argued this issue more eloquently than I.

On quick presentations, let me be clear that I am not saying that artworks *should* be inherently experienced this way. There is an important sense in which vision is too facile and that, in our generally hurried approach to life and culture (Gleick, 1999), we do not easily learn how to look at artworks, how to spend time in front of them, and how to explore the layout of the artist's intent (see Perkins, 1994). Nonetheless, much of our experience with art is exactly of the evanescent kind—accrued in glances, sampled quickly, and out of the focus of our attention.

Finally, on canons and music: Music is omnipresent in our culture, but any music that can be said to have a canon—classical, jazz, spiritual—is not omnipresent, and that which is omnipresent—rock, rap, soul, and related forms of popular music—do not have canons by my definition. They are too subject to fashion and change too quickly.

6. Perhaps the most penetrating analysis of the literary canon is that of Guillory (1993, particularly pp. 22-28). Among other things he outlines three questionable assumptions made by those on all sides of the argument over the literary canon. The third assumption is that the value of a canonical text (image in my case) must be either intrinsic or extrinsic. Guillory notes (p. 26) that “it is only in the *absence* of consensus that a distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic value need arise at all with reference to particular works.” In this book I demonstrate a sliding scale of consensus, and I am unconcerned with intrinsic value since I do not know how to assess it. In passing I will return to value in Chapters 11 and 12. See also Guillory (1990) and von Hallberg (1984).

7. I leave aside, for now, the stress that this increased load puts on our students and on academia generally. This tactic also ignores the integrationist versus separatist debate; that is, whether previously noncanonical artworks of disadvantaged groups should be incorporated into older canons or placed together in new, separate ones (see Guillory, 1993).

8. See Calvino (1999), p. 6.

9. The quotations in this paragraph come from Bloom (1994), p. 16; from Cook (1993, p.132) for the source of the letter, in German, from Kafka in 1904 to Felix Pollack; and from Calvino (1999), p. 6. And for a much-cited counter to canons and citizenship, see again Hirsch (1987).

10. On hip-hop see Bloom (1994), p. 517. For the extended quotation see p. 522.

11. Kant (1794/1952).

12. Scholes (1985), p. 16.

13. Fowler (1982), pp. 226-227.

14. Altieri (1990), p. 24.

15. I well recognize that all observations are value-laden, and that the value of “counting” is peculiar and culturally constrained. Nonetheless, the values of the kind of analysis presented here are different than the values of the analyses presented by the authors of the books that I have studied. And with this different set of values I can still offer something for others to contemplate.

### 3: Categories and Their Measure

When you can measure what you are speaking about and express it in numbers you know something about it; but when you cannot express it in numbers your knowledge is a meagre and unsatisfactory kind: it may be the beginning of knowledge but you have scarcely, in your thoughts, advanced to the stage of science, whatever the matter may be.

Lord Kelvin, "Lecture to the Institution  
of Civil Engineers"

I need next to discuss methods and theoretical underpinnings, and to make good on the assumptions outlined in the previous chapter. There, I had claimed that canons were categories; I need now to explain what I mean by the term *category*. I claimed also that these categories had a structure that could be measured; thus, I need to make clear what I mean by *measurement*. I also need to demonstrate the kinds of measurement *scales* and *techniques* I will use. Let's start with measurement.

#### The Ways We Measure

As suggested by Lord Kelvin (1824-1907), rather crustily and perhaps even brutishly, all branches of science measure their objects of inquiry. Among many other things, physicists measure the sizes of atomic particles, astronomers the distances to galaxies, geneticists the differences in DNA between humankind and apes, neuroanatomists the number of synapses in a brain, economists the strength of various markets, and so forth. That scientists measure is unsurprising, indeed unarguable. But all branches of the humanities measure their contents as well. This statement may breed some protest, or at least puzzlement. Such responses, however, can be diffused by a proper understanding of the notion of *measurement*. For this discussion the notion of measurement begins with psychophysicist S. Smith Stevens (1906-1973). Stevens wanted to under-



stand how many different ways scientists measured their objects of inquiry. Interestingly, his analysis revealed only four ways, or the uses of four types of scale. He called them nominal, ordinal, interval, and ratio.<sup>1</sup>

The most familiar is the last, the *ratio* scale. Any standard measurement of length, be it in kilometers, meters, or millimeters (or miles, feet, and inches), is a ratio measurement. The same is true for measures in kilograms, grams, or milligrams (or tons, pounds, and ounces); and in months, days, or seconds.<sup>2</sup> What is common to the measure of length, mass, and time is that our scales allow us to make statements such as: This child is half as tall as her mother, this rock is four times as heavy as that book, and today had 24 percent more sunshine than yesterday. Ratios are implied throughout: 1/2, 4/1, and 124/100. The trick here, implied in this type of measurement, is that each scale has a true zero—zero length, zero mass, zero time. Only with true zeroes are ratios possible.

We are all also quite familiar with *interval* scales, although we usually don't notice the difference. Temperature, measured in degrees Celsius (or degrees Fahrenheit) is such a scale. Here, we know about intervals—the difference between 10° and 20° C (50° and 68° F) is the same as the difference between 20° and 30° C (68° and 86° F). However, we cannot say that 20° is twice as hot as 10° on either scale—0° is the freezing point of water on the Celsius scale—an important, but quite arbitrary value with respect to absolute temperature—and 0° F is truly arbitrary. One must use the Kelvin scale (K) before one has a true ratio scale of temperature. And -273.15° C is 0 K, only a few degrees colder than the universe as a whole.<sup>3</sup> Really cold; and 150 K (about -123° C) really is half as warm as 300 K (about 27° C).

Use of the next two scales hardly seems like measurement at all, but they are no less important. In fact, they are the most important for the discussion in this book. The *ordinal* scale ranks things. For example, contemporary professional tennis players are ranked through a complex system of how well they've done recently and in which tournaments. The system weighs performance by the ranking that a player finished in various tournaments, along with how recently each that tournament occurred, and the difficulty of opponents in each.<sup>4</sup> From these calculations all tennis players receive a score, but thankfully we are rarely aware of those scores. Instead, the players are simply ranked. The person with the highest score is ranked first, and so forth. Thus, the number one ranked tennis player is deemed better than the number two player, and number two better than three. However, it makes no sense to say that, in terms of tennis ability, the number one player is twice as good as number two, or even that the relative difference between numbers one and two is the same as numbers two and three. This is an ordinal measurement scale and, as it will turn out, such scales will be very important in assessments of the Impressionist canon.

Finally, there is the *nominal* scale. Nominal scales name and distinguish: Male vs. female; black vs. white; Western, Asian, and African; modern vs. postmodern; Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Symbolism, Fauvism, and so forth. Such scales are the beginning of all measurement, and were used in the beginnings of all sciences. Indeed, they are still in wide use today. The contemporary extension of the Linnaean system of categorizing animals, plants, and

other life is an elaboration of nominal scaling, called taxonomy. And in all the humanities and in all the sciences simply naming things is measurement.

### Concepts and Categories

Concepts are in the minds of individuals. They are mental entities—we can even call them mental structures because they have parts that interrelate—that contain our ideas about classes of physical things. Often we have names for our concepts, and the naming of them creates a nominal scale—for example, the Impressionists versus all those who are not Impressionists. The physical things to which the concept refers—the members that instantiate the category that corresponds to the concept—are (or were) “out there” in the real world. Insofar as individuals within a society share concepts, and to a large extent in many domains they do, then concepts can be investigated across individuals, and general statements about concepts within a culture might be made.

A canon is a category, a category of physical works that are esteemed within a culture. These physical objects are buildings, the collection of sequences of sounds of musical performances, the poems written on sheets of paper and spoken at readings, the spools of video and film as shown on screens of various kinds, and the bodies of dancers sculpting space over the course of a performance. In the case of a canon of artistic images, these objects hang on walls, are reproduced in books, and have been digitized electronically to appear on laptops and in PowerPoint™ presentations.

A canon is also a concept, inside our heads. Each one of us has a general idea of some works that are in a canon, and perhaps some that are not. To the extent that we share the notion of the works in a canon, and I will claim the attributes of this sharing are not vague, but quite concrete, we can investigate a canon within a culture. That canons reflect categories and concepts is not a vacuous statement. The notions of categories and concepts, and their relation, have a wealth of literature behind them in the field of cognitive science.

There are two views of the structure of categories. The classical view of concepts and categories is that they have sharp boundaries. The reason for this is that both were thought to be formed by definitions. Thus, the concept of *aunt* has the definition of “sister of a parent.” The category of *aunt* is either filled by particular individuals in the world, or not. No vagueness, no ambiguity. Cut, dried, and defined. Such an idea, if true and widely generalizable, would seem to make for a tidy mind and a tidy world.

But the world is filled with vagueness and ambiguity, and so are our heads. The implication of the definition of *aunt* is “biological sister of a biological parent.” However, there are many nonbiological parents whose siblings are called aunts by their offspring. And there are even nonbiological sisters of parents, biological and nonbiological. That is, many individuals are called aunts simply because they are close friends of the family. Some may even be so called because they have semi-secret, semi-accepted liaisons with the father. The classical response to citation of these cases is that they are *not really* aunts. But the pragmatic counter-response is that if they are called aunts and in every general

way behave like aunts (however that be defined), then they *really are* aunts. The boundary between who can be an aunt and who cannot is fuzzy.

This idea of category fuzziness comes to us from Ludwig Wittgenstein (1899-1951) in his *Philosophical investigations* (1953). There he used a particular example, the concept of *game*, as diagnostic for all categories. Consider this panoply: There are card games, war games, drinking games, word games, and sports; games that involve money and those that do not; games involving individuals or teams, and indeed the computer pastime, “the game of life” that involves no one. There are also games with physical props and games of thought; games of competition and games of cooperation; games that are pastimes and those that are deadly serious; games with fixed rules and games with rules that evolve over time. All of these are games, yet there is no single feature, component, or aspect common to them all.

Aunts and games may seem to be but two, perhaps odd, cases of categories. However, the logic of the argument can be played out everywhere, even within prime numbers.<sup>5</sup> Modern cognitive science claims category fuzziness is the rule. There is a set of reasons, not all of which are applicable to all games, that govern the organization of the category of games. Games are like a family, and the general relationship is called *family resemblance*—Bill looks like this mom, his older sister like his aunt, and his younger brother like his grandfather; all three kids also look a bit alike, but the mother, aunt, and grandfather do not. Nose, eyebrows, chin line, cheekbones, hair line, hair texture, hair and eye color—all of these things matter, but none is defining. Category boundaries are fuzzy, and the concepts that shape them are fuzzy as well.

Unlike the boundaries, however, the centers of concepts and categories are usually much less fuzzy. These have received considerable attention in cognitive science. Consider the concept of fruit, and the members of its category. In one among many experiments, American undergraduate students rated how typical various fruits were as examples of the category *fruit*, using a 1-to-7 scale, with 7 the most representative or prototypical. Not surprisingly, apples rated very high (a mean rating of 6.25), and olives very low (a rating of only 2.25). Fruits like blueberries (4.56) and figs (3.38) were rated as in between. Near apples but slightly below them were peaches (5.81), pears (5.25), and grapes (5.13). Near olives were pumpkins (2.31) and avocados (2.38). And so forth, showing a rather continuous array of fruitiness. These and more mean judgments are shown in Table 3.1.<sup>6</sup>

What are we to make of such numbers? A brief set of caveats is in order. First, these numbers are taken as being on an ordinal scale. That is, although 6.25 (apple) is 1.00 higher than 5.25 (pear) and 5.25 is 2.94 higher than 2.31 (pumpkins), we can’t use these numbers this way and make meaningful comparisons. We cannot even assume that the interval between pears and apples is less than as that between pumpkins and pears. We can use only the order of the numbers.<sup>7</sup>

Second, these ordinal values are viewed as estimates of their true values were everyone in our culture to perform this task. In other words, this task was done with a sample, and we hope a representative one. Because of the natures of methodologies and of people, we know these values would vary a bit across

experiments, even with the same or similar groups. But replications of these and other experiments have told us they don't vary very much. We often put what are called standard error intervals, what might be called "regions of fuzziness" around such numbers, indicating our confidence that one is higher than another. Standard errors in this study are about  $\pm 0.3$  for each set of differences. This means, roughly speaking, that differences larger than this among the fruits on the list are likely to be statistically reliable.<sup>8</sup> That is, they would occur less than one out of twenty times by chance alone, and are thus likely to be found across groups within the same culture. Thus, apple is judged as reliably more fruitlike than pear, but not peach.

But third, these values would be expected to vary in other ways. Most researchers would embrace the idea that these relative numerical values, the *rankings* of the fruit as we will discuss later, are likely to be culturally relative. For example, equivalent ratings from indigenous young people in Middle Eastern, Mediterranean, or Asian cultures may differ from these to a greater or lesser degree, depending in part on what they are exposed to and how their cultures use the various fruits. Nonetheless, in each culture there would be a cluster of central fruits, with all others distributed incrementally away from this cluster. Thus, the particular composition of the category is probably culturally relative—the shapes of the membership within the category, some central, others peripheral—is almost certainly not.

The underlying idea here is that these central members of the category fruit have something in common. One related idea is that they share some properties central to the concept (where those properties might vary across cultures). Fruit is edible, and it grows on flowering plants or trees. This we know from everyday knowledge of botany, although there are exceptions. We generally call tomatoes a vegetable, even though technically they are fruit. More important to our everyday concept of fruit are probably various other features about them and our everyday actions with them. Some of these depend on culture, many do not. These include the properties: Can fit the palm of one's hand, is firm when ripe, has an edible skin, can be eaten raw, has flesh easily plied from seeds, and is cleanly eaten with the hands without having to wipe or wash them afterwards.

One way cognitive science has dealt with the notion of centrality within a category is simply to count the relevant features, in this case those common to particular fruit. If the six listed above are considered equally relevant, then the list of positive features for each type of fruit, plus a few additional ones, given in the last column of Table 3.1, reasonably matches the typicality ratings given by other participants.<sup>9</sup> These counts also should be considered as measured on an ordinal scale—6 is better than 5, than 4, and so forth.

This view, that of counting features that appear to be relevant, is called the *prototype* approach to categories. It is abstract in the sense that one has to get to underlying features of the membership to find out centrality of each fruit type within the category. It happens that *apple* has all of these features. This scheme seems reasonable. However, a major problem with this approach is that, whereas it is relatively easy to determine the features after one is looking at the list and

**Table 3.1. Some members of the category *fruit* and some of their features.**

FRUIT	rating <sup>a</sup>	palm size	firm when ripe	eaten raw	edible skin	flesh/seeds easily separated, or seeds eaten	cleanly eaten by hand without tools	SUM OF FEATURES
apple	6.25	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	6
peach	5.81	yes	yes	yes	yes	~yes	~yes	6
pear	5.25	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	~yes	6
plum	--	yes	yes	yes	yes	~yes	~yes	6
apricot	--	yes	~yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	6
banana	--	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	5
orange	--	yes	yes	yes	~no	~yes	~yes	5
grape	5.13	no	yes	yes	yes	~yes	yes	5
strawberry	5.01	no	~yes	yes	yes	yes	~yes	5
lemon	4.86	yes	yes	no	no	~yes	--	3
blueberry	4.56	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	5
grapefruit	--	yes	yes	~yes	no	~yes	no	3
watermelon	4.06	no	yes	yes	no	~yes	no	3
figs/dates	3.38	~no	no	yes	yes	yes	~yes	4
coconut	3.06	~no	yes	yes	no	yes	no	3
pomegranate	2.51	~yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	3
avocado	2.38	yes	~no	yes	no	yes	no	3
honeydew	--	no	yes	yes	no	~yes	no	3
pumpkin	2.31	no	yes	no	no	~yes	no	2
olive	2.25	no	yes	no	yes	~yes	~yes	3
tomato	--	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	~yes	6

<sup>a</sup>Source: Malt and Smith (1984).

the ratings, it is difficult to generate them before hand. Objects in the world do not wear the names of their features pasted on their surfaces. Instead, their features arise from our interactions with them. The idea of counting and weighing features, then, is difficult to falsify (or prove wrong) and in science this isn't good.

Another view does not concern abstractions, but instead is quite concrete. Categories are formed around their best *exemplars*. An apple is the best fruit for us in our culture, not because of its fruitlike features, but perhaps because it has been associated with the concept of fruit more often than any others. To be concrete and a bit particular, the notion of apple and the notion of fruit may have

co-occurred in the natural language discourse around us as we have grown up more frequently than the notions of pears and fruit, pumpkins and fruit, or avocados and fruit. This idea is also difficult to falsify. It is very difficult to count co-occurrences in most situations. In cognitive science there is an ongoing debate about whether an exemplar view or a prototype view best captures the nature of categories.<sup>10</sup>

### **Zipf's Law: A Regularity Found in Nearly All Categories**

George Zipf (1902-1950) was a linguist and philologist. His intellectual life was haunted by a pattern. Shortly before his death he wrote a curious and modestly important book, *Human behavior and the principle of least effort* (Zipf, 1949). Much of the book is outdated, but the core idea—which has subsequently become known as Zipf's law—is very much with us. Zipf's law concerns categories of objects and their relative frequencies. It is an *empirical* law. That is, unlike laws of gravitation, chemical bonding, evolution, or supply and demand there is no real theory that satisfactorily explains it. Zipf wrote many pages in trying to account for it in terms of least effort, basically a notion of economy and ergonomics, but most subsequent authors have agreed that he failed. But the law—or perhaps better, the pattern—remains. Call it magic; it is certainly unexplained, but also nearly ubiquitous. Given a category of objects and their frequency, Zipf expressed the pattern as:

$$\text{frequency} \times \text{rank} = \text{constant.}$$

That is, the frequency of occurrence of a given object of the category in a given general context multiplied by numerical value of its rank in the list (1st, 2nd, 3rd, ... = 1, 2, 3, ...) is the same regardless of which item one chooses in the category. All such calculations within a category should yield essentially the same number. Thus, it is called a constant, and the constant is almost always different for different categories.

Two things should be said about this formulation. First, it is a little odd to multiply a frequency (which is measured on a ratio scale) by a rank (which is measured on an ordinal scale). These frequencies and ranks belong to different measurement categories, a bit like apples and oranges. But so be it; the calculation has been done this way for a half century. Second, much needs to be emphasized about Zipf's notion of *same*. In such situations, we should read it as *more or less the same*. I will offer no particular meaning for the ideas of more and less beyond the intuitive. Using statistics, one could quantify acceptable variation in this context, but such an exercise would lead us too far astray. Instead, I will plot Zipf-like results graphically, as he did. They are supposed to be fit to lines, and as we will see later the lines will be straight—more or less.

Zipf's research was initially concerned with words and word frequencies. Long before computers were available to count words in texts, Zipf was interested in counting them. Rather than use his counts, however, consider the top left panel of Figure 3.1. It contains data taken from a selection of a British Eng-

lish contemporary corpus of 100 million words, clearly an effort much aided by the use of computers.<sup>11</sup> The particular frequencies are from part of the corpus that combined spoken and written sources. The raw frequencies of the twenty-two most frequent words are given along the vertical axis (the ordinate) and their corresponding ranks are given along the horizontal axis (the abscissa). Inspection of the graph, and then a moment's reflection on it, reveals no real surprise about which are the most frequent English words—*the*, *I*, *you*, *and*, *it*, *a*, *to*, and so forth. However, one probably has little insight into what might have been their ordering, and of course none into their absolute values: the article *the* is first, and occurred almost 62,000 times per million words, *I* is second and occurred almost 30,000 times per million, and so forth. Notice that if one connected the points in the graph there would be, allowing for a few irregularities, a rather graceful bowing of the curve. It is this bowing that is a manifestation of Zipf's law.

The crux of Zipf's expression of his law, however, is different. Zipf thought that both axes, frequency and rank, ought to be weighted and adjusted for their amounts and positions. Thus, for frequency values he felt the difference between 10 and 100 was of the same importance as 100 and 1000. Each pair forms the same ratio, 1/10, and thus are in some sense equal. This seems to be a reasonable transformation, and it is one that psychophysicists and others use quite frequently—the logarithmic transformation. It changes the look of the scale markedly; rather than intervals being considered as equal, ratios are now equal. An even stranger thing is that now there is no true zero: If the ratio of 100 to 1000 (100/1000) is the same as 10/100, then so it is to 1/10, 0.1/1.0, .01/0.1, and so forth all the way down. As Zeno would have appreciated, one never gets to zero this way.

The other transformation is a little bit harder to justify, but it makes some intuitive sense. Zipf reflected on the ranks themselves, realizing that the difference between 1st and 2nd was vastly more important than that between 101st and 102nd, and even than between 11th and 12th. To match his transformation of frequency, he formalized this by assuming that the difference between the ranks of 1 and 10 was the same as those between 10 and 100. Thus, both axes—frequency and rank—are logarithmically transformed. Because Zipf used base 10 (the  $\log_{10}$  of 1 = 0,  $\log_{10}$  of 10 = 1, and  $\log_{10}$  of 100 = 2) for his transformations, I do so here as well.

After conducting both transformations the data are replotted, as in the top right panel of Figure 3.1. The results line up in an interesting way. That is, as suggested earlier, they are *more or less* linear, generally falling within a gray diagonal stripe.<sup>12</sup> This is what the constant in his original formulation was capturing. Inspection of the particular plot reveals at least one wiggle at the location of the pronoun *I*. Here, there are seemingly too few occurrences in the corpus. Instead, at least by the Zipf plot, *I* should have a frequency of about 42,000. We know, however, that the dip in these data is due to the hybrid nature of the cor-

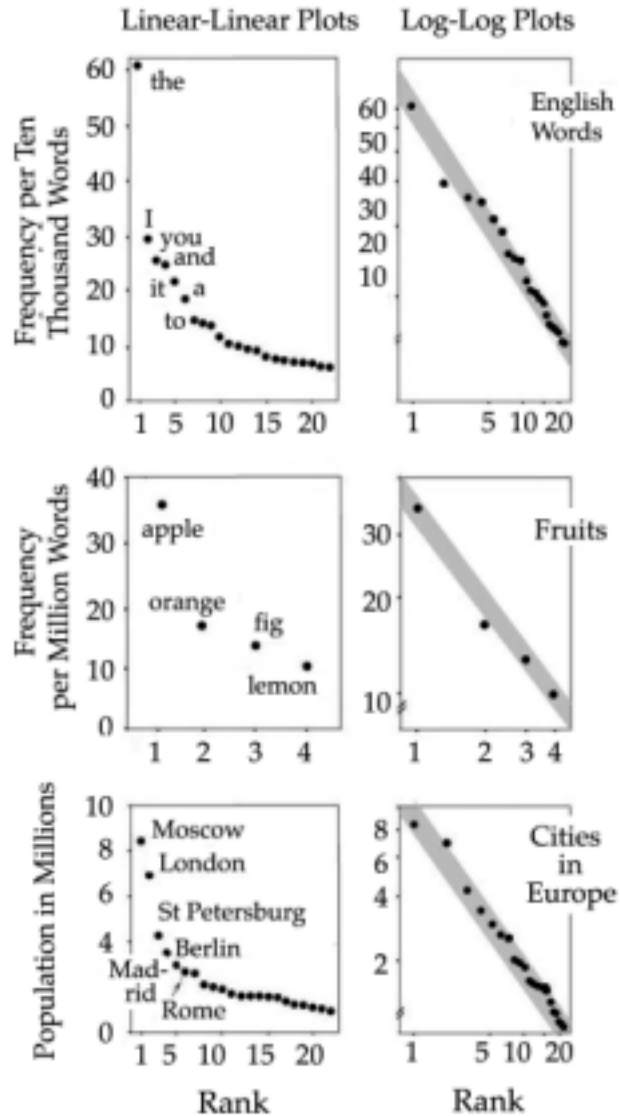


Figure 3.1: The top left panel shows the raw frequencies of words in English (vertical axis) by the ranks of the words (horizontal axis). The right panel transforms both axes logarithmically. The middle panels show Zipf diagrams for the relative frequencies of the most frequent four words in the category *fruit*. In the bottom panels Zipf diagrams for the largest cities in Europe according to the most recent data available (from 2002). The gray regions in the right panels mark the bounds of what might be considered “more or less” linear.



pus; *I* is by far the most frequent word in oral English, but doesn't even rank in the most frequent dozen in written English.

Zipf's law also generally works with other categories of things. Previously I described the category *fruit*. But one could also simply look at the word frequencies of various fruit and their relative ranks. This is done in middle panels of Figure 3.1. Unfortunately, only four fruits are sufficiently common in print and in British English conversations (>10 per million words) to make much of a Zipf plot. Nonetheless, the patterns are reasonably close to those in the top of the figure—a scallop for the raw frequencies and ranks, and a descending diagonal for the logarithmically transformed one.<sup>13</sup>

The striking thing about Zipf's law is that it does much more than just give words and ranks an interestingly looking plot. It gives almost *everything* the *same* looking plot. The lower panels of Figure 3.1 show the populations of the twenty-two largest European cities according to their most recent censuses, with the exclusion of outlying suburbs. The left panel shows the linear-linear plot, annotated for the positions of Moscow, London, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Madrid, and Rome as the most populous cities. These were followed by Kiev, Paris, Bucharest, and Budapest. Notice it has the same general bow-shape that the word frequencies did, although the difference between Moscow and London is not nearly as large as that between *the* and *I*. However, when the data are log-log transformed, as with the words and their ranks, the cities and their ranks form the same *more or less* linear pattern.<sup>14</sup> It should be obvious that there is no known connection between the frequency pattern of the words we say or write and the size pattern of the cities we live in. This, in part, is why a theory of Zipf's law has proven so difficult. It occurs almost everywhere under seemingly unconnected circumstances.

Zipf himself investigated word frequencies in dozens of languages, the speech of schizophrenics, the lengths and frequencies of newspaper articles in the New York Times and the entries in Encyclopedia Britannica, the number of individuals in various *genera* within species of Chrysomelid beetles and within flowering plants, the lengths and frequencies of intervals between repetitions of notes in Mozart's Bassoon Concerto, the number of service establishments and retail stores within cities, passengers on railways, marriage licenses, family incomes, and liability insurance claims. All appeared to follow this law. And many other domains have been added since. That beetle genera, bus traffic, and bassoon concertos *all* follow this law suggests that it is indeed a *natural* law, a law of the physical world, and not simply a restricted product of societies, cultures, or politics.

More pertinent to this book, however, are the data in the four panels of Figure 3.2. Consider the top two panels. I took all the artists listed in the *Thames and Hudson Dictionary of Art and Artists* (Read, 1994), I recorded those whose names I recognized (about 200, or roughly half), and then searched the Bibliography of the History of Art (BHA). The BHA is an online bibliographic resource, available through subscription, consisting of the citations for all professional works published since 1973 in the field of art history. As is typical of such databases, one can search them by author, title, or—most impor-

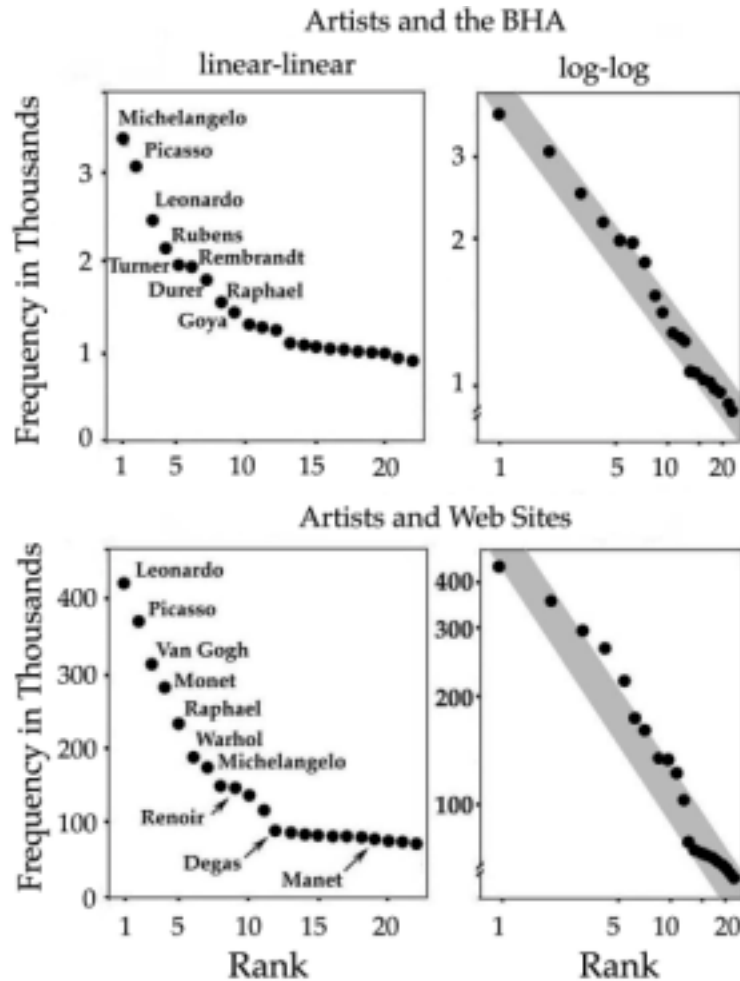


Figure 3.2: Zipf diagrams for the most cited painters in the Bibliography of the History of Art and on the Internet. Again, the data generally follow Zipf's law.

tantly—by keyword. Using the artist's name as a keyword I searched for all occurrences of each artist. The pattern shown in the upper left panel shows the number of citations by ranks for the top-cited artists: Michelangelo, Picasso, Leonardo, Rubens, Turner, Rembrandt, Dürer, and so forth. The pattern in the upper right panel, the log-log transforms, shows the linear pattern we've seen before.<sup>15</sup> Thus, Zipf's law nicely captures the pattern of artist citations by the professional community that deals with art and its history.

Not completely satisfied, I then wished to replicate these results using a source far away from this respected professional database. Thus, I used the Internet search engine Google and searched the web in August 2003 for the number of sites that used the each of the artists' last names. As many know, web searches are peculiar things and often divulge peculiar results. To constrain the possibilities I used the additional keyword "art".<sup>16</sup> Thus, one search might be for "Leonardo" and " art," another "Picasso" and "art." Among other things, Google returns a number, which is an estimate of the number of web sites meeting this search criterion. That is, the web site has both the artist's name and the word *art* somewhere embedded in the text written in HTML (hypertext markup language) or stored as a PDF (portable document format) file.

Consider Leonardo. Some of these will be serious academic web sites discussing, say, *The last supper* (1495-1498) or *Portrait of Ginevra de Benci* (1474); others will be sites huckstering posters; one will be from the Louvre, another the National Gallery in Washington, and others wherever Leonardo's few paintings might be found; some will be online encyclopedia entries; many will be seventh grade essays that have been posted on the web by teachers or parents; some will be college course syllabi; of course, a few will be porn sites, for whatever reason; and about 7,000 will be about Leonardo di Caprio, which can be subtracted out.<sup>17</sup> And of course a few others will be completely irrelevant as well. Thus, whatever numbers are returned for each search, they inflate the true total by a bit, and I will assume that amount is *more or less* the same proportion across searches. In measurement theoretic terms this means that, other things being equal, ranks wouldn't change and absolute numbers would likely deflate by a constant ratio.

As shown in the bottom left panel of Figure 3.2, Leonardo (minus di Caprio) led the way among artists with nearly 400,000 web sites referring to him and art. As noted in the left panel, he is followed by Picasso, Van Gogh, Monet, Raphael, Warhol, and Michelangelo. Following these are Pollock, Renoir, Rembrandt, Rubens, and Degas. Again the curve is graceful and similar to those in the left panels of Figures 3.1, and a linear trend is seen in the transformed data at the right.<sup>18</sup>

Warhol sixth? More than Michelangelo? Web sites, of course, are recent inventions and are not generally noted for their panhistorical interests. But clearly such a list is striking in its bias towards the present. Only five artists who lived before the nineteenth century are represented in the top 20—Leonardo, Raphael, Michelangelo, Rembrandt, and Rubens. Later ranks include Vermeer, El Greco, Caravaggio, Botticelli, and Bellini, all clustered in that order between 25th and 29th. Notice, for the purposes of this book, that four impressionist artists—Monet, Renoir, Degas, and Manet—are among the top 20. Moreover, among those related to Impressionism are Van Gogh (3rd), Gauguin (18th), and Toulouse-Lautrec (20th). Such results reinforce my statement about the central place of Impressionism in contemporary American culture.

Web sites, and their visits by web surfers, are also known to follow Zipf's Law. So the patterns shown in the right panels of Figure 3.2, although not seen before, are not really a surprise. Nonetheless, in comparison with Figure 3.1, this is visual proof that categories of artists, cities, and words seem to follow

the same empirical law. As it turns out this linear relation found in log-log transformed data is a property of virtually all interrelated systems of entities, particularly ones that grow over time.<sup>19</sup> Countering Charles Altieri, whose view I discussed in Chapter 2, this is a “natural fact,” that could govern canons.

### Correlation as a Measure of Nearness

If Zipf has given us lists as something to capture our interest, how might we compare lists? Consider the relations between the two sets of rankings shown in the left panels of Figure 3.2. There are some differences in the two that seem relatively small: In the professional literature (the BHA) Leonardo is third and first on the Web; Rembrandt is sixth and tenth, respectively. In some places the results are even the same, or essentially so: Picasso is second in both; and Duchamp is sixteenth on one and seventeenth on the other. And of course there are some great discrepancies: Warhol is 57th on the professional list but sixth on the web; and Michelangelo is first on the BHA and seventh on the web. Clearly there are differences and similarities. How do we assess them all?

The traditional statistical technique is through computing correlation coefficients, or simply correlations. There are methods we can use to compare ratio or interval measurements (Pearson product-moment correlations) or ordinal measurements (Spearman rank-order correlation). I won't go through the statistics here,<sup>20</sup> but these correlations compare paired values in two domains, such as the BHA and the Internet. When the pattern of numbers in both domains matches perfectly the correlation is 1.00. When there is no simple relationship between the two, the correlation is 0.0, or nearby. But there can also be a negative correlation: What is high on one dimension is low on the other, and vice versa. In such cases, when the mapping is perfectly inverse, the correlation is  $-1.00$ . Thus, we can think of correlations as a range of measurements between  $-1.00$  and  $1.00$ . Even though differences along this scale have some metric meaning, we will use them only as ordinal information. These correlations tell us how well two domains match—how “close” they are to one another.

It happens that the correlation coefficient ( $r$ ) between the BHA counts and the web sites counts is reasonably high:  $r = +.57$  for the first 60 on the BHA list compared to their web-citation counterparts. Statistically speaking, this is a highly reliable result, and it denotes a reasonably strong relation.<sup>21</sup> This means that, although there may some rather wild discrepancies between the professional and the popular lists, overall the lists are moderately well related. Indeed, I would claim that this is as it should be. High culture (more generally reflected in the BHA counts) and popular culture (more generally reflected in the web) must always have some general similarity, and that relation should always be imperfect.

The BHA and web lists are but two. Because I will be interested in a lot of lists, I will often wind up with lots of correlations. Long lists, particularly of numbers, are unappetizing and indigestible. Thus, these numbers need to be compared in some convenient way, converted into some other form.

### Maps as Pictures of Ideas and of Data

As should now be clear, I am interested a canon of artists and of pictures and I am also interested in numbers, particularly numerical representations of these artists and pictures. Zipf's law is but one. Another of my goals is to make maps of the artists. I will do this quite literally, starting in the next chapter. This will strike many as odd, but it is one of many ways in which one can create a representation of data. Maps are also relatively easy to inspect and understand, and much more so than long tables of numbers. How can one make such a map? How can one go back and forth between tables and maps?

Consider the latter query first. Most automobile maps and atlases have two types of representations. Most obviously, they have the maps themselves, the schematic layout of particular regions, usually oriented so that the vertical axis runs north (at the top) to south. These maps are at different scales, but almost always have the different routes between cities, towns, and points of interest. They also often have tables, typically at the sides or on the backs of the maps, which give the distances between cities. It is easy to imagine how these tables are made. One simply measures the map—either in a direct path (“air” miles) or along the roadways—and converts the distances between two cities into a number, kilometers or miles. One then inserts this number into a matrix, one row of which is represented by one city, and one column of which represented by the other. Any columns and rows that match are left blank. There is zero distance between a particular city and itself.

Less obvious is how one might construct a map from this table of distances. One could do this laboriously, laying out the first pair of cities and create a scale that represents their appropriate distance. Next one would pick a third city, and using a compass place it at the right distances from each of the other two. In doing so, one quickly realizes that there are two locations for this third city. If the first pair were laid out as a horizontal line, the third city could go above or below this line. I will return to this idea. But mapping three cities is pretty easy. If you add a fourth city, however, one must not only place it at the appropriate distance from the first two cities, but also from the third. Its location on a map, as it turns out, is highly constrained and is more tedious than difficult to find. Adding more cities increases the tedium and care with which one must measure and place the new cities. This is a task much better left to a computer algorithm called a *multidimensional scaling* program.<sup>22</sup>

The top left panel of Figure 3.3 shows a schematic map of six major cities in Europe. The air distance in kilometers between these cities is noted. If these fifteen numbers are entered into a multidimensional scaling program, one gets back the map, shown in the top right panel. This is a two-dimensional display of the distances among the cities. There are several peculiarities about this map. First, its “proper” orientation is not known. The algorithm does not know about north and south, east or west, or any direction. As a scaling solution, one is free to rotate this map however one wishes. The map shown at the right is oriented in the correct way, at least allowing for a north-south meridian through Berlin. The second peculiarity of this map is that it could be mirror reversed such that

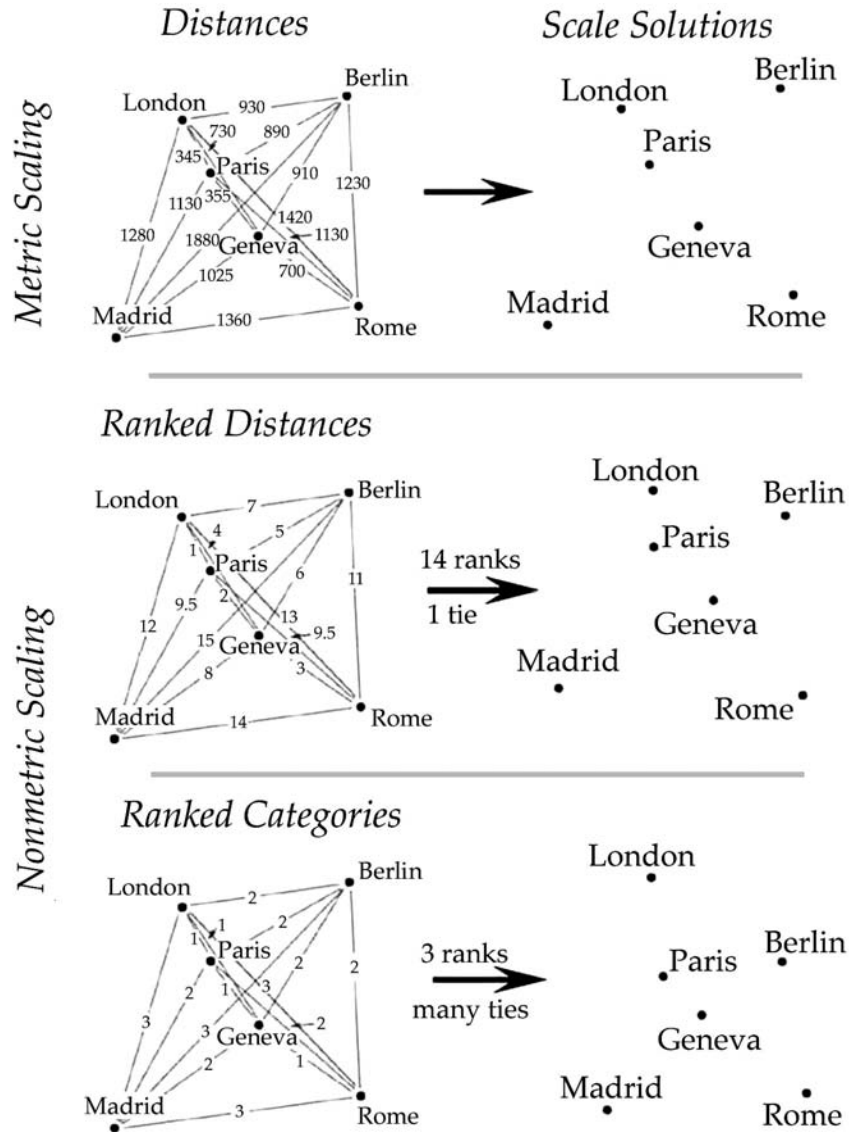


Figure 3.3: Three maps of Europe and three scaling solutions. The left panels show intercity distances in kilometers, intercity ranked distances, and intercity categorical distances (near = 1 or <750 km; intermediate = 2 or 750-1250 km; and far = 3 or >1250 km). The right panels show the scaling solutions done metrically and nonmetrically, using the distances, ranks, and categories, respectively.

Berlin was to the left of London, Rome to the left of Madrid. In other words, from the distances the algorithm doesn't know that one usually looks down at a map, rather than up through it. Thus, one also has the freedom to flip the page over (as if it were transparent), or not. With these constraints, however, the program allows one to recover the map from the distances. In this case the map is essentially exact.

So far, so good: one inputs distances and one gets back the map, and one can choose its orientation and which side is face up. Distances in kilometers are measured on a ratio scale, which is metric. The use of them is called metric multidimensional scaling. But there are several other ways to scale the data.

Rather than mark their distances from each other in kilometers, however, one might simply rank the distances from closest to farthest. This is done in the middle left panel of Figure 3.3. In this set, Paris and London are ranked the closest, Paris and Geneva second, Geneva and Rome third, and so forth, with Madrid and Berlin the farthest apart. Notice that the distance between Paris and Madrid and Paris and Rome is very nearly the same, so these are given ranks of 9.5 (the average of rank 9 and rank 10). Using *nonmetric* multidimensional scaling, which uses only ordinal ranks as inputs, one can also create a map. This one is shown in the middle right panel of Figure 3.3.<sup>23</sup> Here, the algorithm works iteratively (repeating the process again and again) through the relations trying to construct a map. It tries to keep the distance between London and Paris the shortest, between Berlin and Madrid the longest, and the order of all the distances between cities the same as in the left panel. The result is impressive. Notice that this map has *almost* the same sets of relations as the one in top right of Figure 3.3. Oriented and flipped appropriately, it is very difficult to tell the difference. Scrutiny reveals that Berlin is perhaps a little bit too close to Rome, having slid south somewhat.

One might complain that one's ability to rank distances is strained when the number gets as large as fifteen—the number of pairwise distances among six cities. Instead, how about simply categorizing the distances into three groups, corresponding to relatively near (<750 km), middling (750-1250 km), and relatively far (>1250 km)? This was done in the bottom left panel of Figure 3.3. When this half matrix of values is input into a nonmetric multidimensional scaling program, the output is shown in bottom right panel of Figure 3.3. This arrangement is even more distorted than that in the middle right panel, but instead of emphasizing the distortions, I wish to emphasize the similarities. Among other things, the crescent shape of London to Paris to Geneva to Rome is almost identical to that when the inputs were all ranks, and even the relative distances among them is similar.<sup>24</sup>

It is fun to make such maps, and one quickly realizes that aerial distances are not the only thing that might be considered. Shown in Figure 3.4 is a different kind of map. In the left panel are the costs in US dollars to fly roundtrip between the same fifteen pairs of cities, at least as given over the Internet by Travelocity.com<sup>TM</sup> on 10 September 2002 for flights to be booked on 1 October 2002.<sup>25</sup> All experienced travelers will be familiar with these types of results. Notice that it was cheaper to fly from Paris to London to Berlin and back than

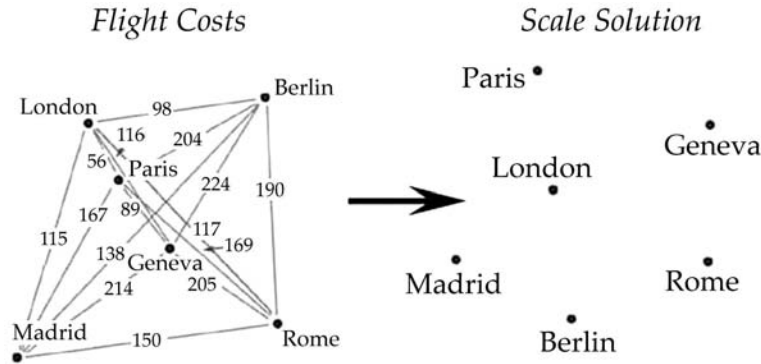


Figure 3.4: Another map of Europe but with a considerably different scaling solution. The left panel shows flight costs (in US dollars) for round trip fares between cities as of October 2002. The right panel shows that London is the center of this configuration, in that it is often a bit cheaper to fly through London than directly to any city from any other city.

from Paris to Berlin and back directly. The same is true from Geneva to London to Madrid, compared to the direct connection of Geneva to Madrid. Moreover, it is almost the same price to fly through London to most other cities from most other cities. This is a peculiarity of routing, and heavily trafficked links between certain cities. The contemporary traveler understands this well, but rarely converts these intuitions into a map.

Nonetheless, one can easily do so. If we start with the costs of travel as the “distances” between cities rather than the kilometers that separate them, we can create a new map of Europe. We might call an air-travel-cost map. The scaling results are shown in the right panel of Figure 3.4.<sup>26</sup> This map shows why, in terms of monetary cost (not time, or connection aggravations) London is on the way from Paris to Berlin, and why London is between Geneva and Madrid. In other words, if airfare prices were at a premium for the traveler, he or she could use this new map of Europe to plot business or vacation travel.

As suggested in the cases above one can use many different sources of information as “distances”—metric distances themselves, airfares, etc. One can also use correlations. That is, since correlations vary between  $-1.00$  through  $0.0$  to  $1.00$ , one can assert that lists with correlations of  $1.00$  are very close to each other, those with correlations around  $0.0$  are at middling distance; and those near  $-1.00$  very far apart. Thus, one can use correlations as numbers on an ordinal scale, relating objects to one another, and then scale them in multiple dimensions. I will do this in Chapter 4 and in later chapters as well.

Consider one final example of mapmaking from data. The layout Figure 3.5 shows a map of fruit. College students rated the similarities between all possible fruit pairs and then the results were scaled in two dimensions, just like the cities of Europe in Figures 3.3 and 3.4 and thus, it was generated from data quite separate from those given in Table 3.1. Superimposed on this array is an-



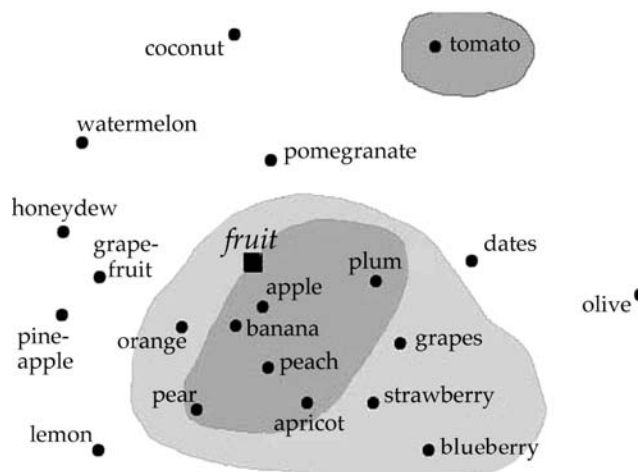


Figure 3.5: A map of fruit, showing a two-dimensional similarity space redrawn from Tversky and Hutchinson (1986). Superimposed on the scaling solution are the results of the fruit-feature counts taken from Table 3.1.

other set of data, the feature counts from that table. Despite the differences in technique between the scaling experiment and the consideration of feature lists, the connections of various fruit with the same number of features makes a sensible picture. Those with the most fruitlike features—apples, bananas, peaches, pears, plums, and apricots—cluster quite closely together. Rimming these are another set—oranges, blueberries, strawberries, and grapes. And arrayed around these are the residual fruits, with one glaring exception. Tomatoes—not normally regarded as fruit, although botanically they are—have just as many fruitlike features, at least for those listed in Table 3.1, as the most fruitlike of fruits. This inconsistency points out that the structure of categories is usually well behaved in terms of spatial and featural representations, but not always.

### Summary

One needs tools to study canons empirically. I started here with the concept of measurement, where nominality (the grouping of objects into a category, or class) and ordinality (the ranking of those objects along some dimension) are the key ideas. I then discussed the notions of concepts (mental ideas generally shared within a culture) and categories (the collections of physical objects). These provide a framework for how we generally group things, be they artists, artworks, or fruit. Results from the study of categories are typically graded, with frequently occurring members forming the middle of a category, and less frequent ones forming a graded periphery. One description of this type of structure is Zipf's law. This empirical law states that the frequency of occurrence is inversely proportional to the rank within the category. I also discussed correlation

as a measure of the relatedness between two measurements of categories. Finally, with many correlations I then discussed the use of multidimensional scaling to create maps of those relations. With these ideas in place we are now ready to enter Impressionism.

### Notes

Epigraph: From a lecture to the Institution of Civil Engineers, 3 May 1883; see [http://www.todayinsci.com/K/Kelvin\\_Lord/Kelvin\\_Lord.htm](http://www.todayinsci.com/K/Kelvin_Lord/Kelvin_Lord.htm).

1. On measurement, see Stevens (1951), pp. 23-30.
2. Metric units are more easily interconvertible (kilometers to centimeters and back) than are the traditional English units (miles to inches and back), but once conversion is done both systems allow for ratio scaling.
3. <http://www.bartleby.com/65/ke/Kelvinte.html>. And notice there is no ° in K.
4. Women's tennis ranking is done on a point system, with two kinds of points—round points and quality points, which are added together. Round points are based solely on what round an individual advances to in a tournament—with most points for the finals, next most for semifinals, quarterfinals, then rounds of 16, 32, 64, and so forth. These values are then weighted by the tier of the tournament, with Grand Slam Tournaments (US, French, British, and Australian Opens) the highest, then Tier I, and so forth with Tier V the lowest. Quality points depend on who an individual beats and when. Beating someone ranked first earns 100 points, second = 75 pts, third = 66 pts, and so forth. There is no difference for the tier of the tournament in which this occurs except that in Grand Slam events the points are doubled. Both sets of points accrue throughout a rolling twelve-month period. Overall ranks are determined by how many points each individual has accrued—the person with the highest number is ranked first, next highest is second, and so forth. And men's scores are not done this way. From [http://geocities.com/women's\\_tennis/](http://geocities.com/women's_tennis/).
5. Even the structure of prime numbers fit this scheme. By definition prime numbers are those not divisible (without remainder) by anything but themselves and one. Yet Armstrong, Gleitman, and Gleitman (1983) showed that people find, say, 11 a more prototypical prime number than 103.
6. From Malt and Smith (1984). The confidence estimates are from by Barbara Malt (17 Sept 2002, personal communication). Neither Malt and Smith (1984) nor Rosch and Mervis (1975) used “orange,” probably because it is also the name for a color.
7. Malt and Smith (1984) was a replication of Rosch and Mervis (1975). Of the items shared across the two studies, only lemon and blueberry shifted positions.
8. Strictly speaking standard errors give no exact information about reliability for within subject comparisons. But experience shows that a standard error yields close to a reliable difference.
9. Correlation of prototypicality and number of features,  $r = .86$ ,  $t(12) = 6.12$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $d = 3.5$ .
10. I do not claim that all exemplars of categories need be formed by association. Also D. Smith (2002) provides some evidence suggesting that an exemplar approach is incorrect, but it is likely that his will not be the final word.
11. The source of these data is Leech, Rayson, and Wilson (2001).
12. The slope of this regression line—with the normalized value of the most frequent word, *the*, set equal to 1.00—is  $-0.15$ . The linear regression ( $r = .975$ ) accounts for 95% of the variance ( $F(1,20)=389$ ,  $p < .0001$ ). However, the ranking of log transformed random data also yields reasonable correlations (mean  $r_s(40) = 0.71$ ). Nonetheless the linear regression here is reliably greater ( $\chi^2 = 19.6$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

13. The normalized slope of this regression line is  $-0.57$ . The linear regression ( $r = .989$ ) accounts for 97% of the variance ( $F(1,2) = 92$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Because of the few data points involved here a comparison with random data cannot be made. Also, the high frequency of the word *fig* in a British corpus is likely due, in part, to swearing.

14. The normalized slope is  $-0.18$ , and the regression accounts for 98% of the variance ( $F(1,20) = 1379$ ,  $p < .0001$ ). This is reliably higher than log transformed random data ( $\chi^2 = 44$ ,  $p < .0001$ ).

15. The normalized slope is  $-0.14$ , and the regression ( $r = .993$ ) accounts for 99% of the variance ( $F(1,57) = 4167$ ,  $p < .0001$ ). This is reliably higher than log transformed random data ( $\chi^2 = 83$ ,  $p < .0001$ ).

16. The searches were done between 10-14 September 2002. First names, or end names such as “da Vinci,” were not used because these are often not mentioned in the context of an artist and his or her work. More common names like Blake and Whistler were omitted because there are too many other sites that might contain these names.

17. Of course, there is also Michelangelo di Caravaggio, who undoubtedly contributes to the Michelangelo counts.

18. The normalized slope is  $-0.44$  and the regression ( $r = .90$ ) accounts for 81% of the variance ( $F(1,79) = 334$ ,  $p < .0001$ ). This is reliably higher than for log transformed random data ( $\chi^2 = 8.6$ ,  $p < .003$ ).

19. For Zipf’s law and the web, see Barabási (2002, Chapter 6). In addition, Barabási (2002) demonstrated that power laws, which are the essence of Zipf’s law, govern the interrelations (or links) in economies, friendships, the Internet, and the sequence of chemical reactions in a cell. The new science of network theory may soon provide a theoretical rationale for Zipf’s law. The counts of images discussed at length in Chapters 6 through 9 are not exactly like the links discussed by Barabási; instead the books would be the links. Empirically, however, I have determined that the counts of the images are highly correlated with the counts of connections to other images in the books discussed here ( $rs > .95$ ).

20. There are many good texts that discuss correlation. My favorite for Pearson correlations is Edwards (1984); and for Spearman rank-order correlations, Siegel (1956).

21.  $t(58) = 5.33$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 1.40$ .

22. See Shepard (1980) and Kruskal (1964). As is implied by its name, the algorithm can plot data in more than just two dimensions—indeed three and more are often used. Obviously, two-dimensional plots are easy to envision and print on a page, and nothing in particular is gained in this context by plotting the results in this book in more than two dimensions.

23. With multidimensional scaling solutions one typically computes the *stress* of the solution—sometimes called “badness-of-fit.” The lower the stress the better the solution captures the patterns of data. Not surprisingly the stress for the two-dimensional nonmetric solution of the data for six European cities is very low—0.004. Indeed, it accounts for 99.99% of the variance in the data.

24. The stress of this solution is fairly high—0.14—but the solution accounts for 78% of the variance in the data.

25. These are the average of round trips each way: for example, Paris-London-Paris and London-Paris-London.

26. Again, the stress is reasonable for this solution—0.095—and the plot accounts for 94% of the variance in the data.

## 4: The Impressionist Artists

The Impressionists were but a small group of contemporaries: Different authorities include different men, but a fairly broad list is the following: Manet, Claude Monet, Degas, Renoir, Pissarro, Sisley, Cézanne, Raffaëlli, Morisot, Bazille, Guillaumin, Eva Gonzales, Caillebotte, Forain, Toulouse-Lautrec, Mary Cassatt.

Charles Borgmeyer, *The Master Impressionists*

Which artists were the Impressionists? This may seem like an odd question to ask, particularly as an entrée. But Borgmeyer, writing early in the twentieth century, seems overly inclusive.<sup>1</sup> And besides, almost everyone knows, or thinks they know, at least a partial answer to this question.

But this is precisely why I ask it. I take the query seriously, and I anticipate answers somewhat different than many might expect. Given this question, we might try to answer it in many ways. We could use primary sources. That is, through detailed archival scholarship, we might investigate what the candidate artists had written, what their critics had written at the time, and amass and collate all this information. Fortunately, this has already been done. John Rewald in his *History of Impressionism* (1946) did it in an overwhelmingly thorough manner. Indeed, I will refer to his work and his results many times. Many other more recent books, such as Jane Mayo Roos's *Early Impressionism and the French State 1866-1874* (1996), also show rich use of archival sources. As a nonhistorian, I cannot hope to compete with such analyses on their own terms.

There is a second reasonable strategy. We could use a secondary source. That is, we might simply appeal to a particular, well-respected scholar and ask his or her opinion. However, in such situations I believe we should be leery of expert opinion in matters that are essentially just that—opinion.<sup>2</sup> Even Kenneth Clark (1903-1983) would seem to have agreed. An early twentieth century director of the National Gallery of Art in London and a mid-century BBC guru of the visual arts, Clark later wrote in the second volume of his memoirs *Another part of the wood*:

At the age of nine or ten I said with perfect confidence ‘this is a good picture, that is a bad one’. . . . This almost insane self-confidence lasted till a few years ago, and the odd thing is how many people have accepted my judgements. My whole life might be described as a long, harmless confidence trick.<sup>3</sup>

In this context, single opinions—Clark’s, Roos’s, Rewald’s, or anyone else’s—simply won’t do. Make no mistake; it is not that I am disinterested in opinions. To the contrary, I embrace them wholeheartedly. I find them fascinating, necessary, and unavoidable in both art and science. But there is a better way.

A third method, and the one I chose, is different. I asked libraries. Unlike the other methods, mine is empirical. That is, I consulted all the relevant books I could find, and recorded what images by which artists are in them. I then tallied them in various ways. In this manner, using all possible secondary sources meeting a reasonable criterion, I have hoped to gloss across all scholars of a century, each of whom certainly had their particular and differing opinions. This procedure converts the secondary sources of Impressionism into the primary sources of this investigation—opinions of authors writing on Impressionist art. I claim that in the sum of these books, and the opinions behind them, provides a very good approximation of the opinion of our culture writ large. To be sure, one could emphasize some books more than others, and perhaps discount still others. However, my experience in other domains tells me that this is neither necessary nor prudent. Differential weighting rarely changes the general pattern of results, and it becomes cumbersome to justify why the opinion of one individual should be counted twice, three-quarters, or 60% as much as that of another. A more democratic way is simply to count all books equally, accepting them as they are—gems, curiosities, warts, and all.

Thus, in my first empirical analysis, and in the many similar ones to follow in subsequent chapters, I used this method. The particulars were these: I exhaustively combed the library holdings at Cornell University on the art of Impressionism. I then selected all the single-volume books that focused strictly on nineteenth century Impressionist art. Fortunately, these spanned the twentieth century, from 1904 to 1999.<sup>4</sup> Other than trying to be historically and contextually complete, these works did not have the intent of including all of Post-Impressionism or Neo-Impressionism, and not Symbolism, Fauvism, Naturalism, or broader nineteenth century French, European, or World art. Moreover, I selected no more than one book by any author and, in all such cases, always the earliest available. I came up with thirty such books. These had a bit more than 5000 images. The books are listed in Appendix 4.1, and will be useful in later analyses. I also recorded the names of all artists (246) whose works appeared in these volumes and the number of works by each. I will focus on the artists later in this chapter, but first consider the books.

Any such book list is quite fascinating and heterogeneous. Most notably, I included the opinionated, monumental, and seminal work by Rewald (1946). Challenged by the statement of a colleague, Rewald had intended to piece “together a full and in the minutest degree accurate report of the developments that

led up to the first impressionist exhibit,” and much more.<sup>5</sup> His book includes a total of 323 paintings and it took nearly four decades for this number to be eclipsed in a single volume. Rewald will also feature large in Chapter 9.

Many other books among the thirty are almost equally interesting, and quirky. One is the Wynford Dewhurst (1904) text, *Impressionist painting: Its genesis and development*. It includes works by 29 artists, six of whom were not represented in any of the other texts. Such a distribution certainly suggests that the category of Impressionist painters was not well formed at the beginning of the twentieth century. Also included is Meyer Schapiro’s posthumous volume *Impressionism: Reflections and perceptions* (1997). Its presentation, although erudite and interesting, is notably skewed.<sup>6</sup> More than a third of the illustrations are images by Claude Monet, and curiously there are none by Alfred Sisley, or by the three Impressionist women painters of note—Mary Cassatt, Eva Gonzalès, and Berthe Morisot. Only four of the other thirty texts failed to include any images by the latter three artists, and the most recent was the mid-century text by Clive Bell, *The French Impressionists* (1952).

Another interesting book is Basil Taylor’s *The Impressionists and their world* (1957). It offers a unique distribution of images—eight images each by Paul Cézanne, Edgar Degas, Edouard Manet, Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, and seven by Alfred Sisley. These seven artists, and no others, are presented. This is a pattern that we will see in other contexts. Yet another book is Peter Feist’s (1995) expansive work, *French Impressionism: 1860-1920*, which includes 497 images by 89 different artists, the first to have more than Rewald’s compendium. The slimmest of the texts in terms of artists represented (6) is Barbara White’s (1974) scholarly work of social history, *Impressionism in perspective*; and the briefest in terms of images (25) is Peter de Francia’s (1965) trade book, *Impressionism*. Only one of these thirty books represented an exhibition. Exhibition and museum catalogues were generally avoided since they tend to emphasize strongly the holdings of a home museum or dealer. Nonetheless, I included Wildenstein and Company’s *One hundred years of Impressionism* (1970). As gallery owners and promoters in Paris and New York, the Wildenstein family played an important role in the twentieth-century history of Impressionism, and that exhibition was dedicated to gallery owner Paul Durand-Ruel, who played such an important role in the nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Dealers will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, and then briefly in Chapter 9. Again, the intent of this initial search was to amass a *general* opinion of Impressionism over a century. No single book can possibly swamp the overall pattern accrued by the whole list. Such is the beauty of reasonably large-scale sampling. It privileges no individual, no critic, no single point of view. In collectivity lies generality.<sup>8</sup>

With these books in place, but before reporting on their distribution of images by painter, let me ask another important question: What should we expect to find? As I see it, there are two possibilities. One is that any results concerning who is an Impressionist artist would be clean, following the classical definition of a category outlined in the previous chapter. That is, there should be a clear demarcation between who is thought to be in, and who’s out, of the canon of Impressionist painters. The other possibility is “dirty.” That is, following the

ideas of family resemblance and fuzzy categories, there might be gradations that are relatively seamless, with little indication of a boundary between the core canon of artists down to the foot soldiers of Impressionism.

Before carrying out my study I had expected that “dirtiness” and Zipf’s law would rule. I thought that family-resemblance patterns should hold for why any painter might be called an Impressionist. And I thought there would be, indeed should be, no necessary and sufficient features that determine membership. Instead, it would better to consider their *prototypicality*, which in this context is essentially the sum of all the relevant things one finds about Impressionism as applied to a particular painter. But what did I find?

Consider the first two sets of results from my thirty selected books, shown in Table 4.1. Let me first explain, however, that these results shown are for the 18 most prevalent painters. Eighteen artists is only 7% of the 246 painters found in these tomes, but the works of these 18 also represented 83% of all images in these texts. Two tallies are shown in the table—the number of books in which each painter had images, and the percentage of all images in the books that were by these painters. This latter value is normalized for the 18 represented; that is, percentages add to 100%, leaving out the widely scattered images by over two hundred other artists.<sup>9</sup> This said, the results in Table 4.1 show what I took to be surprising general support for the classical view of categories.

### Impressionism is Defined by Seven Artists

The first column of Table 4.1 has the artists arranged by name in a way that soon will become obvious. In the second column is the number of times any of their works appear in the 30 books. Note the striking uniformity across these twentieth-century volumes. Seven painters had works shown in at least 29 volumes—Cézanne, Degas, Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley. Who are these painters? Most readers will know something about them, and they will be featured throughout the following chapters. But in brief: Paul Cézanne was born near Marseille in Aix-en-Provence and the son of a wealthy banker. Edgar Degas was a Parisian, also the son of a banker and had a Creole mother with ties to New Orleans. Edouard Manet was a wealthy Parisian with an early interest in sailing. Claude Monet was a born and educated in Le Havre on the northwest coast of France and had little money early on. Camille Pissarro was a Danish Jew born in the West Indies and almost always poor. Pierre-Auguste Renoir was born in Limoges to a poor family but spent most of his life in Paris. And Alfred Sisley was born to a well-to-do family of mixed French and English heritage and who became increasingly poor.

The book pollings of Table 4.1 suggest that Basil Taylor’s (1957) restrictive and balanced presentation is exactly right—seven or eight images for each of seven painters, none for others. Exceptions to complete uniformity in Table 4.1 are found only two books. The first is Wilhelm Uhde’s (1937) text, the second oldest among these thirty, which did not include images by Cézanne, citing him only as a “forerunner.”<sup>10</sup> The other, already mentioned, is Schapiro’s (1997) text, the second most recent of the thirty, which excluded images by Sisley.

**Table 4.1: Number of Occurrences and Percentages of Paintings Devoted to Each Artist in Two Sets of Impressionist Books, Listed in Appendices 4.1 and 4.2.**

		30 Impressionist books		95 art books covering Impressionism	
Artist		Number of books in which their images appeared	Mean percentage of images for the artist	Number of books in which their images appeared	Mean percentage of images for the artist
<b>"Major" Impressionists</b>					
Paul Cézanne	(1839-1906)	29	7	75	9
Edgar Degas	(1834-1917)	30	13	83	13
Edouard Manet	(1832-1883)	30	14	89	15
Claude Monet	(1840-1926)	30	19	92	20
Camille Pissarro	(1830-1903)	30	8	89	10
Pierre-Auguste Renoir	(1841-1919)	30	14	89	16
Alfred Sisley	(1839-1899)	29	6	77	5
<b>Others</b>					
Frédéric Bazille	(1841-1870)	19	2	53	2
Gustave Caillebotte	(1848-1894)	14	1	43	2
Mary Cassatt	(1844-1926)	21	2	47	2
Paul Gauguin	(1848-1903)	18	3		
Vincent Van Gogh	(1853-1890)	13	2		
Eva Gonzalès	(1848-1883)	6	<1	17	<1
Armand Guillaumin	(1841-1927)	11	<1	25	<1
Berthe Morisot	(1841-1895)	23	2	57	3
Georges Seurat	(1859-1891)	21	2		
Herni Toulouse-Lautrec	(1864-1901)	16	2		
James Whistler	(1834-1903)	9	<1		

Again, let me be clear. This near-complete uniformity across seven artists was *not* consistent with my expectation, nor the notion family resemblance. I expected nonuniformity and more graded results. Instead, following a classical view of a concept, it appears that these seven have become the *defining* members of Impressionism. They have (almost) always been included, and they are likely (almost) always to be included in the future. Put another way, it is very diffi-



cult, if not impossible, for anyone to write a general book on Impressionism without including works by Cézanne, Degas, Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley. Throughout the rest of this book I will call them the “seven major Impressionist artists,” but will do so only on the grounds of these data, not with any aesthetic preference or value judgment.

These seven aside, it is worth perusing the list of artists farther down. Interestingly, the next most commonly included artists are Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt and, with the exception of Georges Seurat, the others trail a bit farther behind. The inclusion of Morisot has been on the upsurge. It has been almost universal, with the exception of Schapiro (1997), since 1970. In addition to being a painter, Morisot was Manet's sister-in-law and his frequent model. Cassatt too has seen recent acknowledgment and increased inclusion of her work. It appeared in only 56% of these books prior to 1980, but in 87% since. Cassatt was an American from Pennsylvania, closest to Degas, and a close friend of Louisine Elder Havemeyer about whom I will say more in Chapter 6. Mrs. Havemeyer and her husband were among the most important collectors of Impressionist works. The work of these artists—Morisot and Cassatt, as well as Eva Gonzalès—focused mainly on the roles and actions of modern women.<sup>11</sup>

I will return later to the others in the bottom half of Table 4.1. Not listed there, however, are other artists of some interest: Camille Corot (1796-1875; 13 books), Gustave Courbet (1819-1877; 15), Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863; 9), Henri Fantin-Latour (1836-1904; 13), Dominique Ingres (1780-1867; 9), Paul Signac (1863-1935; 12), and J.M.W. Turner (1875-1851; 8). Inclusion of Corot, Courbet, Delacroix, and Ingres is understandable given any discussion of precursors to Impressionism. They were all French, and the use of their works can provide either contrasts through classicism (Delacroix and Ingres), or similarities through realism (Corot and Courbet), when compared to the Impressionists.

Inclusion of two other artists in this group is more interesting. Fantin-Latour was a French contemporary of the Impressionists and is included in these works almost always for a single painting, *Un atelier aux Batignolles* (A studio in the Batignolles quarter, 1869, Musée d'Orsay), which I will discuss later in this chapter. Turner, an important and earlier English painter, is included typically for the same reason. A single painting—*Rain, steam, and speed: The Great Western Railway* (1844)—is often said to have influenced the Impressionists, particularly Monet and perhaps Pissarro on their trips to England. Taken together, telling the story of Impressionism required use of one or both of the Fantin-Latour and Turner images by eighteen of these thirty different authors.

Finally, Signac appears, but almost always in the context of Seurat (21). Only in de Francia's (1965) book does Signac's work appear alone. Of course, he and Seurat are more often called Neo-Impressionists or Post-Impressionists. Their mature technique was *divisionisme* (also *pointillisme*), the use of small proximal dabs of paints of contrasting color that, so the theory had it, mix within the optics of eye.<sup>12</sup> Among the major Impressionists only Pissarro tried this technique in the 1880s, but he later abandoned it.

Look next at the third column of Table 4.1. It shows the mean percentage tallies of images across all 30 books. It yields what would appear a different configuration for the major seven, perhaps one more in keeping with the notion

of family resemblance. To be sure, the first seven painters are amply represented. But Monet leads the way by a good margin with almost 20% of all images reproduced by these eighteen artists across the thirty books. Degas, Manet, and Renoir trail a bit behind, each with somewhat less than 15%. Cézanne, Pissarro, and Sisley bring up the rear, each with less than 10%. This relative ranking, as we shall see, has been generally true throughout the twentieth century. Note also that the last three artists have more than twice as many images as the next painter, Paul Gauguin. The seven major Impressionist artists (less than 3% of the painters) account for 68% of all images in the thirty texts.

The other eleven artists in Table 4.1 account for a residual 14% of all images. They generally divide two ways. Members of a first group—Paul Gauguin, Vincent Van Gogh, Georges Seurat, and Henri Toulouse-Lautrec—are typically considered “major” artists in their own right but are usually included in subsequent movements called Post-Impressionism or Neo-Impressionism, or considered on their own. Those of second group—Frédéric Bazille, Gustave Caillebotte, Mary Cassatt, Eva Gonzalès, Armand Guillaumin, and Berthe Morisot—are less well known and are typically included within Impressionism as more “minor” artists. The only outlier to this scheme is James Whistler, an American artist who settled in England but spent a lot of time in France. Today, he is considered an important painter, but not necessarily a “major” artist, nor within the Impressionist school.

The looks of numbers can be deceiving. There is an apparent gradualness in the percentage of images included in these books (Table 4.1, column 3), and less so for the frequency of artists included (column 2). It is worth plotting the percentage data in anticipation of Zipf’s law. This is done in top panels of Figure 4.1. The top left panel seems consonant with previous results, but the top right panel does not. Indeed, it is not.<sup>13</sup> It bows outward to the right far too much. Monet aside, this reflects the fact that by Zipf’s law Renoir, Manet, Degas, Pissarro, Cézanne, and Sisley have far too many images on their behalf in these 30 books. Something other than a natural law is working here, and the pattern is suspiciously different than those seen in previous chapter.

These results seemed curious. They were not what I expected. Thus, I thought them worth replicating in two ways. First, I consulted a second group of books, a total of 95 from the Cornell University Library that covered Impressionism and contained at least ten total images by at least four of the seven major Impressionist artists.<sup>14</sup> None of these were exhibition or museum catalogues. I recorded all occurrences of all images and tallied them by those artists even loosely associated with Impressionism. These 95 books are listed in Appendix 4.2, and I will use the individual picture tallies discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. The number of books including images by thirteen different artists is shown in the fourth column of Table 4.1. The pattern is no different than in the top panel for the 30 more central Impressionist books. Seven artists are included in almost every book, but others are not.

Second, I again consulted the web. I did conjunctive searches on each artist’s name plus “Impressionism”—that is, searching for “Monet” and “Impressionism,” or “Pissarro” and “Impressionism,” etc. Raw totals and ranks are

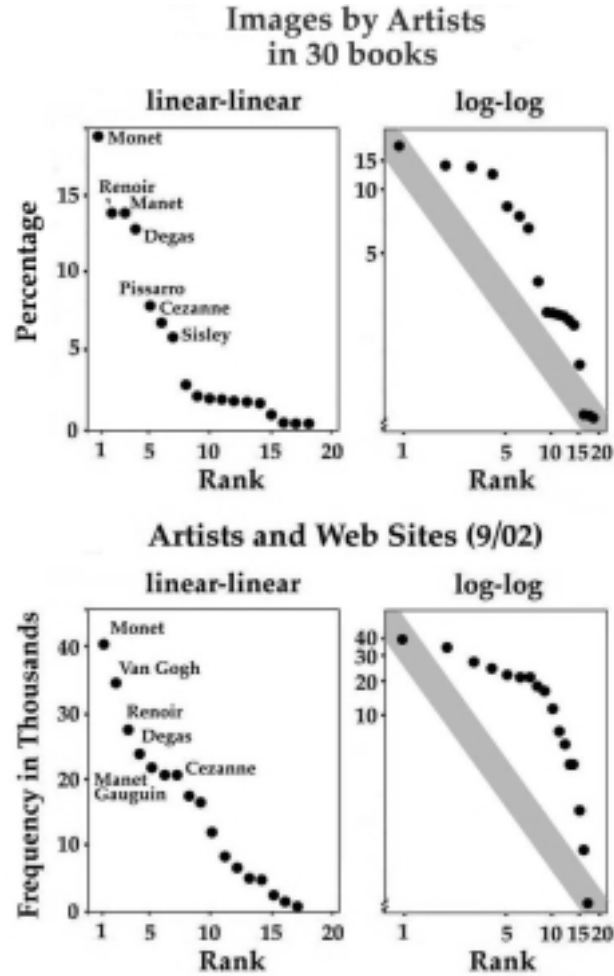


Figure 4.1: Zipf diagrams of artists' images. The top panels show those of the frequency with which images are reproduced for each artist in the 30 books in Appendix 4.1. The bottom panels show Zipf diagrams for the frequency with which artist's names appear on the Internet. Unlike the right panels of Figures 3.1 and 3.2, those here do not show straight lines, and thus violate Zipf's Law.

shown in the bottom left panel of Figure 4.1. Zipf-transformed values are shown in the right panel. Remarkably, although Van Gogh and Gauguin are now included, the pattern is virtually identical to that in top right panel. The pattern bows outward, with "too many" web sites for the second through ninth ranked artists.<sup>15</sup>

The conclusion I draw is that the category of Impressionist artists, by not following Zipf's law, has been created by other factors. Put another way, whatever "natural law" causes the distributions characterized by Zipf, which is followed across an astonishingly large number of categories, that law cannot be central to the story here. There must be something more, something different going on.<sup>16</sup> Those forces are the focus of the rest of this book.

What follows in the remainder of this chapter is a discussion of the social history around these seven artists without finding a unifying theme, several analyses of the literature with the goal of creating maps of the artists that bring out their relations, and an analysis across the twentieth century of the reproduction of the works by fifteen artists closely and loosely associated with Impressionism.

### Why Seven Artists?

Why these seven?—Cézanne, Degas, Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley. Why not eighteen, thirteen, or just four?<sup>17</sup> After the fact, it is easy to compose the Impressionist group by starting with a rather larger number of artists and, through process of elimination, casting out candidates—not Bazille because he died too early; not Morisot, Cassatt, and Gonzalès because historically they surely suffered plight as women and were not taken seriously; not Gauguin, Seurat, and Toulouse-Lautrec because they came later.

But Caillebotte and Guillaumin—as well as Jean-Louis Forain (1852-1931), Jean-François Raffaëlli (1850-1924), and Henri Rouart (1833-1912)—had none of these problems. One might say that they were simply minor artists. Perhaps, but consider the images in Figures 4.2 and 4.3. In the top panel of Figure 4.2 is Guillaumin's *Place Valhubert* (1875, Musée d'Orsay), which was shown at the fifth Impressionist exhibition. Below it is Monet's *Le bassin d'Argenteuil* (The Argenteuil basin, 1872, Musée d'Orsay), which was never shown at an Impressionist exhibition. The Guillaumin is a pleasant and interesting image of Paris and the Seine in winter, and I see no reason why it should be virtually unknown and whereas Monet's image part of a wide Impressionist canon. Monet's *Le bassin d'Argenteuil* is reproduced fifteen times more often than Guillaumin's *place Valhubert*.

Figure 4.3 shows another interesting pair. In the top panel is *Place d'Italie après la pluie* (Place d'Italie after the rain, 1877, Dixon Gallery and Gardens) by Raffaëlli. It is an image of a dull, wet, gray urban day with horse carts, streetcars, and people. At the bottom is Renoir's *Le pont neuf* (1872, National Gallery of Art, Washington) representing a sunnier day, with carts, people, and a similar Parisian setting. Raffaëlli and his painting are virtually unknown in discussions of Impressionist art; Renoir and his painting, on the other hand, are quite firmly within the Impressionist canon.

One might claim that such comparisons are radically decontextualized and hence grossly unfair. They force justification of issues that are complex and difficult to resolve quickly, but that can be resolved rationally in a larger discussion. But this is precisely my point. Although the distinctions *can* be justified,



Figure 4.2: Armand Guillaumin's *Place Valhubert, Paris* (1875, Musée d'Orsay) and Claude Monet's *Le bassin d'Argenteuil* (The Argenteuil basin, 1872, Musée d'Orsay).

the distance of more than a century can make many of those arguments seem less relevant, even arcane and stilted. To be sure, Raffaëlli was a friend of Degas. Although he participated in the fifth and sixth Impressionist exhibitions, he was regarded as an interloper by many of the Impressionists, one who showed up at the exhibitions with far too many paintings. Quite simply he was widely despised.<sup>18</sup> But his images today seem not so dissimilar from the Impressionists that they do not deserve to be seen, perhaps even in the Impressionist context.

Even if we can set aside Raffaëlli, Guillaumin, and the others as minor artists, the problem of the denumeration of Impressionists does not go away. While trimming out artists from the list, why stop at seven? Why not cast out Manet because his prior non-Impressionist works are more important, or Sisley because he was partly English, or Pissarro because he was older, a Jew, and a Dane, or Cézanne because he was a recluse? These are not easy questions to answer, but a century's sweep of Impressionist scholarship did not cast them out. Perhaps like fruit, they or their work share common features. Consider seven possibilities that might be thought to unite these seven artists, but don't.

*Artistic style?* Did these seven artists paint in the same manner, and differently than others? With respect to the latter, Figures 4.2 and 4.3 clearly suggest not. With respect to the former, it is often said that Cézanne is not really an Impressionist painter.<sup>19</sup> In the first half of the twentieth century he was often called a Post-Impressionist, and even today he is perhaps better cast as the central precursor to Modern art. In addition, Manet came to Impressionism after earlier, more important, and more controversial works. His *Olympia* (1863, Musée d'Orsay), shown at the 1865 Salon, and his *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* (Luncheon on the grass, 1863, Musée d'Orsay), rejected by the Salon in 1863 and shown at the *Salon des Refusés*, both date from a period well before Impressionism existed. And because of his occasional portrayal of the underside of modernity and with an ambiguous focus on women in his art, Degas has often been grouped with Toulouse-Lautrec and discussed as a force subsequent to, or at least different from, more mainstream Impressionism. So no, they didn't paint in the same, unique manner.

*Relations with the Salon?* A second notion might be that they all suffered the same rejection from the *Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts*, or more simply the official Salon. But this is not true either. Degas, Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley all exhibited at the Salon in 1868.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, Manet exhibited there throughout the 1870s. Only Cézanne was consistently snubbed, although he too finally participated in 1881. The full range of participation by thirteen Impressionist artists at the Salon is given in Table 4.2.

Perhaps they all protested rejections at Salons other than in 1868. Indeed, in a 1867 letter to Alfred-Emilien Nieuwerkerke, who headed the Salon, many protested the rejection of as many as two-thirds of the artists. The names of Bazille, Monet, Renoir, Pissarro, and Sisley headed the list, with Manet a few pages later among the hundred or so artists. But Degas (who had been accepted at the Salon) and Cézanne (who had not) did not sign. A similar petition was sent in 1872 protesting the exclusion of Courbet from the Salon. Manet, Renoir



Figure 4.3: Jean-François Raffaëlli's *La place d'Italie après la pluie* (Place d'Italie after the rain, 1877, Dixon Gallery and Gardens) and Pierre-Auguste Renoir's *Le pont neuf* (1872, National Gallery Washington, Mellon Bruce bequest).

**Table 4.2: Participation by Thirteen Impressionists in the Exhibitions of the *Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts*.**

SALON	Bazille	Caillebotte	Cassatt	Cézanne	Degas	Gonzalès	Guillaumin	Manet	Monet	Morisot	Pissarro	Renoir	Sisley
1859	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	1	-	-
1861	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	0	-	-
1863	-	-	-	0	-	-	0	0	-	-	0	-	-
1864	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	1	-
1865	-	-	-	0	1	-	-	2	2	2	2	2	-
1866	1	-	-	0	1	-	-	0	2	2	1	1 <sup>a</sup>	2
1867	0	-	-	0	2	-	-	-	0	1	0	0	0
1868	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	1	2	1	1
1869	1	-	0	0	1	-	-	2	0	-	1	1	0
1870	1	-	-	0	2	1	-	2	0	2	2	2	2
1872	-	-	-	-	-	2	0	2	-	1	-	0	-
1873	-	0	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	0	-
1874	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1875	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1876	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-
1877	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1878	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
1879	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	0
1880	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	4	-
1881	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
1882	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-

A dash = no submissions; 0 = paintings were submitted and rejected.

<sup>a</sup> Accepted but withdrawn (Roos, 1996, p. 66).

Sources: Roos (1996), plus Bizot et al (1992), Couldrey (1992), Effeny (1991), de Grada (1989), Gray (1972), Perruchot (1962), Pickvance (1993), Rewald (1946), Reymond (1992) and Sainsaulieu (1990). In addition, Raffaëlli participated in the Salons of 1870 and 1877, and Gauguin participated in the Salon of 1876 (Antonova, 2002).

Pissarro, Cézanne and many other artists signed, but Monet, Degas, and Sisley did not.<sup>21</sup> So their relationship with the Salon was not uniformly bad, uniform, nor even all that bad.

*Independent exhibitions?* A third idea concerns what would later be called the Impressionist exhibitions and the *Société anonyme* that sponsored them. The initial administration of the *Société* fell to Pissarro, Monet, and Renoir, but also to many others who today would not be recognized as Impressionists. But perhaps the seven artists exhibited together and exclusively at the exhibitions. This



is also not true, as can be seen in Table 4.3. Manet never participated in any of the eight exhibitions, Cézanne exhibited in only two, Monet, Renoir, and Sisley in only four, and Degas seven. Only Pissarro exhibited in all eight. At the same time Morisot exhibited in seven; Guillaumin, Rouart, and a truly unknown artist named Charles Tillot (1825-?) exhibited in six; Caillebotte in five; and Adolphe Félix Cals (1810-1880), Cassatt, Forain, Gauguin, and Federico Zandomenighi (1841-1917) in four. Were participation in these exhibitions requisite for being labeled an Impressionist one might have thought Gauguin would be so named since he participated in more than Manet and Cézanne and in as many as Monet, Renoir, and Sisley.<sup>22</sup> So, again no, these seven did not exclusively nor uniformly participate in the Impressionist exhibitions.

*Common formative experience?* Perhaps the seven all studied together, or had other joint formative experiences. This too isn't true. Degas and Pissarro both worked briefly in the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* in 1855; Pissarro and Monet met at the *Académie Suisse* in 1858 and Cézanne was there in 1861. The tightest group is that of Monet, Renoir, and Sisley, who studied together at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* under Charles Gleyre beginning in 1862, worked in the Fontainebleau forest together in 1865, shared Bazille's studio in 1868, and organized an auction of their works in 1875. Other relationships include: Manet, Pissarro, and Cézanne who all participated in the *Salon des Refusés* in 1863 (having been rejected from the official Salon); Monet and Renoir, who worked together in 1869; Pissarro and Cézanne, who worked together in Pontoise in 1872.

To be sure, all seven left Paris in 1870, some serving in the Franco-Prussian war, and then avoiding the disruption of the Commune in 1871. But, then, so did many other artists and intellectuals. Moreover, these seven did not leave together nor, except for Pissarro and Monet who overlapped briefly in London, did they go to the same places.<sup>23</sup> Even at Manet's funeral in 1883, only Monet, Pissarro, and Cézanne were among the mourners from the remaining six; and among the subscribers to buy *Olympia* from Mme Manet in 1889 and give it to France were only Degas, Monet, Pissarro, and Renoir.<sup>24</sup> So few, if any, of their many salient experiences were uniformly shared either.

*Shared social life?* Perhaps the artists all socialized together. This is a bit more complex. To be sure, focal discussions of an Impressionist group were initially held at the Café Guerbois in Montmartre. These were led by Manet, began in 1868, and lasted there for eight years or so. The weekly evening get-togethers were vibrant, heated, intellectual, and confined to men. Cézanne, Degas, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley all attended, although some not very often and at least a dozen others attended more regularly. Among the seven, Manet and Degas were the most consistent attendees. "Both represented the same type of cultivated and wealthy bourgeois." Cézanne's friend and school mate from near Marseille, Emile Zola (1840-1902), attended more often than he did. Nonetheless, Cézanne did appear during the six months of each year he was in Paris, "and in spite of the fortune amassed by his father . . . and in spite of his law studies, [he] liked to exhibit rather rough manners or to exaggerate his Southern accent out of defiance for the polished style of the others." Monet and

**Table 4.3: Participation in the Eight Impressionist Exhibitions by Various Artists, and the Number of Artworks Shown.**

Artist	Exhibition and Year							
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th
	1874	1876	1877	1879	1880	1881	1882	1886
Cézanne	3	-	17	-	-	-	-	-
Degas	10	24	25	25	12	8	-	15
Manet	-	- <sup>a</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Monet	12	18	29 <sup>b</sup>	-	35 <sup>b</sup>	-	-	-
Pissarro	5	12	22	38	16	28	36	20
Renoir	7	16	22	-	-	25 <sup>b</sup>	-	-
Sisley	5	8	17	-	-	-	27	-
Cals	9	11	10	14	-	-	-	-
Caillebotte	-	8	6	25	11	-	17	-
Cassatt	-	-	-	11	16	11	-	7
Forain	-	-	-	26	11	10	-	13
Gauguin	-	-	-	-	8	10	13	19
Guillaumin	3	-	12	-	22	16	26	21
Morisot	9	17	12	-	15	7	9	14
Raffaëlli	-	-	-	-	37	34	-	-
Rouart	11	-	5	22	12	15	-	27
Seurat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Tillot	-	4	14	11	14	10	-	16
Zandomeneghi	-	-	-	5	8	5	-	12
<b>Total Artists</b>	30	18	18	14	18	13	8	17
<b>Total Works</b>	165	252	241	246	232	170	205	231

<sup>a</sup> Although Manet never participated in the Impressionist exhibitions, he did loan Renoir's portrait of Bazille (which he owned) to the second exhibition (Cachin, 1995, p. 98). This gesture was likely to honor Bazille, who was important in the early planning of an independent exhibition.

<sup>b</sup> Images came from Durand-Ruel, not directly from the artist.

Sources: Isaacson (1980), Moffett (1986), Reff (1981), and Rewald (1946).

Pissarro, perhaps the most socially conscious of the group, were typically put off by illiberal topics, often promoted by Degas. Nonetheless, Monet would later remember that “nothing could be more interesting than these *causeries* [informal discussions] with their perpetual clash of opinions.” Renoir, on the other hand, “showed complete unconcern for solemn theories and deep reflections; they seemed to annoy him”.<sup>25</sup>

The attendees were often known at *le groupe des Batignolles*, named after the *quartier* in which the café was found, along with Manet's and Bazille's studios.<sup>26</sup> Henri Fantin-Latour, known better as a painter of still lifes, undertook several group compositions, one of which was *Un atelier aux Batignolles*. This image, mentioned earlier, shows Manet instructing Renoir, Monet, Bazille, and several others, but this is as close as there is to a group composition. Cézanne, Degas, Pissarro, and Sisley are not present.

Later, starting perhaps in 1876 and apparently at the suggestion of Marcelin Desbouts—a fellow painter who also participated in the second Impressionist exhibition—the group reconstituted itself in the evenings at the Café de la Nouvelle-Athènes on the Place Pigalle, then a quieter *quartier* of Montmartre. There, Degas sketched and later painted his *L'Absinthe* (The Absinthe drinker, 1876, Musée d'Orsay) depicting the café. It is a portrait of two friends, the actress Ellen Andrée drinking the toxic green liqueur, and Desbouts sitting nearby, but off center to her left. I will have more to say about this image in Chapter 7. Rewald described the gatherings in his characteristic way, working from the notes of George Moore, a frequent attendee and later an art critic: “Manet loud, declamatory; Degas sharp, more profound, scornfully sarcastic; . . . Pissarro, looking like Abraham . . . sat listening, approving of their ideas, joining in the conversation quietly . . . Renoir . . . [striking in] the hatred with which he used to denounce the nineteenth century.” But Cézanne rarely went, and Monet and Sisley never went to the Nouvelle-Athènes.<sup>27</sup>

Although these gatherings at the two cafés were seminal to many aspects of several intellectual and artistic movements, including Impressionism, the most that can be said is that the seven Impressionists formed part of a loose family of painters and intellectuals. But this family was very much larger than just the seven, and to cut it down to seven would be to eliminate many of the people we now know as Impressionist painters. As Michael Howard suggested:

History has given to their early careers a coherence and order that tends to separate the future Impressionists from the wide social and artistic milieu in which they operated; the truth is, their association with each other was much looser than is often suggested. At the Café Guerbois they shared tables with academic painters, successful modish painters such as Alfred Stevens and Carolus-Duran, and, most importantly, artists and writers associated within the realist school.<sup>28</sup>

So, the seven painters' social lives were not intertwined in any remarkable way, separately from many others.

*Gifts and purchases of paintings?* Another aspect of unity might be measured by the paintings that they collected from each other. The giving of paintings among members of the group and their followers was often a way of paying debts or acknowledging friendship. Thus, I sought out the number of paintings by twelve of the Impressionists owned by other Impressionists, shown in Table 4.4. These data were gathered from the *catalogue raisonné* of each artist. A

**Table 4.4: Impressionists Owning Other Impressionist's Works.**

Owners	Painters												TOTAL
	Caillebotte	Cassatt	Cézanne	Degas	Gauguin	Guillaumin	Manet	Monet	Morisot	Pissarro	Renoir	Sisley	
Caillebotte	-	0	5	8	0	0	4	16	0	14	9	8	64
Cassatt	1	-	3	2	0	0	2	5	1	1	0	0	15
Cézanne	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Degas	1	4	7	-	11	0	7	10	2	3	2	0	47
Gauguin	0	0	6	1	-	6	2	0	0	4	0	0	19
Gonzalès	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	3
Guillaumin	0	1	2	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Manet	1	0	0	0	0	0	-	8	0	0	0	0	9
Monet	4	0	14	1	0	0	0	-	5	2	7	0	33
Morisot	0	0	0	1	0	0	9	4	-	0	1	0	15
Pissarro	0	0	6	0	0	0	3	1	1	-	0	0	11
Renoir	4	0	4	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	-	0	12
Rouart	1	4	5	27	1	0	3	3	2	5	3	0	54
Sisley	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	-	5
TOTAL	13	9	52	40	12	6	33	50	14	29	24	8	290

Sources: The *catalogue raisonné* of each artist, knowing Renoir's is incomplete.

*catalogue raisonné* is a document, sometimes in many volumes, that shows each known artwork by the artist, generally in chronological sequence. Also included with each image is information about its provenance, or history of ownership. These volumes, listed in Appendix 4.3 along with those of others, sometimes also carry correspondence and other summaries.<sup>29</sup>

Concerning cross-ownership, several patterns stand out. Caillebotte, Degas, and Rouart were genuine collectors. I will return to Caillebotte in Chapter 6, the Degas collection has received important notice, and Rouart's collection was sufficiently extensive that he is better known as a collector than as a participant in six Impressionist exhibitions. On the other hand, Cézanne apparently collected

nothing, and Gonzalès, Guillaumin, and Sisley had very few paintings. The others fall in between—Monet collected later in his life, Gauguin collected early on as a stockbroker and when he was just beginning to devote himself to painting. Among the artists, Cézanne, Degas, and Monet were the most collected by their colleagues. Yet there is nothing in this matrix that solidifies any group, particularly the seven. Instead, the patterns are of one reciprocating pair (Monet collected Degas, and Degas collected Monet), and many one-way relations—Gauguin collected Guillaumin but not vice versa, Monet collected Cézanne but not vice versa, Degas collected Gauguin but not vice versa, and Caillebotte collected nearly everybody but only Monet and Renoir had a few of his paintings. Overall the correlation between painters and owners is about as low as it could be.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the sharing and buying of colleagues' paintings doesn't unify the Impressionists as a large group, nor the seven as a smaller group.

*Public reception?* A final account of Impressionist unity might concern the public reception of these artists. Perhaps the Parisian intelligentsia, and the broader society of the time, saw these seven as a group. Again, this seems not to be true. Consider three sources of evidence. First, between 1866 and 1880, the realist novelist Emile Zola wrote on the Paris art scene. In his essays he praised Manet to considerable extent, and showed preference for his friend Cézanne and for Monet as well. Among the others, however, he had equally good things to say about Guillaumin, Morisot, and Caillebotte as he did about Renoir, Pissarro, Degas, and Sisley. Second, in 1876 Stéphane Mallarmé wrote an important work in the *Art Monthly Review and Photographic Portfolio* (published in London) entitled "The Impressionists and Edouard Manet". Mallarmé devoted space to Degas, de Césane [*sic*], Gonzales [*sic*], Monet, Morizot [*sic*], Pizzaro [*sic*], Renoir, Sisley, and Whistler. Third, other critics generally divided their comments in equally diverse ways. Consider the publicly known disagreements among the Impressionist group. After their first exhibition in 1874—when the critic Louis Leroy used *impressionisme* in a derisory way, smiting a small painting by Monet (*Impression, soleil levant*; Impression, sunrise; 1873, Musée Marmottan)—the term Impressionism stuck in the public mind. However, the artists themselves were split on the endorsement of the term. Degas preferred the term *Indépendants* while others, particularly Monet, came to accept *Impressionistes*. As the effort of organizing the exhibitions passed from Monet to Caillebotte and then to Degas and Pissarro, arguments within the group about who should be included in the exhibits eventually forced Monet, Renoir, Sisley, and Caillebotte away. At this time other critics would describe Degas, Cassatt, and Forain as Independents; and Pissarro, Morisot, Guillaumin, and Gauguin as Impressionists. Thus, in the 1870s and 1880s the larger group was never seen as unified, nor centered on a particular subgroup.<sup>31</sup>

### **The Construction of the Category "Impressionist Artists" is Due to Other Forces**

The seven major Impressionists did not protest together or exhibit together, they may never have socialized together exclusively, they didn't systematically own each other's paintings, and were not intellectually and artistically received

together to the exclusion of others. There is no record at the time that isolates, justifies, and defines these seven as *the* Impressionists. Instead, the record supports the idea that the group was composed loosely on the basis of features they shared. In other words, as outlined in Chapter 3 and on the basis of the evidence presented here, the Impressionist group at the time fits our contemporary notion of a category as formed by family resemblance. The evidence from 1860-1890 does not provide support for one or more defining events that would create a group of these even artists as Impressionists. Nonetheless, the literature, particularly the data from the 30 or the 95 books in Appendices 4.1 and 4.2, is quite definitional. Indeed, Charles Borgmeyer, in his book *The master Impressionists* (1913), distinctly lists the accustomed seven as *the* particular masters.

Were these seven simply the best artists? Perhaps, but many art historians and curators would place Gauguin, Seurat, and perhaps Odile Redon (1840-1916)—all of whom participated in the last Impressionist exhibition—in the same league, if not better than some. Declaration of the particular seven as the crux of Impressionism, I claim, would come later as will be discussed in Chapters 5, 6, 10, and 12. This is the fundamental problem of understanding the *category* of Impressionist art. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to explorations of the relationships among relevant painters as they are reflected in the 30 and 95 books.

### Creating Maps of Painters

In Chapter 3 I said I would make maps of painters using multidimensional scaling. The purpose of this is to get more insight into the central members of the Impressionist group. To do this, I needed a measure of “how far apart” each of the candidate Impressionist artists might be from one another. I did this by correlating the number of images by each artist with those of all other artists across the 30 Impressionist books in Appendix 4.1. The idea here is that, regardless of the overall number of images in a given book, if their relative number by two artists is high in some books and lower in others, then their work is generally thought of as similarly important or less important by the authors of those books.

To be concrete, many authors may feature Monet and Renoir together, others may de-emphasize them both. This pattern across all books would lead to a relatively high correlation between their relative appearances, and something we might call a small distance. On the other hand, many books may have some images by Bazille but none by Van Gogh, perhaps emphasizing the early part of Impressionism. Others may have none by Bazille and several by Van Gogh, emphasizing the latter period of Impressionism and reactions to it. In this case, the correlation would be negative, and the distance between the two artists should be taken as great.

Such correlations were computed across all thirty books for all possible pairs of nineteen artists variously associated with Impressionism. This yielded 171 correlation coefficients. These correlations were then ranked and used as distance inputs into a nonmetric multidimensional scaling algorithm. The first such result is shown in top panel of Figure 4.4.<sup>32</sup> Note first, however, that the

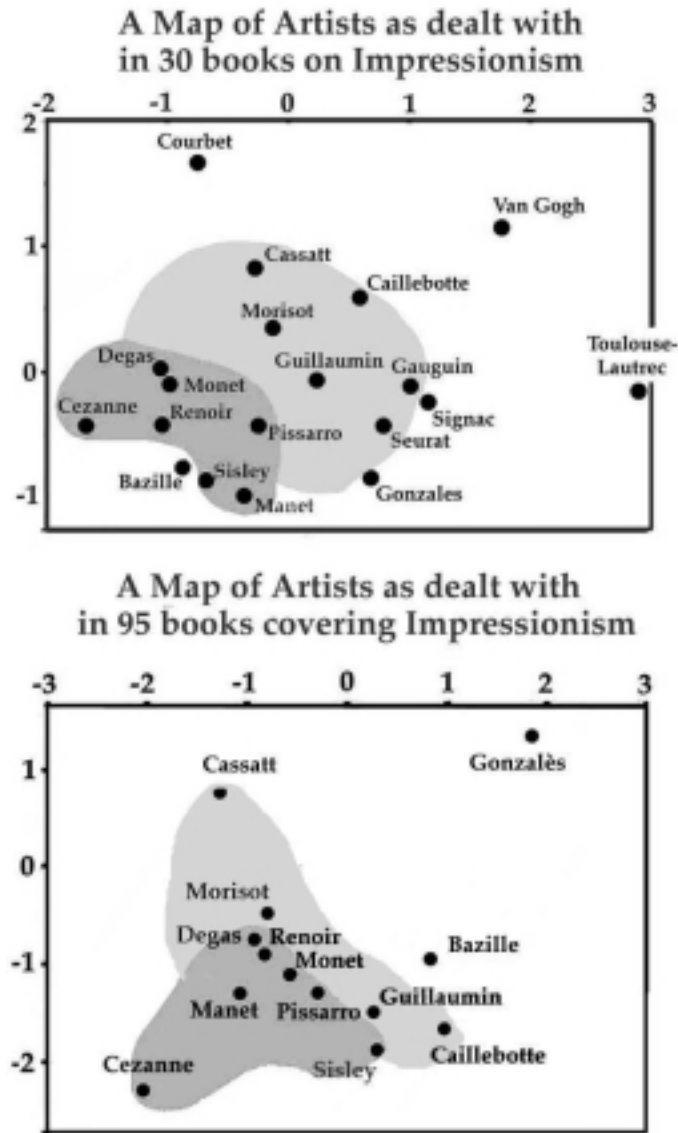


Figure 4.4: Maps of artists associated with Impressionism. The map in the top panel was created by intercorrelating the relative appearances of 19 artists across the 30 books of Appendix 4.1. The lower panel shows a second map, this time of the 13 major and minor Impressionist artists. Intercorrelating the relative appearances of each artist across the 95 books in Appendix 4.2 and then scaling them produced this map.

dimensions are arbitrary, as is the orientation. Values vary around zero, and the center of gravity of the distribution (the center of the map) is always near zero. Notice also that I have added some shading to discuss these results. The shading has nothing to do with the numerical analysis; instead, it is simply added for purposes of clarity. How does one read such a map? Look at proximities among all the scaled objects—in this case the artists. The closer two artists are together, the more they are treated alike across the corpus of books; the farther they are apart the more they are treated differently. That's it. Consider it a map of a "country" you've read a lot about but whose geography you never knew.

Notice that the seven major artists, shown within the darkest area, cluster quite closely together. This means that the relative numbers of images for these seven across all texts are highly correlated. The lightly shaded region is used to highlight six other artists who participated in one or more of the Impressionist exhibitions—Caillebotte, Cassatt, Gauguin, Guillaumin, Morisot, and Seurat. This cluster of painters is not as tight as that of the seven and is slightly removed from them. This means that the correlations among these six are reasonably high, generally higher than each with the seven major Impressionists, but lower than those among the major seven. Near this latter region is Eva Gonzalès, Manet's only student but who never exhibited with the group. Tucked within the crescent of the major Impressionists is Bazille, who died too early to participate in the exhibitions, but who was very much part of their early planning in response to rejections from the official salon. Outside these two realms are three other artists included here for different reasons. Courbet lies well outside, essentially uncorrelated with the others because he was prior to the Impressionists. Van Gogh and Toulouse-Lautrec are also well outside because they are subsequent to them and presentation of their works in the literature is not related to the others, to each other, or to Courbet. And notice that, as predicted, Van Gogh and Bazille are about as far apart as they can be, and Monet and Renoir are very close. The importance of this map is that it is interpretable, informative, and a condensation of all frequencies across thirty books. It is built on the correlations computed from numbers of images by each artist. It is a representation of a century's worth of scholarship and publicity about the Impressionist canon. This map is interesting, but I felt it deserved replication.

Thus, I computed new correlation coefficients for the thirteen artists most tightly clustered in top panel. I did this for all images in the 95 books in Appendix 4.2. The maplike multidimensional scaling output of these correlations, used as ordinal distances, is shown in the lower panel of Figure 4.4.<sup>33</sup> Although far from being identical to the upper panel, there are many similarities. Again, the seven major Impressionists are shown in an area shaded for convenience and are quite close. Monet, Renoir, Degas, and Pissarro are close together, as they were before in the upper panel. Manet is at some small distance from these four, and Sisley and Cézanne at an increased distance. Remember, these two artists who were not represented in *all* thirty of the Impressionist books of the other sample. Sisley's distance seems likely due to the fact that his inclusion among the seven has always been least sure, and with the fewest images. Cézanne's distance is undoubtedly linked to the fact that his most important works were



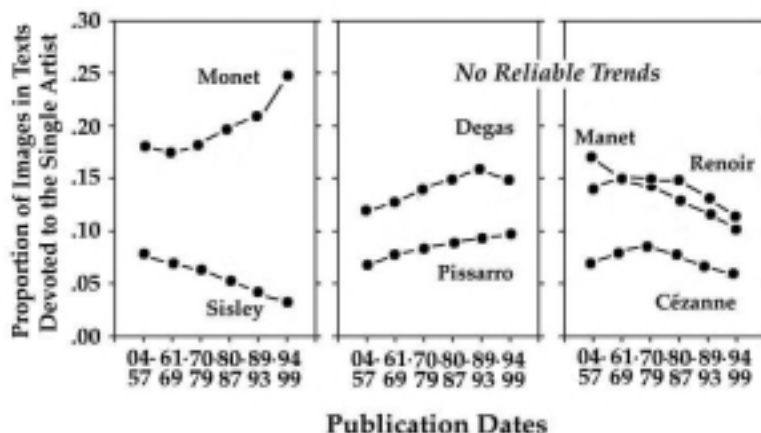


Figure 4.5: Trends of reproduction rates of the major Impressionists across the twentieth century. The only reliable trends are those of Monet (who shows an increase) and Sisley (who shows a decrease). These patterns show the remarkable constancy of the Impressionist canon and its painters across a century.

after the heyday of Impressionism, and to the fact that he was a “forerunner,” not of Impressionism as suggested by Dewhurst (1904), but of modern art.

None of the other artists invaded this space. These six are spread around. Caillebotte and Bazille are close together. Except for their focus on modernity, their art never really looked like Impressionist works (an idea to which I will return). Morisot is closest—and indeed as close to the major group as Cézanne and Sisley. Cassatt is a bit more remote but closest to Degas among the seven, which is proper since she was closest to him in friendship. Gonzalès, whose work is not consistently mentioned in across Impressionist context, is most remote. Only Guillaumin is close to the major seven, as he was in the top panel of Figure 4.4.

### The Artists Received Across the Twentieth Century

One can assess the reception of individual artists across time by assessing the percentage of image space devoted to their work in various topical books. The assumption here is that the more space that is devoted, and the more images that are used, the more the author of the book holds that painter in high esteem, or is responding to other social forces in his or her discipline. This fact is also not lost on the publishers and editors, who may have suggestions about what to include and how much. Thus, I used the 30 books to do a temporal analysis of the promotion and possible reception of Impressionist painters. Appendix 4.1 lists these books in chronological order. Here I placed them in six chronological groups of five books each. I then calculated the percentage of all images devoted

to each artist in each book in each group, and then averaged percentages within groups. The results for the seven principle Impressionist painters are shown in Figure 4.5.<sup>34</sup> Consider each in turn.

Although the works of Monet have always been reprinted in rather wide variety, there was a systematic increase in them over the course of the twentieth century, as seen in the left panel. This is particularly true since the 1980s. Indeed, there has been something of a Monet-mania, particularly with respect to his series paintings—the Rouen cathedral, the haystacks, the Parliament buildings in London, and especially his very late-in-life series of water lilies painted in his garden at Giverny. Indeed, one can find more than 160 water lilies in his *catalogue raisonné*, a fact I will return to in Chapter 8. Over the same period there was a reliable decrease in the appearance of works by Sisley, also shown in the left panel.<sup>35</sup> This decline may reflect a decreasing interest in landscapes, which Sisley painted almost exclusively. None of the trends for the other five artists, shown in the other two panels, are statistically reliable—they bounce up and down a bit, but these fluctuations are nothing more than might be expected from random variation. Notice also that across the twentieth century Monet has always been the most represented; Degas, Manet, and Renoir next; and Cézanne, Pissarro, and Sisley last. I take these results as indicative of two important facts about canons of artists—the canon is *very* stable, but it can show some small changes over time.

More interesting are the patterns seen in Figure 4.6 for (a) four artists who, from a contemporary point of view, are generally grouped as subsequent to the Impressionist movement and (b) four minor Impressionist artists. Notice first that these results are scaled differently than in Figure 4.5, ranging not to 20% but only to about 5% of the images. Among the first group, shown in the top panels of Figure 4.6, the percentages for Gauguin and Toulouse-Lautrec show sharp declines, whereas those for Seurat and Van Gogh show unsettled, and unreliable statistical patterns.<sup>36</sup> These four artists together, however, seem to invoke three likely trends—an early overgeneralization of Impressionism in the first half of the twentieth century, then a period of narrowing and consolidation, followed by a period discussing Impressionism in its wider, historical context. Thus, early on Gauguin, Toulouse-Lautrec, and to some extent Van Gogh were often included among the Impressionists. Indeed, in its Impressionist hangings, the Orsay includes Van Gogh still. These artists were then excluded in presentations of Impressionism. However, more recently and along with Corot, Courbet, and Turner,<sup>37</sup> these painters were included to a more modest degree to show the historical continuity of Impressionism with earlier and subsequent developments.

Perhaps even more interesting are the patterns seen in the lower panels of Figure 4.6. It is heartening to see the reliable increase in coverage given to Cassatt and Morisot, two of the women artists in the movement. It is equally interesting to see the increased inclusion of Caillebotte and of Bazille.<sup>38</sup> Caillebotte will be a focus in several later chapters. As mentioned earlier, Bazille was important early but died in the 1870 war. Moreover, he produced only 68 artworks.

Together, the patterns in the two figures show three things: A remarkable stability at the core of the Impressionist canon, with a few significant major

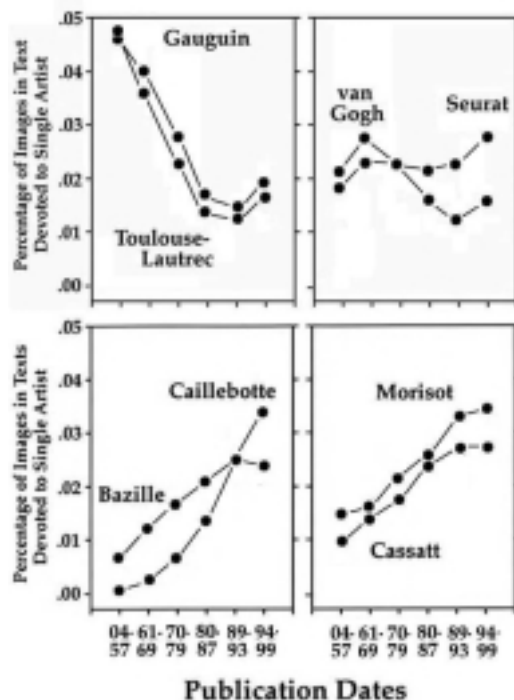


Figure 4.6: Trends of reproduction rates for other major and selected minor artists associated with Impressionism. Although these are scaled differently than Figure 4.5, there is much more relative variation.

drifts (Monet and Sisley), and with many more minor ones. These minor ones occur particularly at the conceptual edges of the canon, in dealing with artists related but not central to the movement (Gauguin, Van Gogh, Seurat, and Toulouse-Lautrec), and the more “minor” artists within it (Bazille, Caillebotte, Cassatt, and Morisot). Trends in art historical scholarship—increased interests in women's issues, in collectors, and in historical context—have helped to mold these latter patterns, but larger changes are not easy to generate, even over the course of a century. Indeed, they seem unchanging with changes in scholarship, a point I will return to in Chapter 10.

One may complain, and surely one should, that the above analysis is based on the images in the Impressionist texts; it completely ignores what is written in those volumes. Indeed, many contemporary authors are very careful to place Cézanne, Manet, and sometimes Degas (who rarely painted or drew outdoors), in different contexts than Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley. Nonetheless, as will become clearer in Chapters 7 through 11, I am interested in the relative number of appearances of images as they provide insight into the structure of the Impressionist canon.

Given the small trends in representing the canon across the twentieth century I analyzed the thirty Impressionist texts in other ways. For example, I scaled the correlations among the artists in half of the books—just those prior to 1980 and excluded Cassatt and Gonzalès since their works appeared in so few. I then scaled the correlations from the fifteen later books. Each map was quite similar to that in Figure 4.4, and the seven major Impressionists clustered together.<sup>39</sup> Most interesting, however, were two trends seen in the clusterings. First, relatively speaking, the distances among the seven major Impressionists were slightly smaller in the more recent books. This suggests that the Impressionist canon has consolidated over the course of the twentieth century. Small distances mean relatively higher correlations among the seven major artists, and this could only occur through general consensus of authors. Second, the distances among other painters—Courbet, Gauguin, Van Gogh, Seurat, and Signac—have increased. This suggests that over time different Impressionist books have had slightly different agendas about what and whom to include, all the while presenting the usual seven artists yoked together in generally the same way.

### Summary

Unequivocally, a century's worth of literature on Impressionism presents seven—and only seven—artists as representing the core of the movement. How this happened will unfold over the course of this presentation, but nothing about their personal histories, their exhibitions, their social lives, or the contemporary reception of their works at the time creates a tight cluster of Cézanne, Degas, Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley to the exclusion of others. Nonetheless, using multidimensional scaling on various information sources, we find that the literature groups them this way, and that—other than a slight increase in exposure for Monet and a slight decrease in one for Sisley—little changed over the course of the twentieth century. The reasons for, and the development of, this cluster are explored in the next chapters, but first it is important to focus on where the works of these artists are seen—in museums.

### Notes

Epigraph: Borgmeyer (1913), p. 3.

1. Borgmeyer also seems a little confused about gender, and misses the accent in Gonzalès.

2. Part of this leeriness, it must be confessed, is a general mistrust of authority. Within social psychology this feeling is subsumed under reactance theory (Brehm, 1966), whereby an individual reacts against statements by authority figures—much of what goes on in academia, and in families, can be framed in terms of reactance.

3. Clark (1974), p. 47.

4. Because of the nature of this research, a number of books were unavailable to me at the time I was canvassing the Cornell Library, either because of later acquisition or due to them being checked out by another patron (and not returned when recalled). Roos (1996) and Brettell (2000) are two of these, but there are likely to be many others. In addition, some popular books, like Beckett and Wright (1999), are not gener-

ally purchased by libraries and thus unfortunately fall outside the purview of this analysis.

5. Rewald (1946), p. 7.

6. Meyer Schapiro died in 1996. This posthumous book was assembled from lecture notes by many people, headed by James Thompson.

7. Among other things, the Wildensteins were involved in creating the two *catalogue raisonnés* of Manet (Jamot and Wildenstein, 1932; and Rouart and Wildenstein), and those of Monet (Wildenstein, 1974-1985), and Morisot (Bataille and Wildenstein, 1961).

8. Not surprisingly, like the products in all sectors of the publishing industry, such a list is strongly skewed towards the present. Only fifteen of these books were published in the eight decades before 1980; the other fifteen in two decades since. This split is remarkable, but it is most likely an underestimate of the actual temporal bias. Due to increasing budgetary constraints, libraries have had to cut back proportionally on acquisitions in the last twenty years. Before, they generally did not have such constraints, and books were many fewer.

9. In this calculation I first took percentages within a book and then averaged percentages across books. This technique allows small books and large books equal sway.

10. Many contemporary descriptions have called Cézanne a Post-Impressionist, which hardly connotes the idea of being a forerunner.

11. See Higonnet (1992) and Pollock (1998).

12. See Lanthony (1997) for an analysis of optical mixture and Seurat's art. Seurat's technique of using tightly spaced dots of color comes from Chevreul's theory of color mixture. Using four widely spaced colors (red, yellow, green, and blue) each mixed with white, but not with each other, Seurat hoped to allow for the mixtures of light in the eye, and the creation of more vibrant color. This is called additive color mixture, rather than subtractive color mixture, which occurs when pigments are mixed. Because the resolution of color is worse than the resolution of lines, the technique works to a degree. Much of the effect of this technique, however, is in the play of texture as well as the play of color. Seurat also found it necessary, later in his short life, to use lines as well as dots. His *Le cirque* (The circus, 1891, Musée d'Orsay) has both. See also Livingstone (2002).

13. The linear slope of this function, normalized to Monet, is  $-0.42$ , and the linear regression accounts for 90% of the variance in the data ( $r = .95$ ,  $F(1,16) = 151$ ,  $p < .0001$ ). Despite the fact that this is a reliable fit, and one reliably better than the correlation for log-scaled random numbers ( $r = .71$ ,  $\chi^2 = 8.6$ ,  $p < .003$ ), a slightly better fit is obtained by fitting two lines, one for the first seven artists (slope =  $-0.21$ ) and another for the next ten artists ( $-0.47$ ). The correlation of the fit of these two lines is a bit higher ( $r = .98$ ), accounting for 96% of the variance in the data. The difference between these two correlations is statistically marginal ( $\chi^2 = 3.22$ ,  $p < .07$ ).

14. These groups of books are not independent. There is an overlap of twenty-two books between the two samples. Nonetheless, this is only 23% of the entire second group.

15. This research was done in September 2002. The slope of the linear fit to these data is  $-0.80$  and the linear regression accounts of 62% of the variance in the data ( $r = .79$ ,  $F(1,15) = 24.6$ ,  $p < .0001$ ). This correlation is not reliably different than one to log-scaled random numbers ( $\chi^2 = .33$ ,  $p > .50$ ). Moreover, as in the previous panel, a better fit is achieved when one fits two lines, one for the first nine of the artists (slope =  $-0.26$ ), and one for the second nine ( $-3.6$ ). The correlation for the fit of these

two lines is considerably better ( $r = .97$ ), accounting for 94% of the variance in the data. Compared to the linear fit this difference is statistically reliable ( $\chi^2 = 5.98$ ,  $p < .02$ )

16. It is not known how many other categories fail to follow Zipf's law, in part because few people have investigated the topic in this way before. Moreover, I wouldn't claim that this result is unique to the category of Impressionist painters. Nonetheless, the pattern of results in Figure 3.2 suggests that some other constraints guide the pattern of results.

17. The Acquavella galleries produced an exhibition—"Four masters of Impressionism" 24 Oct to 30 Nov, 1968—that included images only by Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, Sisley.

18. See Rewald (1946), p. 348 and 362.

19. But see Harrison (1993).

20. See Herbert (1988), Rewald (1946). During this period the Salon was held biennially until 1865, then annually, except in 1870 during the Franco-Prussian war.

21. Roos (1997), pp. 85-86.

22. The numbers of paintings shown by each artist varies a bit according to the source one chooses. One cause for this is that some artists exhibited work "out of catalog," meaning that they weren't listed in the program but were included anyway, probably at the last moment. In addition, Manet did loan Renoir's portrait of Bazille to the second Impressionist exhibition in 1876 (Cachin, 1995, p. 98). With respect to Tillot, through various web searches I could find only one image by him, an undated still life of flowers from a Vietnamese poster-art company, and the possibility that he may have been a substantial collector of *japoniserie* (not surprising in Paris for the 1870s and 1880s). Moffett (1986) lists facsimile reproductions of the catalogs from the Impressionist exhibits and Tillot's repertory seems fairly standard—at least 28 landscapes, 18 portraits, and 24 still lifes. Finally, with respect to Gauguin, the first answer would be that Gauguin's major contribution to art occurred after his Impressionist period, after his style had substantially evolved. The first retort to that response would be that the work of Monet and Cézanne also changed substantially after their contributions to Impressionist exhibits, changing and evolving, and that many would regard their most important contributions to be from that later period.

23. White and White (1993) make quite a deal of the formative relationships among the Impressionists. In light of my other analyses I find these unconvincing. It was in London and where Daubigny introduced Monet and Pissarro to their future agent, Paul Durand-Ruel (Bazin, 1958, p. 30).

24. For the Manet funeral see Crespelle (1981), p.241; for *Olympia* subscribers see Rouart and Wildenstein (1975, pp. 24-25). One might argue that Sisley was too poor to subscribe, but Pissarro was also poor, and Cézanne was not.

25. Rewald (1946, p. 169) stated these were Thursday night gatherings, but Crespelle (1981, pp. 87-88) said they met on Fridays. These accounts are quoted from Rewald (1946), pp. 169, 172, and 174.

26. A *quartier* is essentially a neighborhood, but administratively Paris is divided into 20 *arrondissements*, each one of which has four *quartiers*, or quarters.

27. The quotations are from Rewald (1946), pp. 329-330. Attendance information is from Bazin (1958), p. 180.

28. Howard (1991), p. 17. Alfred Stevens (1823-1906) was a Belgian painter who introduced Manet to Durand-Ruel. Carolus-Duran (Charles-Auguste-Emile Durand, 1837-1917) was a popular portrait artist. At one time John Singer Sargent was his student.

29. Impressionism may be one of the few groups that has a *catalogue raisonné* for each major artist and most minor ones. In addition there is a reasonable question about what constitutes a museum. In my counts I excluded all locations not publicly accessible. These include corporate owners, individual owners, and the White House in Washington, DC.

30. On Degas' collection, see Dumas (1997). The correlation among Impressionist painters and collectors is extremely low,  $r = .02$ .

31. Zola's writings on art are in Zola (1970). On Mallarmé, see Moffett (1986), pp. 27-34. For one version of the story of the naming of Impressionism, see Rewald (1946). This story is based mostly on Monet's account from his interview with Thiébauld-Sisson, published in *Le Temps*, 27 Nov 1900. On the cover of brochures for each of the Impressionist exhibits was the term *Indépendants* (see Reff, 1981; Moffett, 1986). The group was also sometimes known as the *Intransigents* (see Graber and Guillou, 1990; Mead, 1974; Moffett, 1986). On the lack of unification of the group see also Harrison (1993).

32. The stress for this solution is fairly high—0.24—but the plot accounts for 83% of the variance in the data.

33. Stress = .12, and the variance accounted for = 94%.

34. The data in Figures 4.5 and 4.6 have been smoothed by a pseudo-Gaussian filter. That is the value of position  $n$  is determined by  $[(n-2)*.3+(n-1)*.7+n+(n+1)*.7+(n+2)*.3]/3$ . However the statistics were done on the raw scores.

35. The increase in the appearance of Monet's works is statistically reliable,  $F(1,24) = 4.49$ ,  $p < .05$ . See Seiberling (1981) for an account of Monet's series. The decrease in the appearance of Sisley's works is statistically reliable  $F(1,24) = 6.49$ ,  $p < .05$ . There have been a few new works about Sisley. Perhaps the most prominent is Stevens and Dumas (2002), a large retrospective exhibition at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, 10 October 2002 to 6 January 2003.

36. The declines were statistically reliable,  $Fs(1,24) > 6.6$ ,  $ps < .05$ ,  $ds > 1.05$ .

37. Of the 30 books in Appendix 4.1, Corot appeared in 13, Courbet in 15, and Turner in 9. However, the three artists occurred in only 4, 4, and 3 books respectively in the first three chronological groups, but in 9, 11, and 6 of the last three groups. This 11 vs. 27 split is statistically reliable ( $z = 2.63$ ,  $p < .01$ ). The same trend, although not reliable, is shown by a group even more remote from the Impressionists: Ingres, Delacroix, and Constable. Each occurred in 9 of 30 books, but in only 3, 4, and 3 books respectively in the first three groups.

38. The increases for Cassatt and Morisot were statistically reliable,  $Fs(1,24) > 5.6$ ,  $ps < .05$ . In addition, the other two women Impressionists were Marie Braquemond, who exhibited at the first two Impressionist Exhibitions; and Eva Gonzalès, who did not exhibit. The increases for Caillebotte and Bazille were statistically reliable,  $F(1,24) = 49.8$ ,  $p < .001$ , and  $F(1,24) = 4.8$ ,  $p < .05$ , respectively.

39. For the earlier books, stress = 0.14 and the variance accounted for = 92%; for the later books, stress = 0.13 and the variance accounted for = 94%.

## 5: Museums

By mid-[nineteenth] century the idea of the national gallery, a public collection displaying the finest examples by the greatest masters, had become fully established in nearly every major European country. . . . Industrialized society introduced a new type of collector, the self-made businessman, whose taste was for contemporary art rather than Old Masters, due perhaps to an unwillingness to compete with the aristocratic classes. American collectors became influential for the first time, and their taste was very widespread.

Robert Cumming, on collectors, *Grove Art*

Paintings must hang in public places to be seen. To be sure, most of our sightings of paintings are now in books, and sometimes on scarves, tea towels, coasters, posters, textbook covers, and the Internet. Nonetheless, before they got there canonical paintings were in museums. Of course, there are a great many more paintings in private collections, but the bulk of these are rarely seen, rarely included in textbooks or exhibitions, and generally unknown. The major Impressionist images, like those in all other canons of art, follow this constraint: To be known the images must be on view, discussed, and remembered, and for all of these to occur they must first be in a museum.<sup>1</sup> In this context, then, a brief history of museums is prudent. It is also important because the establishment of public museums in the United States roughly coincided with Impressionism itself. This meant that the early growth of some of the collections could include Impressionist works, without older art necessarily getting in the way.

In this chapter I will review briefly the history of public museums, select twenty-two to focus on, divide them into four classes, and then turn to their representation of Impressionist artists. Prior to this I need to make a few statistical calculations to account for recent museum accessions. I will then make more maps, plotting Impressionist holdings of major museums, and finally I



will look at career production by the artists and their images in and outside of museums.

### **Museums and the Public**

The trend of making art available for a public began slowly; indeed, even the notion of a “public” began slowly and generally at about the same time. The first museum containing art that was open to visitors and with regular visiting hours was the Ashmolean at Oxford University, England. It opened in 1683, when the idea of a public was likely confined to the wealthy few. In 1734 the Vatican made the Capitoline Museum available to the public, at the time when Rome began to have a growing economy, and a still small but increasing number of tourists. Generally speaking and outside the Catholic Church, however, early large collections of art belonged to royal families. In most western countries these were, one by one, turned over to the public. The first such transfer created the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. Originally housing armor, biological exhibits, and curios owned by the Medici family, the Uffizi was vacated and filled with most of the Medici paintings and sculptures from their Palazzo Pitti. These works were given to the city of Florence in 1737 after the death of the last of the Medici family line.<sup>2</sup>

Notions of the public access to art gradually increased throughout Europe. Louis XIV had greatly expanded the French royal collections, and Louis XV continued. Moreover, Philippe II, the Duc d’Orléans and Regent to the latter from 1715 until his death in 1723, also assembled a large collection of paintings that he gladly showed to visitors in the Palais Royal. His collection—many works of which were Old Masters—was freely accessible from 1727 until the Revolution in 1789, when it was broken up and sold. In 1750 Louis XV opened the galleries of the Luxembourg Palace in Paris two days per week for the public, a policy that lasted until 1779 when the space was recouped for royal family needs.<sup>3</sup> With the many changes brought about by the French Revolution, the Musée de la République was opened to the public in 1793, housed in the Palais du Louvre.

Other European museums opened soon thereafter, and the nineteenth century became the era of founding large public art museums. The Prado in Madrid had been a royal museum in 1785 founded by Charles III, and it was opened to the public in 1819. The basis for the Rijksmuseum, now in Amsterdam, opened in 1801. The National Gallery of Art London was founded in 1824 (although the British Museum had opened in 1759). The Altes Museum in Berlin opened in 1830, the Alte Pinakothek in Munich in 1836, and the State Hermitage in St. Petersburg in 1852.

As an evolving frontier nation, the United States was understandably behind in this movement, but it then exceeded it in many ways. A few city and university museums were founded in the early nineteenth century—for example, Brooklyn Museum of Art in 1823, the Yale Art Museum in 1832, and the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford in 1843. Later, however, there was an explosion of civic museums. Among those of interest here are Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which was founded in 1870, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston founded in 1875 (which benefited from the collections of the Boston

Atheneum founded in 1807), the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1876, and what was to become the Art Institute of Chicago in 1879. Although the Smithsonian had opened in 1846 in Washington, DC, the National Gallery of Art wasn't organized until almost a century later, in 1937.<sup>4</sup> Andrew Mellon pushed hard for its establishment. His money, his dealings with Stalin, and his own art collection eventually allowed for a national museum of instant stature. Although it was outrageously late in museum development, the National Gallery of Art in Washington quickly made up for lost time, as discussed in Chapter 6.

From their founding through to today, these museums have had great impact on surrounding communities and their culture. Their existence has coalesced public thought on the relationships of art, culture, history, and nations. Perhaps most importantly, the public began to appreciate art for reasons of cultural continuity as well as aesthetics. Second, as noted by Cumming, there developed a rift in Europe between Old Masters collected by the privileged and contemporary art collected by the newly rich. Perhaps because America prided itself on a lack of privilege, but perhaps more because of concentrations of enormous wealth, this was less true in the US. Americans began to travel to Europe often and to buy artworks for their own collections. Finally, as they aged, these collectors either donated their collections to museums in their home cities and elsewhere, or they founded museums around their collections.

In Europe and in America, bequests from private collectors formed the basis of the largest, well-known publicly accessible collections of Impressionist works. Interestingly, these have been concentrated in just a few museums. I will consider seven in detail throughout the rest of this book. Three are national museums: the Musée d'Orsay in Paris, and the National Galleries of Art in London and Washington. Then there are four regional and private museums all in the US: the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and the Art Institute of Chicago. How these museums amassed their collections is a focus of the next chapter. Here, however, let me first return to the artists and their complete *oeuvres*.

### Impressionist Artists as Represented in Museums

If one is interested in the images by artists that appear in museums one must also ask also about the images not there. For this analysis, one needs to know how many each artist produced, then determine what proportion appears in museums. Table 5.1 shows these data for eighteen artists closely or loosely associated with Impressionism. These are grouped as before. The first group contains the seven major Impressionist artists: Cézanne, Degas, Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley. The second contains the minor Impressionists—Bazille, Caillebotte, Cassatt, Gonzalès, Guillaumin, and Morisot. And the third grouping contains Gauguin, Van Gogh, Seurat, Signac, and Toulouse-Lautrec as the Post-Impressionists.

After the artists' names are the number of images they produced. How are such numbers determined? Again, I consulted the *catalogues raisonnés*, given

**Table 5.1: The Corpus of Impressionist Paintings and Pastels, Production Rates, Images in Museums, and Recent Sales.**

Artist	Total works produced	Works produced per year	Percentage in museums from the <i>catalogues raisonnés</i>	Year(s) of <i>catalogue raisonné</i>	Estimate of percentage of works in museums, 2005	Oils/pastels sold 1990-2002 <sup>a</sup>
<b>"Major" Impressionists</b>						
Cezanne	946	21	21, 59	1946, 1996	61	129
Degas	1466	34	14	1946	48	192
Manet	517	12	18, 48	1932, 1975	64	35
Monet	1923	29	25	1974- 1985	36	307
Pissarro	1316	26 <sup>b</sup>	9	1939	26	329
Renoir	~2000 <sup>c</sup>	~34	~14	1971, 1972	~20	1019
Sisley	884	27	17	1959	33	188
<b>"Minor" Impressionists</b>						
Bazille	68	10	51	1992	51	5
Caillebotte	565	26	10	1994	11	92
Cassatt	614	13 <sup>b</sup>	21	1970	26	35
Gonzales	124	8	13	1990	14	21
Guillaumin	847	16	6	1971	7	553
Morisot	416	16 <sup>b</sup>	7	1961	9	77
<b>Post-Impressionists</b>						
Gauguin	638	25	31	1988	35	89
Van Gogh	836 <sup>d</sup>	108	--- <sup>d</sup>	1996		63
Seurat	211	16	24	1959	43	17
Signac	605	12	20	2000	20	119
Toulouse-Lautrec	727	35	--- <sup>e</sup>	1971	40 <sup>e</sup>	99

<sup>a</sup> Data from Artprice.com<sup>TM</sup> on 5 May 2003.

<sup>b</sup> Pissarro and Venturi (1939) claimed that Pissarro lost 1400+ paintings when his house was ransacked during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. This estimate seems high. It covers less than a third of his career and more than equals the sum of the rest of it. In addition, Morisot destroyed most of her paintings from before the 1870, and Cassatt most of hers before 1977.

<sup>c</sup> Renoir's production is unknown. The estimate here is from Figure 5.1.

<sup>d</sup> The Vincent Van Gogh Foundation, Amsterdam, owns at least 180 oils by Van Gogh, and the Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo, the Netherlands owns 75 more. To calculate the proportion of Van Gogh images in museums would be considerably inflated by these values.

<sup>e</sup> This calculation excludes the 226 paintings and pastels at the Musée Toulouse-Lautrec in Albi, France.

in Appendix 4.3. But having selected the catalogues, what should I count? For many artists this is straightforward. Cézanne and Sisley painted almost exclusively in oils. Their *catalogues raisonnés*, as well as those of others include only these oils. Other catalogues—such as that of Pissarro, Manet (at least in his more recent one), and Monet—are often organized around different media, such as oils, pastels, watercolors and sketches, and also fans. Degas worked in oils, but over the course of his career he worked more often in pastels. Most museums treat oil paintings and pastels together and equally, and I will do so as well. And the Degas *catalogue raisonné* intermixes both, but does not include his sculptures. Most catalogues also do not include watercolors, lithographs, etchings, and chalk (nonpastel) drawings, so these are not considered in the analyses in this book.<sup>5</sup>

Note first that the artists were differentially prolific. Monet, for example, painted well more than three times as many images as Manet, and Manet seven times more than Bazille. However, most of this differential productivity can be accounted for by differential career lengths. Monet painted between 1859 and 1926, a period more than twice as long as Manet's 1851 to 1883. And Bazille only painted between 1864 and 1870.

Equally interesting are the production rates of images per year across the artists. Well off any norm is Van Gogh, who produced a career's worth of oils in just seven years—more than 100 per year. In contrast Bazille, Cassatt, Gonzalès, and Signac all produced about a dozen per year or less. This may be most understandable for Signac who, unlike Seurat, devoted his entire career to divisionism and to the care, even tediousness, of its production. The range of the other twelve painters is between 16 and 35 per year—or one painting every ten days to three weeks, year round. This rate is remarkably faster than the Old Masters. Leonardo (1452-1519) painted less than a dozen paintings that we know of, and Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675) painted less than three dozen. Nonetheless, the Impressionists' and Post-Impressionists' production is in the general range of some artists who came later—like Pierre Bonnard (1867-1947; 35/year), Raoul Dufy (1877-1953; 40/year), and Fernand Léger (1881-1955; 28/year). In fact, in a contemporary frame of mind, the rate of production for the Impressionists hardly seems like “painting quickly” at all, although this is the phrase used by Richard Brettell the capture the spirit of how Impressionism differed from its predecessors.<sup>6</sup>

### The Problem of Renoir

The straightforwardness of this enumeration procedure is marred by two facts. The first is local and peculiar to Renoir. The planned five-volume *catalogue raisonné* for his work was never completed. Only the first volume ever appeared (Daulte, 1971), and it focused on early portraits. Thus, I needed to estimate Renoir's output, and did so in several steps. First, I used the somewhat larger Italian catalogue by Fezzi (1972), which includes many Renoirs painted after 1891 that are in museums, and some landscapes and still lifes throughout

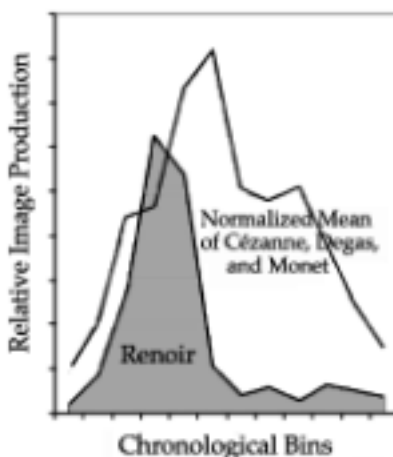


Figure 5.1: A scheme for estimating the number of works in Renoir's *oeuvre*. The mean relative production rates for Cézanne, Degas, and Monet were calculated for twelve chronological bins, then bins were averaged. Renoir's output, in the gray region, is from Fezzi (1972).

his career. Second, I normalized the output of three other Impressionist artists of nearly comparable longevity—Degas, plus Cézanne who did not live as long as Renoir, and Monet who lived longer. Each of their outputs was then divided into twelve equal-length chronological bins, then averaged, and then scaled so that the shape of the first part of both distributions was about the same. The composite distribution and Renoir's from Fezzi are shown in Figure 5.1. Fezzi's count of 746 fills 37% of the area of the normalized composite. Thus, my estimate for Renoir's output is  $746/0.37$  or about 2000 paintings. This may well be vastly too few. The last column of Table 5.1 shows the number of oils and pastels by each artist sold at auction from 1 January 1990 through 31 December 2002. Notice that these numbers are reasonable correlates of their productivity, although that for Guillaumin is a bit high. Nonetheless, Renoir is well off the scale—over 1000 of his images were sold in thirteen years. It seems unlikely that as much as a half of the Renoir *oeuvre* was sold in such a short time. Did he paint 2500 images? 3500? We don't know, but given the lack of better methods for estimation, I will stick with 2000.<sup>7</sup>

My focus here is on paintings in museums. How can this be determined from the *catalogues raisonnés*? Some of the catalogues have tables of which paintings are in which museums, but most do not so I simply went through the entire catalogue scanning the provenance for each image and counting those in museums. In this manner, I could begin to determine the proportion of images by each artist that are in museums.

The second difficulty with the counts in the *catalogues raisonnés* is general and more problematic. The task of assembling a catalogue for any artist is resoundingly laborious, often taking decades of careful research. Moreover, it can

be quite thankless. Everyone recognizes that the final products are always wrong in certain details, either because information could not be obtained about a given image or because of actuarial and capital flux—an image has changed hands since the book went to press due to deaths or sales. The older the catalogue, the more this is a problem—and the catalogue of Pissarro (from 1939), for example, is particularly old and less complete than more recent ones.

### Estimating from Cézanne and Manet

Fortunately, there is a solution, albeit a statistical one. It happens that there are two *catalogues raisonnés* for Cézanne—one by Venturi (1946) and a more recent one by Rewald, Feilchenfeldt, and Warman (1996). There are also two for Manet—Jamot and Wildenstein (1932) and Rouart and Wildenstein (1975). Why two catalogues? It is not unusual in the arts to find, and indeed need, multiple catalogues. For example in music, Mozart's works have needed a new inventory and cataloguing every generation or so as new information is revealed through scholarship.<sup>8</sup> Here, in the context of Impressionism, having two such catalogues for two important painters allows comparisons across time.

Consider Cézanne first. After matching each image in the two catalogues I determined how many images changed hands and in what ways. Most interesting are four possibilities—images that stayed in private hands, those that stayed in public hands (including those deaccessioned from one museum and sent to another, or on loan to one museum then given to another), those that went from private collections to public museums, and those deaccessioned from museums, sold, and bought by private collectors and investors. These results and others are tallied at the top of Table 5.2.

Accepting the data as found in both Cézanne catalogues, the differences between them are impressive.<sup>9</sup> In the sixty years between their publication more than 300 Cézannes moved from private collections into public museums. To be sure, in this period a few of these museums were founded around particular private collections—the Sammlungen Buehrle and Reinhart, the Clark Institute, the Norton Simon Foundation, and many others not considered here. In addition, the major museums generally amassed the bulk of their Cézanne collections *after* 1936. Of the 177 Cézanne images in museums in 1936, the Barnes Foundation had one third of them. Those in the French national collections and now in the Orsay numbered only 11 at the time (it now has 35), the Metropolitan had only 6 (now 26), the National Gallery London had 2 (now 10), the Museum of Fine Arts Boston had none (now 6), and the National Gallery of Art in Washington had yet to be founded (it now has 22).

Most all of the images that were in museums in the 1930s stayed there, typically in the same museum. Of course, the French collections moved from the Louvre to the Jeu de Paume in the 1947, and then to the Orsay in 1986. In addition, although most of the images in State Pushkin Museum in Moscow were returned there after it was evacuated during World War II,<sup>10</sup> some were transferred to the State Hermitage in St. Petersburg. And in the late 1990s all

**Table 5.2:****A Comparison of Cézanne's two *Catalogues Raisonnés***

Rewald, Feilchenfeldt, and Warman (1996)

Venturi (1936)	Images that are in private collections	Images that are in museums	Images in locations unknown (or likely destroyed)	TOTALS
Images that were in private collections	295	336	34	664
Images that were in museums	7	177	1	185
TOTALS	302	513	35	850

**A Comparison of Manet's two *Catalogues Raisonnés***

Rouart and Wildenstein (1975)

Jamot and Wildenstein (1932)	Images that are in private collections	Images that are in museums	Images in locations unknown (or likely destroyed)	TOTALS
Images that were in private collections	247	157	2	406
Images that were in museums	1	92	0	93
TOTALS	248	249	2	499

Note: These totals are for images in both catalogues for each painter. Rewald, Feilchenfeldt, and Warman (1996) have 96 images, many of them early Cézannes from Provence, that are not in Venturi (1936); and Rouart and Wildenstein (1975) have 20 images not in Jamot and Wildenstein (1932).

Impressionist images in the Tate were transferred to the National Gallery London. Other paintings had been on loan to particular museums in the 1930s, but were later retracted, some sold and repurchased privately, and later given to another museum as part of their permanent collections. At least 33 Cézannes changed museums *and* cities—and most often countries, moving from Europe to the United States.

A slightly smaller number of images, about 300, stayed in private hands; but astonishingly few, less than a few dozen, stayed within the same family, at least as judged by tracking surnames.<sup>11</sup> Many dozens turned over five times and more in the sixty years between the catalogues. Finally, locations for three dozen paintings were unknown, either suspected to have been looted or destroyed in World War II, or simply having been lost track of and residing in some unknown private collection.

When making estimates it is always good to have a second sample, and a similar set of patterns is seen with Manet. As shown at the bottom of Table 5.2, About 160 Manet paintings and pastels entered museums between 1932 and 1975. Nearly 250 stayed in private hands and a few disappeared after the Nazi occupation of Paris.<sup>12</sup> And whereas there was great expansion of Cézanne holdings in the last two-thirds of the twentieth century—the French national collections, the National Gallery London, and the Met increasing their holdings by three to fivefold—the increases in Manets over the same period were not nearly as great. The French holdings went from 26 (cited in the Jamot and Wildenstein catalogue) to 39 at present, those in the National Gallery London stayed level at 5, and those in the Met rose from 10 to 26. Since its opening the National Gallery Washington has managed to accumulate 16. I interpret the differences in acquisition rates between Manet and Cézanne as due to the later rise in appreciation of Cézanne; Manet was already a major figure by 1932. Today, both artists are likely to have greater than 60% of their oils and pastels in museums, and these percentages are by far the highest among the Impressionists.

But the most important feature for my purposes is that I can use the Cézanne and Manet patterns to predict changes up to the present for each of the other 16 artists. To be sure, Cézanne and Manet may be the most interesting, perhaps even the most important, artists of this group.<sup>13</sup> Nonetheless, although the number of images that changed hands may be peculiar to these artists, it seems reasonable that one can scale the proportions for each painter and estimate the relative rates of images moving from private hands into public museums.

The idea is that, although two points constrain a line, three can define an accession curve. Thus, I fitted curves to the Cézanne and Manet data. Results are plotted in Figure 5.2. For Cézanne I used the dates 1894, 1936, and 1996 as referents. We know that two images from Gustave Caillebotte's collection were given to the State of France in 1894, and were the second to enter any museum (in 1897). The Venturi (1936) catalogue had 178 images listed in museums, and the Rewald et al (1996) catalogue listed 577. As was done previously, I transformed the data to a logarithmic scale used on the vertical axis of the figure. As a result one can see an increasing trend, but one that is curved and gradually approaching some maximum value. It seems likely that museum holdings of Cézanne will continue to grow, and will increase and incrementally approach the value of 946 (minus those paintings that are lost). Nonetheless, it may be well more than another century or two before the world's museum holdings near 900 or so.<sup>14</sup> Indeed today, few museums can compete with private investors at auc-



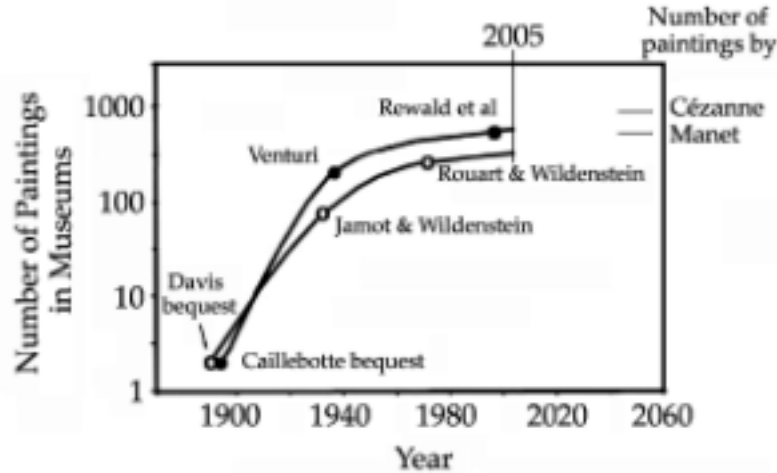


Figure 5.2: A scheme for extrapolating the holdings of museums from the data in Cézanne's (Venturi, 1936; Rewald et al, 1996) and Manet's two *catalogue raisonnés* (Jamot and Wildenstein, 1932; Rouart and Wildenstein, 1975). Fitting the data from the first accession of paintings, and the number of paintings in museums in each of the two *catalogues* yields an exponential function (with an exponent less than 1.0). The Davis bequest to the Met is discussed in Chapter 12; the Caillebotte bequest to the state of France in Chapters 6, 8, and 10.

tions, and this fact seems unlikely to change any time soon. Museums will be dependent on bequests, as they have been in the past. And private collections—as they are passed on within families or put on the market and bought by other private investors—will continue to hold many Cézannes.

The pattern for Manet is similar. We know the first bequest of Manets to a museum was in 1889, that there were 92 in museums according to Jamot and Wildenstein (1932), and 249 according Rouart and Wildenstein (1975). In 2005 there were probably close to 330 in museums. Thus, the same kind of curving pattern is found for the publicly accessible accumulation of Manet's works as was found for Cézanne.<sup>15</sup>

Extrapolating from the general formula used for Cézanne and Manet I then fit the data of other painters, using the first accession dates (generally between 1890 and 1897) and numbers of the images in that accession, together with the publication date and number of museum images in the *catalogue raisonné*.<sup>16</sup> In all cases, this function was used to predict the worldwide museum holdings in 2005. These estimates are quite rough, and no confidence limits can be computed. Nonetheless, in what follows, it seemed better to use these guesses than to assume that time has stood still and that the *catalogues raisonnés* had remained completely accurate. In this manner, the changes in museum holdings were scaled to the various artists, and the results are shown in the second to last

column of Table 5.1. These, I will assume, represent reasonable estimates of images by each artist that are publicly available today.

Most important for later analysis and distilled from the second column of Table 5.1, however, is the raw total of images produced by these 18 artists—just over 14,600. A bit over 9000 were produced by the seven major Impressionists, just over 2600 by the six minor Impressionists, and just over 3000 produced by these five Post-Impressionists. If I accepted the counts from the *catalogues raisonnés* of these 18 artists, then only about 2700 images appear in museums, or just under 20%. However, extrapolations from the data on the museum accrual for Cézanne and Manet suggest that as many as 3700 images are now in museums. These estimates are the ones I will use in computations to follow. Interestingly, but not surprisingly, the proportions of images in museums differ by group: Overall, the major Impressionists have about 41% of their *oeuvres* in museums, the minor Impressionists 20% (~350), and excluding Van Gogh the other four Post-Impressionists 33% (~725).<sup>17</sup>

#### Four Categories of Impressionist Museums

Consider next the representation of these artists by their works in the various museums. Of course, one is not usually concerned with the number of paintings or pastels in museums, but only with which ones are in which museums. And indeed, particular images, their locations, and their importance will be discussed in Chapters 7 through 10. Here, however, I am interested in the distribution of the Impressionist artists' images throughout various museums in the world as an index of the potential participation in the Impressionist canon by these museums.<sup>18</sup>

Appendices 5.1 and 5.2 list the number of paintings and pastels by the eighteen artists held by the twenty-two museums of interest. Before discussing the museums, however, a few caveats are in order. First, it is difficult to obtain this information for many art museums. To be sure, the Musée d'Orsay has a wonderfully complete, if now more than a dozen years old, two-volume catalogue of its collections (Musée d'Orsay, 1990). The Art Institute of Chicago, however, has no complete published catalogue. And although the National Gallery in Washington, the Metropolitan, the Museum of Fine Arts, the Philadelphia Museum of Art and others do have such catalogues, some are reasonably old. Fortunately, the Met, the Museum of Fine Arts, and the two National Galleries have their complete collections on their web sites. The more minor museums typically have catalogues, but often these were unavailable, and their web sites are often very selective. However, the *catalogues raisonnés* for the various painters are often quite complete, and many holes can be filled in. Thus, familiarity with the collectors, particularly for the small museums, allows reasonable assessments of their holdings. These twenty-two museums and others can usefully be divided into four groups.



Figure 5.3: Two images by Camille Pissarro: *Verger en fleurs, Louveciennes* (Orchard in bloom, Louveciennes, 1872, National Gallery, Washington) and *Printemps. Pruniers en fleurs* (Orchard with flowering fruit trees, Pontoise, 1877, Musée d'Orsay).

### Group 1: The Musée d'Orsay

The first museum “group” consists simply of the Musée d'Orsay by itself. Of all the Impressionist paintings by the seven major artists that are in any museum at all, remarkably the Orsay contains 9%, or about one out of eleven of them (350 of ~3700). It also contains 11% of museum images by the minor Impressionists (38 of ~350). And, again excluding Van Gogh, it contains 8% of Post-Impressionist paintings in museums (60 of ~725). For a single museum, this is an amazingly strong set of holdings—more than the Metropolitan and the National Gallery Washington combined. With such a collection it is not a surprise that the Orsay is the world's leading Impressionist museum.

### Group 2: Six Other Major Impressionist Museums

It is useful to consider the next six leading museums as a second group. Again, they are the National Galleries in Washington and in London, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. By my estimates, together they hold an additional 16% of all paintings by the major Impressionist painters that are in any museum worldwide (~590 of ~3700). These six also have 27% of all the minor Impressionist paintings in museums (~95 of ~350), and 15% of the four remaining Post-Impressionists (~110 of ~725).

Of course, many of these museums wind up with paintings that are reasonably similar to one another. This is particularly true of series paintings, considered in Chapter 8. Consider a nonseries pair in Figure 5.3. These are two images by Pissarro—the top one is *Verger en fleurs, Louveciennes* (Orchard in bloom, Louveciennes, 1872, National Gallery, Washington) and the bottom one is *Printemps. Pruniers en fleurs* (Kitchen garden with flowering fruit trees, Pontoise, 1877, Musée d'Orsay). These two images will be useful later in discussions of the Impressionist canon as it exists today in Chapters 7, 8, and 12.

### Group 3: Minor Impressionist Museums

Consider next fifteen other museums and their contents by these artists. These are listed in Appendix 5.2. The museums include two museums in Russia—the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, and the State Pushkin Museum in Moscow.<sup>19</sup> The list also includes six museums elsewhere in Europe. Two are in Denmark—the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, founded by the beer maker Carl Jacobsen (1842-1914) and opened in 1906; and the Ordrupgaard Museum in Denmark, just outside of Copenhagen and founded in the home of Wilhelm Hansen (1868-1936), where he first started exhibiting for the public in 1926. Two museums are in Switzerland—the Sammlung E. G. Bührle in Zurich and the Sammlung Oscar Reinhart in Winterthur. The former opened in 1960 around the collection of Emil Georg Bührle (1980-1956), and the latter opened in 1970 in the home of its founder Oskar Reinhart (1885-

1965). One additional museum is in London—the Courtauld Gallery in the Courtauld Institute, now in Somerset House. It opened in 1932 based around the collection of Samuel Courtauld (1876-1947).<sup>20</sup> The final European museum is the Musée Marmottan on the outskirts of Paris, founded in 1934.

In addition, I include six other small and large museums in the United States that have reasonably strong collections of Impressionist works. Chronologically by their dates of opening they are: the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts [1895]; the Los Angeles County Museum of Art [1910]; the Phillips Collection in Washington, DC [1921]; the Barnes Foundation in Merion, Pennsylvania [1922]<sup>21</sup>; the Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, in Williamstown, Massachusetts [1955]; the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena, California [1969]. In addition, partly for purposes of later comparison, I have included the somewhat smaller and more recently opened museum—the Dixon Gallery and Gardens, Memphis, Tennessee [1976]. Together, these fifteen museums contain about 15% (~575 of ~3700) of all images in museums by the major Impressionists, 10% of those by the minor Impressionists (~35 of ~350), and 18% by the four Post-Impressionists (~135 of ~725).

#### Group 4: The Rest of the World

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this analysis is the ability to address the residual group—*all* the remaining museums in the world. It would be impossible to keep track of these institutions separately. Nonetheless, if the estimates extrapolated from the *catalogues raisonnés* are reasonable then these museums contain 59% of the images by the major Impressionist artists in museums (~2200 of ~3700), 52% of the images by minor Impressionist artists (~180 of ~350), and 60% of those by the four Post-Impressionists (~435 of ~725). Since these values represent hundreds of museums worldwide, and since a third of all Impressionist images are held in the other 22 museums that I have focused on, it seems reasonable that the study of these 22 will lead us through the central trends of Impressionism, and particularly its canon.

Several general statements can be made about museum holdings. First, all the major museums have substantial holdings of the seven major Impressionist artists. The more minor museums often have either substantial holdings for a painter or two—Cézanne and Renoir in the case of the Barnes, Renoir in the case of the Clark, and Monet in the case of the Marmottan—or a reasonably well-rounded smaller collection as with the Fogg and the Dixon. Second, the major museums generally also have a number of paintings by Gauguin, Van Gogh, Seurat, Signac, and Toulouse-Lautrec, and the minor museums have a smattering as well. Third, and most important in building an argument for why the seven major Impressionists dominate the canon, is that there are none, or almost none, by the other six artists—Bazille, Cassatt, Caillebotte, Gonzalès, Guillaumin, and Morisot—except in the Musée d'Orsay, and for Cassatt or Gonzalès not even there. Cassatt, an American from Pennsylvania, is well represented in the five American Museums, but not the Orsay or the National Gallery London. Morisot has minor representation everywhere among these six muse-

ums. And fourth, notice that outside the Orsay, the Sisley holdings in all other major museums are rather weak, perhaps also providing some evidence for why Sisley is just barely counted among the major seven Impressionists.

In addition, two more general claims can be made. First, the six other major museums have relatively stronger collections of the minor Impressionists than does the Musée d'Orsay. This difference, however, is almost entirely due to the American museum holdings of works by Mary Cassatt, as suggested in Appendix 5.1. However, these museums have an even stronger set of collections of these Post-Impressionists, something that cannot be accounted for merely on the basis of national interests nor by the fact that the Orsay specializes only in works prior to World War I. Only one of the Post-Impressionists under consideration (Signac) lived as long as Degas, Renoir, or Monet. Second, the fifteen more minor museums do not generally have strong holdings of either the minor Impressionists or the Post-Impressionists. Exceptions are the Danish Museums—the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (due to the 1927 bequest of Helge Jacobsen, the founder's son) and the Ordrupgaard, both because of their large Gauguin holdings. A connection here is that Gauguin's wife, Mette Gad, was a Dane.

### A Map of Museums

Just as I presented maps of the artists in Chapter 4, I present maps of the museums here. To create these maps, the relative numbers of images by each of the 18 Impressionist and Post-Impressionist artists across each pair of museums was compared, and a correlation coefficient calculated. With twenty-two museums there are 232 such comparisons. These values were then used as inputs into a nonmetric multidimensional scaling program, and a two-dimensional output selected. This map is shown in Figure 5.4.<sup>22</sup>

In the middle of the diagram, and a bit to the left, is a gray square. This square represents the location of the relative production of each of the artists' proportional output. The major museums match these proportions well—the National Gallery London, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Musée d'Orsay, the National Gallery Washington, and Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Fogg Museum, the State Pushkin Museum, and the State Hermitage are also close. Their relative locations mean that all of these museums have a reasonable balance across the eighteen Impressionist and Post-Impressionist painters. The other museums are spread out around this core. The Clark and the Barnes are strong in Renoirs; the Barnes, Buehrle, Courtauld, Norton Simon, Phillips, and Reinhart are quite strong in Cézannes; the Ordrupgaard and Ny Glyptotek are strong in Gauguins; and the Los Angeles County Museum and the Marmottan are strong in Monets. Again, the Dixon Gallery and Gardens has a reasonably well balanced, but small collection.<sup>23</sup>

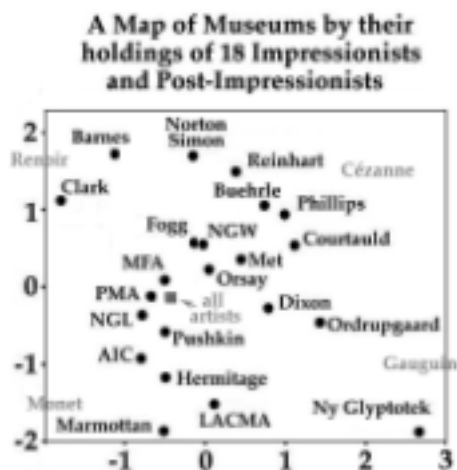


Figure 5.4: A two-dimensional map of 22 museums holding large Impressionist collections. This map was created by intercorrelating the number of images held by each museum for 19 painters associated with Impressionism. The holdings of these museums were also correlated with the entire output of each artist. This point is shown as the gray square near the middle of the map. Nearness to this point indicates a well-balanced collection; distance from this point in various directions suggests strong holdings of one painter or more, where those painters names are shown in gray. AIC = The Art Institute of Chicago; LACMA = The Los Angeles Country Museum of Art; Met = Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; MFA = the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; NGL = National Gallery, London; NGW = National Gallery, Washington; PMA = The Philadelphia Museum of Art.

### Career Production and Images in Museums

Perhaps more interesting than this layout, however, is the distribution of the images in the museums according to the time that they were painted. The top panel of Figure 5.5 sums the chronological data of all the paintings across thirteen Impressionist artists, and also sums them across the holdings in all museums.<sup>24</sup> Notice several things about these distributions. First, there are peaks between 1875 and 1885, the true heyday of Impressionism. This was a period when most of the artists were maximally productive and when most of the exhibitions took place. Second, both distributions are almost identical, with the same peaks and troughs. Third, however, there are some subtle differences that are important. The images in museums (noted in solid gray) peak slightly earlier than that of the artists' collective *oeuvres* (noted by the black line). This indicates that the holdings in all museums are not simply a random sampling of all images. Instead they are from slightly earlier in the artists' careers than the images as a whole. In addition, there is also a subsidiary, very late peak in the

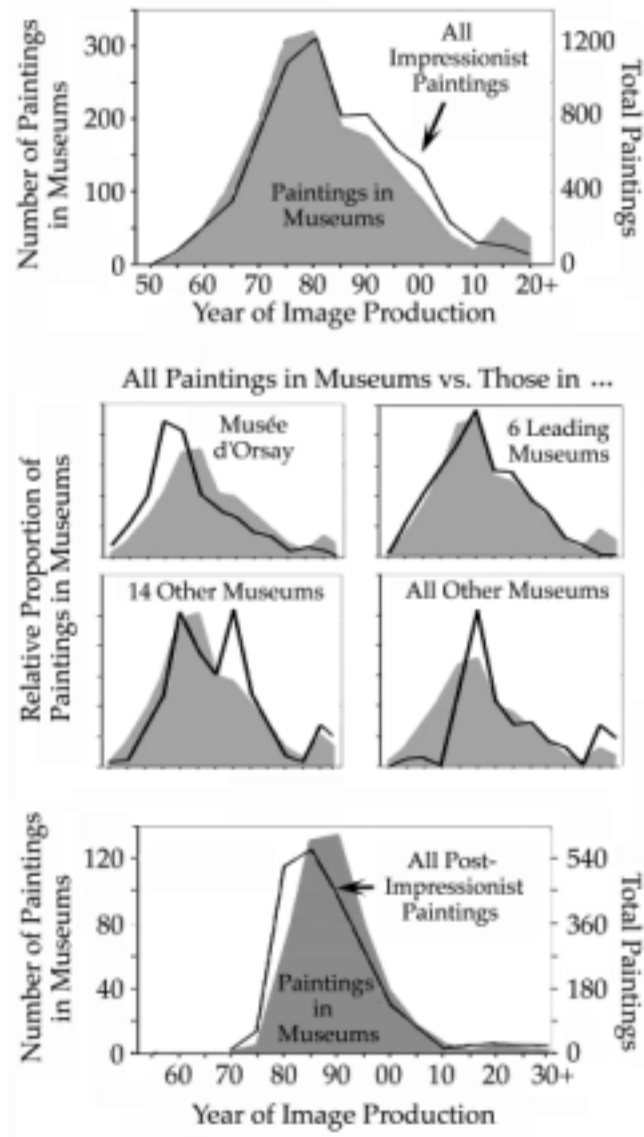


Figure 5.5: The top panel compares chronologically the output of the thirteen major and minor Impressionist artists (shown in by the dark line) with the distribution of all those images in museums (shown in gray). The central four panels compare the holdings of four classes of museums with the Impressionist holdings in museums as a whole. The bottom panel shows the chronological comparison for four Post-Impressionists—Gauguin, Seurat, Signac, and Toulouse-Lautrec. Notice that this trend is the opposite of that shown in the top panel.



museum holdings around 1915 and 1920. This is due entirely to Monet, largely to the Musée Marmottan—which has an enormous collection of late Monets—and to worldwide interest in his *nympheas* (water lilies) series, which he started around 1905 and continued until his death in 1926.

Given this difference in distributions, it is interesting to investigate such differences across the four classes of museums—the Orsay, the six other major museums with Impressionist holdings, the fourteen secondary museums with respect to such holdings, and the rest of the world’s museums. These are shown in the middle panels of Figure 5.5. In each of the four subpanels, the gray area represents the distribution of all images in museums as listed in the *catalogues raisonnés*, scaled in size to match the total number of images in each of the four museum classes. The upper left panel compares the distribution in all museums with that of the Musée d’Orsay. Notice that the Orsay’s collections are strikingly earlier than the general trend. That is, the Orsay has proportionately many more images from the 1850s and 1860s by these artists than all museums as a whole. Interestingly, the next six leading museums, shown in the upper right panel, match nearly identically the overall distribution, except for the Monet tail at the right. Overall, these museums have a slightly earlier collection of images compared to the whole. The next fourteen museums, shown in the lower-left panel, lag somewhat behind the overall trend, with a striking peak in the 1890s. The very late Marmottan/Monet peak is seen at the far right of both distributions. Finally, the rest of the world’s museums lag considerably behind the others, with many fewer Impressionist images from the 1860s and 1870s, and proportionately more thereafter.

Accepting this pattern one might think that it applied to all canons of more recent art. This would make some sense in that the early work of an artist is often more clearly revolutionary, and perhaps more interesting, than the later work. However, no such generalization can be made. The bottom panel of Figure 5.5 shows the comparative functions for the four Post-Impressionist artists—Gauguin, Seurat, Signac, and Toulouse-Lautrec. Notice that it is the reverse of the Impressionists: Compared to those that are not, the images that are in museums are from a later period. Thus, it is not an inherent trait of a group of artists that their most important images are from early in their career.

### Summary

Museums are the ground on which artistic canons are built. They offer images for people to see, to learn about, and to spin an appreciation of within a historical context. Even today, well less than half of all paintings by the seven major Impressionist painters are in museums. In exploration of the world’s museums, I divided those with Impressionist holdings into four categories—the Orsay, six other major museums (The National Galleries of London and Washington, the Metropolitan, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and the Art Institute of Chicago), fourteen other museums (both large, such as the State Hermitage and State Pushkin in Russia; and small, scattered throughout Europe and the United States), and the museums of the rest of the world. The twenty-two museums of first three categories hold one-third of

all Impressionist paintings in any museum. In addition, I found that those images in the Musée d'Orsay come from a period considerably earlier in the artists' careers than others, and that those in the fourteen minor museums and those in the rest of the world generally come from a somewhat later period. Thus, a cross section of the time periods of images held in the four types generally matches the importance of those collections, with the Orsay most important and earlier, and the subsidiary museums generally less important and later.

### Notes

Epigraph: Robert Cumming, <http://www.groveart.com/shared/views/article.html>.

1. For older art the images might also reside in churches or similar public places.

2. Information from this section came from Bazin (1967) and from the *museum* entry in the *Grove Dictionary of Art* (1996).

3. On the Duc d'Orléans, see Berger (1999), p. 203. In addition, the Musée du Luxembourg was reopened as the royal museum for the work of living artists in 1818, and became the staging place for entrance into the Louvre. However, the museum was evicted from the Palais du Luxembourg in 1879 and reestablished in the Orangerie, and then moved again to the Jeu de Paume in 1922 (Bazin, 1958, p.39-40). The Jeu de Paume ("game of tennis" but actually a game without rackets, more like handball) as a building has quite a history. It had been the royal tennis courts prior to the French Revolution, and was the site of the announcement of the beginning of the Revolution (20 June 1789) where commoners swore not to disband until France had a constitution. It was also the temporary repository for more than 22,000 artworks during the Nazi occupation of Paris (1940-1944); it served as the major French Impressionist museum from 1947-1986, and remains an exhibition space. The Musée de l'Orangerie today holds the large installation of 4 curving Monet *Nymphéas* and the collections of Paul Guillaume (1891-1934), a Paris art dealer, who owned many Cézannes, Matisses, Monets, Picassos, and Renoirs.

4. The Corcoran Gallery of Art was founded in 1869. William Corcoran, and others later, had lobbied to have it become the national gallery for the United States, but Andrew Mellon won out (see Kopper, 1991).

5. The Musées nationaux de France treat pastels separately from oils, not grouping them into the same catalogues. In addition, Degas sculpted many dancers in wax, but showed only one "The little dancer, aged fourteen" shown during his lifetime. After his death in 1917, his heirs found about 80 sculptures in his studio. These wax sculptures were cast in bronze by the Hébrard foundry in limited edition. Great controversy surrounds how many sets were cast and whether they should have been cast at all. For the *catalogue raisonné* of Degas' sculptures, see Rewald (1990). And, unfortunately for my purposes, the Van Gogh catalogue interleaved oils, chalk drawings, pencil sketches, and all other media in a chronological record. Thus, his had to be gone through incrementally, image by image, to extract the data for the oils.

6. These estimates for Pissarro and Cassatt are tempered by several facts. Pissarro, upon his return from London after the Franco-Prussian war, found his home in Louveciennes ransacked and perhaps 1500 paintings destroyed. Only 40 paintings survived from his first 15 years as a painter (Rothkopf, 1996, p. 75). In addition, Cassatt seems to have destroyed most of her work before 1877 (Pollock, 1998), and Morisot destroyed most of what she did before 1870 (Higonnet, 1992, p. 9). With respect to reproduction, one can argue that Leonardo and Vermeer were well occupied with other things. In addition, the production rates for the more modern painters were calculated from the *catalogues raisonnés* of Bonnard (Dauberville and Dauberville,

1965), Dufy (Laffaille, 1972-1977), and Leger (Bauquier and Maillard, 1990). These are listed in Appendix 4.3. Finally, for the notion of “painting quickly” see Brettell (2000).

7. There is a more sophisticated way to do such estimates. This problem is quite similar to one in population biology, called the unseen species problem. That is, imagine a serial trapping procedure. About a decade ago in an urban neighborhood that I used to live in, we were concerned about rabid raccoons. Epidemiological models suggested that if a certain percentage of raccoons could be inoculated against rabies, then a widespread outbreak of the disease could be avoided. Many families in my neighborhood decided to participate, and our family had two traps set, in our back and side yards. Late in the afternoon of each day in the experimental period the traps were baited with marshmallows (apparently a favorite food of raccoons). Early the next day the trapped animals were inoculated and tagged with a number. This procedure was repeated for several weeks. If an animal was caught in a trap but already had a tag its number was recorded and the animal simply released. Records were kept of how many times each tagged animal was caught. Some were caught many times—these animals are known as “trap happy.” Some were caught only a few times, and most were caught only once. These and others are often called “bait shy.” But how many raccoons were out there that were never caught even once? As it turned out, even though only about 200 animals were ever caught, the researchers estimated that there were more than 500 raccoons in our neighborhood—all in about 10 square city blocks. How did they know? Well, of course, the researchers didn’t know for sure, but they had an excellent way of estimating. A record of the number of individuals caught once, twice, three times, etc. can allow one to estimate the number of animals caught 0 times, and then to calculate the size of the entire population (see Bunge and Fitzpatrick, 1993). In conjunction with the techniques used in chapter 6, I tried to use this method with the help of John Bunge. Unfortunately, aspects of the distributions did not allow for reasonable estimates.

8. Ludwig Köchel produced the first Mozart catalogue of works in 1862, and this is why Mozart works have K numbers after their titles. Paul Waldersee published the second edition in 1905; Alfred Einstein the third in 1937; and the fifth edition (or ninth depending on how one counts) is now underway through a team headed by Neal Zaslaw.

9. Rewald did not accept Venturi. After Venturi died in 1960, Rewald fell heir to Cézanne research. He “soon realized the book [Venturi’s catalog] had to be completely rewritten... Among other things, Rewald felt obliged to reject many of the paintings that Venturi had accepted after 1936, and found he disagreed with many dates that Venturi has assigned” (Rewald, Feilchenfeldt, and Warman, 1996, p.7).

10. The images in the National Gallery Washington were also evacuated during the war to the Vanderbilt estate near Asheville, North Carolina. See Kopper (1991).

11. It is the convention of *catalogues raisonnés* that when a painting passes from parents to a married daughter, her maiden name is included. Given the 60-year difference in the catalogs it is unlikely that more than two generational transfers would have occurred.

12. Of those still counted in private collections ten were lost track of before 1925.

13. In July 2002, the Bibliography of the History of Art listed 1200 articles and books written on Cézanne, and 942 on Manet. These two lead the major Impressionist painters, with Degas next at 853.

14. Concerning the first Cézannes in a museum, Hugo von Tschudi, as discussed in Chapter 6, purchased *Le moulin sur la Coulevre à Pontoise* (Mill on the Coulevre at Pontoise, 1881) for the Nationalgalerie, Berlin, after the Caillebotte bequest

but before the paintings were accepted at the Luxembourg. Concerning the data, the best fitting equation for Cézanne's data is:  $\text{year} = -425 + (7.8x)^{.63}$ , where  $x$  is the logarithm of the number of paintings found in museums.

15. The best fitting equation for Manet's data is:  $\text{year} = -404 + (272x)^{.46}$ .

16. The equation used was an exponential compromise between Cézanne and Manet—that is, one using an exponent of .55.

17. On other Impressionists, if one were to consider German, British, Irish, Russian, American Impressionists and others, the corpus would swell very substantially. By the widest, least restrictive standards there would be well more than 100,000 Impressionist paintings from the era 1865 to 1926, the year of Monet's death. Here, however, I am more restrictive, and have chosen only the 18 artists listed in Table 5.1. For Impressionist movements outside of France see Bertuleit (1994), Broude (1990), Campbell (1984), Hoopes (1972), Kruglov (2000), McConkey (1989), and Platte (1971). In addition, Theo Van Gogh died in 1891 shortly after his brother Vincent. Theo's wife spent the rest of her life looking after the family assets, principally Vincent's art. She generally refused auctions, and the bulk of what he produced has wound up in the Van Gogh Foundation in Amsterdam, or in the Kröller-Müller Museum in Otterlo. Van Gogh is excluded here because nearly 250 paintings of his are housed in those two locations, considerably inflating what otherwise might have occurred.

18. To be sure, many paintings in a museum's collection reside in its vault, and may never hang on its walls. These, of course, are not generally seen. Nonetheless, collections do rotate, and those images in vaults are often loaned out to other museums for exhibitions. Thus, it seems prudent—if also much easier—to simply count a museum's complete set of holdings rather than to try to count what is present on its walls at a given time.

19. The images in the State Hermitage discussed here are generally those in its permanent collection. It also houses a large number of works seized from Germany in World War II, sometimes called "trophy art," that were forbidden to be displayed until the mid 1990s. However, Degas' *Place de la Concorde* (1875), thought lost for 50 years, is among these images. The Museum of Fine Arts was opened in Moscow in 1912. In 1924 the Soviet reorganization of the museum allowed for the "adoption" of many private collections, including the vast Impressionist collection of Sergei Shchukin. Between 1924 and 1930 a great number of Impressionist works were placed in the Museum of Modern Occidental Art in Moscow. It was named the Pushkin Museum in 1937, after the Russian poet Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837). During World War II the museum's contents were evacuated to Novosibirsk and elsewhere. In 1948 these were then divided between the State Hermitage, then in Leningrad, and Moscow. Like the Hermitage, the Pushkin also has its secret trove of treasures.

20. The Germans are changing their use of diacritics in their alphabet. Thus, the Sammlung E. G. Buehrle will be referred to in the new spelling; E. G. Bührle will be referred to with the old spelling. In addition, in 1996 The Tate Gallery and the National Gallery, London, exchanged loans of images. The Tate, which previously owned 60 nineteenth century works—including ones by Cézanne, Degas, Manet, Monet, Renoir, Vuillard, Matisse, and Picasso—transferred them to the National Gallery. The Tate Modern collects and displays twentieth-century British art, and the Tate Britain collects and displays British art from 1500 to 1900.

21. *The Art Newspaper* (October 2002, p. 7). Albert Barnes had established his foundation not as a museum directly, but as a teaching tool for a school of art he established in 1922. See Anderson (2003).

22. Stress = .22, and the variance accounted for in the plot is 77%.

23. Art historian Richard Brettell has overseen the Dixon Gallery and Gardens collection. See Catmur (1996).

24. This is an analysis in clear sympathy with White and White (1993).

## 6: Dealers and Collectors

Collecting is a kind of disease ... it has no connection with ordinary needs, yet may take hold of mind and soul to a degree where there is no escape from it. The fatal symptom of the true collector is his strong acquisitive and possessive instinct, this constant urge to own which is aroused whenever he sees an object that moves or excites him.

John Rewald, preface to *French Paintings from the Collections of Mr and Mrs Paul Mellon and Mrs Mellon Bruce*

From before the middle ages through the eighteenth century the finest art, however a culture may have defined it, was generally owned privately by the richest members of that culture. Of course, these were usually the members of royal families or the Catholic Church. But in the nineteenth century the rich increasingly included those involved in commerce, banking, and industry. As museums opened and broader European and American societies began to value art, the wealthier members of its public began to collect art. For these individuals, the Old Masters were a central focus of collecting. By the middle and late nineteenth century, art was also being collected by the not so wealthy and, as noted before, this art was almost exclusively by contemporary artists.

As governments decreased their official support of artists, and as their number grew substantially, artists had to support themselves by other means. By the early mid-nineteenth century there had developed two major systems for selling paintings—through auctions and through dealers. In the 1870s the Impressionist artists occasionally tried to sell their works on their own. They organized auctions at the Hôtel Drouot in 1875 and in 1877. These met with little commercial success, despite the fact that some of their best known works stem from collectors who bought images at these auctions. The Hôtel Drouot would also feature in later auctions, particularly those of the estates of collectors who died in the 1880s and 1890s. It will be useful to distinguish between two types of buyers—called first- and second-generation collectors by Distel (1990) in her

thorough analysis of the French collectors and dealers of Impressionism.<sup>1</sup> The first generation tended to know the painters and buy directly from them, or at their auctions, throughout the 1870s and a bit later. The second generation tended not to know the painters and bought through dealers generally beginning in the 1890s. But we need to consider the dealers first, then move to the collectors, and then to how some of the collectors bequests shaped the holdings of museums.

### **Dealers of Impressionist Works**

Gradually through the 1870s the Impressionists developed relationships with dealers who owned art galleries, or with individuals who simply had available spaces that could be seen from the street. In the galleries paintings could be on display for the public, typically in more elite sections of Paris. The wealthier populace could then stroll in and, if they desired, purchase them. Two types of artist-dealer relationships could then emerge. The first was a consignment system, where the artist retained ownership of the painting while the dealer showed it. If the dealer sold it, then he took a percentage. This system was often quite informal, and it was used to some extent by the Impressionists. Nevertheless, such a relationship tends not to encourage the dealer to stimulate sales by acting an entrepreneur. It offered the artist some visibility but little, and certainly sporadic, income.

The second system, and by far more relevant for the Impressionists, was a subvention system. Typically, after an initial dealer-artist relationship was established (often through consignments), the dealer would then contract to pay the artist a minimal but living wage to produce a certain number of paintings per month. These paintings would then be owned by the dealer, who sold them for his own livelihood. Most dealers that the Impressionists used also handled artists outside of Impressionism—particularly the naturalists who went before, such as Corot and Courbet, but also the contemporary Salon artists.

### **Early Minor Dealers**

Beginning in the early 1870s several gallery owners and others took on some of the Impressionists in modest ways. An early dealer was Louis Latouche (1829-1884), an artist and gallery owner, who acquired and exhibited a few Monets and Pissarros before 1870. However, he stopped selling all paintings in 1875. Alfred Cadart (1828-1875) was mostly a print seller, but he also showed a few paintings by Manet, Morisot, Eugène Boudin (1824-1898), and Johan Jongkind (1919-1891) in the early 1870s. Unfortunately, he died shortly thereafter. Julien (“Père”) Tanguy (1825-1894) was a color grinder and art supplier who, in his very small space between 1873 and his death, showed paintings by Cézanne, Pissarro, Guillaumin, Van Gogh, and Gauguin. In addition, Alphonse Portier (1841-1902) owned a paint shop where some of the Impressionists bought supplies. He took an increasing interest in the group starting in 1875, and in 1879 became manager of the fourth Impressionist exhibition. For twenty years he showed some of their paintings in his shop, and among his later cus-

tomers were Isaac de Camondo and Harry and Louisine Havemeyer, to whom I will return. Another dealer was Edouard Charpentier (1846-1905). Charpentier was primarily a publisher, but also a gallery owner—and a collector, as discussed below. He specialized in Old Masters, but he was also a friend of Renoir, Bazille, and Pissarro and showed some of their paintings as well. Finally, much later Theo Van Gogh (1857-1891), an art dealer and younger brother of Vincent, took an interest in the Impressionists, although he dealt more with a younger group who would be known as Post-Impressionists: His brother, Gauguin, Redon, Seurat, Signac, Toulouse-Lautrec, and Emile Bernard (1868-1941). Unfortunately, he died shortly after his brother's suicide.<sup>2</sup>

Such individuals were important to the Impressionists for varied reasons, but they did not sustain their livelihood. In the larger scheme they were small players over the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Together, these six probably displayed or owned fewer than 200 Impressionist works by the artists considered here. However, six other dealers played major roles in the dispersion and diffusion of Impressionist art. And later nearly a dozen dealers sold Impressionist works throughout the twentieth century. I will consider them roughly in the order that they opened their business to the Impressionists.<sup>3</sup>

### Major Dealers

By far the most important dealer for the Impressionists was Paul Durand-Ruel (1831-1922). From 1871 until his death he made his living, and for a number of years not a very good one, by selling both the works of Impressionists and the more acceptable Salon painters. Over a period of 50 years he sold more than 3000 paintings by the thirteen major and minor Impressionist artists, as shown in Appendix 6.1. He was the leading seller for Degas, Guillaumin, Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley. He had purchased a few Impressionist works in 1871 and 1872, but he fully launched himself into Impressionism by buying dozens of canvases from Manet later in December 1872. Nonetheless, he also sold paintings by Corot, by François Bonvin (1817-1887), Charles-François Daubigny (1817-1878), Honoré Daumier (1808-1879), Eugène Fromentin (1820-1876), Eugène Isabey (1803-1886), Jean-François Millet (1814-1875), Pierre Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898), and many others. Durand-Ruel hosted the second Impressionist exhibition in 1876 and saw to it that it was well reviewed. Indeed, the cast of reviewers was impressive—including novelist Henry James, poet Stéphane Mallarmé, playwright August Strindberg, and essayist and novelist Émile Zola. Starting in the 1880s he sponsored a number of single-painter exhibitions in his gallery—for Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and others. In 1885 the newspaper *l'Événement* quoted him as saying “I consider the works by Degas, by Puvis de Chavannes, by Monet, by Renoir, by Pissarro, and by Sisley as worthy of being included in the most beautiful collections.” He had opened a branch gallery in London in 1870, which he used as a safe haven for most of his stock during the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune,<sup>4</sup> and then one in New York in 1888 to promote the spread of Impressionism. He also handled the most important of the second generation of collectors



in the 1890s—Isaac de Camondo, Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, Antonin Personnaz, and Harry and Louisine Havemeyer.

The next dealer to open his doors to Impressionists was Georges Petit (1856-1921). Petit sold almost 450 Impressionist paintings. Like Durand-Ruel, Petit was the son of a gallery owner, but he was also a publisher of prints and art books. He took over his father's gallery in 1877 and the next year established himself as Durand-Ruel's competitor, buying paintings directly from Monet, Morisot, and Sisley, and later Pissarro. Prior to Impressionist interests, Petit (and his father) had dealt mostly with earlier artists: Delacroix, Courbet, Corot, and Théodore Rousseau (1812-1867). In 1886, instead of exhibiting at the eighth and last Impressionist exhibition, Monet and Renoir chose to show their images at the Galerie Georges Petit. In 1889 he sponsored the successful and important Monet/Rodin exhibit in his gallery, and became Sisley's dealer (who left Durand-Ruel). In 1897 his Gallery also held the first Sisley retrospective, two years before the painter's death. He also organized the auctions of several first-generation collectors—Théodore Duret in 1894, Victor Chocquet and Armand Doria in 1899, François Dépeaux in 1906—and the four Degas estate auctions in 1918-1919. Petit sold Impressionist works from 1883 until he died in 1921, at which time his considerable stock was purchased by the Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, discussed below, and other Parisian dealers.

At the end of the nineteenth century, a few more dealers handled the Impressionists. Most important for some was Ambrose Vollard (1866-1939). Vollard started in 1895, and continued selling artworks until 1939. He sold nearly 1400 paintings by the Impressionists, but half of these were by Cézanne whose fame he helped launch with an exhibit the year he opened. Although he sold relatively few paintings by them, Vollard was also the leading dealer for Cassatt, Caillebotte, and Morisot, and was also important for Guillaumin and Renoir, as shown in Appendix 6.1. He also sold paintings by Manet, Monet, and Degas. However, Vollard is better known as an early dealer for Picasso and Van Gogh, and he sold for Bonnard, Maurice Denis (1870-1943), and Edouard Vuillard (1868-1940) as well. Among his clients were Sergei Shchoukin and Ivan Morozov, discussed below, whose works formed the initial base of Impressionist holdings in what are now the State Pushkin Museum in Moscow and the State Hermitage in St. Petersburg. Vollard also dealt with several important German collectors.

The fourth important dealership was the Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, run first by Alexander Bernheim (1839-1915), then his sons Joseph Bernheim-Jeune (1870-1941) and Gaston Bernheim de Villiers (1870-1953), and is still run in Paris by the great grandchildren.<sup>5</sup> The gallery sold over 900 Impressionist works—mostly Monets, Cézannes, and Sisleys. Nonetheless, it was also important for Guillaumin, Seurat, Gauguin, Bonnard, and for Félix Vallotton (1865-1925). The gallery's heyday for Impressionists began later still, only in 1900, when they began to service many of the important second-generation collectors, such as Auguste Pellerin and to a small extent Etienne Moreau-Nélaton. At this time the Bernheim brothers bought directly from Renoir and Monet, and from Lucien Pissarro, son of Camille. They also purchased as many Cézannes as they could, often from other dealers.

Four generations of the Wildenstein family have sold at least 575 Impressionist images—in large part Cézannes, Monets, and Renoirs. Nathan Wildenstein (1852-1934) opened the gallery in Paris in the 1870s and then a branch in New York in 1903 selling mostly old masters. Branch galleries were opened in London in 1925 and Tokyo in the early 1970s. Nathan's son Georges Wildenstein (1892-1963) became interested in art historical pursuits, was attracted to the Impressionists, and produced the first Manet *catalogue raisonné*. His son Daniel Wildenstein (1917-2001) continued in this tradition and supervised Manet's second catalogue and those for Monet and Morisot.<sup>6</sup> Daniel Wildenstein produced the one catalogue of images included in the 30 books of Appendix 4.1. Guy Wildenstein runs the gallery today.

And finally, there is the Galerie Rosenberg. Paul Rosenberg (1881-1959) opened his Parisian gallery in 1911 and later filled in some of the gap left by the deaths of Durand-Ruel and Petit in the early 1920s. He opened a branch in England in 1935, and published Cézanne's first, and Pissarro's only *catalogue raisonné*. Rosenberg dealt mainly in Cézannes and Renoirs, but all told about 500 Impressionist paintings passed through his hands. Historically most striking, however, was that his entire gallery was seized by the Nazis. He was forced to emigrate to the United States in 1940. His looted holdings were first placed in the Jeu de Paume, with those of other Jewish dealers and collectors, and then moved to Neuschwanstein (Bavaria). From there, many paintings were distributed to collaborative dealers, often in Switzerland. They were then sold throughout Europe and eventually the United States to buyers often not concerned too deeply about their provenance. Since 1997 the Rosenberg heirs have begun to recoup a few of their great many losses.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to these six dealers, there were a few others important in dispersing the works of several of the artists. In Paris at the beginning of the twentieth century, they included Hector Brame; Boussod, Valadon et Cie (who staged the first Morisot exhibition in 1892); and Etienne Bignou (who also absorbed some of the Petit stock). Elsewhere, Alexander Reid and Lefèvre of Glasgow and London (now simply Lefèvre), and Paul Cassirer of Berlin helped distribute Impressionism to a wider European audience. Later in the twentieth century a few other galleries played a role in acquiring and selling a decreasing supply of Impressionist works: Acquavella Galleries in New York, the Knoedler Gallery in New York, Marlborough in London and New York, Sam Salz in New York, and Arthur Tooth in London. Appendix 6.1 shows the broad sweep of all of these dealers.<sup>8</sup> Together they account for more than 8700 sales. Of course, more than a few of these are for the same paintings, but certainly well more than half of all the works by the major and minor Impressionists were handled by these sixteen dealers.

As before it is useful to compare these results in a graphic way. Again, correlating the numbers of images sold by each of the sixteen most prominent dealers with each other dealer yields as matrix of "distances" between them—high positive correlations representing little distance, correlations near zero an intermediate distance, and negative correlations a greater distance. These were then scaled to produce the two-dimensional map in the left panel of Figure 6.1.<sup>9</sup> Notice that Durand-Ruel and Vollard essentially form opposite poles with the four-



Figure 6.1: Maps of the relationships of dealers and artists. The left panel shows a two-dimensional scaling solution of intercorrelations of sixteen dealers shown in Appendix 6.1 as they sold images by the thirteen major and minor Impressionists. The right panel shows the reverse scaling solution of the thirteen Impressionists as sold by the sixteen dealers.

teen other dealers generally between them and to the sides. Those at the top generally specialized more in Monet; those at the bottom specialized in Cézanne and Renoir; those near the left edge more in Degas. Again, those near the middle, like Bernheim-Jeune and Knoedler, had more balanced offerings.

Perhaps more interesting, and certainly more provocative for thinking about the development of the Impressionist canon, is the map of artists in right panel of Figure 6.1.<sup>10</sup> To generate this display, the paintings sold by each artist from each of the dealers' galleries were intercorrelated, and then scaled. This is the reverse of the correlation procedure used in the left panel. The results give a nearly circular solution. This is a sign of possible degeneracy in the data—not a good thing—with all points on the circle being nearly equidistant from one another. Such solutions are often uninterpretable because they show no general pattern. What saves this plot is the collection of five painters—Guillaumin, Manet, Monet, Pissarro, and Sisley—who occupy essentially the same spot. This means that all dealers generally sold their paintings in nearly equal proportions. It is particularly interesting that Guillaumin is in this group and yet is not considered a major Impressionist.

Renoir and Degas differ from this cluster of five in having a larger proportion of their paintings sold by Vollard, and Cézanne is farther away still for the same reason. The other painters did not have very many of their paintings handled by dealers. Caillebotte and Cassatt were wealthy, and thus didn't need to sell their works for a livelihood. Bazille died in 1870 and before the Impression-

ists generally went to the market. His family held most of his paintings. His nephew, Marc Bazille, left a few to the French state in the early twentieth century. And of course, as honorable women of Parisian culture, Cassatt, Gonzalès, and Morisot could not sully themselves by extensively working the market.<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, notice that in the figure, the positions of Morisot, Cassatt, and Caillebotte are near Cézanne precisely because Vollard handled some of the few works of theirs that were sold. Bazille and Gonzalès are on the left because the few paintings of theirs ever sold were handled by twentieth century galleries.

### The First Generation of Collectors

Dealers, of course, sell paintings to those who wish to buy them. Let me focus on two groups mentioned above—the first- and second-generation collectors. The first-generation collectors of particular interest here include Georges de Bellio, Gustave Caillebotte, Georges and Marguerite Charpentier, Victor Chocquet, Théodore Duret, Jean-Baptiste Faure, Paul Gachet, Ernest Hoschedé, and Henri Rouart, although many others might also be considered.<sup>12</sup> A fuller list is given in Appendix 6.2. I will return to Caillebotte later, but it is worth considering the other eight, roughly in chronological order of the time they started collecting. As a caveat, however, one must remember that, just as no dealers handled only Impressionist works, no collectors purchased only Impressionist works. But since I am focusing on Impressionism, I have chosen those collectors with primary or large interests in Impressionist works. Images discussed below are those among the 138 most frequently reproduced in the literature (and listed in Appendix 7.1), a topic of discussion in later chapters.

#### The Early 1870s

Jean-Baptiste Faure (1830-1914) was a wealthy and extremely popular actor and singer in the 1860s and early 1870s. A baritone, he specialized in Verdi operas. He generally retired in 1876 but continued to perform in recitals throughout Europe for several more years. Other than to Durand-Ruel, Manet had sold no paintings through 1872, but Faure began buying from him in January 1873. In addition, Faure bought dozens of Monets. As much a speculator as a collector, Faure held his first auction in 1878 then afterwards bought more paintings, and then sold more in the 1890s. Most of his collection was bought up by dealers after 1905, and was finally dispersed in 1919. Across his collecting career Faure had owned more than 160 Impressionist works, and more than a dozen are presently regarded among the most esteemed. Ten are Manets—*Le buveur d'absinthe* (The absinthe drinker, 1858-59, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek), *Victorine Meurent en costume d'Espada* (Mlle V... in the costume of Espada, 1862, Metropolitan, Havemeyer bequest), *La musique aux Tuileries* (Concert in the Tuileries gardens, 1866, National Gallery London, Lane bequest), *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1863, Musée d'Orsay, Moreau Nélaton bequest), *Le fifre* (The piper, 1866, Musée d'Orsay, Camondo bequest), *Le déjeuner à l'atelier* (Lunch in the studio, 1868, Neue Pinakothek), *Le chemin de fer* (The railroad, 1872-73, National Gallery, Washington, Havemeyer bequest), *Le bon bock* (The good

beer, 1873, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Tyson bequest), *Le bal de l'opéra* (Masked Ball at the Opera, 1873-74, National Gallery, Washington, Havemeyer bequest), and *Le café concert* (Café concert, 1878, Walters Museum, Baltimore). Faure also owned four important Monets—*La Tamizes et le Parlement* (Thames below Westminster, 1871, National Gallery London), *Les coquelicots à Argenteuil* (Wild poppies, 1873, Musée d'Orsay, Moreau-Nélaton bequest), *Le boulevard des Capucines* (1873, State Pushkin Museum, Morozov collection), *Le pont Argenteuil* (Bridge at Argenteuil, 1874, Musée d'Orsay, Personnaz bequest)—and many images by Degas, including *Le défilé* (Jockeys at the tribune, 1866-68, Musée d'Orsay, Camondo bequest).

Ernest Hoschedé (1837-1891) was a wholesale fabric dealer and one of the earliest collectors of Impressionist works. He bought images through Durand-Ruel in 1873. He was financially unstable and held the first auction with Impressionist works even before the first Impressionist exhibition in 1874, selling works by Degas, Monet, Pissarro, Sisley, Boudin and others. His works sold, but not at high prices, and the auction was a financial disaster. He held a second auction the next year selling many Corots and Courbets. He went bankrupt by 1877 and a third auction was held in 1878. Faure bought paintings there. One painting purchased by Faure was Monet's *La Tamize et le Parlement*. To add to his woes, Hoschedé's wife left him and eventually became the second wife of Monet, who then supported both the Hoschedé and Monet children. The most important painting in his collection was Monet's *Impression, soleil levant* (1873, Musée Marmottan). Hoschedé bought it through Durand-Ruel just after the first Impressionist exhibition.

Théodore Duret (1838-1927) was a journalist, critic, and sometime politician. Like Zola, he wrote about the Salons, and he also produced an important pamphlet on the Impressionists. He met Manet in 1865 and guarded his paintings in 1870 during the Franco-Prussian war and the Commune. He also befriended Renoir and Pissarro and began to buy their paintings in 1873, before the first Impressionist exhibition. He later bought many paintings from Whistler and Sisley. In 1884 he took executive responsibility for Manet's studio sale. Duret sold most of his collection at auction in 1894 to raise money, one month after the Caillebotte bequest to the French state was announced. After this time, he kept only portraits of himself by Manet and Whistler, but he acted as a go-between for some English dealers, particularly Hugh Lane of London and Dublin. The most famous paintings in the Duret collection were Manet's *Chez Père Lathuille* (Père Lathuille's restaurant, 1879, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai), and Renoir's *Lise* (Woman with a parasol, 1867, Museum Folkwang, Essen).

Georges de Bellio (1828-1894) was a Romanian homeopathic physician who lived in Paris. He befriended the Impressionists and treated Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley for various ailments free of charge, or in exchange for paintings. He bought directly from Monet beginning in 1876 and continued to support him until 1880, when Monet struck a deal with Petit. Afterwards de Bellio nonetheless continued to buy paintings by Monet, Renoir, Pissarro, Sisley, and later Gauguin. De Bellio also cared for Manet during his final illness, and purchased Manet's at his studio auction in 1884. Perhaps the most notable painting in his collection was Monet's *Impression, soleil levant*, which he

picked up at an Hoschedé auction. Along with many others he gave it to his daughter, Victorine de Bellio Donop de Monchy. In turn, she left many works from this collection to the Musée Marmottan. De Bellio died in 1894 at about same time as Gustave Caillebotte, whom I discuss in detail below.

### The Mid and Late 1870s

Georges Charpentier, as mentioned above, was a prosperous publisher of Flaubert, Zola, and many others. He also ran a gallery and published the artistic weekly, *La vie moderne*. In the offices of his magazine, he sponsored shows of works by Renoir in 1879, by Manet in 1880, by Monet also in 1880, and by Sisley in 1881. His wife Marguerite Lemonnier Charpentier (1848-1904) was an equal partner in these concerns, and they ran an influential salon in their house throughout the 1870s and early 1880s. Beginning in 1875 they began to buy Renoirs. Indeed, Renoir became something of a house portrait painter for them. Of these many portraits the most important by contemporary standards is his *Mme Charpentier et ses enfants* (1878). Manet also frequented the Charpentiers and wrote poetry for Marguerite. After her death in 1904 and his in 1905 their collection was broken up and sold. As mentioned in the preface, Roger Fry, then Curator of Modern Paintings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and on the advice of Durand-Ruel, purchased *Mme Charpentier et ses enfants* for the museum.

Victor Chocquet (1821-1891) was a customs office supervisor in Paris, and initially not a wealthy man at all. Yet his passion was collecting—art, drawings, silver, china, almost everything. He began collecting works by realist painters, and then around 1875 several paintings by Monet and Renoir. He retired from government in 1877, and then his wife inherited a small fortune in 1882. He was deeply intrigued by Cézanne. After he died in 1891, and his wife in 1899, his collection was auctioned at Petit's gallery. Etienne Moreau-Nélaton and Isaac de Camondo, both discussed below, bought works there. The Chocquet collection was particularly strong in paintings by Delacroix, Courbet, Monet, Renoir, Cézanne, and Manet. The smaller version of Renoir's *Bal du Moulin de la Galette, Montmartre* (1876) was probably painted for Chocquet.<sup>13</sup> He also owned Cézanne's *Le pont de Maincy* (Bridge at Maincy, 1879-80, Musée d'Orsay), and his *La maison du pendu* (House of the hanged man, 1872-73, Musée d'Orsay, Camondo), and Manet's *Le barque de Monet* (Monet in his floating studio, 1874, Neue Pinakothek) and his *La rue Mosnier aux paveurs* (Roadmenders of the rue Berne, 1878, private collection).

Henri Rouart (1833-1912), like Caillebotte, was an engineer. He worked on electrification, refrigeration, and pneumatic communication in Paris. And like Caillebotte, he was also a painter. He exhibited at three of the official Salons and at six of the Impressionist exhibitions. He was an intimate member of the Impressionist group, and his son married Berthe Morisot's daughter (also the niece of Manet).<sup>14</sup> He began to buy paintings from his colleagues in 1875. He accumulated more than two dozen by Degas, many of which were portraits of family members. He also owned a smattering of images by five other major Impressionists, and by Boudin, Cals, and other contemporaries. Many of his

business contacts also bought works by his Impressionist colleagues. Perhaps the most important painting of his collection was Degas' *Bain de mer. Petite fille peignée par sa bonne* (Beach scene. Young girl being combed by her maid, 1876-77, National Gallery London, Lane bequest). It is a great misfortune that there is no *catalogue raisonné* of Rouart's work as a painter. Moreover, being wealthy he seems not to have sought the help of dealers. Thus, very few of his own paintings are known. Two are in the collections of the Musée d'Orsay, almost none elsewhere.

Finally, Dr Paul Gachet (1828-1909) was a rural physician from Lille, in northern France. He also painted under the name Paul van Ryssel (the Flemish name for Lille). Gachet settled in Auvers, about 20 miles from Paris. Pissarro was already there, and Cézanne and Guillaumin arrived in 1872, and he was soon friends with Monet and Renoir as well. Like de Bellio he treated Manet near his death. Gachet also treated Van Gogh in 1890, but was unable to prevent his suicide. Gachet was particularly interested in etching, and taught several of the Impressionists about the medium. His collection was particularly strong in Cézannes, and perhaps the most famous Impressionist painting in his collection was Cézanne's *Un moderne Olympia* (A modern Olympia, 1873, Musée d'Orsay), given to the French state by his son, Paul Gachet  *fils*, in 1951. Nonetheless, by far the best known paintings are the portraits of him by Van Gogh, one in the Musée d'Orsay and the other in a private collection. Between 1991 and mid 2004 the latter was the most expensive painting ever sold.<sup>15</sup>

### Gustave Caillebotte

Among first-generation collectors Gustave Caillebotte (1848-1894) deserves special attention. He studied engineering and then law, but obtained no degree because of the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War and then the Commune. He then studied painting with the established Salon artist Léon Bonnat (1833-1922), a friend of Degas. Inheriting his father's wealth as a military supplier he was a millionaire and a painter at age 28. Too young and freshly started for the first Impressionist exhibition in 1874, he was nonetheless invited by Renoir and Rouart to join the second exhibition in 1876, and he participated in four others. Moreover, he organized the 1876 exhibition; largely subsidized it and those in 1877, 1879, and 1882; and rented an apartment for Monet in Paris between 1877 and 1881.<sup>16</sup> Two of his paintings are shown in Figure 6.2—*Le pont de l'Europe (variante)* (On the Europe Bridge, 1876-77, Kimball Art Museum, Fort Worth) and *Raboteurs de parquet* (Floor scrapers, 1875, Musée d'Orsay). The former was shown at the third Impressionist exhibition. The latter was rejected by the Salon in 1875 and shown at the second Impressionist exhibition.<sup>17</sup>

Most importantly in this context, Caillebotte began to buy his friends paintings in 1875 and then increasingly in 1876. Caillebotte's major phase of acquisitions continued during the height of Impressionism, until 1882. A few were acquired later, notably of Manet's works after his death, at the auction of his studio in 1884, and in support of his widow. Others were acquired more incrementally—the works of Cézanne, Degas, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sis-



Figure 6.2: Two images by Gustave Caillebotte: *Le pont de l'Europe (varante)* (On the European Bridge, 1876-77, Kimball Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas) and *Raboteurs de parquet* (Floor scrapers, 1875, Musée d'Orsay).



ley. He kept no known records of his purchases, so one must rely on those of others (particularly Monet) and on the exhibitions to which he made loans.<sup>18</sup>

Caillebotte was a citizen of the art world as he saw it, and a supportive friend to his colleagues. In 1889 he was one of the first subscribers to the fund Monet and John Singer Sargent (1856-1925) established to buy Manet's *Olympia* for the French national collections (and thereby continue to support Manet's widow). He was godfather to Renoir's first son, and Renoir was the executor of his will. Both Renoir and Monet hung Caillebotte paintings in their homes. In the 1880s Caillebotte retired from the Parisian art scene and moved down the Seine to become a full-time yachtsman and gardener.<sup>19</sup> He eventually became a town councilman, and occasionally paid a few of the town's debts out of his own pocket. Years earlier, at the beginning of 1878, he wrote in his will:

It is my wish that the sum necessary to hold, in 1878, under the best possible conditions, the exhibition of the painters known as the Intransigents, or impressionists be taken from my estate. . . . The painters who will figure in this exhibition are Degas, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, Cézanne, Sisley, Mlle Morizot [*sic*]. I name those without excluding others. I donate the paintings I own to the Nation. . . . I ask Renoir to be my executor.<sup>20</sup>

Caillebotte was clearly worried about his health, although it is not known why. The first part of this quotation dwells essentially on the continuation of the Impressionist exhibitions that year, 1878. As it turns out the fourth exhibition didn't occur until the following year, but Caillebotte did subsidize it and participate. However, Morisot, Renoir, and Sisley did not participate, and Monet only obliquely through paintings loaned by Durand-Ruel.

In 1894 at age 46, Caillebotte died suddenly of stroke. As stated above, briefly in a few sentences of his will, he left his entire collection of artworks to the state of France on the condition that they be hung together for the public. Such a bequest was completely unprecedented. Moreover, the residue of the official salon culture of Paris was still ill disposed towards Impressionism. Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904), an important Salon painter and influential in the late nineteenth-century Paris art scene, is reputed to have said: "I do not know these gentlemen and of the donation I know only the title—Are there not some paintings of Monsieur Monet in it? Of Monsieur Pissarro and others? For the state to accept such filth would be a blot on morality." But perhaps more important than the politics was the unavailability of space; there was simply no suitable place in Paris large enough to hang the 66 or more paintings.<sup>21</sup> As a group I will call these paintings part of the Caillebotte sample, and discuss them in more detail in Chapters 10 and 11.

The haggling went on for years, taxing the patience of Renoir and Martial Caillebotte, Gustave's older brother. Eventually the will was broken and the collection split, 39 images going to the state of France and the rest rejected. Two of Caillebotte's own paintings were included by his family and one Sisley was later deaccessioned. Thus, we can consider Caillebotte's Parisian legacy to be 40 works. These were first hung in the Musée du Luxembourg in Paris in 1897, then moved to the Louvre in 1927. But in the dozen years after 1895, Martial Caillebotte apparently approached governmental officials several times

in hope that they would accept the other works, fulfilling the outline of the will. They did not.<sup>22</sup> Madame Caillebotte, the widow of Martial, was so infuriated that she dispersed the other paintings between 1910 and 1928. Eight are in locations unknown; some may no longer exist. Caillebotte's legacy was the first of several important Impressionist bequests to the French State. It set a precedent, and none of the others had any of its political and administrative difficulties. So many works in Caillebotte's legacy are important that substantial portions of Chapters 7 through 11 are devoted to them. Other legacies now in the Orsay are discussed below.

### The Second Generation of Collectors

In considering the second-generation collectors my focus will have several constraints. I will consider primarily those who later gave their collections to the museums. This eliminates all but cursory consideration of several collectors who had large collections that were dispersed—Georges Viau (1855-1939) a dentist and friend of Vollard who favored Degas but owned about 150 Impressionist images; and Alexandre Berthier, the fourth Prince de Wagram (1883-1918), who specialized in Monets but owned over 100 Impressionist works. Despite this, it is important to consider briefly three other second-generation players in the making of the Impressionist canon—Hugo von Tschudi, Auguste Pellerin, and Kojiro Matsukata.

Hugo von Tschudi (1851-1911) was a minor collector, but a major *fin de siècle* art figure. He became director of the Nationalgalerie in Berlin in 1896 and, among other things, wanted Germany to have an Impressionist collection. Indeed, because of Tschudi the Berlin museum hung paintings by Degas and Monet before the Musée du Luxembourg did. In 1897, he also purchased Cézanne's *Le moulin sur la Coulevre à Pontoise* (Mill on the Coulevre at Pontoise, 1881), the first Cézanne ever purchased for a public gallery. But apparently Tschudi knew well that Kaiser Wilhelm II, a self-styled painter and connoisseur, would not approve of the use of state funds for such purposes, so he raised money from rich friends and purchased more than a dozen other works. Even this created an outrage, later called the Tschudi affair, and Kaiser Wilhelm felt it necessary to visit the museum. He was not pleased, calling the Impressionists "violet pigs" and their work "gutter art." He had the works placed on the top floor beyond the reach of elevators. At least one of Tschudi's purchases, Manet's *Le départ du bateau de Folkestone* (The Folkestone Boat, 1869, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Tyson bequest) was deaccessioned from the Nationalgalerie and sold. Tschudi was forced to leave Berlin and, after a year's absence, he went to the Staatliche Galerie (now part of the Neue Pinakothek, separated from the Alte Pinakothek) in Munich, and started purchasing Impressionist images again, including Manet's *Le déjeuner à l'atelier* (1868) and his *La barque de Monet* (1874). In fact, Tschudi purchased all five of the most reproduced Impressionist images still in the Nationalgalerie and Neue Pinakothek. Unfortunately, Tschudi died not long after arriving in Munich.<sup>23</sup>

Auguste Pellerin (1852-1929) earned a fortune in making margarine. He became Norwegian counsel in Paris and in the late 1890s began to collect voraciously.

ciously. He owned over 200 Impressionist images, and more than 150 Cézannes. Three Cézanne still lifes were given to the Louvre in 1929, but he had also owned both of Cézanne's *Les grandes baigneuses* (The great bathers, 1905, Philadelphia Museum of Art and National Gallery London). In addition, he also owned four important Manets—*Le bar au Folies-Bergère* (The bar at the Folies-Bergère, 1881, Courtauld Gallery), *Nana* (1877, Kunsthalle, Mannheim), *La serveuse de Bocks* (Waitress serving beers, 1879, Orsay), and *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867* (View of the World's Fair from the Trocadero, 1867, Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo). He is also known for the work he commissioned from Henri Matisse (1869-1954) *Portrait d'Auguste Pellerin II* (1917, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris). Many of Pellerin's images were kept within his family after his death, but ten were part of a Sotheby's auction in 1994.<sup>24</sup>

Kojiro Matsukata (1865–1950) was a Japanese industrialist and businessman who owned more than 60 Impressionist works—half of them by Monet—plus sixteen by Gauguin, and many sculptures by Auguste Rodin (1840-1917). Because of the 100% Japanese import duty on art, Matsukata sequestered his collection in France with the intent of later giving it to the people of Japan. However, he lived a bit too long, and his French assets were frozen during World War II. Finally in 1959 after a decade of haggling, an international treaty was signed and the French agreed to release most of the Matsukata collection on the condition that a special museum be built in Tokyo—the National Museum of Western Art—and that fourteen works would be kept by France.<sup>25</sup> One of these is Manet's *La serveuse de Bocks*, once owned by Pellerin. A similar work is owned by the National Gallery London, given by Hugh Lane whom I discuss below. More broadly, it is probably due to Matsukata that the Japanese have shown such intense interest in Impressionism.

Next, although the focus of this chapter is on those collectors whose works were given to the seven major museums (Group 2 and the Orsay), it would be an injustice not to discuss individuals who founded smaller museums, or whose collections wound up in the Group 3 museums discussed in Chapter 5. They are discussed briefly below, in addition to Duncan Phillips in Chapter 7. Without doubt they are some of the more colorful individuals who collected Impressionist art. Most have interesting stories. As an organizing principle, I will consider them roughly by when they began collecting, and then consider the collectors for what is now in Group 2 museums by time of collection. Finally, I will then consider those in the Orsay in the same manner.

### Collectors and Group 3 Museums

Sergei Shchoukin (1854-1936) and Ivan Morozov (1871-1921) were collectors whose works are now in Russian Museums. Shchoukin was major collector of Matisse (37 paintings) and Picasso (50) as well as owning several dozen Impressionist works, including Monet's sketch of *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1865-66, State Pushkin). Morozov owned more than 130 works, including eighteen Cézannes and works by all the major Impressionists but Degas. For our purposes the most important image in Morozov's collection was Monet's *Le boulevard des Capucines* (1873), which has an equally important mate by the same

name in the Nelson–Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. The Shchoukin and Morozov collections were seized by the new Soviet state in 1917, and went to what is now the State Pushkin Museum in Moscow. Nonetheless, some have since been reaccessioned to round out the collections in the State Hermitage in St. Petersburg. These collections are stunning, but Western writers largely ignored them until the end of the Cold War.<sup>26</sup> Of the six most reproduced Impressionist images in the Pushkin three each were owned by Shchoukin and Morozov, and of the three most reproduced images in the Hermitage, one was owned by each.<sup>27</sup>

Albert Barnes (1872–1951) was born in a working-class neighborhood of Philadelphia. He became a physician, and co-founded a pharmaceutical firm making a silver protein based antiseptic used in childbirth. He made millions. In 1912 he became interested in art and began making large numbers of purchases of Renoirs (171 in all media), Cézannes (69), and Matisses (60). In 1932 Barnes purchased the version of Cézanne's *Baigneurs au repos, III* (Bathers at rest, 1876–77) once owned by Caillebotte and rejected by the French state. As a restriction on this painting's use, and on all others in his collection, he never allowed scholars to reproduce its image in color (finally waived only in 1993). The Barnes Foundation was chartered in 1922 and John Dewey (1859–1952) became its first educational director. But Barnes ruled with an iron fist and the display of the Foundation's paintings is still determined by his will. The Foundation has always been difficult to visit. Early on it was by invitation only, where invitations were hard to come by. Later it opened with regular hours to small number of visitors. Today, visitors are limited to 1200 per week (up from 500), set by the town of Merion, Pennsylvania. Moreover, the entrance fee has been limited to \$5.00, set by Orphans' Court. By 1990 the Foundation was in desperate financial difficulty, Barnes's will was partially broken, and many of the Foundation's works were part of a well-publicized exhibition that appeared in the Musée d'Orsay and elsewhere in 1993 through 1995. The purpose of this tour was to raise funds to rehabilitate the Foundation's building. But financial problems continued. In 2005 plans were approved by Orphans Court for the Barnes to move it to Philadelphia near the Philadelphia Museum of Art, but as with everything about Barnes and his Foundation, this too is controversial.<sup>28</sup> The Barnes collection is fabulous, but perhaps because of the strange secretiveness of Dr. Barnes and his guidelines for the Foundation, few of its Impressionist images are well known.

Oskar Reinhart (1885–1965) was from a Swiss family of cotton and coffee traders with offices in London and India. Reinhart was a friend of the German art historian Hugo Meier-Graefe, who in 1904 wrote the first and one of the few German books to include Impressionism (listed in Appendix 9.2). Through Meier-Graefe, Reinhart became interested in French Impressionism. In 1908 he edited and financed an art magazine in his hometown of Winterthur, Switzerland, and from his villa *Am Römerholz* he threw himself into art. Originally interested in prints, he began to collect paintings in the 1920s. He showed his works in his home as early as 1918, and the Swiss government took over the villa and the collection in 1970.<sup>29</sup>

Emil Georg Bührle (1890-1956) was a Swiss industrialist and banker. He was also a student of prominent art historian Heinrich Wölfflin. He began collecting in the 1930s and eventually his collection included works by Dutch Masters of the seventeenth century, Venetian Masters of the eighteenth, El Greco and Goya, Delacroix, and the French Impressionists, Post-Impressionists, Nabis, and Cubists. Unfortunately, parts of the Buehrle collection are shrouded in the controversies of art looted by the Nazis. In 1941 Walter Hofer, Goering's personal art advisor, went to the Fischer Gallery in Lucerne to make some purchases. Due to his lack of Swiss currency, Hofer offered an exchange of paintings, which Fischer accepted. Fischer then apparently traveled to Berlin to obtain 25 images once stored in the Jeu de Paume (the 1940-1944 headquarters for seized art during the German occupation of Paris), some of which were then kept in the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* (the collection of looted art largely from the Rosenberg gallery) in Neuschwanstein. Fischer returned to Switzerland in late October, 1941 and quickly sold nine of these to Bührle, including a Degas, a Manet, and a Sisley.<sup>30</sup>

Wilhelm Hansen (1868-1936) was manager of two Danish insurance companies and a cofounder of the French national insurance company, *La Populaire*. He also promoted *Volapük*, an attempt at a world language before *Esperanto*. He collected Impressionist works intensively in Paris between 1916 and 1918, during World War I when Americans were avoiding Europe. As part of a Danish consortium of dealers, he bought through Durand-Ruel and Vollard. Hansen opened his home, and its collection of 156 French works, to the public in 1918. However, following a bank failure in 1922, Hansen had to sell about half of his paintings. Albert Barnes bid on them, but most went to Kojiro Matsukata (and are now in the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, or in French national collections) and to Oskar Reinhart of Winterthur (now in the Sammlung Oskar Reinhart). But shortly thereafter these sales, Hansen started collecting again. His consortium bought 233 works from three sales, including that of Georges Viau. They also tried but failed to obtain those from the estate of Auguste Pellerin, which sold 70, but less than half of his, Cézannes.<sup>31</sup>

Robert Sterling Clark (1877-1956) was an heir to the Singer sewing machine fortune—his father, Edward C. Clark, was Isaac Singer's partner. Clark carried out extensive zoological and ethnological researches in China at the beginning of the twentieth century. He settled in Paris in 1911 and began collecting Italian, Dutch, and Flemish art. In 1919, he married Francine Clary Clark (1876-1960), an actress at the Comédie Française. Working through Knoedler and Durand-Ruel, the Clarks collected many artworks and specialized in Degas, Renoir, Sargent, and Winslow Homer (1836-1910). They left Paris in 1921 and moved to the United States, first to Cooperstown, New York, then to Upper-ville, Virginia, where the younger Mellons would live. Worried about war and the security of their collections they settled in Williamstown, Massachusetts in 1945. Clark's father and grandfather had been trustees of Williams College. In Williamstown they founded the Sterling and Francine Clark Institute in 1950, which has been open to the public since 1955. Private folk, the Clarks had rarely shown their works to anyone before the opening of their Institute. It is even reported that Sterling wrote to a friend, saying "Do not mention the open-

ing of the Institute to anyone, as you will treat me to a cloud of newspapermen to the detriment of my health.”<sup>32</sup>

Consider next the Group 2 Museums, generally in the order in which the bequests were made.<sup>33</sup> Afterwards, we will consider other bequests to the French state.

### Collectors and Group 2 Museums

*The National Gallery London.* Two collectors stand out in their contributions to the National Gallery London—Hugh Lane and Samuel Courtauld. Hugh Lane (1875-1915) was a painting restorer and then successful London art dealer. In 1908 he established the Municipal Gallery of Modern Art in Dublin, Ireland (now known as the Hugh Lane Gallery), which claims to be the first such public gallery in the world dedicated to contemporary art.<sup>34</sup> He had a small, but remarkably important collection of seven works by the major Impressionists—among them Manet’s *Musique aux Tuileries* (1862) and *Portrait d’Eva Gonzalès* (1870), Degas’ *Sur la plage* or *Bain de mer. Petite fille peignée par sa bonne* (1868-1877), Morisot’s *Été* (Summer’s Day, 1879), and Renoir’s *Parapluies* (Umbrellas, 1881-1886). For these he used Theodore Duret as a go-between with Durand-Ruel. Lane was passionate about art for Dublin, but died on board the *Lusitania* when it was sunk by a German U-boat. By the official reading of his will, the Lane bequest was given to the National Gallery London, but in an unwitnessed codicil Lane stated that the paintings should go to the new gallery in Dublin. Initially, the amendment was not honored and the paintings went to London. Years of public furor and negotiation followed. Finally, an agreement was reached in 1959 and the works are now ostensibly shared between the two museums. Since 1979 Manet’s *Portrait d’Eva Gonzalès*, Morisot’s *Été*, and Renoir’s *Parapluies* have been in Dublin, but the Degas and the other Manet have stayed in London.

Samuel Courtauld (1876-1947) was an English industrialist who eventually succeeded to his grandfather’s silk business. He is important in this discussion for two reasons. First, impressed by Hugh Lane’s collection, he established a fund of £50,000 for the National Gallery and the Tate Museum to purchase modern works, and oversaw that fund. Between 1923 and 1926, the Courtauld Fund purchases included four Van Goghs, three Degas, two Cézannes, and single images by Bonnard, Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, Seurat, and Sisley. In particular, these included Degas’ *Mlle La La au Cirque Fernando* (Miss La La at the Cirque Fernando, 1879), one of Manet’s *La serveuse de Bocks* (The waitress, 1879), Monet’s *La plage à Trouville* (Beach at Trouville, 1870), and Pissarro’s *Boulevard Montmartre, effet de nuit* (Boulevard de Montmartre at night, 1897). Second, like several other important collectors, he established his own museum, in what is now the Courtauld Institute. After the death of his wife in 1931 he gave his paintings, the lease to his house, and an endowment to the University of London.<sup>35</sup> In his private collection were several important works, including Cézanne’s *La Montagne Sainte-Victoire* (La Montagne Sainte-Victoire, 1887), Manet’s *Le bar aux Folies-Bergère* (1881-1882), and Renoir’s *La loge* (The theatre box, 1874).

*The Art Institute of Chicago.* Bertha Honoré Palmer (1849-1908) loved art. She was indulged by her husband Potter Palmer (1826-1902), a Chicago financier and real estate tycoon who built a ball field for the Chicago White Stockings (later the Cubs). The Palmers visited Paris in 1889, met Mary Cassatt, and were overwhelmed by Impressionism. In 1891 alone Bertha bought at least two dozen Monets. The Palmer's extensive collection was given to the Art Institute of Chicago in 1922. Their most important images in this context are Manet's *Courses à Longchamps* (Races at Longchamps, 1872) and Monet's *Au bords de l'eau, Bennecourt* (On the banks of the Seine, Bennecourt, 1968).<sup>36</sup>

*The Metropolitan Museum of Art.* By far the most important benefactors for the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and to other museums, were the Havemeyers. Harry Havemeyer (1847-1907) made his money in sugar, and was interested in Barbizon painters, realists (particularly Corot and Courbet), Spanish painters (El Greco and Goya), and Old Masters. His wife Louisine Elder Havemeyer (1855-1929) was active in the women's suffrage movement, and intensely interested in Impressionism. From their marriage in 1883 to Harry's death in 1907, they made decisions about art acquisitions together. They seemed to have little interest in social standing, and unlike other rich American collectors at the time—Barnes, the Clarks, William Corcoran (1798-1888), William Walters (1819-1894), Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919), and Duncan Phillips (1886-1966)—they had no wish to establish a museum bearing their names. Instead, they simply loved art, loved collecting, and even loaned money to Volard in 1901 to help him stay afloat.<sup>37</sup> As Tinterow suggested:

The true depth and range of the Havemeyer collection are still not well known. . . . Few know that the Metropolitan received only the glorious tip of the Havemeyer iceberg, and that some of the finest French pictures at the National Gallery Art in Washington, D.C., The Brooklyn Museum, The Denver Art Museum, the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, and Kansas City's Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art were formerly owned by the Havemeyers. Few know that the pictures Electra Havemeyer Webb put on display in the Shelburne Museum, which she founded in Shelburne, Vermont, were a legacy inherited from her parents.<sup>38</sup>

While a student in Paris, Louisine Elder met Mary Cassatt—who remained a life-long friend—and through her influence Louisine began to purchase Degas, Monet, and Pissarro images in 1877. Later and from the beginning of their marriage, the Havemeyers collected voraciously. At Harry's death, Louisine owned 45 Courbets, 25 Manets, 30 Monets. "Only" 20, 10, and 8 of these, respectively, went to the Met. Soon she was forced to sell some paintings. She sold a few Cézannes back to Durand-Ruel in 1909 who turned them around quickly at a handsome profit, selling them to Ivan Morozov. This colored her future dealings with Durand-Ruel. But Louisine continued to collect, particularly Degas images. She eventually owned 64 Degas (35 of which went to the Met), 13 Cézannes (4 going to the Met), 6 Pissarros (2), 3 Renoirs (2), and 2 Sisleys (0). Not surprisingly, she also owned many Cassatts (17, only 3 of which went to the Met). For Louisine art and politics were intermixed. In 1912 and 1915 at



Figure 6.3: Two images by Edgar Degas: *La leçon de danse* (The dance lesson, 1879, Metropolitan) and *Danseuses à la barre* (Dancers practicing at the bar, 1876-77, Metropolitan). The top image was owned by Caillebotte, rejected by the French state, and purchased by the Havemeyers from Durand-Ruel.



the Knoedler Gallery in New York she organized exhibitions benefiting the National Women's Party and the cause of suffrage.<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, of all of the collection's admirers, the crusty Albert Barnes stands out, saying:

Havemeyer's is the best and wisest collection in America. . . . One could study art and its relation to life to better advantage in the Havemeyer collection than in any single gallery in America.<sup>40</sup>

Two Havemeyer Degas images are of particular interest here. Both are in the Metropolitan, and are shown in Figure 6.3. In the top panel is *La leçon de danse* (The dance lesson, 1879) and in the bottom panel *Danseuses à la barre* (Dancers practicing at the bar, 1876-77). Caillebotte owned the former and the latter set the record for the world's most expensive modern painting. It was sold at auction in 1912 for nearly \$100,000, and its price was not eclipsed until 1958, when Paul Mellon purchased Cézanne's *Le garçon au gilet rouge* (Boy in the red waistcoat, 1888-90, National Gallery Washington). With the purchase of this Degas, however, Cassatt asked Louisine "What I should like to know is, who bid against you?"<sup>41</sup>

For our purposes, however, the most important images once held by the Havemeyer's include five Manet's—*Victorine Meurend en costume d'Espada* (1862, Metropolitan), *En bateau* (Boating, 1874, Metropolitan), *Le chemin de fer* (1872-73, National Gallery Washington), *Le bal de l'opéra* (1873, National Gallery Washington), and *Le déjeuner dans l'atelier* (1868, Neue Pinakothek Munich). Two others that will prove important are Monet's, *La Grenouillère* (1869, Metropolitan) and Degas' *Mme Valpinçon avec chrysanthèmes* (Woman seated beside a vase of flowers, 1865, Metropolitan).

*The Philadelphia Museum of Art.* John G. Johnson (1841-1917) was a prominent lawyer who worked with both Albert Barnes and the Havemeyers. He had a stunning collection of Impressionist, and at least 1000 other, art works. He died in 1917 without an heir and left his house and paintings to "the people of city of Philadelphia," with the idea that the house would become a private museum. In 1933, and with a powerful lobby of politicians behind him, the head of the Pennsylvania Museum of Art (later the Philadelphia Museum of Art), Fiske Kimball, brought a successful suit before Orphans' Court, took the art to the museum, and had Johnson's house destroyed. Johnson's collections included Manet's *Combat du Kearsarge et de l'Alabama* (Battle of the Kearsarge and the Alabama, 1864) and Pissarro's *L'Île Lacroix, Rouen, effet de brouillard* (Mist at Ile Lacroix, 1888).<sup>42</sup>

Carroll S. Tyson, Jr. (1877-1956) was an art enthusiast and bird watcher, writing an important early text on the birds of Mount Desert Island, Maine (Acadia National Park). In 1953, he and his wife gave the Philadelphia Museum of Art twenty-two paintings, mostly Impressionist. These include a Renoir, *Les grandes baigneuses* (The great bathers, 1887); and two Manets, *Le départ du bateau de Folkestone* (1869, once bought by Tschudi) and *Le bon bock* (1873). Tyson was also a painter and two of his own paintings are in the museum.<sup>43</sup>

*The National Gallery Washington.* Members of the Mellon family—Andrew Mellon (1855-1937), his son Paul Mellon (1907-1999), and his daughter

Ailsa Mellon Bruce (1901-1969)—were the most important benefactors to the National Gallery Washington. Andrew Mellon made his money in banking. He was a staunch Republican and served as Secretary of the Treasury from 1921 to 1930 under Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. He was then made ambassador to Great Britain from 1930-1932. Mellon began collecting in Pittsburgh, but became more ambitious after coming to Washington. His most spectacular purchases occurred when he was in England. Through the Duveen brothers, he bought nearly two dozen paintings from Stalin and the State Hermitage in St. Petersburg, including works by Botticelli, van Eyck, Raphael, Rembrandt, and Titian. In 1932 Roosevelt was elected and Mellon fell under a shroud of tax investigations. At this time Mellon offered his collection to what would become the National Gallery Washington, erected with the money he also provided.<sup>44</sup>

Although the father did not collect Impressionist works, his children did and with a vengeance. Paul Mellon gave over 900 works to the Gallery, and a substantial number were Impressionist paintings. Of most interest here is Manet's *La prune* (Plum brandy, 1877). Ailsa Mellon Bruce, an avid Impressionist collector with a fondness for small format paintings, also gave her works to the National Gallery. Those of interest here are Renoir's *Le pont neuf* (1872), Morisot's *Vue du petit port de Lorient* (Harbor at Lorient with the artist's sister Edma, 1869), and Pissarro's *Verger en fleurs, Louveciennes* (1872), see at the top of Figure 6.3. But it was also Mellon Bruce who bought *Portrait of Ginevra de Benci* (1474) from the Prince of Liechtenstein in 1967 for the National Gallery. It remains the only Leonardo in the western hemisphere.<sup>45</sup>

Chester Dale (1883-1962) was, among many other things, a blustery Wall Street bondsman deep into railroads. He was a ruthless procurer of art, occasionally buying paintings from the houses of hosts in which he was a dinner guest. And he was an equally ruthless lender of art. Various of his works were on loan to the Art Institute of Chicago and the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and their directors thought the loans were permanent. Dale pulled his art from their walls and lent them to the National Gallery. But again the loans seemed temporary, and he threatened to withdraw them several times. He often bought from the Galerie Georges Petit and, once having been duped in a purchase, he bought stock in the gallery and served on its board so that it couldn't happen again. Seeking a purchase, he rarely accepted no for an answer. Telling a story about a dealer reserving a piece for another buyer, Dale reported "He said this was a very important client, Dr. Albert Barnes, to which I replied so am I." Of his Impressionist collection those most important here are Cassatt's *La loge* (Two young ladies in a theatre box, 1882), Manet's *Le vieux musicien* (Old musician, 1862), Morisot's *Dans la salle à manger* (In the dining room, 1886), and Renoir's *Diane chasseresse* (Diana, 1867).<sup>46</sup>

#### **Other Bequests to the French State, now in the Orsay (Group 1)**

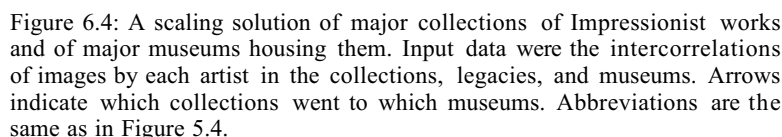
Caillebotte aside, the most important of Impressionist collectors to contribute to the French national collections were Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, Isaac de

Camondo, Antonin Personnaz, and Paul Gachet *fils*. Etienne Moreau-Nélaton (1859-1927) was a painter, engraver, ceramicist, art historian, and collector. Through his father, Adolphe Moreau *fils* and his grandfather, Adolphe Moreau *père*, the family amassed an extensive collection of paintings. Etienne then added to them. The family's largess included 13 Delacroix and 40 Corot paintings and a very large number of drawings, watercolors, engravings (75 Delacroix, 51 Corots, 23 Millets, 31 Jongkinds, and 21 Manets). But Etienne fancied Impressionist works, particularly those of Manet, Monet, Pissarro, and Sisley. He gave most of these to the French state in 1906 with the main bequest. Then in 1907 he gave a Sisley, and in 1927 another Manet and Monet. The 1906 bequest provided the French state with the second important legacy containing works by the Impressionists. By far the best known is Manet's *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* purchased through Durand-Ruel in 1900. Unfortunately, the bequest did not go to the Luxembourg, but to the Ministry of Fine Arts, next to the Louvre on the rue du Rivoli.<sup>47</sup>

Comte Isaac de Camondo (1851-1911) amassed what many have felt to be the most important collection given to the French state. A quiet member of an important banking family, his much better known uncle, Nissim de Camondo (who immigrated to France from Turkey), and his politician cousin, Moïse de Camondo (1860-1935), oversaw the family's collection of eighteenth-century French works. Moïse founded the Musée Nissim de Camondo in Paris, in the family home featuring these works. Isaac plunged into collecting Impressionist works in 1893 and 1894, acquiring 20 works by all the major Impressionists except Cézanne. He stopped collecting for almost four years, then collected works of all the major Impressionists (including Cézanne) at a more modest pace from 1899 to 1910. He acquired five images originally owned by Faure, two by Chocquet, and one by Hoschedé. By his will and its endowment, his bequest went straight to the Louvre in 1911 and was to be kept together at the Louvre for 50 years after his death.<sup>48</sup> His paintings were moved to the Jeu de Paume in 1947, but the Jeu de Paume was declared an outpost of the Louvre, four hundred meters down the Rue du Rivoli, and not a separate museum. Camondo's was the largest of all Impressionist bequests to the French state, as shown in Appendix 6.2. With Caillebotte's, Camondo's was the only legacy to have artworks from all seven major Impressionist painters. And like Caillebotte, Camondo owned so many important Impressionist works that his collection will be considered in more detail in Chapters 7 and 8.

Antonin Personnaz (1854-1936) was a photographer and early pioneer of the autochrome process (a form of color photography). He photographed sparkling landscapes that many felt mimicked the style found in Monets. He served as secretary general of the *Société Française de Photographie* between 1913 and 1920.<sup>49</sup> The Impressionist paintings owned by Personnaz went to the Louvre, but he also gave paintings to the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, in southwest of France. For my purposes the most important painting in his collection was one of Monet's series of the *Pont d'Argenteuil* (1874).

Marguerite Gachet (1969-1949) and Paul Gachet *fils* (1873-1962), daughter and son of Paul Gachet *père*, kept the elder Gachet's collection for forty years after his death in 1909. Paul Gachet *fils* was a reclusive scholar and a Van Gogh



## Bequests and How They Shaped Museums

Clearly, these major bequests had substantial impact on the museums that received them. How might one measure this in comparison to Impressionism as a whole? One way is to look at the distribution of images by the seven major Impressionists in the museums today and at the distributions of the bequests that entered them. If all of these distributions are intercorrelated one can develop a map of the museums with their benefactors superimposed. And through multidimensional scaling I computed a two-dimensional plot shown in Figure

6.4.<sup>51</sup> It is a bit of a noisy display, but one must also remember that collections and bequests are often part of a messy business.

The museums of interest are shown as large dots, the benefactors are smaller dots, and arrows between them denote the bequests. Lighter colored names of particular artists indicate regions of the plot that represent strong holdings of that particular painter. Thus, Gachet held many Cézannes, the Havemeyers and the Courtauld Fund had generally more Degas than others, the Personnaz bequest was strong in Pissarro, and the Mellon, Palmer, and Shchoukin collections were strongest in Monets. In this context the museums of interest are the Musée d'Orsay, the National Galleries of London and Washington, the Metropolitan, the Art Institute, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and the combined holdings of the State Hermitage and the State Pushkin Museums.

Notice that the five legacies to the French state and now in the Orsay—Caillebotte, Moreau-Nélaton, Camondo, Personnaz, and Gachet—are spread around the plot. This represents the diversity of the collections with respect to all painters. Notice too that the Camondo bequest is closest in profile to the current relative holdings of the seven major Impressionists in the museum. Nearby the Orsay is the Havemeyer collection. It and its subsequent bequest to the Metropolitan are only a short range away from the New York museum. This means that the bequest was so large that it strongly skewed the relative holdings (even today) of the Met, which has many Degas and Monets. The Lane bequest and the Courtauld Fund purchases, though both relatively small, are nicely balanced. The Courtauld purchases are stronger in Cézanne and Degas, and the Lane bequest stronger in Manets and Monets. For comparison Courtauld's own collection is shown in the upper left of the plot, which is now in the Courtauld Gallery. In addition, the Morozov and Shchoukin collections balanced the holdings of the two Russian museums, and finally the Mellon family and Dale bequests contribute to the balance of the holdings at the National Gallery Washington.

### Summary

From the 1870s through the first half of the twentieth century many dealers and collectors trafficked in Impressionist works. From the time of the Caillebotte bequest in 1894 to the Mellon family bequests of the 1960s and 1970s, the largess of individual collectors was gradually turned over to museums, or museums were opened around the private collections. Almost by definition, individual collections have idiosyncrasies, but when many go to larger museums, these tend to balance each other out, giving the host institution a reasonably representative sample of Impressionist works. As Rewald noted:

There is, of course, a basic difference between a museum collection and one that is gathered by an individual. Whereas a museum should try to achieve a general representation of every trend and every artist of consequence, the private collector can more freely indulge his preferences.<sup>52</sup>

This chapter also gave us the opportunity to consider many images that will recur in discussions in Chapters 7 and 8. Indeed, of the twenty-five most fre-

quently occurring Impressionist images, which are considered in the next chapter, seventeen (or 68%) were owned by collectors discussed above. Of the 71 most frequent images, 47 (or 66%) were owned by them. And of the 138 most frequent images, 86 (or 62%) were discussed in this context. Remember that there are more than 11,600 Impressionist images, but just thirty-one collectors controlled a huge part of the Impressionist canon. However striking this may appear, we will see in Chapter 8 that the real hegemony in the canon stems from an even smaller subgroup.

### Notes

Epigraph: Rewald, in Walker (1966), p. 8.

1. For artists and livelihoods, see White and White (1995). And with respect to dealers I can't hope to offer a more thorough analysis of the individual dealers and collectors than Distel (1990). What Distel did not offer, however, is a detailed quantitative analysis of trends across dealers and collectors, nor an analysis of non-French collectors.

2. Much of this information comes from Distel (1990).

3. A précis of the material in this chapter appeared in Cutting (2006).

4. The count information comes from the *catalogues raisonnés*. Some of the catalogs, however, are less complete than others. Pissarro's, for example, generally lists only then-current owners and pays little attention to the dealers. The data in Appendix 6.1 for Pissarro, then, is determined by who Venturi and Pissarro (1939) secured their photograph from, since the most sophisticated of dealers always photographed whatever came through their doors. For the list of reviewers for second Impressionist exhibition, see Pollock (1996), p. 117. The Durand-Ruel quotation appears in Distel (1990), p. 22. On Durand-Ruel's sending his paintings to London, see Hemmings (1971), p. 198.

5. See the Bernheim-Jeune website: <http://www.bernheim-jeune.com/history.html>.

6. See the Wildenstein website: <http://www.wildenstein.com/about/history.html>.

7. See <http://www.artcult.com/nazi3.htm>. After many years of trying, the Rosenberg family successfully recovered a Matisse, *Odalisque* (*The Art Newspaper*, Issue 108, November 2000, p. 3) from the collection of the Seattle Art Museum in 1997.

8. As seen in Appendix 6.1, Knoedler and Company sold about 400 Impressionist images, many of them Cézannes, Monets, and Renoirs. In addition, Paul Cassirer was a member of the prominent Jewish family that included his cousin, the philosopher Ernst Cassirer. Paul worked with Hugo von Tschudi, then director of the Nationalgalerie in Berlin (Saltzman, 1998).

9. Stress = .20, and the variance accounted for in the plot = 88%.

10. Stress = .13, and the variance accounted for in the plot = 97%.

11. By far the largest collection of Bazille's work is the Musée Fabre, Montpellier, which has ten of his paintings. Montpellier is where Bazille grew up. The Bazille family gave the museum two in 1898, and five in 1918. Three others were given in 1949, 1956, and 1985. Durand-Ruel exhibited many paintings by Morisot as well, but seems only to have taken her works on consignment. As Higonnet (1992, p. 26) put it: "Durand-Ruel might have judged Morisot's work unsellable; she could have disdained his commercial dealings. In either case her work did not suit his enterprise."

12. See Distel (1990).

13. This is the painting, after one of Van Gogh's *Portrait de Docteur Gachet*, that fetched the third highest price for any painting (through late 2004). Both were eclipsed in June 2004 by Picasso's *Boy with a pipe* (1905).

14. And his grandson, Denis Rouart, led the assembling of the second Manet *catalogue raisonné* (Rouart and Wildenstein, 1975).

15. See Saltzman (1998).

16. See Bazin (1958), Berhaut (1994), Distel (1990, 1994), Nord (2000), Marrinan (2002), Varnedoe (1987), and Wittmer (1991) for Caillebotte histories. Marrinan (2002, pp 33-34) suggests that Caillebotte was not really wealthy until late 1878 when his mother died. For the Monet apartment rental see Distel (1994), p. 341.

17. See Marrinan (2002) and Fried (2002) for detailed analyses of this painting.

18. Caillebotte's last acquisition was in 1892, two years before his death and generally at least six years after he stopped collecting. Renoir gave him one of the versions of *Jeunes filles au piano* (Young girls at the piano, 1892) and inscribed it *à mon ami, Gustave Caillebotte*. The French state had chosen another version (now in the Orsay), and Renoir seems to have felt that it was not the finest of the set (Wadley, 1987). Caillebotte's second to last acquisition was Renoir's *Le Château des Brouillards* (The chateau of the mists, ~1890), an image of the Renoir family home near Montmartre, now possibly lost.

19. Trained as an engineer, Caillebotte also designed boats (see Charles, 1994), and his own gardens easily rivaled Monet's at Giverny (see Wittmer, 1991).

20. Distel (1990), p. 245.

21. On Caillebotte's death, see Wittmer (1990, p. 292). Caillebotte was buried in Section 70 of the Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris. The quotation is from Mead (1974, unpaginated). See also Rewald (1955, p. 422). Much has been made of this quote and it takes many different forms. Shikes and Harper (1980), for example, cited it as including Manet rather than Monet. On space in the Luxembourg see Varnedoe (1987) for an opposing view.

22. The painting deaccessioned from the Louvre was *Une rue à Louveciennes* (A Louveciennes street, ~1876). It was transferred to the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nice, formerly the Musée Masséna. With respect to the rejected Caillebotte images, apparently an exhibition of the 29 rejected images from the Caillebotte collection was held at Durand-Ruel's in 1908. Léonce Bénédite, still curator of the Luxembourg and the individual who bartered the deal of splitting the original bequest, refused consideration of the remainder (Bazin, 1958, p. 48). At this time Bénédite (also author of one of the 95 books listed in Appendix 4.2) would have known of the coming of the Camondo bequest, and the Moreau-Nélaton was already two years prior.

23. For Cézannes in museums, see Saltzman (1998), p.101. For Tschudi, see Borgmeyer (1913), p. 167 and news coverage of the Tschudi exhibit "A Pioneer's fight for modern art: Honoring the man who brought French Impressionism to Berlin and Munich." [http://www.munichfound.de/new.cfm?news\\_ID=504](http://www.munichfound.de/new.cfm?news_ID=504).

24. See <http://www.thecityreview.com/matpic.html+Auguste+Pellerin&hl=en&ie=UTF-8>, a review of the Matisse/Picasso exhibit at the Tate, Grand Palais, and MoMA/Queens, in 2002/2003 and see <http://www.tamu.edu/mocl/picasso/archives/opparch97105.html+Auguste+Pellerin&hl=en&ie=UTF-8> for information on Pellerin.

25. <http://www.schulsonautographs.com/artists.htm>.

26. Saltzman (1998), p. 74. See also Antonova et al (2002). In 2004 the Shchukin family finally made peace with the Russian Government and gave his last four works to the State Pushkin (*The Art Newspaper*, November 2004, *XIV*, No. 152, pp. 1 & 6).

27. Only Degas' *Place de la Concorde* (1975) did not come from them; instead it was stolen by the Russians from the German government, who had seized it from a German Jewish collector in World War II.

28. Orphan's Court has dealt with both the Barnes and with the Johnson collection, discussed below, because the paintings were regarded as "orphans," without living heir. See Anderson (2003) and Wattenmaker (1993).

29. <http://www.kultur-schweiz.admin.ch/sor>.

30. For Buehrle information see <http://www.buehrle.ch/cat/index.asp>. For Nazi looted art see Earnest "Tyger" Latham, "Conducting Research at the National Archives into Art Looting, Recovery, and Restitution" [US National Archives and Records Administration. [http://www.archives.gov/research\\_room/holocaust\\_era\\_assets/symposium\\_papers/conducting\\_research\\_art\\_looting.html](http://www.archives.gov/research_room/holocaust_era_assets/symposium_papers/conducting_research_art_looting.html).] Buehrle supplied the Wehrmacht with ammunitions, and bought quantities of stolen works of art. He also obtained a Van Gogh painting stolen from Myriam de Rothschild, a Degas stolen from Alphonse Kann and several paintings pillaged from the Lévy de Benzion family.

31. <http://www.ordrupgaard.dk/eng/samleren/sites/main.html>

32. See Kern et al (1996), and for the quotation see, p. 10.

33. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is excluded from consideration here since its many fine Impressionist images under consideration here were either purchased through museums funds, or given singly by patrons.

34. <http://www.hughlane.ie/about/hugh.shtml>.

35. See Murdock (1998).

36. For the Palmers see [http://www.artic.edu/artaccess/AA\\_Impressionist/pages/IMP\\_Palmer.html](http://www.artic.edu/artaccess/AA_Impressionist/pages/IMP_Palmer.html), and [http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/chicago/peopleevents/p\\_bpalmer.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/chicago/peopleevents/p_bpalmer.html)

37. For an overview of the Havemeyers see Frelinghuysen et al (1993). The loan to Vollard was reported by Saltzman (1998), p. 74.

38. Tinterow, in Frelinghuysen et al (1993), pp. 3-4.

39. Since she knew Cassatt and some of the other Impressionists, Louisine Havemeyer was technically a first-generation collector, but it is more convenient to consider her along with the second generation. For Louisine Havemeyer and suffrage, see Pollock (1998), p. 207.

40. Barnes, A. (April 1915) "How to judge a painting" *Arts and Decoration*, 5, p. 246. Cited in Frelinghuysen, et al (1993), p.52.

41. As executor of the will, Renoir was given the opportunity to pick one of Caillebotte's paintings for himself. He chose Degas' *Leçon de danse*, but then deposited it with Durand-Ruel. Renoir then sold it to Durand-Ruel, who then sold it within weeks to the Havemeyers (Wittmer, 1990, pp. 294, 298-299). For Mellon's purchase see Saltzman (1998), p. 241. There are also three other versions of Cézanne's *Le garçon au gilet rouge* (Boy in the red waistcoat, 1888-90), one at the Barnes Foundation, one at the Sammlung E. G. Buehrle, and another in a private collection. The Buehrle image is most commonly reproduced (see Appendix 8.1). For Cassatt's quote, see Saltzman (1998), p. 272. Also, Bazin (1958, p. 37) reported that the cost was so high because "the result was a mistake; an American collector [Louisine Havemeyer] is said to have selected two agents who outbid each other at the expense of the purchaser!"

42. Anderson (2003), pp. 44-45.

43. See d'Harnoncourt (1995).

44. Kopper et al (1991), pp. 85-127.

45. Kopper et al (1991), pp. 251-263. See also Mellon and Baskett (1992). As we will see in Chapter 11 Paul Mellon also gave some images to the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

46. Kopper et al (1991), pp. 237-249.



47. Bazin (1958, p. 53) and Grand Palais (1991). The Moreau-Nélaton bequest was the last of the scattered Impressionist legacies to make it to the Louvre, not moving there until 1934.

48. For an overview of the Camondo family, see Assouline (1997). Camondo's bequest also included images by Boudin, Delacroix, Jongkind, Puvis de Chavannes, and Toulouse-Lautrec (see Migeon et al, 1914). The Louvre, in principle, did not allow hanging the works of living painters. Renoir lived until 1919 and Monet until 1926. The remainder of the Caillebotte request remained at the Luxembourg in partial fulfillment of his will, specifying that the works be hung together. Nonetheless, the Camondo legacy included works by Degas, Renoir, and Monet that were hung in the Louvre during the lifetime of the artists (Bazin, 1958).

49. <http://www.fineshots.com/artistes/fiche.asp?ID=APEAN>.

50. <http://www.artnet.com/magazine/features/robinson/robinson5-17-99.asp>.

51. Stress = 0.21, and the variance accounted for in the plot = 88%.

52. Rewald in Walker (1966), p.7.

## 7: The Core Canon

History has endowed certain paintings with the signal status of inaugurating a new chapter in art. There is a before and an after. This is the case for Picasso's *Les demoiselles d'Avignon* in the 20th century; and in the second half of the 19th, rightly or wrongly, the same role was fulfilled by *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe*.

Françoise Cachin, *Manet: The Influence of the Modern*

Curators, academics, and publishers don't create a canon by themselves. Nevertheless, they do play an important role in both its creation and in particularly its maintenance. I have yet to develop an account of that role, although that will come over the course of the next four chapters. Nonetheless, this group is certainly the purveyor and conveyor of something that is more or less ingested by a larger public. In keeping with the approach I have used throughout previous chapters, I have sampled library books for the images they offer the reader.

### Two Samples of Images

Here and in the next chapters I have sampled images in two ways. For the first sample I recorded all images by the 13 major and minor Impressionist artists in 95 books on Impressionism and larger themes. These are the same tomes I used in Chapter 4, listed in Appendix 4.2. For the second, I conducted a larger scale survey of what I called the Caillebotte sample in Chapter 6. This includes 132, images half once owned by Gustave Caillebotte. This second sample will be the focus of Chapters 10 and 11. The necessity of two samples stems from the fact that it would be completely impractical, if not impossible, to count all Impressionist images in all books. That universe is simply too large. Instead, then, I used two samples to crosscut the conceptual space of these images. This idea is suggested in Figure 7.1. That is, for the first sample I counted and tallied *all* the images by the thirteen Impressionists in the 95 books. Criteria

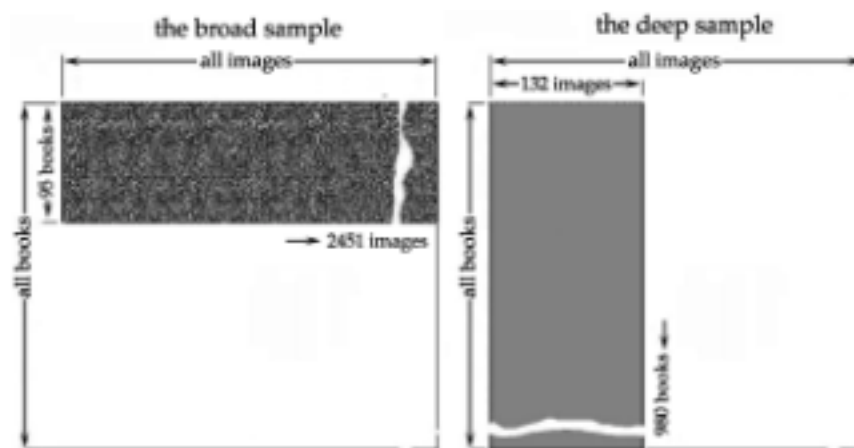


Figure 7.1: The space of all published Impressionist images and two samples cutting through it. In the broad sample, discussed in this chapter and Chapters 8 and 9, I searched for all images in 95 books on Impressionism, those given in Appendix 4.2. In the deep sample, discussed in Chapters 10 and 11, I searched for 132 images in all books in the Cornell University libraries.

were twofold: Each book must present the works of at least four of the major Impressionist artists and it must present a total of at least six Impressionist images.

It happens that there were just over 7000 images, and just under 2500 different ones, in these 95 books. Of course, they occurred at vastly different frequencies, not just at the mean of about 2.8 each. The most frequent image occurred 53 times. Not surprisingly it was Manet's *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1863), originally titled *Le bain* (The bath). It is followed at a hair's breadth—or better, a book's width—by his *Olympia* (1863) with 52 occurrences. Both images are stylistically quite different from most Impressionist art and painted much earlier, but they are typically used by authors to define the beginnings of a period in which Impressionism then began to flourish, while remaining under official scorn. More on these images later. Most other images, perhaps also not surprisingly, occurred only once across the set of books. Indeed, there were about 1400 of these. That is, 57% of the total sample of images appeared only once across all of these books.

I will call this first set of images the broad sample. It restricts books and considers all images. Think of it as a sample of books 95 deep and stretching to the horizon of Impressionism in all directions. The deep sample is different. For it I searched for a fixed number of images in all books. It is as if I took a core sample of 132 images and dug deep into every library shelf for every book I could find. But more on that in Chapter 10.

### A Broad Sample through Impressionism

The purpose of the broad sample was to generate a representative cross-section of all Impressionist images. After counting them I could provide a reasonable profile of all images and then discuss the relative frequencies with which they might occur in our culture.

The thirteen major and minor French Impressionist painters produced about 11,600 oil and pastel images. In Chapter 5 I estimated that about 3700 of them are in museums. Yet, of all the images reproduced in books across the twentieth century, only a relative few appear again and again. Of the nearly 2500 images found in the 95-book sample (those in Appendix 4.2), fewer than 150 of them appeared as many as ten times each. Figure 7.2 shows the relationship of the Impressionist canon to the rest of the corpus. It is a veritable iceberg. It seems likely that the relationship between canon and corpus in all fields is like this. Over 9000 Impressionist images are simply not seen in the literature except in *catalogues raisonnés*, about 1400 are seen once, and about 950 are seen between two and nine times. Here in this book I will deal mostly with less than 140 others, only a bit more than 1% of the total, and residing in what I will call the three tiers of the Impressionist canon.

Such a diagram gives us a good idea of exactly which paintings are in the Impressionist canon, or at least a set of reasonable candidates to be considered. Those that might be called the Impressionist core canon are the topic of this chapter.<sup>1</sup> These are the 25 most reproduced images, and what I will also call the first tier of Impressionism. Twenty-five, of course, is a completely arbitrary cutoff. Nonetheless, it is a convenient one in that all of these images appeared in at least one quarter of the 95 books. In Chapter 8 I will also consider general aspects of the next 46 images, the 71 after that, and briefly even the next 225 after that—all told the 363 images most often reproduced over a century. Appendix 7.1 lists the first tier images by their relative rankings, their relative frequencies across these books, and the museum in which they appear. It also includes images in the second and third tiers, discussed in Chapter 8.

As a caveat, however, let me say that although I enjoy and am much amused by such lists, I also take them with very large grains of salt. All of us—having lived through the millennium with its lists of the most important, most popular, best, worst, and so forth—have surely grown leery of all such enterprises.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, I claim that such an endeavor has merit, if performed through objective means. Most importantly, when done thoroughly, such lists allow for the assessment of several vastly more interesting things—who sold, who owned, and who gave away these paintings and thus who had concentrated impact on the canon? Answers to such questions will come.

Only the tip of the spire of the overall compendium is considered in this chapter. Although not without problems, this short list is about as objective as any could be. It is not formed by a single opinion, or a small sample, but results from the amassed population of all opinions I could find. These are the images that a century's worth of scholarship has deemed to be important in telling the story of Impressionism.

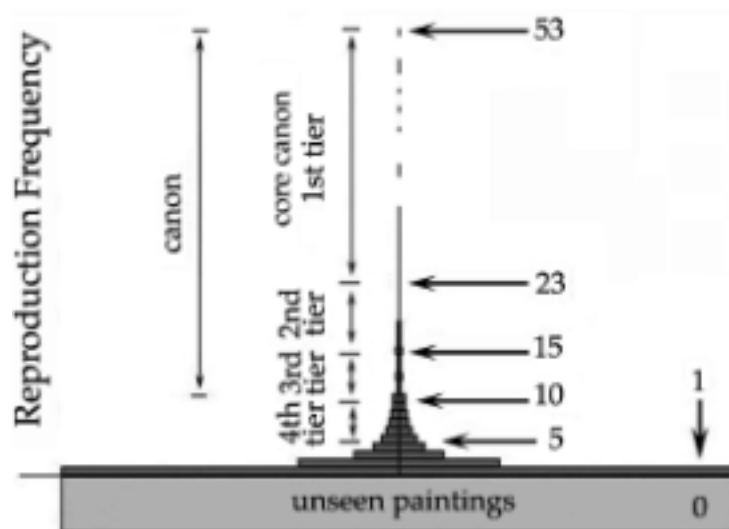


Figure 7.2: The iceberg of Impressionism. Area in the figure is proportional to the number of images. About 9100 images were not published in the 95 books in Appendix 4.2, about 1400 appeared only once, about 950 appeared between two and nine times, and only 138 appeared ten times or more. The cutoffs used here for the three tiers of the canon (at 10, 15, and 23 occurrences in the 95 books) are purely arbitrary, but variations with different cutoffs would yield the same general results. Appendix 7.1 lists paintings in the first three tiers; Appendix 8.1 those in the fourth tier.

### The Twenty-Five Most Frequently Reproduced Impressionist Images

The relative frequency and relative pairings of paintings provide insight into how authors embed the images into the fabric of their discussions. Nonetheless, an important caveat is in order. As before, one should not read too much into the absolute number of reproductions in this context. Instead, the general rank of each image is relatively important, and probably not much subject to the vagaries of sampling. Numerical discrepancies of two to four reproductions in the high ranks, and one or two towards the end of the list, are not likely to represent real differences, but reproduction rates greater than that are likely to be reliably different. In other words, the strong claim is that if a complete analysis of all books on Impressionism could be done, most of these twenty-five images would likely remain in that set and in roughly the order given in Appendix 7.1. Farther down the list of the most frequent 138, discussed in Chapter 8, such a statement could not be made.

## 1 and 2: Shock and Notoriety

As mentioned earlier, the two most frequent images are by Manet—*Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1863, Musée d'Orsay, Moreau-Nélaton bequest), rejected from the Salon of 1863 and shown at the *Salon des Refusés*,<sup>3</sup> and *Olympia* (1863, Musée d'Orsay, public subscription), shown at the official Salon of 1865. It is often said that both paintings scandalized Paris, although both are structured with striking parallels to classical paintings. Notice that these are early works; the real heyday of Impressionism was a decade later—from about 1874, the date of the first Impressionist exhibition, to about 1883, the date of Manet's death. These images are often used to introduce the politics of the official Salon, the daringness of the Impressionist painters (or at least of Manet), and the general conservativeness of governmental control over the arts.

Few acculturated Western adults would not recognize *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe*. It is an icon of Western art and is taken to mark the beginning of this new period in painting, as suggested by Françoise Cachin. It features a nude woman (Victorine Meurent, a frequent model of Manet's in the 1860s) sitting on the grass facing right, right elbow on her right knee and hand on chin, with two fully dressed men (posed by Gustave Manet, the artist's brother, and Ferdinand Leenhoff, soon to be his brother-in-law) and another woman, partly clothed, bathing in a stream behind them. Napoleon III is said to have called this painting "indecent"; and his wife, when taken to the Salon, is said to have demurely averted her eyes before it. Manet never revealed his themes, but it was soon discovered that the painting was compositionally similar to Titian's *Concert champêtre* (~1510, Louvre), and to the figures in the lower-right corner of Raphael's drawing, *Judgment of Paris*, as engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi (1510-1520).<sup>4</sup> Manet often used classical poses and themes under striking transformations.

*Olympia* is also instantly recognizable—a non-idealized nude Caucasian woman in high heel shoes reclining on a bed, with a black woman attendant and a black cat at the bed's foot. In Parisian circles the mention of a black cat in the decades after 1863 often stood for trouble, for Manet, and for Impressionism in general. The woman's outward stare at the viewer shows complete self-possession, and no hint of modesty. The painting was withheld from Manet's estate sale in 1884 by his widow. Monet, Sargent, and others organized a subscription plan to buy it from Madame Manet in 1890, they bought it in her support, and gave it to the State of France to hang in the Luxembourg. It was sent to the Louvre in 1907 on the orders of Georges Clemenceau when he was Prime Minister of France. Again, Victorine Meurent was the model and again the pose is partly classical, based on Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (1538, Uffizi).<sup>5</sup>

Consider a contingency analysis of these two Manet paintings. That is, how often did they appear together in these books? Interestingly, they appeared together in 37 of the 95 books. This means that they were much more likely to appear together (37 books), or not at all (in 25 other books), than separately (17 and 16 books, respectively).<sup>6</sup> Thus, the images are generally yoked; two-thirds of the stories told in these books about Impressionism used either both of these

images, or neither of them. Put another way, it has often been hard to show one without the other, and harder to show neither.

### 3 and 4: Leisure

The next most common images are two Renoirs—*Bal du Moulin de la Galette, Montmartre* (1876, Musée d'Orsay, Caillebotte bequest) and *Le déjeuner des canotiers* (Luncheon of the boating party, 1881, Phillips Collection). Each appeared in 45 of the 95 volumes. Both are group paintings depicting modern leisure in *guinguettes*—open air cafés outside central Paris with music and dancing. The first shows a party at a dance hall on the Butte Montmartre above central Paris, famous for its windmill (*moulin*) and its cakes (*galettes*). The second shows a luncheon under an awning on a balcony with a dozen or so men and women. They are downstream on the Seine at the Île de Chatou and in the restaurant Chez Père Fournaise. In both images, as was common among the Impressionists, Renoir's friends posed for the painting.

Renoir painted two versions of *Bal du Moulin de la Galette*. Caillebotte owned the original, probably purchasing it just after the third Impressionist exhibition in 1877 where it was shown. Some complain that the painting has become much bluer with time, owing to Renoir's particular mixtures of color. The smaller version, probably painted for the collector Victor Chocquet, was for many years on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. However, with burgeoning late-twentieth century art prices, the owners could not resist selling it. In 1990 it was sold at Christie's in New York to Ryoei Saito, a Japanese businessman, for \$78 million. The week before Saito had purchased Van Gogh's *Portrait of Dr. Gachet* for \$82.5 million (the Musée d'Orsay has the other version by Van Gogh, which was part of the Gachet legacy). Unfortunately, Saito soon went bankrupt and these two most expensive paintings ever sold through mid-2004 may now lie in a Tokyo bank vault. Saito himself apparently never hung them, but instead kept them stored and rolled up off their frames. He may have taken them out a few times for honored visitors to his house.<sup>7</sup>

*Le déjeuner des canotiers* shows the new modern life in several ways. In the upper left corner, beyond the tent, the gray shadow of a railroad bridge can be seen. These new bridges carried rail lines and allowed less-moneyed Parisian classes to escape to the countryside for leisure outings. Chatou was the place for rowing. It was just beyond Argenteuil, where the Seine was wider and sailing more popular. The Maison Fournaise rented row boats and served food, and *Le déjeuner des canotiers* is about both. Among the thirteen diners in the foreground are Aline Charigot (the future Mme Renoir) and Caillebotte, for four years a patron of Renoir since buying the larger *Bal du Moulin de la Galette*. *Le déjeuner des canotiers* was in the private collection of the Durand-Ruel family until 1923. Duncan Phillips then purchased it. Immediately after his purchase in Paris he wrote back to Washington, that he had procured "one of the greatest paintings in the world" for his newly opened museum. Indeed, the *New York Times* pronounced it "the greatest of the Renoirs acquired for America." Shortly after its appearance in Washington, Albert Barnes, of the Barnes Foundation and soon-to-be owner of 171 works by Renoir, traveled to see Phillips's acquisition.

Reportedly Barnes asked if it was the only Renoir in the collection. To this query Phillips reportedly replied “It’s the only one I need.”<sup>8</sup>

For comparison with the Manet images above, it is worth considering how often these images co-occur. They appeared together in only 6 books, they appeared separately in 39 books each, and there were only 11 books in which neither appeared.<sup>9</sup> This pattern is markedly different than that for the *Le déjeuner sur l’herbe* and *Olympia*. Whereas the two Manets cluster as a unit in telling the story of Impressionism, the Renoir paintings are essentially intersubstitutable, with only one of the two paintings appearing in 78 books (82%). Clearly, it is difficult for an author to tell the story of Impressionism without one of these images, but perhaps even more difficult to justify the presentation of both.

### 5 and 6: The Eponym and a *Salon* Reject

The next paintings are both Monets—*Impression, soleil levant* (1873, Musée Marmottan, Donop de Monchy bequest) and *Femmes au jardin* (Women in the garden, 1866, Musée d’Orsay, Monet legacy). These appeared 44 and 43 times, respectively, and probably not reliably less than the two Renoirs above. The former was given to the Marmottan only in 1957 by Georges de Bellio’s daughter. That *Impression, soleil levant* appears in so many books is not a surprise. After the first Impressionist exhibition in 1874, the critic Louis Leroy used the term *impressionisme* in a derisory way, smiting this small painting. In 1900 Monet gave an interview in which he looked back at Impressionism and claimed this to have been a foundational event.<sup>10</sup> As the story goes, the term Impressionism was embraced by Monet and others, then stuck in the public mind, and has been used ever since. Thus, any account that includes the genesis of the name *Impressionism* almost requires the presence of this image in a text.

Nevertheless, the role of Leroy as portrayed in such accounts is surely overblown. Whereas great currency is given to the idea that Leroy seized on Monet’s title and created the name Impressionism and whereas it meshes with Monet’s own account from 25 years later, at least four other critics writing before Leroy also used the term *impression* describing the exhibit and its paintings. It is most likely that the term *impression* was already fairly well known, perhaps since the mid 1860s. It seems to have been a more or less general artistic term denoting a work between a *croquis* (sketch) and a finished (finely detailed) work.<sup>11</sup> But historical truth is of no importance here; any popular version of the story necessarily includes this image.

*Femmes au jardin* is noteworthy for a different reason. It is an early Monet (only 67th in his *catalogue raisonné* of his nearly 2000 Images). It was refused by the Salon of 1867, and owned successively by Bazille and Manet. It was returned to Monet in an exchange of paintings, and then kept for most of his life. In 1921 Monet gave it to the French national collections. He probably had kept it because his first wife Camille, who died in 1879, is depicted in it three times. It is also a huge painting—over 2 m wide by 2.5 m high. Early in his career Monet tried to produce several large canvases that the Salon jury might appreciate. One of these, a considerably larger effort (perhaps six meters wide) and also called *Le déjeuner sur l’herbe*, moldered in a barn near the Fontaine-



bleau forest. Two fragments were discovered and given to the state of France much later, in 1957 and 1987, and may now be encroaching on the most reproduced images in the Impressionist canon.

*Impression, soleil levant* and *Femmes au jardin* are from quite different periods in Monet's career. They are also parts of quite different substories within Impressionism—the naming of the group and its early struggles with the Salon, respectively. Thus, it should not be surprising that their appearances are also not related. They were published together in 18 books, separately in 26 and 25 books, and both excluded from 26 books.<sup>12</sup> In other words, in telling the story of Impressionism, the use of one has not constrained the use of the other.

### 7 and 8: Enigmas of Modern Life

Tied next are two more Manets painted almost twenty years apart. With 41 reproductions each, they are *Musique aux Tuileries* (1862, National Gallery London, Lane bequest) and *Le bar aux Folies-Bergère* (1881, Courtauld Gallery). *Musique aux Tuileries* is an early Manet—indeed the earliest image in the core canon. It shows many individuals standing or sitting in chairs in the woods looking generally out of the painting. Again, many of the individuals were his friends and the authors of many of these books identify them, with Manet himself leftmost. Most individuals in the painting were members of the upper class of Parisian life.

The *Bar aux Folies-Bergères* is important for at least two reasons: It was Manet's last large work before he died of syphilis, and it is enigmatic on many levels. It depicts a barmaid looking blankly, directly out of the painting, but with a reflection to the side and behind (optically impossible but nonetheless totally convincing) showing her in a different position, leaning forward towards a male customer with a top hat. This man may be the customer looking at the painting. At least three books have appeared discussing the complexities of composition in this painting. The most recent is Bradford Collins's (1996) collection, *12 views on Manet's bar*. And as with the Monet pair above, there was no relation between the appearance of these two images. They appear together 18 times, separately 23 times each, and neither appeared in 31 books.<sup>13</sup>

### 9 and 10: Outdoors and Indoors

The next two on the list are also tied. They are Manet's *La barque de Monet* (1874, Neue Pinakothek, Tschudi purchase) and Renoir's *La loge* (1874, Courtauld Gallery, London). Both appeared in 38 books. *La barque de Monet* is often presented in larger discussions of the Impressionists working together outdoors. In this painting, Monet is on his boat seen from the side, with Camille next to him seen from the front. Monet is painting what one supposes is one of his many river scenes. In this genre of one Impressionist painting another, there are many others—Bazille's *Pierre-Auguste Renoir* (1867, Musée d'Orsay, 18 reproductions) and *Atelier de l'artiste, rue Condamine* discussed below; Degas' portraits of Mary Cassatt in his *Milliners* series and his series of Mary Cassatt at the Louvre; Manet's many portraits of Berthe Morisot (including *Le balcon*

discussed below); Renoir's *Monet peignant dans le jardin de Renoir* (Monet working in his garden [*sic*], 1875, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, 18 reproductions), his *Frédéric Bazille* (1867, Musée d'Orsay, 14), his *Alfred Sisley et Lise Tréhaut* (Sisley and his wife, 1868, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, 19);<sup>14</sup> and so forth. These images are often used to present a story of coherence among the group of Impressionists, although as noted in Chapter 4 that coherence is generally not available beyond various pairings. *La Loge* was painted in two versions. Both depict a bespangled woman in a striped dress looking out of the frame holding an opera glass (binoculars), and a man behind her looking through opera glasses at some scene above and to the side. In 1989, the smaller and less finished version of the painting sold to a private collector at Christie's in New York for \$12 million.<sup>15</sup>

### 11: The Underside of Modern Life

Degas' *L'Absinthe* (1876, Musée d'Orsay, Camondo bequest) appeared in 36 books. It was probably exhibited at the second Impressionist exhibition in 1876. Earlier paintings on the same topic, drinkers of absinthe, were painted by Manet (*Le buveur d'absinthe*, 1858, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek) and Daumier (*Fumeur et buveur d'absinthe*, Man smoking and drinking absinthe, 1856-60, Sammlung E. G. Buehrle). Discussed briefly in Chapter 4, Degas' models are the actress Ellen Andrée and painter Marcellin Desboutins, both sitting at the Café de la Nouvelle-Athènes in Montmartre. Andrée later posed for Renoir's *Le déjeuner des canotiers*. *L'Absinthe* is interesting for its asymmetric format—Andrée in the middle and Desboutins squeezed to the side—and for the diagonal lines of tables crossing through the image space. Also, the table surfaces seem to have no visible means of support. Absinthe, or wormwood, was a strong drink (~70% alcohol) of the late nineteenth century. A bitter, emerald green, toxic liqueur, it was outlawed in most European countries at the beginning of the twentieth century and in the US in 1912, although there seems to be some contemporary interest in legalizing it again. Absinthe is related to tarragon and sagebrush.

### 12 and 16: Leisure and a Framing Moment

The out-of-sequence members of this pair of paintings have the same name—*La Grenouillère*. The first is by Monet (1869, Metropolitan, New York, Havemeyer bequest) and mostly blue, and the second is by Renoir (1869, National Museum, Stockholm) and mostly reddish. They appeared in 34 and 28 books, respectively. *La Grenouillère* (roughly, “the froggery,” even “the frog pond”) was a bathing and eating place in Croissy, on the train line outside of Paris to the northwest, just beyond Chatou. Closed in 1927, it had been popular for almost a century and was on the same island as the Maison Fournaise, depicted in Renoir's *Le déjeuner des canotiers*. Featured in these *La Grenouillère* paintings is a short, low wooden pier to a round island buttressed with a wooden riverwall and with a tree at its center, and the floating restaurant next to it on the right. Monet and Renoir painted these images on the same day, side by

side, and perhaps on a day when Napoleon III and his wife paid an impromptu visit. The images are shimmering and cheerful, despite the fact that both artists were so poor they were starving. Not surprisingly in the 95 texts these paintings are often shown together—20 times, a highly reliable rate of co-occurrence. In fact, this pair occurred together at a rate greater than any other pair among the most frequent 25 images (of 300 possible pairs). And no wonder. This 1869 pair of *La Grenouillère* images is often claimed to mark the beginning of Impressionism—Monet and Renoir teaching each other about light, about water reflections, and the outdoors.<sup>16</sup>

### 13 and 14: The Wider Circle

Returning to sequence, the next two images are also tied. They are two more Manets, this time from the same period—*Emile Zola* (1868, Musée d'Orsay) and *Le balcon* (The balcony, 1869, Musée d'Orsay, Caillebotte bequest). They both appeared in 33 of the 95 books. The Zola portrait is almost always included in discussions of the wider circle of intellectuals to which many of the Impressionists belonged, and Zola was a frequenter of the weekly gatherings at the Cafés Guerbois and de la Nouvelle-Athènes. Zola had earlier written on the Parisian art scene and the Salons for the newspaper *l'Événement*. In 1867 he wrote a longer piece in the *Nineteenth Century Review* praising Manet. In gratitude Manet painted this portrait in Zola's home at his desk, with a Japanese image and a small picture of *Olympia* behind him. Much later, Mme Zola bequeathed it to the state of France and it is now in the Orsay.

*Le balcon* is also an early work. It was purchased by Caillebotte at the Manet estate sale almost 15 years after it was painted. It includes portraits of four individuals. Berthe Morisot sits prominently in the foreground. Others include Jenny Claus, who later married a friend of Manet's, and fellow painter Antoine Guillemet. They are a trio of handsomely dressed people on a balcony behind a green metal rail, framed by green shutters, and looking out in separate directions. Typical of Impressionist portraits the sitters seem neither engaged by what they gaze upon, nor completely bored. A small boy, barely visible, appears in the shadows behind them and a small dog at Morisot's feet. The painting was shown at the Salon of 1869. Morisot visited the Salon, studied the painting, and wrote to her sister, Edma: "I appear strange rather than ugly. It seems that those looking at me have murmured the words 'femme fatale'."<sup>17</sup>

### 15: Evidence of Group Cohesiveness?

This is the first image on the list by Bazille—*L'Atelier de l'artiste, rue Condamine* (Artist's studio, rue Condamine, 1869, Musée d'Orsay), appearing in 29 books. It is important in discussions of Impressionism for several reasons. First, it shows the inside of Bazille's studio, a large space in Montmartre that several other Impressionists used. In the painting many have suggested that Zola is on the steps speaking to Renoir over a handrail, Monet and Manet are around an easel, and a friend, perhaps Edmond Maître, is at the piano. Second, the people just mentioned were painted by Bazille. According to the story, however,

Manet grabbed Bazille's brushes and paints and painted in the very tall figure of Bazille next to Monet and Manet. If so, it is one of the few collaborative works in Impressionism.<sup>18</sup> As with Manet's *La barque de Monet* it is often used to illustrate as well as tell the story of Impressionists as a group.

### 17, 18, and 19: Outside Paris

The next three paintings are tied—Cézanne's *La maison du pendu* (1872-73, Musée d'Orsay, Camondo bequest), Monet's *Terrasse à Sainte-Adresse* (Garden at Sainte-Adresse, 1867, Metropolitan), and the first appearance of Sisley with his *L'Inondation à Port-Marly* (Floods at Port-Marly, 1876, Musée d'Orsay, Camondo bequest). All appeared in 27 books.

*La maison du pendu* was shown at the first Impressionist exhibition in 1874—and with Monet's *Impression, soleil levant* was lambasted by Louis Leroy—and at the World's Fair in 1889. However, the latter appearance seems to have been a ploy of Victor Chocquet, who had been requested to lend some furniture and who made the appearance of the Cézanne a condition of the loan.<sup>19</sup> Stylistically it is often said to be Cézanne's most Impressionistic work. It shows thatched-roof houses and trees in a steep and rutted terrain. Curiously, there seems to have been no man who was hanged, and thus the name is enigmatic.

*Terrasse à Sainte-Adresse* was shown at the fourth Impressionist exhibition in 1879, although painted much earlier. It is a commanding and colorful work with strong blues, greens, and reds, and depicts the port of Le Havre in the background, choppy seas, and several well-dressed people on a terrace in the foreground dealing with a stiff wind. Interestingly, this image appeared in only 4 books published before 1967—its accession date at the Metropolitan Museum of Art—but in 23 thereafter.

In 1876 Sisley painted several images in the *L'Inondation à Port-Marly* series, and Camondo owned two of them. Both were part of his legacy to France. Both show rains and the Seine having flooded the town of Marly, rising above the pavement around a building on the left with the names "A.S. Nicolas" and "LeFranc" on it. The two differ in the orientation of the building. In this one, the building is parallel to the picture plane, whereas in the other Camondo/Marly image the building is set diagonally so that it recedes toward the center of the picture. This secondary Marly image appeared 8 times in the broad sample, and a third version in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen (which is very similar to the first one) appeared twice. Yet a fourth is in the National Gallery Washington as a Paul Mellon bequest. At the end of Chapter 8 I will consider series paintings in more detail.

### 20 and 21: Paris

Degas' *Café des Ambassadeurs* (1876-77, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon) is the first pastel on this list, and it appeared in 26 books. It is most often used as an emblem of modern life, particularly modern night life. Other Degas images used this way include *Chanteuse au gant* (Singer with glove, 1878, Fogg Mu-

seum, 12 reproductions), *Chanson du chien* (Song of the dog, 1875-77, Musée d'Orsay, 9 reproductions), and *Mlle La La au cirque Fernando* (1879, National Gallery London, Courtauld Fund, 13 reproductions). Degas and Manet produced many other images of the new café concerts that were springing up around Paris. Of these Manet's *Le café concert* (1878, Walters Museum, Baltimore, 10 reproductions) is perhaps the next best known.

Monet's *La gare Saint-Lazare* (1877, Musée d'Orsay, Caillebotte bequest) is next on the list with 25 reproductions. It is perhaps Monet's most strikingly perspectival image, with the grid ceiling of the railway station receding in the distance. Trains were new to modern life, and this railway station had just opened in the few weeks before Monet painted it. Monet was fascinated by the steam as it billowed up against the high ceiling of the station. This painting was shown at the third Impressionist exhibition. It was also part of an important series of very similar images, likely Monet's first series paintings. The others are at the Fogg Museum (12 reproductions), the Art Institute of Chicago (9), and a sketch at the National Gallery London (3). Only six books reproduce more than one of them, so authors of 43 of the 95 books found it important to include one of these images. Like the Sisley *L'Inondation à Port-Marly* series, this introduces the problem of series paintings, which clearly affects the kind of image counting I have pursued here. Again, I will address this issue at the end of the next chapter.

## 22, 23, and 24: Seriousness and Frolic

Tied near the end of this core canon list are three more paintings. They are Bazille's *Réunion de famille* (Family reunion, 1867, Musée d'Orsay), and two Renoir's—*Les grandes baigneuses* (1887, Philadelphia Museum of Art) and *La balançoire* (The swing, 1876, Musée d'Orsay, Caillebotte bequest)—all appearing in 24 books each.

*Réunion de famille* was shown at the 1868 Salon and retouched in 1869. It depicts almost a dozen members of the Bazille family, sitting or standing on a tree-overhung terrace in Méric, near Montpellier in the south of France. They stare out of the picture with strange, somber faces almost as if posing for a photograph. The post-Salon changes in the image included replacing some small dogs in the foreground with some flowers, a hat, and an umbrella. Among the Impressionists, it was Bazille and Monet who first championed outdoor painting, and this painting is often included in books as an early exemplar. Later, because Monet, Pissarro, and Sisley were so poor, painting in the countryside was necessary so that they didn't need to pay high Parisian studio rents.<sup>20</sup>

*Les grandes baigneuses* shows nude women frolicking in a river, one splashing two others reclining on the bank, and with at least two more behind them. As implied by its title, it is a large painting, but it is also the most emblematic of the more than 90 images of Renoir's female bathers and nudes. It is also the latest painting in the core canon, painted almost fifteen years later than the mean of the group. Much later, Mary Cassatt wrote to a friend about Renoir and his continued fascination with nudes: "He is doing the most awful pictures of enormously fat red women with very small heads."<sup>21</sup>

*La balançoire* depicts a young woman stepping towards us onto a swing, helped by a young man whose back is to us. Several other men watch from behind. The scene is in Montmartre, just outside the Moulin de la Galette, and so the spirit of the image is a continuation of the dance party seen in the other painting. Indeed, the woman depicted here was a frequent model for Renoir and in the foreground of the *Bal du Moulin de la Galette*. Moreover, both images were shown at the third Impressionist exhibition. This image, plus that of the *Bal* and *Etude. Torse, effect de soleil* (Torso in the sunlight, 1875-76, Musée d'Orsay) were all purchased by Caillebotte and show a remarkable dappling of sunlight and shade. But not everyone was fascinated by them. G. Vassy, the art critic at *L'Evènement*, wrote that "the sunlight effects are combined in such a bizarre fashion that they look like spots of grease on the models' clothes."<sup>22</sup>

## 25: Again, the Underside

Finally, the last image on this list is another pastel by Degas—*Femmes devant la terrasse d'un café, le soir* (Women at a café, evening, 1877, Musée du Louvre, Fonds du Musée d'Orsay, Caillebotte bequest). It appeared in 23 books. This image shows several women, sitting alone among pillars of an indoor/outdoor café in the evening. It is often taken that these women are prostitutes, but it is also an image important for showing women out on their own, at night, in a modern world. The principal woman in the image is thumbing her upper front teeth, perhaps a call to a potential client. The appearances of the three Degas images—this one, *L'Absinthe*, and *Café des Ambassadeurs*—in the same book was much higher than would be expected by chance. Ordinarily one would have expected only about 2 of the 95 books to have presented them all, but 9 did.<sup>23</sup> Thus, these images are clearly not intersubstitutable, but are used together by authors to tell a broader story of modernism.

## Representation of Artists and Locations in the Core Canon

The distribution of the artists who created the twenty-five most frequently reproduced paintings is somewhat surprising. Manet has seven images, Renoir six, Monet five, and Degas three. These four artists account for most all images in the core canon. This relative representation might be expected. The relatively strong showing of Bazille with two images, and the weaker representation of Cézanne and Sisley, with one each, and Pissarro with none, do seem somewhat surprising. I will return to such distributions in Chapter 8.

Perhaps more striking, however, is the pattern of museums housing the twenty-five most frequent. Fourteen are in the Musée d'Orsay—well more than half. Next, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Courtauld Gallery have two each, and no other museum has more than one. Clearly most of the core canon of Impressionism is *in* the Musée d'Orsay and nowhere else. Equally interesting, although a bit more subtle, is that only nine of these images are outside France, only four outside France and the United States combined, and only one outside of France, the US, and the United Kingdom. Thus, after the Musée

d'Orsay, almost all the rest of the core canon of Impressionism is held in the US and the UK. Only Renoir's *La Grenouillère* (National Gallery, Stockholm) is not. And again, I will return to such distributions in Chapter 8.

### Summary

A broad selection of Impressionist books was sampled and every image in them by the seven major Impressionists was recorded and tallied. The most frequent twenty-five images—what I have called the core canon and will often refer to as its first tier—were discussed in terms of their historical context and how scholars used them to tell the story of Impressionism. There are probably no real surprises on this list, at least for seasoned veterans of the study of Impressionism. As a group, these twenty-five were dominated by images by Manet, Renoir, and Monet, and more than half are in the Musée d'Orsay. Images farther down the canonical list are considered in the next chapter, although not individually as I have done here. As an ensemble with these twenty-five, they *are* the Impressionist canon.

### Notes

Epigraph: Cachin (1995), p. 47.

1. Some may argue that this is *not* the way to assess membership in a canon, but I disagree. There would seem to be no better way than simply adding up all the images that scholars have used across the twentieth century and seeing which ones occur most often. Why would scholars show the images if they were not important?

2. One can find many such lists online. The most interesting aspect of these is that there is *some* overlap with the lists I discuss here. I readily found four such lists. The first is a list of "The Greatest Paintings of all Times" selected (and copyrighted) by Piero Scaruffi, 1998. <http://www.scaruffi.com/art/greatest.html>. The second was list of best selling art posters, such as [www.paletaworld.org](http://www.paletaworld.org). The third was a list from Martem, mostly a soft-porn site, also sells posters at [www.martem.com](http://www.martem.com). Across these three there were some striking correspondences with what I have reported here. Fourth, *The Independent* (London) ran an article by Richard Ingleby on 26 January 1997, assessing the 100 best paintings in Britain. The final list included:

"Edouard Manet: *The Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (Courtauld Collection, London). Arguably Manet's greatest work, painted in 1881, *The Bar at the Folies-Bergère* presents an enchanting visual riddle. It is the third most frequently nominated painting on our list." [Ranked 7.5 in this analysis]

"Paul Cézanne: *The Lac d'Annecy* (Courtauld). This picture, painted while Cézanne was on holiday at Taillères in 1896, was the undeniable star of last year's block-busting Cézanne exhibition. Cézanne was the fourth most frequently nominated artist on our list and this was by far his most popular picture." [Not ranked here, but appearing 6 times in the database, and in the fourth tier.]

"Paul Cézanne: *The Montagne Sainte-Victoire* (Courtauld). Possibly Cézanne's most famous and favourite subject. This version from 1887, painted from near the artist's home to the west of Aix, met with derision when first exhibited in 1895, but sold for a small fortune just 13 years later." [Ranked 77 here]

"Edgar Degas: The artist's racing and ballet pictures were nominated in equal measure: examples of both made it into the top 100. But his portrait of Diego Martelli (National Galleries of Scotland) narrowly missed inclusion" [As a group the

dancers were ranked 1st in Chapter 7 and the horse racing images ranked 4.5. The Martelli portrait was tied for rank 122 among single images here]

3. The *Salon de Refusés* was a parallel exhibition for those not accepted at the official Salon. It occurred only in 1863.

4. For the wife of Napoleon III, see Hemmings (1971), p. 166. And in Manet's time, and for a long time after, *Concert champêtre* was attributed to Giorgione. See Cachin (1996), p.51.

5. See Cachin (1996).

6. The Fisher exact probability for this contingency distribution of the Manet images (37,17, 16, 25) is  $p < .003$ . See Siegel (1956).

7. For the blueness of the Orsay's *Bal du Moulin de la Galette*, see Bazin (1958), p. 162. For discussions of the smaller version, see Distel (1990), Rewald (1946), and White (1984). For the story of Saito, see Saltzman (1998), p. 329. See also <http://nativenet.uthscsa.edu/archive/nl/91b/0215.html>. There an article from *Newsweek* (27 May 1991) is quoted: "Certainly no one was laughing last week after Japanese industrialist Ryoei Saito suggested his plans for the two most famous paintings in his vast collection: Van Gogh's 'Portrait of Dr. Gachet' and Renoir's 'Le Moulin de la Galette,' which cost him a total of \$160.6 million just last year. 'Put those paintings in my coffin, to be cremated with me,' said Saito." Saito died in 1996. See also: <http://epublishingcorp.com/articlesRaichel/Art-News/gachet.htm>. There it is written: "Fortune intervened when Mr Saito's paper manufacturing firm Daishowa Ashitaka went into decline and he was forced to surrender the paintings. Rumour has it that Saito's creditor banks became owners and recently sold the painting discreetly to Sotheby's in New York for circa \$10 million, a fraction of the \$82.5 million paid at auction in 1990 by Saito. (*The London Times*, January 31, 1998, by Robert Whymant). This figure seems unlikely when you consider the Renoir actually fared better being sold again by private treaty through Sotheby's in 1997 for a reputed sum of \$44.5 million. No official press statement has been released by Sotheby's.... The press is so captivated yet so confused by the subject that you still have headlines in newspapers as mainstream as the *Financial Times* 28th July 1999 announcing that we can all rest easy, 'Dr. Gachet' will not be destroyed. This, when Saito has been dead for over three years?" Finally, on 6 May 2004, Picasso's *Boy with a pipe* (1905) sold at Sotheby's for \$104 million, setting a new record.

8. For a discussion of *Le déjeuner des canotiers* see the web site of the Phillips Collection. <http://www.phillipscollection.org/html/collect.html>. For a discussion of the reception of its purchase as reported in *The New York Times* and by Albert Barnes, see *The Essential Washington* (2002-2003), p. 37 and p. 39. And for a discussion of *Le déjeuner des canotiers* see Rathbone et al (1996).

9. The Fisher exact probability for this contingency of Renoir images (6, 39, 39, 11) is  $p < 10^{-10}$ .

10. Thiébaud-Sisson in *Le Temps*, 27 Nov 1900.

11. See Roos (1997, pp. 208-217). Théophile Gautier used the term *impression* in this way in 1868 (Hemmings, 1971, p. 176). Finally, the force of the term *impression* also is the base idea in Brettell (2000).

12. The Fisher exact probability for this contingency of Monet images (18, 26, 25, 26) is  $p = .12$ , not a statistically reliable finding.

13. The Fisher exact probability for this contingency of Manet images (18, 23, 23, 31) is  $p = .16$ , again not statistically reliable.

14. Renoir's painting of Monet is often said to be in Renoir's garden and often in Monet's garden. In addition, Lise Tréhaut was not Sisley's wife. The earlier attribution of the painting has been overturned by subsequent research. At the time of the



painting Sisley's partner was Eugénie Lescouezec and they already had the first of their two children. To be fair, Sisley's rather dour life seems to have born little resemblance to the bon vivant image in Renoir's painting (see Shone, 1999, p. 39)

15. Distel (1990, p. 155).

16. On the restaurant La Grenouillère, see ABC news online (5 July 2002). On Renoir and Monet, see Hemmings (1971), p. 172. The Fisher exact probability for the contingency of the two *La Grenouillère* images (20, 14, 8, 43) is  $p = .0001$ , a reliable set of co-occurrences.

17. Bazin (1958), p. 116.

18. Another possible collaboration occurred between Pissarro and Cézanne in the image *Hermitage, Pontoise* (Néret, 1985). Pissarro is reputed to have painted the landscape and Cézanne the small figures.

19. Hemmings (1971), p. 246.

20. Hemmings (1971), pp. 272-273.

21. Howard (1991), p. 301.

22. See Grand Palais (1985, p.210), the catalogue of the exhibit *Renoir*. And see Appendix 4.3.

23. *L'Absinthe* appeared in 37.9% of the books; *Café des Ambassadeurs* in 27.4%; and *Femmes devant un café, le soir* in 24.2%. The independent probability of these occurring together is  $.379 \times .274 \times .242 = .025$ , or 2.39 books. By a binomial expansion test the occurrence of the images in 9 books is highly unlikely by chance,  $z = 5.5$ ,  $p < .0001$ .

## 8: The Broader Canon

*The Independent on Sunday* . . . search[ed] for the 100 best paintings in Britain. . . . We asked a mixture of artists, critics, curators, writers, historians and dealers. . . . "Oh seductive man," replied Sister Wendy Beckett from the depths of her Norfolk retreat. "I was all set for my usual polite refusal when I realised I'd actually like to do this." A common reaction, although not quite everyone mustered this sort of enthusiasm: "I think the game of favourites is a bit childish," chided the distinguished Professor Ernst Gombrich. "I was once asked in the States on TV, 'What is your favourite colour?'"

Richard Ingleby, *The Independent*, London

There is no sharp boundary between the core canon, discussed in Chapter 7, and the rest of the canon. And similarly, there is no recognizable boundary between the canon and the remaining broad corpus. In fact, given the nature of sampling across many books one would even expect that the estimates of which images are in which portions of the canon and near-canon would be somewhat subject to flux. Nonetheless, it is worth going down the list of images generated from the broad sample quite a bit further, searching for patterns.

Truncating the list at fifteen or more appearances, rather than twenty-three as done in Chapter 7, leaves 71 paintings and pastels. Notice that, numerically, the canon flattens fairly substantially between these two points—46 images appeared within this lower range of eight, whereas only 25 had appeared in the upper and much broader range. This flattening alone, I would claim, means we have moved out of the core canon (or first tier) and into a domain that is canonical, but less centrally so. I will call this region the second tier of the canon. Its images are listed in Appendix 7.1, along with those of the first and third tiers. There, each image title is presented with the year it was painted, the year of its first publication in the books searched here, its *catalogue raisonné* reference number, and the Impressionist exhibition, if any, where it was shown.

**Table 8.1: Artists Represented in the Impressionist Canon and Near Canon by the Number of Their Images in the Four Tiers.**

Artist	Canon			Extra-canonical	TOTAL
	1st tier	2nd tier	3rd tier		
Monet	5	11	18	42	76
Manet	7	9	14	27	57
Renoir	6	5	10	38	59
Degas	3	8	10	27	48
Cézanne	1	2	4	24	31
Pissarro	0	2	5	26	33
Sisley	1	1	3	16	21
Bazille	2	1	1	5	9
Morisot	0	3	2	6	11
Caillebotte	0	3	0	4	7
Cassatt	0	0	2	7	9
Guillaumin	0	0	0	2	2
Gonzalès	0	0	0	1	1

Having established the criteria for consideration of the broader canon, I then analyzed the canon as a whole in a number of ways, recapitulating the order of the fourth through sixth chapters. As a result, I will, first discuss various aspects of the artists and their works that are in the canon. This will include accounts of the representation of artists, genres, the temporal distribution of works, those works in the eight Impressionist exhibitions, and a comparison of individual versus series paintings. Second, I will focus on the the museums holding canonical works. Third, I will return briefly to the dealers of canonical works. Fourth, I will discuss collectors and the representation of the various legacies in the Musée d'Orsay and in other museums. And finally, in a first experimental study, I will assess how recognizable each of the canonical images is for a contemporary, young audience.

### The Artists and the Canon

#### Representation of Artists in the Broader Canon

Table 8.1 shows the distribution of painters across the first two tiers, as well as the third and the fourth. Again Manet and Monet continue to be well represented in the first and second tiers; Degas and Renoir slightly behind. Again these four artists account for a huge proportion of this slice through the canon—more than 75% of the most reproduced images. Going down the list Bazille, Caillebotte, Cézanne, Morisot, Pissarro, and Sisley begin to pick up

representation. Again, it is quite striking that Cézanne, Pissarro, and Sisley together account for less than 10% of the 71 most frequently appearing images.

This trend continues in much the same way if one truncates the frequency list at 10 or more appearances, leaving 138 paintings and pastels above this criterion. Below this slice through Impressionism, I claim, we have generally left the canon and entered the broader Impressionist corpus. The frequency data also become much less trustworthy and small numerical differences in frequencies yield large apparent differences in ranks. I will call this region between ranks 73 and 138 the third tier. Of the images in the first three tiers of the canon the same patterns of representation appear, but even here Gonzalès and Guillaumin have yet to appear. For completeness sake, I also consider a fourth tier, down to five appearances in these books. Images in this fourth tier are listed in Appendix 8.1. And here finally, Gonzalès and Guillaumin appear, and with some increase in the proportions of Cézanne and Pissarro.

Let me pause here to consider two particular images. Figure 8.1 shows two images by Berthe Morisot. The top is *Dans les blés* (In the wheat fields, 1875, Musée d'Orsay) and the bottom *La chasse aux papillons* (The butterfly chase, 1873, Musée d'Orsay). The lower image is in the second tier of the Impressionist canon; the upper is not. Both are in the Musée d'Orsay, but one wonders why the lower image is the more revered—or at least commonly reproduced. I will return to these images in Chapter 12, but in passing let me note that although Gombrich, in the quotation above, would likely have despised such an analysis as mine, and he would have a point. Nonetheless, there is a sense in which he too was playing his own “game of favourites” in compiling the images for all the editions of his fantastically successful *The story of art* through all its editions.<sup>1</sup>

### Genres from Core Canon to Corpus

Like most pre-twentieth century paintings, one can roughly divide Impressionist works into three standard genres—portraits, landscapes, and still lifes. To be sure, one must generalize portraits to those of individuals and of groups, and generalize landscapes to include seascapes and cityscapes, but with these adjustments most images fit comfortably within one genre or another. Table 8.2 divides the images in the three tiers of the canon into these groups, and does so for each of the seven major Impressionist artists as well. The latter data were gathered simply by going through the images in the *catalogues raisonnés* and assigning them into a genre.<sup>2</sup>

Strikingly, the Impressionist canon contains mostly portraits, and no still lifes, and that the first tier of the canon is most extreme in this division. This is undoubtedly due, in large part, to the fact that when scholars are telling the story of Impressionism, they use portrait images to knit the group together—Manet's *Le barque de Monet* (1874), Bazille's *L'Atelier de l'artiste, rue Condamine* (1869) and his *Portrait de Renoir* (1867), Renoir's *Frédéric Bazille* (1867), his *Monet peignant dans le jardin de Renoir* (1875), and his *Alfred Sisley et Lise Tréhaut* (1868). Authors also use portraits of the larger social and intellectual contacts of the Impressionists—Manet's portraits of *Emile Zola*



Figure 8.1: Two images by Berthe Morisot: *Dans les blés* (In the wheat fields, 1875, Musée d'Orsay, Personnaz bequest) and *La chasse aux papillons* (The butterfly chase, 1873, Musée d'Orsay, Moreau-Nélaton bequest).

**Table 8.2: Percentage Distribution by Genres in the Canon and Corpus, and Across the *Oeuvres* of the Seven Major Impressionists.**

	Portraits and group portraits	Landscapes, seascapes, and cityscapes	Still lives
1st tier of the canon	84	16	0
2nd tier of the canon	70	30	0
3rd tier of the canon	64	36	0
4th extracanonical tier	54	43	3
Mean of seven Impressionists	38	56	6
Cézanne	39	41	20
Degas	93	7	<1
Manet	76	11	13
Monet	5	90	5
Pissarro	15	84	1
Renoir <sup>a</sup>	71	19	9
Sisley	<1	98	1

<sup>a</sup> The Renoir data are taken from Fezzi (1972). No accurate estimates can be made about the proportion of portraits, landscapes, and still lifes Renoir actually painted. Fezzi includes probably one third or less of Renoir's *oeuvre*, and that was based on Daulte (1970), which focused only on portraits.

(1868) and *Stéphane Mallarmé* (1876, Orsay), and Degas' portraits of *Edmond Duranty* (1879, Glasgow City Art Gallery) and *Diego Martelli* (1879, National Gallery, Edinburgh).

The progression of change in genres from core canon to base corpus is interesting. Consider portraits first. From the first tier through fourth tiers the percentages drop markedly. Reciprocal increases are seen for landscapes, seascapes, and cityscapes. And still lifes remain largely unrepresented throughout.

### Temporal Distributions from the Core Canon to Corpus

In Chapter 5 I displayed the temporal distribution of images in various museums as compared to the Impressionist corpus as a whole. Here I do the same for the core canon. Shown in Figure 8.2 are the patterns of the first tier images in this data set by the years in which they were produced, compared to the distributions of the next 113 images (second and third tiers), to all images in museums, and to all images produced by the thirteen painters. These curves are normalized in size so that they can be easily compared.

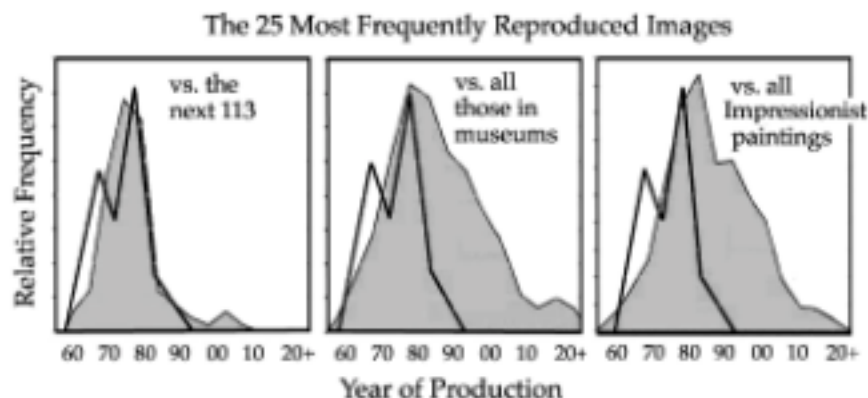


Figure 8.2: Proportional representation by dates of the 25 most reproduced images in the broad sample (the black line), compared to the next 113 (the second and third tiers combined), those in all museums, and all Impressionist paintings (the gray areas, respectively).

Several trends can be seen in the figure, and these are like those seen earlier when discussing museums. The core canon of Impressionism consists largely of early images—9 from the 1860s, 13 from the 1870s, only 3 from the 1880s, and none later. Indeed more than half of the first tier images were painted before the first Impressionist exhibition in 1874. These 25 images are slightly, but not reliably earlier than the 113 next most frequent images as shown in the left panel of Figure 8.2. However, they are reliably earlier than those images in all museums, as shown in the middle panel; and earlier than the general Impressionist corpus, shown in the right panel.<sup>3</sup> Remember, the earliness of the core canon would not necessarily have to be the case; although no data were obtained for the canonical images by the four Post-Impressionists here, their images in museums were generally later than their images in their corpora as a whole.

### The Canon and the Impressionist Exhibitions

What is the relation between the canon and the exhibitions organized by the Impressionist painters and their colleagues? Table 8.3 shows the number of images from each of the four tiers discussed here in each of the eight Impressionist exhibitions. Before discussing this relation, however, a brief caveat is in order. It is not always clear which images were shown by the various artists in these exhibits. One problem is that the names listed in the catalogues for the exhibitions are rarely the same names as listed in the *catalogues raisonnés*. Nonetheless, an excellent guideline can be found in Moffett (1986), a catalogue for a centennial exhibit of the last of the Impressionist exhibition and a celebration of all eight. Moffett and his colleagues printed facsimiles of programs of each of the exhibitions and provided some annotations about which images might have appeared.<sup>4</sup> Given some ambiguity about certain paintings, the results are none-

**Table 8.3: Images in the Three Tiers of the Canon, and the Extracanonial Tier, and Their Appearance in the Eight Impressionist Exhibitions.**

Impressionist Exhibition Year	Canon			Extra- canonical 4th tier	TOTAL	Number of Major Impressionists participating
	1st tier	2nd tier	3rd tier			
1st - 1874	6	2	1	8	17	6
2nd - 1876	1	7	2	7	17	5
3rd - 1877	7	1	3	8	19	5
4th - 1879	1	2	5	8	16	2
5th - 1880	1	1	0	2	4	3
6th - 1881	0	0	0	0	0	3
7th - 1882	1	0	1	1	3	2
8th - 1886	0	0	1	4	5	2

Source: Moffett (1986) after analysis of canonical and near canonical images.

theless quite clear. Images in the first and third exhibitions had the greatest impact on the canon, followed at a short distance by the second. This effect, however, can be also accounted for by the exhibitors—the first and third exhibitions had all the major Impressionists participating but Manet, and the second exhibition had all but Manet and Cézanne. Caillebotte contributed to two and Morisot to three of these exhibitions. Equally clearly, images in the last four exhibitions contributed very little to the canon or even to the fourth tier. Only Degas and Pissarro actively participated in the fourth through eighth exhibitions, and although Monet, Renoir, and Sisley had images in the seventh, and Monet also in the fourth, they only had images in the exhibits on loan through dealers, like Durand-Ruel. More strikingly, only two Renoirs from the last four exhibitions—*Mme Charpentier et ses enfants* (1878) in the fifth and *Le déjeuner des canotiers* (1881) in the seventh—are in the core canon. Notice also that except for the fourth exhibition there is a strong correlation between what was canonical and the number of major Impressionists participating in each exhibition.

### Individual Paintings versus Series Paintings

The distribution of core canon images across artists, as given in Table 8.1, is a bit disturbing. The underrepresentation of Cézanne seems particularly odd. A little reflection, however, reveals the reason why: Cézanne painted many images that are quite a bit alike. In the literature these are generally called *series* paintings, and most all of the Impressionists painted in series at one time or another. Here I will define a series as any group of paintings with sufficiently similar content that they could, more or less, easily be substituted for one an-



**Table 8.4: A Revised Impressionist Core Canon: The 26 Most Frequently Reproduced Impressionist Images and Series in 95 Books.**

Rank	Frequency	Painter	Work or Series	Museum, or if a Series the Most Frequent (its count); and Legacy
1	67	Degas	Dancers	<i>L'Etoile</i> , Orsay (15, Caillebotte) <i>La classe de danse</i> , Orsay (11) Camondo <i>Le foyer de danse, rue Peletier</i> , Orsay Camondo (10)
2	53	Manet	<i>Le déjeuner sur l'herbe</i>	Orsay, Moreau-Nélaton
3	52	Manet	<i>Olympia</i>	Orsay, Subscription
4.5	48	Degas	Horse races	<i>Aux courses en Provence</i> , Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (15) <i>Le défilé (Chevaux de course devant les tribunes)</i> , Orsay (13) Camondo <i>Course de gentlemen, avant le départ</i> , Orsay (12) Camondo
	48	Manet	Portraits of Berthe Morisot	<i>Le balcon</i> , Orsay (33) Caillbotte
6.5	46	Cézanne	La Montagne Sainte-Victoire	<i>La Montagne Sainte-Victoire</i> , Courtauld Gallery (13) <i>Mont Sainte-Victoire</i> , Philadelphia Museum of Art (8)
	46	Degas	Female bathers and nudes	<i>Le tub</i> , Orsay (9), Camondo
9	45	Cézanne	Still Lifes	<i>La pendule noire</i> , private collection (9)
	45	Renoir	<i>Bal du Moulin de la Galette</i>	Orsay, Caillebotte
	45	Renoir	<i>Le déjeuner des canotiers</i>	Phillips Collection
11	44	Monet	<i>Impression, soleil levant</i>	Marmottan, de Bellio/Donop de Monchy
12	43	Monet	<i>Femmes au jardin</i>	Orsay, Monet
13.5	41	Manet	<i>Musique aux Tuileries</i>	National Gallery London, Lane
	41	Manet	<i>Le bar aux Folies-Bergère</i>	Courtauld Gallery
15.5	40	Monet	Rouen Cathedrals	<i>Le cathédrale de Rouen, le portail et la tour Saint-Romain, harmonie bleu et orange</i> , Orsay (17) Camondo ... <i>harmonie brune</i> , Orsay (9) Monet ... <i>a l'aube</i> , Museum of Fine Arts Boston (7)
	40	Monet	Gare Saint-Lazare	<i>La gare Saint-Lazare</i> , Orsay (25), Caillebotte <i>La gare Saint-Lazare, l'arrivée d'un train</i> , Fogg (12)

Rank	Painter	Work or Series	Museum, or if a Series the Most Frequent (its count); and Legacy
18	38 Cézanne	Group bathers	<i>Les grandes baigneuses</i> , Philadelphia Museum of Art (15) <i>Les grandes baigneuses</i> , National Gallery London (10)
	38 Manet	<i>Le barque de Monet</i>	Neue Pinakothek, Tschudi purchase
	38 Renoir	<i>La Loge</i>	Courtauld Gallery
20	37 Renoir	Bathers or nudes	<i>Les grandes baigneuses</i> , Philadelphia Museum of Art (24) <i>Les nymphéas</i> , Orsay (9)
21.5	36 Degas	<i>L'Absinthe</i>	Orsay, Camondo
	36 Monet	Water lilies	<i>Nymphéas</i> , Orangerie (10)
	36 Sisley	Floods at Marly	<i>L'Inondation à Port-Marly</i> , Orsay (27) Camondo
24	34 Monet	<i>La Grenouillère</i>	Metropolitan, Havemeyer
25.5	33 Manet	<i>Emile Zola</i>	Orsay, Mme Zola
	33 Monet	Bridges at Argenteuil	<i>Le pont d'Argenteuil</i> , Orsay (15) Personnaz <i>Le pont de chemin de fer, Argenteuil</i> Orsay (7), Camondo

other in a presentation. For example, Cézanne painted over 40 images of La Montagne Sainte-Victoire and over 110 images of groups of bathers. Monet painted 28 versions of the front face of the Rouen cathedral, 33 grain stacks (or haystacks), and over 180 *nymphéas* (water lilies). And, although they are not usually considered a series, there are over 600 images of dancers by Degas.<sup>5</sup> The most prominent series are listed in Appendix 8.2 for each artist.

The existence of series paintings has had two effects. First, each image within the series tends to be reproduced less than if it were a single image unrelated to others, in part because the images are often intersubstitutable within a given presentation of Impressionist works.<sup>6</sup> Second, and perhaps more interestingly in terms of the later marketing of paintings, more images within the series tend to be in museums than the average nonseries painting.

As evidence for this, consider first Monet. Against the estimated background percentage of 36% of all of his paintings being in museums, fully 68% (19/28) of his Rouen Cathedrals are in museums, 68% (13/19) of his views of Parliament, 59% (13/22) of his Charing Cross Bridges, 49% (22/45) of his Japanese bridges at Giverny, 47% (14/30) of his grain stacks, and 46% (19/41) of his Waterloo Bridges. To be sure only 30% (7/23) of his Poplars at Epte paintings, and only 15% (2/13) of his 1895 Mt. Kolsas, Norway, series are in museums, but these series are also generally smaller than the others, and hence the data would be expected to be more variable.

For Pissarro, who painted series late in life when he was less mobile, a similar pattern occurs. Against a background of 26% of his paintings in museums, his *Place du Théâtre Français* series has at least 43% in museums (6/14),

and his *Boulevard de Montmartre* series in 1897 has at least 38% in museums (5/13). Nonetheless, his *Pont Neuf* series (1901-1902) has only 18% in museums (2/11), but again this is the smallest of this set.<sup>7</sup>

And for Sisley the same can be seen. Against a mean of 33% of all his images in museums, 57% of his 1876 Floods at Port-Marly series are in museums (4/7), and 46% of his Church at Môret (1893-1984) series are in museums (6/13). Thus, it would appear that museums like to have members of series, and that collectors have given such images to them. If one thinks of images in series as generally intersubstitutable, each museum that owns one can present itself as owning *the* original (since museumgoers are often unaware of series), and each museum owning more than one can emphasize the depth of its collections. For such reasons, it seemed prudent to try to combine the series paintings and the individual paintings listed in Table 8.4 into a single list.<sup>8</sup>

With this adjustment, Degas' dancers leap to the fore. More than two thirds (66) of these 95 books contain at least one of them, with the images previously owned by the collectors Caillebotte, Camondo, and Havemeyer leading the way. Then come the two individual Manet images, *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* and *Olympia*, followed by Degas' series of horse races, with a Museum of Fine Arts Boston image outdistancing two Orsay/Camondo images and so forth.

Cézanne is now well represented on this list, with his *La Montagne Sainte-Victoire* series tied for 7th, his still lifes at 10th, and his group bathers tied at 19th. In addition, three Degas series now rank above his *L'Absinthe*—his dancers, his horse races, and his bathers/nudes. And three Monet series appear on the list—the Rouen cathedrals, the St. Lazare train stations, and the water lilies—the latter most often represented by the huge curving pairs of images permanently installed in the Musée de l'Orangerie, in Paris.<sup>9</sup> Interestingly, Monet's Houses of Parliament London series, his haystacks/grain stacks series, and several others did not make this list. And Sisley just makes the list with his Floods at Port-Marly series. What is particularly striking about this revised list is that the collectors Caillebotte and Camondo remain equally prominent. Camondo, in particular, clearly had an eye for series paintings. Although I think the series analyses above is prudent, what I have to say in the remainder of this chapter and in the next concerns the individual images tallied for the canon and for the fourth tier.

### Museums and the Canon

The dominance of the Musée d'Orsay shown in Chapter 7 for the core canon continues in the other tiers, as shown in Appendix 8.3. Of those images in the first two tiers of the canon, the Orsay has just over half (37 of 71). National Gallery London is next with six, the Metropolitan with five, the Art Institute of Chicago three, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the Courtauld Gallery have two each. Revealing the same pattern as before, only 43% of these images are held outside of France; only 22% outside of France and US; and only 8% outside of France, the US, and the UK. Similar sets of patterns hold for the images reproduced in all three tiers of the canon. And, although I regard the next group of images extracanonical, the same general trends continue through the

fourth tier, although the American museums catch up a bit to the National Gallery London.

The top panel of Figure 8.3 shows Zipf plots of museum holdings and bequests. In each case the number of images in the first through fourth tiers (the canon plus the near-canon) were summed and then log scaled. In the left panel one can see that the linear fit for museums is reasonable.<sup>10</sup> The Musée d'Orsay (the Group 1 museum) leads by a wide margin, followed by the six Group 2 museums, and the Courtauld Gallery leads the Group 3 and 4 museums. The only striking nonlinearity in the plot appears to be that the National Gallery Washington has "too few" Impressionist images in the four tiers, but the rest of the rankings are quite well captured by Zipf's law.

But perhaps the most striking fact about this compilation is that only *one* of these 138 images may be in a private collection—Manet's *Rue Mosnier aux paveurs* (1878), once owned by Samuel Courtauld.<sup>11</sup> This fact strongly reinforces the idea that canon membership is predicated on being housed in a museum, as assumed in Chapters 2 and 5. Moreover, only 14 of the 225 images (6%) in the fourth tier are in private collections.

### Dealers and the Canon

Of the images in the first three tiers of the canon dealers handled 46% of them (67). One might have expected this number to be higher, but bequests by first generation collectors (particularly Caillebotte) and families and friends of the artists account for a large number of those not passing through dealers' hands. However, 29% of all the images in this assessment of the canon (41/138) were handled at least once by Durand-Ruel, a fact that shows the depth of the importance of the contribution of Durand-Ruel to the growth of Impressionism. The next most important dealers were the Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, which handled 6%, Rosenberg 4%, Petit 3%, and Vollard and Wildenstein both 2%.<sup>12</sup> Remember Bernheim-Jeune and Vollard started late as dealers of Impressionism, Rosenberg and Wildenstein started very late, and although Petit started early he handled relatively few images. Durand-Ruel handled 7 images in the first tier of the canon, 16 in the second, and 18 in the third.

Perhaps Durand-Ruel had extraordinary taste, which allowed him to play a huge role in forming the Impressionist canon.<sup>13</sup> This is possible. However, without denying his importance as a conduit for the dissemination of Impressionism, there is little evidence that he specifically controlled which paintings would be canonical. First, under contract, artists delivered paintings to him. He generally did not select them. Second, it was the collectors who gave bequests, and not Durand-Ruel. Moreover, Durand-Ruel probably had little, if any, prior knowledge of which collections would be dispersed, passed on within a family, given to the French state, or made part of a foreign museum's holdings. Third, Durand-Ruel was the first major dealer for Degas, Manet, Monet, and Renoir. As seen in Table 8.1, these painters account for 76% of all images among the 138 images in the canon. And as seen in Figure 8.2 earlier paintings are more likely to be in the canon. Thus, by handling so many paintings (~3000), by

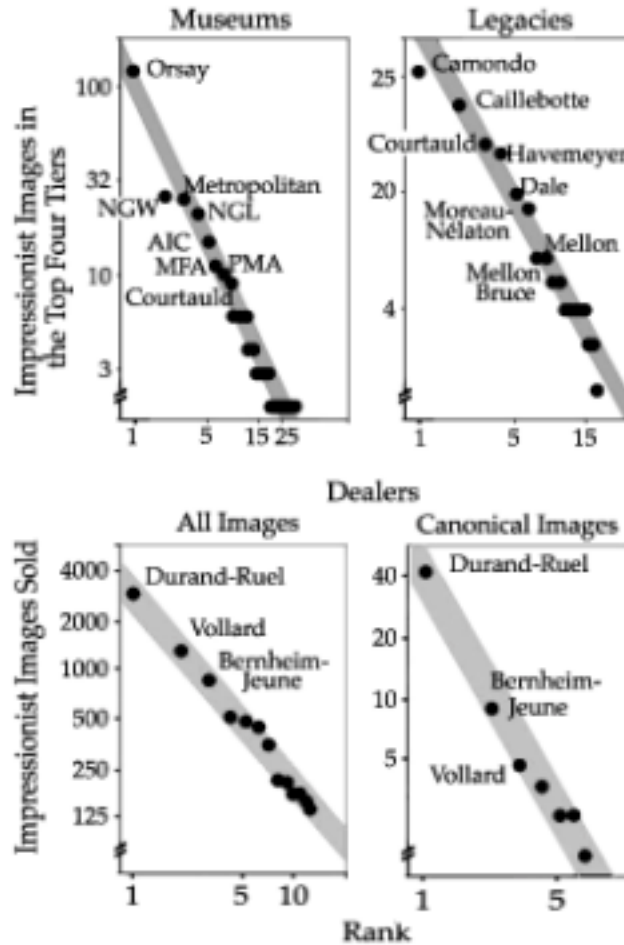


Figure 8.3: Zipf's law applied to museums, legacies, and dealers. For the top panels, those images in the four tiers were summed and then log scaled. The top left panel shows the images in the museums. AIC = Art Institute of Chicago, Courtauld = the Courtauld Gallery in London, MFA = Museum of Fine Arts Boston, NGL = National Gallery London, NGW = National Gallery Washington, and PMA = Philadelphia Museum of Art. The top right panel shows the legacies. Here "Courtauld" means the sum of the Courtauld Fund for the National Gallery London (and some originally in the Tate) and the Courtauld Gallery. "Havemeyer" means the sum of bequests to the Metropolitan and to the National Gallery Washington. Appendix 8.3 gives the breakdown by tier and the full range for both museums and legacies. The bottom left panel shows the plot of all Impressionist images sold by each dealer according to their ranks, and the bottom right panel shows that for the images in the first three tiers sold by dealer by rank.

beginning early in the 1870s, and by acting as the main dealer for painters best represented in the three tiers of the canon, Durand-Ruel was guaranteed a huge share.

Another way to assess this is to apply Zipf's law to the dealer data. This is done in bottom panels of Figure 8.3. The left panel shows the Zipf plot (both axes logarithmically scaled) for the images once held by each of the dealers (from the data in Appendix 6.1). The panel shows a reasonably linear function as expected, ruled by the "natural law" of categories as outlined in Chapter 3. The right panel shows the data for those canonical images sold by each dealer. Again, Durand-Ruel leads the pack by a considerable margin, but this function is also reasonably linear.<sup>14</sup> Thus, Durand-Ruel held no more canonical images than one might expect by Zipf's law. But perhaps a better way to assess the impact of Durand-Ruel is to compare his canonical and noncanonical dealings: He dealt with 28% of the images in the core canon (7/25), essentially the same across all three tiers of the canon, and one third of all the images produced by the seven major Impressionist painters. Thus, he was an enormously successful conduit for Impressionism, but had no particular impact on its canon. Let us now turn again to selected collectors.

### Collectors, Legacies, and the Canon

The upper right panel of Figure 8.3 shows another Zipf plot. This time it is of the various bequests to the various museums. Although here the plot seems slightly curved, with Camondo having "too few" first through fourth tier images, and those at the end of the list too few as well. Nonetheless, this pattern too seems reasonably well captured by Zipf's law.<sup>15</sup>

### Musée d'Orsay

Consider another striking result. Among the first tier images five were part of the Caillebotte legacy and three part of the Camondo legacy. This strength continues through the rest of the canon. Of the images in the first and second tier of the canon, 12 were from Caillebotte and 9 from Camondo; of the images in the first three tiers, their contributions are 14 and 16, respectively; and of those in all four tiers they owned 20 and 26. Caillebotte and Camondo controlled one third of images in the Impressionist core canon, 30% of those in the first two tiers and 22% in the first three tiers. This is an astonishing result—so much of the canon controlled by so few hands. How could the holdings of just two men have been so influential in over the course of the twentieth century?

Part of the answer is shown in Figure 8.4. In this panel are shown the publication reproduction rates for all images in the Musée d'Orsay in 1990 as a function of their accession date. I have chosen to look only at those books from Appendix 4.2 published since 1985—a total of 40. I selected the date 1985 to keep the sample as contemporary as possible while still being reasonably large. Had I chosen an earlier date—perhaps even 1904, the date of the earliest book in the series—I would have biased the count in favor of images that have been in

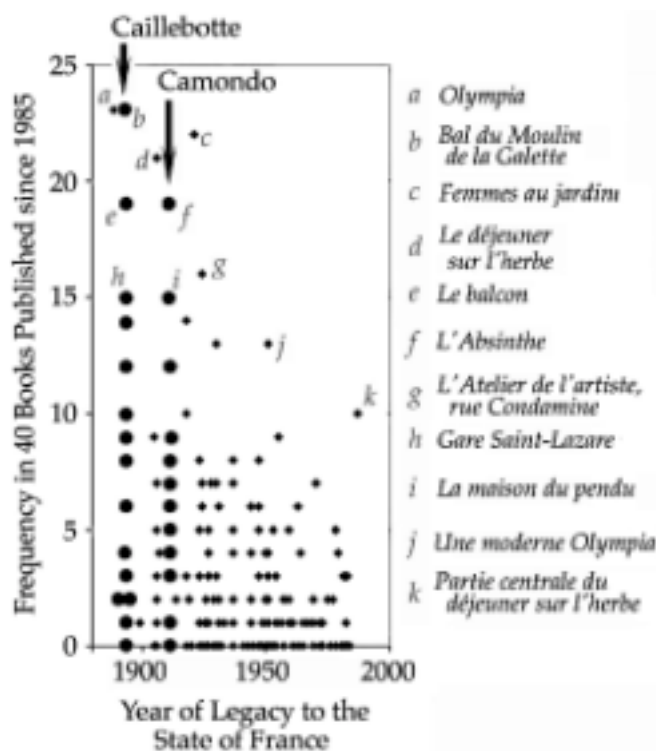


Figure 8.4: A plot of the frequency of reproduction since 1985 of images among the Orsay holdings as a function of the year they were given to the state of France.

the French national collections the longest. That is, as we have seen in this chapter, images in museums tend to be reproduced much more often than those in private collections. Thus, older books are likely to have images that were in museums at the time they were published, and would miss those given to the French state later in the twentieth century. New books, on the other hand, might feature newer and older acquisitions more or less equally. Thus, 1985 was chosen so as not to handicap recent acquisitions, and it is also about the date that the Musée d'Orsay opened (1986).

The figure shows two striking results, with the pattern of paintings forming a triangle. First, even on the basis of recent publications, the members of the core canon have been in the French collections the longest. Remember, almost all of these images came from private collections. The legacies of Caillebotte, Moreau-Nélaton, and Camondo are the three oldest. Moreau-Nélaton gave France Manet's *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* but few of the other his Impressionist holdings are notable. Only two other paintings from the bequest are in the three tiers of

the canon—Monet’s *Le coquécicots à Argenteuil* (1873) and Morisot’s *La chasse aux papillons* (1874). This is “only” 3 of 17 images, or 18%.

Second, not every painting from the early bequests is a member of the core canon. Caillebotte and his family gave 41 images to the French state, 40 now in the Musée d’Orsay (or in the case of Degas’ pastels held by them for the Louvre).<sup>16</sup> Yet not all are among the 138 most frequent—“only” 14 are, or 37%. Camondo gave 60 images by the seven major impressionist artists to the French state and “only” 16 of these are in the three tiers, or 27%. With the genre proportions shown in Appendix 8.2 in mind, it becomes somewhat easier to understand why. Of the portraits given by Caillebotte 54% (7/13) are in the canon, whereas only 27% (7/26) of his landscapes, seascapes, and cityscapes are. Of those in the Camondo bequest, 34% (10/29) of the portraits, 24% (5/25) of the landscapes, and none (0/6) of the still lifes are in the canon. Nevertheless, although a large proportion of the Caillebotte and Camondo bequest portraits are in the canon, there are still quite a few that didn’t make it. This means that some decisions were made, probably very early on, not to reproduce or not to promote all images equally. Who made those decisions? This is not an easy question to answer, but I will return to it in Chapters 9 and 12.

Consideration of the paintings along the diagonal of Figure 8.4 is worthwhile, particularly as it emphasizes those Orsay paintings that have appeared more often more recently. Consider first the four paintings occurring more than 20 times across these 40 books. Manet’s *Olympia* [given to the state in 1890], shares first place with Renoir’s *Bal du Moulin de la Galette, Montmartre* [given in 1894]. Next is Monet’s *Femmes au jardin* [1921], with Manet’s *Le déjeuner sur l’herbe* [1906] close behind. These were the four Orsay paintings most frequently reproduced since 1985, shown in Appendix 7.1. Notice that all of these were given to the state of France early. The Monet is by far the latest.

Five paintings were reproduced 15 to 19 times. In rank order by frequency they are: Manet’s *Le balcon* [given in 1894], Degas’ *L’Absinthe* [1911], Bazille’s *L’Atelier de l’artiste, rue Candomine* [1921], Monet’s *La gare Saint-Lazare* [1894], Cézanne’s *La maison du pendu* [1911]. Two of these are from Caillebotte legacy and two from the Camondo. Again, the Bazille painting was given to the French state by his family, and it depicts four of the Impressionist painters. These were five of the next seven Orsay paintings on the list in Appendix 7.1, but several of them surpassed Manet’s *Emile Zola* and Sisley’s *L’Inondation à Port-Marly*.

Two other paintings are designated in the figure, in part because they appear to be outliers. That is, they have what would appear to be “too many” reproductions for their recent years of acquisition. These are Cézanne’s *Moderne Olympia* [1951], and Monet’s *Partie centrale du déjeuner sur l’herbe* [1987]. The former painting is the highest ranking of the Gachet legacy and is often included in books in parallel with Manet’s *Olympia*. The latter is part of Monet’s huge *Le déjeuner sur l’herbe*. After he left the Fontainebleau forest it moldered in a barn. The left fragment turned up in 1957, a gift to the state from Michel Monet. For almost a century it was thought that the rest of the painting had not survived, but in 1987 the central fragment was found and given to the Musée d’Orsay. It



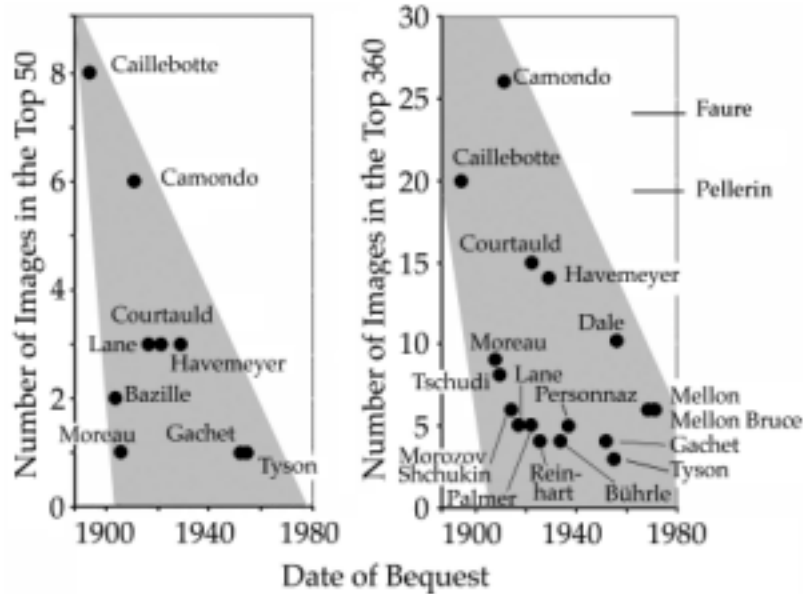


Figure 8.5: Two plots of the number of images in various bequests to museums. That on the left is for the fifty most frequently published images (the first tier plus part of the second); that on the right is for all four tiers. Notice that, in general, the earlier the bequest, the more images are among those in the canon, or that appear more frequently.

has been justly been reproduced far out of proportion to its tenure within the French museum system.

### Other Major Museums

The pattern shown in Figure 8.4 for legacies in the Musée d'Orsay, that images from earlier legacies are more likely to be part of the canon than those from later legacies, can be found for other museums as well. Consider the patterns in the panels of Figure 8.5. Here the number of images among the fifty most frequently reproduced images per legacy is shown on the vertical axis, and the time of the deposit of the legacy on the horizontal axis. The five Orsay legacies—those of Caillebotte, Bazille, Moreau-Nélaton, Camondo, and Gachet—are presented as well as those of Lane, Courtauld (combining those to the National Gallery London and the Courtauld Institute), Havemeyer (combining those to the Metropolitan and to the National Gallery Washington), and Tyson. Notice again that later legacies have a smaller proportion of images in the canon than earlier ones, a result consistent with the idea that particular images deposited in museums at an earlier date are more likely to be reproduced more often—even after 1985.

Caillebotte, Camondo, Lane, Courtauld, and Havemeyer stand out. Why? Several reasons for this suggest themselves. The publicity around the Caillebotte bequest concerned the French government's hesitation to accept it at all—something that certainly did not happen with the subsequent Moreau-Nélaton bequest. The Camondo bequest was received with considerable national pride. The Lane bequest was quite small, but as discussed in Chapter 6, it was fought over by Ireland and England at the time when such commonwealth tensions were only just beginning. The Courtauld Fund images generated quite a lot of publicity, spread out over five years, and were then accompanied by his private collection when given to the University of London. And the Havemeyer bequest was huge and relatively early. In other words, the suggestion here is that there are at least two factors at play—the primacy in time of the bequest, and the accompanying media attention. The right panel of Figure 8.5 shows that the same relative trend continues well down the list of canonical images, to those through the fourth tier. Again, the same general pattern recurs. The earlier the better.

Also shown in the right panel are the numbers of images in the four tiers of the canon that once belonged to Jean-Baptiste Faure and to Auguste Pellerin. Although their collections were dispersed, they rank second and fourth among collectors with images that have become canonical. And they also held four and two images, respectively, among the fifty most frequently reproduced.

Finally, having discussed all aspects of these images but their reception, let me present a study in which I determine how recognizable these various images are to a contemporary group of young adults. That is, we now know how art professionals have treated these images. Do young people in the early twenty-first century know them?

### Contemporary Recognition of Canonical Images: Study 1

All the images but one in the first three tiers of the canon (137) were digitized and presented singly to a group of undergraduate students.<sup>17</sup> They were asked to indicate which they recognized. Overall, they claimed to know just under 9% of them. Of course, recognition rates varied, and the variation was wide—from 0 to 60%. There was a modest correlation of recognition with frequency of occurrence of each image in the 95 books.<sup>18</sup> It is worth considering the individual results for a few images.

Some of the most frequent images were also well recognized—53% for Renoir's *Bal du Moulin de la Galette, Montmartre* (1886, Musée d'Orsay, Caillebotte legacy), and 42% for Monet's *Impression, soleil levant* (1873, Musée Marmottan). Less recognized were Manet's *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1863, Musée d'Orsay, Moreau-Nélaton legacy), and his *Olympia* (1863, Musée d'Orsay, public subscription). Only 19 and 22% of these viewers, respectively, thought they had seen these images before. Nonetheless, these are still reasonably large percentages. Between these ranges were 28% for Renoir's *Le déjeuner des canotiers* (1881, Phillips Collection), and 27% for Manet's *Le bar au Folies-Bergère* (1881, Courtauld). Among the unrecognized frequent images was Monet's

*Femmes au jardin* (1866, Musée d'Orsay). It was known by only 8% of these viewers.

Perhaps most surprising, however, is that several of the relatively less frequent images were highly recognizable. The highest among the set was Pissarro's *Boulevard de Montmartre, effet de nuit* (1897, National Gallery London, Courtauld Fund). It was recognized by 60% of the students. Similarly, Monet's *Londres, le Parlement. Trouée de soleil dans le brouillard* (Houses of Parliament in the fog, 1904, Musée d'Orsay, Camondo legacy), was recognized by 42%. One of Monet's Rouen Cathedrals was recognized 26% of the time, but this is surely a recognition of the entire series, not this individual painting (*La cathédrale de Rouen, le portail et la tour Saint-Romain, plein soleil, harmonie bleue et or*, 1891, Musée d'Orsay, Camondo legacy).<sup>19</sup>

One might take these results as depressingly bad news, showing the lack of acculturation to traditional values by current undergraduate students. But this is the wrong conclusion for two reasons. First, these results show the importance of the introduction to traditional values in the various arts within a college curriculum. These students are precisely at the beginning of their appreciation of the arts, and exposure to them is first widely attained in college. The percentage of these images recognized by individual students varied from 0% to 45% and upperclassmen were most frequently at the upper end.

Second, an assessment by recognition is but one method of testing memory. And more importantly, it is by no means the most sensitive. We absorb many things that we cannot later recognize. In fact the most important impact of canonical material, as I will argue in Chapter 11, comes with something often called *implicit* memory—memory for things that affect our behavior, our thoughts, and our emotions without bubbling up to the surface of recognition. So be heartened that undergraduates observers, and other adults, have seen these images and are affected by them. They simply do not overtly remember them.

## Summary

Across this and the previous chapter, a broad sample of Impressionist paintings was collected and assessed. Various properties of the most frequent 138 images were discussed. Canonical images were found to be produced early in the careers of the painters and concentrated in the Musée d'Orsay. For these single images Manet, Monet, Renoir, and Degas consumed most of the high ranks, with little left for Cézanne and the others. However, such a ranking is biased against series paintings, which have been largely intersubstitutable in the literature. Once these are accounted for, Cézanne is included in the core canon, although Sisley and Pissarro lag still lag behind.

Perhaps most striking results concerned accession dates. For example, in the holdings of the Musée d'Orsay, certain images given early to the French state were reproduced much more often. The same was found for the entire group of 138 images in museums in the Western world. Thus, early accession generally means more frequent reproduction, even when the sources are limited to recent dates—such as 1985 and beyond. Analyses of legacies given to other museums tended to follow suit. In addition, these images were tracked backwards

to find out which dealers handled them, and an overwhelming number were handled by Durand-Ruel. They were also tracked to find out which, if any, Impressionist exhibitions they were shown at—and the first through third exhibitions showed a great many more than the other five. Finally, in a brief study showing 137 of these images to students, I asked them if they recognized any of the images in the canon as defined here. They recognized only 9%, and their recognition rates were modestly correlated with the frequency with which those images occurred. Nonetheless, as I argue in Chapter 11, recognition is not the best metric for measuring the impact of these images on people. We are all quite deeply affected by these images, and by other images we see.

### Notes

Epigraph: Ingleby, *The Independent*, London (26 Jan 1997).

1. See, for example, Gombrich (1996).

2. Not all images fit snugly into such a scheme. Pissarro painted many images of women in the fields in farming activities. If the women were of relatively large size within the image, these were counted as group portraits. Degas presents even more difficult problems. His pictures of horses and jockeys, because they emphasize the space as cut up by their figures, rather than the landscape per se, were all counted as group portraits. Similarly, his dancer images were all counted as portraits and group portraits.

3. Chi squares: for top 25 vs. next 114,  $\chi^2(11) = 7.2$ , ns; for top 25 vs. all museums  $\chi^2(14) = 33.63$ ,  $p < .01$ ; and for the top 25 vs. all Impressionist images  $\chi^2(14) = 44.51$ ,  $p < .001$ .

4. Some images, particularly by Degas, appeared in more than one of these exhibitions. In Table 8.3 only the earlier appearance is counted.

5. There is some controversy over what counts as a series. Several artists painted the same subject many times in close succession—Monet, Pissarro, and Sisley. Others returned to the same topic many times and sometimes in very similar ways—Cézanne and Degas. Most scholars would not count Degas' dancers as a series, nor Degas as a series painter. See Seiberling (1981), and Brettell and Pissarro (1992). In addition, Degas was not alone in Paris in his fascination with ballet, opera, and the theatre. Pollock (1996, p. 141) reported that in the 1880s a half a million Parisians went to the theatre once a week, and a million did so once a month.

6. This is a point that Galenson (2001), in his analysis, misses entirely. Galenson also makes the argument that for two groups—38 French artists born in the nineteenth century and 57 American artists born between 1870 and 1937—there is a decline in the mean age of productivity as defined by their works selling for the most money. Unfortunately, correlations on his data in his Tables 2.1 and 2.2 do not support this claim ( $r_s = -.13$  and  $-.26$ ,  $t_s = .78$  and  $1.99$ ,  $p_s > .05$ ).

7. This and other estimates for the series may suffer from the fact that the museum data come from the *catalogues raisonnés* whereas the percentage of museum holdings come from the estimates calculated in Chapter 5. Indeed, Pissarro's *catalogue* is particularly old. Thus, all series, estimates given here should be considered possible underestimates, and that the effect of proportionately more series paintings being in museums than nonseries paintings is likely stronger than reported here.

8. To do this, however, I needed evidence that these images are largely intersubstitutable. Given that most of them occurred infrequently, the contingency analysis done with the core canon images cannot work here. Instead, I simply settled for de-

termining whether or not the images were independent in how they co-occurred in these books. Consider six pairs of images—two pairs by Monet, two pairs by Cézanne, and two pairs by Degas. Each image occurred about a dozen or more times and the independent probability of them occurring together is such that they should appear in one to three books. The first pair is Monet's two most reproduced versions of *La gare Saint-Lazare*, one of the Orsay (25 reproductions, Caillebotte legacy) and one in the Fogg (12). These co-occur in the same book three times, and this is exactly what one might expect on the basis of independence. The second pair are the most commonly reproduced versions of Monet's *Cathédrales de Rouen* and are both in the Orsay (17, Camondo legacy vs 9). These two occur together in two books, again what one would expect. Next are the Cézanne *Montagnes Sainte-Victoires*, one in the Courtauld (13) and one in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (9). These appeared together in one book, again what one would expect on the basis of independence. Similarly, Cézanne's two *Grandes baigneuses*, one in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (15) and one in the National Gallery London (10), occurred together in one book. The most reproduced of Degas' images of horse racing is *Aux courses en Provence* (Carriage at the races, (Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 15) and *Le défilé* (Orsay, Camondo legacy, 13), occurred together in two books. The only pair that occurs a little too frequently together are Degas' most reproduced dancer images, *L'Etoile, danseuse sur la scène* (Orsay, Caillebotte legacy, 15) and *La classe de danse* (Orsay, Camondo legacy, 11). These co-occurred in four books, where the prediction would be only about two. Nonetheless, even this is not a gross violation. Thus, it seems reasonable to treat members of the series as independent and perhaps also as if they were a single image, representing a single theme.

9. The Orangerie is physically between the Louvre and the Orsay, at the base of the Champs-Élysées, and on a corner of the Tuileries Gardens. The Jeu de Paume is on the other corner facing the Champs-Élysées.

10. After the values are normalized, with the holdings of the Orsay set to 1.00, the slope of the regression line is  $-0.57$ . This regression ( $r = .984$ ) accounts for 97% of the variance in the data ( $F(1,30) = 908, p < .0001$ ). This is reliably higher than for log transformed random data ( $\chi^2 = 36, p < .001$ ).

11. With respect to the *Rue Mosnier aux paveurs* several web site say it resides in a provide collection in Zürich, but several other say it is in the vault of the Kunsthhaus, Zürich. The Kunsthhaus website does not list it, although it lists few images in its collections. In addition, three images in private collections that just missed the third tier of the canon include two Cézannes, *Portrait de Monsieur Chocquet* (Portrait of Victor Chocquet, 1875) and his still life *Le pendule noir* (The black clock, 1867-69). The latter was once owned by the Hollywood movie star Edward G. Robinson. The third, Monet's *Déchargeurs de carbon* (Unloading coal, Argenteuil, 1875) is an interesting, dark and mysterious piece, of workers walking planks unloading coal from boats.

12. In addition, 68 were not handled by dealers; and others dealers include Reid & Lefèvre with two; and one each for Bignou, Cassirer, and Knoedler.

13. See Assouline (2002) for a glowing view of Durand-Ruel's importance to Impressionism.

14. For all images handled by dealers, the slope of the normalized function is  $-0.34$ , with 95% of the variance accounted for ( $F(1,11) = 683, p < .0001$ ). For the canonical and near canonical images handled by dealers the slope is  $-0.96$  with 96% of the variance accounted for ( $F(1,8) = 226, p < .0001$ ). Both of these correlations are greater than that for log transformed random data ( $\chi^2 > 27, ps < .001$ ).

15. The slope of the normalized function is  $-0.87$  with 95% of the variance accounted for ( $F(1,16) = 301, p < .0001$ ). This correlation is reliably greater than that for log transformed random data ( $\chi^2 = 8.2, p < .004$ )

16. *Une rue à Louveciennes* (A street in Louveciennes, ~1876) was deaccessioned from the Musée d'Orsay (RF2783) and sent to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nice (formerly the Musée Masena).

17. The image omitted from the list of 138 was Monet's *Nymphéas* permanently installed at the Musée de l'Orangerie in Paris. This set of four images, many meters long, were simply not possible to present in any way that would be like the others. They were mounted in random order in a PowerPoint™ presentation of slides and shown via a liquid crystal projector to 132 undergraduate students at Cornell University in two psychology classes, one an introductory course on perception ( $n=114$ ) and the other a course on the psychology of music ( $n=18$ ). There were roughly equal numbers of freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors. Students also filled out a brief questionnaire: 55% had visited the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York at least once, 30% the National Gallery Washington, 14% the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 12% the Musée d'Orsay, 11% for both the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the National Gallery London, and 9% the Art Institute of Chicago. Fewer than 20% had taken an art history course. Images were shown singly and for about 4 s each. Students responded whether they recognized having seen each image before. Results for the two groups were highly correlated so they will be treated as a single group. During presentation to students, images subtended about ten degrees of visual angle along their greatest extent from the middle of in both classrooms. Finally, the correlation between the two groups of viewers was:  $r = .78, t(130) = 22.8, p < .0001$ .

18.  $r = .26, t(130) = 3.19, p < .01$ .

19. In a debriefing session a week after the test I asked the students why the Pissarro image in particular was so recognizable. I felt sure that it and perhaps a few others of these images had been used on textbooks in some of their other courses. However, none claimed that any textbook had used these images. I then searched on Google for the painter and several paintings (25 Apr 03). I found 779 sites that feature *Boulevard de Montmartre, effet de nuit* (but searching in English under "Pissarro boulevard night"). This is not a large number, since Manet's *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* fetches 1820 sites, and Renoir's *Bal du Moulin de la Galette* fetches 1050, and Monet's *Femmes au jardin* (as "Monet women garden") fetches an astonishing 20,300. Nonetheless, the Pissarro image fetches considerably more than Cézanne's *La maison du pendu* ("Cézanne House Hanged") at 309.

## 9: Scholars and Curators

The twentieth-century literature devoted to Impressionism is vast enough to require a book-length study of its own. Not only did the movement spawn hundreds of books and memoirs . . . but critical literature, distant from the production of the paintings, has flowed without end from the initial reviews of the eight Impressionist exhibitions to the present day.

Richard Brettell, *Impression: Painting Quickly in France, 1860-1890*

Surely, this book is not exactly what Brettell anticipated for the study of the Impressionist literature. To be concrete, he must have imagined a proper historiography, something quite different than one that uses tallies of images as its central source of argument. Nonetheless, let me continue to press the idea that the visual presentation of Impressionist images across time and situations has, itself, had very wide and sustained impact in Western culture—an idea that will come into sharper focus in Chapter 11.

In this chapter, I will assess the contributions of curators and scholars.<sup>1</sup> For the former I will exemplify their control of images as they appear on museum walls, at least as instantiated in the Musée du Luxembourg in the early twentieth century. For the latter I will look at the composition of images in the books that scholars wrote and assembled across the twentieth century—the books in Appendix 4.2. This will update our impressions from the discussion in Chapter 4. Next, I will isolate the particular contribution of John Rewald (1912-1994) in the context of scholars who went before and who came after, and demonstrate his unparalleled influence. Fourth, I will consider the role of national holdings in the presentation of images by authors in books published in the United States, England, and in France. And finally, I will consider trends of scholars in citing these painters as assessed through the Bibliography of the History of Art across the last twenty-five years of the twentieth century.

### **Curators, and Why Only Some Early-Accessioned Paintings Are Famous**

As noted in Chapter 8, not all paintings in the Caillebotte and Camondo bequests are famous. Why not? Part of the reason, discussed before, is that the core canon favors portraits. Both collectors bought many landscapes, and Camondo many still lifes. But another reason is probably more important. It seems likely that museum practices played a role, particularly in how museums display their collections. Consider the images in the Caillebotte bequest after they were hung in the Musée du Luxembourg in Paris in 1897. Here is Borgmeyer's account, more than a dozen years after the bequest and while most of the images were still hung there:

After the Luxembourg had accepted them they tried to do the right thing; a room was added, I believe, and the pictures were kept together. They tried, too, to reconstruct the grouping of the Impressionists by adding a few other examples. . . . From time to time changes have been made and a few canvases by the men who formed the nucleus of the Caillebotte collection have been added; *a few have been removed* (italics added).<sup>2</sup>

In other words, museum practice enters the mix. When accessions increase and space is limited, curators decide what stays on the walls and what goes into the vaults. Once a painting goes to the vault it will tend to stay there, except when on tour in traveling exhibitions to other museums. Once in the vault, it also tends not to be reproduced in books. Scholars will tend to overlook it, neglect sets in, and it falls from the canon, or loses its chance to rise into it.

To corroborate this idea I used Borgmeyer's (1913) tour through the Musée de Luxembourg in which he described each of the images present. Of the 40 images in the Caillebotte legacy, only 31 were still on the Luxembourg walls. The mean number of reproductions of these images in the deep sample, to be discussed in the next chapter, was more than five times the mean frequency of those nine no longer on the walls. This difference is statistically reliable, and the breakdown is shown in Appendix 9.1.<sup>3</sup> For comparison's sake, also listed are the images that appeared in the Hachette catalogue (1900) and in Bénédite (1912). Their accounts of the Musée du Luxembourg are informative, but do not necessarily reflect on what was hanging on the walls. The point is that those images taken off the walls appeared much less often in print than those remaining in view. In this manner, museum professionals play a role in shaping the canon. They cull candidates that scholars might later have reproduced.

### **Scholars, and the Disappearing Freshness of Images in Impressionist Scholarship**

As an overview of a century's worth of scholarship consider the top panel of Figure 9.1. It shows the ninety-five books arrayed ordinally along the horizontal axis by their publication date, and the proportion of new images (those not published in previous books) along the vertical axis. The pattern is bumpy and jag-



ged, but the overall trend is unmistakable. Across the twentieth century, the proportion of new images in each book declined steadily from near unity to about 20 percent. This means that books republished increasing numbers of images that went before. A corpus of commonality was built up.<sup>4</sup>

It is not a surprise that the first book, Camille Mauclair's (1903) *The great French painters*, had all new images. This is true by definition. That is, there was no book on this list before it. It is also not a surprise that the next dozen books also had between about 60 to 90% new images. They had quite a wealth to draw upon—about 11,700 images across the 13 painters investigated here. But then there is the decline. This falloff is true despite my inclusion of a few volumes with the intent of focusing on images not generally seen before—Wildenstein and Company's (1970) *One hundred years of Impressionism*, Hollis Clayson's (1991) *Painted love: Prostitution in French art of the Impressionist era*, and Susanna Evans-deVries' (1992) *The lost Impressionists: Masterpieces from private collections*, which are the three tallest spikes. To be fair, I also included the opposite type book. Two had no new Impressionist images—Frank Getlein's (1981) *25 Impressionist masterpieces*, and Jean-Philippe Breuille's (1993) *L'Art du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, which are the two deepest troughs. Indeed, the purpose of these books was to focus on well-known art. But in general, it got increasingly difficult for authors to tell a story about Impressionism while at the same time including more new images in their texts.

### The Incremental Establishment of the Canon

As discussed in Chapters 7 and 8, these books depicted a bit less than 2,500 of the 11,700 or so possible Impressionist paintings. This is only about 21%. Combining the accelerating rate of book production with the declining rate of reproduction of new images, scholars of Impressionism would appear to have a long way to go, if they so desired, before they would exhaust the entire Impressionist corpus. But, of course, this is not the purpose of scholarship or of book publishing. The purpose of these books generally is to tell the story, or a part of the story, of Impressionism as our interpretations of it change. Many stories are cast in new light and contrast markedly from those that went before. In telling these stories the authors necessarily use many images, but as an aggregate they tend to use a few of the images over and over again. My assumption is that the three tiers of this canon did not emerge all at once in Impressionist scholarship. Instead, one would expect them to be reproduced and appear gradually, and all evidence suggests they did. Given incremental appearance, one can ask when the images that would later be among the most common were first published. In the middle-left panel of Figure 9.1, I show the mean accession dates by museums and mean publication dates in the literature for the three groups of images in the Impressionist canon—those of the first, second, and third tiers. Interestingly, both sets of dates are nearly identical. That is, on average these Impressionist images appeared in books and were given to, or bought by, museums at about the same time. The error bars imply, as is the case, that some were given to museums well before they appeared in print, and others were still in private collections when they were first reproduced. Images that are re-

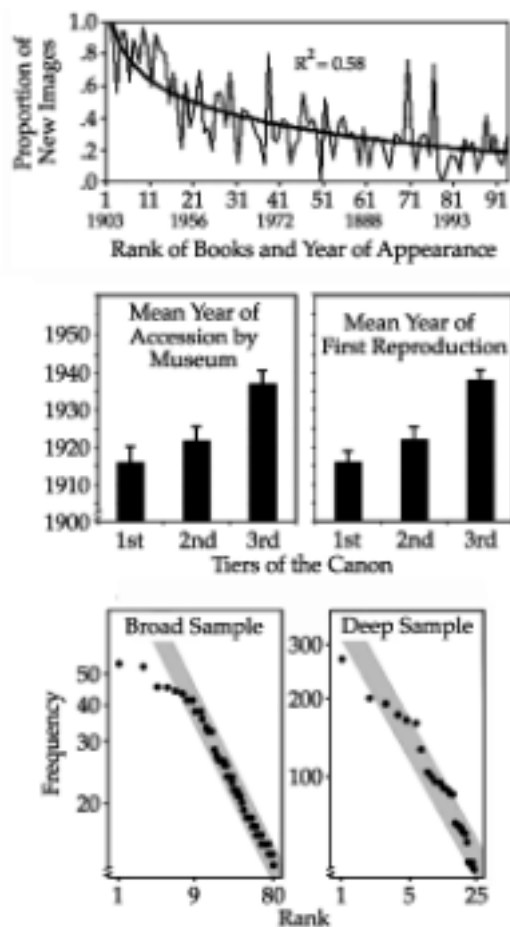


Figure 9.1: The top panel shows a sequential representation of the 95 books used in the broad sample, given in Appendix 4.2. The broken line connects all books ordered by their publication date, and records the proportion of new images in each. The darker line is the curvilinear regression line showing the general trend. The central panels show the mean accession dates and mean publication dates for images in the three tiers of the Impressionist canon. The bottom panels show Zipf plots for the frequency of occurrence of images in the broad sample, and in the deep sample (discussed in Chapters 10 and 11).

produced often are much more important to conveying the Impressionist story. More simply, they have become part of the Impressionist canon. Those reproduced less often, or never reproduced before, round out that story, often in interesting ways.

Notice that the first tier images had mean accession and appearance dates of about 1916, whereas those in the second tier had mean dates of about 1922, and those in the third tier about 1937. Thus, those images in the core canon have not only appeared more often—even among the recent books—but their accession dates are earlier and they appeared earlier in print. The overall point here is that scholars have been abreast of accessions, and bequests that begin as extended loans, and they have reproduced them to support their arguments about Impressionism. I take this is a very good measure of scholars bringing before the public those images that are new to the public domain, and promoting their appreciation. At the same time, however, scholars did not stop showing the more established images. In this way they continued to reinforce the canon.

Chapter 3 dealt with, among other things, the structure of categories, and the notion that a canon is a cultural category—not all that different than fruit—that has a particular kind of structure. One aspect of that structure is that the appearance of images might follow Zipf's law—that the logarithm of the numerical frequency of each member ought to be a linear function of the logarithm of its rank in the category. We saw in Chapter 4 that the structure of the artists within Impressionism did not follow this pattern, but that web sites and professional articles did. Moreover, in Chapter 8 we saw that dealers handling Impressionist works did as well. But we should now consider the images by these artists. The bottom panels of Figure 9.1 show two new Zipf plots—that on the left for images in the broad sample discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. That on the right is for the deep sample discussed in the next chapter.

The plot of the broad sample is interesting. It is not quite a straight line. To be sure, beyond the sixth rank all the way out to the eightieth rank, the plot is remarkably linear, perhaps more so than any of the similar plots in other chapters. However, the first five images—and more particularly the first two, Manet's *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* and his *Olympia*—seem to have been significantly underrepresented in the literature. These results suggest two things. First, the appearance of most images follows Zipf's law. But second, the most frequently reproduced images of the canon do not. Have authors been careful not to overexpose readers to these images? Probably not. Another possibility better accounts for this trend—a constraint. Notice that even if *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* had appeared in all 95 books, it would still fall below the diagonal line created by the later ranks. This suggests that the composition and size of this sample does not allow Zipf's law to function for the most frequent images. A better sample, then, would be one with a vastly larger number of books. Indeed, this is part of the rationale for the deep sample discussed in the next chapter.

### **John Rewald, and the Establishment and Maintenance of the Impressionist Canon**

Returning to the establishment of the canon, consider the plot in top panel of Figure 9.2. This array graphs the accession of the fifty most frequently published images by decade. Notice that the 1890s through the 1920s lead the way, with a sharp falloff thereafter. Thus, the major images of the canon are deposited in museums early, a fact noted in Chapter 6 and seen in Figure 9.1.

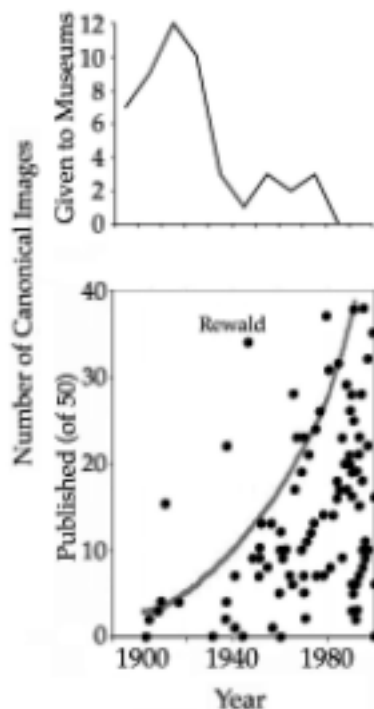


Figure 9.2: The top panel plots by decade the fifty most frequently reproduced images as they were given to museums. The bottom panel shows a scatter plot of the 95 books on Impressionism (from Appendix 4.2) by year of publication and the number of now canonical images they published. The broad curve shows the increasing agreement about the canon.

The bottom panel shows a reverse trend. That is, the data are shown for the ninety-five books published across the twentieth century and the number of now canonical images, here those among the fifty most often reproduced, published in each. The increasing trend is unmistakable. It marks the growth in consensus about what constitutes the canon. By the end of the twentieth century there was considerable agreement. Moreover, the distinctive, early outlier is John Rewald's *The history of Impressionism*. It is far above and ahead of the main trend. The earlier outliers are Borgmeyer (1913), who was first to publish many of the images in the Caillebotte and Camondo legacies, and Uhde (1937) who had a particular fondness for Manet, who is well represented in the core canon.

Rewald was also full of opinions concerning all his predecessors, not just Borgmeyer (1913). His description of Mauclair (1903) is particularly telling:

The first study on the subject translated into English, it unquestionably contributed much to the appreciation of Impressionism, yet its author was

not, precisely, ordained to be the champion of the movement. As art critic of the *Mercure de France* . . . he saw neo-impressionism a *trifling technique*, referred to Gauguin's art as *colonial*, spoke of the *gangsterism* of Lautrec, poured out his scorn for Cézanne and treated Pissarro with contempt. . . . Under the Vichy government, Mauclair . . . wrote a book on the Jews in art, denouncing Pissarro among others. After the liberation of France, he was condemned to 'national unworthiness.'<sup>5</sup>

Rewald was more kind to Fontainas and Vauxcelles (1922) suggesting that they had "good chapters on impressionism in general and on the individual painters." He had a mixed assessment of Mather (1927): "An excellent chapter on 'Landscape Painting before Impressionism' is followed by a study on impressionism which, unfortunately, is marred by some errors, and in which Monet is credited with divisionism." About Francastel (1937), he said: "The author pretends that there may be observed a sudden break in the works of Monet, Pissarro, Sisley and Renoir about 1875. Consequently, he places the beginning of impressionism at this period, connecting it with the scientific discoveries of Helmholtz and Chevreul." On Wilenski (1941), he minces no words, suggesting it is: "An interesting but completely unreliable book." About Cheney (1941) he says essentially the same: "A popular book repeating popular errors," and similarly about Rocheblave (1941)—"a book with badly selected illustrations."<sup>6</sup> In this manner Rewald chided his predecessors while, at the same time, raising the bar on the socio-historical scholarship of art.

### Internationalist or Nationalist Sampling?

One might complain that this sample of 95 books is overly American. Indeed, 51 of the 95 books were first published in United States and another five were US publications of translations from French. Nonetheless, 20 of the books were published in the UK, 13 were published in French in either France or Switzerland, and six others were published elsewhere. Does this distribution affect the distribution of paintings? It did for Rewald (1946, p. 9) who deliberately chose stateside images over French ones when he had a choice:

Nowhere outside of France can so many milestones in the history of impressionism be found as in the public and private collections of America. It has, therefore, seemed desirable, in a volume published in the United States, to reproduce works owned in this country wherever a choice could be made without prejudice as to the particular significance or quality of the example.<sup>7</sup>

Perhaps this kind of choice continued across authors over the course of the twentieth century. Consider five sets of images where the individual members are held in museums of different countries.

First, Monet painted four versions of *La gare Saint-Lazare* (Saint-Lazare train station). The most famous is in the Orsay (Caillebotte legacy, 26 reproductions), but others are in the Fogg (12), the Art Institute (9), and a sketch in the National Gallery London (3). Of 27 books published in the US showing one of

these images, 13 were of the paintings in the Fogg or Art Institute and 14 were from Orsay or National Gallery London. Of 11 books published in the UK only one used the National Gallery London image, whereas the other 10 used one of the other three. And of books published in French, only 3 of 7 used the Orsay image. There appears to be no nationalism involved in presentation of these images, only author choice.

Second, Pissarro painted many images of Pontoise. Two of the most famous are views of the Hermitage, one in the National Gallery London and the other in the Musée d'Orsay. The two images are *La côte des Boeufs*<sup>8</sup> (6 reproductions) and *Les toits rouges* (Red roofs, Caillebotte legacy, 22). Of the books containing either of these images, three were published in the UK. Only one of three authors of books published in England used *La côte des Boeufs*. Of books published in France, both authors chose the Orsay image. This is a very small sample, but there seems to be no overt promotion of nationally held images.

Third, as noted above, there are many versions of *La Montagne Sainte-Victoire* painted by Cézanne over a twenty-year period. The two most reproduced in this set are the one in the Courtauld Gallery (13 reproductions) and that in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (8). Among books published in the UK only two of four used the image in the Courtauld, and of the ten books published in the US books only two used the image from the Philadelphia museum. Again, there seems to be no flair for the use of home images. Nonetheless, some such tendencies can be found.

Fourth, Cézanne also painted many versions of the *Golfe de Marseille, vue d'Estaque* (Gulf of Marseille seen from Estaque). The three most famous of these are in the Orsay (6 reproductions), the Art Institute (also 6), and the Metropolitan (3). Of those books published in French three of four are images of the painting in the Orsay. Of the eight books published in the US six used either Art Institute or Metropolitan versions. There may be some slight national preference here, but it is not very strong.

Finally, there are two versions of Manet's *Serveuse de Bocks*. One is housed in the Musée d'Orsay (and once owned by Matsukata, 13 reproductions), and one in the Courtauld (15). Of those books published in French all three used the Orsay images. And of those books published in the UK three of four reproduced the Courtauld image. This does look a bit like a national preference.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, perhaps two of five selected pairs of images show some home country bias among authors, but I contend this pattern seems quite thin. French, American, and English authors and book publishers seem more concerned with the Impressionist corpus and canon as a whole than they do of their home country holdings. However, it is very much worth noting that among the 95 books in the sample, only one book (Jaffé, 1969) was published in a language other than French or English.<sup>10</sup> Surely, part of the reason that images in the Nationalgalerie and the Neue Pinakothek in Germany, the State Hermitage and the State Pushkin in Russia, the Ordbruggaard and the Ny Glyptotek in Denmark, the Sammlungen Buehrle and Reinhart in Switzerland, and museums in other parts of the world are not better known is that the scholars who published these works over the twentieth century did not canvas these images in as careful detail as they did the images in French, English, and American museums.



Figure 9.3: The proportional citations of thirteen Impressionist painters between 1974 and 1999 in the Bibliography of the History of Art. Only Caillebotte and Morisot show reliable trends. Note the bottom panels are at a different scale.

### The BHA and the Impressionist Painters

The sources considered throughout this book have largely been confined to the Impressionist books under consideration—the books in the Cornell Library—or on the web. This ignores much of what art historians and museum professionals do and report on, and much of that is covered in the Bibliography of the History of Art (BHA). In the BHA one finds reviews of books and exhibitions, articles written for the professional and more popular press, as well as the books themselves. Throughout the period from the late 1970s to the late 1990s a mean of about 180 citations a year occurred to the thirteen major and minor Impressionists dealt with here. Of these, what proportion discussed the artists individually? Figure 4.5 showed that, among the thirty books on Impressionism listed in Appendix 4.1, there was great constancy across the twentieth century in the reproduction of images by these artists. Among the major painters there was a slight increase for Monet, a decrease for Sisley, and among the minor painters there were larger proportional increases for Bazille, Caillebotte, Cassatt, and Morisot. And, in general, there were more images by Monet; followed by Degas, Manet, and Renoir; and fewest by Cézanne, Pissarro, and Sisley.

The BHA results are shown in Figure 9.3. Through covering a shorter span of time, 1975-1999, there is again remarkable constancy.<sup>11</sup> Yet the pattern here

is also quite different than shown in Figure 4.5. Among the major Impressionists, shown in the top panels, Cézanne is by far the most cited painter, garnering almost one quarter of all BHA citations. Next are Manet, Degas, and Monet, then with Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley trailing behind. In fact, Sisley has fewer citations than either Caillebotte, Cassatt, or Morisot, whose data are shown in the bottom panels of the figure at a different scale. The only painters showing systematic increases in citation through this period are Caillebotte and Morisot. Although Bazille and Cassatt showed increases in Figure 4.6, and Monet showed an increase in Figure 4.5 and Sisley a decrease, none of them show reliable trends here.

### Summary

This chapter made six points. First, curators began to shape the appearance of Impressionist images on museum walls quite early in the twentieth century. Second, the images chosen by authors of books on Impressionism gradually congealed, forming the canon across the second half of the twentieth century. This was shown by the decreasing percentage of new images in these books and the increasing agreement about which images to show. Third, scholars kept abreast of accessions. That is, they generally published canonical images at about the same time that they became part of the holdings of museums. Moreover, the distribution of the published frequencies of those images generally follows Zipf's law. Fourth, John Rewald's *History of Impressionism* played an outstandingly important role in the establishment of the canon. It was not only a landmark in scholarship, but it clearly demonstrated to later scholars what should be known and displayed. Fifth, across the large sample of books used here, there is little evidence that the reproduction of images is based on national distributions of images within France, the United States, and the United Kingdom. However, there is considerable evidence that Impressionist images in Russian, German, Danish, Swiss, and other museums have been generally slighted across the twentieth century. And finally, I traced the professional citations in the Bibliography of the History of Art, and found there were few changes in the relative reference to all of the thirteen major and minor Impressionists across the last quarter of the twentieth century. However, the references in this database have always been high for Cézanne and Degas—a pattern quite different than that of the reproduction of paintings in books focused on Impressionism, which emphasize Monet and Renoir.

### Notes

Epigraph: Brettell (2000), p. 236.

1. A précis of the material in this chapter appeared in Cutting (2006). And obviously, many curators are also scholars.

2. Borgmeyer (1913), p. 165. For the 1900 World's Fair, the Librairie Hachette published a catalogue of the Musée du Luxembourg. The Caillebotte room, immediately to the right of the entrance and off the sculpture room, already had many images in it that were not part of the bequest, including two by Raffaëlli and one by Norbert Goeneutte (1854-1894) (Wittmer, 1990, pp. 299-300). The contents, but not necessarily the hangings, of the Musée du Luxembourg are reported in Bénédict



(1912), and a gloss of a history of the museum and its hangings are given in Mauclair (1923).

3.  $t(34) = 3.4$ ,  $p < .035$ ,  $d = 1.16$ . Also shown in Appendix 12.1 is the number of times each Caillebotte image appeared in print before Borgmeyer (1913). As one can see, except for Degas, hardly any images had appeared and the canon had not yet evolved as we know it today.

4. A negative exponential fit to these data account for 94% of the variance.

5. Rewald (1946), p. 448. See Appendix 4.4 for a list of the first twenty-five books dealing with Impressionism, almost all of which Rewald reviewed.

6. Rewald (1946) on Fontainas and Vauxcelles, and Mather (p. 450), Francastel (p. 451), and Wilenski and Cheney (p. 452).

7. Rewald (1946), p. 9.

8. *Côtes des Boeufs* translates as “hillside of cattle” but no cattle are in the picture. Indeed the hillside is thickly forested.

9. Chi-square tests can be run on these data: For the Monet pair  $\chi^2(2) = .62$ ,  $p > .70$ ; for the Pissarro pair  $\chi^2(1) = .33$ ,  $p > .55$ ; for the first Cézanne pair  $\chi^2(1) = 1.0$ ,  $p > .30$ , for the second Cézanne pair  $\chi^2(1) = 1.29$ ,  $p > .25$ , and for the Manet pair  $\chi^2(1) = 2.5$ ,  $p > .10$ . Chi squares can be summed, so the overall values  $\chi^2(6) = 5.64$ ,  $p > .10$ . Thus, there is no evidence for national biases in these data. Unfortunately, these tests have quite low power due to the small  $ns$ .

10. Previously, I had mentioned that Rewald (1946) purposefully favored Impressionist images held in the United States. He was first to publish 11 of the 36 images in the top 138 that are in the United States; 12 US-museum owned images had been published prior to Rewald. With respect to the books my sample does not appear to be a bias within the Cornell University Library collections. Few books on Impressionism seem to have been published in any language that did not first appear in either French or English.

11. These data were obtained by searching the BHA (6 June 2003) using the artists names as keywords, and then checking every entry. This was necessary because the BHA does not sort its entries by date, and also because many entries for “Monet” are in Russian or Polish, where *monet* is word for money. The data were smoothed by passing them through a filter, where the value  $n$  was set equal to  $[(n-1) * .5 + n + (n+1) * .5] / 2$ .

## 10: A Second Sample

‘How much do you want to sell that canvas for?’ he would say. ‘If it is for yourself . . . so much’ – and the artist would name a price for a friendly purchaser. ‘Not at all,’ answered Caillebotte, ‘you would sell it for double to anyone else . . . and it would be considerably beneath its value. It is worth three times as much. Here is the price I value it at, and I shall take it with me and thank you for it!’ The painter pressed his friend’s hand, and when afterwards the envelope was opened, it was found to contain double the amount the good fellow had mentioned.

Jean Bernac, “The Caillebotte  
Bequest to the Luxembourg”

One might complain that, although I researched the contents of a large number of books in Chapters 7 through 9, I really only just skimmed the surface. *Many* more books include Impressionist images than those focused on Impressionism. I completely agree. For that reason, I felt the need to investigate what I call a deep sample. Its relation to the broad sample was suggested in Figure 7.1 (p. 120). That is, rather than trying to investigate *all* pictures in a *selected* group of books, which was the strategy for the broad sample in the previous three chapters, I investigated a *selected* group of pictures and searched for them in *all* the books I could find. With such a sample I could assess aspects of the canon like: the constancy and drift of individual images across the twentieth century, the narrowness of the core canon as found in encyclopedias and introductory art history texts, a contemporary flattening of the canon as scholars reach out more to noncanonical works, and the representation of its collections by the French state (through the *Réunion des musées nationaux*). And I could also ask contemporary young viewers to assess the prototypicality of the images as representing Impressionism.

Extracting data from the broad sample was straightforward, if tedious. Keeping track of all the images and collating them across time was not always easy. Particularly problematic were the older books that did not cite the paint-

ings by their contemporary names or even bother to say where the paintings came from. Indeed many of them were owned by Durand-Ruel and were still purchasable at the time. Nonetheless, such a project was not too onerous and could be carried out in a few months.

The deep sample was different. It required more patience. I decided on a sample of images that could serve two purposes. First, it could ramify the results of the broad sample, providing an independent analysis. Discussion of those characteristics of the deep sample is the purpose of this chapter. Second, it could serve as a multipurpose base of images to assess the role of the public, as discussed in Chapter 11. But which Impressionist images should I look for? For me the initial choice was clear. For at least a decade Gustave Caillebotte had fascinated me, both as a painter and as a collector.

### **Caillebotte, His Collection, and a Matched Sample**

Chapter 6 laid groundwork for appreciating Caillebotte as a collector, and Chapters 7 and 8 demonstrated the nearly unparalleled prominence of the images he once owned. About his collection Kirk Varnedoe stated:

It would be wrong to infer . . . that his collection was merely the corollary result of his charity. His eye was as keen as his heart was large, and he was absolutely confident—in near-clairvoyant fashion—of the enduring quality of the works he acquired, from a select circle of his associates only.<sup>1</sup>

Among oils and pastels, Caillebotte collected works *only* by Cézanne, Degas, Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley. This is a familiar list. But again why only these seven? Caillebotte left no documents concerning his collection, nor how and why he amassed it as he did. Thus, an answer can only be based on inferences from the few facts we have.

On 5 February 1876 Caillebotte was invited by Rouart (also his neighbor) and Renoir to participate in the second Impressionist exhibition. This was not long after his father's estate had been settled, and Caillebotte was suddenly wealthy. He had begun to purchase his new colleagues paintings, buying at least one Monet in late 1875 (*Un coin d'appartement*, Apartment interior, 1875, Musée d'Orsay). His will, discussed in Chapter 6, was written on 3 November 1876. This is only seven months after the second Impressionist exhibition, and only nine after Rouart and Renoir's invitation:

It is my wish that the sum necessary to hold . . . the exhibition of the painters . . . be taken from my estate. . . . The painters who will figure in this exhibition are Degas, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, Cézanne, Sisley, Mlle Morizot.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, in a brief time, Caillebotte seems to have already narrowed down his view of the important Impressionists to a small group, well before anyone on the public scene had done so. Caillebotte died eighteen years later, and during those years the thirteen major and minor Impressionist painted nearly 60% of their collective work. Through 1876 they had painted only about 20% of it. We don't know if Caillebotte had irrevocably made up his mind in 1876 about who were

the proper Impressionists, but it appears that he had. Did he have “near-clairvoyance” in his purchases as Varnedoe suggested? Perhaps, but there are other factors to be reckoned with in Chapters 11 and 12.

Consider a few more things about the list in Caillebotte’s will. Notice first that Manet was omitted. This is understandable. Caillebotte knew that Manet was not participating in the Impressionist exhibitions, but instead still plying the official Salon. But perhaps Caillebotte did not yet regard Manet as an Impressionist. He purchased his few Manets eight years later at the Manet estate sale, and generally after he had retired from the Paris art scene. Notice second that Morisot was included in the list. We don’t know why Caillebotte never purchased Morisots. Since none of her paintings were really on the market in the 1870s, since she was reasonably well off, and since Caillebotte often bought paintings to support his colleagues financially, perhaps he simply never took the opportunity. Rouart, his Impressionist friend and neighbor, was also not included, and he too was wealthy and didn’t need support. And notice third that Guillaumin was also omitted. Guillaumin had a hard-labor job, found little time to paint in the early 1870s, and although he had participated in the first Impressionist exhibition he did not participate in the second. Given Caillebotte’s apparently quick decisions about his will and future purchases, it seems possible that by missing that exhibition Guillaumin may have lost his chance at a central position in the Impressionist canon of painters.

Finally, consider several of the other painters whose works Caillebotte did not collect. Many were not on the scene in 1876. Cassatt and Forain didn’t participate in the Impressionist exhibitions until the fourth in 1879, and Gauguin not until the fifth in 1880. Caillebotte participated in, bankrolled, and helped organize both of those exhibitions, but he was becoming desperately upset at the politics and nascent dissolution of the larger group. And Seurat participated in only the last exhibition, which Caillebotte had nothing to do with. Thus, it appears that within a seven- to nine-month span in 1876 the future Impressionist canon of artists had been formed clearly in Caillebotte’s mind, if perhaps in no one else’s.<sup>3</sup>

### Image Choice

I started with Caillebotte. For the centennial of his death, Anne Distel oversaw the organization of a celebration of his work (Distel, 1994). In an appendix to that volume were 65 small, black-and-white images of works in Caillebotte’s collection. Eight others were mentioned in brief detail without images and sometimes without full titles. Of these 73, two were drawings by Jean-François Millet (1814-1875), one a drawing by Paul Gavarni (1804-1866), and one a decorative fan by Camille Pissarro. These four were not considered further. From the remaining 69, I located at least one version of 64 of the images, 62 in books and 2 on the Internet. In addition, I also used two paintings by Caillebotte himself that were included by his family in the legacy to the state of France.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, 66 images from the Caillebotte collection were selected: 2 Caillebottes, 5 Cézannes, 8 Degas, 4 Manets, 16 Monets, 14 Pissarros, 9 Renoirs, and 8

Sisleys. For purposes that will become clearer in Chapter 11 each image in Caillebotte's collection was then matched to another image, selected with several constraints: The paired image was by the same artist, in the generally the same style, from roughly the same period with the same type of subject matter— portrait, landscape, nude, etc.—and insofar as possible the same general array and distribution of colors. These criteria were used to amass a set of paintings and pastels that Caillebotte might have collected, had he had the opportunity—and in many cases he may have. They were chosen generally without regard for their location. Many are currently in the Musée d'Orsay, others in other museums, and a few in private collections.

After I selected the images, a research assistant and I became sufficiently familiar with all 132 images to recognize them spontaneously.<sup>5</sup> We then began to consult all the relevant books (but not professional journals) in the Cornell Fine Arts Library, plus twelve other Cornell University campus libraries. Our intent was to record every occurrence of each of the 132 images in Cornell's more than seven million volumes. With time we became extremely facile at recognizing the images, but refreshed our memories frequently. Carrying an electronic notebook with us to the libraries, we created and then continually updated separate computer databases for each of the 132 images. In these computer files we registered each occurrence of an image with its source's call number, author, title, date of publication, page number, and occasionally other information. These were needed to check that we did not record duplicates at a later time.

We searched books—sometimes intensively, sometimes more leisurely—over the course of twenty months in at least two hundred library visits. Totals were accumulated each month or so and compared. After several months into the project, I correlated the new cumulative totals with the previous month's. These were always extremely high and increasingly so as time progressed.<sup>6</sup> Thus, I am convinced that, however many books we might have missed while assembling the databases, the counts of images in them would not change the shape of the relationships among frequencies found and reported here.

We found target images in books along shelves by call number according to many criteria. Of course, we looked in sections for each of the eight artists including monographs, exhibition catalogues, and *catalogues raisonnés*, and in sections on painting, sculpture, pastels, drawings, watercolors, prints, and combined media. We also looked at all other artists closely or even loosely associated with Impressionism. These included those generally earlier, such as Corot, Courbet, and Turner; those painting at the same time, such as Fantin-Latour and Forain; and those after, such as Gauguin, Seurat, Toulouse-Lautrec, and Van Gogh. Also important were sections on artistic terms and periods such as Impressionism, Neo-impressionism, and Post-impressionism. But we also successfully searched books in sections on the *Nabis*, Naturalism, *japonisme*, Cubism, Symbolism, and more generally nineteenth century art, French Art, European Art, Jewish Art, and Modern Art. We found these images in smaller sections on painting and drawing techniques, and the use of color; in sections on landscapes, seascapes, portraits, still lifes, and flowers; in sections on feminism, nudes, bodies, fashion, visual culture, and modern life. We also found these images in books on aesthetics and form; in those on art appreciation and the

psychology and philosophy of art; and in those on pictorial art as it relates to music, poetry, and the other arts. They also appeared in guidebooks to Paris; in books on the French *patrimoine*, a reflection of French culture, geography, and history; in books on art collectors and collecting; in books on museums and museum design; in source books of museum holdings around the world and their guide books; in books of images for sale as posters; and in auction house catalogs. Finally, we included a most important group—introductory art history textbooks, world art textbooks and sourcebooks, encyclopedias and dictionaries specific to art (e.g. *The Phaidon Encyclopedia of Art*); and general encyclopedias (e.g. *Britannica*). In this process we attended to shelf lists and the online catalogue. We recalled books when necessary, and ordered books on interlibrary loan when Cornell books had been lost. Perhaps most importantly, and certainly most delightfully, we simply roamed the aisles of the Cornell Fine Arts and other libraries in search for candidate volumes, thumbing through as many as we deemed necessary.

Several constraints governed our tallies. First, multiple copies of the same book were not considered. These would be intended for the same audience and had the same call number. Second, a foreign language book and its English-language translation were counted separately, as well as different editions of the same book. These would be intended for different audiences and had different call numbers. Third, in a given book occasionally there would be both a full image and a detail of that image. These too were each counted, with the idea that if the author wished to show the image twice (or more), it was important enough to count it twice (or more). We also recorded the number of details reproduced for each image, and the number of times they appeared in color (vs. black and white), on covers, spread out on two pages versus one, and as frontispieces. None of these latter factors had any statistical leverage in the results that follow here and in Chapter 11, so they will not be considered again.

In all, we located 4232 reproductions of the 132 images in 980 different books. As it happens, all of these were published between 1901 and 2001. In this effort possibly 6000 books were thumbled through, their indices perused, or their tables of illustrations combed. The range in frequency of occurrence across all images was from 2 (one Pissarro, one Renoir, and three Sisleys) to 282 (for Renoir's *Bal du Moulin de la Galette*).<sup>7</sup> Mean frequency for all images was 32; median frequency was 16. Distributions varied widely—8 images occurred more than 100 times; 13 occurred between 50 and 100 times; 27 between 25 and 49 times; 48 between 10 and 24 times; and 40 fewer than 10 times. Thus, among the 132 images, I obtained a clear gradation from the core canon of Impressionism to its base corpus. This was my intent.

One methodological question concerns the relation of the images used here to the rest of the Impressionist canon.<sup>8</sup> Various images in this deep sample can be compared with the broad sample discussed in this and the previous chapter. Eighty-four images appeared in both samples. This means that 48 images in the deep sample were not found in the broad sample, reinforcing the necessity of looking beyond the books on Impressionism broadly construed to understand the distribution of Impressionist corpus of images. Across the joint sample of 84 images, the correlation of relative occurrences is very high.<sup>9</sup>

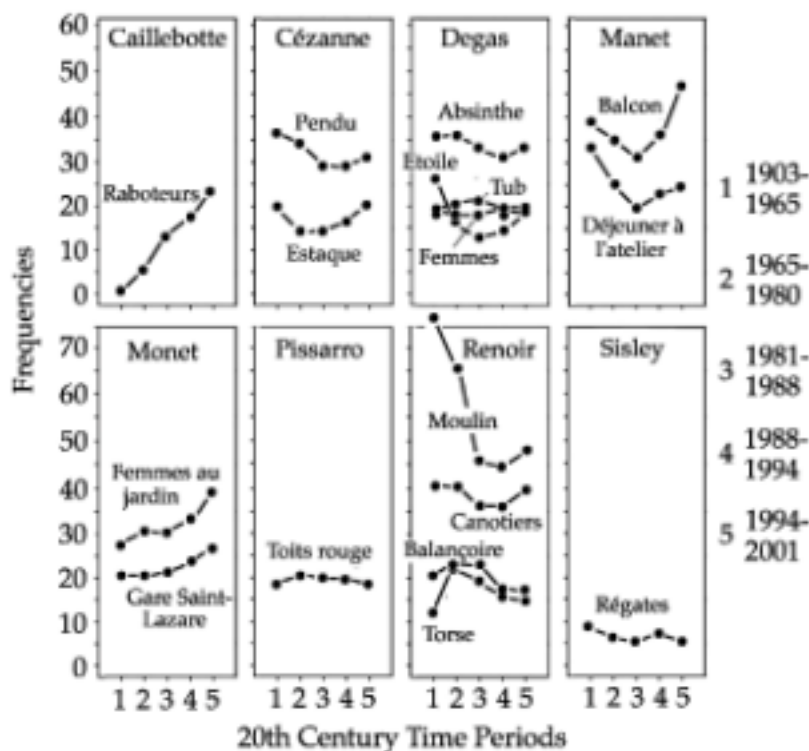


Figure 10.1: Patterns of appearance of seventeen images by eight artists across the twentieth century.

### Stability and Change in Impressionist Images Across the Twentieth Century

Since the collection of images accrues incrementally, in a university library or elsewhere, changes in the Impressionist canon ought also to change relatively slowly, integrating the relative number of appearances over a relatively long period of time. In Chapter 2 I claimed that canons are stable across time periods of decades. The results here seem to support this idea. The correlation between frequencies in books published before 1989 and those after is very high. Indeed, removing the four images by Caillebotte from the analysis—which have shown marked increases in publication rates—makes the correlation even more substantial for the 128 images of the seven remaining artists.<sup>10</sup> This result certainly bespeaks long-term stability. Nonetheless, in Chapter 2 I also claimed that some aspects of canons could change, if slowly; others might change more rapidly. Is this also true about particular images in the Impressionist canon?

### Constancy and Drift in the Canon

In Chapter 4 I presented evidence for the relative stability of the painters as represented in the Impressionist canon. Over the course of the twentieth century and among the major Impressionists there was a slight relative increase in the publication of works by Monet and a slight decrease in those of Sisley. Among the minor Impressionists there were relative increases for Bazille, Caillebotte, Cassatt, and Morisot. Thus, although taken from different sources and measured in different ways, the several trends seen for the artists in Figures 4.5 and 4.6 were also found for the selection of their most published images used in this study, as seen in Figure 10.1.<sup>11</sup> In particular, both Caillebotte and Monet showed reliable increases in both situations. And again, Sisley shows a reliable decrease. Cézanne and Degas showed some variability across time periods with some decrease in the 1980s. And three painters—Manet, Pissarro and Renoir—showed no particular effects. Again, I would claim that the main result of these analyses is the relative constancy across the twentieth century for most artists and images, with a few trends suggesting drift across the century.

Although there is great variability in reproduction rates across the twentieth century for many of the images, scrutiny of Figure 10.1 reveals some interesting patterns associated with particular images. Several images have shown increases over the twentieth century. Most striking is Caillebotte's *Raboteurs de parquet* (1875, Musée d'Orsay). Only seven other images in the deep sample were reproduced more often since 1992. Two Monets of interest here are *Femmes au jardin* (1866) and *La gare Saint-Lazare* (1877). Like the rest of Monet, their reproductions have generally increased over the twentieth century.

Reproduction rates of most images, however, have been quite constant over the twentieth century. Cézanne's *La maison du pendu* (1873, Musée d'Orsay) and *Estaque* (1878-80, Musée d'Orsay) showed a slight dip in the 1960s through 80s, but have been generally constant. Degas' images—all in the Musée d'Orsay—are *L'Absinthe* (1876), *Femmes à la terrasse d'un café, le soir* (1877), and *Le tub* (1886)—all show considerably constancy across the twentieth century. Pissarro's most reproduced image is *Les toits rouges* (1877) and Sisley's is *Les régates à Molesey* (Regattas at Molesey, 1874), and their reproduction rates stayed about the same. Three images by Renoir—*Le déjeuner des canotiers* (1881, Phillips Collection), *La balançoire* (1876, Musée d'Orsay) and *Etude. Torse, effet de soleil* (Torso of a woman in sunlight, 1875-76, Musée d'Orsay)—show some variability, but their reproduction rates have been reasonably constant. The two Manet images, *Le balcon* (1868-69, Musée d'Orsay) and *Le déjeuner à l'atelier* (1868, Neue Pinakothek, Munich), have always been reproduced in quantity, but with a slight dip in the 1980s.

Two images, however, show striking declines from their peaks in the first part of the twentieth century. Degas' *L'Etoile, danseuse sur la scène* (1876-78, Musée d'Orsay), on the other hand, was the seventh most reproduced image of this sample until 1965, only to fall to fifteenth by century's end. Similarly, although Renoir's *Bal du Moulin de la Galette* (1876, Musée d'Orsay) still leads this sample, it occurred almost twice as often as any other image between 1901 and 1980. Today it is reprinted only modestly more than others.



Sampling images across time for purposes of comparison is subject to inherent variability. The most important aspect that emerges from the patterns in Figure 10.1 is the general constancy with which images have appeared relative to one another for 100 years. This is particularly interesting in the context of the changes in the discipline of art history. In the latter half of the twentieth century art history changed dramatically. Earlier it could be characterized as one of connoisseurship and biography, often potted. Later it became much more historically sophisticated, embracing interests in collectors, social forces, modernism, and feminism. Yet despite these trends in scholarship, there has been little change in the canon of images. Of the twenty most frequently occurring images in this set between 1993 and 2001, eighteen were the most frequent between 1901 and 1965. The core canon appears to march on as if little has happened, summoned now for different reasons than in previous times, but summoned nonetheless and at about the same relative frequency.

There are two other trends worth considering. The first concerns the relative sharpness and narrowness of the core canon. The second is something of the reverse, a trend not seen in Figure 10.1, and a bright spot for contemporary scholarship.

### **The Narrowness of the Core Canon**

One of the striking features of the sample concerns the distribution of appearance for the 132 images in introductory art history textbooks, world art image books, and in encyclopedias. These, of course, are the books with the broadest intended audiences. Although the mean number of appearances in these books for the images used here is 2.3, the mode is exactly zero. Indeed, seven (or 5% of the) images—Degas' *L'Absinthe*, Manet's *Le balcon*, Monet's *Femmes au jardin* and *La gare Saint-Lazare* (Orsay), Pissarro's *Les toits rouges*, and Renoir's *Bal du Moulin de la Galette* and his *Le déjeuner des canotiers*—accounted for 62% of all such appearances in this sample. Impressively, six of these seven are in the Musée d'Orsay, and three were owned by Caillebotte. By comparison, these same seven images accounted for “only” 29% of the appearances in all books in this deep sample—a high percentage to be sure, but a vastly smaller proportion compared to the most general books. Moreover, I am sure there is nothing unusual to Impressionism about this kind of phenomenon. It surely occurs across all canons in pictorial art and elsewhere. Core canons are very exclusive clubs.

### **A Contemporary Flattening of the Canon**

A different kind of change is shown in Figure 10.2. In précis, despite the repeated appearances of only a few images in the most general books, the hierarchy of the Impressionist canon showed a modest sign of flattening towards the end of the twentieth century. That is, the most frequent images appear slightly less often, and the less frequent images a bit more often. This result was determined by dividing the publication dates of the entire corpus of 3896 images in half, which is cleanly done at the end of 1985. That is, half of these images (50.02%) appear in books with publication dates before 1986; half with dates in

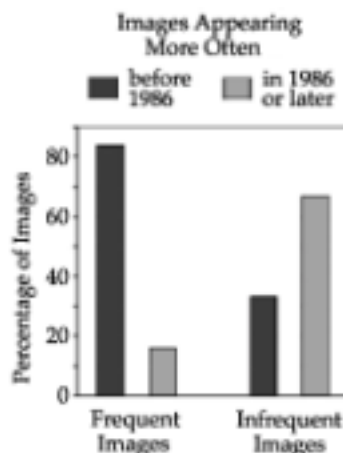


Figure 10.2: A plot of the interaction in publication of 26 canonical and 106 noncanonical images before and after 1980.

1986 and after. In addition, the corpus of images was also divided. I selected those appearing more than 40 times in the databases ( $n = 26$ ) to contrast with those appearing less than 40 times ( $n = 106$ ); 18 of the 26 more frequent images were in the three tiers of the canon as outlined in Chapters 7 and 8. Omitting ties ( $n = 11$ ), only 16% of the more frequent images occurred more often after 1985 (Caillebotte's *Raboteurs de parquet*, Cézanne's *Estaque*, Manet's *Le balcon*, and Monet's *Le déjeuner*), but 67% of the less-frequent images did. This difference was statistically reliable.<sup>12</sup> In other words, although there is little relative change in the reproduction of Impressionist images, more contemporary scholarship has reached out to include more images farther down into the Impressionist corpus.

Why has this occurred? One possibility concerns an assumption about a change in this sector of the publishing industry. Perhaps, as images have become relatively cheaper to reproduce, Impressionist books have included more images. Were there more images in each book, there would be room for those farther down the hierarchy of the Impressionist canon. Reciprocally, with more images in each book fewer of them would be from the core canon. However, the case for any change in publishing practices affecting image frequency is not compelling. For example, there is no progression towards more images across the century in the 30 books of initial sample, those of Appendix 4.1.<sup>13</sup>

Another possibility is that this shift reflects the scholarship and publishing of works concerning the separate artists. Perhaps more books on the individual artists have appeared since 1985 and these are more replete with images at the fringe of the canon. To assess this, I distilled all books in search of those containing one of the seven major painters' names in the title ( $n = 312$ ). Median publication dates for these ranged from 1969 for Renoir to 1984 for Degas, and all seven medians were prior to 1986. Indeed, fully 60% of all of these volumes

were published before 1986. Thus, there is no recent burgeoning of books on single painters. Indeed, the contrary is true.<sup>14</sup>

In summary, two things can be said about the canon of Impressionist images. First, as measured by image reproduction rates across a century, it is remarkably stable. But second, small changes do occur, and these divide at least two ways—with the images of some artists appearing a bit more, others less, and with incrementally more reproductions of less-frequent images. I take this latter effect as a good sign and as a sign of more thoroughgoing, innovative art historical scholarship. Although attention remains focused on the core canon, it is also more attuned to the wider corpus of images.

### ***La Réunion des musées nationaux* and its Representation of the Canon**

In this context there is another interesting comparison to make. The Musée d'Orsay and its predecessors have occupied a central place in this discussion. Have they promoted their own paintings differently than the literature more broadly? The Cornell Library owns 14 volumes, or multivolume sets, published by the Musée d'Orsay, the Musée du Louvre, or both, that include images of Impressionist art. Does the selection from their own works differ from the selection in these databases? The answer is largely no. There is a strong correlation between the number of occurrences in their own volumes of the 72 works investigated here that are in their collection and the appearance of those works in reproductions elsewhere.<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps more interestingly, however, is the fact that the Orsay and its predecessors have systematically promoted some of their images more than others. Consider three groups of images listed in Appendix 10.1. Members of the first group occur in most of their publications. These are also twelve of the fifteen most frequently occurring images among those in the deep sample. Indeed, they form about one third of the core canon of Impressionist art, as outlined in Chapter 7. Strangely, however, Degas' *Femmes à la terrasse d'un café, le soir* seems rarely to have been promoted by the *Réunion des musées nationaux de France* but is reproduced in other books quite often.<sup>16</sup> And finally, the musées have promoted several works by Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and particularly Sisley reasonably often, but authors in the wider literature have not reproduced them in kind. It is of some interest that all but one of these is a landscape.

Together, these relationships show that the French national museums, as a promoter, have been generally in tune with the larger literature on Impressionism, but that a few of its holdings have been less appreciated by others than it might like, and it has underappreciated at least one of its own images. I find this a happy result. It corroborates my first assumption as given in Chapter 2; no individuals, not even those working in the Musée d'Orsay and its predecessor museums, have control of, or even have a complete grasp of, the Impressionist canon as it has made its slow and graceful changes over long periods of time.<sup>17</sup>

Finally, I want to consider more about these images and how they are perceived. This will prove useful in Chapter 11 and in the experiments reported there. But before making an extended foray into the possible role of the broader

cultural audience in canon maintenance, I thought it would be useful to have members of a relatively naïve but appreciative audience to assess them. In particular, I was interested in knowing how they would rate the prototypicality of each these images—essentially telling me which images most reflected what Impressionism was like as they knew it. The idea here was not to seek the truth about these images—far from it. Instead, I was interested in the general opinion of a relatively naïve group, and what might be gleaned from their views.

### **Judged Prototypicality of Impressionist Images: Study 2**

Twenty-one undergraduate students in an advanced visual perception seminar viewed a PowerPoint sequence of 138 images—all 132 discussed above, plus six more by Gustave Caillebotte.<sup>18</sup> Viewers rated each image on a 1-to-7 scale indicating how representative they thought each was of Impressionism in general, with 7 being the most prototypical.

The most striking effects of prototypicality judgments were those by painter. These are shown in Figure 10.3. Most prototypical were the 16 images by Sisley. This is interesting because, by analyses in Chapters 4 and 5, Sisley is clearly the least major of the seven “major” impressionists. Judgments for the 18 images by Renoir were slightly lower, but not reliably so. Clustered with Renoir but reliably lower than Sisley were the 32 works by Monet, and the 28 by Pissarro. Next, clustered together and reliably below works of the first four artists were the 16 works by Degas and 10 by Cézanne. Finally, well below these were the 8 by Manet and the 10 by Caillebotte.

I take these results to be surprisingly informative. Naïve undergraduates know quite a lot about Impressionist images—Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley are all at the top as most prototypical, followed by Cézanne and Degas, and then followed by Manet and Caillebotte. Interestingly, as noted earlier, Cézanne and Manet are often described as not really being Impressionist painters. Cézanne’s most important works are later than the period of the 1870s and 1880s, and mostly Manet’s earlier. In addition, Degas never painted outdoors, which may have influenced judgments. But notice that Caillebotte’s images are regarded as nonprototypical as well. Interestingly, Caillebotte often received favorable reviews of his works at the Impressionist exhibitions when his colleagues did not.

Another classification of images also shows an important set of differences. Of this set of 138 images, 90 can be classified as landscapes, seascapes, or cityscapes; 44 as portraits, often of groups and often outside; and 4 as still lifes. The mean rating for all landscapes (5.0) was reliably higher than that for all portraits (4.1) and all still lifes (3.8). Portraits and still lifes did not differ, but there were so few of the latter in this sample that little should be made of this null result. As noted in Table 8.2, landscapes dominate (56%) the corpora of roughly 9000 images produced by the seven major Impressionists. Sisley and Monet painted landscapes almost exclusively, and Pissarro mostly landscapes. Portraits were a bit less common (38%), despite the fact that Degas painted portraits almost exclusively, and Renoir may have as well. Still lifes lagged way

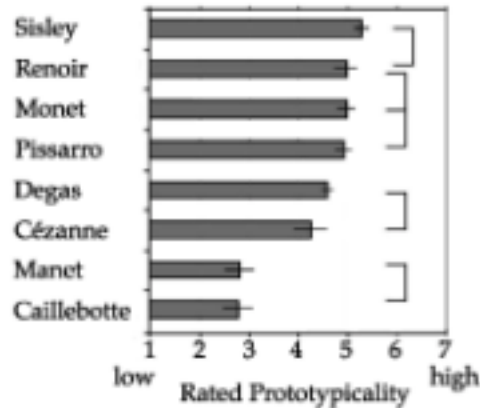


Figure 10.3: The ratings of prototypicality of the paintings by eight artists in Study 2. Brackets to the right indicate which groupings are not reliably different from one another. Lines at the tips of the bars are standard errors of the mean.

behind (6%), and only Cézanne and Manet painted a substantial number of them. Thus, the judgments of naïve undergraduates match the distributions of images in the Impressionist corpora quite well. This could only be due to the fact that they have begun to assimilate the Impressionist canon, which is the focus of the next chapter.

### Summary

In the pursuit of a second sample of images, I focused on those in Caillebotte's collection. It is clear that by shortly after the second Impressionist exhibition, which was also the first that he participated in, Caillebotte had a clear idea of who was a proper Impressionist painter. For purposes of broadening the sample, and for use in the studies of the next chapter, I matched images to those in Caillebotte's collection. I then searched deeply, in all of the books I could find in the Cornell libraries, rather than broadly. I found similar patterns to those seen in Chapter 8. There was considerable constancy in presentation of the Impressionist canon across the twentieth century, a few images were presented—particularly in Introductory Art History books and encyclopedias—much more often than might have been predicted, but unsurprisingly these were members of the core canon. There was also some indication that, over the course of twentieth century in presenting Impressionism, there has been a slight increase in the presentation of noncanonical images. Finally, students were asked to judge the prototypicality of the 138 Impressionist images in this second sample. Results, when collapsed across artists showed that the images of Sisley and Renoir images were seen as most prototypical, and those of Manet and Caillebotte least so. In addition, the landscapes were judged as systematically more prototypical than portraits, even though the core canon is chock full of portraits.

## Notes

Epigraph: Bernac (1895), pp. 33-34.

1. Varnedoe (1987), p.4.

2. Distel (1990), p. 245. For the dates in this discussion see her *Chronology*. Caillebotte also misspelled Morisot's name. It is not clear what is to be made of this. Many of the Impressionists had their names misspelled in many places. See, for example, Mallarmé's account quoted in Chapter 3. See also Higonnnet (1992), pp. 20-21.

3. Caillebotte is also likely to have been a frequent visitor to the first Impressionist exhibition in 1874. Although he had no real money until the end of 1875, this stretches his decision period out to two years, but it also complicates matters. The first exhibit also included Boudin and Cals, reasonably important painters whose works Caillebotte also did not purchase.

4. On Distel (1994): This whole research project began with the astonishment I felt, standing in a Paris bookstore in the summer of 1994, thumbing through her book and coming across the appendix with all of the images that were in the Caillebotte collection. And despite a year's search in libraries and on the Internet, I was unable to find five other works described as having been owned by Caillebotte. These were without images in Distel (1994) and there was no mention of them in the *catalogue raisonné* of each painter. They include a Monet, three Pissarros, and a Sisley—see Cutting (2003, p. 343).

5. I thank Justine Zee Kwok for hours of help in the beginning of this compilation. We carried around a folder containing color copies, and black and whites for those not in color. We glanced through them at free moments refreshing our memories.

6.  $r_s > .996$ .

7. After Manet's *Olympia* and his *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe*, Renoir's *Bal du Moulin de la Galette* is almost surely the most reproduced of all Impressionist paintings. For example, in one Paris guidebook (Chastel, 1971) I found only two paintings representing what could be found in the city—the *Mona Lisa* and the *Bal du Moulin de la Galette*. In turn the *Mona Lisa* (also *La Joconde*) is often regarded as the world's most famous painting or, if one counts Michelangelo's ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, the second most famous (24 September 1995, London *Sunday Times*, The Culture, Section 10, p. 29). However, this assessment was made not long after the Sistine ceiling was cleaned, and with its accompanied media coverage.

8. For more discussion of the representativeness of these images, see Cutting (2003).

9.  $r = .93$ ,  $t(82) = 62.4$ ,  $p < .0001$ .

10. Correlation for all images,  $r = .88$ ,  $t(130) = 21.6$ ,  $p < .0001$ . When excluding those of Caillebotte,  $r = .94$ .

11. The boundary year 1988 was divided in half, with half of all entries assigned to the 3rd category and half the 4th. The boundary year 1993 was assigned 4/5ths to the 4th category and 1/5th to the last category.

12.  $\chi^2(1) = 22.2$ ,  $p < .0001$ .

13. What is compelling is the increase in the percentages of color images. Across the five chronological periods the percentage of all of the 132 images in color was 34, 51, 63, 73, and 66%. Most interesting, perhaps, the slight dip more recently perhaps reflecting a change in scholarship away from a focus on painterly issues and more towards social ones. Also, there was no statistical effect of color in the images as they appeared in the database; but there was a statistical effect of color in the reported recognition of images as presented. The mean numbers of images across the

six chronological groups are 175, 117, 123, 181, 142, and 207. Similarly, dividing those books into two groups—those before 1986 and those in 1986 and after—reveals no clear difference: The mean number of images in the earlier group is 141 (standard deviation = 130); that for the latter 182 (standard deviation = 95).

14. The effect of more books on individual painters before 1986 was reliable,  $z = 4.6$ ,  $p < .0001$ . The exception is Caillebotte, where 7 of the 9 books on him appeared since 1986. In addition, all eight artists had their *catalogues raisonnés* published before 1986 except Cézanne (who has two—Venturi, 1936 and Rewald et al 1996) and Caillebotte (Bérhaut, 1994). Similarly three of the four of Cornell's *opera completa* (those of Cézanne, Degas, and Renoir, but not Monet) were published before 1986. *Catalogue raisonnés* and *opera completa* (Italian compilations that are a bit less thorough than the French catalogs) have the intent of publishing all known images of the artists. Appearance of rare images in these volumes would be prior to 1986 and mediate against the effect; but the appearance of the Distel (1994) volume in both French and English, which has many of the infrequent Caillebotte images, would contribute to it.

15. Excluded from this count are books by Germain Bazin, Françoise Cachin, and Anne Distel during and after they were heads of the Louvre or the Orsay. The correlation is:  $r = .76$ ,  $t(70) = 9.7$ ,  $p < .0001$ .

16. Part of the issue is that the Musées Nationaux distinguish between paintings and pastels, and when they promote their images they often tend not to promote pastels. Thirteen of the 14 Degas images used in this study were pastels; *l'Absinthe* is the only image that was not. Nonetheless, *Etoile* and *Le tub* (Woman in tub), both pastels, have been promoted at least twice as much as *Femmes à la terrasse d'un café, le soir*.

17. Two particularly noncanonical presentations of Impressionism stand out, one very much inside and the other outside the art establishment. The first is an exhibit organized by Cogeval (1986) *From Courbet to Cézanne: A new 19th century* that toured the US previewing works in the Orsay, which had not yet opened. Another is in Sister Wendy Beckett's *The story of painting* (Beckett and Wright, 1994).

18. The six additional Caillebotte paintings were: *Déjeuner* (Luncheon, 1876, private collection); *Portraits à la campagne* (Country portraits, 1876, Musée Baron Gérard, Bayeux, France); *Le pont de l'Europe* (The Europe bridge, Paris, 1876, Musée du Petit Palais, Genève, Switzerland), *Peintres en bâtiment* (House painters, 1877, private collection); *Rue de Paris; temps de pluie* (Paris street; rainy weather, 1877, Art Institute of Chicago); and *Boulevard vu d'en haut* (Boulevard viewed from above, 1880, private collection). Reference citations for these images are Bérhaut (1994) #37, 40, 49, 53, 57, and 154, respectively. Details of the study are given in Cutting (2003).

## 11: The Public and Mere Exposure

Every act of writing or curatorial practice, whenever it gets to the point of naming a name, is participating in a certain level of canon formation, no matter what the intent of its author, no matter whether it represents a challenge to the status quo or a confirmation of it.

Russell Ferguson, “Can we still use the canon?”

Let’s reassess where we are. First, as assumed in Chapter 2, canons are historically stable. Indeed, Chapter 4 showed that there was little change in the representation of Impressionist artists over the course of the twentieth century; Chapter 8 showed that, in the growth of the representation of images in the Impressionist canon, there also has been great stability; and Chapter 10 observed that even at the level of individual paintings there is considerable stability. Second, members of the core canon appeared early and often before the public. Chapter 7 showed that images in the first tier of the canon were in museums earliest, were reproduced earliest in scholarly books, and continued to be reproduced most often throughout the twentieth century. These images also tend to be in more prominent locations, in particular the Musée d’Orsay. Images in the second and third tiers are slightly behind these trends. Third, members of the core canon were often part of bequests that were accompanied by a great deal of publicity. The Caillebotte bequest was without precedent and flummoxed the French establishment, the Camondo bequest followed a golden road of public pride straight to the Louvre, the Lane bequest was fought over by two countries, and Samuel Courtauld used public and private means to capture the imagination of the British populace and beyond.

But what good is all this publicity? What purpose does it serve? Publicity makes people notice, and what they notice they typically remember, at least in some form. One must recognize that there are many kinds of memories. When we think of memory, most of us think about what we overtly know. This is often called *declarative* memory, and was part of Study 2 in Chapter 10. It con-



tains all the facts that we can conjure up. But we also think of events in our lives. This is *episodic* memory. Both of these can easily be imported into our consciousness. These are important aspects of memory, but in the larger scheme of things by no means the only ones of importance. Another kind of memory is *procedural* memory. This includes various skills that we develop and maintain over time—how to tie our shoes, hit a tennis ball, drive a car, write our names, use a text editor on a laptop computer, and so forth. These activities are often difficult to describe in words—witness the awkwardness of user manuals—but we clearly have an extraordinarily large number of such skills. They are also not fully part of our consciousness. A fourth type of memory is *implicit* memory. This type of memory includes all manner of things that we may once have been conscious of that have shaped and continue to shape our daily lives. But emphatically, this memory is also not conscious. Nonetheless, it is very important in our everyday lives and central to this discussion.<sup>1</sup>

### Mere Exposure and Culture

One force that helps maintain an artistic canon, I believe, is based on the cultural generalization of the laboratory phenomenon called *mere exposure*. Mere exposure is a technical term in social and cognitive psychology. It denotes the nonconscious acquisition of information about, and attitudes towards, objects and events through their repeated presence in our lives. In turn, these occurrences help shape individual preferences. In the cognitive sciences it is a phenomenon related to learning without awareness, or *implicit learning*, but with a focus on the affective component—what people like.<sup>2</sup> In particular, from childhood through college and throughout adulthood, we are exposed to hundreds of thousands of objects and images. A few of the latter are representations of works of art and occasionally, as during a museum visit, the artwork itself. We do not remember each occurrence of each image, nor where we saw it. Indeed, we often will not even recognize it if we see it again. Nonetheless, we will have a memory of it that can influence our future assessments. This is not an overt cognitive response on our part. That is, it is not something we think about. We neither encourage nor dissuade it from occurring throughout our lives. It is not directly related to the formal part of our education, but it is indeed a very much a part of our general education.

The effects of mere exposure are quite automatic and independent of what we pay attention to in our day to day activities. These effects are a result of simply being a member of a culture and accruing experience with cultural artifacts. Because this process is not a cognitive one, mere exposure can be said to be affective.<sup>3</sup> That is, it influences our attitudes, impressions, preferences, and even our emotions. I claim that when one is exposed over a long period of time to a culture's artifacts one becomes comfortable in that culture, without necessarily reflecting—deeply, shallowly, or thinking at all—on the meaning and use of each artifact.

This is the process familiar to anyone who has lived for an extended period of time in a foreign country. At first foreignness is everywhere—from toilet paper to telephones, tabloids, television, and transportation. Gradually, the new

environment becomes homelike. One feels safe—or at least one knows how to behave more or less comfortably—within it. The new environment has the propensity to become homely over time in large part simply because one sees these surroundings again and again, and sees the natural objects and the artifacts in it again and again. Most importantly, however, an enumeration of exposures need not lead to vast numbers. The surprising fact is that only a few exposures suffice for one to prefer, at least to some small degree, almost any old thing over any new thing of its same general kind. Laboratory evidence suggests that what we are exposed to, and then prefer, can be quite meaningless in a larger context—line drawings, polygons, ideographs, nonsense words or syllables, sounds. Nonetheless, they can also be quite meaningful—photographs of objects or people.<sup>4</sup>

So why not paintings? Laboratory results here have been mixed.<sup>5</sup> Some studies have found evidence suggesting that exposure boosts preferences for abstract art, but others found problems with these results, suggesting that the complexity of the paintings or the initial, pre-exposure preferences confounded the results. But as laboratory studies relying on laboratory exposure, these research efforts failed to capitalize on the everyday exposure of individuals to artwork. The purpose of the studies in this chapter, then, is to circumvent this problem—to assess effects of mere exposure as measured in a way that is more relevant to what happens to us everyday.

The four studies reported in this chapter had three goals. The first two are intertwined. The first concerns Caillebotte and his collection, a discussion begun in Chapter 6 and expanded in Chapter 10. It is sometimes suggested he had extraordinary taste as he amassed his holdings. Unequivocally, he owned a remarkable number of the works that are among the centerpieces of the Impressionist canon, as shown in Chapters 8 and 9. To be sure, in many cases he was on the scene as the first possible buyer of particular artworks, and he seems to have exercised his preferences in an optimal situation to help each friend. However, it should also be noted that many of the paintings he purchased have been thought unsellable at the time he acquired them. Can one determine whether or not Caillebotte demonstrated exquisite taste? Through the use of paired comparisons—and an adaptation of a major method of art historical analysis—one might have the opportunity to address such a difficult question. The second goal is to assess the role of the Musée d'Orsay in the Impressionist canon. Chapters 5, 7, and 8 demonstrated that it is without parallel among museums housing Impressionist works. Thus, we can ask contemporary viewers: Do the paintings in its collections have a special place within individuals' assessments the Impressionist canon? If so, why?

The third goal is more pertinent to cognitive science and social psychology, and is independent of both Caillebotte and the Orsay. It is focused on mere exposure as indexed by the frequency with which the images have appeared in print. That is, the relative frequencies of these images in books, as outlined in Chapter 10, will serve as a cultural proxy. When placed in pairs, their differential number should mimic the differential likelihood that individuals would have seen these images before. The more often the images appear, the more likely individuals may have seen them at least once, perhaps more. This idea is



Figure 11.1: Two images by Sisley: *Village de Voisins* (Village of Voisins, 1874, Musée d'Orsay, Camondo bequest) and *Cour de ferme à Saint-Mammès* (Farmyard at St. Mammès, 1884, Caillebotte bequest).

essentially the same as that proposed by Russell Ferguson, a museum curator, quoted in the epigraph of this chapter. I would modify Ferguson's idea only by adding that every act of publishing or broadcasting an image is a participation in the maintenance of, or in the change in, a canon.

### **Recognition and Preferences for Images from the Impressionist Canon and Corpus: Study 3**

To begin, I sought as many high-quality color reproductions of the 66 Caillebotte images as I could find. I found 51 in color. The like number of comparison images were selected from the same general sources as those for the Caillebotte collection images, and screened for reproduction quality in the same way.<sup>6</sup> Two such pairs are shown here, two Sisleys in Figure 11.1 and two Cézannes in Figure 11.2.

One hundred sixty-six observers looked at all pairs projected in a classroom and chose which one they liked better. They also indicated if they recognized either or both images. The results divide several ways. Consider first those pertinent to the Caillebotte collection and to the Musée d'Orsay. I will then discuss the results interrelating recognition, preference, and frequency.

#### **Caillebotte and the Orsay**

Across the databases of the deep sample, images from the Caillebotte collection did not appear with any different frequency than their matched pairs. In addition, the Caillebotte images were not claimed to be recognized with any reliably different frequency. And finally, the viewers expressed equal preference for the Caillebotte and non-Caillebotte images. Thus, there is nothing unusual here about the paintings and pastels in the Caillebotte collection. He cannot be said to have had extraordinary taste in selection his images over and above the selection of other images by groups of other collectors—at least for these comparisons as judged by a contemporary, relatively naïve, but appreciative audience.

Next, consider the Musée d'Orsay. Images in its collection appeared much more often than those elsewhere—with means of 43 and 21 reproductions, respectively. This is not a surprise, since the French government and the *Réunion des musées nationaux* of France have been thorough in promoting their art for a long time, and they've had a lot of international help. However, the viewers did not claim to recognize the images in the Orsay collections more often than others. As might be expected, viewers did prefer them somewhat more often, but when frequency differences were taken into account, this effect disappeared. Thus, what distinguishes this selection of the Orsay holdings is only that its images have appeared more often.

Given the division of the Caillebotte collection more than a century ago, we can ask: Did the French government select well? According to some, very well: "With the glaring exception of Cézanne, it is arguable that [the French state] wound up with the cream of the collection."<sup>7</sup> Is this true? Of course, an empirical analysis of the kind here carries a different kind of force than an expert pro-



Figure 11.2: Two images by Cézanne: *Les cinq baigneurs* (Five bathers, 1875-77, Musée d'Orsay) and *Baigneurs au repos, III* (Bathers at rest, 1876-77, Barnes Foundation), once owned by Caillebotte and refused by the French state.

fessional assessment. Yet one must be wary of how this retrospective prophecy may have been fulfilled—certain of Caillebotte's images went to the state of France, which made them available and promoted them, which we now revere. It is unequivocal the Caillebotte images in the Orsay appear more often than those that are not—with means of 50 vs. 10 reproductions, respectively, in the deep sample. And indeed the Caillebotte Orsay images were somewhat preferred over their matched pairs, whereas those not in the Orsay were not. But once differences in relative frequency are factored out, there is no residual effect of images being in the Orsay. Thus, being in the Orsay does not make a painting part of the canon independently of how often it appears. Instead, an image may appear more often because it hangs in the Orsay (and hung in its predecessor museums), and appearing there often goes some distance towards maintaining an artwork in the canon as acknowledged by professionals and the public.

Finally, paintings and pastels that reside in any museum—the Orsay or elsewhere—appeared reliably more often in the deep sample than those in private collections (38 vs. 6 reproductions), they were claimed to be recognized more than twice as often (3.3 vs. 1.5%), and when paired directly they were preferred more often (61 vs. 39%). None of this should be a surprise. As seen in Chapter 8, artworks in private collections are not in a canon. What drives all of this, at least statistically, would appear to be frequency of appearance. The other relationships among frequency, recognition, and preference are the centerpiece of the findings in this study, and are a bit complex.

### Recognition and Frequency

Viewers claimed to recognize just less than 3% of all images. This rate is quite a bit below the 9% in Study 1 for the canonical images. Nonetheless, among those images in both sets there was considerable agreement, and recognition rate varied according to observer experience. Differences are shown in the top panel of Figure 11.3. Those having never taken an art history course, or having taken only one, recognized 2% of all images; and those having had at least two courses recognized 12%. Those claiming not to go to an art museum each year recognized 1% of the images, whereas those claiming to go at least once a year recognized 4%. Finally, those never having been to the Musée d'Orsay recognized 2%, whereas those having been at least once recognized 13%. Recognition of individual images ranged from 0% to 25% for Renoir's *Bal du Moulin de la Galette*, and 21% for his *Le déjeuner des canotiers*.

Claims of image recognition were most correlated with their frequency of occurrence in general art texts, but not with occurrences across all texts. This result is not a surprise. Those images should be the most recognizable. However, in this context it is important to note that there was no introductory art history course at Cornell at the time and only 27 of 166 (16%) undergraduates had taken even one art history course. Thus, I would claim that recognition reflects general knowledge of particular viewers, not their perusal of introductory art history textbooks or encyclopedias in the Cornell Library or elsewhere.

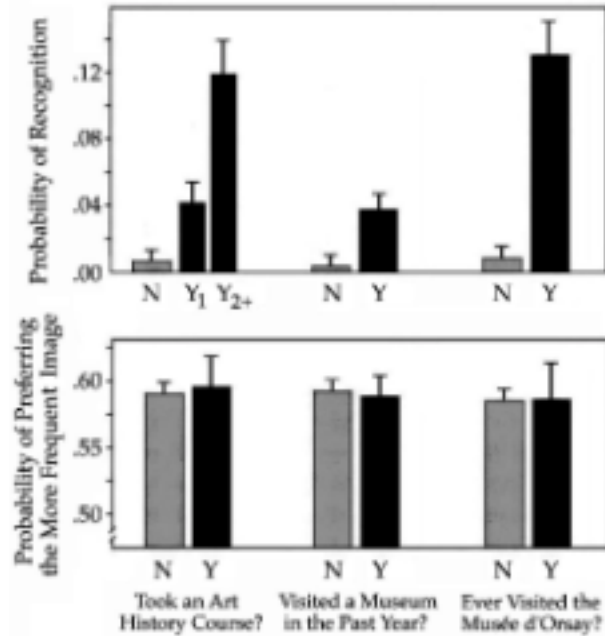


Figure 11.3: The contrasts between recognition and preference results as a function of observer sophistication and experience in Study 3. Standard errors of the mean are indicated on each bar.

Notice, as in Study 1 of Chapter 8, that I make no assumption that observers' responses necessarily represent the true recognition of a particular painting or pastel. There is no way to verify them. Nonetheless, there are additional interesting trends. For example, against a backdrop recognition of less than 3%, the 16 images by Degas were recognized at a rate of a bit more than 6%, and the 7 of his images that were dancers were recognized at a mean rate of over 9%. Recognition of the dancer images, it would seem, is an example of generic recognition—recognition by that individual only that he or she had seen images of Degas-like dancers before. Given that there are 600 pastels and paintings of dancers in the Degas *catalogue raisonné*, this is perhaps not entirely surprising.

### Preference and Frequency

These are the key results of the study. Over all pairs, viewers preferred the more frequently occurring image of each pair on 59% of all trials. Less frequent images were preferred on only 41% of all trials. This relatively small, but highly reliable effect is about the size of many mere exposure effects in the literature.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, here 48 of the more frequent images in 64 pairs were preferred, with one tie in preferences and one in frequencies. Unlike the recognition re-



sults, this effect was uniform across all types of observers, as shown in the bottom panel of Figure 11.3. That is, it occurred equally for those who never had an art history course (59%), and those who had taken at least one such course (59%). It occurred for those not visiting a museum in the past year (59%), those visiting once (59%), and those visiting at least twice (58%), and it occurred equally for those not visiting and visiting the Musée d'Orsay (59% each). Importantly, when differences in recognition rates were compared with preferences for each of the 66 image pairs, there was no reliable correlation.

Many have noted that although the mere exposure effect is a function of number of exposures, but it asymptotes and then can even decline with increasing numbers of presentations. The possible decline is an idea we will return to at the end of this chapter. Here, however, frequencies were scaled logarithmically, as they were in Chapters 3, 4, and elsewhere for Zipf-like analyses. Preferences were then compared against these different frequencies for the kinds of texts in which they appeared. Viewer preference was not correlated with the differences in image appearance in the most general texts. However, it was reliably correlated with the difference in frequencies in all occurrences. Remember, overall frequencies for each image, I claim, act as a proxy for the likelihood and frequency with which an individual may have been exposed to that image in his or her broader cultural experience. Interestingly, the correlation between preferences and the differences in occurrences in all books is the same regardless of whether all occurrences of the images since 1901 are considered, or only those since 1989. The latter, of course, are likely the occurrences correlated with what is most relevant to these viewers. This result also speaks strongly to the stability of the canon of images across the course of the twentieth century, a topic discussed in Chapters 4 and 8.

### **Preference and Recognition in an Older Group: Study 4**

Are the preferences shown in Study 3 due to mere exposure effects as indexed by the frequencies of images in library books? One study is rarely enough to convince anyone but the faithful. Thus, several more are needed, varying the experimental design and the participants in important ways. The goals of this study were to replicate the primary results of Study 3 with an older group. In particular, the first study showed that preferences were related to differences in frequencies of occurrence for pairs of images, and no relation between preference and recognition. This joint result is important for demonstrating mere exposure. Nonetheless, the lack of relation could be due, in part, to what is known as a “floor effect”—that is, too few of the images were recognized for there to be sufficient statistical leverage to demonstrate an effect. An older group would likely recognize more paintings, and so one was chosen.<sup>9</sup> Nineteen adults participated, with a mean age of 36. As in the previous study, this group were shown twenty-five pairs of images and asked which they liked better, and to indicate if they recognized any.

This group reported recognizing 19% of the images, many more than in Study 3. But again, claims of recognition were unrelated to frequencies of ap-



pearance, and unrelated to their preferences. Nonetheless, as in Study 3, viewers preferred the more frequent image of each pair, here 57% of the time; 17 of 25 pairs showed this effect.<sup>10</sup> This set of images had the about same preference margin in Study 3 (58 vs. 42%). In addition, there was a high correlation of preferences among the image pairs used in the two studies. Thus, the major features of the results of Study 3 were replicated.

### Preferences of Children: Study 5

Preferences of adults are one thing, those of kids are another. The goal of this fifth study was to determine if the pattern of preference results found in Studies 3 and 4 might be found in a group of children. If children's preferences match those of previous studies, something other than mere exposure must be at work. Children simply lack broad exposure to art.<sup>11</sup> Sixty-three children between six and ten years old were shown twenty-four pairs of images and asked which ones they liked better.

These children showed no preference for the Caillebotte or Orsay images. More importantly, they also showed no preference for the more frequent image of each pair (51 vs. 49%). The children's responses, however, were far from random; they seemed to like paintings with brighter colors. Thus, whatever governed the adult preferences in Studies 3 and 4 was not operative in the preferences of children. This is an important null result. Although elementary school children may have seen a few Impressionist paintings before, they lack the broad cultural exposure to art of adults.

### Overview

The adult viewers of Studies 3 and 4 generally liked the more frequent images of each pair, but the children of Study 5 did not.<sup>12</sup> The effect in adults was salient for differences measured across all books in the deep sample databases. Preference strength was not a function whether or not the observers took trips to museums, or attended art history courses, nor were they related to prototypicality judgments.

In Study 3, viewers recognized few of these Impressionist images—less than 3%. Low recognition rates are requisite for laboratory demonstrations of mere exposure. That is, in this context, I wanted to be sure that the viewers were not simply responding to what someone might have told them. In Study 3, recognition rates were not to their frequency in all books. In Study 4 a more seasoned set of viewers recognized 18% of a smaller set of images, but their recognition rates were also not related to any frequency counts. In Studies 3 and 4, recognition rates and preferences were not related, another requisite for laboratory demonstrations of mere exposure. This pattern has been recognized for quite some time and there is neurophysiological evidence in its support.<sup>13</sup>

One account for the preference results of the Studies 3 and 4 might be that viewers, when faced with making preference judgments, were comparing images on the basis of what they thought were the most representative (prototypical) Impressionist paintings. That is, as discussed in Chapter 1, the viewers may

have been searching for what they thought were certain tell-tale features of Impressionist images, and using that information for their judgments. This assumes that the higher frequency images have such features and the others do not. Such an idea seemed possible, and these results were compared with those of Study 2 in Chapter 10. No reliable correlation was found. Thus, the preference results cannot be explained on the basis of perceived prototypicality.

In addition, several conclusions can be drawn about art collections. First, at least with respect to this type of analysis and experiment, images from the Caillebotte collection were neither preferred more often nor recognized more often than those matched to them; and the Caillebotte images were not more frequently occurring. Second and in contrast, the Musée d'Orsay holdings did occur more often in this sample. This is not a surprise. Chapters 5 and 6 showed that the Orsay owns one out of eleven of all Impressionist paintings publicly available, and most of the core canon. However with the same caveats as above, the Orsay's holdings were neither preferred nor recognized more often than other images matched to their frequencies of occurrence. Third, as noted in Chapters 2 and 8, art in private collections is not generally in the Impressionist canon. Here, that art was found rarely to be preferred. These images occurred less often in the literature, they were less frequently recognized, and lacking exposure they were preferred less often.

Together, all of these trends support the idea that it is not where an image is, or who bought it, but how often it appears, that affects public appreciation. Any artwork in a prized location—such as in the Musée d'Orsay—has a great advantage over other artworks. As noted in Chapter 8 this is surely one reason why the legacy of Isaac de Camondo is better known than that of Etienne Moreau-Nélaton—it was in the Louvre twenty-five years longer, despite having been given to the state five years later. Nonetheless, systematic promotion by other museums and authors can overcome this advantage.

Surely the most interesting result of these studies is the relation of viewer preferences and how often the images occurred in the Cornell Library. Mere exposure aside, how else might this effect be accounted for? In discussing these results with colleagues quite a few have suggested that perhaps viewers can simply judge quality, choosing the “better” picture. I didn't believe this for a moment, but this is not the place to deal at length with this important and thorny issue. I will consider it again in Chapter 12. Here, let me simply acknowledge that there are many statements outside the art historical literature about people's culturally independent ability to judge quality, as well as many within it. More importantly, however, there are also recent and culturally sophisticated counters to this claim.<sup>14</sup> Nonetheless, rather than resorting to polemic and rhetoric in trying to set this notion aside, let me discuss one more experiment. In particular, rather than trying to rule out quality as a mediator of these results, let me try one last time to rule in mere exposure in a different way. Moreover, this provides an experimental effect that quality cannot explain.

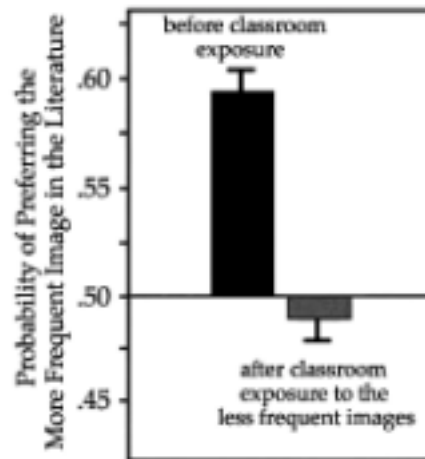


Figure 11.4: Preferences for the more frequent image of Impressionist pairs, before (Study 3) and after (Study 6) classroom exposure. Standard errors are indicated.

### Preferences from the Combination of Cultural and Classroom Exposure: Study 6

If mere exposure mediates preferences for artworks, then it ought to be possible to combine the effect of exposures to art across two situations—the viewers' personal histories with these images outside the classroom, and classroom exposure to them. And that was the goal of this last study. All color pairs from Study 3 were used as stimuli. Less frequent members of each pair were presented singly and without comment, throughout a thirteen-week course four times each. The more frequent members of each pair were presented only once.<sup>15</sup> At the end of the course, 151 observers were shown 51 pairs of images and asked which one they liked better.

Results were striking. More frequently published images were no longer preferred—accruing only 48% of all preference judgments. This was reliably lower than the 57% preference in Study 3 for these 51 colored-image pairs. Indeed, in 41 of 50 image pairs (with 1 tie) the more frequent image received a smaller proportion of preference judgments. Results are shown in Figure 11.4.

Briefly let's return to the idea of judging artistic quality. If observers were able to make such judgments for image pairs, they should not have been contaminated by appearance differences across the previous classroom sessions. To be sure, quality could still play a role, but such an account must then rely on two processes—mere exposure and quality assessment (however that might be done). My proposal is that these are one-process results, and done on the basis of mere exposure inside and outside the classroom.

### Fads versus Canons, and Overexposure

The experiments in this chapter suggest that mere exposure contributes to canon maintenance. But if exposure is the key, is it not also possible that there can be too much exposure—indeed *overexposure*? All of us recognize this trend in popular culture: Songs heard too often can quickly become uninteresting, even unenjoyable; television commercials, once thought clever and cute, quickly pale and become boring; bumper stickers we may once have enjoyed have lost their appeal. There is no question that overexposure occurs, and indeed experimental evidence supports this idea.<sup>16</sup> That is, after many exposures within an experimental session, affective judgments like those gathered here can sometimes decline. However, one must remember that these laboratory exposures occur very often in a very short amount of time—up to two hundred presentations within six minutes. Popular songs, television commercials, and the like also recur with sometimes alarming frequency. In contrast, exposures to particular works of art occur over years, even decades. Declines in affective judgment due to overexposure appear to accrue only for exposures massed within a brief period of time. Fortunately, except for those of us who buy posters of canonical art or happen to use a textbook with a canonical image on its cover, we see these images relatively infrequently. Except perhaps when they teach, even for those deeply interested in art (but perhaps not focally in Impressionism) probably see the canonical images no more than several times a year. This is a rate low enough to avoid overexposure, and to maintain preferences.

### Summary

Adult observers from ages 18 to 60 and beyond prefer images that they are more likely to have seen before, intermittently over long periods of their lives. Likelihood was assessed here by the frequency with which members of pairs of images were reproduced in books spanning the twentieth century, discussed in Chapter 10. This preference effect, although relatively small, is sufficient to drive a wider mass audience to appreciate more what they have seen before, and eventually to want to view the more frequent art more often. Scholars and museum professionals are likely to feed into this tacit demand, to be subject to it themselves, and then to offer the wider audience what they like—more reproductions of already more frequent images. And this is the way to build a canon. The central place of Impressionism among the trade books on art, the dominance of Impressionist exhibitions in the 1980s and 1990s, and the extremely high prices paid for these works over the course of the twentieth century, are no doubt byproducts of this exposure.

### Notes

Epigraph: Ferguson (1999), p. 4.

1. See Schachter (1996) for a discussion of the types of memory.

2. See Zajonc (1968, 1980) on mere exposure. Mere exposure is to be discriminated from subliminal perception. Subliminal perception occurs when information

about a stimulus is processed even though it was presented too briefly to be seen consciously. The phenomenon is often used in *priming* studies. Consider an experimental trial. The subject's task is to identify whether a letter string is a word (e.g. GRASS) or nonword (e.g. GRAGG). In trial one the word GREEN might be presented for 5 milliseconds (too briefly to be seen), followed by a scrambled set of letter parts, followed by GRASS. A subject's responses would be faster by about 20 milliseconds or so in saying GRASS was a word than if GREEN had not been presented earlier. This faster reaction time indicates that some aspects of GREEN had been processed and that they had *primed* related words, such as GRASS. In this way, the subject had been partially prepared to say that the various related words were indeed words. In the 1950s advertisers had hoped this phenomenon might increase sales. During a trailer and prior to a movie, they had hoped that subliminally flashing POPCORN on the screen might increase sales at the concession stand. All evidence suggests it does not. Ethical issues aside, subliminal priming seems to be too small an effect to control behavior in this way. In contrast, mere exposure can occur when things in our environment are plainly visible, but we simply do not pay attention to them and have no overt memory for them later. This distinction aside, most contemporary research on mere exposure uses subliminal presentations to assure the nonconscious processing of stimuli. See Kunst-Wilson and Zajonc (1980), Monahan, Murphy, and Zajonc (2000), Moreland and Zajonc (1977), Seamon et al (1995), Seamon, Brody, and Kauff (1983). Nonetheless, most recent research on mere exposure methodologically allies itself with subliminal perception; that is, stimuli are presented briefly and then masked such that observers cannot report what they have seen, but can be shown to have processed it through results of priming. These results are interesting and important, but from the perspective of this article, subliminal perception is a laboratory phenomenon used to mimic the processes in real life perception—inattention and forgetting over the long haul. Thus, in this context, I am less interested in alternative theories that may explain mere exposure (e.g. Bonanno and Stillings, 1986; Klinger and Greenwald, 1994; Smith, 1998; Winkielman, Zajonc, and Schwarz, 1997) than in the phenomenon itself. For more on implicit learning, see Roediger (1990), Schachter (1987), Seamon et al (1995), and Squire (1992).

3. See Zajonc (1970, 1980).

4. See Bornstein (1989).

5. Berlyne (1970); Zajonc, Shaver, Tavis, and Van Kreveld (1972); Brickman, Redfield, Harrison, and Crandall (1972).

6. Details of this study are reported in Cutting (2003). See also Cutting (2006).

7. Varnedoe (1987), p. 202.

8. See also Seamon and Delgado (1999) for effects elsewhere.

9. Again, details of this study appear in Cutting (2003).

10. The preference for more frequent stimuli was highly reliable,  $t(23) = 3.6$ ,  $p < .002$ ,  $d = 1.50$ .

11. Details of this study also appear in Cutting (2003).

12. Cutting (2003) also reported an additional study replicating the adult results.

13. For the importance of low recognition rates, see Kunst-Wilson and Zajonc (1980). For the lack of relation between recognition and preference, see Zajonc (1980). For neurophysiological support see Elliott and Dolan (1998).

14. For statements outside art history concerning the perception of quality in art, see for example Kant (1794/1953), Pirsig (1974), and Feynman (1985b, pp. 265-166); for statements within art history, see for example Rosenberg (1967) and Woodford (1983); and for counters to these see Bal and Bryson (1991), Cheetham (2002), Moxey (1994).

15. Again, details are in Cutting (2003). See also Cutting (2006).

16. See Bornstein (1989) for an overview. Kail and Freeman (1974) is a typical study showing that too many exposures over to small a period of time decrease affective judgments. But see also Zajonc, Crandall, Kail, and Swap (1974).

## 12: A Theory of Canon Formation and Maintenance

Gustave Caillebotte had intended to accelerate acceptance of the Impressionists by donating their works to the Luxembourg on the condition that they be exhibited. When the stipulations of his bequest were disclosed after his death in 1894, however, it became clear that this strategy would do nothing for Morisot (or for Cassatt), whose work Caillebotte had never bought.

Anne Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot's Images of Women*

Seven artists have dominated the discussion of Impressionism throughout the twentieth century—Paul Cézanne, Edgar Degas, Edouard Manet, Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, and Alfred Sisley—as shown by the empirical analyses of Chapter 5. A number of other artists have also been included—increasingly Frédéric Bazille, Gustave Caillebotte, Mary Cassatt, and Berthe Morisot—but only to a small degree, as was shown in Chapter 10. Others—Jean-Louis Forain, Eva Gonzalès, Armand Guillaumin, Jean-François Raffaëlli, Henri Rouart, and Charles Tillot—have shown no real change and remain very peripheral, despite the fact that most of them frequently participated in the Impressionist exhibitions. Still others who started later than the heyday of the Impressionist movement—Paul Gauguin, Vincent Van Gogh, Georges Seurat, Paul Signac, Henri Toulouse-Lautrec—were often included in early discussions, then excluded, and more recently have seen some inclusion again as accounts of Impressionism become more historically sophisticated.

Early in Chapter 4 I posed the question: Why these seven major artists? I reviewed the evidence there and found nothing in the period between *Salon des Refuses* (1863) and the last Impressionist exhibition (1886) that isolated these seven from other candidates. The answer to the query now seems clear, particularly given the analysis in Chapter 10 of Caillebotte's life shortly before and after the second Impressionist exhibition. Here I will make a strong claim:

These seven are the key Impressionist artists *because* of Gustave Caillebotte. His bequest was the earliest major Impressionist gift to any museum, and he collected works by these and only these seven, even though he easily could have collected works by other artists. As Higonnet suggested, the Caillebotte bequest did not help Morisot or Cassatt. It also did nothing for Gonzalès, Guillaumin, or Rouart, possibly made Bazille more peripheral, and forced Gauguin to a differently named school. The bequest might also have solidified Cézanne's and Manet's positions within a group, and perhaps Sisley's as well.

In other words, I claim that this situation was due to the coincidences of Caillebotte's tastes and purchases, the time of his death, the fact of his bequest, the notoriety surrounding how his bequest was handled, and the acceptance of parts of his collection representing each of the seven artists. All of these factors helped canonize these seven—and them alone—as *the* major Impressionists. I would also claim that with their canonization was lost the vagaries of family resemblance among the Impressionist artists. Almost two decades later Camondo reinforced this imperative. Although he collected works by non-Impressionists, among the Impressionists he too collected works by only these seven.<sup>1</sup> After Caillebotte and Camondo, Zipf's law could no longer rule the category of Impressionist painters, despite the facts that it accounts reasonably well for the relative frequencies of the images (Figure 9.1), for the dealers who dealt with them, for the collectors to gave them to museums, and for the museums that hold them (Figure 8.3). But for the painters, the typical rules of categories and their formation were no longer relevant (Figure 4.1).

The purpose of this last chapter is to provide a theoretical framework for these findings, and to address the larger issues about canon formation and maintenance. I will first discuss the idea of theory. I will then address the causes of the structure of the Impressionist canon. I will do this generally, then specifically reconsidering the ten pairs of images.

### What is Theory?

The term theory has different meanings in different disciplines. In Greek, *θεωρημα* was initially a sight or spectacle, not far from the idea of phenomenon. In English the meaning of *theory* started in the same way, as a spectacle. It then took on new meanings like mental conception, a system of ideas, and finally a system with the intent of explaining. Explanation, from the Latin *explanare*, means to lay flat (on a plane), as if by laying things flat one could then see them all, and hence understand their relations.

In the sciences one typically turns to physics, often with envy, for how one thinks a theory should be. Quantum electrodynamics (QED) deals with processes involving the creation of elementary particles from electromagnetic energy, and with the reverse processes in which particles and antiparticles annihilate each other and produce energy. It is as good a theory in physics as one will find. But one could claim that it simply allows one to predict certain physical reactions with numerical accuracy to more than a dozen decimal places. It is often said that no one really *understands* QED, or *why* it works; it is just a very good calculating engine. The theory is eminently falsifiable (able to be proved wrong)



and it has withstood very many attempts at its falsification. It also fits snugly within the rest of physics, providing no inconsistencies with related theoretical structures. And that is about as good as any theory gets.<sup>2</sup>

In biology, of course, discussions of theory typically turn grand—to Darwin and evolution.<sup>3</sup> Today, evolutionary theory has many variations, but all currently include the terms of genetic variation and selection. The variations across all of life can be “explained” this way—laid flat for one to see. It is a very good theory, but unlike theories in some domains it cannot be falsified. It can also be overused. If one looks for selection in everything, one begins to ask questions like: What is the selective advantage of acne? The answer of course is none; acne is the byproduct of sudden hormonal changes in human adolescents (and clogged sebaceous glands), where those hormonal changes do have important reproductive advantages. Its disadvantages, no matter how painful to individuals in formative years, simply do not compare to its advantages for the species. But perhaps more embarrassingly, the overall data consistent with evolutionary theory cannot be used to falsify certain other ideas—for example, that humans did not undergo some possible special creation, whatever form that might be. This leaves room for all manner of social mischief. But evolutionary theory is a good theory. It is also a grand theory, in that it covers all of biology, and a good bit of biological thinking.

In psychology and cognitive science we have no grand theories worth the name. Many aspects of Freudian theory, Piagetian theory, Gestalt theory, and learning theory—our four grandest and most influential theories of the twentieth century—have proven insufficiently general, even wrong. These theories, of course, still remain of interest, but they are not now and never will be unifying themes across even small segments of the discipline. As a result, today when we use the term theory, we generally aim small—we’d like to cover a smaller, more local domain, but we would like to do it well. And although we don’t often admit it, we—like our colleagues in biology—are a bit less concerned with falsification than some think we should be. In this domain a theory is a framework for local understanding. It is a viewpoint that provides insights not seen from other perspectives. It can also make reasonable predictions, although certainly not to a dozen decimal places.<sup>4</sup>

The humanities, of course, also claim many theoretical perspectives—feminist, Marxist, postmodernist, and more, and all their progeny. My view is that all of these have some local merit. That is, in accounting for particular phenomena of interest, they give us a reasonable, but not complete, understanding. They can also make some predictions. Unlike QED or even evolutionary theory, this is not as good as it gets, but it is still pretty good.<sup>5</sup>

Not only can good theories be local, but they can also be purposefully incomplete. Productive insights can derive from partial theories. That is, it is perfectly legitimate to say: I want to understand *A*. I know that *b* is a part of the cause of *A*, but I really don’t understand *b* at all. Thus, let me see how far I can get with *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, and *g*—ignoring *b* completely—in my account of *A*. And this is precisely the structure of theory I present here. I am interested in canon formation and maintenance—*A*. I know that the quality of a painting—*b*—is likely to be important in some way, but I haven’t a clue as to how to assess artistic qual-

ity so I am going to ignore it altogether. Instead, then, I will focus on historical coincidence, early accession into a museum and concurrent publicity, curatorial culling, sustained publicity, and mere exposure—*c, d, e, f,* and *g*, respectively—and see how far I can get. The procedure also allows for the omission of other factors—perhaps *h* and *i*—that are also currently unknown.

### A Theory of Canon Formation and Maintenance

I claim that five factors play a role in explaining why certain Impressionist paintings rose to canonical stature while relations among the larger corpus coalesced. As just mentioned, four are: Coincidences of purchase and bequest, early accession with publicity, curatorial culling, and sustained publicity for the residual images. That is, and usually as a first step, candidate images for a canon are subject to favorable historical coincidences, even accidents, of complex relationships among artists, dealers, collectors, deaths, and bequests. It helps a lot if an interested public follows some of these events. These images can then be promoted in various ways as part of the process of becoming established—a phase called canon formation. The earlier this promotion occurs, the more likely the image will appear in the canon, but the publicity must also be sustained—beginning a phase I call canon maintenance. Most of this later promotion occurs through the work of scholars, curators, and publishers. These individuals make choices concerning exhibits and publications, often based partly on what went before. But of course the “best” promotional device for a work of art is large-scale publicity, particularly notoriety. Finally, and what is new to this presentation, there is a fifth element—mere exposure in the public at large, and likely in professionals as well. Mere exposure to the canon of images helps preserve the status quo and helps images emerging in discourse get partially established. We, as the wider public audience for art, like what we've seen before and will continue to do so. We hold the canon in our minds, regardless of whether we overtly *know* any of the images or not. Let us consider the parts of this theory, with chance and initial publicity first.

#### Forming a Canon:

##### Chance, Bequests, Early Accession, and Publicity

Consider the early bequests to the French state and their undeniable stranglehold on the Impressionist core canon. The fact that Caillebotte was a painter placed him close to his more renowned colleagues, the fact that he was rich allowed him to buy their paintings and subsidize their work, and the fact that he died early and bequeathed his collection to the French state forced a confrontation with the academic art establishment. These created an atmosphere of notoriety and then eventual acceptance—at least for the major seven painters. It is difficult not to construe most all of these facts as accidental, a part of the world built by contingency, not by design. Henri Rouart was also close to his Impressionist colleagues, and bought works from all of them but Sisley, but he died later, in 1912, and did not bequeath his collection to the French state. There is

no *a priori* reason to believe that Rouart's tastes were less elevated than Caillebotte's. But few remember him or the images in his collection.

The furor over *l'affaire Caillebotte* had the unintended effect—at least for the French academic art establishment—of publicizing his collection to an extraordinary degree. People flocked to see the images once they were exhibited. After their appearance in the Musée du Luxembourg in 1897 several members of the French establishment tried to block them from the 1900 Paris *Exposition Universelle* (World's Fair), but they appeared anyway, to even more heightened public interest.<sup>6</sup> No contemporary agent could have done nearly as well in promoting the collection. Five of Caillebotte's images are among the 25 most frequently reproduced images, the first tier of the canon. Moreover, seven are in the second tier, and two in the third—[5, 7, and 2] in the nomenclature I will continue to use below. It seems quite easy to believe that the reason for the prominence of Caillebotte images is due to the publicity that surrounded them, which was in part due to the fact that the bequest was without precedent. This is not to deny that they are fine paintings. It is to say that among many fine paintings, those belonging to Caillebotte got attention early and many stayed in the cultural spotlight.

As important Impressionist painters began to die at the turn of the century—Sisley in 1899, Pissarro in 1903, and Cézanne in 1906—even more interest was generated in Impressionism.<sup>7</sup> Not coincidentally, considerably more money was also paid for their paintings. In this early portion of a long era of escalating prices, two new bequests were given to the French state. The first was that of the Moreau-Nélaton family, mostly in 1906 but also in 1929. Unfortunately, in a compromise understood well by Etienne Moreau-Nélaton at the time, these Impressionist paintings were hung in the Ministry of Fine Arts—the Luxembourg was full and the gates to the Louvre had not yet been breached. The ministry was a fine location—indeed, in the building next to the Louvre—but not an esteemed one.

In 1911 the French state received the Camondo bequest, which carried with it sufficient endowment and political clout to go straight to the Louvre.<sup>8</sup> In one of the more remarkable turnarounds in museum history, the Louvre's erstwhile prohibition against hanging the works of living painters was waived—then only Degas, Monet, and Renoir were still alive. It certainly helped that Georges Clemenceau, the conservative and nationalistic prime minister of France from 1907-1910, favored the Impressionists and knew the Camondo bequest was imminent. Camondo's stature in banking and in the French economy also cannot be overlooked. Many more images from the Camondo legacy are part of the canon [3, 6, and 8 in the three tiers, respectively] than from the Moreau-Nélaton legacy [1, 2, and 0]. Chronologically, this difference is in reverse cadence of my idea of bequests—the earlier the better. Nonetheless, it is almost surely explained by the fact that the Moreau-Nélaton images hung in an outlying building for a quarter century while Camondo's were at center stage in the Louvre. Meanwhile, Marc Bazille, nephew of Frédéric, gave a small number of paintings to the French state for the Luxembourg—one in 1905 and three in 1924. Two of these are in the first tier of the canon, and one in the third—[2, 0, 1]. These gifts assured Bazille's place within discussions of Impressionism.

With the Caillebotte legacy and the small Bazille bequest in the Luxembourg, the Moreau-Nélaton in the Ministry of Fine Arts, and the Camondo in the Louvre, the French national Impressionist collections were spread out over central Paris, in buildings surrounding and beyond the huge Tuileries gardens. A visitor could not easily study them in a single day. After Monet's death in 1926 and over the next eight years, however, all the paintings from these collections were brought together in the Louvre, although hung in different rooms. Equally important, some also disappeared to the vaults.

The Personnaz legacy was given to the Louvre in 1937 [0, 1, and 0 images in the three tiers]. It was received graciously but with much less publicity than the former bequests. With the opening of the Jeu de Paume in 1947, many of the Impressionist images were finally hung together, and were soon joined by those from the Gachet family, given between 1949 and 1958 [also 0, 1, and 0]. It seems quite clear that if Paul Gachet *père* had given his collection to the French state in 1909, many more of its images would be better known. Excepting the Camondo/Moreau-Nélaton reversal, the chronological ordering of these five important bequests and the number of their images in them in the various tiers of the canon is striking. The earlier the better.

Of course, smaller bequests—typically from family and friends of the Impressionists—were given to the French state throughout this time. Let's consider them and when the bequests were made, often as single images. There are two in the first tier—one given by Claude Monet himself in 1921 (*Femmes au jardin*, 1867), and one given by Mme Zola in 1925 (Manet's *Emile Zola*, 1868). Both of these bequests were relatively early.

There are three single-image bequests in the second tier. One was from René De Gas (Degas' brother) and set aside from the first of the four Degas estate sales (Degas' *La famille Bellelli*, 1858) in 1918;<sup>9</sup> another from Mme Pontillon, Berthe's Morisot's sister (Morisot's *Le berceau*, The cradle, 1870) in 1930; and a third from Mlle Dihau, the sister-in-law of a musical friend of Degas (Degas' *L'Orchestre de l'Opéra*, Musicians in the orchestra, 1870) in 1935. Except for the first Degas, these were given generally a bit later than those of the first tier.

There are nine single-image bequests in the third tier. These entered the French collections typically from individuals increasingly remote from the Impressionist circle: One was from Ernest May (a first-generation collector) in 1926, one from the son-in-law and daughter of Stéphane Mallarmé in 1928, one from Paul-Emile Pissarro (a son of Camille) in 1930, one each in 1947 and in 1955, one from the settlement of the Matsukata legacy dispute with Japan ending in 1959, and three given in 1962, 1982, and 1987. These are listed in Appendix 7.1. As a group these are considerably later than those in the first and second tier. Again, among these smaller bequests, chronology dictates position in the canon as well.

Of course, not all paintings and collections went to the French state. Hugh Lane purchased a small number of images and then apparently promised them to both London and Dublin. After his death there followed forty years of debate and controversy as to where they would end up, with the resolution allowing both museums to have access to them. The Lane bequest of seven images in 1917, just a half dozen years after Camondo's, is astonishingly prominent—[1,

2, 2]. The Courtauld Fund also created a publicly followed series of accessions for the National Gallery London and the Tate between 1922 and 1926, and Samuel Courtauld had a strong hand in image selection. Coupled with his personal collection, now in the Courtauld Gallery, he is responsible for another prominent set of images—[2, 3, 2].

But easily the largest bequest—almost 150 Impressionist paintings and pastels, plus hundreds of earlier works—was that of the Havemeyers. It went mostly to the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art (in 1929), some to the National Gallery Washington (through Louisine's children in 1956), many going elsewhere, and one to the Louvre.<sup>10</sup> In the scheme of things, the Havemeyer bequests were late. It may be for this reason, coupled with the fact that their holdings were so large, that only a few of their images could receive initial attention and sufficient publicity. Nonetheless, they are responsible for several important images—[1, 3, 2].

Bequests from seven individuals and families—Caillebotte, Moreau-Nélaton, Camondo, Bazille, Lane, Courtauld (through his fund and collection), and the Havemeyers—account for 60 percent of the core canon, or first tier of the canon (15/25 images). Moreover, their strength continues farther down. Together, they account for half (23/46) of the second tier images, and about a quarter (16/66) of those in the third tier. To me, the likelihood that the aesthetic tastes of these seven were so elevated that they could determine the canon to such a degree seems vanishingly small. Coincidence, early bequests, and publicity are much more plausible causes.

However, it is clear that early bequests without publicity account for very little. Erwin Davis, a New York client of Durand-Ruel, bought two Manets in 1881—*L'Enfant de l'épée* (Boy with a sword, 1861) and *La femme au perroquet* (Woman with a parrot, 1866). He gave them to the Metropolitan in 1889, the year before *Olympia* was given to the state of France. Thus, New York had Manets hanging in the Met before Paris had any in any of its museums.<sup>11</sup> Yet the first Davis image was reproduced only twice in the broad sample and the second only five times. The reason seems clear—the Met had no real stance in Impressionism before it acquired, through Roger Fry, Renoir's *Mme Charpentier et ses enfants* in 1907. Even then it had precious little until the Havemeyer bequest. The Davis bequest of two pictures was simply not big news in New York, or anywhere else, in 1889. Earliness without publicity is not the makings of canon fodder.

Similarly, the Nationalgalerie in Berlin had Cézanne's *Le moulin sur la Couleuvre à Pontoise* (1881) in 1897, purchased by Hugo Tschudi. Unfortunately, it was Tschudi, not this and the other images that he acquired, who received the bulk of the publicity. The German government did little to promote paintings by the French "violet pigs." Thus, Cézanne's *Moulin* appeared only three times in the broad sample. Indeed, as the shadow of the campaign against decadent art waxed, the early interest shown in Impressionism by Meier-Graefe (1904), Haack (1913), and other German art historians—and even in German artists painting in an Impressionist style such as Max Liebermann (1847-1935)—necessarily waned. Guilty by association. Moreover, German publication of its Impressionist holdings never caught up.<sup>12</sup>

### Does Chance Always Play a Role?

One might argue that some Impressionist images found their way into the core canon without relying on coincidence. Consider three. Two are Manet's *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1863, Musée d'Orsay) and his *Olympia* (1863, Musée d'Orsay). Both were notorious even in the 1860s. It is no surprise that they are ranked first and second on the list of most frequent images in the broad corpus. The French cultural establishment heaped scorn on them for a long time, and they later became icons of the era leading into Impressionism. In other words, perhaps publicity is enough for canonization. Similarly, Monet's *Impression, soleil levant* (Impression, sunrise, 1874, Musée Marmottan), ranking fifth on this list, seems to have been destined for the canon given Monet's 1900 account of the effect of Louis Leroy's review of the first Impressionist exhibition. This painting named the canon, whether Monet's retrospective account was accurate or not. Indeed, the painting would surely rank higher on the list had its bequest date to the Marmottan not been so late—1957. Had Georges de Bellio given it to the Musée de Luxembourg rather than to his daughter, it might easily have outstripped the two Manet images.<sup>13</sup>

Nonetheless, it is not difficult to imagine that these paintings could have wound up in private collections and been passed on from one generation to the next. Needing more money Mme Manet might not have waited for the public subscription organized by Monet for *Olympia* but sold it to an American collector; Etienne Moreau-Nélaton might have been outbid in 1900 for *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* by a German industrialist who then moved to South America; and *Impression, soleil levant* might have never resurfaced, Georges de Bellio's daughter passing it along within the family.<sup>14</sup> Although such stabs at counterfactual history may seem strained, they do suggest that a role remains for chance even among these core-canon images.

### Sustained Publicity

After an initial splash of newspaper reports and debut exhibitions, authors, curators, and the publishing industry took their places in promotions. It is clear that across the twentieth century they did so at an increasing rate. Among the books in the deep sample database discussed in Chapter 9, only 96 of these were published before 1950, but more than 425 were published in the 1980s and 90s. In the broad sample discussed in Chapters 7 through 9, the same general proportions recur—15 before 1950 and 46 after 1980. And as mentioned earlier, the latter numbers in each pair are almost surely an underestimate of the marketed books. For financial reasons university libraries have cut back on acquisitions.

As museum collections accrued from about 1910 to the 1960s—and as authors reported on this accrual—the canon became more crystallized. It became more and more difficult for an author *not* to include its core images, all the while expanding outwards to include new images from recent museum accessions and from private collections. Collectors, curators, and other professionals often see to it that core trends are maintained. As noted in Chapter 10, the publishing sector concerned with introductory textbooks and encyclopedias seems particu-

larly subject to representing the same images over and over again. But there are practical concerns as well. When putting together an exhibition or when writing a book that will use paintings as illustrations, choices must be made. Inevitably, many choices are made as much on the bases of personal preference, availability, and conventionality as on how well they exemplify and clarify an argument. Moreover, in publishing it is generally easier to obtain permission for images in museums, particularly one museum (like the Orsay) for its many images, than for those in private collections (an extra stage through a clearinghouse is often entailed). I myself have had the pleasure of obtaining, free of charge, permission to publish ten images from the Musée d'Orsay by writing a single letter; but I also thrashed against many obstacles for months in trying to obtain permission for a single image in a private collection. Ease of obtaining reproduction rights favors any museum, again maintaining the canon.<sup>15</sup>

Until recently, book publication and distribution—occasionally tied to large exhibitions at leading museums—were the best sources of exposure. The Internet, however, now offers more and substantially different possibilities of promotion. Most museums have put some of their holdings on line, and some have put everything on the Internet—among those discussed here (and as of early 2004) are the Metropolitan, the National Galleries in London and Washington, the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, and the Sammlung E.G. Buehrle in Zurich. This is a good trend. It is a superb aid to scholarship, and it is likely to be an excellent promotional device, particularly as classroom assignments expand onto the web.

### **Curators and Museum Walls**

As noted in Chapter 9, curators also play a role in the shaping of the canon, especially before museum collections went on line. Wall space is severely limited in many museums and it almost always becomes increasingly so as new acquisitions are made. Thus, day-to-day decisions are made by curators about how to display materials and about what to leave on the walls. New bequests require space—since bequests are often made contingent on their display for the public—and older material must be set aside and placed in the vaults, or more radically, deaccessioned and either sent to another museum or auctioned. This process clearly occurred during the first two decades after the acceptance of the Caillebotte bequest. And, again as noted in Chapter 9, all the core canonical images from the Caillebotte bequest were still on the walls when Borgmeyer wrote about them, and many well down the list of published images had already disappeared.

### **Mere Exposure and Canon Maintenance**

Publicity—whether in the form of word-of-mouth promotions, visits to exhibits, purchases and perusals of books, or web browsings—is, in the long run, a form of mere exposure for the culture at large. The result of this is an exposed public, one that would at least tacitly remember the images and prefer them for a long time. What's more, given the importance of a receptive audience to art, this

mass of collective memory within a culture assures that whatever academics may do in the short run to promote globalism and contemporary works will not, and cannot, kill any older canon. Canons are a part of cultural memory. They will persist in the minds of the public, regardless of what academics do. It would take generations of neglecting canons in academia to effect any change in them, and such neglect would be fighting against the broad powers of museums to maintain them.

There is an extraordinarily subtle power in broad but thin mass exposure to cultural artifacts. This exposure is broad in that everyone within a culture receives it, but it is thin in that it takes many years for this exposure to build itself up in individuals of a general populace. I will make an even more radical claim—this exposure *is* culture, *creates* culture. The thinness and ubiquity of this exposure in a generally free society means that canons can only change slowly. Its subtle power, I will claim, is to a large degree a central source of inertia both against large change, and allowing smaller and more incremental change. Both of these effects were shown in Chapters 4 and 8.

With this in mind, and with an eye towards a possible future, it is worthwhile reconsidering two small facts. First, I searched the web for the each of the various Impressionist painters' names plus "Impressionism." These Internet search results were *not* correlated with the frequency of images by those artists in either the Cornell Library holdings or the Bibliography of the History of Art. Second, the observers in the experimental studies spent an average of 10 hours a week or more on the Internet. Neither of these facts is a surprise. The Internet has a plenum of images and other interests for people. In the future, it may be the most important source of exposure to the Impressionist canon, and all other canons. After spending many hours on the Internet in search of images to use in the studies of Chapter 11, as well as many hours in the library doing the same, I can attest that what one finds in both places is substantially different.<sup>16</sup> In fact, the poster and oil-painting reproduction companies may have a modest effect on the future of the canon. Many works from private collections are now readily available on the web. Either these dot-coms have bought the rights to their reproduction or they are simply bootlegging them. If mere exposure in the future relies more heavily on electronic images than paper ones, the canon will likely change faster than it has before, and perhaps in a strong direction away from professional art historical concerns of the past and present.

The novelty of the approach presented in this book is its reliance on the omnipresence of images around us and on our registration of them as we go about our daily jobs, duties, and pleasures. Not only is the public affected by the images they see but so are professional curators and art historians—all of us in a subtle but powerful way. We all develop hierarchies of preferences for objects of all kinds that we will readily deploy at a moment's notice based in part on what we have been exposed to, yet we have no overt intention to do these things. One empirical contribution of this book is to show that artworks in the real world are no different in this regard than nonsense syllables and geometric patterns shown briefly in the laboratory. All other things being equal, we *will* prefer paintings reproduced more often. To be sure, it may be relatively rare that all such things are equal, but the bias is omnipresent. I claim this bias has deep



and lasting effects—indeed, sufficiently lasting to help maintain a canon for a century, and more.

In evolutionary terms the subtle, yet extraordinary, power of mere exposure makes sense. The young of almost every kind of creature should stay near their homes. Over the first days of their lives (whether experienced visually or through other modalities) they will come to prefer what is familiar, what they have been exposed to. Preferences from mere exposure in early life thus come to define home. As we grow, "home" becomes an ever-widening set of places for our experiences. Over a prolonged period we trade the home of our parents for the home of our culture. Despite the fact that many of us pride ourselves in seeking out the new, it is almost surely the case that we don't do this all the time, even very much of the time. Most of our day is spent with the old, the comfortable, the familiar, the "preferable." It is our very nature. It should be no surprise then that preferences through exposure should play a reasonably large role in our professional lives and in our response to cultural artifacts as well.

### Images and Theory

In the paragraphs above I outlined the general way in which this theory might work—assessing coincidences, the time of accessions to museums and the publicity that surrounded each, the sustained publicity given to images by scholars writing books on (and presenting images by) the Impressionists, and the wider public who appreciates these images. Now let me apply these ideas to each pair of images as they appeared in earlier chapters, and consider a new pair.

#### Within Collections—Publicity, Notoriety, and Accession Time

Figure 6.3 (p. 109) showed a pair of Degas paintings. Neither is in the first three tiers of the canon. Both were part of the Havemeyer collection, and both were given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The image at the top is *La leçon de danse* (1879), which Caillebotte once owned but which the French government took no apparent interest in. That on the bottom *Danseuses à la barre* (1876-77). The images are about the same topic—the rehearsal of young ballet dancers, at that time in Paris usually from the lower classes. Again, both images appeared in both samples—the broad sample discussed in Chapter 7 through 9 and the deep sample discussed in Chapters 10 and 11. The former image occurred 2 and 27 times across the two samples, respectively, whereas the latter occurred a bit more often—3 and 44 times. Likely reflecting this difference and the effects of mere exposure, the latter image was preferred by 59 percent of the viewers in Studies 3 and 4.

But why did the latter painting appear more often? The reason, in part, is that Louisine Havemeyer paid an enormous sum for *Danseuses à la barre* at the Henri Rouart estate sale—just shy of \$100,000 in 1912, which was a record purchase price for an Impressionist work that stood for almost 40 years.<sup>17</sup> This fact raised many eyebrows on two continents. Thus, because of its resultant publicity, *Danseuses à la barre* was likely more available to the public at the Metropolitan, more likely to have been seen there and in publications, and thus

more likely to have been used for expositional purposes by art historians. In addition, although *La leçon de danse* belonged to the Havemeyers, it was not part of the original bequest. It was kept within the family until 1971 when Adaline Havemeyer Perkins gave it to the Met. I claim that people like the former, and do so more precisely because of this contingent history. But both images would seem to be equally fine works.

### Across Collections—Accession Time Differences

Figure 8.1 (p. 138) showed a pair of images by Berthe Morisot, considered here on statistical grounds as a “minor” Impressionist painter but nonetheless a very important one. The images are *Dans les blès* (1875, Musée d’Orsay) and *La chasse aux papillons* (1873, Musée d’Orsay). Notice that both are in the collections of the Musée d’Orsay. The former was part of the Moreau-Nélaton legacy and given to the state of France in 1906, on display at the Ministry of Fine Arts, and moved to the Louvre in the early 1930s; the latter was part of the Personnaz legacy of 1937. Both were painted at about the same time and in about the same style. However, *Dans le blès* was reproduced only twice in the broad sample and first reproduced by Clark (1984). *La chasse aux papillons*, on the other hand, occurred 16 times—clearly part of the second tier of the Impressionist canon—and was first reproduced by Borgmeyer (1913). Both are fine images. There would appear to be no aesthetic reason to prefer *La chasse aux papillons* over *Dans les blès*, except that the former has been accessible over a longer period of time, it was then reproduced earlier and much more often, and has had a greater chance to be known and incorporated into the stories of Impressionism, as told by authors.

Figure 11.1 (p. 186) presented two images by Alfred Sisley, both in the Musée d’Orsay: *Village de Voisins* (Village of Voisins, 1874) and *Cour de ferme à Saint-Mammès* (Farmyard at St. Mammès, 1884). Both are atypical landscapes by Sisley, featuring structural relations among country buildings rather than the broad sweep of open land and sky. The former was part of the Camondo bequest in 1911, and reproduced in the deep sample 12 times; the latter was part of the Caillebotte bequest in 1894, reproduced 15 times, and it was preferred by 62 percent of the viewers in Studies 3 and 4. The slight preference for the *Cour de ferme* would appear to be due to its slightly longer tenure in the public eye.

### Why American Museums Didn’t Quite Catch Up

Figure 2.1 (p. 11) showed two more images by Degas—*La mélancholie* (1867-70, Phillips Collection) and *Repasseuses* (1884-86, Musée d’Orsay).<sup>18</sup> In the broad sample discussed in Chapters 7 and 8, *La mélancholie* appeared twice. *Repasseuses*, on the other hand, appeared 18 times, and is firmly part of the second tier of the canon. *Repasseuses* was part of the Camondo legacy given in 1911 to the state of France. Moreover, in this sample it was first reproduced in Bénédict (1909) at a time that it was known that the Camondo bequest would take place. *La mélancholie*, on the other hand, was purchased by Duncan Phil-

lips for the Phillips Collection in 1941 and first reproduced among the 95 texts in the broad sample by Pool (1967). Thus, given these images are by the same artist two factors have favored *Repasseuses* in the presentation of Impressionism—it was an early bequest to what would become the world's most important Impressionist museum. Indeed, American museums were generally founded later than museums elsewhere and had their Impressionist bequests accessioned later as well. For my own part I find *La mélancholie* a penetrating image. To be sure, *Repasseuses* tells a story about modernity, and the underclasses working for the rich, but there are many Impressionist images of this kind. *La mélancholie* shows a woman in dire straits, in which many modern women have found themselves.

Similarly, Figure 5.3 (p. 80) showed a pair of Pissarro's—*Verger en fleurs, Louveciennes* (1872; National Gallery, Washington, Mellon Bruce legacy) and *Printemps. Pruniers en fleurs* (1877; Musée d'Orsay, Caillebotte legacy). The former image appeared 5 and 23 times in the broad and deep samples, respectively. The latter image 17 and 56 times, and is thus part of the second tier of the canon. In the experiments of Chapter 11, the latter was also preferred by 57 percent of the observers. The reason seems relatively clear—it was part of an earlier legacy and reproduction rates followed suit.

Nonetheless, images in the Musée d'Orsay are not preferred in all comparisons. Consider the two images shown in Figure 11.2 (p. 188). Both are Cézanne's—*Les cinq baigneurs* (Five bathers, 1875-77, Musée d'Orsay) and *Baigneurs au repos, III* (Bathers at rest; Nudes in landscape, 1876-77, Barnes Foundation). Both appeared in the broad and deep samples—the Orsay image appeared once and 17 times, respectively, and the Barnes image twice and 34 times. The Barnes image, preferred by 76 percent of the viewers in Study 3 of Chapter 11, was once owned by Caillebotte but refused by the French state. This is sometimes claimed to be their most serious gaffe.<sup>19</sup> The image was purchased by Barnes in 1932, and is a centerpiece of the Barnes Foundation collection. The Orsay image was acquired by the French state until 1982. Although it is part of a well-known series it is not itself well known.

Nonetheless, a sidelight to this idea concerns the relationship between the National Gallery London and the various major American museums. Consider the holdings of Impressionist and Post-Impressionist works in eight museums, listed in Appendix 5.1. At the time of this analysis, the Musée d'Orsay had 484 images, the Metropolitan 242, and the National Gallery Washington 212. All of these have considerably more than the National Gallery London, with 99. Yet Appendix 8.3, and Appendix 7.1 with the 138 most reproduced images in this sample, showed that the National Gallery London has 12 images in the three tiers of the canon. The Metropolitan and the National Gallery Washington each have only 9 each, with the other major American museums lagging still further behind. What accounts for this difference? It is certainly odd since the United States has had a much stronger tradition of donating art to public institutions than has the United Kingdom.

Most all of the effect is accounted for by bequest date. The Lane bequest was in 1917 (4 of the 12 canonical images) and the Courtauld Fund purchases (3 additional ones) occurred in the early 1920s. From the Metropolitan's collec-

tions several canonical images are accounted for by the Havemeyer bequest in 1929 (3 of 9), and of the National Gallery Washington's collections most are accounted for by the Havemeyer legacy of 1956 (2), the Dale bequest (3) and by the Mellon and Mellon Bruce legacies (1 and 2, respectively) in the 1960s and 1970s. Notice in particular that the National Gallery London bequests, although much smaller, were also earlier than those in the American museums. Indeed, they occurred before the National Gallery Washington was founded. As noted earlier, if one considers the images in the fourth tier, just below my cutoff for the canon, the American museums catch up to the National Gallery London, as shown in Appendix 8.3.

But whereas American museums were a bit behind, personal influence played a role for their considerable strength. Many early American collectors formed a tight circle. Mary Cassatt knew and advised both Louisine Havemeyer and Bertha Honoré Palmer—and the Metropolitan, the National Gallery Washington, and the Art Institute of Chicago benefited enormously. John Johnson's relations with the Havemeyers and Albert Barnes surely included discussions of art and Impressionism—and the Metropolitan, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and the Barnes Foundation may have benefited from these as well.

Finally, Figure 6.2 (p. 101) shows two images by Gustave Caillebotte, the “minor” Impressionist who has played a major role in this volume. The first image is *Le pont de l'Europe (variante)* (1876-77, Kimball Art Museum), and the second, *Raboteurs de parquet* (1875, Musée d'Orsay, Caillebotte legacy). Again both are from the about the same time, and both show striking use of linear perspective. The former is part of a pair of images of the Pont de l'Europe, an X-shaped bridge that crossed some of the new railroad yards in Paris. The more famous of the pair, *Le pont de l'Europe* (1876) used to be in the Petit Palais in Genève, Switzerland before that museum closed in 2002. That image appeared 12 times in the broad sample and the variant appeared only twice. The *Raboteurs* is in the second tier of Impressionist canon, appearing 15 times in the broad sample. Remarkably, despite its being part of the Caillebotte legacy, it was ignored for years in books on Impressionism. After appearing in Borgmeyer (1913), it next appeared in the broad sample almost fifty years later in Novotny (1960). Nonetheless, it has seen a steady increase in publication rate ever since, as was shown in Figure 10.1. Thus, an early legacy to the Orsay by a minor Impressionist with an increasing profile makes this image part of the canon whereas the *Le pont de l'Europe (variante)* remains extracanonical in a small museum off the beaten path of the art-going public. It's a shame, but that's the way canons are.

### Museums vs. Private Collections

Finally, Figure 12.1 shows a noncanonical Manet pair—*Croquet à Boulogne* (The croquet game, 1868-71, private collection) and *Plage avec personnages* (On the beach, Boulogne-sur-mer, 1869, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Paul Mellon legacy). Again, both were part of both samples. The former appeared once and 9 times, and the latter 7 and 31 times in the broad and samples, respectively. Caillebotte owned the former image, but the French government



Figure 12.1. Two images by Edouard Manet: *Croquet à Boulogne* or *La partie de croquet* (The croquet game, 1868-71, private collection) and *Plage avec personnages* (On the beach, Boulogne-sur-mer, 1869, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts).

didn't want it. Of all the observers shown the pair in the studies of the previous chapter 70 percent preferred the latter. This is most likely because it appeared in a museum and could be more easily reproduced.

I also feel obliged to pass on some personal experience concerning attempts at reproduction of materials in and outside museums. My intent in this book was to feature many more images from private collections. Unfortunately, *Croquet à Boulogne* was the only one for which I could secure permission. For several others, it was not the case that I couldn't track down the path for obtaining permission. No, instead I was actually denied permission to reproduce them. Such denials assure the continuance of the dominance of images in museums as the bulwark of the canon.

### Accession Times and the Minor Impressionist Painters

The top of Figure 4.2 (p. 50) showed an image by Armand Guillaumin, a minor Impressionist painter. Guillaumin could take little time from his regular work to paint from the mid 1860s into the 1890s. He was thus able to produce only a few handfuls of paintings per year. To his great fortune, in 1892 he won the French national lottery and retired to paint. This left him not only great security but also without the need to sell paintings or ply gallery owners to maintain himself. Ironically, his financial fortune may have helped him remain generally unknown. Only recently have sales of his images burgeoned, as was shown in Table 5.1. This particular image, however, comes from an early period when Guillaumin was very much a struggling young Impressionist—*Place Valhubert* (1875, Musée d'Orsay). It appeared only once in the broad sample.<sup>20</sup>

The comparison image is by Monet—*Le bassin d'Argenteuil* (1872, Musée d'Orsay). It appeared 15 times in the broad sample, and is thus part of the second tier of the canon. It is also among the many images that appeared for the first time in Rewald (1946). Here, since both paintings were given to the French state and both are now housed in the Musée d'Orsay, other factors must account for this difference. Again, the Monet was part of the Camondo legacy of 1911, whereas the Guillaumin was part of the Personnaz legacy of 1937. By 1937, Guillaumin images had appeared in only 1 of the 10 books in the broad sample.<sup>21</sup> Thus, Guillaumin was already excluded from the core of Impressionism, this despite the fact that *Place Valhubert* was shown at the fifth Impressionist exhibition, and that the Monet image was never shown at any of them. Thus, again, two factors have favored *Le bassin d'Argenteuil*—it was part of an earlier bequest, and it is by a major Impressionist as opposed to one who was by the time of the bequest already determined to be a minor Impressionist. Two strikes against *Place Valhubert*.

Similarly, Figure 4.3 (p. 52) also showed two images by different artists. One is by Jean-François Raffaëlli, *Place d'Italie après la pluie* (1877, Dixon Gallery and Gardens) and the other by Renoir, *Le pont neuf* (1872, National Gallery Washington, Mellon Bruce bequest). It is unlikely that the former image ever appeared in the books of the broad sample,<sup>22</sup> whereas the latter appeared 14 times (third tier) and, like many others, for the first time in Rewald (1946). At least three factors ran against the Raffaëlli painting as being part of the Impressionist canon—although he exhibited at two Impressionist exhibitions, Raffaëlli was not a major Impressionist and some would say not even a minor one, this work is not in one of the premier Impressionist museums, and it has been publicly exhibited only since 1984.

### Overview

The main theme of this book is this: What was collected and then given to major museums was not *inherently* the best of the Impressionist genre, however best be defined. These works were simply the ones that were available and sufficiently attractive to their purchasers, who happened to give them to important museums, and did so early on. I emphatically do not deny that they are also fine

works. But across recent history, these few images in these few collections became both beacons and magnets for future generations of academics, curators, and museumgoers.

Again, the force of my emphasis on historical coincidence is not to denigrate the quality of the images in the canon.<sup>23</sup> Nor it is to state that in some way the process of canonization is illegitimate, and that scholars have not done their due. Rather, my emphasis is that the canonization of certain images among equals is *independent* of their quality, and that it necessarily occurs at a time before a more seasoned intellectual, aesthetic, and historical assessment could have been made. For such assessments, I would claim, many images outside the canon could well be substituted for other images that are within it. Many of these, however, are in private hands and generally inaccessible, or simply in less well known museums and less accessible.

### Other Canons

Many, but by no means all, aspects of the ideas I have presented here can apply to other canons. Within art, and perhaps other art forms, chance always plays a role. With older art the probability of survival is often a critical issue, and often driven by chance. Accessions and bequests are often irrelevant in these older canons, but the churches in which the art is often found come to the fore. Promotional structure is often different. The Renaissance canon, for example, was initially promoted by Vasari and others, and by word of mouth and travel diaries from Northern Europeans taking the “grand tour” through what we now know as Italy. The stature of individual artists, however, changes with each century. Publicity and public opinion drift. For example, our particular reverence of Leonardo only started in the nineteenth century, and the ultracanonial status of the Mona Lisa (*La Joconde*, Louvre) is very much a twentieth century phenomenon.<sup>24</sup> In music, literature, and poetry there have great swings of opinion and change. Bach was rarely played in the nineteenth century. Thus, public appreciation for particular composers, is very much a changeable phenomenon, although most such changes are fairly gradual. Nonetheless sudden and long-lasting appearances are not unknown—Pachelbel’s *Kanon und Gigue* was used as a movie theme and public interest in it has lasted for decades.<sup>25</sup>

More critically for the theory presented here is that in many non-fine arts canons mere exposure must work in a different way. Glances cannot always matter. To be sure they can work for images, and this would include both photographs of paintings and architectural works. But glances do not work for poetry, literature, music, dance, or even cinema. What works there? Mere mention of names likely helps—poets, authors, composers, and so forth. In music snatches of themes in major works are often very recognizable as being familiar, if not being identifiable.

### Conclusion

To a considerable degree the Impressionist canon was given form by Gustave Caillebotte and his bequest to the French state. His legacy consisted of works by the seven major impressionists—Cézanne, Degas, Manet, Monet, Pis-

sarro, Renoir, and Sisley—and only them. The legacy of Isaac de Camondo, seventeen years later, strongly reinforced this framework, and it was used almost without variation across the twentieth century. Images in these two legacies constitute more than a third of the core canon. Images from other important legacies are also found there—particularly those in the Lane bequest, those purchased from Courtauld's fund to the National Gallery London and Tate and those in his collection given to the University of London, and those in the Havemeyer family's gifts to the Met and the National Gallery, Washington. These early bequests dominate presentations of Impressionism because they were early, because they were accompanied by extraordinary publicity—not all of it positive—and because, against this accessional backdrop, scholars continually presented these works across the twentieth century.

More generally, artistic canons are core bits of culture. They are established through a network of interrelated historical coincidences, even accidents. They are promoted and maintained by a diffuse but incessant broadcast of images to an educated public by museums, authors, and publishers. The images are now reproduced and disseminated through textbooks, exhibitions, and more recently even on posters, coasters, towels, and tee shirts. In addition the Internet now seems poised to play a considerable role.

The powerful cultural vehicle of canon maintenance relied on by this broadcast is the psychological phenomenon called *mere exposure*, the repeated presentation of images to an audience without its focused awareness on them. Tacitly, this exposure teaches the public to like the images, to prefer them, and eventually to recognize them as part of the canon, and to want to see them again. It also reinforces, I claim, the choices made by professionals in what they present to that public. In turn, public appreciation rewards museums, scholars, and the publishing industry by further building an appreciative and responsive audience.

And so it goes. Mere exposure cyclically reinforces a canon through generations of authors and curators on the one hand, and museumgoers and book buyers on the other. Although it may be tacit, this is not necessarily a subversive trend, or one to be denigrated. It is part of the same force that binds a culture. It is built on an evolutionary substrate that makes very good sense. It helps ensure steadiness in what we know as culture. It serves the relative constancy in an artistic canon. And it is our very nature.

## Notes

Epigraph: Higonnet (1992), pp. 20-21.

1. Camondo also collected paintings by Boudin, Delacroix, Jongkind, Puvis de Chavannes, and Toulouse-Lautrec.

2. For discussions of QED see, for example, Feynman (1985a). See particularly his notion of the non-understandability of certain physical theories (pp. 8-10). For the traditional introduction to falsification, see Popper (1968),

3. Of course, theories in physics can be grand as well. See Weinberg (1992).

4. The problem here, well recognized by Popper, is that we usually have no idea about what bounds the theory. More precisely, one often finds that a theory seems adequate at a few local points within a parametric domain, but that when those parameters are varied more widely, the theoretical predictions break down. Thus, the boundaries of the domain in which the theory works are not well understood. In ad-



dition, the role precision in assessing a theory can be seductively misleading. My recently deceased colleague at Cornell, Hans Bethe, won his Nobel prize in physics for explaining how the stars shine. His theory is clearly wrong by an order of magnitude—our sun appears to emit far too few neutrinos—and thus is wrong in the first decimal place. Nonetheless, his theory is still the best thing going.

5. In addition, as grand theories, these are unlikely to be any more successful than Freudian or Piagetian theory. Also, Sokal and Bricmont (1998) lambasted certain elements in humanities for appropriating terms from physics in ways that do injustice to those terms. Their point is well taken but does not detract from postmodern theory in general.

6. No impressionist paintings appeared in the official, ten-volume set of images sold in limited addition at the *Exposition Universelle* (Champier, Saglio, and Walton, 1900).

7. Much notice was made when Isaac de Camondo bought one of Sisley's Floods at Port-Marly series at a Hôtel Drouot sale in 1900 for 43,000 francs (Graber and Guillou, 1990, p. 98). Sisley, who had been exceedingly poor since his father's death in 1871, had never been able to sell many of his works.

8. Apparently, Camondo's will said: "The Louvre must take the lot and exhibit them. If this condition is not accepted, I leave my collection to the Petit Palais," also in Paris. See Bazin (1958), p. 54.

9. Degas changed his name from De Gas around 1870 (Rewald, 1946, p. 23-24).

10. See Frelinghuysen, et al (1993).

11. See Tinterow and Lacambre (2003), p. 288.

12. Among the 95 books of the broad sample only Horst Keller's (1975) *The great book of Impressionism* originally appeared in German, and only Feist's (1995) *French Impressionism: 1860-1920* was published (in English) by a German publisher.

13. Again for more on Monet's account, see Roos (1996) and Hemmings (1971). And with respect to its late accession and the broad sample, *Impression, soleil levant* appeared in 35 of 59 books published since 1970. *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* and *Olympia* appeared 33 and 36 times, respectively. Renoir's *Bal du Moulin de la Galette* and his *Le déjeuner des canotiers* appeared 32 times each.

14. The public subscription organized by Monet and Sargent kept *Olympia* from being purchased and going to the United States (Rouart and Wildenstein, 1975, p. 24). Another contender in this short list not "needing" coincidence to make it a canonical image is Manet's *Le bar au Folies-Bergère*, tied for seventh. As Manet was finishing it, and slowly dying, dozens of friends and intellectuals came over to his studio and discussed and commented on the work. It was famous before it was finished because people suspected it would be Manet's last (see Cachin, 1995).

15. With respect to the roles of curators and legates, see also Brown (1998). For the role of personal choice in picking images, see Harrison (1993), pp. 148-151, 164-167. And my experience in permissions for images is based in part on what appeared in Cutting (2003), which is also the basis for Chapter 11 and parts of Chapter 10.

16. During a short period of 2000, it was easier to access a larger proportion of the Impressionist holdings in the National Gallery in Prague than it was those in the Musée d'Orsay. In addition, the unedited aspect of the Internet is sometimes amusing: <http://www.biggallery.com> allows one to buy a reproduction of a pastel of a dancer by Pierre-Auguste Degas [sic]; <http://www.grosvenorfineart.co.nz> offers another dancer image by Edouard Degas [sic].

17. See Frelinghuysen et al (1993), p. 330; Saltzman (1998), p. 129.

18. In perusing popular books on Impressionism I was delighted to find that Sister Wendy Beckett included *Mélancholie* among her thousand art masterpieces of all time (Beckett and Wright, 1999).

19. Varnedoe (1987), p. 202.

20. See Howard (1991).

21. Fontainas and Vauxcelles (1922).

22. I didn't search for images by Raffaëlli in the broad sample, but I didn't remember seeing it there.

23. See Burton (1999) for this argument as applied to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

24. See Turner (1993) for an analysis of Leonardo, and Sassoon (2001) for one of the Mona Lisa (*La Joconde*).

25. Szpunar, Schellenberg, and Pliner (2004) have shown that the effects of mere exposure apply to (classical) music as well.

# Appendices

Appendices are numbered by the chapter in which they are first cited, and then by the order in which they are cited within that chapter.

Appendix 4.1 is the first appendix.

### Appendix 4.1: Thirty Selected Books on Impressionism.

(In parentheses are the number of artists with images represented in each, and the total number of images)

#### Group 1: 1904-1956

1. Dewhurst, W. (1904). *Impressionist Painting: Its genesis and development*. London: G. Newnes. (29; 85)
2. Uhde, W. (1937). *The Impressionists*. Vienna: Phaidon Press. (10; 122)
3. Rewald, J. (1946). *The history of Impressionism*. New York: Museum of Modern Art. (63; 555)
4. Bell, C. (1952). *The French Impressionists*. London: Phaidon Press. (7; 50)
5. Mathey, F. (1956). *The Impressionists*. (J. Steinberg, trans.) New York: Praeger. (21; 60)

#### Group 2: 1957-1969

6. Taylor, B. (1957). *The Impressionists and their world*. London: Phoenix House. (12; 88)
7. Cassou, J. (1962). *Impresjonistene og deres epoke*. Luzerne: Kunstkreis Bokforlag. (13; 96)
8. De Francia, P. (1965). *Impressionism*. New York: Crown. (14; 25)
9. Pool, P. (1967). *Impressionism*. New York: Praeger. (44; 205)
10. Jaffé, H. L. C. (1969). *De wereld van de Impressionisten*. Amsterdam: De Geillustreerde Pers. (23; 171)

#### Group 3: 1970-1978

11. Blunden, G. and Blunden, M. (1970). *Impressionists & Impressionism*. Geneva: Skira. (51; 343)
12. Lassaigne, J. (1970). *Impressionism*. (P. Eve, trans.) New York: Funk & Wagnall's. (13; 68)
13. Wildenstein and Co. (1970). *One hundred years of Impressionism*. New York: Wildenstein. (12; 100)
14. White, B. E. (1974). *Impressionism in perspective*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. (6; 28)
15. Roberts, K. (1978). *Painters of light: The world of Impressionism*. New York: Dutton. (24; 72)

#### Group 4: 1980-1987

16. Kelder, D. (1980). *The great book of French Impressionism*. New York: Abbeville. (20; 207)
17. Callen, A. (1982). *Techniques of the Impressionists*. London: Orbis. (31; 84)
18. Wilson, M. (1983). *The Impressionists*. Oxford, UK: Phaidon. (31; 165)
19. Bernard, B. (1986). *The Impressionist revolution*. Boston: Little Brown. (29; 303)
20. Denvir, B. (1987). *The impressionists at first hand*. London: Thames and Hudson. (21; 131)

**Group 5: 1988-1993**

21. Gaunt, W. (1988). *Impressionism: a visual history*. New York: Praeger. (26; 108)
22. Adams, S. (1989). *The Impressionists*. Philadelphia: Running Press. (33; 151)
23. Kapos, M. (1991). *The Impressionists: A retrospective*. New York: Macmillan. (23; 164)
24. Costantino, M. (1993). *The Impressionists*. Secaucus, NJ: Chartwell Books. (60; 137)
25. Welton, J. (1993). *Impressionism*. London: Dorling Kindersley. (35; 127)

**Group 6: 1994-1999**

26. Salvi, F. (1994). *The Impressionists: The origin of modern painting*. New York: P. Bedrick Books. (32; 196)
27. Powell-Jones, M. (1994). *Impressionism*. London: Phaidon. (15; 56)
28. Feist, P. (1995). *French impressionism: 1860-1920*. Köln: B. Taschen. (89; 497)
29. Schapiro, M. (1997). *Impressionism: Reflections and perceptions*. New York: George Braziller. (41; 134)
30. Rubin, J. H. (1999). *Impressionism*. London: Phaidon. (56; 249)

**Appendix 4.2: Ninety-Five Books Including Works by Impressionists and Used for Analyses in Chapter 4 and Image counts in Chapters 7 and 8.**

1. Mauclair, C. (1903). *The great French painters*. London: Duckworth.
2. Dewhurst, W. (1904). *Impressionist painting: Its genesis and development*. London: G. Newnes.
3. Muther, R. (1907). *History of modern painting. Vol 3*. New York: Dutton.
4. Bénédite, L. (1909). *La peinture Française au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: Flammarion.
5. Fontainas, A., and Vauxcelles, L. (1922). *Histoire générale de l'art Français de la Révolution à nos jours*. Paris: Librairie de France.
6. Mather, F.J. (1927). *Modern painting*. New York: Henry Holt.
7. Rey, R. (1931). *La peinture Française à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: La Renaissance du sentiment classique*. Paris: Les Beaux-Arts.
8. Francastel, P. (1937). *L'Impressionisme: Les origines de la peinture moderne de Monet à Gauguin*. Paris: Librairie Les Belles Lettres.
9. Laver, J. (1937). *French painting and the nineteenth century*. London: B.T. Batsford.
10. Uhde, W. (1937). *The Impressionists*. Vienna: Phaidon Press.
11. Cheney, S. (1941). *The story of modern art*. New York: Viking.
12. Rocheblave, S. (1941). *French painting nineteenth century*. New York: Hyperion.
13. Wilenski, R.H. (1944). *Modern French painters*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World.
14. Rewald, J. (1946). *The history of Impressionism*. New York: Museum of Modern Art.
15. Raynal, M. (1949). *History of modern painting from Baudelaire to Bonnard: The birth of a new vision*. Geneva: Skira.
16. Cogniat, R. (1951). *French painting at the time of the Impressionists*. New York: Hyperion.
17. Raynal, M. (1951). *The nineteenth century: New sources of emotion from Goya to Gauguin*. New York: Skira.
18. Sloane, J.C. (1951). *French painting between the past and the present*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
19. Bell, C. (1952). *The French Impressionists*. London: Phaidon.
20. Leymarie, J. (1955). *Impressionism*. Paris: Skira (vol 1).
21. Mathey, F. (1956). *L'Impressionisme*. Paris: Hazan.
22. Taylor, B. (1957). *The Impressionists and their world*. London: Phoenix House.
23. Cogniat, R. (1960). *The century of the Impressionists*. New York: Crown.
24. Fosca, F. (1960). *Nineteenth century painters, 1800-1870* (P. Simmons, trans.). New York: Universe Books.
25. Hunter, S. (1960). *Modern French Painting*. New York: Dell.
26. Novotny, F. (1960). *Painting and sculpture in Europe 1780-1880*. Baltimore: Penguin.
27. Mathey, F. (1961). *The Impressionists*. (J. Steinberg, trans.) New York: Praeger.
28. Leymarie, J. (1962). *French painting*. Geneva, Switzerland: Skira.
29. Peillex, G. (1964). *Nineteenth century painting*. New York: Viking.
30. Bowness, A. (1965). *Impressionists and Post-Impressionists*. New York: Grolier.
31. De Francia, P. (1965). *Impressionism*. New York: Crown.
32. Lassaigne, J. (1966). *L'Impressionisme*. Lausanne: Editions Rencontre.
33. Pool, P. (1967). *Impressionism*. New York: Praeger.
34. Alexandrian, S. (1969). *Les maîtres de la lumière*. Paris: Hatier.
35. Jaffé, H. L. C. (1969). *De wereld van de Impressionisten*. Amsterdam: De Geillustreerde Pers.

36. Gaunt, W. (1970). *Impressionism: A visual history*. New York: Praeger.
37. Muesham, G. (1970). *French painters and paintings from the 14th century to Post-Impressionism*. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company.
38. Wildenstein and Co. (1970). *One hundred years of Impressionism*. New York: Wildenstein.
39. Nochlin, L. (1971). *Realism*. Baltimore: Penguin.
40. Wechsler, H.J. (1971). *French Impressionists*. New York: Harry Abrams.
41. Courthion, P. (1972). *Impressionism*. New York: Harry Abrams.
42. Champa, K. S. (1973). *Studies in early Impressionism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
43. Picon, G. (1974). *1863: La naissance de la peinture moderne*. Geneva: Skira.
44. Keller, H. (1975). *The great book of French Impressionism*. (trans. A. Brown) New York: Hudson Hills Press.
45. Bellony-Rewald, A. (1976). *The lost world of the Impressionists*. Boston: New York Graphics Society.
46. Dunstan, B. (1976). *Painting methods of the Impressionists*. New York: Watson-Guptill Publications.
47. Roberts, K. (1978). *Painters of light: The world of Impressionism*. New York: Dutton.
48. White, B. E. (1978). *Impressionism in perspective*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
49. Kelder, D. (1980). *The great book of French Impressionism*. New York: Abbeville.
50. Getlein, F. (1981). *25 Impressionist masterpieces*. New York: Harry Abrams.
51. Bazin, G. (1982). *L'Universe Impressioniste*. Paris: Somogy.
52. Callen, A. (1982). *Techniques of the Impressionists*. London: Orbis.
53. Wilson, M. (1983). *The Impressionists*. Oxford, UK: Phaidon.
54. Clark, T. J. (1984). *The painting of modern life: Paris in the art of Manet and his followers*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
55. Pichon, Y. le (1984). *The real world of the Impressionists*. (D. Cullinane, trans.) New York: Clarkson Potter.
56. N  ret, G. (1985). *Les Impressionistes: De la r  volte    la cons  cr  tation*. Fribourg, Switzerland: Office du Livre.
57. Bernard, B. (1986). *The Impressionist revolution*. Boston: Little Brown.
58. Langdon, H. (1986). *Impressionist seasons*. Oxford, UK: Phaidon.
59. Denvir, B. (1987). *The impressionists at first hand*. London: Thames & Hudson.
60. Herbert, R. L. (1988). *Impressionism: Art, leisure, and Parisian society*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
61. Needham, G. (1988). *19th century realist art*. New York: Harper & Row.
62. Adams, S. (1989). *The Impressionists*. Philadelphia: Running Press.
63. Distel, A. (1989). *Collectionneurs des impressionists*. D  dingen, Switzerland: Edition Trio.
64. Lucie-Smith, E. (1989). *Impressionist women*. New York: Harmony Books.
65. Denvir, B. (1990). *Encyclopedia of Impressionism*. London: Thames & Hudson.
66. Graber, C., and Guillou, J.-F. (1990). *The Impressionists*. Surrey, UK: Quadrillion.
67. Lurie, P. (1990). *The impressionist landscape*. Boston: Little Brown.
68. Taylor, J. R. (1990). *Impressionist dreams*. Boston: Little Brown.
69. Broude, N. (1991). *Impressionism: A feminist reading*. New York: Rizzoli.
70. Clayson, H. (1991). *Painted love: Prostitution in French art of the Impressionist era*. New Haven: Yale.
71. Denvir, B. (1991). *Impressionism: The painters and the paintings*. London: Studio Editions.
72. Kapos, M., ed. (1991). *The Impressionists: A retrospective*. New York: Macmillan.

73. Howard, M. (1991). *The Impressionists by themselves*. London: Conran Octopus.
74. Ash, R. (1992). *The Impressionists' river: Views of the Seine*. New York: Universe.
75. Breuille, J.-P. (1992). *L'Impressionisme et la peinture de plein air, 1860-1914*. Paris: Larousse.
76. Evans-deVries, S. (1992). *The lost Impressionists: Masterpieces from private collections*. Niwot, CO: Roberts Rinehart Publishers.
77. Weisberg, G. P. (1992). *Beyond Impressionism: The naturalist impulse*. New York: Harry Abrams.
78. Breuille, J.-P., ed. (1993). *L'Art du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Lausanne: Paris.
79. Costantino, M. (1993). *The Impressionists*. Secaucus, NJ: Chartwell.
80. Frascina, F., Blake, N., Fer, B., Garb, T., and Harrison, C. (1993). *Modernity and modernism: French painting in the 19th century*. New Haven, CT: Yale.
81. Welton, J. (1993). *Impressionism*. London: Dorling Kindersley.
82. Powell-Jones, M. (1994). *Impressionism*. London: Phaidon.
83. Feist, P. (1995). *French impressionism: 1860-1920*. Köln: B. Taschen.
84. Novotny, F. (1995). *The great Impressionists*. New York: Prestel.
85. Simon, M. (1995). *Fashion in art: The Second Empire to Impressionism*. London: Zwemmer.
86. Smith, P. (1995). *Impressionism beneath the surface*. New York: Harry Abrams.
87. Lurie, P. (1996). *Guide to Impressionist Paris*. London: Lilburne Press.
88. White, B. E. (1996). *Impressionists side by side*. New York: Knopf.
89. Howard, M. (1997). *Encyclopedia of Impressionism*. London: Carlton Books.
90. Monneret, S. (1997). *Sur les pas des Impressionistes*. Paris: Editions de La Martinière.
91. Schapiro, M. (1997). *Impressionism: Reflections and perceptions*. New York: George Braziller.
92. Rubin, J. H. (1999). *Impressionism*. London: Phaidon.
93. Callen, A. (2000). *The art of Impressionism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
94. Hunter, S., Jacobus, J., and Wheeler, D. (2000). *Modern art*. New York: Harry Abrams.
95. Nord, P. (2000). *Impressionists and politics*. London: Routledge.



**Appendix 4.3: The *Catalogues Raisonnés* and Other Source Material for Impressionist Artists and Others Used for Comparison.**

- Bazille:** Daulte, F. (1992). *Frédéric Bazille et les débuts de l'Impressionisme: Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint*. Paris: Bibliothèque des arts.
- Bonnard:** Dauberville, J. and Dauberville, D. H. (1965). *Bonnard*. (4 Vol.) Paris: Bernheim-Jeune.
- Caillebotte:** Berhaut, M. (1994). *Gustave Caillebotte: Catalogue raisonné des peintures et pastels*. Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts.
- Cassatt:** Breeskin, A. D. (1970). *Mary Cassatt: A catalogue raisonné of oils, pastels, watercolors, and drawings*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Cézanne:** Venturi, L. (1936). *Cézanne, son art, son oeuvre*. (2 Vol.) Paris: Paul Rosenberg,  
Rewald, J., Feilchenfeldt, W., and Warman, J. (1996). *The paintings of Paul Cézanne: A catalogue raisonné*. (2 Vol.) New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- Degas:** Lemoisne, P.A. (1946). *Degas et son oeuvre*. (4 Vol.) Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques.  
Rewald, J. (1990). *Degas' complete sculpture: Catalogue raisonné*. San Francisco: Alan Wofsy Fine Arts.
- Dufy:** Laffaille, M. (1972-1977). *Raoul Dufy: Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint*. (4 Vol.) Genève: Editions Motte.
- Gauguin:** Malingue, M. (1988). *Paul Gauguin: le peintre et son oeuvre*. Paris: Presses de la Cité.
- Van Gogh:** Hulsker, J. (1996). *The new complete Van Gogh: Paintings, drawings, and sketches*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.
- Gonzalès:** Sainsaulieu, M.-C. and Mons, J. de (1990). *Eva Gonzalès 1849-1883: Etude critique et catalogue raisonné*. Paris: Bibliothèque des arts.
- Guillaumin:** Serret, G. and Fabiani, D. (1971). *Armand Guillaumin 1841-1927: catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint*. Paris: Mayer.
- Léger:** Bauquier, G. and Maillard, N. (1990). *Fernand Léger: Catalogue raisonné*. (7 Vol.) Paris: A Maeght.
- Manet:** Jamot, P. and Wildenstein, G. (1932). *Edouard Manet*. (2 Vol.) Paris: Les Beaux-Arts.  
Rouart, D. and Wildenstein, D. (1975). *Edouard Manet: Catalogue raisonné*. (2 vol.) Lausanne: Bibliothèque des Arts.
- Monet:** Wildenstein, D. (1974-85) *Claude Monet: Biographie et catalogue raisonné*. (5 Vol.). Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts.
- Morisot:** Bataille, M.-L. and Wildenstein, D. (1961). *Berthe Morisot: Catalogues des peintures, pastels, et aquarelles*. Paris: Les Beaux-Arts.
- Pissarro:** Pissarro, L.-R. and Venturi, L. (1939). *Camille Pissarro – son art – son oeuvre*. (2 Vol.) Paris: Paul Rosenberg.
- Renoir:** Daulte, F. (1971). *Auguste Renoir: Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint. Vol 1: Figures 1860-1890*. Lausanne: Durand-Ruel.  
Fezzi, E. (1972). *L'opera completa di Renoir*. Milan: Rizzoli Editore,  
Grand Palais. (1985). *Renoir*, Catalog of the exhibit at the Hayward Gallery, London, 30 June – 21 August 1985, Galerie Nationale de Grand Palais, Paris, 14 May – 2 September 1985, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 9 October – 5 January, 1986.  
Wadley, N., ed. (1987) *Renoir: A retrospective*. New York: Macmillan.
- Seurat:** Dorra, H. and Rewald, J. (1959). *Georges Seurat: L'Oeuvre peint*. Paris: Les Beaux-Arts.

- Signac:** Cachin, F. (2000). *Signac: Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Sisley:** Daulte, F. (1959). *Alfred Sisley: Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint*. Paris: Durand-Ruel.
- Toulouse-Lautrec:** Dortu, M.G. (1971). *Toulouse-Lautrec et son oeuvre*. (6 vols.) New York: Collectors Editions.

#### **Appendix 4.4: The Twenty-Five Earliest Books with Images from the Impressionist Canon.**

1. Brownell, W.C. (1901). *French art, classic and contemporary, painting, and sculpture*. New York: Scribner's.
2. Maclair, C. (1903). *The great French painters*. London: Duckworth.
3. Meier-Graefe, J. (1904). *Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst*. Stuttgart: Hoffman. (Translated and published in English, 1908).
4. Dewhurst, W. (1904). *Impressionist Painting: Its genesis and development*. London: G. Newnes.
5. Muther, R. (1907). *History of modern painting. Vol 3*. New York: Dutton.
6. *Enciclopedia Universal Illustrada Europeo-Americana*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe. (70 volumes).
7. Bénédict, L. (1909). *La peinture Française au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: Flammarion.
8. Lemoisne, P.-A. (1913). *Degas*. Paris: Librairie centrale des Beaux-Arts.
9. Hourticq, I. (1911). *Art in France*. New York: Scribner's.
10. Laran, J. (1912). *Edouard Manet*. Philadelphia: Lippincott.
11. Borgmeyer, C. (1913). *The master Impressionists*. Chicago: Graphic Arts.
12. Haack, F. (1913). *Die Kunst des XIX Jahrhunderts*. Esslingen, Germany: Neff.
13. Wright, W.H. (1915). *Modern painting*. New York: John Lane.
14. Geffroy, G. (1920). *Les musées de l'Europe. Le Louvre*. Paris: Editions Nilsson.
15. Fontainas, A., and Vauxcelles, L. (1922). *Histoire générale de l'art Français de la Révolution à nos jours*. Paris: Librairie de France.
16. Mather, F.J. (1927). *Modern painting*. New York: Henry Holt.
17. Rey, R. (1931). *La peinture Française à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: La Renaissance du sentiment classique*. Paris: Les Beaux-Arts.
18. Francastel, P. (1937). *L'Impressionisme: Les origines de la peinture moderne de Monet à Gauguin*. Paris: Librairie Les Belles Lettres.
19. Laver, J. (1937). *French painting and the nineteenth century*. London: B.T. Batsford.
20. Uhde, W. (1937). *The Impressionists*. Vienna: Phaidon Press.
21. Cheney, S. (1941). *The story of modern art*. New York: Viking.
22. Rocheblave, S. (1941). *French painting nineteenth century*. New York: Hyperion.
23. Wilenski, R.H. (1944). *Modern French painters*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World.
24. Rewald, J. (1946). *The history of Impressionism*. 2nd ed. New York: Museum of Modern Art.
25. Raynal, M. (1949). *History of modern painting from Baudelaire to Bonnard: The birth of a new vision*. Geneva: Skira.

**Appendix 5.1:**  
**Paintings and Pastels in Seven Major Museums by Artist.**

	Orsay	Met	NGW	AIC	MFA	PMA	NGL
Cézanne	37	23	22	9	6	15	10
Degas	72	49	26	7	20	5	15
Manet	39	26	16	12	8	8	5
Monet	60	40	25	51	42	20	17
Pissarro	44	19	14	5	11	8	11
Renoir	59	22	43	14	17	15	11
Sisley	36	7	5	3	6	6	4
Bazille	6	1	4	2	0	0	0
Caillebotte	5	0	1	3	1	0	1
Cassatt	6	3	11	12	10	10	0
Gonzalès	2	1	0	2	0	0	0
Guillaumin	18	0	1	0	0	0	0
Morisot	10	3	13	5	1	1	2
Gauguin	25	10	14	10	4	2	3
Van Gogh	23	18	9	8	9	5	5
Seurat	12	8	3	1	1	0	11
Signac	13	3	0	1	5	0	0
Toulouse-Lautrec	17	10	15	9	3	2	4
TOTALS	484	242	212	147	144	94	99

Abbreviations and data sources:

Orsay: Musée d'Orsay, Musée d'Orsay (1990), and Monnier, G. (1985).  
 Met: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and online catalogue.  
 NGW: National Gallery of Art, Washington, online catalogue.  
 AIC: Art Institute of Chicago; the *catalogue raisonné* of each artist.  
 MFA: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; online catalogue.  
 PMA: Philadelphia Museum of Art, collections catalogue (d'Harnoncourt, 1995).  
 NGL: National Gallery of Art, London, online catalogue.

**Appendix 5.2: Paintings and Pastels in Group 3 Museums by Artist.**

	He	Pu	NG	Or	Co	Ma	Bu	Re	Ba	Cl	Fo	LA	NS	PC	Di	Total
Cézanne	11	14	3	1	9	0	7	9	61	0	5	3	4	7	2	136
Degas	0	0	2	7	10	0	6	4	0	5	8	2	0	5	0	49
Manet	0	1	5	4	4	2	15	4	5	3	3	0	3	3	1	53
Monet	11	14	5	4	5	93	5	1	4	7	6	10	5	2	2	174
Pissarro	2	0	2	0	1	0	3	1	0	7	0	1	0	0	2	19
Renoir	6	5	1	3	2	4	6	11	44	37	7	0	8	1	2	137
Sisley	3	0	3	5	2	1	3	2	1	4	0	2	0	1	1	28
Bazille	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Caillebotte	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	1	9
Cassatt	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	1	1	0	1	9
Gonzalès	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guillaumi	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	6
Morisot	0	0	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	9
Van Gogh	4	4	3	0	2	0	7	5	6	1	2	1	6	3	0	44
Gauguin	24	3	26	8	3	0	4	2	2	0	2	2	2	1	1	80
Seurat	0	0	0	0	5	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	14
Signac	1	3	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	1	14
Toulouse-Lautrec	1	2	2	0	2	0	5	0	2	4	4	1	2	0	0	25
TOTALS	64	46	62	29	46	102	59	37	128	75	39	25	32	25	15	784

**Abbreviations and Sources:**

- He = State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; plus online catalogue.
- Pu = State Pushkin Museum, Moscow; *catalogues raisonnés* plus website.
- NG = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark; the *catalogues raisonnés*.
- Or = Ordrupgaard Museum, Ordrupgaard, Denmark; the *catalogues raisonnés*.
- Co = Courtauld Gallery, London; holdings catalogue (Murdoch, 1998).
- Ma = Musée Marmottan, Paris; the *catalogues raisonnés*.
- Bu = Sammlung E.G. Buehrle, Zurich, Switzerland, online catalogue.
- Re = Sammlung Oscar Reinhart, Winterthur, Switzerland; *catalogues raisonnés*.
- Ba = Barnes Foundation, Merion, PA; the *catalogues raisonnés*.
- Cl = S. and F. Clark Institute, Williamstown, MA; Brooke (1984).
- Fo = Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA; online catalogue.
- LA = Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles; *catalogues raisonnés*.
- NS = Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, California, USA; online catalogue.
- PC = The Phillips Collection, Washington, DC, USA; Phillips (1985).
- Di = Dixon Gallery and Gardens, Nashville, TN; Catmur (1996); plus website.

**Appendix 6.1: Dealers and the Numbers of Paintings  
Handled for Each Artist.**

DEALERS	Bazille	Cassatt	Caillebotte	Cézanne	Degas	Gonzales	Guillaumin	Manet	Monet	Morisot	Pissarro	Renoir	Sisley	TOTALS
Acquavella	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	27	0	0	5	0	35
Bernheim Jeune	0	0	1	194	37	0	36	79	289	2	27	157	122	944
Bignou	0	0	1	78	16	0	0	25	10	0	12	67	21	231
Boussoud, Valadon	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	7	111	3	1	0	11	138
Brame	0	1	0	0	25	4	0	1	7	0	0	22	1	61
Cassirer	0	0	0	77	6	0	0	26	52	0	2	76	25	265
Durand-Ruel	0	1	5	67	323	2	182	156	974	4	394	527	370	3005
Knoedler	0	0	2	72	49	5	5	19	93	1	4	114	49	413
Marlborough	0	0	3	15	0	0	0	3	24	0	0	19	32	96
Petit	0	0	0	0	154	0	0	0	85	3	62	11	128	443
Reid & Lefèvre	0	0	0	42	22	0	0	0	32	0	5	54	42	197
Rosenberg	0	0	1	139	62	0	0	8	62	1	49	146	35	503
Salz	0	0	0	30	0	0	0	13	107	0	8	81	22	261
Tooth	0	0	8	5	2	5	45	1	36	0	2	30	33	167
Vollard	0	54	36	694	260	0	0	18	7	14	10	295	1	1389
Wildenstein	3	0	31	111	25	0	2	32	171	2	25	119	55	573
TOTALS	3	57	90	1524	986	16	270	389	2087	30	601	1722	947	8719

Notes: The images listed from Renoir are all estimates. They are based on those in his incomplete *catalogue raisonné* (Daulte, 1971), then multiplied by 3.7 to bring the estimates up to his estimated *oeuvre*.

Sums can often add up to more than the number of works by the painter, and this is particularly true for Cézanne. This means that many paintings went through dealers many times.

Sources: The *catalogues raisonnés* (see Appendix 4.3).

**Appendix 6.2: Collectors of Impressionism by Artist, and Bequests.**

	Cézanne	Degas	Manet	Monet	Pissarro	Renoir	Sisley	TOTALS
<b>1ST GENERATION</b>								
Georges de Bellio	2	0	8	38	8	3	5	64
Gustave Caillebotte	5	8	4	16	14	9	8	64
Georges Charpentier	1	3	3	5	3	8	22	45
Victor Chocquet	36	0	5	12	1	9	1	64
Théodore Duret	8	4	18	12	4	4	26	76
Jean-Baptiste Faure	0	8	55	51	22	0	30	166
Paul Gachet, <i>père</i>	23	0	0	1	3	1	2	30
Ernest Hoschedé	0	1	6	31	4	3	0	45
Eugène Murer	8	0	0	4	9	12	2	35
Henri Rouart	5	27	3	3	5	3	0	46
<b>2ND GENERATION</b>								
Georges Viau	7	64	3	8	25	18	26	151
Alexandre Berthier	12	4	3	53	1	21	12	106
Auguste Pellerin	152	0	58	11	1	5	1	228
Kojiro Matsukata	7	4	4	31	5	2	8	61
Hugo Tschudi	0	0	3	3	0	1	1	8
Barnes & Foundation	61	0	5	4	0	44	1	115
Reinhart & Sammlung	9	4	4	1	1	11	2	32
Bührle & Sammlung	7	6	13	5	3	6	3	43
Wilhelm Hansen	7	17	11	10	6	6	14	71
Ordrupgaard	1	7	2	4	0	3	5	22
Clarks & Institute	0	5	3	7	7	37	4	63

	Cézanne	Degas	Manet	Monet	Pissarro	Renoir	Sisley	TOTALS
<b>MUSEUMS &amp; BEQUESTS</b>								
<b>ORSAY</b>	37	72	39	60	44	59	36	
Caillebotte	5	8	4	16	14	9	8	64
Caillebotte bequest	2	7	2	8	7	6	5	37
Moreau-Nélaton	0	0	5	10	2	0	6	23
Camondo	5	20	8	14	2	3	8	60
Gachet	23	0	0	1	3	1	2	30
Gachet bequest	7	0	0	1	3	1	1	13
Personnaz	0	1	0	3	14	2	3	23
<b>METROPOLITAN</b>	23	49	26	40	19	22	7	
Havemeyer	13	64	25	30	6	3	2	143
Havemeyer bequest	4	35	10	8	2	2	0	61
<b>NGL</b>	10	15	5	17	11	11	4	
Hugh Lane	0	1	2	2	1	0	1	7
Courtauld Fund	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	11
<b>Courtauld Gallery</b>	5	2	3	3	2	3	2	20
<b>NGW</b>	22	26	16	25	14	43	5	
Chester Dale	7	9	4	12	4	9	3	48
Dale bequest	6	8	2	10	3	8	2	39
Mellon bequest	6	6	2	7	5	3	1	30
Mellon Bruce bequest	1	1	2	5	5	19	2	35
<b>AIC</b>	9	7	5	51	5	14	3	
Palmer bequest	1	4	2	49	3	9	1	68
<b>PMA</b>	15	5	8	20	8	15	6	
Tyson bequest	8	1	3	1	1	3	1	18
<b>Pushkin/Hermitage</b>	28	5	2	28	7	26	7	
Morozov collection	18	0	1	7	2	6	6	40
Shchukin collection	2	1	1	14	2	4	1	25

Key: NGL = National Gallery London; NGW = National Gallery Washington; AIC = Art Institute of Chicago; PMA = Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Sources: The *catalogues raisonnés* (Appendix 4.3, with estimates for Renoir), and museum catalogues or web sites.



**Appendix 7.1: The 138 Most Frequently Published Images in the 95 Books of Appendix 4.2.**

Bibliographic References (see Appendix 4.3). CR = *catalogue raisonné*)

B = Berhaut (1994), Caillebotte CR.	Bc = Breeskin (1970), Cassatt CR.
BW = Bataille and Wildenstein (1961), Morisot CR	Db = Daulte (1992), Bazille CR
Ds = Daulte (1959), Sisley CR.	Dr = Daulte(1971), Renoir CR.
JW = Jamot and Wildenstein (1932), Manet CR	F = Fezzi (1972), Renoir <i>opera completa</i>
PV = Pissarro and Venturi (1939),. Pissarro CR	L = Lemoisne (1946), Degas CR.
RW = Rouart and Wildenstein (1975) Manet CR	R = Rewald, et al (1996), Cézanne CR
	W = Wildenstein (1974-85), Monet CR.

Rank	Painter	Work Date Reference (Impressionist exhibition, if any)	Location and year of acquisition legacy, (also once owned by)	First Published (in books of Appendices 4.2 & 4.4)
<b>1st Tier</b>				
1	53	Manet	<i>Le déjeuner sur l'herbe</i> , 1863 Luncheon on the grass, JW79, RW31	Orsay, 1906, 04 Meier- Moreau- Nélaton (Faure)
2	52	Manet	<i>Olympia</i> , 1863 Olympia, JW82, RW69	Orsay, 1890, 09 Bénédite Subscription
3.5	45	Renoir	<i>Bal du Moulin de la Galette Montmartre</i> , 1876 Ball at the Moulin de la Galette, Dr209, F249 (3rd)	Orsay, 1894, 09 Bénédite Caillebotte
	45	Renoir	<i>Le déjeuner des canotiers</i> , 1881 Luncheon of the boating party, Dr379, F468 (7th)	Phillips 07 Muther Collection 1923
5	44	Monet	<i>Impression, soleil levant</i> , 1873 Impression, sunrise, W263 (1st)	Marmottan, 13 Borgmeyer 1957, Donop de Monchy (Hoschedé, de Bellio)
6	43	Monet	<i>Femmes au jardin</i> , 1866 Women in the garden, W67	Orsay, 1921, 13 Borgmeyer Claude Monet (Bazille, Manet)

7.5	41	Manet	<i>La musique aux Tuileries</i> , 1862 Concert in the Tuileries Gardens JW36, RW51	National Gallery, London 1917, Lane (Faure)	13 Borgmeyer
	41	Manet	<i>Le bar aux Folies-Bergère</i> , 1881 Bar at the Folies-Bergère, JW467, RW387	Courtauld Gallery, 1934 (Pellerin)	03 Mauclair
9.5	38	Manet	<i>Monet peignant dans son atelier: La barque de Monet</i> , 1874 Monet in his studio boat, JW240, RW219	Neue Pinako- thek, Munich 1910, Tschudi purchase (Chocquet)	22 F&V <sup>a</sup>
	38	Renoir	<i>La Loge</i> , 1874 (1st) Box at the opera, Dr116, F125	Courtauld Gallery, 1948	13 Borgmeyer
11	36	Degas	<i>L'Absinthe; Dans un café</i> , 1876 The absinthe drinker, L393	Orsay, 1911, Camondo	11 Lemoisne
12	34	Monet	<i>La Grenouillère</i> , 1869 La Grenouillère, W134 (2nd)	Metropolitan, 1929, Havemeyer	04 Dewhurst
13.5	33	Manet	<i>Emile Zola</i> , 1868 Portrait of Emile Zola, JW146, RW128	Orsay, 1918, Mme Zola	13 Borgmeyer
	33	Manet	<i>Le Balcon</i> , 1869 The balcony, JW150, RW134	Orsay, 1894, Caillebotte	13 Borgmeyer
15	29	Bazille	<i>Atelier de l'artiste, rue Condamine</i> , 1869 The artist's studio, Db56	Orsay, 1924, Marc Bazille	37 Laver
16	28	Renoir	<i>La Grenouillère</i> , 1869 La Grenouillère, F33	National- museum, Stockholm, 1924	37 Uhde
	27	Cézanne	<i>La maison du pendu</i> , 1872-73 The hanged man's house, R202 (1st)	Orsay, 1911, Camondo (Chocquet)	20 Geffroy
18	27	Monet	<i>Terrasse à Sainte-Adresse</i> , 1879 Garden at Sainte-Adresse, W95 (4th)	Metropolitan, 1967	51 Raynal
	27	Sisley	<i>L'inondation à Port Marly</i> Floods at Port Marly, 1876 Ds240 (2nd)	Orsay, 1911, Camondo	04 Meier- Graefe
20	26	Degas	<i>Café des Ambassadeurs</i> , 1876-77 Café des Ambassadeurs, L405 (3rd)	Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, 1910	22 F&V

21	25	Monet	<i>La gare Saint-Lazare</i> , 1877 Saint-Lazare train station, W438 (3rd)	Orsay, 1894, Caillebotte	11 Hourticq
23	24	Bazille	<i>Réunion de famille</i> , 1867 Family reunion, Db29	Orsay, 1905, Marc Bazille	46 Rewald
	24	Renoir	<i>Les grandes baigneuses</i> , 1887 Bathers, Dr514, F630	Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1937, Tyson	15 Wright
	24	Renoir	<i>La balançoire</i> , 1876 The swing, Dr202, F242 (3rd)	Orsay, 1894, Caillebotte	07 encyc- lopedia <sup>b</sup>
25	23	Degas	<i>Femmes à la terrasse d'un café le soir</i> , 1877 Women in front of a café, evening, L419 (3rd)	Orsay, 1894, Caillebotte	04 Dewhurst

**2nd Tier**

27	22	Monet	<i>Le boulevard des Capucines</i> Boulevard des Capucines, W293 1873 (1st)	Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, 1972	46 Rewald
	22	Pissarro	<i>Les toits rouge, coin de village, effet d'hiver</i> , 1877 Red roofs, PV384 (3rd)	Orsay, 1894, Caillebotte	13 Borgmeyer
	22	Renoir	<i>Mme Georges Charpentier et ses enfants</i> , 1878 Madame Charpentier and her children, Dr266, F321 (5th)	Metropolitan, 1907 (Charpentier)	09 Bénédite
30.5	21	Caille- botte	<i>Temps de pluie, rue de Paris</i> Place de l'Europe on a rainy day, 1887, B52 (3rd)	Art Institute of Chicago, 1964	60 Novotny
	21	Cézanne	<i>Une moderne Olympia</i> , 1873 A modern Olympia, R225 (1st)	Orsay, 1951, Gachet	46 Rewald
	21	Manet	<i>En bateau</i> , 1874 Boating in Argenteuil, JW244, RW223	Metropolitan, 1929, Havemeyer	03 Mauclair
	21	Manet	<i>Argenteuil</i> , 1874 Argenteuil, JW241, RW221	Musée des, Beaux-Arts, Tournai, 1903	37 Laver
33.5	20	Degas	<i>La famille Bellelli</i> , 1858-61 The Bellelli family, L79	Orsay, 1918, de Fels & De Gas	46 Rewald

20	Morisot	<i>Le berceau</i> , 1872 The cradle, BW25 (1st)	Orsay, 1930, Pontillon	64 Peillex
35.5 19	Manet	<i>Le fifre</i> , 1866 The piper, JW126, RW113	Orsay, 1911, Camondo (Faure)	03 Mauclair
19	Renoir	<i>Alfred Sisley et Lise Tréhaut</i> , Sisley and his wife, 1868 Dr34, F25	Wallraf- Richartz Museum Cologne, 1912	37 Uhde
40 18	Bazille	<i>Pierre-Auguste Renoir</i> , 1867 Portrait of Renoir, Db24	Orsay, 1935, transfer from Musée des Beaux-Arts, Algiers	46 Rewald
18	Degas	<i>Portraits dans un bureau</i> ( <i>Nouvelle-Orléans</i> ), 1873 Cotton exchange, L320 (2nd)	Musée des, Beaux-Arts, 1878	46 Rewald
18	Degas	<i>Repasseuses</i> , 1884-86 Women ironing, L785	Orsay, 1911, Camondo	09 Bénédict
18	Manet	<i>L'Exécution de l'Empereur</i> <i>Maximilien</i> , 1867-68, Execution of Emperor Maximilian, JW140, RW127	Städtische Kunsthalle, Mannheim, 1909	22 F&V
18	Manet	<i>Nana</i> , 1877 Nana, JW275, RW259	Hamburger Kunsthalle, 1924 (Pellerin)	13 Borgmeyer
18	Renoir	<i>Monet peignant dans le jardin</i> <i>de Renoir</i> , 1875 Monet working in his garden, Dr131, F160	Wadsworth, Atheneum, Hartford, 1957	46 Rewald
18	Renoir	<i>Les parapluies</i> , 1881-86 Umbrellas, Dr298, F596	National Gallery London 1917, Lane	13 Borgmeyer
47 17	Caille- botte	<i>Pont de l'Europe</i> , 1876 Pont de l'Europe, B44 (3rd)	Petit Palais, Genève, 1968, until 2002	80 Kelder
17	Manet	<i>Le chemin de fer</i> ; <i>La gare Saint-Lazare</i> , 1872-73 The railroad, JW231, RW207	National Gallery, Washington, 1956 Havemeyer (Faure)	46 Rewald
17	Monet	<i>La plage de Trouville</i> , 1870 The beach at Trouville, W158	National, Gallery, London, 1924, Courtauld fund	46 Rewald

- |         |          |  |   |                       |
|---------|----------|--|---|-----------------------|
| 17      | Monet    | <i>Régates à Argenteuil</i> , 1872<br>Argenteuil regatta, W233   | Orsay, 1894,<br>Caillebotte   | 07 encyc-<br>lopedia  |
| 17      | Monet    | <i>La cathédrale de Rouen, le<br/>portail et la tour Saint-Romain,<br/>plein soleil, harmonie bleue et or</i> ,<br>Rouen cathedral, 1891, W1360                              | Orsay, 1911,<br>Camondo   | 51 Raynal             |
| 17      | Monet    | <i>Le déjeuner sur l'herbe<br/>(esquisse)</i> , 1865-66<br>Luncheon on the grass (sketch),<br>W62  | State Pushkin, 1917, Shchoukin<br>Collection                        | 46 Rewald             |
| 17      | Pissarro | <i>Printemps. Prunier en fleurs</i> , also<br><i>Potager; arbres en fleurs</i> ,<br><i>Printemps, Pontoise</i><br>Orchard in Pontoise, 1879<br>(Kitchen Garden), PV387 (4th) | Orsay, 1894<br>Caillebotte  | 07 encyc-<br>lopedia  |
| 55.5 16 | Degas    | <i>Mlle La La au cirque Fernando</i> ,<br>Miss La La at the Fernando<br>circus, 1879, L522 (4th)   | National<br>Gallery, London<br>1925,<br>Courtauld Fund              | 76 Bellony-<br>Rewald |
| 16      | Degas    | <i>L'Orchestre de l'Opéra</i> , 1870-71<br>Musicians in the orchestra, L186  | Orsay, 1923,<br>Dihau   | 46 Rewald             |
| 16      | Degas    | <i>La femme aux chrysanthèmes</i> ,<br>Woman seated beside a vase of<br>Flowers (Mme Paul Valpinçon),<br>L125, 1865  | Metropolitan,<br>1929,<br>Havemeyer                                 | 51 Cogniat            |
| 16      | Degas    | <i>Place de la Concorde</i> , 1875<br>Place de la Concorde, L368   | State<br>Hermitage, 1945<br>(taken from Germany)                    | 37 Laver              |
| 16      | Manet    | <i>Le déjeuner dans l'atelier</i> , 1868,<br>Lunch in the studio,<br>JW149, RW135  | Neue Pinako-<br>thek, Munich<br>1910, Tschudi<br>(Faure, Havemeyer) | 12 Laran<br>Purchase  |
| 16      | Manet    | <i>Lola de Valence</i> , 1862<br>Lola of Valencia, JW46, RW53  | Orsay, 1911,<br>Camondo   | 04 Meier-<br>Graefe   |
| 16      | Monet    | <i>Les baigneurs de la Grenouillère</i><br>Bathers at La Grenouillère,<br>W135, 1969   | National,<br>Gallery, London,<br>1979                               | 62 Leymarie           |
| 16      | Morisot  | <i>La chasse aux papillons</i> , 1874<br>Butterfly chase, BW36   | Orsay, 1906,<br>Moreau-Nélaton                                      | 13 Borgmeyer          |

16	Morisot	<i>Été</i> , 1879 Summer's day, BW79 (5th)	National Gallery, London 1917, Lane	37 Uhde
16	Renoir	<i>Etude. Torse, effet de soleil</i> Torso in the sunlight, 1875-76 Dr201, F204 (2nd)	Orsay, 1894, Caillebotte	13 Borgmeyer
66	15 Caille- botte	<i>Raboteurs de parquet</i> , 1875 Floor scrapers, B34 (2nd )	Orsay, 1894, Caillebotte	13 Borgmeyer
15	Cézanne	<i>Les grandes baigneuses</i> , 1906 The great bathers, R857	Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1937 (Pellerin)	15 Wright
15	Degas	<i>Etoile, danseuse sur la scène</i> Ballet star, 1876-78, L491	Orsay, 1894, Caillebotte	01 Brownell
15	Degas	<i>Aux courses en Provence</i> , 1869 Carriage at the races, L281 (1st)	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1931	03 Mauclair
15	Manet	<i>La serveuse de Bocks I</i> , 1878-79 At the café Chateaudun, JW335, RW311	National Gallery, London, 1924 Courtauld Fund	65 Bowness
15	Monet	<i>Le bassin d'Argenteuil</i> , 1874 Argenteuil Basin, W225	Orsay, 1911, Camondo	46 Rewald
15	Monet	<i>Le pont d'Argenteuil</i> , 1874 The bridge at Argenteuil, W311 (2nd)	Orsay, 1937, Personnaz (Faure)	09 Bénédite
15	Monet	<i>Au bords de l'eau, Bennecourt</i> , The River; Seine at Bennecourt, 1868, W110	Art Institute of Chicago, 1922, Palmer	41 Cheney
15	Monet	<i>La plage de Sainte-Adresse</i> , 1867 Beach at Sainte-Adresse, W92 (2nd)	Art Institute of Chicago, 1933	51 Raynal
15	Monet	<i>Le coquelicots à Argenteuil</i> Field of poppies, 1873, W274 (1st)	Orsay, 1906, Moreau- Nélaton (Faure)	13 Borgmeyer
15	Sisley	<i>Les régates à Molesey</i> , 1874 Regatta at Molesey, Hampton Court, Ds126	Orsay, 1894, Caillebotte	27 Geffroy

### 3rd Tier

76.5	14	Manet	<i>La prune</i> , 1877 Plum pudding, JW293, RW282	National Gallery, Washington, 1971, Mellon	22 F&V
	14	Monet	<i>Camille</i> , 1866 Woman in green dress, W65	Kunsthalle, Bremen, 1906	37 Laver
	14	Monet	<i>Pont de l'Europe, gare Saint-Lazare</i> , 1877 Pont de l'Europe, W442 (3rd)	Musée Marmottan 1868 (Courtauld)	49 Newton
	14	Monet	<i>Hôtel des Roches-Noires à Trouville</i> , 1870 Hotel at Roches-Noires, W155	Orsay, 1947 Laroche	60 Cogniat
	14	Monet	<i>La Tamizes et le Parliament</i> Thames below Westminster, 1871, W166	National Gallery, London, 1971 (Hoschedé, Faure)	46 Rewald
	14	Renoir	<i>Frédéric Bazille</i> , 1867 (2nd) Portrait of Bazille, Dr28, F18	Orsay, 1924, Marc Bazille	46 Rewald
	14	Renoir	<i>Pont des Arts</i> , 1867 Pont des Arts, F27	Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, 1968	46 Rewald
	14	Renoir	<i>Le pont neuf</i> , 1872 Le pont neuf, F76	National Gallery, Washington, 1970, Mellon Bruce	46 Rewald
83.5	13	Bazille	<i>Scène d'été</i> , 1869 Summer scene, Db49	Fogg Museum Harvard, 1937	46 Rewald
	13	Cézanne	<i>Les joueurs de cartes</i> , 1893-96 Card players, R714	Orsay, 1911, Camondo	13 Borgmeyer
	13	Cézanne	<i>La Montagne Saint-Victoire au grand pin</i> , 1885-87 La Montagne Sainte-Victoire, R599	Courtauld Gallery, 1934	22 F&V
	13	Degas	<i>Le défilé; Chevaux de course devant les tribunes</i> , 1868 Parading before the stands, L262 (4th)	Orsay, 1911, Camondo (Faure)	13 Borgmeyer
	13	Degas	<i>Duranty</i> , 1879 Portrait of Edmond Duranty, L517 (4th & 5th)	Glasgow City Art Gallery, 1944	13 Borgmeyer

13	Manet	<i>Stéphane Mallarmé</i> , 1876 Portrait of Stéphane Mallarmé, JW265, RW249	Orsay, 1928, Bonniot and Mallarmé	37 Uhde
13	Monet	<i>Partie centrale du déjeuner sur l'herbe</i> , 1865, W63B Central section of <i>Déjeuner sur l'herbe</i>	Orsay, 1987, anonymous	55 Leymarie
13	Pissarro	<i>Entrée du village de Voisins</i> , Entrance to the village of Voisins, 1872, PV141	Orsay, 1923, May	26 Michel
93.5 12	Degas	<i>Course de gentlemen. Avant le départ</i> , 1862 Before the start, L101	Orsay, 1911, Camondo	46 Rewald
12	Degas	<i>Chanteuse au gant</i> , 1878 The glove, L478 bis (4th)	Fogg Museum Harvard, 1951	60 Cogniat
12	Manet	<i>Chez le Père Lathuille</i> , 1879 At Père Lathuille's, JW325, RW291	Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai, 1903 (Duret)	37 Uhde
12	Manet	<i>La serveuse de bocks II</i> , 1879 Waitress serving beer, JW336, RW312	Orsay, 1959, Matsukata/Japan (Pellerin)	13 Borgmeyer
12	Monet	<i>La gare Saint-Lazare, l'arrivée d'un train</i> , 1877 St Lazare station, arrival of a train, W439 (3rd)	Fogg Museum, Harvard, 1951	44 Wilden- stein
12	Monet	<i>Le quai du Louvre</i> , 1867 Wharf at the Louvre, W83	Gemeente- museum, The Hague, 1942	55 Leymarie
12	Monet	<i>Le déjeuner</i> , 1873 The luncheon, W285 (2nd)	Orsay, 1894, Caillebotte	07 encyc- lopedia
12	Morisot	<i>Dans la salle à manger</i> , 1886 In the dining room, BW194 (8th)	National Gallery, Washington, 1952, Dale	46 Rewald
12	Morisot	<i>Vue du petit port de Lorient</i> Harbor at Lorient with the artist's sister Edma, 1869, BW17 (1st)	National Gallery, Washington, 1969, Mellon Bruce	46 Rewald
12	Pissarro	<i>Portrait de l'artiste</i> , 1873 Self portrait, PV200	Orsay, 1930 P.-E. Pissarro	69 Alexan- drian



12	Renoir	<i>Diane chasserresse</i> , 1867 Diana, the huntress, Dr30, F20	National Gallery, Washington, 1952, Dale (Viau, Wagram)	31 Rey
12	Renoir	<i>Le cabaret de la Mère Anthony</i> At the inn of Mother Anthony Marlotte, 1866, Dr20, F14	National- museum, Stockholm, 1926	46 Rewald
10411	Cassatt	<i>La loge</i> , 1882 Two young ladies in a theatre box, Bc121	National, Gallery, Washington 1963, Dale	46 Rewald
11	Degas	<i>La classe de danse</i> , 1873-75 The dance class, L341	Orsay, 1911, Camondo	03 Mauclair
11	Manet	<i>Portrait d'Eva Gonzalès</i> , 1870 Portrait of Eva Gonzalès, JW174, RW154	National Gallery, London, 1917, Lane	13 Borgmeyer
11	Manet	<i>Courses à Longchamps</i> , 1872 Races at Longchamps, JW102, RW98	Art Institute of Chicago, 1922, Palmer	51 Raynal
11	Monet	<i>Londres, le Parliament. Trouée de soliel dans le brouillard</i> , Houses of Parliament, 1904, W1610	Orsay, 1911, Camondo	13 Borgmeyer
11	Monet	<i>Rue Montorgeuil, à Paris. Fête du 30 juin 1878</i> , 1878 Rue Montorgeuil with flags, W469 (4th)	Orsay, 1982, Lindon	61 Mathey
11	Monet	<i>Le Pont de Bougival</i> , 1869 Bridge at Bougival, W152	Currier Museum of Art, Manchester, NH, 1949	69 Jaffé
11	Pissarro	<i>Côte du Jallais, Pontoise</i> , 1867 Jallais hill, Pontoise, PV55	Metropolitan, 1956	46 Rewald
11	Renoir	<i>Lise – la femme à l'ombrelle</i> Woman with parasol, Dr29, F22 1867	Museum Folkwang, Essen (Duret)	04 Meier- Graefe
12310	Cassatt	Woman in black at the opera, 1877-78	Museum Fine Arts, Boston, 1910	13 Borgmeyer
10	Cézanne	<i>Le pont de Maincy</i> , 1879 Bridge at Maincy, R436	Orsay, 1955, Anonymous, Canada (Chocquet)	72 Courthion

10	Cézanne	<i>Les grandes baigneuses</i> , 1905 Great Bathers, R855	National Gallery, London 1964 (Pellerin)	76 Bellony- Rewald
10	Degas	<i>Le foyer de danse a l'opéra, rue Peletier</i> , 1872 Dance foyer at the Opera on the Rue Peletier, L298	Orsay, 1911, Camondo	13 Borgmeyer
10	Degas	<i>Bain de mer. Petite fille peignée par sa bonne</i> , 1876-77 Young girl being combed by her maid; Beach scene, L406 (3rd)	National Gallery, London, 1917, Lane (Rouart)	37 Laver
10	Degas	<i>Diego Martelli</i> , 1879 Portrait of Diego Martelli, L579 (4th)	National Gallery, Edinburgh, 1932	71 Nochlin
10	Manet	<i>Le buveur d'absinthe</i> , 1858-59 The absinthe drinker, JW24, RW19	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, 1922 (Faure)	13 Borgmeyer
10	Manet	<i>Combat du Kearsarge et de l'Alabama</i> , 1864 Battle of the Kearsarge and the Alabama, JW87, RW76	Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1933, Johnson Collection	03 Mauclair
10	Manet	<i>Le vieux musicien</i> , 1862 The old musician, JW44, RW52	National, Gallery, Washington, 1952, Dale (Wagram)	13 Borgmeyer
10	Manet	<i>Le bon bock</i> , 1873 The good beer, JW213, RW186 (Portrait of the engraver, Bellot)	Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1963, Tyson (Faure)	03 Mauclair
10	Manet	<i>Le départ du bateau de Folkestone</i> , 1869 The Folkestone boat, JW163, RW147	Philadelphia Museum of Art 1963 Tyson (Tschudi)	22 F&V
10	Manet	<i>Le café concert</i> , 1878 Café concert, JW303, RW280	Walters Gallery, Baltimore, 1909 (Faure)	13 Borgmeyer
10	Manet	<i>Victorine Meurend en costume d'Espada</i> , 1862-63 Mlle V... in the costume of Espada, JW51, RW58	Metropolitan, 1929, Havemeyer (Faure)	46 Rewald

10	Manet	<i>La rue Mosnier aux paveurs</i> Roadmenders on the rue Berne, 1878, JW291, RW272	private collection (Chocquet, Courtauld)	13 Borgmeyer
10	Manet	<i>L'Exposition universelle de 1867</i> View of the World's Fair from the Trocadero, 1867 JW137, RW123	Nasjonal- gallereit, Oslo, 1918 (Pellerin)	22 F&V
10	Manet	<i>Le bal de l'opéra</i> , 1873 Masked ball at the opera, JW219, RW216	National, Gallery, Washington, 1982, Havemeyer (Faure)	62 Leymarie
10	Monet	<i>Camille Monet sur son lit de mort</i> Camille on her deathbed, W543, 1879	Orsay, 1963, Granoff	71 Nochlin
10	Monet	<i>La japonaise</i> , 1875, W387 (2nd) Camille dressed in Japanese costume	Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 1956	80 Kelder
10	Monet	<i>Le boulevard des Capucines</i> Boulevard des Capucines, 1873, W292	State Pushkin, 1917 Morozov Collection (Faure)	22 F&V
10	Monet	<i>La côte sauvage;</i> <i>Les rochers à Belle-Île</i> , 1886 Rocks at Belle-Isle, W1100	Orsay, 1894, Caillebotte	03 Mauclair
10	Monet	<i>Nymphéas</i> , 1922 Water lilies, W, Vol 4, pp. 326-335	Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1922	70 Gaunt
10	Pissarro	<i>Boulevard de Montmartre,</i> <i>effet de nuit</i> , 1897, PV994 Boulevard de Montmartre at night	National Gallery, London, 1925, Courtauld Fund	37 Uhde
10	Pissarro	<i>L'Ile Lacroix, Rouen,</i> <i>effet de brouillard</i> , 1888 Mist at Ile Lacroix, Rouen, PV719	Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1933 Johnson Collection	61 Mathey
10	Pissarro	<i>La bergère; Jeune fille</i> <i>à la baguette</i> , 1881 Young girl with a stick (Shepherdess), PV540 (6th & 7th)	Orsay, 1911 Camondo	60 Cogniat
10	Renoir	<i>La danse à Bougival</i> , 1883 Country Dance, Dr438, F554	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1937	03 Mauclair

10	Renoir	<i>Sur la terrasse</i> , 1881 On the terrace (Two sisters), Dr378, F471 (2nd & 7th)	Art Institute of Chicago, 1933	03	Mauclair
10	Renoir	<i>Les canotiers à Chatou</i> , 1879 Oarsmen at Chatou, Dr307, F370	National Gallery Washington, 1979	41	Cheney
10	Renoir	<i>La Place Clichy</i> , 1880 Place de Clichy, Dr326, F406	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK (Courtauld)	60	Novotny
10	Sisley	<i>Pont de Villeneuve-la-Garenne</i> Bridge at Villeneuve-la-Garenne, 1872, Ds37	Metropolitan, 1964	78	Roberts
10	Sisley	<i>La neige à Louveciennes</i> , 1874 Snow at Louveciennes, Ds282	Orsay, 1911, Camondo	37	Laver

<sup>a</sup>F&V = Fontainas and Vauxcelles (1922), see Appendices 4.2 and 4.4.

<sup>b</sup>Encyclopedia = *Enciclopedia Universal Illustrada Europeo-Americana* (1907).  
Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

**Appendix 8.1: The Fourth Tier of Impressionism.**

<b>Painter</b>	<b>Work, Date, and Reference <i>Catalogue Raisonné</i> as in Appendix 7.1 (Impressionist Exhibition, if any)</b>	<b>Museum, Legacy (Once owned by)</b>
<b>9 Reproductions</b>		
Bazille	<i>La robe rose; Vue de Castelnaud-le-nez</i> , 1864 The red dress, Db9	Orsay Marc Bazille
Cassatt	Five o'clock tea, ~1880 Bc78 (5th)	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Cézanne	<i>La maison du docteur Gachet à Auvers-sur-Oise</i> , ~1873 House of Dr. Gachet, Auvers, R192	Orsay Gachet
Cézanne	<i>Nature morte avec l'Amour en plâtre</i> , ~1895 Still life with statuette of Cupid, R786	Courtauld Gallery
Cézanne	<i>Portrait de Victor Chocquet</i> , 1875 Portrait of Victor Chocquet, R292 (3rd)	private collection (Chocquet)
Cézanne	<i>La pendule noire</i> , 1867-69 Black clock, R136	private collection (Zola, Pellerin)
Degas	<i>Café concert, chanson du chien</i> , 1875-77 Café concert, song of the dog, L380	Louvre/Orsay (Havemeyer)
Degas	<i>Petites filles Spartiates provoquant les garçon</i> , 1860-62 Young Spartans Exercising, L70 (5th, listed, but not exhibited)	National Gallery, London Courtauld fund
Degas	<i>Ballet de Robert le Diable</i> , 1871 The ballet from "Robert le Diable", L294	Metropolitan, Havemeyer
Degas	<i>Répétition d'un ballet sur la scène</i> , 1874 Rehearsal of the ballet on stage	Orsay Camondo
Degas	<i>Le tub</i> , 1886 Woman bathing in a shallow tub, L872 (8th)	Orsay Camondo
Gonzalès	<i>Une loge aux Italiens</i> , 1874 A box at the Théâtre des Italiens, SM61	Orsay
Manet	<i>Le chanteur Espagnol; Le guitarero</i> , 1860 Spanish guitar player, JW40, RW32	Metropolitan

Manet	<i>La chanteuse des rues</i> , 1862 Street singer, JW45, RW50	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Manet	<i>Berthe Morisot au bouquet de violets</i> , 1872 Portrait of Berthe Morisot holding violets, JW208, RW179	Orsay
Manet	<i>Portrait de Théodore Duret</i> , 1868 Portrait of Theodore Duret, JW147, RW132	Petit Palais, Paris
Monet	<i>Les déchargeurs de carbon</i> , 1875 Unloading coal, Argenteuil, W364 (4th)	private collection
Monet	<i>Saint-Germain l'Auxerois</i> , 1867 Church of Saint-Germain Auxerois, Paris, W84	Nationalgalerie, Berlin, Tschudi purchase (Hoschedé, Faure)
Monet	<i>La gare Saint-Lazare, le train de Normandie</i> , 1877 Saint-Lazare train station, W440 (3rd)	Art Institute of Chicago (Hoschedé, de Bellio)
Monet	<i>Rouen Cathedral, portail vu de face, harmonie brune</i> , 1892 Rouen Cathedral, W1319	Orsay
Morisot	<i>Cache-cache</i> , 1873 Hide and seek, BW27 (1st)	Bellagio Gallery of Fine Art, Las Vegas
Pissarro	<i>Lower Norwood, Londres, effet de neige</i> , 1870 Lower Norwood under snow; Fox Hill, Upper Norwood, PV105	National Gallery, London
Renoir	<i>Les baigneuses</i> , 1918-19 Large Bathers, F767	Orsay
Renoir	<i>La Grenouillère</i> , 1869 Bathing at la Grenouillère, F34	Sammlung Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur Switzerland
Renoir	<i>Richard Wagner</i> , 1882 Portrait of Richard Wagner, Dr394, F506	Orsay (Charpentier)
Renoir	<i>Portrait de Paul Durand-Ruel</i> , 1910 Portrait of Paul Durand-Ruel, F742	private collection (Durand-Ruel family)
Sisley	<i>Le brouillard, Voisins</i> , 1874 Misty morning, Voisins, Ds137	Orsay Personnaz
Sisley	<i>Rue de village à Marlotte</i> , 1866 Village Street in Marlotte, Ds3	Albright-Knox Gallery, Buffalo, NY

## 8 Reproductions

Caillebotte	<i>Un homme à la fenêtre</i> , 1879 Young man at his window, B26	private collection
Cézanne	<i>Seine à Bercy, d'après Guillaumin</i> , 1876-78 The Seine at Bercy, Paris, R293	Kunsthalle, Hamburg
Cézanne	<i>Trois baigneuses</i> , 1876-77 Three bathers, R360	Petit Palais, Paris, Matisse
Degas	<i>Petites modiste;</i> <i>L'Atelier de la modiste</i> , 1882 At the milliners, L682 (8th)	Metropolitan, Havemeyer
Degas	<i>L'Intérieure</i> , 1868-69 Interior (the rape), L348	Philadelphia Museum of Art
Degas	<i>Edouard Manet et Mme Manet</i> , ~1865 Manet listening to his wife play piano, L127	Municipal Museum of Art, Kitakyoshu, Japan
Manet	<i>La famille Monet au jardin</i> , 1874 Monet Family in the Garden, Argenteuil, JW245, RW227	Metropolitan (Pellerin)
Manet	<i>Port de Boulogne au clair de lune</i> , 1869 Boulogne harbor by moonlight, JW159, RW143	Orsay Camondo
Manet	<i>Oeillets et clématite dans un vase de crystal</i> , 1882 Pinks and clematis in a crystal vase, JW506, RW423	Orsay
Monet	<i>Les bateaux rouges, Argenteuil</i> , 1875 Red boats as Argenteuil, W370	Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris
Monet	<i>Le déjeuner</i> , 1868-69 The dinner, W132 (1st)	Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt
Monet	<i>Les dindons</i> , 1876 Turkeys, W416 (3rd)	Orsay (Duret)
Monet	<i>Le jardin de l'Infante; Jardin de la Princesse</i> , 1867 Garden of the Princess, W85	Oberlin College (Havemeyer)
Monet	<i>La pie</i> , 1869 The magpie, W133	Orsay

Monet	<i>La Promenade; Essau de figure en plein-air: Femme à l'ombrelle tournée vers la gauche</i> , 1875 Woman with a parasol facing left, W1077	Orsay
Monet	<i>Rue Saint-Denis, fête de 30 juin 1878</i> , 1878 Rue St Denis, national holiday, W470, (4th)	Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen (Hoschedé)
Monet	<i>Le bateau-atelier</i> , 1874 Studio boat, W323	Kröller-Müller Museum, Otterlo
Morisot	<i>Le balcon</i> , 1871-72 On the balcony (overlooking the Trocadero), BW23	private collection
Morisot	<i>Eugène et Julie Manet</i> , 1883 Eugene and Julie Manet in the garden at Bougival, BW137	Musée Marmottan
Pissarro	<i>Boulevard des Italiens, matin, effet de soliel</i> , 1897 Boulevard des Italiens, morning sun, PV1000	National Gallery Washington, Dale
Pissarro	<i>Femme dans un clos; Soliel de printemps, dans le pré a Eragny</i> Women in a field, Eragny, springtime, 1887, PV709	Orsay Personnaz
Renoir	<i>La danseuse</i> , 1874 Ballerina, Dr110, F126 (1st)	National Gallery, Washington
Renoir	<i>Le fin du déjeuner</i> , 1879 End of lunch, Dr288, F369	Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt
Renoir	<i>La Parisienne; La dame en bleu</i> , 1874 The Parisian woman, Dr102, F127 (1st)	National Museum of Wales, Cardiff (Rouart)
Renoir	<i>Claude Monet</i> , 1875 Portrait of Monet, Dr132, F163 (2nd)	Orsay
Renoir	<i>Portrait de Monsieur Chocquet</i> , 1876 Portrait of Victor Chocquet, Dr175, F226	Sammlung Oskar Reinhart (Chocquet)
Sisley	<i>L'Inondation à Port-Marly; La barque pendant l'inondation</i> , 1876 Flood at Port Marly, Ds239	Orsay Camondo



Sisley	<i>La passerelle d'Argenteuil</i> , 1872 Footbridge at Argenteuil, Ds32	Orsay Moreau-Nélaton
Sisley	<i>Premières neiges à Louveciennes</i> , 1870 Early Snow at Louveciennes, Ds18	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Tschudi purchase for the Nationalgalerie, Berlin, deaccessioned)
<b>7 Reproductions</b>		
Bazille	<i>L'Ambulance improvisée</i> , 1865 Monet after his accident at the Inn of Chailly, Db14	Orsay
Bazille	<i>La toilet</i> , 1870 Nude, at the toilet, Db55	Musée Fabre, Montpellier
Bazille	<i>Vue de village, Castelnau-le-nez</i> , 1868 View of the village, Db39	Musée Fabre, Montpellier
Cassatt	Girl arranging her hair, 1886 Bc146	National Gallery, Washington, Dale
Cézanne	<i>Le joueurs de cartes</i> , ~1890 Card players, R707	Metropolitan
Cézanne	<i>Gustave Geffroy</i> , 1895 Portrait of Gustave Geffroy, R791	Orsay (Pellerin)
Degas	<i>Portraits à la bourse</i> , 1878-79 At the stock exchange, L499 (4th & 5th)	Orsay
Guillaumin	<i>Soliel couchant à Ivry</i> , 1869 Sunset at Ivry, SF20 (1st)	Orsay Gachet
Manet	<i>Le barricade; Guerre civile</i> , 1871 The barricade (civil war), RW D319	Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest
Manet	<i>La maison de Rueil</i> , 1882 Manet country house Rueil, JW494, RW406	National Gallery, Victoria, Australia (Faure)
Manet	<i>L'Automne</i> , 1882 Méry Laurent, Autumn, JW480, RW393	Musée des Beaux- Arts, Nancy
Manet	<i>La partie de croquet à Paris</i> , 1873 Game of croquet, JW232, RW211	Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt
Manet	<i>Portrait de Berthe Morisot</i> , 1874 Portrait of Berthe Morisot with hat, in mourning, JW238, RW228	private collection

Manet	<i>Le repos (Berthe Morisot)</i> , 1870 Repose (Berthe Morisot), JW183, RW158	Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, RI
Manet	<i>Sur la plage</i> , 1873 On the beach, JW224, RW188	Orsay
Manet	<i>Le torero mort</i> , 1864 Dead Toreador, JW83, RW72	National Gallery, Washington (Faure)
Monet	<i>Jardin à Vétheuil de Monet</i> , 1881 Artist garden a Vétheuil, W685	National Gallery, Washington, Mellon Bruce
Monet	<i>Meule, soliel couchant</i> , 1891 Grainstack (sunset), W1289	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Monet	<i>Meules, fin de l'été, effet du matin</i> , 1893 Haystacks, end of summer, W1266	Orsay
Monet	<i>Le pont du chemin de fer, Argenteuil</i> , 1873 Railway bridge at Argenteuil, W319	Orsay Moreau-Nélaton
Monet	<i>Rouen Cathedral, le portail et la tour d'Albane, à l'aube</i> , 1892 Rouen Cathedral, W1348	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Palmer)
Monet	<i>Rouen Cathedral, le portail, temp gris, harmonie grise</i> , 1892 Rouen Cathedral, W1321	Orsay Camondo
Monet	<i>La clocher Sainte-Catherine, Honfleur</i> , 1917 Belfry of Sainte-Catherine, Honfleur, W1847	Musée Boudin, Honfleur
Monet	<i>Les Tuileries</i> , 1876 View of the Tuileries , W401 (3rd)	Marmottan, Donop de Monchy (de Bellio)
Pissarro	<i>La charcuterie</i> , 1883 Pork butcher, market scene, PV615	National Gallery, London
Pissarro	<i>Gelée blanche</i> , 1873 Hoarfrost, PV203 (1st)	Orsay (Faure)
Pissarro	<i>Port-Marly, le lavoir</i> , 1872 Bougival washhouse, PV175	Orsay Caillebotte
Pissarro	<i>Le pont Boiëldieu à Rouen, soliel couchant, temps brumeux</i> , 1896 Boiëldieu bridge in Rouen, sunset, rainy weather, PV953	Orsay

Pissarro	<i>La station de Penge, Upper Norwood, Londres, 1871</i> Lordship Lane Station, Dullwich, PV111	Courtauld Gallery
Pissarro	<i>Usine près de Pontoise, 1873</i> Factory near Pontoise, PV215	Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, MA
Pissarro	<i>Vue de ma fenêtre, Maison de la Sourde, Eragny, 1886</i> View from my window, PV721 (8th)	Ashmolean, Oxford
Renoir	<i>L'Après midi des enfants à Wargemont, 1884</i> Children's afternoon at Wargemont, Dr457, F602	Nationalgalerie, Berlin, Tschudi purchase
Renoir	<i>Chemin montant dans les hautes herbes, 1876</i> Winding path through high grass, F141	Orsay
Renoir	<i>La danse à la ville, 1882</i> City dance, Dr440, F555	Orsay
Renoir	<i>Le déjeuner au bord de la rivière, 1879</i> Rower's lunch; Lunch at the Restaurant Fournaise, Dr305, F399 (2nd)	Art Institute of Chicago, Palmer
Renoir	<i>La liseuse, 1875</i> Girl reading, Dr106, F202 (2nd)	Orsay Caillebotte
Renoir	<i>Femme nue; Torse d'Anna, 1876</i> Female nude; Anna, Dr213, F250	State Pushkin, Shchoukin Collection
Renoir	<i>Patinage au Bois de Boulogne, 1868</i> Skaters in the Bois de Boulogne, F28	private collection
Renoir	<i>Portrait d'Eugène Murer, 1877</i> Portrait of Eugene Murer, Pastry Cook, Dr246, F290	private collection
Renoir	<i>Portrait de Mademoiselle Samary, 1878</i> Portrait of Jeanne Samary, Dr263, F282	State Hermitage, Morozov Collection
Renoir	<i>Portrait de Monsieur Chocquet, 1875</i> Portrait of Victor Chocquet, Dr176, F225	Fogg Museum of Art (Chocquet)

## 6 Reproductions

Bazille	<i>Portrait de l'artiste, 1865-66</i> Self portrait, Db10	Art Institute of Chicago
Caillebotte	<i>Vue de toits, effet de neige, 1878</i> Snow covered roofs in Paris, B96	Orsay Caillebotte

Cassatt	Woman and child driving, 1879, Bc699 (Lydia Cassatt and Degas' niece Odile Fèvre)	Philadelphia Museum of Art
Cézanne	<i>Le chateau de Médan</i> , 1879-81 Zola's house at Médan, R437	Glasgow City Art Gallery (Gauguin)
Cézanne	<i>Le golfe de Marseille, vu de l'Estaque</i> , 1885 Bay of Estaque, R626	Art Institute of Chicago
Cézanne	<i>L'Estaque, vue du golfe de Marseille</i> , 1878-80 Estaque, R390	Orsay Caillebotte
Cézanne	<i>Le garçon au gilet rouge</i> , 1888-90 Boy with the red waistcoat, R658	Sammlung E.G. Buehrle
Cézanne	<i>Le lac d'Annecy</i> , 1895 Lake of Annecy, R805	Courtauld Gallery
Cézanne	<i>Louis-Auguste Cézanne, père de l'artiste, lisant l'Événement</i> , 1866-68 Portrait of the Artist's Father reading <i>l'Événement</i> , R101	National Gallery, Washington Mellon (Pellerin)
Cézanne	<i>Achille Empereur</i> , 1868 Portrait of Achille Empereur, R139	Orsay (Tanguy, Pellerin)
Cézanne	<i>Portrait de M. Ambrose Vollard</i> , 1899 Portrait of Ambrose Vollard, R811	Petit Palais, Paris
Cézanne	<i>Portrait de l'artiste</i> , 1873-76 Self Portrait, R182	Orsay
Degas	<i>Après le bain, femme s'essuyant</i> , 1888-92 After the bath, woman drying herself, L955	National Gallery, London
Degas	<i>Chez la modiste</i> , 1882 Two women at the milliners, L681	Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid (Havemeyer)
Degas	<i>Mary Cassatt, assise, tenant des cartes</i> , 1884 Portrait of Mary Cassatt, L768	National Portrait Gallery, Washington
Degas	<i>Musiciens à l'orchestre</i> , 1872 Musicians in the orchestra, L295	Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt
Degas	<i>Le pédicure</i> , 1873 The pedicure, L323	Orsay Camondo
Degas	<i>Portrait de Edmondo et Thérèse Morbili</i> , 1867 Portrait of Edmondo and Thérèse Morbili, L164	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Degas	<i>Répétition sur la scène</i> , 1878-79 Rehearsal on stage, L498 (two base scrolls in foreground)	Metropolitan Havemeyer
Manet	<i>Berthe Morisot à l'éventail</i> , 1872 Lady with a fan, Berthe Morisot, JW210, RW181	Orsay, Moreau-Nélaton (de Bellio)
Manet	<i>Le Christ aux anges</i> , 1864 Dead Christ and the angels, JW85, RW74	Metropolitan Havemeyer
Manet	<i>La lecture</i> , 1869 The reading, JW167, RW136	Orsay
Manet	<i>14 juillet, Rue du Mosnier</i> , 1878 Rue Mosnier with flags, JW289, RW270	J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, CA (Pellerin)
Manet	<i>Portrait de George Moore</i> , 1873-79 Portrait of George Moore, JW365, RW P11	Metropolitan, Havemeyer
Manet	<i>La Viennoise (Irma Brunner)</i> , 1882 Portrait of a women in a black hat, JW531, RW P78	Orsay Camondo
Monet	<i>Partie gauche du déjeuner sur l'herbe</i> , 1865 Luncheon on the grass (left fragment), W63A	Orsay
Monet	<i>Les Tuileries (esquisse)</i> , 1880 Tuileries gardens, W403	Orsay Caillebotte
Monet	<i>Rouen Cathedral, le portail soliel matinale, harmonie bleue</i> , 1892 Rouen Cathedral, W1355	Orsay Camondo
Monet	<i>Les régates à Sainte-Adresse</i> , 1867 The beach at Sainte-Adresse, W91	Metropolitan
Monet	<i>Le train dans la neige, la locomotive</i> , 1875 Train in snow, Argenteuil, W356 (4th)	Marmottan, Donop de Monchy (de Bellio)
Monet	<i>Mme Louis Joachim Gaudibert</i> , 1868 Portrait of Mme Gaudibert, W121	Orsay
Monet	<i>Meules, effet de neige, le matin</i> , 1890 Haystack in the snow, morning, W1280	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Monet	<i>Le pont du chemin de fer à Argenteuil</i> , 1873 Railway bridge at Argenteuil, W279 (2nd)	private collection (Faure)

Monet	<i>La promenade. La femme à l'ombrelle</i> , 1875 Woman with a parasol; Mme Monet with Jean, W381 (2nd)	National Gallery, Washington Mellon
Monet	<i>Effet d'automne à Argenteuil</i> , 1873 Seine at Argenteuil, Autumn, W290	Courtauld Gallery
Monet	<i>Vétheuil en été</i> , 1880 Vétheuil in Summer, W605	Metropolitan
Morisot	<i>Percher de blanchisseuses</i> , 1875 Hanging out the laundry to dry, BW45 (2nd)	National Gallery, Washington, Mellon
Morisot	<i>Portrait de Mme Morisot et de sa fille Mme Pontillon; La lecture</i> , 1869 The artist's sister Edma and their mother, BW20 (1st)	National Gallery, Washington, Dale
Pissarro	<i>Le boulevard Montmartre, après-midi, Soliel</i> , 1897 Boulevard Montmartre, Paris, PV993	State Hermitage, Shchoukin Collection
Pissarro	<i>Le marché de Gisors (rue Cappeville)</i> , 1885 Poultry market at Gisors, PV690	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Pissarro	<i>Place du Théâtre Français, printemps</i> , 1898 Place du Theatre Français, Spring, PV1032	State Pushkin, Shchoukin Collection
Pissarro	<i>La route de Louveciennes</i> , 1872 Road to Louveciennes, PV138	Orsay Gachet
Pissarro	<i>La route de Louveciennes (effet de pluie)</i> The Road, Louveciennes, 1870, PV79	Orsay Personnaz
Renoir	<i>Claude Monet lisant</i> , 1872 Portrait of Monet reading, Dr85, F84	Marmottan
Renoir	<i>La danse à la compagne</i> , 1882-83 Country dance, Dr441, F556	Orsay
Renoir	<i>Les grands boulevards</i> , 1875 The grand boulevards, F185	Philadelphia Museum of Art
Renoir	<i>Portrait de Renoir par lui-même</i> , 1876 Self Portrait, Dr191, F233	Fogg Art Museum
Renoir	<i>Portrait de Sisley</i> , 1874 Portrait of Alfred Sisley, Dr117, F138 (3rd)	Art Institute of Chicago (Shchoukin)
Renoir	<i>La premier sortie; Le café concert</i> , 1876-77 At the theatre; First outing, Dr182, F212	National Gallery, Courtauld fund

Renoir	<i>Le promenade</i> , 1870 The promenade, Dr55, F51	J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, CA
Renoir	<i>Seine à l'Argenteuil</i> , 1873 The Seine at Argenteuil, F98	Portland Museum of Art, ME
Renoir	<i>Seine à l'Asnières</i> , 1879 Boating on the Seine, F374	National Gallery, London
Renoir	<i>Vase des fleurs</i> , 1866 Large vase of flowers, F12	Fogg Art Museum
Sisley	<i>Jardin à Louveciennes – effet de neige</i> , 1874 Snow at Louveciennes, Ds146	Phillips Collection
Sisley	<i>Une rue à Marly</i> , 1876 Market place at Marly, Ds199	Kunsthalle, Mannheim
Sisley	<i>Vue de Montmartre, prise de la cité des fleurs aux Batignolles</i> , 1869 View of Montmartre, City of flowers, Ds12	Kunsthhaus, Berne

## 5 Reproductions

Caillebotte	<i>Peintures en bâtiment</i> , 1877 House painters, B48 (3rd)	private collection
Caillebotte	<i>Voiliers à Argenteuil</i> , 1888 Sailboats at Argenteuil, B359	Orsay
Cassatt	<i>Jeune fille au jardin; Femme cousant dans un jardin</i> , 1886 Young woman sewing in the garden, Bc144	Orsay Personnaz
Cassatt	<i>Dans la loge</i> , 1879 Woman in red; Woman with a pearl necklace in a loge, Bc64 (4th)	Philadelphia Museum of Art
Cassatt	The blue room; Little girl in the blue armchair, 1878, Bc56 (4th)	National Gallery, Washington, Mellon
Cézanne	<i>Gardane (l'après midi)</i> , 1885-86 View of Gardane, R571	Brooklyn Museum of Art
Cézanne	<i>La maison de Père Lacroix, Auvers-sur-Oise</i> , 1873 House of Père Lacroix, Auvers, R201	National Gallery Washington, Dale (Pellerin)
Cézanne	<i>Nature morte à la soupière</i> , 1877 Still life, tureen, bottle, basket of apples, R302	Orsay (Pissarro, Pellerin)

Cézanne	<i>La tranchée avec la Montagne - Sainte-Victoire</i> , 1869-71 Railway cutting, R156	Neue Pinakothek, Tschudi purchase
Cézanne	<i>Nature morte aux oignons</i> , 1896-98 Still life with onions, R803	Orsay
Cézanne	<i>Pommes et oranges</i> , 1899 Still life, apples and oranges, R847	Orsay Camondo (Geffroy)
Cézanne	<i>Le vase bleu</i> , 1885-87 The blue vase, R675	Orsay Camondo
Degas	<i>Bouderie</i> , 1873 Sulking, L335	Metropolitan, Havemeyer
Degas	<i>Le bain matinal</i> , ~1890 Morning bath, L1028	Art Institute of Chicago
Degas	<i>La coiffure; La toilette</i> , ~1894 Combing the hair, L1161	National Gallery, London
Degas	<i>Foyer de danse</i> , 1872 The dancing class, L297	Metropolitan Havemeyer
Degas	<i>Danseuse posant chez un photograph</i> , 1877-78 Dancer posing for photograph, L447 (4th)	State Pushkin, Shchoukin Collection
Degas	<i>Chez la modiste</i> , ~1885 The millinery shop, L832	Art Institute of Chicago
Degas	<i>Au Louvre</i> , 1879-80 Mary Cassatt at the Etruscan Gallery, Louvre, L583	Cleveland Museum of Art
Degas	<i>James Tissot dans un atelier artiste</i> , 1867-68 Portrait of James Tissot, L175	Metropolitan
Degas	<i>Hélène Rouart (Mme. Marin)</i> , 1886-93 Helene Rouart in her Father's study, L869	National Gallery, London
Degas	<i>Portrait de l'artiste; Degas saluant</i> , 1863 Self portrait (hat in hand), L105 (4th)	Fundação Calouste Museum, Gulbenhian, Lisbon
Degas	<i>Sémiramis construisant Babylone</i> , 1861 Semiramis founding a town, L82	Orsay
Guillaumin	<i>Pont Louis Philippe et les bateaux-lavoir</i> , 1875 Bridge of Louis Philippe, SF44	National Gallery, Washington, Dale



Manet	<i>Au café</i> , 1878 At the café, JW314, RW278	Sammlung Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur, Switzerland (Pellerin)
Manet	<i>La dame aux éventails</i> , 1873 Lady with fans (Portrait of Nina de Callias), JW237 bis, RW208	Orsay (Morisot)
Manet	<i>La femme au perroquet</i> , 1866 Woman with a parrot, JW132, RW115	Metropolitan Davis (Hoschedé)
Manet	<i>Portraits de Monsieur et Madame Auguste Manet</i> , 1860 Portrait of the artist's parents, JW37, RW30	Orsay
Manet	<i>L'Artiste; Portrait de Marcellin Desboutins</i> , 1875 The artist, JW259, RW244	Museu de Arte, São Paulo (Pellerin)
Manet	<i>Portrait de Manet par lui-même, en buste</i> , 1878 Self Portrait, JW295, RW277	Bridgestone Museum, Tokyo (Hansen)
Monet	<i>Camille au jardin, avec Jean et sa bonne</i> , 1873 Camille in garden with Jean and Maid, W280	Sammlung E.G. Buehrle, Zurich
Monet	<i>Cour de ferme en Normandie</i> , 1864 Farmyard in Normandy, W16	Orsay
Monet	<i>L'Eglise de Vétheuil, neige</i> , 1878-79 Vétheuil church in the snow, W506 (4th)	Orsay Caillebotte
Monet	<i>Hyde Park</i> , 1871 Hyde Park, London, W164	Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, RI
Monet	<i>Le jardin de l'artiste, Argenteuil</i> , 1873 Artist's Garden at Argenteuil; A corner of the garden with dahlias, W685	National Gallery, Washington, Mellon Bruce
Monet	<i>La maison de l'artiste à Argenteuil</i> , 1881 Monet house at Argenteuil, W284	Art Institute of Chicago, Palmer
Monet	<i>Le manneport</i> , 1883 Manneport, Etretat, W832	Metropolitan
Monet	<i>Le phare de l'Hospice</i> , 1864 Lighthouse at Honfleur, W38	Kunsthhaus, Zurich

Monet	<i>Les peupliers au bord de l'Epte</i> , 1891 Poplars on the Epte, W1300	National Gallery, London
Monet	<i>Promenade sur la falaise, Pourville</i> , 1882 Cliff-top walk at Pourville, W758	Art Institute of Chicago
Monet	<i>Quatre peupliers</i> , 1891 Four poplars, W1309	Metropolitan, Havemeyer
Monet	<i>Train dans la campagne</i> , 1870-71 Train in countryside, W153	Orsay (Hoschedé)
Morisot	<i>Vu de Paris des hauteurs du Trocadéro</i> , 1872 View of Paris from the Trocadéro, BW23	Santa Barbara Museum of Art
Pissarro	<i>Bords de la Marne à Chennevières</i> , 1864-65 Banks of the Marne at Chennevières, PV46	National Gallery, Scotland
Pissarro	<i>Chataigniers à Louveciennes</i> , 1872 Chestnuts at Louveciennes, PV146	Orsay Gachet
Pissarro	<i>Le chemin montant l'Hermitage, Pontoise</i> , 1875 Climbing path, Hermitage, Pontoise, PV308	Brooklyn Museum of Art (de Bellio)
Pissarro	<i>Le 'Crystal Palace,' Londres</i> , 1871 The Crystal Palace, London, PV109	private collection
Pissarro	<i>La cueillette des pommes</i> , 1886 Apple picking, PV695 (8th)	Ohara Museum of Art, Kurashiki, Japan
Pissarro	<i>L'Hermitage à Pontoise</i> , 1867 Hermitage at Pontoise, PV56	Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne
Pissarro	<i>Le petit déjeuner, jeune paysanne prenant son café au lait</i> , 1881 Peasant girl drinking coffee, PV549 (7th)	Art Institute of Chicago, Palmer
Pissarro	<i>La petite bonne de campagne</i> , 1882 Little country maid, PV575	National Gallery, London
Pissarro	<i>Portrait de Cézanne</i> , 1874 Portrait of Cézanne, PV293	private collection
Pissarro	<i>La route de Versailles à Louveciennes</i> , 1870 Road to Versailles, Louveciennes, PV96	Sammlung E.G. Buehrle, Zurich
Pissarro	<i>Verger en fleurs, Louveciennes</i> , 1872 Orchard in bloom, Louveciennes, PV153 (1st)	National Gallery, Washington, Mellon Bruce

Renoir	<i>Allée cavalière au Bois de Boulogne</i> , 1873 Riders in the Bois de Boulogne, Dr94, F104	Kunsthalle, Hamburg (Rouart)
Renoir	<i>La baigneuse blonde;</i> <i>Baigneuse au bord de la mer</i> , 1881 Blonde Bather, Dr387, F499	Clark Institute
Renoir	<i>La baigneuse au Griffon</i> , 1870 Bather with griffon (dog), Dr54, F50	Museu de Arte, São Paulo (Pellerin)
Renoir	<i>La Grenouillère</i> , 1869 Bathers in shade at la Grenouillère, F29	State Pushkin, Morozov Collection
Renoir	<i>Madame Claude Monet et son fils</i> 1874 Madame Monet and her son Dr104, F123	National Gallery, Washington, Mellon Bruce
Renoir	<i>Maternité</i> , 1885 Aline and Pierre Renoir; Nursing, Dr485, F621	Museum of Fine Arts, St Petersburg, FL
Renoir	<i>Le pecheur à la ligne</i> , 1874 Fisherman, Dr103, F143	private collection (Charpentier)
Renoir	<i>Portrait d'Ambrose Vollard</i> , 1908 Portrait of Ambrose Vollard, F742	Courtauld Gallery
Renoir	<i>Portrait de Mme Chocquet en blanc</i> , 1875 Portrait of Mme Chocquet Dr142, F176	Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart (Chocquet, Viau)
Renoir	<i>Portrait de Monet; Le liseur</i> , 1872 Portrait of Monet (reading looking down), Dr87, F85	National Gallery, , Washington Mellon
Sisley	<i>Bateaux à l'écluse de Bougival</i> , 1873 Boats at the Bougival lock, Ds90	Orsay Moreau-Nélaton
Sisley	<i>Le canal Saint-Martin</i> , 1872 The canal, Ds35	Orsay Moreau-Nélaton
Sisley	<i>Allée de châtaigniers près de la Celle-Sainte-Cloud</i> , 1867 Alley of Chestnuts, Saint-Cloud, Ds9	Southampton City Art Gallery, UK
Sisley	<i>L'Eglise de Môret</i> , 1893 Church at Moret, Ds820	Musée des Beaux- Arts, Rouen
Sisley	<i>L'Île de Saint-Denis</i> , 1872 St Denis on the Seine, Ds47	Orsay

Sisley	<i>Péniches sur le canal Saint-Martin</i> , 1870 Barges on the Canal St Martin, Ds17	Sammlung Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur Switzerland (Manet, Hansen)
Sisley	<i>Rue de la Chaussée à Argenteuil;</i> <i>Place d'Argenteuil</i> , 1872 Market at Argenteuil, Ds31	Orsay Moreau-Nélaton
Sisley	<i>La Seine à Marly</i> , 1876 Seine at Marly, Ds229	Musée des Beaux- Arts, Lyon

**Appendix 8.2: Series Paintings, and those with Similar Themes,  
Across the Broad Sample of Ninety-Five Books.**

	Number of images in <i>catalogue raisonné</i>	Number of different images reproduced	Number of books with at least one image	Total number of reproductions
Cézanne				
Group bathers	112	27	38	57
Still lifes	87	49	45	88
Mont. Sainte-Victoire	42	37	46	85
Jas de Bouffan	37	9	10	13
Mme. Cézanne	30	14	17	21
Self Portraits	25	14	25	29
Card players	7	3	22	24
Degas				
Dancers	600	96	67	205
Bathers, nudes	350	39	46	73
Horse races, jockeys	120	37	48	81
Café concert	30			
Milliners	24	11	20	31
Blanchisseuses/ Repasseuses	22			
Self portraits	19	10	14	18
Manet				
Portraits of Berthe Morisot	26	17	33	50
Monet				
Nymphéas	182	31	36	50
Japanese footbridge	52	10	14	21
Waterloo bridges	41	5	7	8
Manneport at Etretat	38	14	22	27
Belle-Isle	35	9	18	22
Grainstacks/Haystacks	33	17	28	45
Rouen Cathedrals	28	18	40	70
Poplars	23	13	21	22
Parliament, Westminster	19	13	29	39
Débauche, ice flows	19	5	10	11
Bridges at Argenteuil	11	11	33	51
La gare Saint-Lazare (interiors)	4	4	40	49

	Number of images in <i>catalogue raisonné</i>	Number of different images reproduced	Number of books with at least one image	Total number of reproductions
Renoir				
Bathers	46	37	37	62
Other nudes	45	16	43	70
Both			59	132
Still lifes	— <sup>a</sup>	23	2	34
Self portraits	— <sup>a</sup>	4	11	12
Sisley				
Floods at Marly	6	6	35	46

<sup>a</sup> It is not known how many self-portraits or still lifes Renoir produced.

**Appendix 8.3: Number of Most Frequently Reproduced Images by Museum, by Bequest, and by Tier.**

Museum Legacy (Collection)	Canonical tiers			Extra-	TOTALS
	1st	2nd	3rd	Canonical tier (4th)	
<b>Group 1:</b>					
Musée d'Orsay	14	21	18	67	120
Caillebotte	5	7	2	6	20
Camondo	3	6	8	9	26
M. Bazille	2	0	1	0	3
Moreau-Nélaton	1	2	0	6	9
Personnaz	0	1	0	4	5
Gachet	0	1	0	3	4
<b>Group 2:</b>					
National Gallery, London	1	5	6	9	21
Lane	1	1	2	0	4
Courtauld Fund	0	3	1	2	6
Metropolitan Museum of Art	2	3	4	16	25
Havemeyer	1	2	1	8	12
National Gallery, Washington	0	1	9	16	26
Havemeyer	0	1	1	0	2
Dale	0	0	3	7	10
Mellon Bruce	0	0	2	4	6
Mellon	0	0	1	5	6
Philadelphia Museum of Art	1	1	4	4	10
Tyson	1	0	2	0	3
Johnson Collection	0	0	2	0	2
Art Institute of Chicago	0	3	2	10	15
Palmer	0	1	1	3	5
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	0	0	3	8	11
<b>Group 3:<sup>a</sup></b>					
Courtauld Gallery, London	2	0	1	6	9
Musée Marmottan, Paris	1	0	1	4	6
Phillips Collection, DC	1	0	0	1	2
State Pushkin, Moscow	0	1	1	4	6
Morozov Collection	0	1	1	1	3
Shchoukin Collection	0	0	0	3	3
State Hermitage, St. Petersburg	0	1	0	2	3
Morozov Collection	0	0	0	1	1
Shchoukin Collection	0	0	0	1	1

Museum Legacy (Collection)	Canonical tiers			Extra- Canonical tier (4th)	TOTALS
	1st	2nd	3rd		
Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard	0	0	3	3	6
Sammlung Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur, Switzerland	0	0	0	4	4
Sammlung E. G. Buehrle, Zurich	0	0	1	3	4
<b>Group 4:</b>					
Neue Pinakothek, Munich	1	1	0	1	3
Tschudi purchases	1	1	0	1	3
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm	1	0	1	0	2
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon	1	0	0	1	2
Wallraf-Richartz, Cologne	1	0	0	1	2
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai	0	0	2	0	2
Kunsthalle, Hamburg	0	0	1	2	3
National Gallery, Edinburgh	0	0	1	1	2
Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris	0	0	1	1	2
Glasgow City Art Gallery	0	0	1	1	2
Kunsthaus, Zurich	0	0	1	1	2
Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt	0	0	0	4	4
Petit Palais, Paris	0	0	0	3	3
J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu	0	0	0	2	2
Nationalgalerie, Berlin	0	0	0	2	2
Tschudi purchases	0	0	0	2	2
Brooklyn Museum of Art	0	0	0	2	2
Museu de Arte, São Paulo	0	0	0	2	2
Rhode Island School of Design	0	0	0	2	2

<sup>a</sup> In addition the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek and the Norton Simon Foundation both have one 3rd tier image, and the Clark Institute has one 4th tier image.



### Appendix 9.1: Caillebotte legacy images on and off the walls of the Musée de Luxembourg in the Early Twentieth Century.

	Publication Frequency 2002	Publication Frequency before 1913	Luxembourg Hanging (or shown in an image)	Not Hanging (not shown)
<b>Caillebotte</b>				
<i>Raboteurs de parquet</i>	61	0	H, Bé, Bo	
<i>Vue de toits effét de neige</i>	26	0	H, Bo	Bé
<b>Cézanne</b>				
<i>Cour de ferme à Auvers</i>	30	0		H, Bé, Bo
<i>L'Estaque</i>	86	1	Bo, Bé	H
<b>Degas<sup>a</sup></b>				
<i>Femmes à la terrasse, le soir</i>	89	4	H, Bo	Bé
<i>Choristes</i>	18	0	H, Bo	Bé
<i>Femme sortant du bain</i>	29	2	H, Bo	Bé
<i>Etoile</i>	87	6	H, Bo	Bé
<i>Femme nue accroupie</i>	14	0		H, Bé, Bo
<i>Danseuse espagnol</i>	8	0		H, Bé, Bo
<i>Danseuse nouant brodequin</i>	26	2	Bo	H, Bé
<b>Manet</b>				
<i>Angelina</i>	18	0	H, Bé, Bo	
<i>Le balcon</i>	201	0	H, Bé, Bo	
<b>Monet</b>				
<i>Régates à Argenteuil</i>	66	1	Bé, Bo	H
<i>Le déjeuner</i>	64	1	H, Bé, Bo	
<i>Un coin d'appartement</i>	32	0		H, Bé, Bo
<i>Les Tuileries (esquisse)</i>	15	0		H, Bé, Bo
<i>La gare Saint-Lazare</i>	127	1	H, Bé, Bo	
<i>L'Eglise de Vétheuil, neige</i>	30	1	H, Bé, Bo	
<i>Le givre</i>	17	0	H, Bo	Bé
<i>Les rochers de Belle-Île</i>	27	1	Bé, Bo	H
<b>Pissarro</b>				
<i>Le lavoir, Bougival</i>	21	0	Bo	H, Bé
<i>La moisson, Montfoucault</i>	33	0	H	Bé, Bo
<i>Les toits rouges</i>	99	0	Bé, Bo	H
<i>Printemps, potager en fleurs</i>	59	1	Bé, Bo	H
<i>Chemin sous-bois en été</i>	13	0		H, Bé, Bo
<i>Chemin montant à travers champs</i>	12	0	H, Bo	Bé
<i>La brouette, verger</i>	17	0	Bo	H, Bé

	Publication Frequency 2002	Publication Frequency before 1913	Luxembourg Hanging (or shown in an image)	Not Hanging (not shown)
<b>Renoir</b>				
<i>La liseuse</i>	45	0	Bo	H, Bé
<i>Etude. Torse, effet de soleil</i>	90	0	Bo	H, Bé
<i>La balançoire</i>	94	1	Bé, Bo	H
<i>Bal du Moulin de la Galette</i>	282	2	H, Bé, Bo	
<i>Bords de Seine à Champrosay</i>	21	0	Bo	H, Bé
<i>Le pont du chemin de fer</i>	15	0	Bo	H, Bé
<b>Sisley</b>				
<i>Les régates à Molesey</i>	41	0	Bo	H, Bé
<i>Une rue à Louveciennes</i>	7	0		H, Bé, Bo
<i>La Seine à Suresnes</i>	13	0	Bo, H	Bé
<i>Cour de ferme à Saint-Mammès</i>	15	0	Bo, H	Bé
<i>Lisière de forêt au printemps</i>	9	1		H, Bé, Bo
<i>Saint-Mammès</i>	9	0	Bo	H, Bé

<sup>a</sup> None of Caillebotte's Degas pastels appear in *Bénédite* (1912), perhaps noting the beginning of the separation of pastels and oils in the French system.

Key: H = Hachette catalogue;  
 Bé = *Bénédite* (1912);  
 Bo = Borgmeyer (1913)

**Appendix 10.1:**  
**The Promotions of Images in the Musée d'Orsay In Its Own Books**  
**(or the Louvre's) Compared to All Other Sources.**

Artist	Image	Orsay/Louvre Frequency (n=14)	Frequency in all other books (n=966)
<b>Images Promoted in Roughly Equal Measure</b>			
Cézanne	<i>La maison du pendu</i> , House of the hanged man	8	157
	<i>L'Estaque</i> , Bay of Estaque	9	75
Degas	<i>L'Absinthe</i> , The absinthe drinker	9	154
	<i>Etoile</i> , The ballet star	6	81
	<i>Le tub</i> , Woman bathing in a shallow tub	7	89
Manet	<i>Le balcon</i> , The balcony	9	192
Monet	<i>Femmes au jardin</i> , Women in the garden	8	154
	<i>La gare Saint-Lazare</i> , St. Lazare train station	9	118
Pissarro	<i>Les toits rouges</i> , The red roofs	10	89
Renoir	<i>Etude. Torse, effet de soleil</i> Torso in the sunlight	8	82
	<i>La balançoire</i> , The swing	9	85
	<i>Bal du Moulin de la Galette</i> Ball at the Moulin de la Galette	10	272
<b>An Image Underpromoted by the Musées Nationaux</b>			
Degas	<i>Femmes à la terrasse, le soir</i> Women outside a café, evening	3	86
<b>Images not Promoted by the Musées Nationaux or by Others</b>			
Monet	<i>La plaine d'Argenteuil</i> , The Argenteuil plain	4	4
Pissarro	<i>Chemin montant à travers champs</i> Path winding through tall grass	4	3
Renoir	<i>L'Amazon</i> , Madame Darras	3	5
Sisley	<i>Lisière de forêt</i> , The edge of the forest	4	5
	<i>A repos au bord du ruisseau</i> , Resting by stream	4	5
	<i>Seine à Sainte-Mammès</i> , Seine at St Mammès	5	4
	<i>Canal du Loing</i> , The Loing Canal	2	2

## Bibliography

See also the books listed in Appendices 4.1 through 4.4.

- Abelson, R. (1995). *Statistics as principled argument*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Abu-Lughod, L. (1991). Writing against culture. In R. G. Fox (Ed.) *Recapitulating anthropology: Working in the present* (pp. 137-162). Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Abu-Lughod, L. (1999). Comment. *Current Anthropology*, 40, S11-S13.
- Adamopoulos, J. & Lonner, W. J. (2001). Culture and psychology at a crossroad: Historical perspective and theoretical analysis. In D. Matsumoto (Ed.) *The handbook of culture and psychology*. (pp. 11-34). New York: Oxford.
- Altieri, C. (1990). *Canons and consequences*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Anderson, J. (2003). *Art held hostage: The battle over the Barnes Collection*. New York: Norton.
- Antonova, I., director (2002). *Old masters, impressionists, and moderns*. Yale University Press/Houston Museum of Fine Arts.
- Armstrong, S. L., Gleitman, L.R. & Gleitman, H. (1983). What some concepts might not be. *Cognition*, 13, 263-308.
- Ash, R. (2002). *The top 10 of everything*. New York: Dorling Kindersley.
- Assouline, P. (1997). *Le dernier des Camondo*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Assouline, P. (2002). *Grâces lui soient rendues, Paul Durand-Ruel, le marchand des Impressionistes*. Paris: Plon.
- Bahn, P. G. (1998). *The Cambridge illustrated history of prehistoric art*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bal, M. & Bryson, N. (1991). Semiotics and art history. *Art Bulletin*, 73, 174-208.
- Barabási, A.-L. (2002). *Linked*. New York: Penguin/Plume.
- Bazin, G. (1958). *Impressionist paintings in the Louvre*. (S. Cunliffe-Owen, trans.) London: Thames & Hudson.
- Bazin, G. (1967). *The museum age*. (J. v. N. Cahill, trans.) New York: Universe Books.

- Beckett, W. & Wright, P. (1994). *The story of painting*. London: Dorling-Kindersley.
- Beckett, W. & Wright, P. (1999). *Sister Wendy's 1000 Masterpieces*. London: Dorling-Kindersley.
- Bénédict, L. (1912). *Le Musée du Luxembourg*. Paris: Librairie Renouard.
- Benjamin, W. (1968). The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction. In his *Illuminations* (H. Zohn, trans.; pp. 217-251). New York: Schocken Books.
- Berger, R.W. (1999). *Public access to art in Paris: A documentary history from the middle ages to 1800*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State Press.
- Berlyne, D. E. (1970). Novelty, complexity, and hedonic value. *Perception & Psychophysics*, 8, 279-286.
- Berlyne, D. E. (1971). *Aesthetics and psychobiology*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Bernac, J. (1895). The Caillebotte bequest to the Luxembourg. *The Art Journal*, 230-232, 308-310, 358-361.
- Bertuleit, S. (1994). *Max Liebermann: Gemälde 1873-1918*. Hannover: Niedersächsische Landesmuseum.
- Bizot, I., et al. (1992). *Sisley, an exhibition catalog*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux.
- Bloom, H. (1994). *The Western canon*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Bonanno, G. A. & Stillings, N. A. (1986). Preference, familiarity, and recognition after repeated brief exposure to random geometric shapes. *American Journal of Psychology*, 99, 403-415.
- Borgmeyer, C. (1913). *The master Impressionists*. Chicago: Arts Press.
- Bornstein, R. (1989). Exposure and affect: Overview and meta-analysis of research, 1968-1987. *Psychological Bulletin*, 106, 265-289.
- Brehm, J. (1966). *A theory of psychological reactance*. New York: Academic Press.
- Brettell, R. (2000). *Impression: Painting quickly in France, 1860-1890*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Brettell, R. & Pissarro, J. (1992). *The Impressionist and the city: Pissarro's series paintings*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Brickman, P., Redfield, J., Harrison, A. A., & Crandall, R. (1972). Drive and predisposition as factors in the attitudinal effects of mere exposure. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 8, 31-44.
- Brooke, D., director (1984). *List of paintings in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute*. Barre, VT: Northlight Studio Press.
- Broude, N., ed. (1990). *World Impressionism: The international movement, 1860-1920*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- Brown, C. (1998). Revising the canon: The collector's point of view. *Simiolus*, 26, 201-212.
- Brumann, C. (1999). Writing for culture: Why a successful concept should not be discarded. *Current Anthropology*, 40 (Supplement), S1-S27.

- Bunge, J. & Fitzpatrick, M. (1993). Estimating the number of species: A review. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 88, 364-373.
- Burton, A. (1999). *Vision and accident: The story of the Victoria and Albert Museum*. London: V&A Publishers.
- Cachin, F. (1995). *Manet: The influence of the modern*. (R. Kaplan, trans.) New York: Harry Abrams.
- Calvino, I. (1999). *Why we read the classics*. New York: Pantheon.
- Campbell, J. (1984). *The Irish Impressionists: Irish artists in France and Belgium, 1850-1917*. Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland.
- Catmur, E.A. (1996). *The Dixon Gallery and Gardens*. Memphis, TN: The Dixon Gallery and Gardens.
- Champier, V., Saglio, A. & Walton, W. (1900). *Chefs-d'oeuvre of the Exposition Universelle, 1900*. 10 Vol. Philadelphia, PA: George Barrie & Son.
- Charles, D. (1994). *Le mystère Caillebotte*. Grenoble: Glénat.
- Chastel, A. (1971). *Paris*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.
- Cheetham, M. A. (2002). *Kant, art, and art history*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, K. (1974). *Another part of the wood*. New York: Harper Row.
- Cogeval, G., director (1986). *From Courbet to Cézanne: A new 19th century*. Paris: Editions de la Réunion musées nationaux.
- Cole, M. (1996). *Cultural psychology: A once and future discipline*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap/Harvard.
- Collins, B. ed. (1996). *12 views on Manet's bar*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Cook, A. (1993). *Canons and wisdoms*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Couldrey, V. (1992). *Alfred Sisley: English Impressionist*. Devon, UK: David & Charles.
- Crespelle, J.-P. (1981). *La vie quotidienne des Impressionistes*. Paris: Hachette.
- Cutting, J. E. (2003). Gustave Caillebotte, French Impressionism, and mere exposure. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*. 11, 319-343.
- Cutting, J. E. (2006). Mere exposure, reproduction, and the Impressionist canon. In A. Brzyski (Ed.) *Partisan canons*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Darnton, R. (29 May 2003). The heresies of bibliography. *The New York Review of Books*, L, 43-45.
- Distel, A. (1990). *Impressionism: The first collectors*. (B. Perroud-Benson, trans.) New York: Harry Abrams.
- Distel, A., director (1994). *Gustave Caillebotte: 1848-1894*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux.
- Dumas, A. (1997). *The private collection of Edgar Degas* (trans. M. Poliozotti). New York: Harry Abrams.
- Edgerton, H. E. & Killian, J. R. (1979). *Moments of vision: The stroboscopic revolution in photography*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Edwards, A. L. (1984). *Introduction to linear regression and correlation*. (2nd edition). New York: W. H. Freeman.

- Effeny, A. (1991). *Cassatt*. London: Studio Editions.
- Elliott, R. & Dolan, R. J. (1998). Neural response during preference and memory judgments for subliminally presented stimuli: A functional neuroimaging study. *Journal of Neuroscience*, 18, 4697-4704.
- Ferguson, R. (1999). Can we still use the canon? *Art Journal*, 58, p.4.
- Feynman, R. (1985a). *QED: The strange theory of light and matter*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Feynman, R. (1985b). "Surely you're joking, Mr. Feynman:" *Adventures of a curious character*. New York: Norton.
- Frelinghuysen, A. C., Tinterow, G., Stein, S.A., Wold, G., and Meech, J. (1993). *A splendid legacy: The Havemeyer collection*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Fried, M. (2002). Caillebotte's Impressionism. In N. Broude (Ed.) *Gustave Caillebotte and the fashioning of identity in Impressionist Paris* (pp. 66-115). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Fowler, A. (1982). *Kinds of literature*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Fry, R. (1939). Art history as an academic study. In R. Fry, *Last lectures* (pp. 1-21). New York: Macmillan.
- Galenson, D. W. (2001). *Painting outside the lines*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard.
- Gaskell, I. (2000). *Vermeer's wager: Speculations on art history, theory, and art museums*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Gates, H.L., Jr. (1992). *Loose canons: Notes on the culture wars*. New York: Oxford.
- Gleick, J. (1999). *Faster*. New York: Pantheon.
- Gombrich, E. (1996). *The story of art*. (16th ed.). London: Phaidon Press.
- de Grada, R. (1989). *Renoir*. New York: Arch Cape Press.
- Grand Palais, Galeries nationales du. (1991). *De Corot aux Impressionistes: Donations de Moreau-Nélaton*. 30 Avril 1991 – 22 juillet 1991. Paris: Réunion de musées nationaux.
- Gray, C. (1972). *Armand Guillaumin*. Chester, CT: Pequot Press.
- Guillory, J. (1990). Canon. In F. Lentricchia & T. McLaughlin (Eds.) *Critical terms for literary study* (pp. 233-262). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Guillory, J. (1993). *Cultural capital: The problem with literary canon formation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hallberg, R. von, ed. (1984). *Canons*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hairston, M. & Ruszkiewics, J.J. (1996). *The Scott, Foresman handbook for writers* (4th ed). New York: Harper Collins.
- d'Harnoncourt, A., director (1995). *Paintings from Europe and the Americas in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Harrison, C. (1993). Impressionism, modernism, and originality. In F. Frascina, N. Blake, B. Fer, T. Garb, & C. Harrison (Eds.) *Modernity and modernism*:

- French painting in the nineteenth century* (pp. 141-218). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hemmings, F.W.J. (1971). *Culture and society in France, 1848-1998*. London: B.T. Batsford.
- Herbert, R. (2002). *From Millet to Léger: Essays on social art history*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Higonnet, A. (1992). *Berthe Morisot's images of women*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hirsch, E. D. (1987). *Cultural literacy: What every American needs to know*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.
- Hoopes, D.F. (1972). *The American Impressionists*. New York: Watson-Guption Publications.
- Howard, M. (1991). *The Impressionists by themselves*. London: Conran Octopus.
- Isaacson, J. (1980). *The crisis of Impressionism, 1878-1882*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Museum of Art.
- Kail, R. V. & Freeman, H. R. (1974). Sequence redundancy, rating dimensions, and the exposure effect. *Memory & Cognition*, 1, 454-458.
- Kant, I. (1952). *Critique of aesthetic judgment*. (J. Meredith, Trans.). Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Original work published in 1794).
- Kern, S. et al. (1996). *Selections from the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute*. New York: Hudson Hills Press.
- Klinger, M. R. & Greenwald, A. (1994). Preferences need no inferences? The cognitive basis of unconscious mere exposure effects. In P. M. Neidenthal & S. Kitayama (Eds.) *The heart's eye: Emotional influences in perception and attention* (pp. 67-85). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Kopper, P. (1991). *America's National Gallery of Art: A gift to the Nation*. New York: Harry Abrams.
- Kruglov, V. (2000). *Russian Impressionism*. St. Petersburg: State Russian Museum.
- Krumhansl, C. L. (1990). *Cognitive foundations of musical pitch*. New York: Oxford.
- Kruskal, J. B. (1964). Multidimensional scaling by optimizing goodness of fit to a nonmetric hypothesis. *Psychometrika*, 29, 707-719.
- Kubovy, M. (1986). *The psychology of perspective and Renaissance art*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Kunst-Wilson, W. R. & Zajonc, R.B. (1980). Affective discrimination of stimuli that cannot be recognized. *Science*, 207, 557-558.
- Lanthy, P. (1997). Seurat's pointillism: Optical mixture and color texture. In M. F. Marmor & J. G. Ravin (Eds.) *The eye of the artist*. (pp. 119-129). St. Louis: Mosby.
- Lazzaro, C. (1990). *The Italian Renaissance garden*. London: Yale University Press.
- Leech, G., Rayson, P. & Wilson A. (2001). *Word frequencies in written and spoken English*. Harlow, England: Longman.



- Livingstone, M. (2002). *Vision and art: The biology of seeing*. New York: Harry Abrams.
- Malt, B. C. & Smith, E. E. (1984). Correlated properties in natural categories. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 23, 250-269.
- Marrinan, M. (2002). Caillebotte as professional painter: From studio to the public eye. In N. Broude (Ed.) *Gustave Caillebotte and the fashioning of identity in Impressionist Paris* (pp. 21-65). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Mauclair, C. (1923). *Les musées de l'Europe: Le Luxembourg*. Paris: Editions Nilsson.
- McConkey, K. (1989). *British Impressionism*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- Mead, K. H., director (1974). *The Impressionists and the Salon (1874-1886)*. Riverside, CA: The Regents of the University of California.
- Mellon, P. & Baskett, J. (1992). *Reflections in a silver spoon*. New York: William Morrow and Company.
- Migeon, G., Jamot, P., Vitry, R., & Dreyfus, C. (1914). *La collection Isaac de Camondo au musée du Louvre*. Paris: Gazette des Beaux-Arts.
- Miller, J. G. (1997). Theoretical issues in cultural psychology. In J. W. Berry, Y. H. Poortinga, & J. Pandey (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Vol 1. Theory and method* (pp. 85-128). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Mithin, S. (1996). *The prehistory of the mind*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Moffett, C. S., director (1986). *The new painting: Impressionism 1874-1886*. Genève, Switzerland. Richard Burton SA Publishers.
- Monahan, J. L., Murphy, S. T., & Zajonc, R. B. (2000). Subliminal mere exposure: Specific, general, and diffuse effects. *Psychological Science*, 11, 462-466.
- Monnier, G. (1985). *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, Musée d'Orsay. Pastels du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux.
- Moreland, R. L. & Zajonc, R. B. (1977). Is stimulus recognition a necessary condition for the occurrence of exposure effects? *Journal of Social and Personality Psychology*, 35, 191-199.
- Moxey, K. (1994). *The practice of theory: Poststructuralism, cultural politics, and art history*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Murdock, J. (1998). *The Courtauld Gallery at Somerset House*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Musée d'Orsay (1990). *Catalogue sommaire illustré des peintures*. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux.
- Nisbett, R.E. (2003). *The geography of thought*. New York: Free Press.
- Nord, P. (2000). *Impressionists and politics*. London: Routledge.
- Perkins, D. (1994). *The intelligent eye: Learning to think by looking at art*. Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Education Institute for the Arts.
- Perruchot, H. (1962). *Manet*. (H. Hare, trans). London: Perpetua Books.
- Phillips, L. (1985). *The Phillips Collection: A summary catalogue*. Washington, DC: The Phillips Collection.

- Pickvance, R., director (1993). *Degas*. Martigny, Switzerland: Fondation Pierre Gianadda.
- Pirsig, R. (1974). *Zen and the art of motorcycle maintenance*. New York: Morrow.
- Platte, H. (1971). *Deutsche Impressionisten*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Kunstverlag.
- Pollock, G. (1998). *Mary Cassatt: Painter of modern women*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Pollock, G. (1999). *Differencing the canon: Feminist desire and the writing of art's histories*. London: Routledge.
- Popper, K. (1968). *The logic of scientific discovery*. New York: Harper.
- Rathbone, E. Rothkopf, K. Brettell, R. & Moffett, C., Eds. (1996). *Impressionists on the Seine: A celebration of Renoir's Luncheon of the Boating Party*. Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint.
- Read, H., Ed. (1994). *Thames and Hudson dictionary of art and artists*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Reff, T., ed. (1981). *Modern art in Paris*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Rewald, J. (1946). *The history of Impressionism*. New York: Museum of Modern Art.
- Reymond, N. (1992). *Claude Monet*. Paris: Editions Jean-Claude Lattès.
- Roediger, H. L. (1990). Implicit memory: Retention without remembering. *American Psychologist*, 45, 231-246.
- Roos, J.M. (1996). *Early Impressionism and the French State 1866-1874*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosch, E. H. (1973). Natural categories. *Cognitive Psychology*, 4, 328-350.
- Rosch, E. & Mervis, C. B. (1975). Family resemblances: Studies in the internal structure of categories. *Cognitive Psychology*, 7, 573-605.
- Rosenberg, J. (1967). *On quality in art: Criteria of excellence, past and present*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Rothkopf, K. (1996). Renoir's *Luncheon of the Boating party*: Tradition and the new. In E. Rathbone, K. Rothkopf, R. Brettell, & C. Moffett (Eds.) *Impressionists on the Seine: A celebration of Renoir's Luncheon of the Boating Party*. Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint.
- Saltzman, C. (1998). *Portrait of Dr. Gachet*. New York: Penguin.
- Sassoon, D. (2001). *Becoming Mona Lisa*. New York: Harcourt.
- Schachter, D. L. (1987). Implicit memory: History and current status. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 13, 501-518.
- Schachter, D. L. (1996). *Searching for memory*. New York: Basic Books.
- Schneider, A. K. (1998). *Creating the Musée d'Orsay: The politics of culture in France*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Scholes, R. (1985) *Textual power: Literary theory and the teaching of English*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Seamon, J. G., Brody, N., & Kauff, D. M. (1983). Affective discrimination of stimuli that are not recognized: II. Effect of delay between study and test. *Bulletin of the Psychonomic Society*, 21, 544-555.

- Seamon, J. G. & Delgado, M. R. (1999). Recognition memory and affective preference for depth-rotated solid objects. *Visual Cognition*, 6, 145-164.
- Seamon, J. G., Williams, P. C., Crowley, M. J., Kim, I. J., Langer, S. A., Orne, P. J., & Wishengrad, D. L. (1995). The mere exposure effect is based on implicit memory. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 21, 711-721.
- Seashore, C. E. (1938). *Psychology of music*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Seashore, C. E. (1947). *In search of beauty in music: A scientific approach to musical esthetics*. New York: Ronald Press.
- Seiberling, G. (1981). *Monet's series*. New York: Garland Press.
- Shepard, R. N. (1980). Multidimensional scaling, tree-fitting, and clustering. *Science*, 210, 390-398.
- Shikes, R. E. & Harper, P. (1980). *Pissarro: His life and work*. New York: Horizon Press.
- Shone, R. (1999). *Sisley* (revised edition). London: Phaidon.
- Siegel, S. (1956). *Nonparametric statistics for the behavioral sciences*. Tokyo: McGraw-Hill.
- Smith, C. S. (1981). *A search for structure: Selected essays on science, art, and history*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Smith, D. (2002). Exemplar theory's predicted typicality gradient can be tested and disconfirmed. *Psychological Science*, 13, 437-442.
- Smith, E. E. (1998). Mental representation and memory. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.) *The handbook of social psychology* (4th ed, pp. 391-445). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Snow, C. P. (1964). *Two cultures: And a second look*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Sokal, A. & Bricmont, J. (1998). *Fashionable nonsense: Postmodern abuse of science*. New York: Picador USA.
- Solso, R. L. (1994). *Psychology and the visual arts*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Squire, L.R. (1992). Memory and the hippocampus: A synthesis of findings with rats, monkeys, and humans. *Psychological Review*, 99, 195-231.
- Stevens, M. & Dumas, A. (2002). *Alfred Sisley: Poète de l'Impressionisme*. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux.
- Stevens, S. S. (1951). Mathematics, measurement, and psychophysics. In S. S. Stevens (ed.) *Handbook of experimental psychology* (pp. 1-49). New York: Wiley.
- Szpunar, K. K., Schellenberg, E. G., & Pliner, P. (2004). Liking and memory for music as a function of exposure. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 30, 370-381.
- Tinterow, G. & Lacambre, G. (2003). *Manet/Velázquez: The French taste for Spanish painting*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Turner, A. R. (1993). *Inventing Leonardo*. New York: Knopf.
- Tversky, A. & Hutchinson, J. W. (1986). Nearest neighbor analysis of psychological spaces. *Psychological Review*, 93, 3-22.

- Tylor, E. B. (1871). *Primitive culture*. London: J. Murray.
- Varndoe, K. (1987). *Gustave Caillebotte*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1971). *The psychology of art*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Walker, J., director (1966). *French paintings from the collections of Mr and Mrs Paul Mellon and Mrs Mellon Bruce*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art.
- Wattenmaker, R. J., director (1993). *Great French paintings from the Barnes Foundation: Impressionist, Post-Impressionist, and Early Modern*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Weinberg, S. (1992). *Dreams of a final theory*. New York: Vintage.
- White, B. E. (1984). *Renoir: His life, art, and letters*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- White, H. C. & White, C. A. (1993). *Canvases and careers* (2nd ed.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Williams, R. (1958). *Culture and society, 1780-1850*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Williams, R. (1967). Culture and civilization. In P. Edwards, ed. *The encyclopedia of philosophy* (Vol 1), pp. 273-276. New York: Macmillan.
- Winkielman, P., Zajonc, R.B., & Schwarz, N. (1997). Subliminal affective priming resists attributional interventions. *Cognition and Emotion*, 11, 433-465.
- Wittgenstein, L. (1953). *Philosophical investigations*. New York: Macmillan.
- Wittmer, P. (1991). *Caillebotte and his garden at Yerres*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- Woodford, S. (1983). *Looking at pictures*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wundt, W. M. (1916). *Elements of folk psychology: Outlines of a psychological history of the development of mankind*. E. L. Schaub (Trans.) London: Allan and Unwin.
- Zajonc, R. B. (1968). Attitudinal effects of mere exposure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 9, 1-27.
- Zajonc, R.B. (February, 1970). Brainwash: Familiarity breeds comfort. *Psychology Today*, pp. 33-35, 60-62.
- Zajonc, R. B. (1980). Feeling and thinking: Preferences need no inferences. *American Psychologist*, 35, 151-175.
- Zajonc, R. B., Crandall, R., Kail, R. V., & Swap, W. (1974). Effects of extreme exposure frequencies on certain affective ratings of stimuli. *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 38, 667-678.
- Zajonc, R. B., Shaver, P., Tavis, C., & Van Kreveld, D. (1972). Exposure, satiation, and stimulus discriminability. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 21, 270-280.
- Zipf, G. (1949). *Human behavior and the principle of least effort*. New York: Hafner Publishing.

# Index

All paintings appear under the name of their artist, generally with French titles. The paintings, owners, and museums in Appendix 8.1 are indexed only if they appeared elsewhere in open text (outside parentheses). Paintings that appear as images in the text have an italicized page number.

- Abelson, Robert xii  
Abu-Lughod, Lila 7  
academia  
    and canons 14-18  
    “two cultures” ix, 4  
*Académie Suisse* 54  
Acquavella Gallery, New York 67,  
    95-96, 230  
Adamopoulos, John 7  
Adams, Steven 220, 223  
Alexandrian, Sarane 222  
Alte Pinakothek, Munich 70, 103  
Altes Museum, Berlin 70  
Altieri, Charles 9, 17-18  
Anderson, John 89, 117  
Andrée, Ellen 124  
Antonova, Marina 53, 116  
Armstrong, Sharon 38  
art and humanity 3-4  
Art Institute of Chicago, 71, 81, 83-  
    84, 86, 108, 111, 113, 130,  
    144, 146, 228, 263  
    *see also* Palmer bequest, and  
    Appendices 7.1 and 8.1  
*Art Monthly Review and Photo-*  
    *graphic Portfolio* (London) 58  
*The Art Newspaper* (London and  
    New York) 7, 89, 115-16  
Artprice.com 72  
Ash, Russell 7, 224  
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 70,  
    251  
Assouline, Pierre 154  
Bach, Johann Sebastian 215  
Bahn, Paul 7  
Bal, Mieke 196  
Barabási, Albert-László 40  
Barbizon painters 108  
Barnes, Albert 105, 108, 110, 117,  
    124-25, 212, 231  
Barnes Foundation 82-84, 105, 117,  
    211-12, 229, 231  
Bataille, Marie-Louise 66  
*Batignolles, le groupe des* 56  
Bauquier, Georges 88, 225  
Bazille, Frédéric  
    and BHA 165-66  
    and canonical images 128-31,  
        136-37  
    as a collector 56-57, 233  
    and dealers 94, 96, 230  
    and Impressionist group, 41, 45,  
        47, 49, 59, 62, 199-200  
    and museums 71-73, 228-29  
    and the Salon 51, 53

- Paris studio 54, 56 *see also*  
*Atelier de l'artiste ...*  
 trends in image reproduction 63-64  
 paintings  
*Atelier de l'artiste, rue*  
*Condamine* 126, 128, 137, 148-49  
*Portrait de Pierre-Auguste Renoir* 126-27, 236  
*Réunion de famille* 130, 235  
*Scène d'été* 239  
 Bazille, Marc 97, 203  
 Bazille bequest 150, 203, 205, 234-35, 245, 263  
 Bazin, Germain xii, 67, 87, 116-18, 133-34, 217, 223  
 Beckett, Sister Wendy 65, 135, 182, 217  
 Bell, Clive 43, 220, 222  
 Bellini, Giovanni 32  
 Bellio, Georges de 97-98, 125, 206, 231, 233, 246, 250, 253, 258  
*see also* Donop de Monchy  
 Bellony-Rewald, Alice 223  
 Bénédite, Léonce 116, 158, 166, 210, 227, 266  
 Benjamin, Walter 19  
 Bequests, *see* Bazille, Caillebotte, Camondo, Courtauld fund, Dale, Davis, Donop de Monchy, Gachet, Havemeyer, Lane, Mellon, Mellon Bruce, Moreau-Nélaton, Palmer, Personnaz, Tyson  
 Berger, Robert 87  
 Berhaut, Marie 116, 182, 225, 233  
 Berlyne, Daniel 7, 196  
 Bernac, Jean 169  
 Bernard, Bruce 220, 223  
 Bernard, Emile 93  
 Bernheim, Alexander 94  
 Bernheim de Villiers, Gaston 94  
 Bernheim-Jeune, Galerie 94, 96, 145-46, 230  
 Bernheim-Jeune, Joseph 94  
 Berthier, Alexandre, Prince de Wagram 103, 231, 241-42  
 Bertuleit, Sigrid 89  
 Bethe, Hans 216  
 Bibliography of the History of Art (BHA) 88, 157, 165-66, 208  
 Bignou, Etienne 95-96, 154, 230  
 Bizot, Irene 53  
 Bloom, Harold 15-17  
 Blunden, Godfrey and Maria 220  
 Bonanno, George 196  
 Bonnard, Pierre 73, 87, 94, 225  
 Bonnat, Léon 100  
*see also* Musée Bonnat, Bayonne  
 Bonvin, François 93  
 Borgmeyer, Charles 41, 59, 65, 116, 158, 162, 167, 210, 212, 227, 266  
 Bornstein, Robert 196-97  
 Boston Atheneum 70-71  
 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts  
*see* Museum of Fine Arts  
 Botticelli, Sandro 8, 32, 111  
*The Birth of Venus* 8  
 Boudin, Eugène 92, 98-99, 118, 216  
 Boussoud, Valadon et Cie 95-96, 230  
 Bowness, Alan 282  
 Brame, Hector 95-96, 230  
 Braquemond, Marie 68  
 Breeskin, Adelyn Dohme xii, 225, 232  
 Brehm, Jack 65  
 Brettell, Richard 73, 88, 90, 133, 153, 157  
 Breugel, Pieter 6, 8  
 Breuille, Jean-Philippe 159, 224  
 Brickman, Philip 196  
 British Museum, London 70  
 Brooke, David S. 229  
 Brooklyn Museum of Art 70, 108, 255, 258, 264  
 Broude, Norma 89, 223  
 Brown, Christopher 217  
 Brownell, William Crary 227  
 Brumann, Cristoph 7  
 Buehrle, E. G., Sammlung, Zürich 75, 81, 89, 117, 150, 164, 207, 229-30, 252, 257-58, 264  
 Bührle, Emil Georg 81, 83-84, 89,

- 106, 117, 230  
 Bunge, John 88  
 Burton, Anthony 217
- Cachin, Françoise 55, 67, 119, 123, 133, 217, 226  
 Cadart, Alfred 92  
 Café Guerbois 54, 56, 128  
 Café de la Nouvelle-Athènes 56, 127-28  
 Caillebotte, Gustave  
*l'affaire Caillebotte* 102-3, 203  
 and BHA 165-66  
 as a collector 57-58, 97-103, 110, 119, 136, 149-51, 162, 171, 180  
 exclusion of artists 171, 199  
 and dealers 94, 96-97, 230  
 and Impressionist exhibitions 54-55, 58, 61, 102, 141  
 and Impressionist group 41, 45, 47-48, 54, 59-62, 199  
 and museums 71-72, 228-29  
 and the Salon 53  
 prototypicality of images 179-80  
 trends in image reproduction 63-64, 174-75  
 will 100-103, 170-71  
 paintings  
*Boulevard vu d'en haut* 182  
*Homme à la fenêtre* 182, 247  
*Le pont de l'Europe* 182, 212, 236  
*Le pont de l'Europe (variante)* 100, 101, 212  
*Portraits à la compagne* 182  
*Raboteurs de parquet* xii, 100, 101, 174-75, 177, 212, 238, 265  
*Temps de pluie, rue de Paris* 182, 235  
*Vue de toits, effet de neige* 265  
 Caillebotte bequest 78, 88, 113-14, 146-49, 265-66  
*see also* Appendices 7.1 and 8.1  
 Caillebotte, Martial 102-3  
 Caillebotte, Mme Martial 103  
 Calder, Alexander 8  
 Callen, Anthea 220, 223-24
- Cals, Adolphe Félix 54, 55, 99  
 Calvino, Italo 15  
 Camondo, Isaac de 93-94, 99, 112, 217  
 Camondo, Moïse de 112  
 Camondo, Nissim de 112  
*see also* Musée Nissim de Camondo  
 Camondo bequest 114-16, 146-51, 158, 205, 215, 232, 263,  
*see also* Appendices 7.1 and 8.1  
 Campbell, Julian 89  
 canon, the Impressionist  
 broader canon 135-53  
 and broader corpus 137, 139-41  
 change in 174-76  
 core (high) canon 119-32, 176-78  
 genres and 137, 139  
 series and 141-44  
 first tier 122-32, 136, 160, 162, 233-35  
 second tier 122, 136-41, 160, 162, 235-38  
 third tier 122, 136-41, 160, 239-44  
 fourth tier 122, 136-41, 245-260  
 canons  
 academia and 9-10, 14-18  
 assumptions about 12-14  
 formation 199-216  
 role of chance 202-6  
 role of collectors 7, 147-51, 202-6  
 role of curators 207  
 role of dealers 145-47  
 role of earliness 202-6, 210-14  
 role of museums 6, 144-45, 207, 212-13  
 role of publicity 206-7, 209-10  
 role of the public 7, 183-95, 207-9  
 role of scholars 7, 159-63, 206-7  
 maintenance 199-216  
 narrowness of 176  
 stability of 12-13, 174-76, 183  
 structure of 13

- Capitoline Museum, Rome 70  
 di Caprio, Leonardo 32  
 Caravaggio, Michelangelo di 32, 40  
 Carolus-Duran (Charles-Auguste-Emile Durand) 67  
 Cassatt, Mary  
   and BHA 165-66  
   and canonical images 136  
   as a collector 57  
   and collectors 108, 111  
   and dealers 96-97, 239  
   and Impressionist exhibitions 54-55  
   and Impressionist group 41, 45, 47, 60-61, 65, 199, 200  
   as a 'major' artist 8  
   and museums 71-72, 228-29  
   and the Salon 53  
   trends in image reproduction 63-64  
 paintings  
   *La loge* 111, 241  
   *Woman in black at the opera* 241  
 Cassirer, Ernst 115  
 Cassirer, Paul 95-96, 115, 154, 230  
 Cassou, Jean 220  
 catalogs, mail order 6  
*catalogue raisonné*, defined 57  
 category 3, 21-40  
   artists as a 30-33  
   aunts as a 23-24  
   card games as a 24  
   cities as a 29-30  
   classical definition of a 23  
   English words as a 27-29  
   exemplars 26  
   fruit as a 24-27, 29-30  
   prototypes 25, 179-80  
   *see also* Zipf's law  
 Catmur, Eric A. 90, 229  
 Cézanne, Paul  
   and BHA 165-66  
   canonical images by 129, 131, 136  
   as a collector 57-58  
   and collectors 99, 100, 103-8, 110, 112-14, 231-32  
   and dealers 92, 94-96, 230  
   genre distribution 139  
   and Impressionist exhibitions 54-55, 102, 141  
   and Impressionist group 41, 54, 56, 60-61, 64  
   as a 'major' artist 8, 44-49, 51, 199  
   and museums 71-73, 84, 228-29  
     estimated accessions 75-79  
   prototypicality of images 179-80  
   public reception 58  
   and the Salon 51, 53  
   trends in image reproduction 43-44, 62-63, 174  
 paintings  
   *Baigneurs au repos, III* 104, 188, 211  
   Card players series 261  
   Mme Cézanne series 261  
   *Les cinq baigneurs* 188, 211  
   *Cour de ferme à Auvers* 265  
   *L'Estaque* 174-75, 177, 252, 265, 267  
   Estaque series 164  
   *Le garçon au gilet rouge* 110, 117, 235  
   *Les grandes baigneuses* 104, 143, 154, 238, 242  
   *Hermitage, Pontoise* 134  
   Jas de Bouffan series 261  
   *Les joueurs de cartes* 239, 249  
   *Le lac d'Annecy* 132, 252  
   *La maison du pendu* 99, 129, 148-49, 154, 174-75, 234, 276  
   *Une moderne Olympia* 100, 113, 148-49, 235  
   *La Montagne Sainte-Victoire* 107, 132, 142  
   La Montagne Sainte-Victoire series 142, 144, 154, 164, 261  
   *La Montagne Sainte-Victoire au grand pin* 239  
   *Le Moulin sur la Couleuvre à Pontoise* 88, 103, 205  
   *La pendule noire* 142, 154, 245  
   *Le pont de Maincy* 99, 241



- Portrait de Monsieur Chocquet* 154, 245
- Self portraits 261
- Still lifes 256, 261
- Champa, Kermit 223
- Champier, Victor 217
- Charigot, Aline (Mme Renoir) 124
- Charles, Daniel 116
- Charpentier, Edouard 93, 97, 99, 231, 235, 259
- Charpentier, Marguerite 97, 99
- Chastel, André 181
- Cheetham, Mark 196
- Cheney, Sheldon 163, 222, 227
- Chevreur, Michel Eugène 66, 163
- Chicago, Art Institute of, *see* Art Institute of Chicago
- Chocquet, Victor 94, 97, 99, 112, 124, 230, 234, 241, 243, 245, 248, 251, 259
- Christie's 124, 127
- Clark, Francine Clary 106, 108
- Clark, Kenneth 41-42
- Clark, Robert Sterling 106-108
- Clark, Timothy James 210, 223
- Clark Institute, Sterling and Francine 75, 82-84, 106-7, 229, 259
- Claus, Jenny 128
- Clayson, Hollis 159, 223
- Clemenceau, Georges 123, 203
- Cogeval, Guy 182
- Cogniat, Raymond 222
- Cole, Michael 7
- collections, private 145, 159, 212, 243, 246-48, 253, 255, 258-59
- collectors of Impressionism 97-113, 231-60
- first generation 97-103
- second generation 103-13
- Collins, Bradford 126
- commune, Paris 54, 93, 98, 100
- Constable, John 68
- Cook, Albert Spalding 18
- Corcoran, William 87, 108
- correlation 23, 37-38, 59-61
- Corot, Camille 46, 68, 94, 98, 108, 112, 172
- Costantino, Maria 220, 224
- Couldrey, Vivienne 53
- Courbet, Gustave 46, 51, 60, 65, 68, 94, 98-99, 108, 172
- Courtauld, Samuel 82, 107, 114, 145-46, 150-51, 164, 184, 205, 239, 243, 244
- Courtauld fund 107, 113, 204, 211, 215, 236-38, 243, 245, 254
- Courtauld Gallery, London 82-84, 113, 144-46, 204, 229, 232, 234, 239, 251-52, 254, 259, 263
- Courthion, Pierre 223
- Crespelle, Jean-Paul 67
- croquis*, defined 125
- cross-cultural psychology 3
- Cubism 172
- cultural literacy 2, 6
- cultural psychology 3
- culture 1-8
- and art 3-4
- definition of 1
- and gardens 1
- high culture 3
- and mere exposure 183-97, 216
- popular culture 3, 5-6
- science of 2-3
- Cumming, Robert 69, 71
- curators 59, 135, 187, 207
- and canons 17, 118, 157-58, 166, 183, 202, 214, 216
- Roger Fry ix, 99, 205
- Cutting, James 115, 166, 181-82, 196-97, 217, 301
- Dale, Chester 111, 232
- Dale bequest to the National Gallery Washington 111, 113, 146, 150, 232, 240-42, 254-56, 263
- Dali, Salvador 8
- Darnton, Robert 18
- Dauberville, Jean and Henry 87-88, 225
- Daubigny, Charles-François 67, 93
- Daulte, François 73, 139, 225-26, 230, 233
- Daumier, Honoré 93
- Fumeur et buveur d'absinthe* 127
- Davis, Erwin 205
- Davis bequest to the Metropolitan Museum of Art 78, 257

- dealers of Impressionist art 92-97, 230
- Degas, Edgar  
 and BHA 165-66  
 canonical images of 127, 129-31  
 136, 149, 152  
 as a collector 57-58  
 and collectors 98-100, 103, 106,  
 108, 110, 113-14, 231-32  
 and dealers 94, 96, 230  
 genre distribution 139  
 and Impressionist exhibitions 53-  
 55, 102, 141  
 and Impressionist group 54, 56,  
 60-61, 64  
 as a 'major' artist 8, 44-49, 51,  
 199  
 and museums 71-73, 228-29  
 name spelling change 217  
 prototypicality of images 179-80  
 and public reception 58  
 and the Salon 51, 53  
 trends of image reproduction 43,  
 62-63, 174-75  
 web sites about 31, 32
- paintings and pastels
- L'Absinthe* 56, 127, 131, 134,  
 143-44, 148-49, 174-76,  
 182, 234, 267
- Bain de mer. Petite fille peignée  
 par sa bonne* 100, 107,  
 242
- Blanchisseuses and Repasseuses  
 series 261
- Café concert series 245, 261
- Café des Ambassadeurs* 129-31  
 134, 234
- Chanson du chien* 130
- Chanteuse au gant* 129, 241
- Les choristes* 265
- La classe de danse* 142, 154,  
 241
- Course de gentleman, avant  
 le départ* 142, 240
- Au courses en Provence* 142,  
 154, 238
- Danseuses à la barre* 109, 110,  
 209
- Danseuse Espagnol* 265
- Danseuse nouant son  
 brodequin* 265
- Diego Martelli* 133, 139, 242
- Le défilé* 98, 142, 154, 239
- Edmond Duranty* 139, 239
- L'Etoile, danseuse sur la  
 scène* 142, 154, 174-75,  
 182, 238, 265, 267
- La famille Bellelli* 204, 235
- Femme nue accroupie* 265
- Femme sortant du bain* 265
- Femmes devant la terrasse d'un  
 café, le soir* 131, 134, 175,  
 178, 182, 235, 265, 267
- Le foyer de danse, rue  
 Peletier* 142, 242
- Mlle La La au Cirque  
 Fernando* 107, 130, 237
- La leçon de danse* 109, 110,  
 117, 209, 210
- La mélancholie* 10, 11, 210,  
 217
- Milliner series 126, 247, 252,  
 261
- L'Orchestre de l'Opéra* 237
- Place de la Concorde* 89, 116,  
 237
- Portraits dans un bureau* 236
- Repasseuses* xii, 10, 11, 210,  
 236
- Le tub* 142, 174-75, 182, 245,  
 267
- Mme Valpinçon avec chrysan-  
 thèmes* 110, 237
- Delacroix, Eugène 46, 68, 94, 99,  
 112, 118
- Denis, Maurice 94
- Denver Art Museum 108
- Denvir, Bernard 220, 223
- Dépeaux, François 94
- Desboutins, Marcellin 56, 127
- Dewey, John 105
- Dewhurst, Wynford 43, 62, 220,  
 222, 227
- Dihau, Marie 204, 237
- Distel, Anne 91, 115-16, 133-34,  
 171, 182, 223
- divisionisme 46
- Dixon Gallery and Gardens,

- Memphis, TN 82-84, 90, 229  
 Donop de Monchy, Victorine de Bellio 99, 125  
 Donop de Monchy bequest to the Musée Marmottan 99, 233, 250, 253  
 Doria, Armand 94  
 Dorra, Henri 225  
 Dortu, Madeleine Grillaert 226  
 Drouot, Hôtel 91, 217  
 Dublin, Municipal Gallery of Art, *see* Lane, Hugh, Gallery  
 Duchamp, Marcel 6, 33  
 Dufy, Raoul 73, 88, 225  
 Dumas, Ann 68  
 Dunstan, Bernard 223  
 Durand-Ruel, Paul 93-96, 170, 230  
   and the canon 145-47, 152  
   and the Havemeyers 108  
   and Impressionist exhibitions 55, 141  
   meeting Monet and Pissarro 67  
   and Renoir 117  
   and the Wildensteins 43  
 Dürer, Albrecht 31  
 Duret, Théodore 97-98, 107, 231, 241, 247  
 Duveen brothers 110  
  
*Ecole des Beaux-Arts* 34  
 Edgerton, Harold 4  
 Edwards, Allen 40  
 Einstein, Alfred 88  
 Effeny, Alison 53  
 Elliott, Rebecca 196  
 episodic memory 184  
 Evans-de Vries, Susanna 159, 223  
*L'Évènement* (Paris) 131  
 evolution, theory of 201  
 exemplars of categories 26  
 explicit memory 184  
*Exposition Universelle de 1900* 166, 203, 217  
 exposure, *see* mere exposure  
 van Eyck, Jan 111  
  
 Fabre, Musée 115  
 fads 12, 195  
 family resemblance 24  
  
*see also* categories  
 Fantin-Latour, Henri 46, 172  
   *Un atelier aux Batignolles* 46  
 Faure, Jean-Baptiste 97-98, 150-51, 231, 234, 236-39, 241-42, 246, 250, 253  
 Fauvism 22, 42, 172  
 Feist, Peter 43, 217, 220, 223  
 Ferguson, Russell 183  
 Feynman, Richard 196, 215  
 Fezzi, Elda 73-74, 139, 225, 233  
*Financial Times* (London) 133  
 Fischer, Theodor 106  
 Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard 82-84, 130, 229, 239-40, 251, 254-55, 264  
 Fontainas, André 163, 217, 227  
 Fontainebleau forest 54, 125-26, 149  
   *see also* Barbizon painters  
 Forain, Jean-Louis 49, 54, 55 172, 199  
 Fournaise, Chez Père 124, 127  
 Fowler, Alistair 17  
 Fosca, François 222  
 Francastel, Pierre 163, 222, 227  
 Francia, Peter de 43, 46, 220, 222  
 Franco-Prussian War 34, 72, 87, 93, 98  
 Frascina, Francis 224  
 Frelinghuysen, Alice Cooney 117, 217  
 Frick, Henry Clay 108  
 Fried, Michael 116  
 Fromentin, Eugène 93  
 Fry, Roger ix, 205  
  
 Gachet, Marguerite 112-13  
 Gachet, Paul *père* 97, 100, 112, 114, 204, 231-32  
 Gachet, Paul *fils* 100, 112-13  
 Gachet bequest 112-13, 124, 150, 204, 232, 235, 249, 254, 258, 263  
 Gad, Mette 83  
 Galenson, David 153  
 gardens 1  
 de Gas, René 204, 235  
 Gaskell, Ivan 19  
 Gates, Henry Louis 18

- Gauguin, Paul  
 and dealers 92-94  
 and Impressionist exhibitions 54-55  
 and Impressionist group 45, 48, 60-61, 63-65, 86, 199, 200  
 as a 'major' artist 8  
 and museums 71-73, 84, 228-29  
 and the Salon 53  
 web sites about 32
- Gaunt, William 221, 223
- Gautier, Théophile 133
- Gavarni, Paul 171
- Geffroy, Gustave 227, 256
- Gérôme, Jean-Léon 102
- Getlein, Frank 159, 223
- Getty, J. Paul, Museum, Malibu, California 108, 253, 255, 264
- Giorgione da Castelfranco 133
- Glasgow City Art Gallery 239, 252, 264
- Gleick, James 19
- Gleyre, Charles 54
- Goeneutte, Norbert 166
- Van Gogh, Theo 89, 93
- Van Gogh, Vincent  
 and dealers 92  
 and Impressionist group 45, 48, 59-60, 63-65, 199  
 as a 'major' artist 8  
 and museums 71-73, 228-29  
 web sites about 31-32  
 painting  
*Portrait du Docteur Gachet* 115, 124
- Van Gogh, Vincent, Museum and Foundation, Amsterdam 72
- Gombrich, Ernst 135, 137
- Gonzalès, Eva  
 and BHA 165  
 as a collector 57-58  
 and dealers 96-97, 230  
 and Impressionist group 41, 45, 47, 60-61, 65, 68, 199, 200  
 and museums 71-73, 228-29  
 public reception 58  
 and the Salon 53
- Google xi, 31-33, 155, *see also*
- Internet
- Goya, Francisco 31, 108
- Graber, Corinne 68, 217, 223
- de Grada, Raffaele 53
- Grand Palais, Paris 116, 118, 225
- Gray, Christopher 53
- El Greco 8, 32, 108
- Guerbois, *see* Café Guerbois
- Guillaume, Paul 87
- Guillaumin, Armand  
 and BHA 165  
 as a collector 57-58  
 and dealers 92, 94, 96, 230  
 and Impressionist exhibitions 54-55  
 and Impressionist group 41, 45, 47, 60-61, 199, 200  
 and museums 71-72, 228-29  
 public reception 58  
 and the Salon 53  
 painting  
*La place Valhubert* 49, 50, 214
- Guillemet, Antoine 128
- Guillory, John 19
- guinguettes* 124
- Haack, Horst 205, 227
- Hairston, Maxine xii
- von Hallberg, Robert 19
- Hansen, Wilhelm 81, 106, 231, 257, 260
- d'Harnoncourt, Anne 117, 228
- Harrison, Charles 67-68, 228
- Havemeyer, Harry 6, 93, 108, 204-5, 212
- Havemeyer, Louisine Elder 9, 93  
 and Mary Cassatt 108, 211  
 Collection 117, 144, 146, 150-51, 205, 211, 215, 232, 245, 247, 252  
 and Paul Durand-Ruel 93, 108  
 and John Johnson 212
- Havemeyer bequest to the Metropolitan, Museum of Art 110, 113, 144, 204, 209, 211, 232, 234-37, 242-43, 245, 253, 256, 258, 263
- Havemeyer Perkins, Adaline 210
- Havemeyer Webb, Electra 108

- Hemmings, Frederick 133-34, 217  
 Herbert, Robert 7, 67, 223  
 Hermitage Museum, State, St. Petersburg 75, 83-84, 86, 89, 105, 113, 164, 207, 229, 232, 237, 254, 263  
   *see also* Morozov collection, Shchukin collection  
 Higonnet, Anne 66, 87, 115, 181, 199-200  
 Hirsch, Edward 6  
 Hochedé, Ernest 97-99, 112, 231, 233, 239, 246, 248, 257-58  
 Hofer, Walter 106  
 Homer, Winslow 8, 106  
 Hoopes, Donelson 89  
 Hourticq, Louis 227  
 Howard, Michael 56, 67, 134, 217, 224  
 Hunter, Sam 222, 224  
 Hulsker, Jan 225  
  
 iconography 5  
 implicit learning 184  
 implicit memory 152, 184  
*impression*, defined 58, 125, 133  
 Impressionism, French  
   and America 6  
   and museums 71-79, 228-64  
 Impressionist artists 41-68  
   as a category 42-49  
   against Zipf's law 47-49  
   formative experience of 54  
   gifts and purchases of paintings among 56-58  
   and the official Salon 51, 53  
   public reception of 58  
   social life of 54-56  
   who are the 41-48  
 Impressionist exhibitions 53-55  
*The Independent* (London) 132, 135  
*Indépendents* 58, 68  
 Ingleby, Richard 132, 135  
 Ingres, Dominique 46, 68  
 Internet 31-33, 36, 48, 70, 171, 181, 208  
 interval scale 22  
*Intransigents* 64  
 Isaacson, Joel 55  
  
 Isabey, Eugène 93  
  
 Jacobsen, Carl 81  
 Jacobsen, Helge 83  
 Jaffé, Hans Ludwig 164, 220, 222  
 James, Henry 93  
 Jamot, Paul 66, 75-76, 78, 225, 233  
*japonisme* 172  
*japonoiserie* 67  
 Jeu de Paume, Paris 5, 106  
   *see also* Musée du Jeu de Paume  
 Johnson, John G. 110, 212  
 Johnson Collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art 110, 117, 241, 243, 263  
 Jongkind, Johan 92, 112, 118, 216  
  
 Kafka, Franz 15  
 Kail, Robert V. 197  
 Kaiser Wilhelm II 103  
   Impressionists as "violet pigs" 103, 205  
 Kann, Alphonse 117  
 Kant, Immanuel 16, 196  
 Kapos, Martha 220, 223  
 Kelder, Diane 220, 223  
 Keller, Horst 217, 223  
 Kelvin, Lord (William Thomson) 22  
 Kern, Steven 117  
 Klinger, Mark R. 196  
 Knoedler Gallery, New York 95-96, 106, 110, 115, 154, 230  
 Köchel, Ludwig 88  
 Kopper, Philip 87-88, 117  
 Kröller-Müller, *see* Rijksmuseum  
 Kruglov, Vladimir 89  
 Krumhansl, Carol 7  
 Kruskal, Joseph 40  
 Kubovy, Michael 7  
 Kunst-Wilson, William 196  
 Kunsthalle, Hamburg 247, 259, 264  
 Kunsthaus, Zürich 264  
  
 Laffaille, Maurice 88, 225  
 Lane, Hugh 98, 104, 107  
   Hugh Lane Gallery 107  
 Lane bequest to the National Gallery, London 107, 113, 150-51, 183,

- 204-5, 211, 215, 232, 234, 236,  
238, 241-42, 263
- Langdon, Helen 223
- Lanthony, Philippe 66
- Laran, Jean 227
- Lassaigne, Jacques 220, 222
- Latham, Ernest "Tyger" 117
- Latouche, Louis 92
- Laver, James 222, 227
- Lazzaro, Claudia iii, 7
- Leavis, Frank Raymond xii
- Leech, Geoffrey 39
- Leenhoff, Ferdinand 123
- Lefèvre Gallery, London 95-96, 154  
*see also* Reid, Alexander
- Léger, Fernand 73, 88, 222
- Lemoisne, Paul 225, 227, 233
- Leonardo da Vinci 6, 8, 31-32, 73,  
87, 215, 218  
*The Last Supper* 32  
*Mona Lisa (La Joconde)* 12, 16,  
181, 215, 218  
*Portrait of Ginevra de Benci* 32,  
111
- Leroy, Louis 58, 125
- Lescouezec, Eugénie 134
- Levy de Benzion, Moïse 117
- Leymarie, Jean 222
- libraries and culture 13-14
- Liebermann, Max 205
- Livingstone, Margaret 66
- The London Times* 133, 181
- Los Angeles County Museum of Art  
82-84, 229
- Louis XIV 70
- Louis XV 70
- Louvre, Palais du 70  
*see also* Musée du Louvre
- Lucie-Smith, Edward 223
- Lurie, Patty 223-24
- Luxembourg, Palais du 70, 87  
*see also* Musée du Luxembourg
- Lyon, *see* Musée des Beaux-Arts
- Maison Fournaise *see* Fournaise,  
Chez Père
- Maître, Edmond 128
- Malingue, Maurice 225
- Mallarmé, Stéphane 58, 93, 204
- Malt, Barbara 26
- Manet, Edouard  
and BHA 165-66  
canonical images of 120, 123-24,  
126, 128, 132, 136-37, 149,  
152, 161  
as a collector 56-57, 233, 260  
and collectors 97-100, 104,  
106-8, 111-12, 114, 231-32  
and dealers 92-93, 95-96, 230  
genre distribution 139  
and the Impressionist group 41,  
54, 60-61, 64  
and Impressionist exhibitions 54-  
55, 141  
as a 'major' artist 8, 44-49, 51,  
199  
and museums 71-73, 228-29  
estimating accessions 75-79  
prototypicality of images 179-80  
and the Salon 51, 53  
trends in image reproduction 43,  
62-63, 174-75  
web sites about 32-33
- paintings  
*Angelina* 265  
*Argenteuil* 235  
*Le bal de l'opéra* 98, 110, 243  
*Le balcon* 126, 128, 142, 148-  
49, 174-77, 234, 265, 267  
*Le bar aux Folies-Bergère* 104,  
107, 126, 132, 142, 151,  
217, 234  
*Le barque de Monet* 99, 103,  
126, 129, 137, 143, 234  
*En bateau* 110, 235  
*Le bon Bock* 97, 110, 242  
*Le buveur d'absinthe* 97, 127,  
242  
*Le café concert* 98, 130, 242  
*Le chemin de fer* 97, 110, 236  
*Chez Père Lathuille* 98, 240  
*Le combat du Kearsarge et  
de l'Alabama* 110, 242  
*Courses à Longchamps* 108,  
241  
*Croquet à Boulogne* 212, 213  
*Le déjeuner à l'atelier* 103, 110,  
174-75, 237

- Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* 51, 97,  
 112, 120, 123, 125, 142,  
 144, 148-49, 151, 155,  
 161, 181, 206, 217, 233  
*Le départ du bateau de  
 Folkestone* 103, 110, 242  
*Emile Zola* 128, 137, 143, 149,  
 204, 234  
*L'Enfant de l'épée* 205  
*L'Exécution de l'Empereur  
 Maximilien* 236  
*L'Exposition Universelle de  
 1867* 104, 243  
*La femme au perroquet* 205,  
 257  
*Le fifre* 236  
*Lola de Valence* 237  
*Olympia* 51, 67, 102, 120, 123,  
 125, 128, 142, 144, 148-49,  
 151, 161, 181, 205-06, 217,  
 233  
*La musique aux Tuileries* 97,  
 107, 126, 142, 234  
*Nana* 104, 236  
*Plage avec personnages* 212,  
 213  
*Portrait d'Eva Gonzalès* 107,  
 241  
*La prune* 239  
*La rue Mosnier aux paveurs* 99,  
 145, 243  
*La serveuse de Bocks* 104, 107,  
 164, 238, 240  
*Stéphane Mallarmé* 139, 240  
*Victorine Meurend en costume  
 d'Espada* 97, 110, 242  
*Le vieux musicien* 111, 242  
 Manet, Gustave 123  
 Manet, Suzanne Leenhoff 123, 206  
 maps  
   of bequests and museums 113-14  
   of dealers 96  
   of Europe 34-37  
   of fruit 37-38  
   of museums 83-84  
   of painters 59-62, 96  
   see also multidimensional scaling  
 Marlborough Gallery, New York 93,  
 96, 230  
 Marmottan, Musée, see  
   Musée Marmottan  
 Marrinan, Michael 116  
 Martelli, Diego 132-33  
 Mather, Frank Jewett 163, 227  
 Mathey, François 220, 222  
 Matisse, Henri 8, 104  
   *Odalisque* 115  
   *Portrait d'Auguste Pellerin, II*  
     104  
 Matsukata, Kojiro 103-4, 164, 204,  
 231, 240  
 Maclair, Camille 159, 162, 167,  
 222, 227  
 May, Ernest 204, 240  
 McConkey, Kenneth 89  
 Mead, Katherine Harper 68, 116  
 measurement, scales of 21-23  
 Meier-Graefe, Hugo 105, 205, 227  
 Mellon, Andrew 71, 87, 110-11  
 Mellon, Paul 91, 110-11, 117  
 Mellon bequest to the National  
   Gallery, Washington 91, 113-14,  
   146, 150, 232, 239, 252, 254-55,  
   259, 263  
 Mellon Bruce, Ailsa 111  
 Mellon Bruce bequest to the Na-  
   tional Gallery, Washington 113-  
   14, 146, 150, 232, 239-40, 250,  
   257-59, 263  
 memory 183-84  
 mere exposure 184-93  
   and canon formation 207-9  
   and culture 184-87, 216  
 Metropolitan Museum of Art  
   Davis bequest 78, 257  
   founding 70  
   Havemeyer bequest 108, 113,  
     146, 205, 209-10, 232  
   holdings ix, 75, 77, 83-84, 86,  
     124, 144, 146, 207, 211-12,  
     228, 232, see also Appendix  
     7.1 and 8.1  
 Meurend, Victorine 123  
 Michelangelo 6, 8, 31-33  
   *David* 8  
   Sistine Chapel ceiling 8  
 Migeon, Gaston 118  
 Miller, Joan G. 7

- Millet, Jean-François 93, 112, 171  
 Ministry of Fine Arts, Paris 112  
 Mithin, Steven 7  
 Moffett, Charles 55, 67-68, 140-41  
 Monahan, Jennifer L. 196  
 Mondrian, Piet 6  
 Monet, Camille 125  
 Monet, Claude  
   and BHA 165-66  
   canonical images of 125-27,  
     129-30, 132, 136, 149,  
     152, 204, 206  
   as a collector 57-58  
   and collectors 97-100, 103-4,  
     107-8, 110, 112, 114,  
     231-32  
   and dealers 93-96, 230  
   genre distribution 139  
   and Impressionist group 41, 54,  
     56, 60-61, 64  
   and Impressionist exhibitions 53-  
     55, 102, 141  
   late paintings 85-86  
   as a 'major' artist 8, 44-49, 199  
   and museums 71-73, 84, 228-29  
   and *Olympia* fund 102  
   prototypicality of images 179-80  
   public reception 58  
   and the Salon 51, 53  
   trends in image reproduction 43,  
     62-64, 174-75  
   web sites about 31-32  
 paintings  
   *Les bains de la Grenouillère* 273  
   *Le bassin d'Argenteuil* xii, 49,  
     50, 214, 238  
   Belle Isle series 143, 261, 265  
   *Au bords de l'eau*,  
     *Bennecourt* 108, 238  
   *Le boulevard des Capucines* 98,  
     104, 235, 243  
   Bridges and Argenteuil series 143  
   *Camille* 239  
   *Camille Monet sur son lit de*  
     *mort* 243  
   *Cathédral de Rouen* series 63,  
     142-44, 152, 154, 237,  
     246, 250, 253, 261  
   Charing Cross Bridge series 143  
   *Un coin d'appartement* 170, 265  
   *Les coquelicots à Argenteuil* 98,  
     149, 238  
   *La côte sauvage. Les rochers à*  
     *Belle-Ile* 243  
   *Débauche*, ice flows series 261  
   *Déchargeurs de carbon* 154, 246  
   *Le déjeuner* 177, 240, 265  
   *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* 125, 149  
     *see also Partie centrale ...*  
   *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe*  
     *(esquisse)* 104, 237  
   *L'Eglise de Vétheuil, neige*  
     257, 265  
   *Femmes au jardin* 125-26, 142,  
     148-49, 152, 154, 174-76,  
     204, 233, 267  
   *La gare Saint-Lazare* 130, 142,  
     148-49, 153, 174-76, 235,  
     265, 267  
   *La gare Saint-Lazare, l'arrivé*  
     *d'un train* 142, 153, 240  
   Gare Saint-Lazare series 142,  
     144, 163, 246, 261  
   *Le givre* 265  
   Grainstacks (haystacks) series  
     63, 143, 250, 253, 261  
   *La Grenouillère* 110, 127-28,  
     143, 234  
   *Hôtel des Roches-Noires à*  
     *Trouville* 239  
   *Impression, soleil levant* 58, 98,  
     125-26, 142, 151, 206,  
     217, 233  
   Japanese bridges at Giverny  
     series 143, 261  
   *La Japonaise* 243  
   *Londres, le Parlement. Trouée*  
     *de soleil dans le brouillard*  
     152, 241  
   Manneport at Etretat series 261  
   Mount Kolsas series 143  
   *Nymphéas* (water lilies) series 63,  
     143-44, 154, 243, 261  
   *Partie centrale du déjeuner sur*  
     *l'herbe* 148-49, 240  
   *La plaine d'Argenteuil* 267



- La plage à Trouville* 107, 236  
*La plage de Sainte-Adresse* 238  
*Le pont d'Argenteuil* 112, 143, 238  
*Le pont de Bougival* 241  
*Le pont de chemin de fer, Argenteuil* 143, 253  
*Pont de l'Europe, gare Saint-Lazare* 239  
 Poplars at Epte series 143, 258  
*La quai du Louvre* 240  
*Rue Montorgeuil, à Paris* 241  
*Régates à Argenteuil* 237, 265  
*Le Tamize et le Parlement* 98, 239  
*La terrasse à Sainte-Adresse* 129, 234  
*Les Tuileries (esquisse)* 265  
 Views of Parliament series 63, 144  
 Waterloo Bridge series 143, 261  
 Monet, Michel 149  
 Monneret, Sophie 224  
 Monnier, Geneviève 228  
 Moore, George 56  
 Moreau, Adolphe *père et fils* 112  
 Moreau-Nélaton, Etienne 94, 99, 111, 203, 206  
 Moreau-Nélaton bequest 112-14, 116, 118, 146, 148, 150-51, 193, 204, 210, 232, 237, 249-50, 259-60, 263  
 Moreland, Richard L. 196  
 Morisot, Berthe  
     and BHA, 165-66  
     and canonical images 136  
     as a collector 57, 257  
     and collectors 107, 111  
     and dealers 92, 94, 96-97, 230  
     and Impressionist exhibitions 54-55, 102, 141  
     and Impressionist group 41, 45-47, 60-61, 63-64, 199-200  
     and museums 71-72, 228-29  
     public reception 58  
     and the Salon 53  
     trends in image reproduction 63-64  
 paintings  
     *Le berceau* 204, 236  
     *La chasse aux papillons* xii, 137, 138, 149, 210, 237,  
     *Dans la salle à manger* 111, 240  
     *Dans les blés* 137, 138, 210  
     *Eté* 107, 238  
     *Vue du petit port de Lorient* 111, 240  
 Morisot, Edma 128  
 Morozov, Ivan 94, 104-5, 108  
 Morozov Collection 105, 113, 150, 232, 243, 259, 263  
 Moxey, Keith 296  
 Mozart, Wolfgang 88  
 Muesham, Gerd 223  
 multidimensional scaling 34-38  
     metric 35-36  
     nonmetric 35-38, 59-61  
 Municipal Gallery of Art, Dublin  
     *see* Hugh Lane  
 Murdock, John 117, 229  
 Murer, Eugène 231  
 Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon 234, 260, 264  
 Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nice 116  
 Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen 129, 248, 259  
 Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai 235, 264  
 Musée Bonnat, Bayonne 112  
 Musée Fabre, Montpellier 115, 249  
 Musée du Jeu de Paume, Paris 75, 87, 112, 154, 204  
 Musée du Louvre, Paris 5, 75, 102, 118, 123, 193, 203-5  
 Musée du Luxembourg, Paris 5, 89, 102-3, 116, 158, 166, 203  
 Musée Marmottan, Paris 82-84, 86, 125, 206, 229, 233, 239, 248, 253-54, 263  
 Musée Masena *see* Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nice  
 Musée Nissim de Camondo, Paris 112  
 Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris 87, 144, 154, 243, 247, 264  
 Musée d'Orsay, Paris  
     bequests 111-13, *see also* Bazille,

- Caillebotte, Camondo,  
 Gachet, Moreau-Nélaton,  
 Personnaz  
 French national collections 5, 71  
 as Group 1 museum 81, 86, 144-  
 47, 152, 183  
 holdings 79, 85, 132, 147-50,  
 211-12, 214, 228, 232, 263,  
*see also* Appendices 7.1 and  
 8.1  
 representation of holdings 178,  
 187  
 Musée de la République, *see* Musée  
 du Louvre  
 Museu de Arte, São Paulo 257, 259,  
 264  
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 70,  
 71, 75, 81, 86, 117, 144, 207  
 holdings 83-84, 144, 146, 228,  
 263, *see also* Appendices  
 7.1 and 8.1  
 Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow 89  
*see also* Pushkin Museum  
 Museum of Modern Occidental Art,  
 Moscow 89 *see also* Pushkin  
 Museum  
 museums 69-90  
   Group 1, Orsay 81, 85  
   Group 2 81, 85  
   Group 3 81-82, 85  
   Group 4 82-83, 85  
   history of 70-71  
   and Impressionist bequests 97-  
   115  
   and the Impressionist canon  
   228-29, 263-64  
 Muther, Richard 222, 227  
  
*Nabi* 172  
 Napoléon III 123, 12  
 National Gallery of Art,  
 Edinburgh 242, 264  
 National Gallery of Art, London  
 bequests 107, 113, 205, 215  
*see also* Courtauld fund,  
 Lane bequest  
 founding 70  
 as Group II museum 71, 81, 86,  
 211  
 holdings 75-77, 83-85, 89, 130,  
 144-46, 228, 232, 263, *see*  
*also* Appendices 7.1 and 8.1  
 National Gallery of Art, Washington  
 bequests 110-11, 113-14, 146,  
 205, *see also* Dale, Have-  
 meyer, Mellon, Mellon  
 Bruce  
 founding 71  
 as Group II museum 81, 86, 211  
 holdings 75, 77, 83-86, 129, 144,  
 146, 205, 211, 228, 232,  
 263, *see also* Appendices  
 7.1 and 8.1  
 National Museum of Western Art,  
 Tokyo 104  
 Nationalgalerie, Berlin 88, 103, 114,  
 164, 205, 246, 249, 251, 264  
 Nationalmuseum, Stockholm 233,  
 241, 264  
 natural law 17-18, 30  
 Naturalism 42, 172  
 Nazi occupation of Paris 87, 106  
 Nazis, art looted by 77, 95, 106, 116  
 Needham, Gerald 223  
 Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas  
   City 105, 108, 235  
 Neo-Impressionism 46-47, 163  
*see also* Post-Impressionism  
 Nérét, Giles 134, 223  
 Neue Pinakothek, Munich 103, 164,  
 234, 237, 256, 264  
*The New York Times* 133  
*Newsweek* 133  
 Niewerkerke, Alfred-Emilien 51  
 Nisbett, Richard 7  
  
 Nochlin, Linda 223  
 nominal scale 22-23  
 Nord, Philip 116, 224  
 Nouvelle-Athènes, *see* Café de la  
   Nouvelle-Athènes  
 Novotny, Fritz 212, 222, 224  
 Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copen-  
 hagen 81-84, 164, 229, 242,  
 264  
 l'Orangerie, Musée de, *see* Musée  
   de l'Orangerie

- ordinal scale 22, 27-33  
 Ordrupgaard Museum, Ordrupgaard, Denmark 81, 83-84, 164, 229  
 Orphan's court 105, 110, 117  
 d'Orsay, Musée, *see* Musée d'Orsay  
 overexposure 195
- Pachelbel, Johan 215  
 Palais Royal 70  
 paleohistory of the arts 3-4  
 Palmer, Bertha Honoré 108, 212  
 Palmer bequest to the Art Institute of Chicago 108, 113-14, 212, 232, 238, 241, 257-58, 263  
 Palmer, Potter 108  
 Peillex, Georges 222  
 Pellerin, Auguste 94, 103-4, 106, 150-51, 231, 234, 236, 238, 240, 242-43, 245, 247, 249, 252, 255, 257, 259  
 Perkins, David 19  
 Perruchot, Henri 53  
 Personnaz, Antonin 94, 112, 114  
 Personnaz bequest 112-13, 150, 204, 210, 214, 238, 246, 248, 255, 263  
 Petit, Georges 94-96, 99, 145, 230  
 Petit Palais, Paris 247, 252  
 Philadelphia Museum of Art 71, 81, 83-84, 86, 110-11, 113, 144, 146, 212, 228, 263  
*see also* Johnson collection, Tyson bequest, and Appendices 71. and 8.1  
 Philippe II (Duc d'Orléans) 70  
 Phillips, Duncan 104, 108, 124-25, 210  
 Phillips Collection 82-84, 133, 210, 229, 263  
 Picasso, Pablo 8, 31-33, 94  
*Boy with a pipe* 115, 133  
*Le demoiselles d'Avignon* 119  
*Guernica* 13, 15  
 Pichon, Yann le 223  
 Pickvance, Ronald 53  
 Picon, Gaeton 223  
 Piero della Francesca  
*The Flagellation of Christ* 13  
 Piranesi, Giovanni Batista 6
- Pirsig, Robert 196  
 Pissarro, Camille  
 and BHA 165-66  
 canonical images 136, 137  
 as a collector 57  
 and collectors 98, 100, 107-8, 110-14, 231-32  
 and dealers 93-94, 96, 230  
 genre distribution 139  
 and Impressionist exhibitions 54-55, 102, 141  
 and Impressionist group 54, 56, 60-61, 64  
 as a 'major' artist 44-49, 51, 199  
 and museums 71-73, 228-29  
 prototypicality of images 179-80  
 public reception 58  
 and the Salon 51, 53  
 trends of image production 43, 62-63, 174-75
- paintings  
*La bergère; Jeune fille à la baguette* 243  
*Boulevard Monmartre, effect de nuit* 107, 152, 155, 243  
 Boulevard de Monmartre series 144, 254  
*La brouette* 265  
*Chemin montant à travers champs* 265, 267  
*Chemin sous-bois en été* 265  
*Côte de Jallais, Pontoise* 241  
*La côte des Boueufs* 164, 167  
*L'Entrée du village du Voisins* 240  
*Hermitage, Pontoise* 134  
*L'Ile Lacroix, Rouen, effet de brouillard* 110, 243  
*Le lavoir, Bougival* 250, 265  
*La moisson, Montfoucault* 265  
 Place du Théâtre Français series 143, 254  
*Printemps. Pruniers en fleurs* xii, 80, 210-11, 237  
 Pont neuf series 144  
*Portrait de l'artiste* 240  
*Les toits rouge* 164, 174-76, 235, 265, 267  
*Verger en fleurs, Louveciennes*

- 80, 111, 210-11  
 Pissarro, Lucien 94  
 Pissarro, Ludovic-Rodo 72, 225, 232  
 Pissarro, Paul-Emile 204, 240  
 Platte, Hans Hilfe 89  
*pointillisme* 46  
 Pollock, Griselda 9, 66, 87, 112, 117, 153  
 Pollock, Jackson 8, 32  
 Pontillon, Edma Morisot 204, 236  
 Pool, Phoebe 210, 220, 222  
 Popper, Karl 216  
 Portier, Alphonse 92  
 Post-Impressionism 22, 42, 46-47, 66, 71-73, 79, 81-83, 85-86, 93, 106, 140, 172, 211  
 Powell-Jones, Mark 221, 224  
 Prado Museum, Madrid 70  
 preferences for paintings 187-94  
 primary sources x-xi, 42-43  
 private collections, *see* collections  
 procedural memory 184  
 prototypes of categories 25  
 prototypicality  
   of fruit 25-26  
   of Impressionist painters 49  
   of Impressionist paintings 179-80  
 Pushkin Museum, State, Moscow 75, 83-84, 86, 89, 94, 105, 113, 116, 164, 229, 232, 237, 251, 256, 259, 263  
   *see also* Morozov collection, Shchukin collection  
 Puvis de Chavannes, Pierre 93, 118, 216  
  
 quality of art 193-95, 201-2, 214  
 quantum electrodynamics 200-201, 216  
  
 Raffaëlli, Jean-François 49, 51, 199, 214, 317  
   *Place d'Italie après la pluie*, 49, 52, 214  
 Raimondi, Marcantonio 123  
 Raphael 8, 31-32, 111  
   *Judgment of Paris* 123  
 Rathbone, Eliza 133  
  
 ratio scale 22  
 Raynal, Maurice 222, 227  
 Read, Herbert 30  
 recognition of canonical images 151-52  
 Redon, Odile 59  
 Reff, Theodore 55, 68  
 Reid, Alexander 95, 154  
   Reid & Lefèvre 154, 230  
 Reinhard, Oskar 81-82, 105, 230  
 Reinhard, Oskar, Sammlung, Winterthur, Switzerland 75, 81, 105, 164, 229, 230, 246, 248, 257, 260, 264  
 Rembrandt 6, 8, 31-33  
 Renoir, Pierre-Auguste  
   and BHA 165-66  
   and canonical images 124-25, 127-28, 130-32, 136-37, 149, 152  
   as a collector 87-88  
   and collectors 99-100, 106-8, 110-11, 231-32  
   and dealers 93-96, 230  
   estimating production 73-75  
   genre distribution 139  
   and Impressionist exhibitions 53-55, 102, 141  
   and Impressionist group 41, 54, 56, 60-61, 64  
   as a 'major' artist 8, 44-49, 199  
   and museums 71-72, 84, 228-29  
   prototypicality of image 179-80  
   public reception 58  
   and the Salon 51, 53  
   trends in image reproduction 43-44, 62-63, 174-75  
   web sites about 31-32  
 paintings  
   *Alfred Sisley et Lise Tréhaut* 123, 137, 236  
   *L'Amazon* 267  
   *Bal du Moulin de la Galette* 99, 124, 131, 133, 142, 148-49, 151, 154, 173-75, 181, 189, 217, 233, 266, 267  
   *La balançoire* 130-31, 174-75, 235, 266, 267  
   *Bords de Seine à Champrosay*

- 265  
*Le cabaret de Mère Anthony* 241  
*Les canotiers à Chatou* 244  
*Mme Charpentier et ses enfants*  
 ix, 99, 141, 205, 241  
*Le château des Broulliards* 116  
*La danse à Bougival* 243  
*Le déjeuner des canotiers* 124,  
 127, 141-42, 151, 174-76,  
 189, 217, 233  
*Diane chasseresse* 111, 241  
*Etude, torse. Effet du soleil* 131,  
 175, 238, 266-67  
*Frédéric Bazille* 127, 137, 139  
*Les grandes baigneuses* 110,  
 130, 143, 235  
*La Grenouillère* 127-28, 132,  
 234  
*Jeunes filles au piano* 116  
*Lise* 98, 241  
*La liseuse* 251, 266  
*La loge* 107, 126-27, 143, 234  
*Monet peignant dans le jardin*  
*de Renoir* 127, 137, 236  
*Les parapluies* 107, 236  
*La Place Clichy* 244  
*Le pont de chemin de fer* 266  
*Pont des arts* 239  
*Le pont neuf* xii, 49, 50, 111,  
 214, 239  
*Sur la terrasse* 244  
*Réunion des musées nationaux* 169,  
 178-79, 182, 187  
 Rewald, John  
   on the *Café Guerbois* 67  
   *catalogue raisonné* of Cézanne's  
     paintings and pastels xii, 75-  
     78, 225, 233  
   *catalogue raisonné* of Degas'  
     sculptures 87  
   *History of Impressionism* 41-43,  
     166, 214, 217, 220, 227  
   Impressionist exhibitions 53, 55  
   Mellon and Mellon Bruce  
     collections 91  
   as a scholar 157, 161-63  
 Rey, Robert 222, 227  
 Reymond, Nathalie 53  
 Rhode Island School of Design 250,  
 252, 264  
 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 70  
 Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo  
   72, 89, 248  
 Rivera, Diego 8  
 Roberts, Keith 220, 223  
 Robertson, Anna Mary (Grandma  
   Moses) 8  
 Robinson, Edward G. 154  
 Rocheblave, Samuel 163, 222, 227  
 Rockwell, Norman 8  
 Rodin, Auguste 8, 104  
 Roediger, Henry 196  
 Roos, Jane Mayo 41-42, 53, 67,  
   133, 217  
 Rosch, Eleanor 18, 39  
 Rosenberg, Galerie 95-96, 145, 217  
 Rosenberg, Jakob 196  
 Rosenberg, Paul 95, 106  
   *Einsatzstab Reichleiter Rosen-*  
     *berg*, Neuschwanstein 106  
 Rothkopf, Katherine 87  
 Rothschild, Miriam de 117  
 Rouart, Denis 66-67, 75-76, 78,  
   116, 217, 225, 232  
 Rouart, Henri 44, 54, 55, 57, 97,  
   99, 170, 199-200, 202-03, 209,  
   230, 242, 248, 259  
 Rouen, *see* Musée des Beaux-Arts  
 Rousseau, Théodore 94  
 Rubens, Peter Paul 8, 31-32  
 Rubin, James Henry 221, 224  
 Sainsaulieu, Marie-Caroline 53, 223  
 Saito, Ryoei 124, 133  
 Salon (*Salon de la Société Nationale*  
   *des Beaux-Arts*) 51, 53, 100,  
   123, 125, 128, 130  
*Salon des Refusés* 51, 54, 123, 133,  
   199  
 Saltzman, Cynthia 115-17, 133, 217  
 Salvi, Francesco 220  
 Salz, Sam 95-96, 23  
 São Paulo, *see* Museu de Arte 264  
 Sargent, John Singer 6, 67, 102,  
   106, 123, 217  
 Sassoon, Donald 218  
 Scaruffi, Piero 132  
 Schachter, Daniel 195

- Schapiro, Meyer 43-44, 46, 220, 224
- Schneider, Andrea Kupfer 8
- scholars  
and the Impressionist canon 157-67  
international versus national sampling of images 120-21
- Scholes, Robert 16
- Seamon, John 196
- Seashore, Carl 4
- Seattle Art Museum 115
- secondary sources x-xi, 42
- Seiberling, Grace 68, 153
- Serret, Georges 225
- Seurat, Georges  
and collectors 107  
and dealers 93-94  
and Impressionist exhibitions 55  
and Impressionist group 46, 60-61, 65, 86, 199  
and museums 71-73, 228-29  
*Le cirque* 66
- Shchoukin, Sergei 94, 104-5  
family of 116
- Shchoukin Collection 89, 105, 113-14, 150, 232, 237, 251, 254, 256, 263
- Shelburne Museum, Vermont 108
- Shepard, Roger 90
- Shikes, Ralph 116
- Shone, Richard 134
- Siegel, Sidney 40, 133
- Signac, Paul 46, 225
- Simon, Marie 224
- Simon, Norton, Foundation, Pasadena, California 75, 82-84, 229, 239, 264
- Singer, Isaac 106
- Sisley, Alfred  
and BHA 165-66  
canonical images 129, 131, 136-37, 149  
as a collector 57-58  
and collectors 88, 100, 102, 106-8, 112, 231-32  
and dealers 93-94, 96, 230  
genre distribution 139  
and Impressionist exhibitions 54-55, 141  
and Impressionist group 41, 54, 56, 60-61  
as a 'major' artist 44-49, 51, 199  
and museums 71-73, 228-29  
prototypicality of images 179-80  
public reception 58  
and the Salon 51, 53  
trends in image reproduction 43, 62-63, 174-75
- paintings  
*Canal du Loing* 267  
Church at Môret series 144, 259  
*Cour de ferme à Saint-Mammès* 186, 210, 266  
Floods at Port-Marly series 130, 143-44, 248, 262  
*L'Inondation à Port-Marly* 129, 143, 149, 234  
*Lisière de forêt au printemps* 266-67  
*La neige à Louveciennes* 244  
*Pont de Villeneuve-la-Garenne* 244  
*Les régates à Molesey* 174-75, 238, 266  
*A repos au bord du ruisseau* 267  
*Une rue à Louveciennes* 154, 265  
*Sainte-Mammès* 266  
*Seine à Sainte-Mammès* 267  
*La Seine à Suresnes* 265  
*Village de Voisins* 186, 210
- Sloane, Joseph C. 222
- Smith, Cyril 4
- Smith, David 39
- Smith, Edward E. 196
- Smith, Paul 224
- Snow, Charles Percy ix, 4
- Société anonyme* 53-54
- Société française de photographie* 112
- Sokal, Alan 216
- Solso, Robert 7
- Sotheby's 104, 133
- Squire, Larry 196
- Stalin, Josef 111
- statistics as rhetoric x
- Stevens, Alfred 67
- Stevens, Mary Anne 68

- Stevens, Stanley Smith 21  
 Strindberg, August 93  
 Stuart, Gilbert 8  
 Studies, empirical  
     Study 1: Recognition of the Canon 151-52  
     Study 2: Prototypicality judgments 179-80  
     Study 3: Recognition and preference by undergraduates 187-91  
     Study 4: Recognition and preference in an older group 191-92  
     Study 5: Preferences of children 192  
     Study 6: Mere exposure in culture and the classroom 194  
 subliminal perception 195-96  
 Symbolism 22, 42, 172  
 Szpunar, Karl 218  
  
 Tanguy, Julien ("Père") 92, 252  
 Tate Gallery, London 76, 89, 107, 205, 215  
 Taylor, Basil 43-44, 220, 222-23  
*Le Temps* (Paris) 68, 133  
 tennis tournament rankings 39  
 theory 200-202  
     of canon formation 209-15  
 Thiébault-Sisson 68, 133  
 Thompson, James 66  
 Thomson, William *see* Kelvin  
 Tillot, Charles 54, 55, 133  
 Tinterow, Gary 117, 217  
 Tintoretto, Jacopo 8  
 Titian 8  
     *Concert champêtre* 123  
     *Venus of Urbino* 123  
 Tooth Gallery, London 95-96, 230  
 Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri  
     and dealers 93  
     and Impressionist group 45, 47, 51, 60-61, 63-64, 86  
     and museums 71-72, 228-29  
     web sites about 32  
 Toulouse-Lautrec, Musée de, Albi 72  
 Tournai, *see* Musée des Beaux-Arts  
  
 Tréhaut, Lise 133  
 trophy art 89  
 Tschudi, Hugo von 88, 103, 110, 116, 150, 205, 231, 234, 237, 242, 246, 249, 251, 256, 264  
     Tschudi affair 103, 205  
 Turner, A. Richard 218  
 Turner, Joseph Mallord William 31, 46, 68, 172  
     *Rain, steam, speed: The Great Western Railway* 46  
 Tversky, Amos 38  
 Tylor, Edward 1-2  
 Tyson, Carroll S. Jr. 110  
 Tyson bequest to the Philadelphia Museum of Art 113, 150, 232, 235, 242, 263  
  
 Uffizi Gallery, Florence 70  
 Uhde, Wilhelm 44, 162, 220-22, 227  
  
 Vallaton, Félix 94  
 Varnedoe, Kirk 116, 170, 196, 217  
 Vasari, Giorgio 215  
 Vassy, G. 131  
 Velazquez, Diego 6  
 Venturi, Lionello 75-78, 115, 225  
 Vermeer, Johannes 6, 8, 32, 73, 87  
 Viau, Georges 103, 230, 245, 259  
 Victoria and Albert Museum, London 217  
 Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond 117, 212  
 Vollard, Ambrose 94-96, 103, 145-46, 230  
 Vuillard, Edouard 94  
 Vygotsky, Lev 4  
  
 Wadley, Nicholas 116, 225  
 Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford 70, 236  
 Wagram, Prince de  
     *see* Berthier, Alexandre  
 Waldersee, Paul 88  
 Walker, John 115, 118  
 Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Köln 236, 258, 264  
 Walters, William 108

- Walters Museum, Baltimore 108, 242
- Warhol, Andy 31-33
- Wattanmaker, Richard 117
- Wechsler, Herman J. 223
- Weinberg, Steven 216
- Weisberg, Gabriel 224
- Welton, Jude 220, 223
- Whistler, James 6, 45, 47, 58, 98
- White, Barbara 43, 220, 223-24
- White, Harrison 67, 90, 115, 133
- Whynant, Robert 133
- Wildenstein, Daniel 94, 225, 233
- Wildenstein, Galerie 43, 66, 95-96, 145, 159, 220, 223, 230
- Wildenstein, Georges 94
- Wildenstein, Guy 94
- Wildenstein, Nathan 94
- Wilenski, Reginald 163, 222, 227
- Wilhelm II, *see* Kaiser Wilhelm II
- Williams, Raymond 1
- Wilson, Michael 220, 223
- Winkielman, Piotr 196
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig 24
- Wittmer, Pierre 116-17, 166
- Wright, Willard Huntington 227
- Wöfflin, Heinrich 106
- Woodford, Susan 96
- World's Fair, *see* *Exposition Universelle*
- Wundt, Wilhelm 2
- Wyeth, Andrew 8
- Yale Art Museum 70
- Zajonc, Robert B. 195-97
- Zandomenighi, Federico 54, 55
- Zazlaw, Neal 88
- Zeno's paradox 28
- Zipf, George 27, 30, 49
- Zipf diagrams
- of bequests 146
  - of cities 29
  - of dealers 146
  - of English words 29
  - of fruit 29
  - of Impressionist painters 48
  - of Impressionist paintings 160
  - of museums 146
  - of painters 31
- Zipf's law 18, 27-33, 38, 49, 67, 145, 166, 200
- Zola, Alexandrine 128, 204, 234
- Zola, Émile 58, 68, 93, 98, 128, 161, 245





photo: Patrick Maynard

James E. Cutting is Professor of Psychology and a member of the Visual Studies Program at Cornell University, where he has taught since 1980. Before Cornell he taught at Wesleyan and Yale Universities, having gotten his PhD at Yale in 1973 and his BA at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1969. In addition to his academic work, in the 1970s he was a professional modern dancer, and at the University of North Carolina he was in a large number of theatrical productions. He also worked in industry at the one-time Atari Sunnyvale Research Laboratory. He is a Fellow of several divisions of the American Psychological Association, including the division of Psychology and the Arts; a Charter Fellow of the American Psychological Society; and a member of the College Art Association. He has two previous books and over a hundred scientific articles. He is editor of *Psychological Science* (2003-2007), has served as editor of the *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance* (1989-1993), and has been associate or consulting editor for many other journals. In 1993 he was awarded a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship. With it he studied the representation of depth and of space in the art of Paris and surrounding cities in Europe. His experience there sowed the seeds of what appears here, with an intervening decade of incubation.