



# Degas

A Strange  
New Beauty

**MoMA**



# Degas

## A Strange New Beauty

Jodi Hauptman

With essays by Carol Armstrong, Jonas Beyer, Kathryn Brown,  
Karl Buchberg and Laura Neufeld, Hollis Clayson, Jill DeVonyar,  
Samantha Friedman, Richard Kendall, Stephanie O'Rourke,  
Raisa Rexer, and Kimberly Schenck

The Museum of Modern Art, New York

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Published in conjunction with the exhibition *Edgar Degas: A Strange New Beauty*, at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, March 26–July 24, 2016, organized by Jodi Hauptman, Senior Curator, Department of Drawings and Prints, with Richard Kendall

Lead sponsor of the exhibition is The Philip and Janice Levin Foundation.

Major support is provided by the Robert Lehman Foundation and by Sue and Edgar Wachenheim III.

Generous funding is provided by Dian Woodner.

This exhibition is supported by an indemnity from the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities.

Additional support is provided by the MoMA Annual Exhibition Fund.

This publication is made possible by the Riva Castleman Fund for Publications in the Department of Drawings and Prints, established by The Derald H. Ruttenberg Foundation.

Produced by the Department of Publications, The Museum of Modern Art, New York

Christopher Hudson, Publisher  
Chul R. Kim, Associate Publisher  
David Frankel, Editorial Director  
Marc Sapir, Production Director

Edited by David Frankel  
Designed by Tsang Seymour  
Production by Matthew Pimm  
Printed and bound by Brizzolis, S. A., Madrid

Jonas Beyer’s essay was translated from the German by Russell Stockman.

This book is typeset in Monotype Ionic and Franklin Gothic. The paper is 120gsm Munken Polar Rough.

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2015960601  
ISBN: 978-1-63345-005-9

Published by The Museum of Modern Art  
11 West 53 Street  
New York, New York 10019  
www.moma.org

Distributed in the United States and Canada by ARTBOOK | D.A.P., New York  
155 Sixth Avenue, 2nd floor, New York, NY 10013  
www.artbook.com

Distributed outside the United States and Canada by Thames & Hudson Ltd  
181A High Holborn, London WC1V 7QX  
www.thamesandhudson.com

Cover: Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. *Factory Smoke (Fumées d’usines)*. 1877–79. Monotype on paper, plate: 4 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (11.9 × 16.1 cm), sheet: 5 <sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6 <sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (14.7 × 17.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund. See plate 47

Frontispiece: Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. *Dancers Coming from the Dressing Rooms onto the Stage (Et ces demoiselles frétil-laient gentiment devant la glace du foyer)*. c. 1876–77. Proposed illustration for *The Cardinal Family (La Famille Cardinal)*. Pastel over monotype on paper, plate: 8 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (21.2 × 15.8 cm). Schorr Collection. See plate 78

Endpapers: Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. *Green Landscape (Paysage vert; detail)*. 1890. Monotype in oil on paper, plate: 11 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 15 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (29.9 × 39.7 cm), sheet: 12 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 15 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (31.4 × 40.4 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Louise Reinhardt Smith Bequest. See plate 127

Printed in Spain

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# Introduction

Jodi Hauptman

In a letter of July 1876, the etcher Marcellin Desboutin described Edgar Degas's new mania for monotype. Degas, Desboutin wrote in scandalized incredulity, "is no longer a friend, a man, an artist! He's a zinc or copper plate blackened with printer's ink, and plate and man are flattened together by his printing press whose mechanism has swallowed him completely! The man's crazes are out of this world. He now is in the metallurgic phase of reproducing his drawings with a roller and is running all over Paris, in the heat wave—trying to find the legion of specialists who will realize his obsession. He is a real poem! He talks only of metallurgists, lead casters, lithographers, planishers!"<sup>1</sup>

The lines are richly evocative, offering a sense of how Degas looked—black ink to his elbows, staining his suit, dripping onto his shoes—as well as of how he acted: dashing in the summer sun to all manner of print specialists, from publishers to scientists to suppliers, to gather advice. For Desboutin, in immersing himself in monotype, Degas had vacated his humanness, his agency, his very self, in favor of materials, implements, processes.

The poet Paul Valéry addressed Degas's absorption in his materials in an extraordinary essay published in 1936. For his title Valéry found a clever alliteration—"Degas danse dessin" (Degas dance drawing)—to suggest an equivalence between the artist, his drawing, and one of his most renowned subjects, the ballet.<sup>2</sup> Valéry's sense of Degas's working methods—his

"labor"—is of someone contaminated by his materials: surrounded by "bottles, flasks, pencils, bits of pastel chalk, etching needles, and all the nameless odds and ends that may come in handy one day," Degas exhibits an "untidy intimacy with his tools." By invoking in the same breath Degas's singularity, his "working in his own room" and "following his own homemade empirical methods," with "his eyes intent on what is in his mind, blind to his surroundings," Valéry defines this intimacy as something studio-based, intensely private, deeply personal, and vaguely illicit. But it is also inventive, allowing Degas to make productive use of whatever "comes to hand": "broken pots, kitchenware, any old castoffs."<sup>3</sup> This physical contiguity of hand to materials and tools—and, by implication, the *extension* of the hand by the implements of making—make possible a profound knowledge of their potential. Having this deep understanding of his materials, Degas was able to submit to their possibilities, but he was also their master, transgressing their limits and using his preferred mediums and methods in unorthodox ways. It is this combination of submission and transgression that constitutes his "untidy intimacy," this relationship between creator and what he uses to create that fuels his production. Nowhere is this intimacy more apparent or more important than in his monotypes.

Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. *Ironing Women (Les Repasseuses)*. c. 1877–79. Detail of plate 55

Best known as a painter and sculptor, Degas was also an inventive printmaker, mixing techniques with abandon and sharing recipes with other artists for unconventional effects.<sup>4</sup> Probing the possibilities of printmaking without the benefit of either academic training or an apprenticeship in the craft, he experimented with a range of processes that included etching, drypoint, aquatint, and lithography. More than all of these, however, it was monotype that captured his restless imagination.<sup>5</sup>

To create a monotype, the artist draws in ink on a metal plate, which is then sandwiched with a damp sheet of paper and run through a press.<sup>6</sup> The method typically produces a single impression, which reverses the composition from what the artist has rendered on the plate. Where most printmaking processes fix the image on the matrix—carving it into wood or metal, or chemically bonding it to a lithographic stone—monotype remains unfixed and manipulable up until the very instant of printing. Its promise of spontaneity and malleability, its reliance on tone and tactility, its productive inversions, its refusal of precision—these qualities captivated Degas. Having been introduced to the process in the mid-1870s by his artist friend Ludovic-Napoléon Lepic, he immersed himself in it with enormous enthusiasm, making over 300 works during two discrete bursts of activity. The first lasted from the mid-1870s to the mid-1880s, a near-decade in which he worked with black printers' ink and composed contemporary urban subjects; the second was a shorter campaign in the early 1890s, when he used pigmented oil paint to depict real and imaginary landscapes in images that verge on abstraction.

The monotype expanded Degas's capacity for representing a diversity of subject matter: ballerinas in motion, the radiance of electric light, meteorological effects in nature. The malleable ink also allowed him to twist and contort bodies into unusual and even impossible poses, to venture into caricature, and to create dramatic relationships between dark and light. The ability to move pigment freely on the slick plate right up to the last minute encouraged him to abandon the precise rendering of his youth, when he had worked under the influence of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, and led him to invent wholly new modes of drawing.

The monotype process had been known since the

seventeenth century and was of renewed interest during Degas's time, when etching underwent a revival. In response to new technologies of reproduction such as photography, artist etchers sought to distinguish their work from rapidly proliferating, industrially made, mass-produced images by emphasizing the singularity of their expression and craft; by deploying handwork, especially variable inking, on the plate; by printing on different papers to create unique impressions; and by producing their work in small editions.<sup>7</sup> The prints of Rembrandt, with their wide-ranging variations, served as an important model for these artists, who formed groups, opened galleries, and published journals to share their ideas.<sup>8</sup> The etching revival's spontaneous-feeling and gestural hand-inking opened up the possibility of manipulating ink on the plate—the essence of the monotype—as a separate process from the etching of the image. And Degas took this possibility to new and radical ends.<sup>9</sup>

To the writer Arsène Alexandre, writing not long after the artist's death, "his monotypes represent the area of his work in which he was most free, most alive, and most reckless . . . not hampered by any rule."<sup>10</sup> Indeed, it is in the monotypes that Degas is at his most modern—capturing the spirit of urban life, depicting the body in new and daring ways, debating the singular and the copy, liberating mark-making from tradition, and boldly engaging the possibilities of abstraction.

It is significant that when Degas was called on to describe these works he used a phrase, "drawings made with greasy ink and put through a press," that emphasizes process and materials.<sup>11</sup> The print is something made; that making demands a course of action, with one step taken after another; the medium is a greasy kind of ink—in fact a printers' ink, though Degas does not acknowledge it as such; and the root of the print is in drawing. Since that pursuit is tied to the properties of the hand, Degas's phrase emphasizes the "mono-" or unique quality of the monotype while obscuring any reference to the multiple "-type" of mechanical reproduction. In all of his printed work, including his later foray into photography, he was less interested in the medium's reproductive potential than in the ways it could be made to produce variations.<sup>12</sup> Process defining product—or, really, process as product: that principle pervades Degas's career-long approach and interests

(note, for example, his description of drawing as "not the same as form [but] a way of seeing form").<sup>13</sup> It is especially evident in his monotypes, where each work is an index of the act of making: the implements deployed, the gestures of the hand, the force of the press. "Nothing could be more modern," Valéry writes, than "taking for an end what can only be a means."<sup>14</sup>

Degas used his brush and ink in traditional ways on the printing-press plate, but he also experimented with a range of strategies to develop a new vocabulary of mark-making. Laying a curtain of ink down on the plate, for example, he would draw by removal, conjuring an image out of darkness by wiping the ink away with a rag, a card, or his own hand. Wiping is a step in etching, a way to remove the pigment from the surface of the plate once the ink has been pushed into the crevices carved into it; Degas applied this technique to a new kind of gestural rendering. He also broadened his tool kit, using brushes with dry, hardened bristles instead of soft ones to create striated patterns, a hard-pointed implement—probably the brush's wooden handle—to incise into the ink, sponges or cloths to dab or smoothly move the ink around, his hands to sculpt his subjects, his thumb and palm prints to impress texture, and his fingernails for contour.<sup>15</sup> Wiping, dabbing, fingerprinting, scratching, and incising, deployed in combinations of the additive and the subtractive, are the principal terms of his vocabulary. In addition, the impact of the press's rollers on the plate and the paper, and the transfer of pigment from one to the other, produce a flat surface that looks quite different from the dimensionality of ink or paint applied directly to the page.

A painting or drawing is an accumulation of marks made over time, a process that the viewer may be able to decipher or that the artist may emphasize. The layering of the image visualizes temporality as unfolding, in process, almost geological. A monotype, though, is printed at a particular moment in the development of the image on the plate.<sup>16</sup> The artist must work relatively quickly, before the medium dries, and can make wholesale changes right up until the plate goes through the press; as an index of that final instant, the resulting impression is a kind of arrest, a way of freezing the gestures of making in time.<sup>17</sup> It is interesting in this context to recall Degas's later interest in photography, and also his strategies, throughout his different kinds

of image-making, to capture the instant: the crops where characters in his urban dramas move in and out of the picture's boundaries, the juxtapositions in which the inherent movement of ballet contrasts with the split-second pose of a dancer en pointe, or, in a kind of proto-futurism, the smudges and smears that indicate motion.<sup>18</sup> Because Degas "enshrin[es] his impression" of a subject "in prolonged study," Valéry explains, "the instantaneous [is] given enduring quality by the patience of intense meditation."<sup>19</sup>

Degas, then, "is visibly aligned and even identified" with the building blocks of his art, as Ewa Lajer-Burcharth says of Jean-Antoine Watteau.<sup>20</sup> Such identification, Lajer-Burcharth observes, undoes the sense of the hand as a direct sign of authorship and of the individual authority of the maker, offering it instead as "an instrument of the medium. . . . This submission to or identification with the medium [demonstrates a] capacity not only to mobilize but also to think *through* the materials."<sup>21</sup> For Valéry, materials and tools affect comprehension and vision. He pointed out, "There is a tremendous difference between seeing a thing without a pencil in your hand and seeing it while *drawing* it."<sup>22</sup>

The relinquishment of self to materials also exposed Degas to chance.<sup>23</sup> Whether using printers' inks or oil paints, he balanced control against accident. This kind of acceptance of happenstance is an inherent part of the transfer process of printmaking, in which there is always an element of surprise in what comes out of the press—an absolute predetermination of the final result is impossible. And just as Degas balanced control against accident, he also balanced a keen understanding of the properties of his tools and materials against a constant push beyond their supposed limits, demanding that they do things "that they were not designed to do."<sup>24</sup> Those limits were provocations or dares, calls to arms. "Degas," Valéry wrote admiringly, "rejected *facility*, . . . create[d] difficulties," and would always "shrink away from any shortcut."<sup>25</sup> Where for some artists "obstacles are the ambiguous signs that prompt despair, . . . they only convince [Degas] that there is something beyond," something "worth understanding." It was by feeling through the "recalcitrance and rebelliousness of the medium," Valéry insisted, that Degas would find "the very mystery and essence of our art."<sup>26</sup>

The obstacles Valéry refers to here concern Degas's

poetry—around 1888–89, he tackled the sonnet—but in his visual art, too, we often see him undoing the basic character of his materials and tools, from mixing pastels with water, or steaming them to turn their chalky, friable substance into a thickened wet paste, to leeching the oil out of oil paint to create a dry, pastel-like medium.<sup>27</sup> Degas’s notebooks and letters are full of recipes for and advice about mixing materials—think of his “*pastel-savon*” (“pastel soap”), for example, or of his replacement of turpentine with lavender oil—and of speculations on the potential of unorthodox implements, such as the use of a light filament as an etching tool.<sup>28</sup> His eccentric approach to materials extended beyond mixing concoctions in his studio (which at times was more like a laboratory, as Theodore Reff has noted)<sup>29</sup> to physical engagement. According to Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Degas once laid a drawing on the floor, covered it with a board, and stamped on it “to grind the pastel into the support.”<sup>30</sup> He also often expanded his compositions by adding strips of paper to them, surpassing the limits of the sheet. These lateral expansions were echoed by his vertical layering of pastel, which he applied in encrustations or sediments, exceeding the flatness of the support. Valéry claims that Degas lived by Emile Zola’s definition of art (a version of a phrase of the philosopher Francis Bacon’s): “*homo additus naturae*,” a motto that has been translated as “nature seen through a temperament” and might also be understood as “nature provides the material and man has to do something with it.”<sup>31</sup> As much as Degas resisted the idea of relying on a particular way of working—“Fortunately for me, I have not found my method, that would only bore me”<sup>32</sup>—this doing something to materials, an “experimental approach to media and techniques,” became, Jeffrey Weiss argues, a method in itself.<sup>33</sup>

Degas’s most significant challenge to the monotype was aimed at its singularity. Instead of accepting its production of unique works, he used it to make variations: after printing an impression, he would often put the plate through the press a second time, pulling another print. Because much of the ink would have been transferred to the first sheet during the plate’s initial run through the press, the second impression, called a “cognate,” would be a much lighter version of the first print, an image both the same as and different from it. Degas often then applied a layer of pastel (sometimes

with gouache) on top of this lighter image, using it as a tonal map of the original composition to create a new work that was both a repetition and a transformation of it—“as if,” Stephanie O’Rourke writes, “one needed to break the image *down* in order to produce the linear refinements, shaded contours, and formal clarity that characterize his pastel cognates.”<sup>34</sup> The ambiguities of the monotypes in black ink—the enigmatic and mutable forms emerging out of shadow, the contrasts of luminosity and darkness—are often resolved by pastel, made readable and evenly lit.

There are many of these cognate pairs, a black monotype and its pastelized double (e.g., plates 100, 101). Sometimes, though, Degas went even farther, creating still more variant images. To make the first impression of *Woman Reading (Liseuse)*, c. 1880–85; plate 106), for example, Degas slid a rag and brush across and through the greasy ink on the plate, rendering the figure and the interior by removing the pigment. He bent, twisted, and flattened her torso and limbs and curved the edges of the tub and chaise into illuminated and undulating paths, creating a body and a space as malleable as the monotype medium itself. Then, having made a print from this plate and while that print was still wet, he made a counterproof by sandwiching the damp paper against a second sheet and running the two through the press together, creating a mirror reflection of the first print (plate 107). Since the first impression reversed the image Degas had drawn on the plate—an inescapable effect of the printing process—the counterproof returned to the same orientation as this original drawing. On the back of the counterproof, Degas printed a second impression from the ink left on the plate, a lighter version of the first (plate 108). Finally, he pulled from the plate a third time and used that print to make a work in pastel.<sup>35</sup> From a process that typically yielded one impression, Degas extracted four linked but different works. And in a brainteaser of relationships, the figure’s shape shifts back and forth, reversing and reversing back. Degas was interested in mining the countless possibilities of a single image, including the many ways a body can be twisted and contorted through repetition and reversal.

This drive to generate many variants from one may have emerged from Degas’s understanding that a transfer process always involves related but different images:

the initial drawing—whether in etched lines, cut wood, or any of the other methods of printing—is both the same as and different from the result. In composition, the print is reversed; in feel, it bears the reticulations particular to the pressured encounter between pigment and plate. Thus the monotype displays in a double the roots of extended iteration. Degas took this duality inherent in the monotype process to new realms of multiplicity. In this context it is useful to be reminded of his instructions to younger artists: “make a drawing, begin it again, trace it, begin it again, and retrace it.”<sup>36</sup>

Degas’s conviction that something singular can spark multiple variations, that an image can always be reworked, revised, and recrafted, is rooted in the logic of the monotype and pervades his particularly relentless approach to the study of form: an unceasing pursuit and modification of key motifs across mediums.<sup>37</sup> For Valéry, that ruthless rigor found an analogy in the author’s own occupation: “He is like a writer striving to attain the utmost precision of form, drafting and redrafting, canceling, advancing by endless recapitulation, never admitting that his work has reached its *final* stage.”<sup>38</sup> The essential qualities of monotype—repetition and transformation, mirroring and reversal—and his methods of harnessing them, particularly by creating cognate pairs, triples, and quads, reappear in his subsequent work through different means. Techniques like tracing, counterproofing, and copying allowed him to continue to play with difference and similarity in painting and drawing.<sup>39</sup> Degas traced, inverted, and recombined figures in multiple arrangements, layering pastel or charcoal on paper, or oil paint on canvas, to further transform his subjects. The results are chains of images—of ballerinas and bathers, alone or in ensembles—each both the same as and different from others in the group, proving that Degas saw iteration as an end in itself rather than a step toward something final or finished. “For Degas,” Valéry tells us, “a painting was the result of a limitless number of sketches—and of a *whole series of operations*.”<sup>40</sup> In this way Degas’s efforts in monotype sparked the emergence of a new, acutely modern conception of the artwork as unfixed, self-referential, and recursive, accumulated and dispersed across diverse mediums and materials.

In *Degas danse dessin* Valéry emphasizes the “operative”—the strategies Degas adopted, the mediums he

harnessed—and showcases his process. He highlights the artist’s “tactical images and solutions,” his “method of practical speculation,” while discouraging readers from seeing “things merely by their names.”<sup>41</sup> But as much as Degas’s work, and his monotypes in particular, foreground material invention and experimentation, these strategies are in the service of representation. In fact Degas continually wedded strategy to subject, demonstrating that new topics demand new means. His monotype’s loose brushwork turned out to be a perfect vehicle for capturing both ballerinas in motion and the bustle of city life—and that relaxed linearity was well-suited for his foray into caricature, including suggesting the financial exchange at the heart of prostitution. Degas’s method of incising into the greasy pigment offered a way to render the artificial lighting that was not only illuminating Paris in new and exciting ways but changing vision itself.<sup>42</sup> Liquid ink could mimic both the new factories’ wafting smoke and the complicated ornament of the period’s fashion. Transparent washes of oil paint alluded to the natural world while undermining any sense of the earth as solid and stable. And the ink’s pliant viscosity stimulated Degas to twist and contort female bathers into seemingly impossible poses, demonstrating the malleability of flesh.

Degas made his most daring application of the monotype medium in depicting these female subjects. The private acts of bathing and grooming became an opportunity to portray bodies in unusual and awkward positions—bones and muscles stretched, heads and limbs obscured—and to dramatically illuminate their environs.<sup>43</sup> Refusing an idealized image, Degas’s renderings are pliable and tactile, rough and unresolved. More formless than formed, their ambiguous contours undo distinctions between body and environment as the figure melts into water, is wrapped in firelight, or is absorbed into wallpaper or upholstery. Degas’s process is pointedly allied to the activities of his subjects. Wiping, for example, is both subject and technique, what the woman in the image is doing (*s’essuyer*) and how Degas renders her by manipulating the ink on the plate (*essuyer*). Valéry’s phrase “untidy intimacy” again seems appropriate here: coined in reference to Degas’s physical proximity to and familiarity with his tools and materials, it also captures this close alliance of process and subject (and even the way one contaminates the

other), describes the imbrication of Degas’s figures in cramped and object-filled private and personal spaces, and insinuates the way he sculpted these bodies with his own fingerprints, making the monotype function as an index of his touch. In the wake of these works in monotype and with lessons learned, Degas created similarly liberated, improvisational, and tactile effects in pastel and oil, rendering bodies, fabrics, and wallpaper with his fingers.

“His hands,” Valéry writes, were always “groping for form.”<sup>44</sup> The monotypes reveal both the importance of the hands’ labor—their touch—to his inexorable probing and the endlessness of his quest.<sup>45</sup> Degas’s touch reflected his deep understanding of the properties of ink and oil paint, his responsiveness to them as he worked on the metal plate, and his alertness to the press’s pressure, while his embrace and extension of the medium’s generative logic resulted in a new kind of artwork that was less about completion than about boundless iteration. Whether visual or tactile, Degas’s investigations represent his experimental spirit. In 1876, when he was on the cusp of immersing himself in monotype, his friend Stéphane Mallarmé articulated his restlessness, noting that although the artist was already a “master of drawing,” he nonetheless still sought “delicate lines and movements exquisite or grotesque.”<sup>46</sup> The result of this search—of this groping, this immersion, this variation, this submission to and transgression of materials and method—is, Mallarmé tells us, “a strange new beauty.”<sup>47</sup>

This exhibition and publication rely on the vast scholarship on Edgar Degas, beginning with contemporary commentators, through those who began to give the work shape after the artist’s death, to a number of remarkable assessments closer to our own time. The latter include the magisterial *Degas* (1988), the catalogue of an exhibition seen in Paris at the Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, in Ottawa at the National Gallery of Canada, and in New York at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, by Jean Sutherland Boggs, the General Editor, with the collaboration of Henri Loyrette, Michael Pantazzi, Gary Tinterow, and Douglas W. Druick, as well as Theodore Reff’s important *Degas: The Artist’s Mind* (1976). I have benefited from the work of too many extraordinary individuals to name them here; many appear in this book’s Bibliography, which details publications on the monotypes, and in its Acknowledgments, which thanks many friends of this project who shared expertise and advice. Above all, however, any voyage into the world of Degas’s monotypes is guided by the extraordinary scholarship of Eugenia Parry Janis, who took on the subject of the monotypes at Harvard in the 1960s and produced a catalogue raisonné of them (the book was also a catalogue of her exhibition of 1968) that remains indispensable today. Her documentation is an essential part of the field and her thinking remains foundational.

1. Marcellin Desboutin, letter to Giuseppe de Nittis, Dijon, July 17, 1876, in Mary Pittaluga, *De Nittis* (Milan: Bramante, 1963), p. 359, Eng. trans. in

- Sue Welsh Reed and Barbara Stern Shapiro, *Edgar Degas: The Painter as Printmaker*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1984), p. xxix.
- Paul Valéry, *Degas danse dessin* (Paris: Ambroise Vollard, 1936), Eng. trans. as “Degas Dance Drawing” in Valéry, *Degas Manet Morisot*, vol. 12 of *Collected Works of Paul Valéry*, Bollingen Series XLV, trans. David Paul (Princeton: Bollingen Foundation and Princeton University Press, 1960, repr. in paperback 1989), pp. 1–102.
  - Ibid., p. 19.
  - Theodore Reff makes a compelling case for Degas’s expansive experimentation in *Degas: The Artist’s Mind* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Harper and Row, 1976). See especially chapter VII, “The Artist as Technician,” pp. 270–303; Reff describes Degas’s “recipes and projects scattered through his notebooks” on pp. 273–74. My sense of Degas’s inventiveness is rooted in Reff’s pioneering scholarship as well as in Richard Kendall’s crucial book *Degas: Beyond Impressionism* (London: National Gallery Publications Limited, 1996).
  - The indispensable source on Degas’s printmaking outside of monotype is Reed and Shapiro, *The Painter as Printmaker*. On his printmaking in the context of the work of his artist colleagues see Michel Melot, *The Impressionist Print*, trans. Caroline Beamish (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996). On his work in monotype see Janis, *Degas Monotypes: Essay, Catalogue & Checklist* (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1968) and Kendall’s essay in the present volume. See also Kendall’s compelling essay “The Impromptu Print: Degas’ Monotypes and Their Technical Significance” in Mikael Wivel, *Degas Intime* (Copenhagen: Ordrupgaard, 1994), n.p.
  - Here and throughout this essay my understanding of the monotype process is based on an ongoing dialogue with Karl Buchberg and Laura Neufeld, Senior Conservator and Assistant Conservator at MoMA and my partners in this project. See their essay in this volume. Sarah Suzuki, Associate Curator in the Museum’s Department of Drawings and Prints, articulated for me the mutability of the monotype and its relationship to other forms of printmaking.
  - On the etching revival see Melot, *The Impressionist Print*.
  - See Melot’s discussion, for example, of the formation of the Society of Etchers (Société des Aquafortistes), in *ibid.*, chapter 11, pp. 49–51. Members of the group included Félix Bracquemond, Alfred Cadart, Auguste Delâtre, Maxime Lalanne, Edouard Manet, and Théodule Ribot.
  - On Degas and the etching revival see Reed and Shapiro, *The Painter as Printmaker*, especially part II. On the long history of the monotype see Shapiro, *The Painterly Print: Monotypes from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980).
  - Arsène Alexandre, “Degas: Graveur et Lithographe,” *Les Arts* XV, no. 171 (1918):18–19. Trans. Stephanie O’Rourke.
  - Degas used this phrase in the catalogue of the Impressionist exhibition of 1877, the first occasion on which he exhibited monotypes. See page 6 of that catalogue, which is reproduced in Charles Moffett, *The New Painting: Impressionism 1874–1886*, exh. cat. (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986), p. 204. See also Richard R. Brettell, “The ‘First’ Exhibition of Impressionist Painters,” in *ibid.*, p. 199, and Ruth Berson, *The New Painting: Impressionism 1874–1886*, vol. 1: *Documentation*, and vol. 2: *Exhibited Works* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1996), p. 118.
  - On Degas’s photography see Malcolm Daniel, *Edgar Degas, Photographer*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998); Douglas Crimp, “Positive/Negative: A Note on Degas’s Photographs,” *October* 5 (Summer 1978):89–100; and Elizabeth C. Childs, “Habits of the Eye: Degas, Photography, and Modes of Vision,” in Dorothy Kosinski, *The Artist and the Camera: Degas to Picasso*, exh. cat. (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1999), pp. 73–87.
  - Degas, quoted in Valéry, “Degas Dance Drawing,” p. 82.
  - Ibid., p. 20.
  - See Buchberg and Neufeld’s essay in the present volume.
  - My thanks to Jill Moser for explicating this aspect of the monotype’s temporality.

- Degas would have had more time to work on his monotypes in oil, which stays wet longer than ink. See Buchberg and Neufeld’s essay in the present volume.
- See Jill DeVonyar and Kendall, *Degas and the Ballet: Picturing Movement* (London: The Royal Academy, 2011), and Kirk Varndoe, “The Artifice of Candor: Impressionism and Photography Reconsidered,” *Art in America* 68, no. 1 (January 1980):66–78, and “The Ideology of Time: Degas and Photography,” *Art in America* 68, no. 6 (Summer 1980):96–110.
- Valéry, “Degas Dance Drawing,” p. 55. Valéry also explains that both arrest and flux are central to the dance: “In ballets there are moments of immobility when the grouping of the whole ensemble offers a picture, stilled but not permanent, a complex of human bodies suddenly arrested in their postures, giving a singular emphasis to the impression of flux.” p. 16.
- Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, “Drawing Time,” *October* 151 (Winter 2015):20. Lajer-Burcharth makes a case for “an authorial performance of a particular kind” in the drawings of Jean-Antoine Watteau, in which the artist “is visibly aligned and even identified with the draftsman’s tools and materials.”
- Ibid.
- Valéry, “Degas Dance Drawing,” p. 36.
- Again in relation to Watteau, Lajer-Burcharth notes the way that “submission to or identification with the medium . . . is symptomatic of a specific way of thinking that opens itself to chance.” Lajer-Burcharth, “Drawing Time,” p. 20.
- Stephanie O’Rourke, “Images, Unmade: Degas and the Monotype,” paper presented at the College Art Association annual conference, New York, February 15, 2015.
- Valéry, “Degas Dance Drawing,” p. 6. Valéry goes on, “He wanted nothing but what he considered the most difficult thing to require of himself.”
- Ibid., p. 63.
- See Anne Maheux, “Looking into Degas’s Pastel Technique,” in Boggs and Maheux, *Degas Pastels* (New York: George Braziller, 1992), pp. 19–38. While some of these strategies were known, Degas pushed them farther or deployed them less for a particular pictorial goal than to see what would happen.
- See *ibid.*, pp. 19–38, and Reff, *The Artist’s Mind*, especially chapter VII. For the “carbon filament from an electric light bulb” see Reff, p. 292. See also Denis Rouart, *Degas: In Search of His Technique*, trans. Pia C. DeSantis, Sarah L. Fisher, and Shelley Fletcher (New York: Rizzoli, 1988).
- Reff writes “While Desboutin, [Camille] Pissarro, and most of their Impressionist colleagues were working with conventional techniques, Degas was converting his studio into a kind of attic laboratory.” Reff, *The Artist’s Mind*, p. 271.
- See Maheux, “Looking into Degas’s Pastel Technique,” p. 31. Maheux cites Jeanne Baudot, *Renoir. Ses amis, ses modèles* (Paris: Editions littéraires de France, 1949), p. 102.
- See Valéry, “Degas Dance Drawing,” p. 83.
- Degas, quoted in Reff, *The Artist’s Mind*, p. 270. The original is in A. Vollard, *Degas (1834–1917)* (Paris: Les Editions G. Crès, 1924), p. 80.
- Jeffrey Weiss, “State of the Art,” *Artforum* 48, no. 7 (March 2010):210.
- O’Rourke, “Images, Unmade.”
- Buchberg and Neufeld have considered the possibility that the third pull covered with pastel could have resulted from an accidental offset. When Degas ran the sheet through the press, which already had the counterproof on one side, he would have needed a piece of paper to protect the felts on the press from getting stained with the wet ink. The image could have offset onto that paper, producing yet another impression—something productive emerging from the practical. It should also be noted that we cannot know which imprint was made first on the two-sided sheet, the counterproof made from the first pull or the second pull from the plate.
- Degas, quoted in Kendall, *Beyond Impressionism*, p. 81. See also Jacques-Emile Blanche, *Propos de peintre. De David à Degas* (Paris: Emile-Paul frères, 1919), p. 295, and Paul Lafond, *Degas*, 2 vols. (Paris: H. Floury, 1919), 1:20. This phrase bears a striking relationship to Jasper Johns’s widely quoted “Take

- an object. Do something with it. Do something else with it.” Quoted from Book A, p. 42, c. 1963–64, in Kirk Varndoe, ed., *Jasper Johns: Writings, Sketchbooks, Notes, Interviews* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2002), p. 54. Degas also advised Paul-Albert Bartholomé, “It is essential to do the same subject over again, ten times, a hundred times.” Quoted in Kendall, *Beyond Impressionism*, p. 81. See Kendall’s discussion of Degas’s tracing in *ibid.*, pp. 77–87. Richard Thomson writes that “by 1879–80 the procedure of making a cluster of drawings which were variants on a particular pose became habitual in Degas’s studio practice. Such repetition seems restrictive, but it was, in fact, one element in a series of experimental initiatives designed to challenge both his skills as a draftsman and the accepted norms of drawing, to keep draftsmanship challenging, up to the mark, modern.” See Thomson, *Waiting*, Getty Museum Studies on Art (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1995), p. 6.
- See O’Rourke’s essay in the present volume for the dialogue in Degas’s work between repetition in traditional drawing practice and the monotype.
  - Valéry continues, “From sheet to sheet, copy to copy, he continually revises his drawing, deepening, tightening, closing it up.” “Degas Dance Drawing,” p. 39.
  - This interest in mining, repeating, transforming, and extending motifs can be seen in the work of Paul Gauguin, another artist whose engagement with printmaking fueled his experimentation. This was the focus of Starr Figura’s extraordinary exhibition *Gauguin: Metamorphoses*, at The Museum of Modern Art in 2014, and of its catalogue (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2014), especially her essay “Gauguin’s Metamorphoses: Repetition, Transformation, and the Catalyst of Printmaking,” pp. 14–35. Figura quotes Gauguin sounding uncannily like Degas on the generative possibilities of a single drawing: “He traces a drawing, then he traces this tracing, and so on till the moment when, like the ostrich, with his head in the sand, he decides that it does not resemble the original any longer. Then!! He signs.” P. 18.
  - Valéry, “Degas Dance Drawing,” p. 50. The italicized phrase also appears on p. 6.
  - Ibid., pp. 64, 66, 101.
  - See Hollis Clayson’s essay in the present volume.
  - See Carol Armstrong’s essay in the present volume, and her *Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas* (Chicago: at the University Press, 1991), esp. chapter 4, pp. 157–209. For other takes on Degas’s brothel and bather monotypes see Clayson, “In the Brothel,” *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), chapter 2, pp. 27–55, and Anthea Callen, *The Spectacular Body: Science, Method, and Meaning in the Work of Degas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), esp. her chapter “The Invisible Man: Voyeurism and the Narratives of Sexual Conquest,” pp. 71–110.
  - Valéry, “Degas Dance Drawing”, p. 99.
  - In a wonderful essay on the monotypes, Peter Parshall points out Degas’s “immediate engagement with the physical qualities of the materials he was using,” revealing the links between touch in these prints and in his sculpture. In his wax sculpture—where the pliable wax was squeezed and shaped, the artist’s fingerprints being left visible from this pressing, forming, and building up of small pieces to create cascading layers—we see a parallel tacticity to the monotypes: the hand’s role as an instrument of the medium. See Parshall, “Degas and the Closeted Image,” in Pedersen, *Degas’ Method*, pp. 153–72. See also Parshall’s publication *The Darker Side of Light: Arts of Privacy, 1850–1900* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art in association with Lund Humphries, 2009). Armstrong explicates the role of touch in “Degas in the Studio: Embodying Medium, Materializing the Body,” in Martin Schwander and Fondation Beyeler, *Degas: The Late Work*, exh. cat. (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2012), pp. 23–33. On Degas’s wax sculpture, see Suzanne Glover Lindsay, Daphne S. Barbour, and Shelley G. Sturman, *Edgar Degas Sculpture* (Princeton: at the University Press, 2010).
  - Stéphane Mallarmé, “The Impressionists and Edouard Manet,” *Art Monthly Review and Photographic Portfolio* (London) 1 (1876):121.
  - Ibid.

# An Anarchist in Art: Degas and the Monotype

Richard Kendall

One of the more unexpected remarks made about Edgar Degas and his art appears in a letter written by Camille Pissarro to his son Lucien in 1891. Pissarro had long struggled with art dealers reluctant to show his work, attributing this to his well-known engagement with anarchism. Noting that Degas greatly admired his pictures, he then added, “He who is such an anarchist! In art, of course, and without knowing it!”<sup>1</sup> Surprising though it is, Pissarro’s observation deserves to be taken seriously for several reasons. The two men had known each other since the 1860s and in the following decades had been among the most prominent organizers of the historic series of Impressionist exhibitions, as well as the most loyal participants in these events. More significant still in the present context is the fact that during these same years Pissarro had established a close relationship with Degas the printmaker, sometimes working alongside him on radical new techniques.

The notion of Degas as an anarchist of any kind is tantalizing but problematic. The son of a banker, he grew up in Paris in bourgeois surroundings and enjoyed a leisurely youth and an extended education. In late adolescence he began drawing from approved works of art, among them an engraving based on a Raphael fresco that he copied in a small sketchbook (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> After a period at the renowned Ecole des Beaux-Arts, he left for Italy to study pictures by Renaissance and earlier masters, staying there for

several years before finally settling in the French capital. Works on paper made at this time, such as *Female Nude Crouching* (c. 1860–62; fig. 2), show his continuing respect for the past and an aptitude for disciplined and refined draftsmanship in the traditional mode. During the Impressionist phase he was often recognized for such skills while experiencing strong criticism for his scenes of scantily clad ballerinas and dissolute drinkers. When speaking about his own work, the mature Degas continued to stress its historical roots, often citing the aphorisms of the classicist Jean-Dominique Ingres, whom he had met in the latter’s old age: “Draw lots of lines, either from memory or from nature,” Ingres advised the aspiring painter, and famously proclaimed elsewhere that “drawing is the probity of art.”<sup>3</sup> As Degas emerged among the leading Impressionists he continued to make drawn studies for most of his pastels and paintings. Known for his hard work and professionalism, he was described by one acquaintance as “labor incarnate” and remembered by another for his insistence that art resulted from “a series of operations.”<sup>4</sup> Personally, he clung to social formality throughout his career; portraits of the artist in public invariably show him wearing a suit and hat (fig. 3). In later life Degas became more and more reclusive, while his fame spread

Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. *The Ochre Hill (Effet de montagne)*. 1890. Detail of plate 135







1. Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. Sketchbook 14 (*Carnet 14*), p. 1. 1853. Pencil on paper, 4  $\frac{7}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (11.2 × 15.5 cm). Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

through Europe and to the United States. During these same years his right-leaning politics were increasingly evident and he ultimately parted company with liberal friends, including Pissarro, during the Dreyfus Affair.

Degas's association with prints began early and was revisited intermittently over the years, a pattern followed by some of his colleagues in Impressionist circles. It is often overlooked that all but one of the eight group exhibitions that took place between 1874 and 1886 featured prints of some kind—among them etchings, lithographs, monotypes, and engravings on copper and wood—sometimes in considerable numbers and in a wide range of styles. In 1874, for example, Félix Bracquemond showed more than thirty etchings that included portraits of contemporary figures, landscapes, and studies from past masters, all executed in a relatively conventional manner. Degas would soon reveal a similar versatility, while also asserting himself as an audacious technical pioneer and encouraging others—notably Pissarro and Mary Cassatt—to follow suit. Prints had many virtues in this context: they were quicker to make and cheaper to sell than oil paintings; they potentially appealed to the already numerous middle-class print-collectors of France and elsewhere; and the medium itself was often associated with quotidian imagery and events, a frequent source of subject matter within the group. The Impressionists were also well aware that several renowned predecessors—among them Honoré Daumier and Paul Gavarni—had used lithography to reflect the contemporary world of Paris and its turbulent politics, and that both of them enjoyed enormous popular recognition. When Pissarro later called



2. Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. *Female Nude Crouching*. Studies for *Sémiramis Building Babylon (Femme accroupie. Etudes pour "Sémiramis construisant Babylone")*. c. 1860–62. Pencil and pastel on paper, 13  $\frac{7}{16}$  × 8  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (34.1 × 22.4 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Degas an “anarchist,” he was conscious that current political factions exploited printed graphic imagery, caricatures, and scenes of corruption to sway voters, while commercial printing presses were sufficiently feared at this time to be subject to police control. Whether or not such issues lay behind Pissarro's 1891 description, several colleagues demonstrably chose to make prints for their vernacular appeal and as an appropriate medium for their most experimental and sometimes provocative imagery. In Degas's case, some of his printed works would take him so far beyond existing visual and moral conventions that he felt unable to exhibit them.

Degas's own beginnings as a printmaker consisted of a group of small etchings that he made during his youthful sojourn in Italy. One of the earliest of these, his *Self-Portrait (Autoportrait)* of 1857 (plates 1, 2), is somber but notably skillful and was among several that revealed his admiration for the richly shadowed prints and paintings of Rembrandt. Following long-established practice, Degas's initial image was made by using acid to etch a series of fine lines into a copper plate, a technique closely analogous with traditional drawing and thus within the competence of the young artist. This plate was then covered with oil-based ink, thoroughly wiped, and printed on paper in a press. Several states of this print survive, with indications that Degas was already adding further modifications to his image and exploring different applications of ink. Even at this stage, it seems, he was inclined to push the



3. Marcellin Desboutin. *Edgar Degas (Degas au chapeau)*. 1876. Drypoint, 8  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 5  $\frac{3}{4}$  in (22.8 × 14.5 cm). Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

boundaries of the centuries-old craft. The dramatic settings of Rembrandt's portraits were again evoked in *The Engraver Joseph Tourny (Le Graveur Joseph Tourny; plates 4–6)*, for which Degas used another plate that has historical claims as the basis of his first experience with monotype. In the sequence of prints made from this plate, it is clear that additional ink has been freely added to the surface and then manipulated with cloths or brushes before it was printed. These maneuvers involved no further etching and more closely resembled painting in the way that they turned the light-filled room into a shadowy, even ominous space. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this print is the passage at upper right, where a dark rectangular form is bounded by a paler vertical that was clearly created when the artist's finger was pulled downward through recently added black ink. Crude but effective, this gesture summarizes both the technical advantages and disadvantages of monotype: the dark form was a powerful addition to the scene but would survive in two or three successive prints at most, the later proofs being inevitably paler or even indecipherable, as most of the ink had already been transferred from the plate to the earlier prints.

Over the centuries, variations on the monotype principle had been devised by several artists, notably by Rembrandt's Italian contemporary Benedetto Cas-



4. Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione. *The Nativity with Angels and God the Father (Nativité avec Dieu le Père)*. Mid-1650s. Monotype on paper, 14  $\frac{7}{8}$  × 9  $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (37.8 × 25.2 cm). Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

tiglione, who created complex and expressive scenes by vigorously manipulating black ink on a plate and then printing them (fig. 4).<sup>5</sup> The medium was subsequently rediscovered or reinvented in France in the 1860s and '70s, when two artists, Adolphe Appian and Ludovic-Napoléon Lepic, independently developed technical versions of their own. One sequence of Lepic's panorama-like hybrid prints with monotype additions shows a flat, almost featureless landscape and demonstrates the characteristic qualities and drawbacks of the monotype (plate 16). Here Lepic used conventional etching methods to define the horizon and certain details in the foreground, as well as a distinctive slender tree to the right of center. Because these features are etched into the metal, they recur in all subsequent printings, although in several versions they are almost obliterated by additional effects of light and weather, or by a dense cluster of large shadowy trees, created by manual additions of ink to the plate surface. The whimsical or even arbitrary aspect of monotype printmaking is much in evidence, notably when Lepic titled successive images *Rain*, *Snow*, and *Sunrise* after darkening or lightening the same expanse of plate, or when he introduced a burning building and a huge plume of smoke to another variant and called it *The Mill Fire*. By 1876, Degas knew at least some of these prints, since Lepic had



5. Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. Sketches of a ballet master from an album of pencil sketches. c. 1877. Pencil on paper, 9 3/4 × 13 in. (24.8 × 33 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

exhibited one example in the second Impressionist exhibition that year and Degas seems to have learned how to make such monotypes from him.<sup>6</sup>

#### Degas's First Monotypes

The paths of Degas and Lepic also crossed at the Paris Opéra, where the city's finest ballet company performed and where the subject of Degas's earliest "pure" monotype is implicitly located. Both men attended performances at the Opéra and were sufficiently well connected to go backstage and watch ballet instruction taking place. Clearly relating to one such real or partly contrived occasion is the ghostly-seeming composition known today as *The Ballet Master* (*Le Maître de ballet*, c. 1876; plate 17), which shows the celebrated former dancer Jules Perrot directing a young soloist on the Opéra stage itself. A hasty sketch of Perrot in one of Degas's notebooks (fig. 5) suggests that the artist took drawing equipment with him on this occasion.<sup>7</sup> The monotype itself was signed in the wet ink at upper left by Degas and Lepic, and may well have been Degas's first substantial foray into this unfamiliar medium. As was typically the case, the initial print was darker and clearer than the second made from the same plate, which registered only the thinner layer of ink left on the surface after the first image had been printed. In this case, the version of the print known as *Rehearsal of the Ballet* (*Répétition de ballet*; fig. 6) was allowed to dry and then enhanced with brilliant strokes of



6. Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. *Rehearsal of the Ballet* (*Répétition de ballet*). c. 1876. Opaque watercolor and pastel over monotype on paper, sheet: 21 3/4 × 26 3/4 in. (55.2 × 67.9 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. The Kenneth A. and Helen F. Spencer Foundation Acquisition Fund

pastel and applications of colored gouache, to make a vivid, mixed-media masterpiece that obscures the monotype beneath. There seems to have been no precedent for Degas's hybrid pastel-over-monotype technique, which almost immediately became central to his creative activity at this formative moment in his burgeoning career. Numerous other works that are now seen as fundamental to his Impressionist period were also carried out in the same manner, a major shift in Degas's practice that was never explained by the artist himself and still remains largely unarticulated today. For the history-conscious Degas, the monotype medium inevitably represented a dramatic departure from—even a repudiation of—the assumptions that had informed his art since the Italian years. Even in the paintings that launched his name in Paris in the 1860s and '70s, and the works on paper that accompanied them, he had remained faithful to the principle that a white canvas or a blank sheet of paper was the primary arena for creativity. In this arena, lines were drawn or brushed onto the white surface as a subject took shape and was gradually defined as a portrait, landscape, still life, or other motif. While minor variations within this broad practice existed, the value-laden progression from blankness to articulated form was common to most of the two-dimensional arts and had acquired an unmistakable moral resonance in European culture over the centuries. After identifying himself strongly with this practice throughout his early life, Degas now chose to explore

its exact opposite. Around his fortieth year, he inverted all these priorities when making his first monotypes, now spreading a continuous layer of black ink across a metal surface and then gradually wiping some of it away with cloths, fingers, and various implements until the composition was resolved to his satisfaction. Largely abandoning traditional drawing in these works, he banished the darkness in order to create light in an almost God-like manner, while definitively separating himself from his former idol Ingres. In Ingresque terms, this new departure represented heresy and rebellion of the worst kind.

Degas himself never explained or attempted to justify this new departure and was on the contrary invigorated by it. In July 1876, the printmaker Marcellin Desboutin, a friend and fellow exhibitor at the first Impressionist show, reported that he was "no longer a friend, a man, an artist! He's a zinc or copper plate blackened with printer's ink!"<sup>8</sup> As Lepic, Appian, and now Degas had realized, monotype seemed to invite experiment and improvisation as ink was freely added, subtracted, or variously manipulated in the studio. Lines could be instantly erased or modified as he progressed and were no longer necessary to mark boundaries or privilege certain forms and spaces. The artist was also able to modify or even completely transform his composition as he progressed by simply wiping ink away. Because a printing press was typically used, most monotypes were made at a distance from their ostensible subjects, and this again encouraged a freer, more creative approach to composition and execution. Monotypes tended to be relatively small and lent themselves to rapidly composed scenes that at their simplest might take minutes rather than hours or days to complete; Lepic's own term for the process, "*eau-forte mobile*" (mobile etching), captures this quality vividly. If *Rehearsal of the Ballet*, the pastel-enhanced cognate of *The Ballet Master*, was manifestly the product of "a series of operations" and of protracted labor, Degas's three-inch-high monotype *Heads of a Man and a Woman* (*Homme et femme, en buste*, c. 1877–80; plate 49), of approximately the same date, was probably dashed off spontaneously. Its composition is artless, and signs of haste are everywhere in the blurring of lines and facial features as Degas evoked a commonplace

glimpse of two unremarkable figures on the street. In this same year, his writer friend Edmond Duranty observed in a manifesto-like essay titled "The New Painting" (*La Nouvelle Peinture*) that some of the Impressionist artists were actively aspiring to evoke fleeting sensations as they engaged with the energy of the modern city and the "hustle and bustle of passersby," a phrase that summarizes *Heads of a Man and a Woman* almost uncannily.<sup>9</sup> Here the medium's physical mobility is in some way complicit with the blurred image of two figures in actual movement, whereas the more formal scene in *The Ballet Master* demanded greater stability and refinement for its complex group of figures in a formal setting. The versatility of monotype now allowed Degas to differentiate in his visual language between two quite different encounters, one lasting just a few seconds as he walked through Paris and the other elaborately contrived from an experience on the Opéra stage, but both eloquent of the extremes of modern life. Revealing in a parallel sense is the fact that the smaller monotype was apparently not exhibited or sold in Degas's lifetime, remaining in his portfolios while *Rehearsal of the Ballet* was soon bought by Louise Elder (later Louise Havemeyer) and featured in the third Impressionist group show, in 1877. Ignored at this event by most critics, who were perhaps confused by its haphazard composition and strangely mixed technique, *The Ballet Master* was nevertheless judged by one brave voice to be "among the strongest and most interesting" works in the exhibition.<sup>10</sup>

For Degas the monotypist, traditional drawing and firsthand observation had now become options to be considered, not solemn duties or invariable routines but possibilities to be set aside at will in favor of spontaneous modes that were more appropriate to his current enthusiasms. It may have been such radical images as *Heads of a Man and a Woman* and the shadowy, unpastelized version of *The Ballet Master* that first alerted Pissarro to the subversive nature of Degas's technique, at a period when the two men were in contact and knew each other to be involved in printmaking. Degas's letters and notebooks make no reference to this breach with the past and to some extent he kept the evidence out of public view.



7. Cham (Amédée Charles Henri de Noé). “*Bien féroce!*” Cartoon in *Le Charivari*, April 28, 1877. Lithograph. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

While an important group of purely black-and-white monotypes was exhibited in the 1877 Impressionist exhibition and another example in 1881, Degas seems to have treated the medium itself as semiprivate in later years.<sup>11</sup> The fact that he did show and sell many pictures that were developed in pastel on an original black-and-white monotype is open to several interpretations. In one sense we might deduce that the artist was using the print in place of a preliminary drawing, with the advantage that tonal as well as linear structure were established in advance, before color was added. This would echo certain traditional practices in which a painted composition was “laid in” using neutral grays or browns before the final layers of color were added. Some of Degas’s own monochrome works on canvas of this kind survive from these same years, among them the broadly brushed *Lady with a Parasol* (*Femme à l’ombrelle*, c. 1870–72; plate 51) and the more refined *Ballet Rehearsal on Stage* (*Répétition de ballet sur la scène*, 1874; Musée d’Orsay, Paris), which Degas chose to exhibit in this state in the Impressionist exhibition of 1874. An even more arresting example of the same phenomenon is *Nude Woman Drying Herself* (*Femme au tub*, c. 1880–85; Brooklyn Museum), one of the largest canvases of Degas’s maturity, and one that can be imaginatively understood as an enormous monotype-like first draft



8. Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. *Ballet (The Star) (L'Étoile)*. c. 1876. Pastel over monotype on paper, plate: 10 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 14 <sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (27 × 37.9 cm). Musée d’Orsay, Paris

awaiting its final development with appropriate hues. For unknown reasons Degas never took this step, but retained the canvas until his death in its present state and perhaps as a reminder of earlier ambitions. Yet it also resonates with several monotypes from around 1880 in which he explored horizontal rather than vertical formats and the interplay of bodily contours with surrounding cushions, tubs and lamps (e.g. plates 100, 101, 113, 114). These works all point to a complex interaction among the wide range of media that Degas came to use, where the humblest might influence the grandest and vice versa.

Examples of Degas’s monotype-based works seem to have been shown in public for the first time at the third Impressionist exhibition, held in Paris in April 1877, when—by accident or design—he and several colleagues chose to present themselves at their most abrasive. Gustave Caillebotte unveiled his seven-foot-high *Rue de Paris, temps de pluie* (*Paris Street on a Rainy Day*, 1877), with its stark perspective and psychologically remote pedestrians; Claude Monet chose some of his Gare Saint-Lazare canvases that feature trains veiled in smoke and steam; and Pissarro presented several canvases in which tangled trees willfully obscure country dwellings. Unsurprisingly, the exhibition resulted in waves of commentary in the press that far exceeded coverage of the group’s



9. Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. *Woman Getting Out of the Bath (Femme sortant du bain)*. c. 1876–77. Pastel over monotype on paper, 6 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 8 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (15.9 × 21.6 cm). Norton Simon Art Foundation

earlier shows and included articles by many noted critics, among them the controversial young novelist Emile Zola, writing for the *Sémaphore de Marseilles*. Referring to Degas, Zola wrote of the “astonishing truth” of his cabaret pictures, while the prominent cartoonist known as Cham published a series of facetious drawings of exaggerated violence that mocked the idea of Impressionism’s threats to the populace (fig. 7).<sup>12</sup> While many such responses were comic or hostile, others were now written by journalists who attempted to offer a balanced viewpoint as they became more accustomed to the new art. In general, Degas was treated more respectfully than others, and his skills and versatility were widely acknowledged. Among his approximately twenty works on view were at least eight that were executed in pastel over monotype. In most of these works the layer of pastel concealed much of the original print, which was thus unnoticed and uncommented upon by visitors. Critics also failed to draw attention to this feature and were perhaps oblivious to it, concentrating instead on Degas’s role as a “historian of contemporary scenes” who was capable of “frightening realism.”<sup>13</sup> As these writers and other visitors realized, the subjects now chosen for Degas’s pastel-over-monotype works were also among the most provocative that he had revealed to date: ballerinas shown from above and from close quarters (fig. 8); nude women clambering in and out of bathtubs (fig. 9); and perhaps most shocking of all, a cluster of gaudily dressed prostitutes awaiting customers in a Parisian café (fig. 10). It is impossible

to overlook the sense of challenge in such pictures, even in a city where scenes of this kind were commonplace or could be experienced for a price. While several of the monotype and pastel compositions in question were small, measuring around six inches in height, others reached the scale of modest oil paintings and were discussed by critics at commensurate length. Whatever the size, there seemed little doubt that Degas’s art had taken a dramatic new turn, now dealing unflinchingly with the raw facts of urban life and using ingenious and unfamiliar combinations of media to express them appropriately. In an important and arguably career-changing sense, monotype also seems to have offered Degas the possibility of new kinds of drawing and new ways of making pictures, which in turn prompted engagement with subjects that had previously been outside the realm of art. A comparison with the clamorous arrival of Pop art in the 1950s and ’60s is not altogether fanciful: in both cases, brash new colors and fragmentary compositions both shocked and delighted, while subjects chosen from the coarser side of city life and extremes of modern behavior startled many traditional art-lovers.

For Degas the fervent admirer of Ingres’s neoclassical line, the shift to monotype had been transformative in many fundamental ways. Over the next decade he would divide his practice between ambitious, finely wrought oil paintings and pastels and smaller, print-based images that he made rapidly and sometimes even more freely than in the past. In the Impressionists’ group shows, such images reinforced the sense that Degas was the leading innovator in miniature views of modern experience, as reviewers of the 1877 exhibition proposed; “Monsieur Degas is an observer not a caricaturist,” a commentator noted approvingly, before explaining that he was also “an invaluable historian of contemporary scenes.”<sup>14</sup> For the artist himself and perhaps for some of his colleagues and admirers, this sense of topicality seemed to resonate with the immediacy of monotype, as figures glimpsed briefly in a café or onstage at a theater were quickly summoned up on a metal plate in the studio and printed on his own press. *Three Ballet Dancers (Trois danseuses)*, c. 1878; plate 21) was surely made in this way after one of Degas’s frequent visits to the Paris



10. Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. *Women on the Terrace of a Café in the Evening* (*Femmes à la terrasse d'un café le soir*). 1877. Pastel over monotype on paper, 16 7/8 × 23 5/8 in. (41 × 60 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Opéra, where he would watch the same production repeatedly and yet was rarely seen to make firsthand sketches during performances.<sup>15</sup> Evidently relying on his celebrated powers of recollection, Degas began this monotype in characteristic fashion by covering the entire plate with black, oil-based ink. Some of this ink was then wiped away to create the specterlike ballerinas against a dark stage, two of whom appear to be leaping into the air in a virtual embodiment of transience. The resulting image was signed by Degas in the still wet ink and also inscribed to a close friend, Alphonse Cherfils. Following the artist's newly established practice, the inked plate was then printed twice, resulting in a dramatically dark first version and a paler second one. When the paler sheet had dried, it was vigorously developed with bright pink, yellow, and green pastels, which may record costumes seen by the artist on the Opéra stage. Brash and dynamic, such works should again be considered against wider developments in contemporary Parisian culture, among them the first publication in these same months of high-speed photographs of animals and humans in movement.<sup>16</sup>

Vivid in a very different way is the pastel on monotype that is known to have featured in the 1877 exhibition, *Women on the Terrace of a Café in the Evening* (fig. 10). Again Degas had chosen a characteristic sight in nineteenth-century Paris, a group of young women who were immediately recognizable as prostitutes. Distinctively dressed in flamboyant

outfits that would catch the eye of potential clients, the women are depicted as evening descends and the nightlife of the city begins. As Degas would have known well, artist-predecessors such as Constantin Guys had made a specialty of representing such prostitutes in prints more than two decades earlier, and Guys had prompted admiration from the poet Charles Baudelaire for his perspicacity. Where Guys's black-and-white lithographs of posturing women in interiors had appeared in the city's ephemeral journals, Degas now chose to exhibit his gaudily colored figures in a conspicuous, public art exhibition on the centrally located rue Le Peletier. Almost as bold as the work's subject is the dynamic nature of the scene, where pale pillars slice through several figures and fracture the street behind, while a tangle of chairbacks impedes the observer's view and the distance is little more than a blur. Social cohesion is similarly disrupted by the poses and expressions of the women, none of whom faces the others and all express boredom or indolence. This is the antithesis of bourgeois behavior as well as a mockery of artistic convention, replacing clarity with confusion and composure with vulgarity. Even more than in *Three Ballet Dancers*, the choice of monotype for this work is laden with significance. Comparable scenes of imminent or actual vice are largely absent from Degas's canvases and his more substantial works in pastel, as if the qualities or perhaps the implications of his newly devised prints belonged to a different visual language



11. Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. Sketchbook (*Carnet 7*). 1875–77. Pencil on paper, 5 5/8 × 3 7/8 in. (14.3 × 9.8 cm). Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

and a novel medium, as well as to an alternative social world. Journalists suggested as much when they noted the “frightening realism” of *Women on the Terrace of a Café in the Evening*, or even claimed that Degas's picture had “hurled a challenge at the philistines,” though one lonely voice acknowledged that it was also “an incomparable page from the book of contemporary life.”<sup>17</sup>

#### Monotype as Fantasy

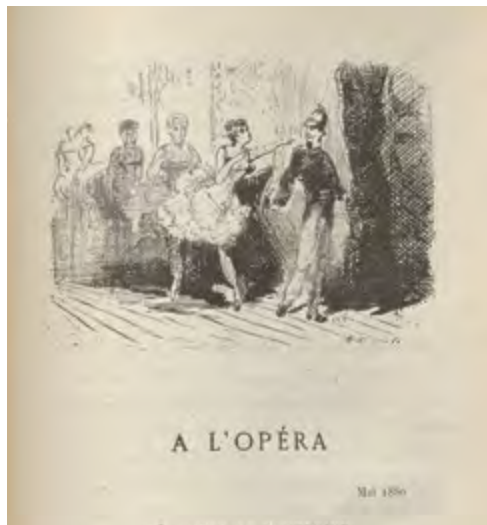
Such works point to other distinctive qualities in Degas's monotypes at this period. It is not often noted, for example, that he made several practical distinctions between his approach to monotypes and his more conventional studio procedures. As in the early years, he continued to make observational drawings and compositional drafts for many of his paintings and pastels, generally preserving these works on paper in portfolios when the larger task was complete. This process could also involve hiring models, such as professional dancers, to pose in his studio, presumably when complex positions or specific expressions were required. With his monotypes, however, there is remarkably little evidence of preliminary drawing of this kind for the vast majority of Degas's prints. This is largely the case with *Women on the Terrace of a Café in the Evening*, where a single hasty notebook sketch records the rudimentary setting in the café without indicating any of the human protagonists (fig. 11). Lost or destroyed material may of course account for the lack of appropriate figure studies, and some censorship of erotic material from Degas's studio is said to have been carried out after the artist's death. Yet for the great majority of his monotypes of all kinds, which range over cityscapes and landscapes, portraits of individuals and complex figurative scenes, no pre-



12. Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. Sketches from an album of pencil sketches. c. 1877. Pencil on paper, sheet: 9 3/4 × 13 in. (24.8 × 33 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

liminary drawings of any kind have been found. One explanation may have been Degas's strong aversion to working in public; he famously mocked plein air painters such as Monet and Pissarro who would boldly set up their easels in full view of passersby; “Painting is not a sport!” he once protested to his dealer friend Ambroise Vollard.<sup>18</sup> This self-consciousness about artmaking in front of others was also witnessed by friends who visited Degas at home, where they were rarely received when he was in the act of drawing, painting, or working on a sculpture. Similarly, most of his sketchbooks seem to have been a private matter, compiled for his own use and rarely displayed to others. Family censorship apart, the lack of a demonstrable origin in such sketches for many of these monotypes appears to point to a different conclusion. A young colleague who traveled through the countryside with Degas in his later years marveled at his retentive memory, which allowed him to re-create in monotype a distinctive landscape that he had seen earlier in the day without having stopped to study and record it.<sup>19</sup> Remote from his Paris experience as that was, it seems that Degas also relied on memory to reassemble or reimagine figures encountered on the streets and elsewhere, then incorporated them into monotypes, pastels, and paintings. In an important and little-explored sense, such improvised prints also opened the way to free invention and fantasy, territory largely unknown to him in his previous life as an artist.

In a situation of this kind the survival of even a few sketches related to well-known monotype compositions is unusually instructive. A vivid case involves a group of rapidly executed drawings in the same



13. Henri Maigrot. Illustration for Ludovic Halévy's *Les Petites Cardinal*. Paris, 1880

large notebook that includes the study of Monsieur Perrot. In at least two of them we can also identify the cabaret singer Thérèse in action (fig. 12), looking as if she were drawn on the spot when the artist was under the spell of a voice that he was briefly entranced by and described to a friend as “spiritually tender.”<sup>20</sup> Degas manifestly consulted these sketches when he made the pastel over monotype known as *The Song of the Dog* (*La Chanson du chien*, c. 1876–77; private collection), integrating precise details of Thérèse’s dress, hairstyle, and gloved hands, while perhaps glamorizing her facial expression with a potential buyer in mind. Other cabaret artistes were also hastily or partially drawn in action on successive pages of the same notebook, some of them again familiar from Degas’s known monotypes and lithographs. Yet few if any on-the-spot studies exist for entire series of other monotype prints, notably the three most substantial thematic groups in his entire print oeuvre. These represent brothel scenes and related female nudes; episodes from Ludovic Halévy’s stories; and various rural landscapes, which together amount to around three-quarters of Degas’s known monotype output. This absence is startling on such a scale and points to a new departure in his creative activity. When he made most of this large body of prints—perhaps the majority—it seems that Degas departed from a life-long practice by working from memory and imagination rather than direct observation. This was inevitably the case with the Halévy monotypes, which were exceptional in Degas’s oeuvre in several

respects. Based not on specific personal encounters or experiences, as most of his mature art was, these prints represent both fictional and real characters in a succession of episodes that refer loosely to happenings backstage at the Paris Opéra, some spelled out by Halévy himself in his tales. Halévy was well-known in Paris as a popular novelist and man of the theater, who compiled a sequence of verbal sketches based on the imaginary Madame Cardinal, the mother of two girls, Pauline and Virginie, who dance in the Opéra’s corps de ballet. Under the title *Madame Cardinal*, these stories were first serialized in the periodical *La Vie Parisienne* in 1870 and became a wild popular success, soon appearing in book form.<sup>21</sup> Later in the decade and in unknown circumstances, the same tales prompted Degas to create his series of monotypes of backstage life, including many of near-identical size made from the same metal plate. These images are broadly rather than literally linked to Halévy’s tales, and it remains unclear whether the prints were conceived as illustrations for a forthcoming publication or were simply inspired by the artist’s delight in his friend’s text.

Degas’s enthusiasm for this project is evident in drawings of Halévy himself, which prepared the way for several monotypes showing the author backstage and in the glamorous Opéra foyer. Less expected are works in which the real Halévy is shown conversing with the fictional Mme Cardinal (plate 74), a step into imaginative territory of a kind that has rarely been associated with Degas himself. Halévy ultimately settled for more pedestrian illustrations to his books, by such artists as Henri Maigrot and Edmond Morin (fig. 13). The mixture of fact and fiction in some of Degas’s prints was perhaps considered confusing, while the considerable graphic license in scenes such as *Dancers Coming from the Dressing Rooms onto the Stage* (*Et ces demoiselles frétilaient gentiment devant la glace du foyer*, c. 1876–77; plate 78) would have taxed most of the artist’s and writer’s peers. Here Degas went to extreme lengths to evoke a *melée* of activity among the excited young women, in a blur of tutus and barely coherent limbs, with only the familiar dark silhouette of Halévy to bring some coherence to the scene. In this monotype Degas laid ink over much of the plate with a brush, then wiped away the pig-

ment in certain areas to convey highlights and added ink to the composition to render more precise details. Once the impression was printed, he enhanced it with strokes of pastel to suggest light, shadow, and human presences. A print of this kind would probably have been unacceptable in any current publication and possibly in most artistic circles of the time as well. As with the monotype *Heads of a Man and a Woman* but now on a more extensive scale, Degas again seems to delight in flirting with incoherence as he responds to an implicitly unstable motif, and thus to an experience beyond most conventions in late-nineteenth-century art. Traditional drawing has little or no role in most of the Halévy scenes, which play with a new language of human mobility and fleeting sensation that goes far beyond the period’s notions of realism.

In the 1877 Impressionist exhibition catalogue, three groups of Degas’s entries were listed as “*dessins faits à l’encre grasse et imprimé*” (drawings made with greasy ink and put through a press), or what we know today as monotypes.<sup>22</sup> In his review of the exhibition, the novelist and critic Jules Claretie identified these works as illustrations to the Halévy stories, which thus became the first pure monotypes by Degas known to have been shown in public.<sup>23</sup> There were no further comments on them in the press, despite Halévy’s celebrity, and the monotypes were presumably returned to the artist when the exhibition closed and remained with him into old age. Apparently undaunted, Degas continued to use the monotype technique for more than a decade and persisted in seeing it as a primary medium for visual and thematic experimentation of a sometimes extreme kind. By this date his paintings and pastels were in demand from collectors, some bought by colleagues and fellow-artists such as Caillebotte and Henri Lerolle, or by a friend with advanced taste such as Jean-Baptiste Faure. Yet financial problems inherited from his family dogged Degas and his brothers, putting the artist under pressure to support himself while maintaining a modest apartment and studio in Paris. It may thus have seemed to be in his interest to push certain ideas and projects further, in situations that would raise his profile and draw public attention to works that he was currently producing. A case in point was perhaps the substantial sequence

of monotypes devoted to brothel interiors that he now began to make, which were evidently based on the artist’s personal knowledge of such establishments. Few details have survived about this private activity of Degas’s, though Paris had long been known for its association with prostitution of various kinds and at various levels of discretion and squalor. In later years the artist was frank about anticipating the pleasures of Andalusian brothels when he traveled there with the Italian painter Giovanni Boldini and specified that they should take “a good quantity of condoms” with them.<sup>24</sup> No doubt fact and fantasy were again mingled in the works he now made in the late 1870s and early 1880s, as he pursued his latest project with characteristic energy and wit, and occasional solemnity.

The monotypes of brothel scenes can be divided into two loose categories, where those close in scale and facture to the Cardinal scenes are assumed to have been made around the same date and at least some were apparently printed from the same plates. This latter group, represented by the euphemistically titled *Two Young Girls* (*Deux jeunes filles*, c. 1877–79; plate 88), is explicit about the brothel settings and their customers, who are here shown in light-filled rooms and in situations that are mundane rather than crudely sexual. Such works have clear visual echoes of Halévy-related works such as *In the Green Room* (*Le Foyer*, c. 1876–77; plate 81) and *M. Cardinal About to Write a Letter* (*Je ne comprends pas, dit M. Cardinal*, c. 1876–77; plate 84), which are similarly illuminated and generally airy. While the perspective in the Halévy prints tends to be conventional, that in *The Bath* (*Le Bain*, 1879–83; plate 94) is frankly distorted as a misshapen tub seems to rise of its own accord toward the upper center of the scene. This work far exceeds most of the Halévy compositions in sheer graphic energy and visual force as the diagonal tub meets the vertical folds of the curtain and the chaotic heap of clothing sets off the sinuous naked body. Degas’s growing enthusiasm for the graphic potential of the monotype is palpable here and in other works of a similar kind that seem to have broadened his creative horizons. This included adding complex layers of pastel to some of these intimate scenes, such as *Woman Getting Out of the Bath* (*Femme sortant du*

bain, c. 1880–85; plate 124), a vivacious image that prompted him to reassert a kind of innocent domestic realism. Comparable pastel-over-monotype works of this kind, such as *Waiting for the Client* (*Attente d'un client*, c. 1877–79; plate 89), seem to evoke experiences in more glamorous brothels where colorful carpets and furnishings are brightly illuminated and several tantalizingly half-clad women display themselves for a customer who is discreetly indicated by a slender black form at the left edge. We can only guess whether Degas made sketches in any of these circumstances or was obliged to rely on his “memory strong like iron” when making the monotypes in question.<sup>25</sup> What is clear is the extreme vividness and inventiveness of the imagery that resulted, which took Degas far away from his roots in standard observational drawing and toward a new kind of flowering as an artist of recollection and free invention.

His extraordinary ability to compartmentalize the current output of his studio was perhaps at its height during the late 1870s. At the fourth Impressionist exhibition, in April 1879, Degas presented almost thirty substantial new pastels and oil paintings that ranged over portraits and dance classes, scenes of opera performances and cabarets, and even a group of decorated fans. Many of them were notably complex in structure and subtle in finish, and—as in *Miss La La at the Cirque Fernando* (*Miss Lola au Cirque Fernando*, 1879; fig. 14), a vertiginous scene of a trapeze act—frankly audacious as works of art. Entirely absent from this display was the monotype medium, both on its own terms and as the foundation for works in pastel. Yet paradoxically this was also a high point in Degas’s career as a printmaker and as an advocate of the medium in Impressionist circles. He and his friends had proposed that the group should publish a journal to be called *Le Jour et la nuit* (Day and night), consisting largely of original prints made by this circle of artists. Bracquemond, Cassatt, and Pissarro were soon enlisted in the project, and less familiar names such as Jean-Louis Forain, Jean-Marius Raffaëlli, and Henri Rouart also showed active interest. But Degas was “the driving force behind the enterprise,” in the words of Jean-Paul Bouillon, envisaging it as a way to promote their etchings, drypoints, and lithographs as well as their



14. Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. *Miss La La at the Cirque Fernando* (*Miss Lola au Cirque Fernando*). 1879. Oil on canvas, 46 1/8 × 30 1/2 in. (117.2 × 77.5 cm). The National Gallery, London

larger pictures to a public that was slowly adjusting to the “New Painting.”<sup>26</sup>

After much labor, confusion, and delay, the proposed journal was abandoned, but only after it had stimulated Degas’s own print production and extended his co-operation with several fellow printmakers. Initially the most important of these had been his collaboration with Bracquemond, who was soon replaced by Pissarro as a colleague and fellow experimenter. Pissarro was still living outside Paris in rural Pontoise, but they met and exchanged letters about the journal and a variety of technical issues relating to prints. A common interest at this point was colored inks and the possibility of introducing different hues into varying states of a print and even into parts of a composition by means of “light copper” shapes that restricted coverage of the areas in question.<sup>27</sup> Such possibilities took them close to the cutting edge of printmaking technologies and resulted in works that have been described by Richard Brettell as “without precedent in the visual arts.”<sup>28</sup> Significant in a different way is that the two men sometimes worked together on Degas’s press in his Paris studio, experimenting with various modes of printing and reprinting from the same plate. Degas would also make trial proofs from plates sent to him by Pissarro, who at that point had no press of his own. Despite profound differences in background,

social status, and ways of life, the two men established an increasingly warm relationship that lasted over the years and was for a long time unaffected by their politics. Degas was frank in his admiration for some of Pissarro’s etchings, such as *The Cabbage Field* (*Le Champ de choux*, 1880; fig. 15), if a little ironic about differences in their tastes; in the same letter he signed off with a compliment on “the quality of the art of your vegetable gardens.”<sup>29</sup>

Again beginning at an unknown date, Degas subsequently chose to move in a quite different direction with a second suite of monotypes of female nudes. Here he opted for much more somber territory, plunging most of his subjects into deep gloom and situating them in unidentifiable, even ominous spaces. Typically these prints show one or more heavily built women who are barely discernible as they rest on vast sofas or beds, or sit in massive tubs. Presumably prostitutes displaying themselves for the benefit of clients, they make no eye contact but calmly wash themselves, read, or stare into space. Most of these prints are significantly larger than the earlier series and some achieve an unexpected sculptural monumentality that is hardly characteristic of either the Halévy-related series or the lighter monotypes of nudes. Such images again represent a willed act of extreme distancing from Degas’s earlier career, not just from academic figure drawing and his much more recent monotypes but from most of the norms associated with any kind of art at this time. In one sense *The Fireside* (*Le Foyer* [*La Cheminée*], c. 1880–85; plate 102) can be seen as a larger and more ambitious variant on *The Bath*, with a subject that is now deeper in surrounding shadow and consequently more difficult to discern. In *The Fireside* spatial niceties have been set aside in favor of stygian blackness, almost denying coherence to the seated figure at left. Comparisons have been made between such splayed bodies and the engravings of mentally disturbed women published by Dr. Paul Richer in Paris at almost precisely this moment, in 1881, though here the individual at left in Degas’s print seems to be enjoying the warmth of a fire.<sup>30</sup> A work such as *Woman Reading* (*Liseuse*, c. 1880–85; plate 106), however, is both grim and unambiguous, with little to relieve the gloom or the sense of animal ponderousness. As with many other figures in the



15. Camille Pissarro. *The Cabbage Field* (*Le Champ de choux*). 1880. Softground etching on laid paper, state II of II, plate: 9 3/4 × 6 5/8 in. (24.7 × 16.8 cm), sheet: 12 5/8 × 9 7/16 in. (32 × 23.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund

approximately twenty works in this distinctive group, the woman’s face is obscured and no attempt has been made to glamorize a body that seems incongruous among apparently grand furniture. Perhaps most ironic of all is the fact that she is shown reading, her back toward the customer or spectator. Some prints from this wider series were taken a stage further and partially returned to domesticity by the application of color. In *Female Nude Reclining* (*Femme nue couchée*, c. 1888–90; plate 101) Degas extended the pastel beyond the plate marks (and thus the original printed composition) to produce a sensuous composition of light and shadow, warmth and touches of cooler hue. Here the sexual significance of the composition is disarmingly frank rather than merely hinted at. Tellingly, this work and most of the series are unsigned, indicating that the artist failed to interest a dealer or collector in them or simply chose to keep the entire suite in his studio. Nothing prevented Degas from showing them to friends or colleagues, however, especially those who were themselves involved with printmaking and the new possibilities of the craft. More even than the earlier brothel series, these haunting prints seem to take us into the artist’s imaginings as much as his mundane experiences in the city.



16. Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. *Rocky Coast (Côte rocheuse)*. 1890–92. Pastel over monotype on paper, 12 × 16 in. (30.5 × 40.6 cm). Museum Ludwig, Cologne

### The Last Monotypes: Whimsy and Abstraction

Despite a considerable outlay of time, creative energy, and personal self-revelation, neither series of monotype nudes seem to have been substantially exhibited in Degas's lifetime. By unveiling such works as the sculpture *Little Dancer Aged Fourteen* at the 1881 group show, and the majestic suite of pastels representing female nudes in 1886, Degas was able to remind the world of his continuing evolution and attainment, even as his printmaking came to a virtual standstill. Echoes of the repeated and reversed imagery associated with his prints certainly resound in paintings such as *Frieze of Dancers (Danseuses attachant leurs sandales, c. 1895; plate 153)*, while his acquired mastery of tonal drama paid dividends in such majestic late canvases as *The Bath (Le Bain, c. 1895; plate 171)* and *After the Bath, Woman Drying Herself (Après le bain, femme s'essuyant, c. 1896; plate 170)*. Even the handling of printing ink seems to have left its mark in the massed fingerprints that characterize several canvases of this and later periods. The main exception to this pattern was as whimsical yet startling as any of his previous departures. In the fall of 1890, Degas visited his younger friend Georges Jeannot in the heart of rural Burgundy and announced that he wished to create a series of monotypes of landscapes he had just passed through. Though rarely associated with rural views then or now, Degas had tackled the Italian landscape as a youth, the Breton coast in his mid-thirties, and varied

terrain as backgrounds to his equestrian scenes over the decades. The Burgundy suite is exceptional for its extent, its seriousness, but most of all for its extreme originality. Most surprising of all is the fact that Degas began many of these works with bold sweeps of color on a copper plate almost sixteen inches wide, to produce some of the largest prints of his career.<sup>31</sup> Now he deliberately encouraged chance effects, apparently made with rollers, cloths, and haphazard waves of diluted greens, ochers, and purples, some of them with visible fingerprints and coarse wipings that have little or no precedent in his own art or that of his peers.

While some of the prints, such as *Cap Hornu near Saint-Valery-sur-Somme (Le Cap Hornu près Saint-Valery-sur-Somme, c. 1890–93; plate 138)*, were coaxed into plausible geographic forms, many—among them *Autumn Landscape (L'Estérel, 1890; plates 136, 137)* and *Twilight in the Pyrenees (Le Crépuscule dans les Pyrénées, 1890; plate 128)*—were retained in their original state. Second pulls were made in several cases and examples of each category were developed in pastel, many but not all acquiring greater cogency as scenes of farmland, rocky prominences, or distant hills. In this simple but exhilarating context Degas took the monotype to new and entirely unexpected levels, not least in a subgroup of these prints that toyed with anthropomorphism. *Cap Hornu near Saint-Valery-sur-Somme* can be seen as a land mass beside a lake or ocean, but also as a vestigial human body. Clearly intrigued, Degas made rocks look like

teeth and promontories like legs (fig. 16), reminding us of a lighter, human side to his art that had occasionally surfaced throughout his career. After returning to Paris, Degas felt sufficiently emboldened by the project to mount an exhibition of his latest monotypes in 1892 at the gallery of Paul Durand-Ruel, currently the leading dealer in Impressionist art. Some visitors were perplexed and others exhilarated, reaching for Symbolist language to compare them to “tapestries hung in secret boudoirs” and “precious sapphires in velvet jewelry boxes.”<sup>32</sup> Pissarro wrote to his son Lucien that they were “colored impressions,” “curious” but “really delicate,” and perhaps recalled a past when he and Degas struggled with color prints for *Le Jour et la nuit*.<sup>33</sup> Though separated now by politics, they had both witnessed the birth and maturity of the monotype, and its incursions into the most advanced art of their times.

1. Camille Pissarro, letter to his son Lucien, 1891, *Correspondence de Camille Pissarro*, ed. Janine Bailly-Herzberg (Saint-Ouen-l'Aumône: Editions du Valhermeil, 1991), 3:61. Author's trans.
2. Edgar Degas, *The Notebooks of Edgar Degas*, ed. Theodore Reff (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 1:39.
3. See Paul Valéry, “Degas Dance Drawing,” in *Degas, Manet, Morisot* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1960), p. 35, and Henri Delaborde, *Ingres. Sa vie, ses travaux, sa doctrine* (Paris: H. Plon, 1870), p. 123.
4. Daniel Halévy, *Pays Parisiens* (Paris: B. Grasset, 2000), p. 93; Valéry, “Degas Dance Drawing,” p. 6.
5. See Timothy Standring and Martin Clayton, *Castiglione: Lost Genius*, exh. cat. (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2013), pp. 131–43.
6. See Ruth Berson, *The New Painting: Impressionism 1874–1886* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1996), 2:40, II–137, and Ludovic-Napoléon Lepic, *Comment je devins un graveur à l'eau-forte* (Paris: Cadart, 1876).
7. See Degas, *The Notebooks of Edgar Degas*, 2:41, notebook 28.
8. Marcellin Desboutin, letter to Léontine De Nittis, July 17, 1876, quoted in Eng. trans. in Jean Sutherland Boggs, *Degas*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1988), p. 258.
9. Edmond Duranty, *La Nouvelle Peinture* (Paris, 1876), trans. in Charles Moffett et al., *The New Painting*, exh. cat. (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986), p. 45.
10. *Le Bien public*, April 7, 1877, p. 2, repr. in Berson, *The New Painting*, 1:190.
11. See Berson, *The New Painting*, 2:74, nos. III-58–60, and 2:180.
12. *Ibid.*, 1:191.
13. G. Rivière, “Explications,” *L'Impressioniste*, April 21, 1877, pp. 3–4, repr. in *ibid.*, 1:187; Alexandre Pothey, “Beaux-Arts,” *Le Petit Parisien*, April 7, 1877, p. 2, repr. in *ibid.*, 1:173.
14. See *ibid.*, 1:187.
15. See Henri Loyrette, “Degas à l'Opéra,” in Musée d'Orsay, *Degas inédit* (Paris: Documentation française, 1989), pp. 47–63.
16. See Richard Kendall and Jill DeVonyar, *Degas and the Ballet: Picturing Movement*, exh. cat. (London: Royal Academy Books, 2011), chapters 3 and 4.

17. See Berson, *The New Painting*, 1:173, 157.
18. Degas, quoted in Ambroise Vollard, *Degas: An Intimate Portrait* (New York: Dover Publications, 1986), p. 56.
19. Georges Jeannot, “Souvenirs sur Degas,” *Revue Universelle LV* (October 15, 1933):153.
20. Degas, *Degas Letters*, ed. Marcel Guérin (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1947), p. 76.
21. See Michael Pantazzi, “Degas, Halévy, and the Cardinals,” in Boggs, *Degas*, p. 280.
22. Berson, *The New Painting*, 2:74, nos. III-58–60.
23. *Ibid.*, 1:141.
24. Musée d'Orsay, *Degas Inédit*, p. 418.
25. Giovanni Boldini, quoted in Pantazzi, “The Event of the Season: Monsieur Degas Exhibits,” unpublished lecture, 1989.
26. Jean-Paul Bouillon, *Félix Bracquemond, le réalisme absolu* (Geneva: Skira, 1987), p. 152.
27. See Degas, *Degas Letters*, p. 58.
28. Richard Brettell and Eric Gillis, *Degas and Pissarro. Alchimie d'une rencontre*, exh. cat. (Vevey: Musée Janisch, 1988), p. 34.
29. Degas, *Degas Letters*, p. 58.
30. See Xavier Rey, “The Body Exploited,” in George T. M. Shackelford and Xavier Rey, *Degas and the Nude*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2011), p. 91, n. 41.
31. See Kendall, *Degas Landscapes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).
32. Gustave Geffroy, “Histoire de l'impressionisme. Edgar Degas,” in *La Vie artistique* (Paris), troisième série, 1894, p. 176.
33. Pissarro, letter to his son Lucien, October 2, 1892, *Correspondence de Camille Pissarro*, 3:261–62.



29. *Café Singer (Chanteuse du café-concert)*. c. 1877–78  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (12 × 16.2 cm), sheet: 5  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{9}{16}$  in.  
(12.9 × 16.7 cm) (irregular)  
Private collection



30. *Singers on the Stage (Café-Concert)*. c. 1877–79  
Pastel over monotype on paper mounted on board  
Plate: 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (12 × 16.9 cm), sheet: 5  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 7  $\frac{3}{16}$  in.  
(13.8 × 18.2 cm)  
The Art Institute of Chicago. Bequest of Mrs. Clive Runnells

# Darkness and the Light of Lamps

Hollis Clayson

Innovative lighting was a hallmark of nineteenth-century Paris—a significant component of the City of Light’s modernity—and Degas’s monotypes *Café Singer (Chanteuse du café-concert)*, c. 1877–78; plate 29) and *Singers on the Stage (Café-Concert)* (1877–79; plate 30) exemplify its entanglement with advanced printmaking.<sup>1</sup> The convergence of printmaking with the visual qualities of artificial light (*éclairage*) linked pictorial modernism to technological modernity, a leitmotif of much of the era’s innovative art. Graphic-arts specialists have noted that the first years of electric light’s significant presence in Paris were years of consequence for inventive prints, albeit without connecting the two spheres of innovation.<sup>2</sup> I believe that the new *éclairage*, both in the streets and in the spaces of commercial entertainment, helped to foster innovative printmaking in the studios of modernist artists. My essay thus presses “lighting” and “light”—*éclairage* and *lumière*—into intimate association by wagering that Degas repeatedly thought about them concurrently in his prints.

The awareness of lighting in Paris intensified between 1878 and 1882, dynamic years for the industrialization of light in Paris—the period when the city’s lights were first electrified, becoming brighter and newsworthy. The era’s nonstop march of more radiant and higher-tech lighting into spaces both private and public informed Degas’s monochrome

light-field-manner prints, which at the fundamental level of syntax consist of darkness and light. Because this silent new glaring light had both an economics and a poetics, it became a figure for the contrary coexistence in modernity of sheltered privacy but also of mechanization, of freedom but also of control, mirroring a fundamental condition of modern life described by Jonathan Crary: “One crucial dimension of capitalist modernity is a constant remaking of the conditions of sensory experience.”<sup>3</sup>

In his intaglio prints of the mid-to-late 1870s Degas showed commercial lighting contraptions expertly and often. These preponderantly indoor or threshold pictures use industrialized light as a marker of mechanized urban modernity, and often make women entertainers seem vulgar and brash by juxtaposing and rhyming light fixtures with their heads. The locus classicus of this device is the tiny whimsical etching *Singer’s Profile (Profil de chanteuse)*, c. 1875–78; fig. 1), in which the adjacency of a female performer’s profile to four light globes sets up a kinship among spheres; the young woman’s winsome expression distinguishes her from the machinic object world, but the quintet of circles is a family of forms nonetheless. The etching’s spheres recall a metaphor used in 1882 by Guy de Maupassant in his short story “*Claire de lune*” (Moonlight), later archived by Walter Benjamin:



I reached the Champs-Élysées, where the cafés concerts seemed like blazing hearths among the leaves. The chestnut trees, brushed with yellow light, had the look of painted objects, the look of phosphorescent trees. And the electric globes—like shimmering, pale moons, like moon eggs fallen from the sky, like monstrous, living pearls—dimmed, with their nacreous glow, mysterious and regal, the flaring jets of gas, of ugly, dirty gas, and the garlands of colored glass.<sup>4</sup>

The shared attentiveness to the glow of “moon eggs” is striking: gas globes in Degas, electric orbs in Maupassant.

Degas too wrote about light. In around 1876, for example, he recorded this idea in a notebook: “On evening—infinite variety of subjects in cafés—different tones of the glass globes reflected in the mirrors.”<sup>5</sup> A postscript to a letter of 1879 to the artist Félix Bracquemond about plans for the next Impressionist show illustrates Degas’s enthusiastic familiarity with the new lights cropping up in his immediate environment: “The Company Jablockof [sic] proposes to do the lighting with electric light.”<sup>6</sup>

The setting of Degas’s monotype *Café Singer* is a largely indistinct café-concert equipped for stage entertainment. The shapes that bracket a dark-haired female performer are essentially human-shaped blurs against which only one gloved hand holding an open fan is clearly defined. The performer herself, the sole legible figure, is by contrast a creature of theatrical illumination: beams of light clearly model her body and head from below. The glare of unseen footlights sculpts her arms in stark darks and lights. The planes of her brightly lit face, on a head that tilts forward dreamily, contrast sharply with her dark smudge of a mouth and barely defined gray eye sockets, which suggest eyes closed against the glare.

The print is chockablock with lamps that shine into view. The rays of a bright-white round globe at the far left form a corona to denote the light’s piercing brilliance. It must be a Jablockoff candle, an electric arc light like the ones Degas mentioned in his letter to Bracquemond and that served as Maupassant’s points of departure in 1882; although these lights were in use in some clubs in the later 1870s, this one implies an outdoor space. The three white balls just above the singer’s head are surely gas globes, which



1: Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. *Singer's Profile (Profil de chanteuse)*. c. 1875–78. Etching, drypoint, and aquatint on paper, 2 <sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (6.8 × 7.8 cm). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts

Degas often drew, as we have seen, as unmodeled spheres. Following the connotative logic of rhyming things and people, this trio of light fixtures echoes and verifies the presence of three women performers. The identity of a fifth lamp, between this row and the Jablockoff candle, is less certain, but despite the slight irrationality of its placement, its oval spot of light and dark body suggest a gas streetlight (*un réverbère*). This sheet deserves to be counted among Degas’s most virtuosic monochromatic orchestrations of multiple kinds of night light. If complex *éclairage* is a distinguishing feature of this monotype, another is the woman’s solitary and striking performance gesture: her expansively extended right arm, a cylindrical pneumatic sausage stretched horizontally across the page. This limb appears distended, as if buoyed up by and floating upon the light that blazes onto its lower surface.

*Singers on the Stage*, printed from the same plate but significantly modified through the application of pastel, alters the logic of the tonal foundation common to both images. The makeover of both the figures and the spatial setting pushes our belief in the sibling relationship between the two artworks to the breaking point. The transformed *mise en scène* alters both the axis and the temporality of the routine pursued by the lead performer, who here wears a pink frock: she no longer faces her audience, now obviously off to the left, so she has either finished singing, and is heading toward the wings, or has not yet begun.<sup>7</sup> Her expression too has shifted, from a smile accompanying a gentle melting into the light, ostensibly toward limelight and listeners, to a pinched

hesitancy before the onslaught of stage lighting, although that light is mitigated and in places actually erased. This cautious, even worried facial expression, the subtly altered axis of the woman’s head, and her swankier hairstyle quite redefine her comportment. And the face of the woman at right, meanwhile, still holding her fan, is now visible but jarringly caricatured.

That a tense demeanor should define an entertainer removed from the space of performance is puzzling. Her right arm still extends right, now toward the audience, but it is shorter, and its distortion and stark modeling are gone. Its straightness, however, augments its sense of strain, not to mention the odd note struck by the eye-catching acute angle it forms with the downward pointing arm of the woman behind the lead performer, previously indistinct but now sharply drawn. This conjunction of two lean arms—as if the hands of a clock were sitting almost at the center of the sheet—is disruptive, and muddies the definition of the space occupied by these two spiky-limbed women.

Another telling modification is the transformation of the lighting. The lamps in the pastel are less numerous, motley, and ferocious; all are powered by gas. A single upmarket sconce (*une applique à gaz*) replaces the naked moon eggs in *Café Singer*. Most significantly, the dazzling electric arc light at the far left of that work, alongside what seems to be a gas streetlight—both markers of the outdoors—are gone, replaced by an elegant multiglobe chandelier (*un lustre à gaz*) suspended over the audience. It secures the room’s identity as a theater, a kind of establishment not lit by electricity in Paris in the later 1870s.<sup>8</sup> In moving to this indoor arena, Degas has made a basic change in the nature of the space of two scenes printed from the same plate.

Two extraordinary last details illustrate Degas’s abiding interest in the visualities of artificial light. At the top left, to the right of the chandelier, is a sequence of sawtooth gray lines that imply both the rounded shape of an unseen lamp and its sunlike rays, blurred and fragmented illusions that deserve to be called apparitional. These strokes are surrogates for the dazzle shown in the monotype and concealed in the pastel—Degas could not resist experimenting with indications of the brilliance of artificial light. Finally, on the lip of the stage (seen diagonally at

far left) is a sequence of bright white marks, which replace an indistinct series of white spheres at the bottom left of the monochrome print. In both cases what is indexed is surely theatrical limelight (a type of gaslight).<sup>9</sup> Might its glare explain the singer’s angular gesture, and her pained expression and averted gaze once she is clothed in pink?

1. See Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Angela Davies (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 133–54.

2. See, e.g., Nicole Minder, *Degas et Pissarro. Alchimie d'une rencontre* (Vevey: Cabinet Cantonal des Estampes, Musée Jenisch, 1998), p. 15.

3. Jonathan Crary, “Attention and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century,” in Caroline A. Jones and Peter Galison, eds., *Picturing Science, Producing Art* (New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 476.

4. Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project, 1927–40*, trans. Rolf Tiedemann (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 570. Guy de Maupassant’s story “Clair de lune” was first published in *Gil Blas* in October 1882.

5. Degas, in Richard Kendall, *Degas by Himself: Drawings, Prints, Paintings, Writings* (Edison, N.J.: Chartwell Books, 1994), p. 112.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 116. “Jablockov” is presumably a misspelling of “Jablochhoff,” the name of a Russian engineer, Paul Jablockhoff (or Yablochkov), resident in Paris beginning in the 1870s, who designed an electric arc light that became widely used.

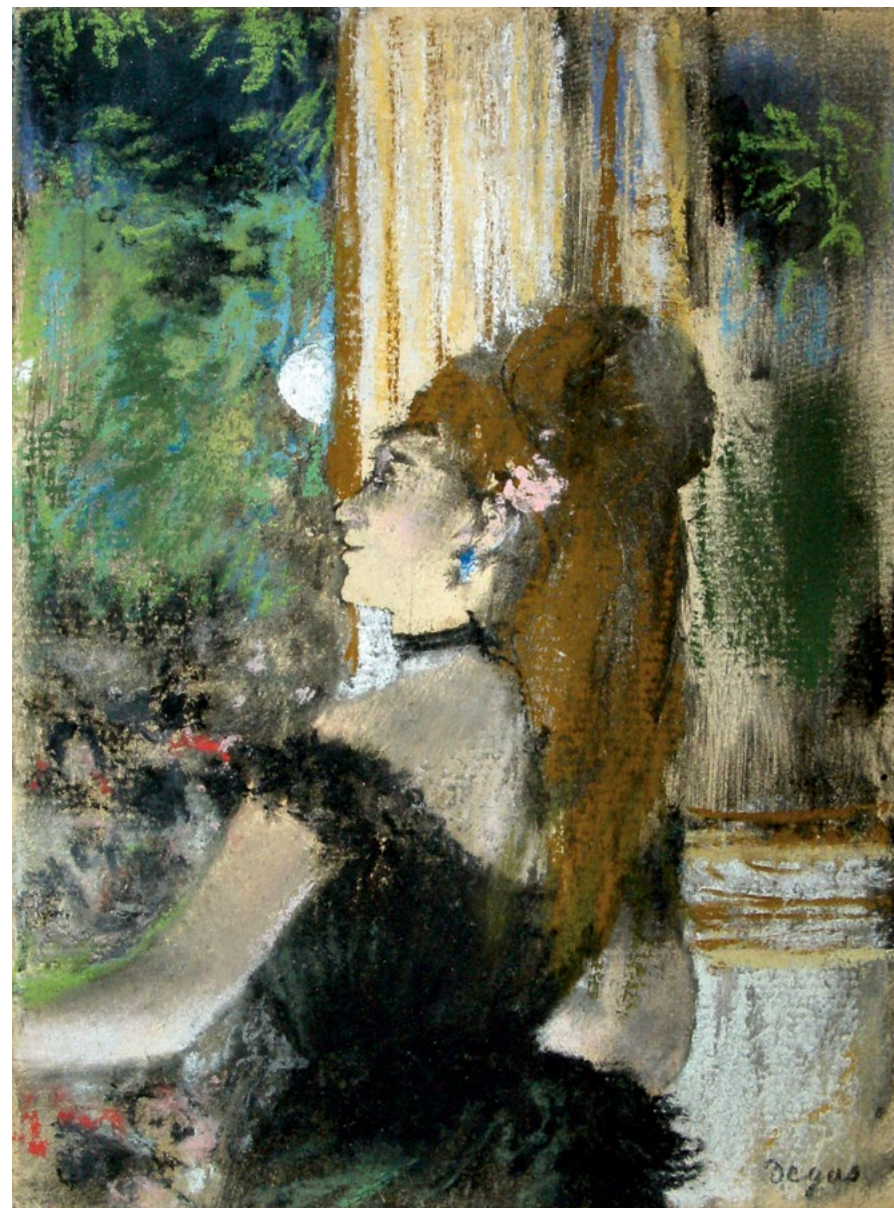
7. Eugenia Parry Janis, *Degas Monotypes: Essay, Catalogue & Checklist*, exh. cat. (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum and Harvard University, 1968), plate 8, and Richard R. Brettell and Suzanne Folds McCullagh, *Degas in The Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, and New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1984), p. 86, noted the changed setting years ago.

8. See Frank Géraldy, “L’électricité au théâtre,” *La Lumière électrique* 14 (July 1880):284. The first theater to convert entirely to electric light was in San Francisco in 1879; the Savoy in London became the first in Europe in 1881. See Andres Blühm and Louise Lippincott, *Light! The Industrial Age 1750–1900: Art and Science, Technology and Society* (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, and Pittsburgh: Carnegie Museum of Art, 2000), p. 166. In 1877, a new municipal law was passed obliging Paris theaters to electrify.

9. See Blühm and Lippincott, *Light!*, p. 166.



31. *The Café-Concert Singer* (*Chanteuse de café-concert*), 1875–76  
 Pastel over monotype on paper  
 Plate: 6 ½ × 4 ¾ in. (16.5 × 12.1 cm)  
 Private collection



32. *The Singer* (*Chanteuse de café-concert*), 1875–80  
 Pastel over monotype on paper  
 Plate: 6 ¼ × 4 ½ in. (15.9 × 11.4 cm)  
 Reading Public Museum, Reading, Pennsylvania. Gift, Miss Martha Elizabeth Dick Estate



33. *The Loge (La Loge)*, c. 1878  
 Monotype on paper  
 Plate: 4  $\frac{3}{4}$   $\times$  6  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (12.1  $\times$  15.9 cm)  
 Baltimore Museum of Art. Purchase with exchange funds from Nelson and Juanita Greif Gutman Collection



34. *At the Theater: The Duet (Le Duo)*, 1877–79  
 Pastel over monotype on paper  
 Plate: 4  $\frac{11}{16}$   $\times$  6  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (11.9  $\times$  16.2 cm), sheet: 5  $\frac{5}{16}$   $\times$  7  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (13.5  $\times$  17.9 cm)  
 The Morgan Library & Museum, New York. Thaw Collection



35. *Two Studies for a Music Hall Singer (Deux études pour chanteuses de café-concert)*. c. 1878-80  
Pastel and charcoal on gray paper  
17 ½ × 22 ⅞ in. (44.5 × 57 cm)  
Private collection



36. *Café-Concert Singer (Chanteuse de café-concert)*. c. 1877  
Monotype on paper mounted on board  
Plate: 7 ⅞ × 5 ⅞ in. (18.5 × 12.8 cm), sheet: 9 ¼ × 7 ⅞ in. (23.5 × 18 cm)  
Private collection



37. *Song of the Scissors (La Chanson des ciseaux)*. c. 1877–78  
 Monotype on paper  
 Plate: 8 ½ × 6 ⅝ in. (21.6 × 16.1 cm), sheet: 10 ⅝ × 7 ⅝ in. (26.2 × 18.5 cm)  
 Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Gift of Henry F. Harrison



38. *Café-Concert Singer (Chanteuse de café-concert, profil droit)*. c. 1878–80  
 Monotype on paper  
 Plate: 3 ⅝ × 2 ⅜ in. (8 × 7.2 cm), sheet: 7 ¼ × 6 ⅝ in. (18.4 × 16.2 cm)  
 The Art Institute of Chicago. Potter Palmer Collection Fund



39. *Mlle Bécát*. c. 1877–78  
 Monotype on paper  
 Plate: 6 ¼ × 4 1/16 in. (15.9 × 11.9 cm)  
 National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.  
 Rosenwald Collection



40. *Mlle Bécát at the Café des Ambassadeurs: Three Motifs*  
 (*Mlle Bécát aux Ambassadeurs, planche a trois sujets*). c. 1877–78  
 Lithograph on paper, composition transferred from three monotypes  
 Sheet: 13 7/8 × 10 1/16 in. (35.2 × 27.2 cm)  
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of George Peabody Gardner



41. *Mlle Bécát at the Café des Ambassadeurs*  
 (*Mlle Bécát aux Ambassadeurs*). c. 1878–80  
 Monotype on paper  
 Plate: 5 7/8 × 8 7/16 in. (14.9 × 21.4 cm),  
 sheet: 5 7/8 × 8 7/8 in. (14.9 × 22.5 cm)  
 Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen



42. *Mlle Bécát (Mlle Bécát aux Ambassadeurs)*. c. 1877–79  
 Pastel over lithograph on paper  
 Composition: 4 7/8 × 8 5/8 in. (12.4 × 21.9 cm)  
 Private collection

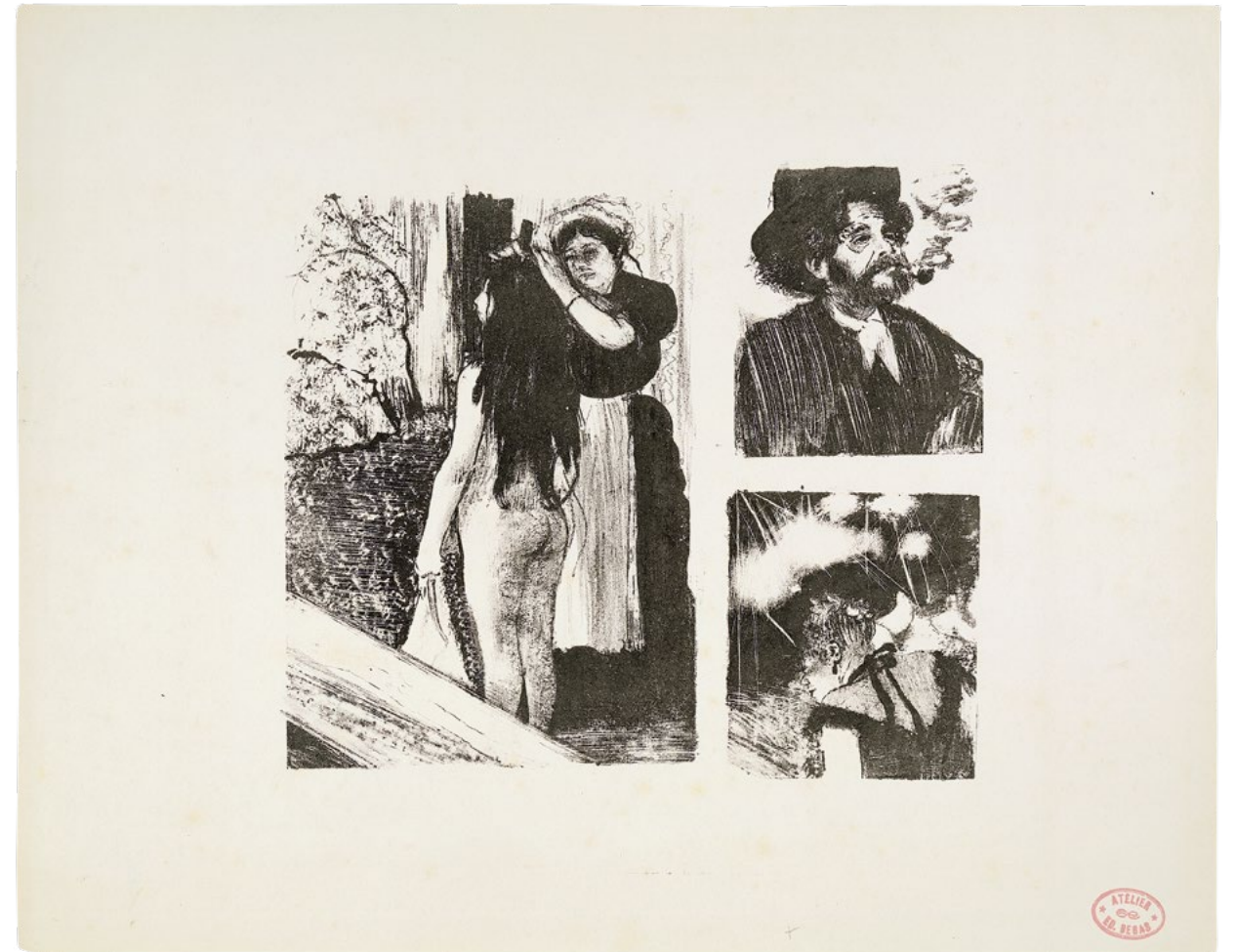


43. *Two Performers at a Café-Concert and Morning Frolic (Mlle Bécot aux Ambassadeurs and Ebats matinal)*, 1877–79  
Lithograph on paper, composition transferred from two monotypes, only state  
Sheet: 9 5/8 × 12 5/16 in. (24.5 × 32 cm)  
Private collection



44. *Two Performers at a Café-concert (Mlle Bécot aux Ambassadeurs [café-concert])*, c. 1877–79  
Pastel over lithograph on paper  
Composition: 6 3/8 × 4 13/16 in. (16.2 × 12.2 cm)  
Private collection

45. Drawings of café singers from a sketchbook, c. 1880  
Pencil, charcoal, and blue chalk on paper  
Sheet: 9 13/16 × 13 3/8 in. (24.9 × 33.9 cm)  
The Morgan Library & Museum, New York. Thaw Collection



46. *Three Subjects: The Toilette, Marcellin Desboutin, The Café-Concert (Planche aux trois sujets: la toilette; Marcellin Desboutin; café-concert)*, 1876–77  
Lithograph on paper, composition transferred from three monotypes, state I of II  
Sheet: 10 9/16 × 13 9/16 in. (26.9 × 34.4 cm)  
Private collection. Courtesy Nicholas Stogdon

# On Smoke

Samantha Friedman



47. *Factory Smoke (Fumées d'usines)*. 1877–79

Monotype on paper

Plate: 4  $\frac{11}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (11.9 × 16.1 cm), sheet: 5  $\frac{13}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (14.7 × 17.3 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund

Four billows of smoke waft into the sky and merge into a single sooty cloud. Three of these plumes lack a clear origin; their chimneys have been cropped out of the frame. But the source of the fourth, rightmost swell makes it into the composition as a tubular funnel, its top sharply defined by a dark triangle of ink—a concrete referent in a scene otherwise dominated by gaseous ambiguity.

That tension—between clear description and hazy suggestion, between solidity and smoke—extends beyond this single monotype, encapsulating a dynamic that is present throughout Degas's work. If our man is a nineteenth-century realist, documenting scenes of modern life with attentive precision, then *Factory Smoke (Fumées d'usines, 1877–79; plate 47)* can be read as an emblem of urban industrialization, a picture about iron and carbon and smog. But if Degas is the proto-Symbolist who once told his friend Georges Jeannot that “a painting demands a certain mystery, vagueness, fantasy,” this monotype can be seen as something else: an aesthetic reverie, a Romantic abstraction executed years before the artist's Symbolist affinities are generally acknowledged to have begun.<sup>1</sup>

The dating of *Factory Smoke* derives from its relationship to a passage Degas wrote in around May 1879, in a notebook where he was listing possible subjects: “On smoke—people's smoke, from pipes,

cigarettes, cigars; smoke of locomotives, tall chimneys, factories, steamboats, etc.; smoke confined in the space under bridges; steam.”<sup>2</sup> If Degas is seen as a realist, this note comes across as a list of observed phenomena, and the artist as a scientist offering a detailed account of the occurrences of a particular visual fact. Read in the context of Symbolism, though, it takes on the character of a Baudelairean chain of associations, one smoky entity triggering the thought of the next. As T. J. Clark writes, describing the effect of a distant puff of factory smoke in Claude Monet's 1874 boating painting *Sailboat at Le Petit Gennevilliers (Le Voilier au Petit Gennevilliers)*, “The smoke serves to provoke various analogies—between smoke and paint, smoke and cloud, cloud and water.”<sup>3</sup>

The relationship between subject and medium is also crucial to Degas's monotype, suggesting, of course, an analogy between smoke and ink. *Factory Smoke* seems to have been executed through a combination of dark-ground technique in the top half of the composition, where passages were wiped away from an ink-covered area of the plate, and light-ground technique in the bottom half, where ink was added to a part of the plate otherwise left clean. The shift between the two zones is subtle, both softened by the texture of the paper and modulated by the ridges of the artist's fingerprints, where he manually blurred any inky edges. The openness of the mono-





1. Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. *Henri Rouart in front of His Factory (Henri Rouart devant son usine)*. c. 1875. Oil on canvas, 25  $\frac{3}{4}$   $\times$  19  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (65.41  $\times$  50.48 cm). Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh. Acquired through the generosity of the Sarah Mellon Scaife Family

type medium to this kind of mutability makes it ideal, both visually and metaphorically, for representing a subject that is itself in flux, and monotype's capacity for nebulous forms makes it well suited to capture smoke's haze. But the medium's connection to its subject also exists on a material level, for lamp black—made from soot—was in Degas's day a major ingredient of black printing ink.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore likely not only that his ink looked and behaved like the stuff it was representing, but also that it may consist of the same compounds that would have chugged out of those factory smokestacks.

Factory smoke had appeared in Degas's work before, in paintings that place him more firmly in the camp of nineteenth-century chroniclers and in the company of contemporaries like Monet and Camille Pissarro, whose Impressionist canvases documented the ways in which modern manufacturing was transforming the French landscape.<sup>5</sup> In *The Gentlemen's Race: Before the Start (Course de gentlemen. Avant le départ, 1862)*, distant industrial chimneys dot the horizon beyond a sea of mounted riders, imposing the specter of labor onto a scene of well-bred leisure. And in *Henri Rouart in front of His Factory (Henri Rouart devant son usine, c. 1875; fig. 1)*, Degas identifies his friend with the site of this factory-owner's industry, placing Rouart's head at the vanishing point where converging railway lines meet a structure spewing smoke. Within the artist's monotype practice, *Beside the Sea (Au bord de la mer, c. 1876–77; plate*



2. Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas. *Woman with a Cigarette (Femme à la cigarette)*. c. 1880. Monotype on paper, plate: 3  $\frac{1}{8}$   $\times$  2  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (8  $\times$  7 cm). Private collection. Courtesy Brame & Lorenceau, Paris

59)—with its distant boat emitting a black cloud—has been cited as the work most closely related to *Factory Smoke*, which Eugenia Parry Janis otherwise characterizes as something of an anomaly.<sup>6</sup> But while *Beside the Sea* is linked to *Factory Smoke* by its subject, another monotype—featuring the smoke “from pipes, cigarettes, cigars” also listed in Degas's notebook—is closer in its technique: like *Factory Smoke*, *Woman with a Cigarette (Femme à la cigarette, c. 1880; fig. 2)* seems to offer an excuse for Degas to indulge in a formal association between smoke and ink. The upper left quadrant of the composition is dominated by a smudgy cloud, whose texture—embedded with the whorls of Degas's fingerprints—is wholly distinct from the more linear treatment devoted to the monotype's ostensible subject, a portly little *fumeuse*.

No smoke from a volcano is mentioned in Degas's notebook, an absence both suggesting that its entries were indeed based on observation and underscoring the dreamy inventiveness of the pastel-heightened monotype *Vesuvius (Le Vésuve, 1892; plate 148)*. For while Degas visited the volcano in either 1856 or 1857, on one of his many trips to Naples, the rust-colored drama of an eruption captured in the monotype is pure fancy.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the print's palette—like that of *Landscape with Smokestacks (c. 1890; The Art Institute of Chicago)*, another pastelized monotype whose towers pour out puffs of deep peacock blue—verges on the hallucinogenic. *Factory Smoke*, then, is both chronologically and conceptually situated



3. Eugène Delacroix. *Cloud Study (Etude de ciel nuageux)*. 1849. Watercolor, 10  $\frac{3}{4}$   $\times$  15  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (27.2  $\times$  39.8 cm). Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris

somewhere between Degas's invocations of industry in the 1860s and '70s and his aesthetic inventions of the 1890s. Nonetheless, it remains unique in relinquishing its entire composition to an exploration of its subject's vaporous qualities. In this regard its closest kin may be a work that Degas owned: Eugène Delacroix's *Cloud Study (Etude de ciel nuageux, 1849; fig. 3)*, which exploits watercolor's capacity for mistily indistinct forms in much the same way that Degas harnessed a similar potential of the monotype.<sup>8</sup> If Delacroix's aqueous medium was uniquely suited to depict clouds, Degas's carbon-based ink was the ideal substance for a devoted description of the effects of smoke.

1. Degas, quoted in Georges Jeannot, “Souvenirs sur Degas,” *Revue Universelle* 55 (1933):281. Both Carol Armstrong and Richard Kendall cite 1886—the year of the final Impressionist exhibition—as the key turning point in Degas's approach. See Armstrong, “Against the Grain: J. K. Huysmans and the 1886 Series of Nudes,” in *Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 157–209, and Kendall, *Beyond Impressionism*, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery, 1996), p. 126.  
2. Degas, *The Notebooks of Edgar Degas*, ed. Theodore Reff (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), no. 205, 1:134. Trans. in Jean Sutherland Boggs, *Degas*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), p. 262. Boggs also discusses the dating of the notebook entry, and the notebook entry as the basis for the dating of the print.  
3. T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), p. 182.  
4. Charred vegetable material (vines) and charred bones were other period sources for black printing ink. I am grateful to Assistant Conservator Laura Neufeld for providing this information in conversation,

and for pointing me toward an early-twentieth-century book on printers' inks by Louis Edgar Andés, who writes that “the chief pigment used in the manufacture of printing ink is now, as formerly, lampblack, obtained by the incomplete combustion of organic substances rich in carbon.” Andés, *Oil Colours and Printers' Inks* (rev. ed. London: Scott, Greenwood & Son, 1918), p. 87. First published as *Oel- und Buchdruckfarben* (Vienna: A. Hartleben, 1889).

5. For an extended discussion of the meanings of factories in the work of these and other artists, including Degas, see James H. Rubin, “Factories and Work Sites: City and Country,” in *Impressionism and the Modern Landscape: Productivity, Technology, and Urbanization from Manet to Van Gogh* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2008), pp. 121–47.

6. Eugenia Parry Janis, in her catalogue raisonné of Degas's monotypes, lists *Factory Smoke* among those monotypes that “do not belong to any of these [five major] categories and which either fall into minor categories or are more notable as individual works than as members of a group.” *Degas Monotypes: Essay, Catalogue & Checklist* (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1968), p. xxvii. The two monotypes are cross-referenced both in Janis's entry for *Beside the Sea (Au bord de la mer; no. 61)* and in Boggs's entry on *Factory Smoke*: see Boggs, *Degas*, p. 262, no. 153 (Boggs uses the title *At the Seashore* for *Beside the Sea*). Boggs also discusses this monotype's relationship to *The Gentleman's Race . . .* and *Henri Rouart . . .*, as well as to two other paintings.

7. Degas did not witness an eruption of Vesuvius, as the closest ones to his visit occurred in 1855, 1861, 1868, and 1872. See Richard Kendall, *Degas Landscapes*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, in association with Yale University Press, New Haven, 1993), p. 21.

8. For a discussion of this and other works by Delacroix in Degas's collection, and of their influence on his work, see Ann Dumas, Colta Ives, Susan Alyson Stein, et al., *The Private Collection of Edgar Degas*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), pp. 33–41.



48. *On the Street (Dans la rue)*. 1876–77  
 Monotype on China paper  
 Plate:  $6 \frac{3}{8} \times 4 \frac{13}{16}$  in. (16.2 × 12.2 cm)  
 Mrs. Martin Atlas



49. *Heads of a Man and a Woman (Homme et femme, en buste)*. c. 1877–80  
 Monotype on paper  
 Plate:  $2 \frac{13}{16} \times 3 \frac{3}{16}$  in. (7.2 × 8.1 cm)  
 British Museum, London. Bequeathed by Campbell Dodgson



50. *At the Races (Aux courses)*, c. 1876–77  
Oil on canvas  
7 ½ × 9 ¼ in. (19.1 × 24.6 cm)  
Private collection



51. *Lady with a Parasol (Femme à l'ombrelle)*, c. 1870–72  
Oil on canvas  
29 ⅝ × 33 ⅞ in. (75.3 × 85 cm)  
The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London



52. *In the Omnibus (Dans l'omnibus)*, c. 1877–78  
 Monotype on paper  
 Plate: 11 × 11 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (28 × 29.7 cm)  
 Musée Picasso, Paris



53. *The Two Connoisseurs (Les Deux Amateurs)*, c. 1880  
 Monotype on paper mounted on board  
 Plate: 11 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 10 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (29.8 × 27 cm), sheet: 13 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 12 in. (33.4 × 30.5 cm)  
 The Art Institute of Chicago. Clarence Buckingham Collection



54. *A Woman Ironing (Blanchisseuse [Silhouette])*. 1873  
 Oil on canvas  
 21  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 15  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (54.3 × 39.4 cm)  
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer



55. *Ironing Women (Les Repasseuses)*. c. 1877–79  
 Monotype on paper  
 Plate: 9  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 17  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (24.1 × 44.5 cm), sheet: 10 × 17  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (25.4 × 44.5 cm)  
 Private collection



56. *The Jet Earring (Profil perdu à la boucle d'oreille)*. 1876–77  
 Monotype on paper  
 Plate: 3 ¼ × 2 ¾ in. (8.2 × 7 cm), sheet: 7 ¼ × 5 ¾ in. (18 × 13.2 cm)  
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Anonymous gift, in memory of Francis Henry Taylor



57. *Portrait of Ellen Andrée (Portrait de femme)*. c. 1876  
 Monotype on China paper  
 8 ½ × 6 ⅝ in. (21.6 × 16 cm)  
 The Art Institute of Chicago. Potter Palmer Collection



58. *Young Woman in a Café (Jeune femme au café)*. c. 1877  
Pastel over monotype on paper  
5  $\frac{3}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (13.1 × 17.2 cm)  
Haroche Collection

59. *Beside the Sea (Au bord de la mer)*. 1876–77  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (11.8 × 16.2 cm), sheet: 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (16.2 × 17.5 cm)  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Peter A. Wick



60. *Bathers (Les Baigneuses)*. c. 1875–80  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{13}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (11.9 × 16.2 cm),  
sheet: 7  $\frac{3}{16}$  × 9  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (18.2 × 23.7 cm)  
Lent by James Bergquist

61. *The River (La Rivière)*. c. 1877–79  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 3  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 6  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (8.9 × 17.3 cm), sheet: 7  $\frac{3}{16}$  × 9 in. (18.2 × 22.9 cm)  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Katherine E. Bullard Fund in memory  
of Francis Bullard



62. *Moonrise (Lever de la lune)*. c. 1880  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (11.7 × 16 cm),  
sheet: 6  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 9  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (15.4 × 24.6 cm)  
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute,  
Williamstown, Massachusetts



63. *Willow Trees (Les Saules)*. c. 1880  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (11.7 × 16.1 cm),  
sheet: 6  $\frac{7}{16}$  × 10  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (16.7 × 26.7 cm)  
Private collection. Courtesy Nicholas  
Stogdon



64. *The Road (La Route)*. c. 1878–80  
Monotype on China paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (11.8 × 16.1 cm),  
sheet: 6  $\frac{7}{16}$  × 7  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (16 × 18.4 cm)  
National Gallery of Art, Washington,  
D.C. Rosenwald Collection



65. *The Path up the Hill (Le Chemin montant)*. c. 1878–80  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{13}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (11.9 × 16.1 cm), sheet: 5  $\frac{13}{16}$  × 7  $\frac{1}{8}$  in.  
(14.8 × 18.1 cm)  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Fund in memory of Horatio  
Greenough Curtis





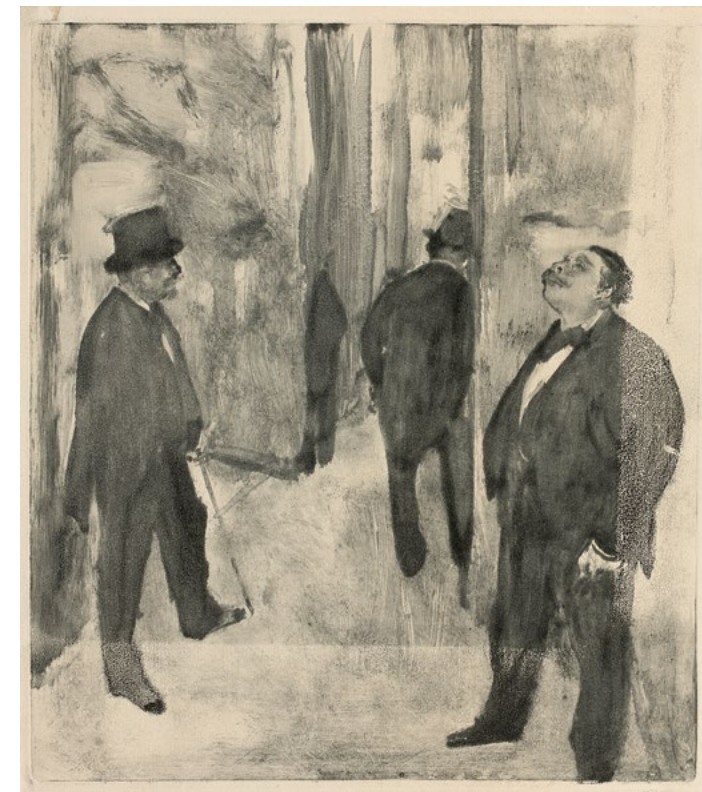
66. *Avenue with Trees (L'Avenue du bois)*. c. 1880  
 Monotype on China paper  
 Plate: 4  $\frac{5}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (11.8 × 16.1 cm),  
 sheet: 6  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 8  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (17.2 × 20.5 cm)  
 The Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.  
 Bequest of A.S.F. Gow through the National Art Collections Fund



67. *Rest in the Fields (Repos dans les champs)*. c. 1877–80  
 Monotype on China paper  
 Plate: 8  $\frac{7}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (21.5 × 16 cm),  
 sheet: 13  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 9  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (34.3 × 24.3 cm)  
 Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts



68. *The Public Meeting (La Réunion publique)*. c. 1880  
 Monotype on paper  
 Plate: 4  $\frac{5}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (11.8 × 16.2 cm)  
 Private collection, Paris



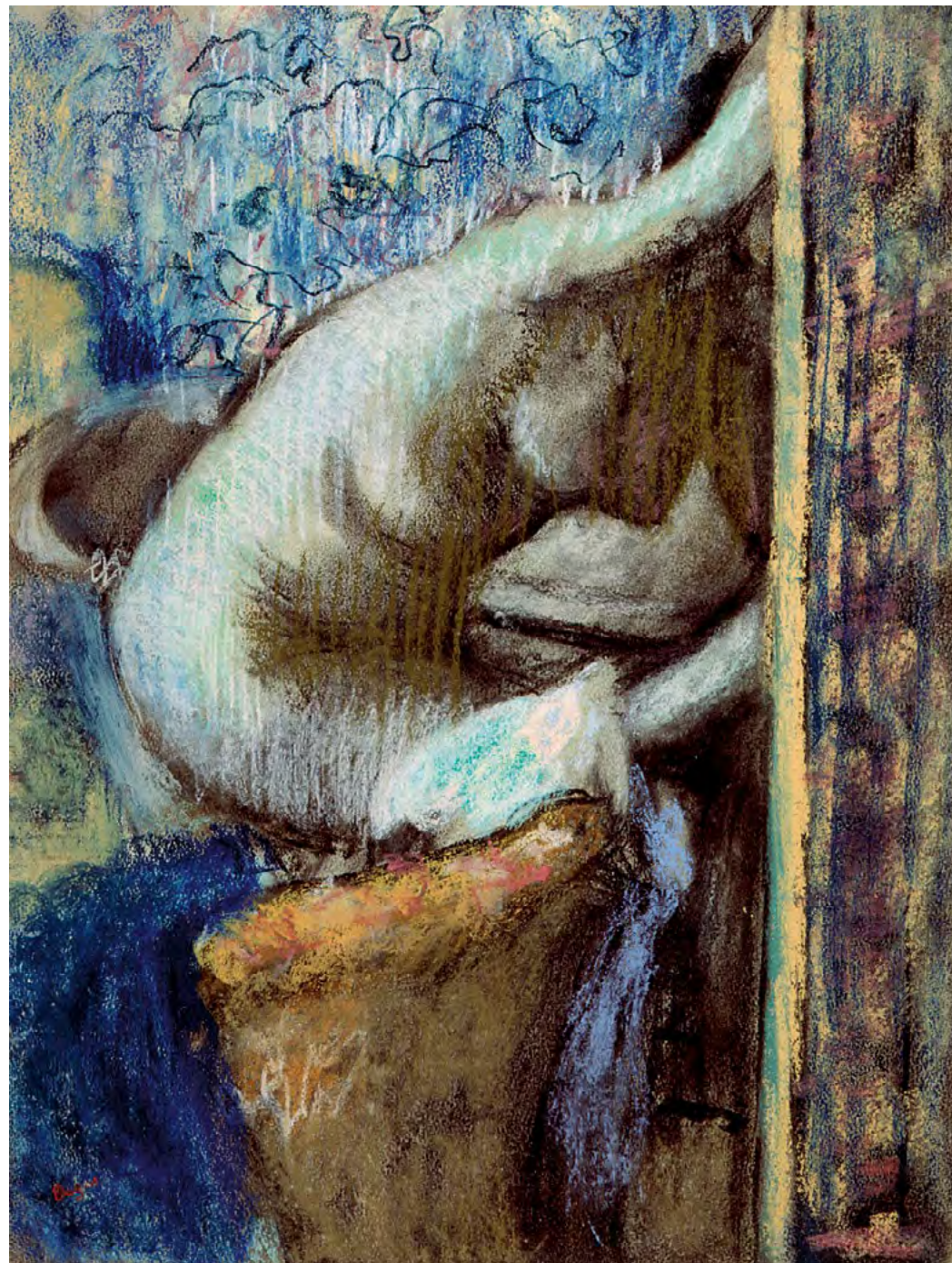
69. *Backstage at the Opera (Dans les coulisses de l'opéra)*. c. 1880  
 Monotype on paper  
 12  $\frac{3}{16}$  × 10  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (31 × 27.4 cm)  
 Private collection, Paris



70. Three studies of Ludovic Halévy standing. c. 1876–77  
 Charcoal on paper  
 12 5/8 × 18 7/8 in. (32 × 48 cm)  
 National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon



71. Three studies of Ludovic Halévy standing. c. 1876–77  
 Charcoal on paper, counterproof  
 14 1/8 × 19 1/4 in. (35.9 × 48.9 cm)  
 National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon



176. *Woman Drying Herself (La Toilette après le bain)*. After 1888  
Pastel on paper  
24  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 18  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (62.9 × 47 cm)  
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of Jerome K. Ohrbach

# Catalogue of the Exhibition

## Note to the Reader

All works are by Edgar Degas unless otherwise noted. The works not included in the exhibition are marked by an asterisk; this marking is accurate as of the time of this book's printing.

## Titles

Since Degas rarely titled his works himself, most titles are descriptive and were given later. They are provided in both English and French; the translations are not always literal but rather represent how the works are best known in each language. In most cases this means they defer to the catalogues raisonnés indicated below, and to other published sources, including how Degas himself referred to a work if it was exhibited during his lifetime.

## Dates

Degas rarely dated his works. The dates given here defer to published sources and outside documentation, including when works were exhibited, inscriptions, letters, or publications. The inability to definitively determine the exact year of a work's completion is indicated by the use of "circa" (c.). Use of a dash in a work's date does not indicate a process of continuous creation during that range of years but creation at some point during it.

## Media, supports, and dimensions

This information has been provided by the owners or custodians of the works. The monotypes are executed in black printing ink unless otherwise noted. This ink is a mixture of black carbon-based pigments ground with boiled linseed oil and diluted with solvent to a desired consistency. When known, the type of paper and color is provided. The media description of some monotypes includes the notation of a secondary support when the print is mounted onto either a sheet of paper or a board. This information comes from direct examination or from communication with the lender; there may be other examples among works that could not be examined before this book's press date. Dimensions of prints include both plate and full sheet size when possible; in some cases only one of the two measurements was available to us. Measurements are given in inches and centimeters; height precedes width.

## Cognates and counterproofs

Degas would often make more than one impression from a single plate; the word "cognate" is used in the literature to describe the resulting related but separate prints. Degas also made counterproofs, prints taken directly from the surface of another print or drawing; to create a counterproof a sheet of damp media is placed over the still-wet or friable media of the first work, and then both sheets are passed through an etching press. The counterproof will be a mirror image of the work it was printed from, and the intensity of the media will often be diminished. Cognate and counterproof information is provided here only when both works are reproduced.

## Stamps

Some of the works show "vente" and "atelier" stamps. The *vente* stamp imitates Degas's signature and is printed on works that were sold in the sales immediately following the artist's death. "Atelier Ed. Degas," in an oval, was stamped on works left in the artist's studio at the time of his death.

## Reference numbers

Works catalogued in the key sources listed below are identified by the corresponding abbreviation followed by the reference number assigned in that publication.

A&C: Adhémar, Jean, and Françoise Cachin. *Degas: The Complete Etchings, Lithographs, and Monotypes*. Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, Paris, 1973. Eng. trans. London: Thames & Hudson, 1974.

B&R: Brame, Philippe, and Theodore Reff. *Degas et son œuvre: A Supplement*. New York: Garland, 1984.

J: Janis, Eugenia Parry. *Degas Monotypes*. Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1968.

L: Lemoisne, Paul-André. *Degas et son œuvre*. 4 vols. Paris: Paul Brame and C. M. de Hauke, Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1946.

R: Reff, Theodore, ed. *The Notebooks of Edgar Degas*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

R&S: Reed, Sue Welsh, and Barbara Stern Shapiro. *Edgar Degas: The Painter as Printmaker*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1984.

1. *Self-Portrait (Autoportrait)*. 1857  
Etching and drypoint on paper, state II of IV  
Plate: 9  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 5  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (23 × 14.4cm), sheet: 10  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (26.3 × 17.2 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Jacob H. Schiff Fund  
A&C 13 (p. 262); R&S 8, second printing
2. *Self-Portrait (Autoportrait)*. 1857  
Etching and drypoint on paper, state III of IV  
Plate: 9  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 5  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (23 × 14.4 cm), sheet: 20  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 13  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (52 × 35 cm)  
Private collection. Courtesy C. G. Boerner, New York  
A&C 13 (p. 262); R&S 8
3. *Sketchbook (Carnet I)*. 1859–64  
Ink, graphite, charcoal with scrapbook additions including photographs, intaglio printing and pressed flowers  
10 × 7  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (25.4 × 19.5 cm)  
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Département Estampes et photographie  
R 18
4. *The Engraver Joseph Tourny (Le Graveur Joseph Tourny)*. 1858  
Etching on paper  
Plate: 9  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 5  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (23 × 14.4 cm)  
Princeton University Art Museum. Gift of James H. Lockhart, Jr., Class of 1935  
A&C 8A; R&S 5, first printing
5. *The Engraver Joseph Tourny (Le Graveur Joseph Tourny)*. c. 1865  
Etching on paper, only state  
Plate: 9  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 5  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (23 × 14.4 cm), sheet: 18  $\frac{7}{8}$  × 12  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (48 × 31.5 cm)  
Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe  
A&C 8B; R&S 5, third printing
6. *The Engraver Joseph Tourny (Le Graveur Joseph Tourny)*. 1857  
Etching on paper  
Plate: 9  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 5  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (23 × 14.4 cm), sheet: 18  $\frac{15}{16}$  × 13  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (48.1 × 35.1 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund  
A&C 8C; R&S 5, third printing
7. *A Café-Concert Singer (Derrière le rideau de fer)*. 1877–78  
Aquatint and drypoint on paper, only state  
Plate: 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  × 4  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (15.9 × 11 cm), sheet: 9  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 7  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (23.6 × 18.4 cm)  
Ursula and R. Stanley Johnson Family Collection  
A&C 29; R&S 32a

8. *Two Dancers in a Rehearsal Room (Deux danseuses)*. 1877–78  
Aquatint and drypoint on paper, only state  
Plate: 6  $\frac{3}{16}$  × 4  $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (15.7 × 11.6 cm),  
sheet: 11  $\frac{13}{16}$  × 8  $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (30 × 21.4 cm)  
Lent by James Bergquist  
A&C 37; R&S 33
9. *At the Café des Ambassadeurs (Aux Ambassadeurs)*. 1879–80  
Etching, softground, drypoint, and aquatint on paper, state III of V  
Plate: 10  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 11  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (26.6 × 29.6 cm),  
sheet: 16  $\frac{1}{8}$  × 12  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (41 × 31.5 cm)  
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute,  
Williamstown, Massachusetts  
A&C 30; R&S 49
10. *At the Ambassadeurs (Aux Ambassadeurs)*. 1879–80  
Etching, softground, drypoint, and aquatint on paper, state V of V  
Plate: 10  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 11  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (26.6 × 29.6 cm),  
sheet: 12  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 17  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (31.3 × 44.9 cm) (irregular)  
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.  
Purchase  
A&C 30; R&S 49
11. *Actresses in Their Dressing Rooms (Loges d'actrices)*. 1879–80  
Etching and aquatint on paper, state I of V  
Plate: 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 8  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (16.1 × 21.3 cm),  
sheet: 7  $\frac{5}{8}$  × 10  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (19.3 × 26 cm)  
Kunsthalle Bremen. Kupferstichkabinett-Der Kunstverein in Bremen  
A&C 31; R&S 50
12. *Actresses in Their Dressing Rooms (Loges d'actrices)*. 1879–80  
Etching and aquatint on paper, state V of V  
Plate: 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 8  $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (16 × 21.5 cm),  
sheet: 6  $\frac{11}{16}$  × 9  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (17 × 24.5 cm)  
Cantor Arts Center at Stanford University.  
Gift of Marion E. Fitzhugh and Dr. William M. Fitzhugh, Jr., in memory of their mother, Mary E. Fitzhugh  
A&C 31; R&S 50
13. *At the Theater: Woman with a Fan (Femme a l'éventail, ou loge d'avant-scène)*. 1878–80  
Lithograph on paper, from transfer paper, only state  
Composition: 9  $\frac{1}{8}$  × 7  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (23.2 × 20 cm), sheet: 13  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 10  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (35 × 27 cm)  
Private collection  
A&C 34; related to R&S 37

14. *Singer at a Café Concert (Chanteuse de Café Concert)*. 1875  
Lithograph on paper, only state  
Composition: 10  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 7  $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (25.6 × 19.2 cm), sheet: 13  $\frac{11}{16}$  × 10  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (34.8 × 27.2 cm)  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York.  
Gift of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller  
A&C 33 (p. 265)
15. *Mademoiselle Bécat at the Ambassadeurs (Mademoiselle Bécat aux Ambassadeurs)*. c. 1877  
Lithograph on paper, only state  
Composition: 8  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 7  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (20.6 × 19.3 cm), sheet: 13  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 10  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (34.3 × 27.3 cm)  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York.  
Gift of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller  
A&C 42
16. Ludovic-Napoléon Lepic  
Views from the Banks of the Scheldt (*Vue des bords de l'Escaut*)  
Six works from the series: *Sunrise (Lever du soleil)*, *Rain (La Pluie)*, *Willows and Poplars (Saules et peupliers)*, *The Mill Fire (L'Incendie du moulin)*, *Snow (La Neige)*, *The Moon through the Willows (Lune dans les saules)*. c. 1870–76  
Etching with variable inking on paper  
Plate: 13  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 29  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (34.3 × 74.4 cm),  
sheet: 17  $\frac{11}{16}$  × 31  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (45 × 81 cm),  
each  
The Baltimore Museum of Art. Garrett Collection
17. *The Ballet Master (Le Maître de ballet)*. c. 1876  
White chalk or opaque watercolor over monotype on paper  
Plate: 22  $\frac{1}{4}$  × 27  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (56.5 × 70 cm),  
sheet: 24  $\frac{7}{16}$  × 33  $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (62 × 85 cm)  
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.  
Rosenwald Collection  
A&C 1; J 1
18. *The Dancing Lesson (La Leçon de danse)*. c. 1877  
Pastel over monotype on paper  
Plate: 23 × 28  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (58.4 × 72.7 cm)  
The Joan Whitney Payson Collection  
at the Portland Museum of Art. Gift of John Whitney Payson  
L 396
19. *The Dance Lesson (La leçon de danse)*. c. 1876\*  
Pastel over monotype on paper mounted on board  
Plate: 18  $\frac{1}{8}$  × 31  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (43.6 × 79.2 cm)  
Private collection

20. *Pas battu*. c. 1879  
Pastel over monotype on paper  
10  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 11  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (27.3 × 29.5 cm)  
Private collection  
J 11; L 569
21. *Three Ballet Dancers (Trois danseuses)*. c. 1878  
Monotype on paper. Cognate of plate 22  
Plate: 7  $\frac{13}{16}$  × 16  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (19.9 × 41.6 cm),  
sheet: 14 × 20  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (35.6 × 51.3 cm)  
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute,  
Williamstown, Massachusetts  
A&C 2; J 9
22. *Ballet Scene (Scène de ballet)*. c. 1879  
Pastel over monotype on paper. Cognate of plate 21  
Plate: 8 × 16 in. (20.3 × 40.6 cm)  
William I. Koch Collection  
J 10; L 568
23. Album of forty-five figure studies. c. 1882–85  
Black chalk on paper  
Sheet: 10  $\frac{9}{16}$  × 8  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (26.8 × 21.9 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Fletcher Fund  
R 36
24. Study of a ballet dancer (recto). c. 1873  
Oil with opaque watercolor on prepared pink paper  
17  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 12  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (44.5 × 31.4 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York. Robert Lehman Collection
25. *Dancer (Danseuse)*. c. 1876–77  
Pastel and opaque watercolor over monotype on paper. Cognate of plate 26  
Plate: 8  $\frac{7}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (21.5 × 17.5 cm),  
sheet: 8  $\frac{7}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (21.5 × 17.5 cm)  
Kunstmuseum Winterthur. Anonymous gift  
Related to A&C 27; J 4
26. *Two Dancers (Deux danseuses)*. 1877  
Monotype on paper. Cognate of plate 25  
Plate: 8  $\frac{9}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (21.7 × 17.7 cm)  
Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen  
A&C 27; J 4
27. *Dancer Onstage with a Bouquet (Danseuse saluant)*. c. 1876  
Pastel over monotype on paper  
Plate: 10  $\frac{5}{8}$  × 14  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (27 × 37.8 cm)  
Private collection  
J 12; L 515
28. *Café-Concert Singer (Chanteuse de café-concert)*. c. 1875–76  
Pastel over monotype on paper  
9  $\frac{1}{8}$  × 11  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (23.2 × 28.4 cm)  
John and Marine van Vlissingen  
Foundation  
B&R 69; J 36

29. *Café Singer (Chanteuse du café-concert)*. c. 1877–78  
Monotype on paper. Cognate of plate 30  
Plate: 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (12 × 16.2 cm),  
sheet: 5  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (12.9 × 16.7 cm) (irregular)  
Private collection  
A&C 6; J 29
30. *Singers on the Stage (Café-Concert)*. c. 1877–79  
Pastel over monotype on paper mounted on board. Cognate of plate 29  
Plate: 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (12 × 16.9 cm),  
sheet: 5  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 7  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (13.8 × 18.2 cm)  
The Art Institute of Chicago. Bequest of Mrs. Clive Runnells  
J 30; L 455
31. *The Café-Concert Singer (Chanteuse de café-concert)*. 1875–76  
Pastel over monotype on paper  
Plate: 6  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 4  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (16.5 × 12.1 cm)  
Private collection  
B&R 68
32. *The Singer (Chanteuse de café-concert)*. 1875–80  
Pastel over monotype on paper  
Plate: 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  × 4  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (15.9 × 11.4 cm)  
Reading Public Museum, Reading, Pennsylvania. Gift, Miss Martha Elizabeth Dick Estate  
J 43; L 462
33. *The Loge (La Loge)*. c. 1878  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (12.1 × 15.9 cm)  
Baltimore Museum of Art. Purchase with exchange funds from Nelson and Juanita Greif Gutman Collection  
A&C 17; J 55
34. *At the Theater: The Duet (Le Duo)*. 1877–79  
Pastel over monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{11}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (11.9 × 16.2 cm),  
sheet: 5  $\frac{9}{16}$  × 7  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (13.5 × 17.9 cm)  
The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.  
Thaw Collection  
J 27; L 433
35. *Two Studies for Music Hall Singers (Deux études pour chanteuses de café-concert)*. c. 1878–80  
Pastel and charcoal on gray paper  
17  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 22  $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (44.5 × 57 cm)  
Private collection  
L 504
36. *Café-Concert Singer (Chanteuse de café-concert)*. c. 1877  
Monotype on paper mounted on board  
Plate: 7  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 5  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (18.5 × 12.8 cm),  
sheet: 9  $\frac{1}{4}$  × 7  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (23.5 × 18 cm)  
Private collection  
A&C 14; J 47

37. *Song of the Scissors (La Chanson des ciseaux)*. c. 1877–78  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 8  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (21.6 × 16.1 cm),  
sheet: 10  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 7  $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (26.2 × 18.5 cm)  
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Gift of Henry F. Harrison  
A&C 20; J 44
38. *Café-Concert Singer (Chanteuse de café-concert, profil droit)*. c. 1878–80  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 3  $\frac{1}{8}$  × 2  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (8 × 7.2 cm),  
sheet: 7  $\frac{1}{4}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (18.4 × 16.2 cm)  
The Art Institute of Chicago. Potter Palmer Collection Fund  
A&C 13 (p. 272); J 50
39. *Mlle Bécat*. c. 1877–78  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  × 4  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (15.9 × 11.9 cm)  
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.  
Rosenwald Collection  
R&S 30b
40. *Mlle Bécat at the Café des Ambassadeurs: Three Motifs (Mlle Bécat aux Ambassadeurs, planche a trois sujets)*. c. 1877–78  
Lithograph on paper, composition transferred from three monotypes  
Top: 4  $\frac{15}{16}$  × 8  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (12.5 × 21.3 cm),  
lower-right: 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 4  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (16.1 × 11.6 cm),  
lower-left: 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (16.2 × 12.1 cm), sheet: 13  $\frac{7}{8}$  × 10  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (35.2 × 27.2 cm)  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.  
Gift of George Peabody Gardner  
A&C 43; R&S 30
41. *Mlle Bécat at the Café des Ambassadeurs (Mlle Bécat aux Ambassadeurs)*. c. 1878–80  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 5  $\frac{1}{8}$  × 8  $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (14.9 × 21.4 cm),  
sheet: 5  $\frac{7}{8}$  × 8  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (14.9 × 22.5 cm)  
Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen  
A&C 4; J 32; R&S 30a
42. *Mlle Bécat (Mlle Bécat aux Ambassadeurs)*. c. 1877–79  
Pastel over lithograph on paper  
Composition: 4  $\frac{7}{8}$  × 8  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (12.4 × 21.9 cm)  
Private collection  
L 372; R&S 30c

43. *Two Performers at a Café-Concert and Morning Frolic (Mlle Bécat aux Ambassadeurs; Ebats matinal)*. 1877–79  
Lithograph on paper, composition transferred from two monotypes, only state  
Left: 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (16 × 12 cm),  
right: 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (12 × 16.2 cm),  
sheet: 9  $\frac{5}{8}$  × 12  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (24.5 × 32 cm)  
Private collection  
R&S 35; Related monotypes: A&C 5, 121; J 33, 34, 94
44. *Two Performers at a Café-concert (Mlle Bécat aux Ambassadeurs [café-concert])*. c. 1877–79\*  
Pastel over lithograph on paper  
Composition: 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 4  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (16.2 × 12.2 cm)  
Private collection  
J 34; L 458; R&S 35 fig. 2
45. Drawings of café singers from a sketchbook. c. 1880  
Pencil, charcoal, and blue chalk on paper  
Sheet: 9  $\frac{13}{16}$  × 13  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (24.9 × 33.9 cm)  
The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.  
Thaw Collection  
R 29
46. *Three Subjects: The Toilette, Marcellin Desboutin, The Café-Concert (Planche aux trois sujets: la toilette; Marcellin Desboutin; café-concert)*. 1876–77  
Lithograph on paper, composition transferred from three monotypes, state I of II  
Left: 6  $\frac{7}{16}$  × 4  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (16.4 × 11.7 cm),  
upper-right: 3  $\frac{1}{4}$  × 2  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (8.2 × 7.1 cm),  
lower-right: 3  $\frac{1}{4}$  × 2  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (8.2 × 7.1 cm), sheet: 10  $\frac{9}{16}$  × 13  $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (26.9 × 34.4 cm)  
Private collection. Courtesy Nicholas Stogdon  
A&C 46; R&S 28
47. *Factory Smoke (Fumées d'usines)*. 1877–79  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{11}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (11.9 × 16.1 cm),  
sheet: 5  $\frac{13}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (14.7 × 17.3 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection,  
The Elisha Whittelsey Fund  
A&C 182; J 269
48. *On the Street (Dans la rue)*. 1876–77  
Monotype on China paper  
Plate: 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 4  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (16.2 × 12.2 cm)  
Mrs. Martin Atlas  
A&C 32; J 237

49. *Heads of a Man and a Woman (Homme et femme, en buste)*. c. 1877–80  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 2  $\frac{3}{16}$  × 3  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (7.2 × 8.1 cm)  
British Museum, London. Bequeathed by Campbell Dodgson  
A&C 47 ("second proof"); J 235
50. *At the Races (Aux courses)*. c. 1876–77  
Oil on canvas  
7  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 9  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (19.1 × 24.6 cm)  
Private collection  
L 495
51. *Lady with a Parasol (Femme à l'ombrelle)*. c. 1870–72  
Oil on canvas  
29  $\frac{5}{8}$  × 33  $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (75.3 × 85 cm)  
The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London  
L 414
52. *In the Omnibus (Dans l'omnibus)*. c. 1877–78  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 11 × 11  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (28 × 29.7 cm)  
Musée Picasso, Paris  
A&C 33 (p. 273); J 236
53. *The Two Connoisseurs (Les Deux Amateurs)*. c. 1880  
Monotype on paper mounted on board  
Plate: 11  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 10  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (29.8 × 27 cm), sheet: 13  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 12 in. (33.4 × 30.5 cm)  
The Art Institute of Chicago. Clarence Buckingham Collection  
A&C 50; J 234
54. *A Woman Ironing (Blanchisseuse [Silhouette])*. 1873  
Oil on canvas  
21  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 15  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (54.3 × 39.4 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer  
L 356
55. *Ironing Women (Les Repasseuses)*. c. 1877–79  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 9  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 17  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (24.1 × 44.5 cm), sheet: 10 × 17  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (25.4 × 44.5 cm)  
Private collection  
J 258
56. *The Jet Earring (Profil perdu à la boucle d'oreille)*. 1876–77  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 3  $\frac{1}{4}$  × 2  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (8.2 × 7 cm), sheet: 7  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 5  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (18 × 13.2 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Anonymous gift, in memory of Francis Henry Taylor  
A&C 39; J 243
57. *Portrait of Ellen Andrée (Portrait de femme)*. c. 1876  
Monotype on China paper  
8  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (21.6 × 16 cm)  
The Art Institute of Chicago.  
Potter Palmer Collection  
A&C 48; J 238
58. *Young Woman in a Café (Jeune femme au café)*. c. 1877  
Pastel over monotype on paper  
5  $\frac{3}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (13.1 × 17.2 cm)  
Haroche Collection  
J 59; L 417
59. *Beside the Sea (Au bord de la mer)*. 1876–77  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{5}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (11.8 × 16.2 cm), sheet: 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (16.2 × 17.5 cm)  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Peter A. Wick  
A&C 181; J 264
60. *Bathers (Les Baigneuses)*. c. 1875–80  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{11}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (11.9 × 16.2 cm), sheet: 7  $\frac{3}{16}$  × 9  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (18.2 × 23.7 cm)  
Lent by James Bergquist  
A&C 169; J 262
61. *The River (La Rivière)*. c. 1877–79  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 3  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 6  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (8.9 × 17.3 cm), sheet: 7  $\frac{3}{16}$  × 9 in. (18.2 × 22.9 cm)  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Katherine E. Bullard Fund in memory of Francis Bullard  
A&C 180; J 272
62. *Moonrise (Lever de la lune)*. c. 1880  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{5}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (11.7 × 16 cm), sheet: 6  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 9  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (15.4 × 24.6 cm)  
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts  
A&C 183; J 270
63. *Willow Trees (Les Saules)*. c. 1880  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{5}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (11.7 × 16.1 cm), sheet: 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 10  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (16.7 × 26.7 cm)  
Private collection. Courtesy Nicholas Stogdon  
A&C 176
64. *The Road (La Route)*. c. 1878–80  
Monotype on China paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{5}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (11.8 × 16.1 cm), sheet: 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 7  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (16 × 18.4 cm)  
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Rosenwald Collection  
A&C 175; J 266

65. *The Path up the Hill (Le Chemin montant)*. c. 1878–80  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{11}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (11.9 × 16.1 cm), sheet: 5  $\frac{13}{16}$  × 7  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (14.8 × 18.1 cm)  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Fund in memory of Horatio Greenough Curtis  
A&C 177; J 267
66. *Avenue with Trees (L'Avenue du bois)*. c. 1880  
Monotype on China paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{5}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (11.8 × 16.1 cm), sheet: 6  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 8  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (17.2 × 20.5 cm)  
The Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge. Bequest of A.S.F. Gow through the National Art Collections Fund  
A&C 53; J 260
67. *Rest in the Fields (Repos dans les champs)*. c. 1877–80  
Monotype on China paper  
Plate: 8  $\frac{7}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (21.5 × 16 cm), sheet: 13  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 9  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (34.3 × 24.3 cm)  
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts  
A&C 178; J 265

68. *The Public Meeting (La Réunion publique)*. c. 1880  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{5}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (11.8 × 16.2 cm)  
Private collection, Paris  
A&C 54; J 256

69. *Backstage at the Opera (Dans les coulisses de l'opéra)*. c. 1880\*  
Monotype on paper  
12  $\frac{3}{16}$  × 10  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (31 × 27.4 cm)  
Private collection, Paris

70. Three studies of Ludovic Halévy standing. c. 1876–77  
Charcoal on paper  
12  $\frac{5}{8}$  × 18  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (32 × 48 cm)  
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

71. Three studies of Ludovic Halévy standing. c. 1876–77  
Charcoal on paper. Counterproof of plate 70  
14  $\frac{1}{8}$  × 19  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (35.9 × 48.9 cm)  
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

Plates 72–84 are all proposed illustrations for *The Cardinal Family (La Famille Cardinal)*

72. *An Admirer in the Corridor (Ludovic Halévy dans les coulisses)*. c. 1876–77  
Monotype on paper. Cognate of plate 73  
Plate: 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (16.1 × 12 cm), sheet: 9  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 7  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (23.6 × 17.9 cm)  
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung  
Related to A&C 70; J 224

73. *Ludovic Halévy in the Wings (Ludovic Halévy dans les coulisses)*. c. 1876–77  
Monotype on paper. Cognate of plate 72  
Plate: 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (16.2 × 12 cm), sheet: 9  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (24.7 × 16 cm)  
Private collection  
A&C 70 ("second proof")

74. *Ludovic Halévy Finds Mme. Cardinal in the Dressing Room (Ludovic Halévy trouve Mme Cardinal dans les loges)*. c. 1876–77  
Pastel and pencil over monotype on paper  
Plate: 8  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (21.6 × 15.9 cm), sheet: 10  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 9 in. (26.7 × 22.9 cm)  
Private collection  
A&C 65; B&R 96; J 214

75. *Ludovic Halévy Meeting Mme. Cardinal Backstage (Rencontre de Ludovic Halévy et de Madame Cardinal dans les coulisses)*. c. 1876–77  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 10  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 12  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (27.3 × 30.7 cm)  
Private collection, Chicago  
A&C 56; J 195

76. *Ludovic Halévy Meeting Madame Cardinal Backstage (Rencontre de Ludovic Halévy et de Madame Cardinal dans les coulisses)*. c. 1876–1877  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 8  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (16 × 21.3 cm)  
Collection André Bromberg  
A&C 57; J 197

77. *Pauline and Virginie Conversing with Admirers (Pauline et Virginie Cardinal bavardant avec des admirateurs)*. c. 1876–77  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 8  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (21.5 × 16.1 cm); sheet: 11  $\frac{3}{10}$  × 7  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (28.7 × 19.1 cm)  
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Bequest of Meta and Paul J. Sachs  
A&C 66; J 218

78. *Dancers Coming from the Dressing Rooms onto the Stage (Et ces demoiselles frétillaient gentiment devant la glace du foyer)*. c. 1876–77  
Pastel over monotype on paper  
Plate: 8  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (21.2 × 15.8 cm)  
Schorr Collection  
A&C 63; J 209

79. *On the Street in the Rain (Sous la pluie)*. c. 1876–77  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 4  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (16.1 × 11.8 cm), sheet: 10  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 7  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (26.5 × 17.9 cm)  
Private collection. Courtesy Nicholas Stogdon  
A&C 52; J 217

80. *Ludovic Halévy Backstage (Ludovic Halévy montant l'escalier)*. c. 1876–77  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 8  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (21.3 × 15.9 cm), sheet: 10 × 6  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (25.4 × 17.1 cm)  
Private collection  
A&C 60; J 206

81. *In the Green Room (Le Foyer)*. c. 1876–77  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 4  $\frac{17}{16}$  in. (16.2 × 11.9 cm), sheet: 7  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 5  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (18.8 × 13 cm)  
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung  
A&C 75; J 230

82. *The Cardinal Sisters Talking to Admirers (Les Petites Cardinal parlant à leurs admirateurs)*. c. 1876–77  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 8  $\frac{11}{16}$  × 7 in. (22 × 17.8 cm), sheet: 10  $\frac{5}{8}$  × 8 in. (27 × 20.3 cm)  
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung  
Related to A&C 72; J 226

83. *The Famous Good Friday Dinner (An Argument between Virginie's Protector, the Marquis Cavalcanti, and M. Cardinal) (Le Fameux Dîner du vendredi)*. c. 1876–77  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 8  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (21.3 × 16 cm), sheet: 11  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 8  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (29.8 × 22 cm)  
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung  
A&C 81; J 204

84. *M. Cardinal About to Write a Letter (Je ne comprends pas, dit M. Cardinal)*. c. 1876–77  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{11}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (11.9 × 16.2 cm), sheet: 7  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 9  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (18.7 × 24.2 cm)  
Lent by James Bergquist  
A&C 79; J 202

85. *The Name Day of the Madam (La Fête de la patronne)*. c. 1877–79  
Pastel over monotype on paper  
10  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 11  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (26.6 × 29.6 cm)  
Musée Picasso, Paris  
J 89; L 549

86. *Resting on the Bed (Repos sur le lit)*. c. 1877–79  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (16 × 12 cm), sheet: 8  $\frac{7}{8}$  × 5  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (22.5 × 15 cm)  
Städelsches Museum, Frankfurt am Main. Property of the Städtischer Museumsvereins e.V.  
A&C 105; J 93

87. *Woman Slipping On Her Dress (La Sortie du bain)*. c. 1877–79  
Pastel over monotype on China paper  
8  $\frac{1}{4}$  × 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (21 × 15.9 cm)  
Private collection, Chicago  
J 178; L 554

88. *Two Young Girls (Deux jeunes filles)*. c. 1877–79  
Monotype on China paper  
Plate: 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  × 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (15.9 × 12.1 cm)  
Private collection, Chicago  
A&C 91; J 81

89. *Waiting for the Client (Attente d'un client)*. c. 1877–79  
Pastel over monotype on paper, mounted on paper  
Plate: 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 4  $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (16 × 12.5 cm), sheet: 7  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 5  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (19.1 × 14.3 cm)  
Ann and Gordon Getty  
B&R 80; J 84

90. *Waiting (first version) (L'Attente [première version])*. 1879  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 4  $\frac{5}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (11.8 × 16.1 cm)  
Musée Picasso, Paris  
A&C 94; J 67

91. *Two Women—Scene from a Brothel (Deux femmes [Scène de maison close])*. c. 1877–79  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 9  $\frac{13}{16}$  × 11  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (24.9 × 28.9 cm), sheet: 8  $\frac{7}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (21.5 × 16 cm)  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Katherine E. Bullard Fund in memory of Francis Bullard  
A&C 122; J 117

92. *Room in a Brothel (Dans le salon d'une maison close)*. c. 1877–79  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 8  $\frac{3}{16}$  × 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (20.8 × 15.9 cm), sheet: 12  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 9  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (31.5 × 23.3 cm)  
Cantor Arts Center at Stanford University. Mortimer C. Leventritt Fund and Committee for Art Acquisitions Fund  
A&C 116; J 87

93. *The Bidet (Le Bidet)*. c. 1877–79  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 6  $\frac{5}{16}$  × 4  $\frac{17}{16}$  in. (16 × 11.9 cm), sheet: 9  $\frac{7}{16}$  × 7  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (24 × 20 cm)  
The Saint Louis Art Museum, Missouri. The Marian Cronheim Trust for Prints and Drawings  
J 110

94. *The Bath (Le Bain)*. 1879–83  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 8  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (21.3 × 15.9 cm)  
Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen  
A&C 132; J 172

95. *Nude Woman Drying Her Face (Femme nue s'essuyant la figure)*. c. 1877–79  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 6 × 4 ½ in. (15.3 × 11.4 cm), sheet: 7 ½ × 6 ⅞ in. (19 × 16.3 cm) (irregular)  
Private collection  
A&C 124; J 113
96. *Three Women in a Brothel, Seen from Behind (Trois filles assises de dos)*. c. 1877–79  
Pastel over monotype on paper  
6 ⅞ × 8 ⅞ in. (16.1 × 21.4 cm)  
Musée Picasso, Paris  
J 63; L 548
97. *The Client (Le Client)*. 1879  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 8 ⅞ × 6 ¼ in. (21.5 × 15.9 cm)  
Musée Picasso, Paris  
A&C 95; J 85
98. *Waiting for the Client (En attendant le client)*. c. 1877–79  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 6 ⅞ × 8 ¼ in. (16 × 21 cm); sheet: 7 ½ × 9 ⅞ in. (18 × 23 cm)  
Private collection. Courtesy Alexander Apsis Fine Art  
A&C 118; J 104
99. *In the Salon (Un Coin de salon en maison close)*. c. 1877–79  
Monotype on China paper  
Plate: 6 ⅞ × 4 ⅞ in. (16.1 × 11.8 cm), sheet: 11 ⅞ × 8 ¼ in. (29.6 × 20.9 cm)  
Private collection, Chicago  
A&C 90; J 71
100. *Woman Reclining on Her Bed (Femme étendue sur son lit)*. c. 1879–83  
Monotype on paper. Cognate of plate 101  
Plate: 7 ⅞ × 16 ⅞ in. (19.9 × 41.5 cm), sheet: 8 ¾ × 16 ½ in. (22.2 × 41.9 cm)  
The Art Institute of Chicago. Clarence Buckingham Collection  
A&C 163; J 137
101. *Female Nude Reclining (Femme nue couchée)*. c. 1888–90  
Pastel over monotype. Cognate of plate 100  
Plate: 7 ¾ × 16 in. (19.7 × 40.6 cm), sheet: 13 × 16 ⅞ in. (33 × 41.6 cm)  
Ann and Gordon Getty  
J 138; L 752

102. *The Fireside (Le Foyer [La Cheminée])*. c. 1880–85  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 16 ¾ × 23 ⅞ in. (42.5 × 58.6 cm), sheet: 19 ¾ × 25 ½ in. (50.2 × 64.8 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, and C. Douglas Dillon Gift  
A&C 167; J 159
103. *Naked Woman by a Fireplace (Femme se chauffant)*. c. 1880–85  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 10 ⅞ × 14 ⅞ in. (27.8 × 37.9 cm), sheet: 14 ¾ × 19 ⅞ in. (37.5 × 49 cm)  
Private collection
104. *Getting Up: Woman Putting On Her Stockings (Le Lever, femme assise mettant ses bas)*. c. 1880–85  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 9 ⅞ × 8 ½ in. (23.7 × 21.6 cm)  
Musée d'Orsay, Paris  
A&C 136; J 168
105. *Getting into Bed (Le Coucher)*. c. 1880–85  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 14 ⅞ × 10 ⅞ in. (37.8 × 27.7 cm), sheet: 20 ½ × 13 ¾ in. (51 × 35 cm)  
The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo  
A&C 138; J 166
106. *Woman Reading (Liseuse)*. c. 1880–85  
Monotype on paper. Cognate of plate 108  
Plate: 14 ⅞ × 10 ⅞ in. (38 × 27.7 cm), sheet: 17 ⅞ × 12 ⅞ in. (44.3 × 32.5 cm)  
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Rosenwald Collection  
A&C 165; J 141
107. *The Reader (Le Repos) (recto)*. c. 1880–85  
Monotype on paper. Counterproof of plate 106  
Plate: 15 ⅞ × 11 ¼ in. (38.5 × 28.5 cm), sheet: 19 ⅞ × 13 ⅞ in. (49.4 × 35.3 cm)  
Kunsthalle Bremen. Kupferstichkabinett–Der Kunstverein in Bremen  
J 142
108. *The Reader (Le Repos) (verso)*. c. 1880–85  
Monotype on paper. Cognate of plate 106  
Plate: 14 ⅞ × 10 ⅞ in. (38 × 27.7 cm); sheet: 17 ⅞ × 12 ⅞ in. (44.3 × 32.5 cm)  
Kunsthalle Bremen. Kupferstichkabinett–Der Kunstverein in Bremen  
J 142

109. *Bedtime (Le Coucher)*. c. 1880–85  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 8 ⅞ × 17 ⅞ in. (22.7 × 44 cm)  
Private collection  
A&C 140; J 133
110. *Woman Drying Her Feet (Femme s'essuyant les pieds, près de sa baignoire)*. c. 1880–85  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 17 ¾ × 9 ⅞ in. (45.1 × 23.9 cm), sheet: 20 ¼ × 12 ⅞ in. (51.5 × 32 cm)  
Musée d'Orsay, Paris  
A&C 158; J 127
111. *The Toilette (The Chamber Pot) (La Toilette, la cuvette)*. c. 1880–85  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 14 ⅞ × 10 ⅞ in. (38 × 27.8 cm), sheet: 20 ⅞ × 13 ⅞ in. (51.3 × 35.3 cm)  
Private collection. Courtesy C. G. Boerner, New York
112. *The Bath (La Toilette [Le Bain])*. c. 1880–85  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 12 ⅞ × 10 ⅞ in. (31.4 × 27.8 cm), sheet: 20 ¼ × 13 ⅞ in. (51.5 × 35.2 cm)  
The Art Institute of Chicago. Clarence Buckingham Collection  
A&C 155; J 123
113. *Woman in a Bathtub (Femme au bain)*. c. 1880–85  
Monotype on paper. Cognate of plate 114  
Plate: 7 ⅞ × 16 ⅞ in. (20 × 41.6 cm)  
Private collection  
J 119
114. *Woman in Her Bath, Sponging Her Leg (Femme dans son bain s'épongeant la jambe)*. c. 1880–85  
Pastel over monotype on paper. Cognate of plate 113  
7 ¾ × 16 ⅞ in. (19.7 × 41 cm)  
Musée d'Orsay, Paris  
J 120; L 728
115. *Woman Standing in Her Bath (Femme debout dans une baignoire)*. c. 1880–85  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 14 ⅞ × 10 ⅞ in. (38 × 27 cm), sheet: 20 ⅞ × 13 ⅞ in. (51.7 × 35.3 cm)  
Musée d'Orsay, Paris  
A&C 157; J 125
116. *Getting Up—Stockings (Le Lever [Les Bas])*. c. 1880–85  
Opaque watercolor over monotype on paper  
Plate: 14 ⅞ × 10 ⅞ in. (37.9 × 27.8 cm)  
The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo  
A&C 137; J 167

117. *Woman Going to Bed (Le Coucher)*. c. 1880–83  
Monotype on paper. Cognate of plate 118  
Plate: 14 ⅞ × 11 in. (38 × 28 cm)  
Private collection  
A&C 139; J 129
118. *Bedtime (Le Coucher)*. c. 1883  
Pastel over monotype on paper. Cognate of plate 117  
Plate: 15 × 11 in. (38.1 × 27.9 cm)  
Private collection  
J 130; L 747
119. *The Letter (La Lettre)*. c. 1882–85  
Monotype on paper  
12 ⅞ × 10 ⅞ in. (31.4 × 27.6 cm)  
Collection Marcel Lecomte, Paris  
Related to J 143
120. *The Toilette (Reading after the Bath) (La Toilette [Lecture après le bain])*. c. 1880–85  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 10 ⅞ × 14 ⅞ in. (27.7 × 37.8 cm), sheet: 14 × 20 ⅞ in. (35.6 × 51.8 cm)  
Private collection. Courtesy Marc Rosen Fine Art Ltd.  
J 140
121. *Sleep (Le Sommeil)*. c. 1880–85\*  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 10 ⅞ × 14 ⅞ in. (27.6 × 37.8 cm)  
British Museum, London. Bequeathed by Campbell Dodgson  
A&C 164; J 135
122. *Fantasy, Nude Woman (Fantaisie)*. c. 1880–85  
Monotype on paper  
Plate: 6 ¾ × 3 ⅞ in. (17.1 × 8.7 cm)  
Private collection  
A&C 145; J 183
123. *Final Touches at the Toilette (Dernier préparatifs de toilette)*. c. 1880–85  
Oil over monotype on paper  
Plate: 6 ⅞ × 8 ⅞ in. (16 × 21.5 cm)  
Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. Museum Purchase, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts Endowment Fund  
A&C 134; J 188
124. *Woman Getting Out of the Bath (Femme sortant du bain)*. c. 1880–85  
Pastel over monotype on paper  
6 ⅞ × 8 ⅞ in. (16 × 21.5 cm)  
Musée d'Orsay, Paris  
J 175

125. *Landscape (Paysage)*. 1892  
Pastel over monotype in oil on blue paper, now faded to off-white, mounted on board  
Sheet: 10 × 13 ⅞ in. (25.4 × 34 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Richard J. Bernhard Gift  
J 285; L 1044
126. *Forest in the Mountains (Forêt dans la montagne)*. c. 1890  
Monotype in oil on paper  
Plate: 11 ⅞ × 15 ⅞ in. (30 × 40 cm), sheet: 12 ⅞ × 16 ⅞ in. (31.4 × 41.4 cm)  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Louise Reinhardt Smith Bequest  
A&C 187; J 297
127. *Green Landscape (Paysage vert)*. 1890  
Monotype in oil on paper  
Plate: 11 ¾ × 15 ⅞ in. (29.9 × 39.7 cm), sheet: 12 ⅞ × 15 ⅞ in. (31.4 × 40.4 cm)  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Louise Reinhardt Smith Bequest  
A&C 199
128. *Twilight in the Pyrenees (Le Crépuscule dans les Pyrénées)*. 1890  
Monotype in oil on paper  
Plate: 11 ¾ × 15 ⅞ in. (29.8 × 39.8 cm)  
Collection of the Ackland Art Museum, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Ackland Fund  
A&C 185; J 307
129. *Squall in the Mountains (Bourrasque dans la montagne)*. 1890  
Monotype in oil on paper  
Plate: 11 ⅞ × 15 ⅞ in. (29.5 × 39.5 cm)  
Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, California. Museum Purchase, B. Gerald Cantor Fund  
A&C 197; J 306
130. *The Road in the Forest (La Route dans la forêt)*. 1890  
Monotype in oil on paper  
Plate: 11 ⅞ × 15 ⅞ in. (30 × 40 cm), sheet: 11 ⅞ × 15 ⅞ in. (30 × 40 cm)  
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Bequest of Frances L. Hofer  
A&C 195; J 292
131. *Le Cap Ferrat*. 1892  
Monotype in oil on paper  
Sheet: 11 ⅞ × 15 ⅞ in. (29.7 × 39.9 cm)  
Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe  
A&C 184; J 308

132. *Mountain Landscape (Paysage dans la montagne)*. 1890  
Monotype in oil on paper  
Plate: 11 ⅞ × 15 ⅞ in. (30.4 × 40 cm), sheet: 12 ⅞ × 16 ⅞ in. (31.1 × 41 cm)  
Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Purchased with funds provided by the Garrett Corporation  
A&C 194; J 289
133. *Landscape (Paysage)*. 1890–92  
Monotype in oil on paper  
Plate: 11 ½ × 15 ½ in. (29.2 × 39.4 cm)  
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Partial and promised gift of Emily Rauh Pulitzer in honor of Marjorie B. Cohn  
A&C 190; J 309
134. *Autumn Effect (Effet d'automne dans la montagne)*, 1890  
Monotype in oil on paper  
Plate: 11 ⅞ × 15 ⅞ in. (30 × 40.2 cm), sheet: 11 ⅞ × 15 ⅞ in. (30 × 40.2 cm)  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of her children in memory of Elizabeth Paine Metcalf  
A&C 189; J 299
135. *The Ochre Hill (Effet de montagne)*. 1890  
Monotype in oil on paper  
Plate: 11 ¾ × 15 ⅞ in. (29.9 × 39.5 cm)  
Private collection  
A&C 188; J 298
136. *Autumn Landscape (L'Estérel)*. 1890  
Monotype in oil on paper. Cognate of plate 137  
Plate: 11 ⅞ × 15 ⅞ in. (30.2 × 40 cm), sheet: 12 ½ × 16 ¼ in. (31.8 × 41.3 cm)  
Private collection  
A&C 186; J 300
137. *Autumn Landscape (L'Estérel)*. 1890  
Monotype in oil on paper. Cognate of plate 136  
Plate: 11 ⅞ × 15 ⅞ in. (30.2 × 39.7 cm), sheet: 12 ⅞ × 16 ⅞ in. (30.8 × 40.8 cm)  
Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, California. Museum Purchase, B. Gerald Cantor Fund  
J 301
138. *Cap Hornu near Saint-Valery-sur-Somme (Le Cap Hornu près Saint-Valery-sur-Somme)*. c. 1890–93  
Monotype in oil on paper. Cognate of plate 139  
Plate: 11 ¾ × 15 ⅞ in. (29.9 × 39.9 cm)  
British Museum, London. Bequeathed by Campbell Dodgson  
A&C 192; J 295

139. *Mountains and Valley (Montagnes et vallon)*. 1890  
Monotype in oil on paper. Cognate of plate 138  
Plate: 12 ½ × 16 7/16 in. (31.8 × 41.8 cm), sheet: 15 3/8 × 19 5/16 in. (39 × 49 cm)  
Private collection, Switzerland  
J 296; L 1057
140. *Wheatfield and Line of Trees (Champ de blé et ligne d'arbres)*. 1890  
Pastel over monotype in oil on paper  
9 13/16 × 13 3/8 in. (25 × 34 cm)  
Private collection  
J 291; L 1035
141. *Landscape with Rocky Cliffs (Rochers au bord d'une rivière)*. 1890  
Pastel over monotype in oil on paper  
15 3/4 × 11 7/16 in. (40 × 29 cm)  
Private collection  
J 283; L 1043
142. *Pathway in a Field (Sentier dans la prairie)*. 1890  
Pastel over monotype in oil on paper  
Plate: 11 13/16 × 15 9/16 in. (30 × 39.5 cm)  
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut. Katharine Ordway Fund  
J 286; L 1046
143. *Landscape with Rocks (Paysage avec rochers)*. 1892  
Pastel over monotype in oil on paper  
Plate: 9 3/4 × 13 3/8 in. (24.8 × 34 cm), sheet: 10 1/8 × 13 9/16 in. (25.7 × 34.4 cm)  
High Museum of Art, Atlanta. Purchase with High Museum of Art Enhancement Fund  
L 1040
144. *Landscape by the Sea (Paysage en bord de mer)*. 1892  
Pastel over monotype in oil on paper  
Plate: 9 15/16 × 13 9/16 in. (25.3 × 34.5 cm), sheet: 10 5/8 × 14 3/16 in. (27 × 36 cm)  
Musée d'art et d'histoire, Neuchâtel  
K 6; L 632
145. *The Field of Flax (Le Champ de lin)*. 1892  
Pastel over monotype in oil on paper  
9 13/16 × 13 3/8 in. (25 × 34 cm)  
From the Collection of Wendy and Leonard Goldberg  
J 321; L 1041
146. *River Banks (Bords de rivière)*. 1890  
Pastel over monotype in oil on paper  
11 13/16 × 15 3/4 in. (30 × 40 cm)  
Private collection, Switzerland. Courtesy Galerie Fischer, Lucerne  
J 280; L 1056

147. *River Banks (Bords de rivière)*. 1890  
Pastel over monotype in oil on paper  
11 13/16 × 15 3/4 in. (30 × 40 cm)  
Private collection  
J 281; L 1042
148. *Vesuvius (Le Vésuve)*. 1892  
Pastel over monotype in oil on paper  
Plate: 9 13/16 × 11 13/16 in. (25 × 30 cm), sheet: 10 9/16 × 12 1/2 in. (26.9 × 31.8 cm)  
Private collection  
J 310; L 1052
149. *Village in l'Estérel (Village dans l'Estérel)*. 1890\*  
Monotype in oil on paper. Cognate of plate 150  
Plate: 11 13/16 × 16 3/4 in. (30 × 42.5 cm)  
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris  
A&C 191; J 275
150. *Estérel Village (Village dans l'Estérel)*. 1890  
Monotype in oil on paper. Cognate of plate 149  
Plate: 11 3/4 × 15 11/16 in. (29.9 × 39.9 cm)  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. Fiftieth anniversary gift of The Print Club of Cleveland  
A&C 191a ("second proof" of A&C 191); J 276
151. *Landscape (Paysage)*. 1892  
Pastel over monotype in oil on paper. Cognate of plate 152  
Plate: 9 3/4 × 11 3/4 in. (24.8 × 29.9 cm)  
Private collection  
J 314; L 1039
152. *Landscape (Paysage)*. 1890-1893  
Pastel over monotype in oil on paper. Cognate of plate 151  
Plate: 9 1/2 × 11 1/2 in. (24.1 × 29.2 cm)  
Mottisfont Abbey, The National Trust. The Derek Hill Bequest, through the National Art-Collections Fund  
J 278
153. *Frieze of Dancers (Danseuses attachant leurs sandales)*. c. 1895  
Oil on canvas  
27 9/16 × 78 15/16 in. (70 × 200.5 cm)  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. Gift of the Hanna Fund  
L 1144
154. *Dancer Adjusting Her Slipper (Danseuse rajustant son chausson)*. 1887  
Pastel on paper  
19 5/8 × 24 5/8 in. (50 × 62.5 cm)  
Frederick Iseman Art Trust  
L 907

155. *Dancer Adjusting Her Slipper (Danseuse rajustant son chausson)*. c. 1887  
Pastel on paper  
18 3/4 × 24 5/8 in. (47.6 × 62.5 cm)  
Private collection  
B&R 125
156. *Dancer Holding a Fan (Danseuse à l'éventail)*. c. 1890  
Charcoal on paper mounted on board  
17 15/16 × 14 in. (45.5 × 35.5 cm)  
Courtesy of Marty de Cambiare, Paris
157. *Pink Dancer (Danseuse rose)*. 1896  
Pastel on paper  
16 3/4 × 12 3/16 in. (42.6 × 31 cm)  
Private collection  
L 1245
158. *Two Dancers Resting (Deux danseuses au repos)*. c. 1890-1900  
Charcoal and colored chalk or pastel on paper  
22 1/4 × 17 1/2 in. (56.5 × 44.5 cm)  
Philadelphia Museum of Art. The Samuel S. White 3rd and Vera White Collection
159. *Two Dancers Resting (Deux danseuses au repos)*. c. 1890-1905  
Charcoal on paper  
22 3/4 × 16 3/8 in. (57.8 × 41.6 cm)  
Judith and Bernard Briskin. The Briskin Community Property Trust
160. *Two Dancers (Les Grandes Danseuses vertes)*. c. 1898  
Pastel on eight sheets of pieced paper  
29 1/2 × 27 9/16 in. (75 × 70 cm)  
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen  
L 1330
161. *Dancers Resting (Danseuses [Danseuses au repose])*. c. 1898  
Pastel on five sheets of pieced paper  
32 11/16 × 28 3/8 in. (83 × 72 cm)  
Fondation de l'Hermitage, Lausanne. Legs de Lucie Schmidheiny  
L 1328
162. *Two Dancers (Deux danseuses)*. 1905  
Charcoal and pastel on tracing paper  
43 × 32 in. (109.2 × 81.3 cm)  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York. The William S. Paley Collection  
B&R 149
163. *Two Dancers (Danseuses)*. c. 1898  
Pastel on paper  
33 3/8 × 30 3/8 in. (84.8 × 77.2 cm)  
The Saint Louis Art Museum, Missouri. Funds given by Mrs. Mark C. Steinberg  
L 1327

164. *Grand Arabesque, Second Time (Grande arabesque, deuxième temps)*. 1900-1905  
Charcoal on tracing paper  
18 1/8 × 14 3/16 in. (46 × 36 cm)  
Private collection
165. *Two Dancers en Arabesque (Deux danseuses nues en arabesque)*. c. 1885-90  
Charcoal on tracing paper  
17 11/16 × 21 1/4 in. (45 × 54 cm)  
Galerie Bernard Lecomte, Paris
166. *Three Dancers (Trois Danseuses)*. 1900-1905  
Charcoal and pastel on tracing paper  
21 1/4 × 30 1/8 in. (54 × 76.5 cm)  
Private collection. Courtesy Halcyon Gallery, London
167. *Three Dancers in the Foyer (Trois danseuses au foyer)*. 1892-95  
Oil on canvas  
22 1/8 × 32 1/8 in. (56.2 × 81.6 cm)  
Courtesy of the Larry Ellison Collection  
L 1131
168. *A Group of Dancers (Groupe de danseuses)*. c. 1898  
Oil on paper mounted on canvas  
18 1/8 × 24 1/8 in. (46 × 61.2 cm)  
Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh  
L 770
169. *Ballet Dancers (Danseuses)*. c. 1890-1900  
Oil on canvas  
28 9/16 × 28 3/4 in. (72.5 × 73 cm)  
The National Gallery, London. Bought, Courtauld Fund  
L 588
170. *After the Bath, Woman Drying Herself (Après le bain, femme s'essuyant)*. 1895-1900  
Oil on canvas  
29 3/4 × 33 7/8 in. (75.5 × 86 cm)  
The Henry and Rose Pearlman Foundation, on long-term loan to the Princeton University Art Museum  
L 1117
171. *The Bath (Le Bain)*. c. 1895  
Oil on canvas  
33 × 45 3/4 in. (83.8 × 116.2 cm)  
Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Acquired through the generosity of Mrs. Alan M. Scaife  
L 1029
172. *After the Bath (Après le bain)*. c. 1891  
Charcoal and pastel on paper  
20 3/8 × 26 5/16 in. (51.8 × 66.8 cm)  
Private collection  
L 1106 bis

173. *After the Bath (Le Bain, femme vue de dos)*. c. 1893-98  
Oil on canvas  
25 7/8 × 32 3/8 in. (65.7 × 82.2 cm)  
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles  
L 1104
174. *After the Bath (Le Repos après le bain)*. c. 1896  
Charcoal and pastel on paper  
15 3/8 × 13 in. (39 × 33 cm)  
Private collection  
L 1232
175. *After the Bath (Woman Drying Herself (Après le bain, femme s'essuyant))*. c. 1896  
Oil on canvas  
35 1/4 × 46 in. (89.5 × 116.8 cm)  
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased with funds from the estate of George D. Widener  
L 1231
176. *Woman Drying Herself (La Toilette après le bain)*. After 1888  
Pastel on paper  
24 3/4 × 18 1/2 in. (62.9 × 47 cm)  
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of Jerome K. Ohrbach  
L 948

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Compiled by Hillary Reder

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