Impressionism Through the Prism of New Methods

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A Social and Cartographic Study of Monet's Address Book

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The study of Impressionism initially focused on the biographies of artists who comprised the group, then the motifs of impressionist art. In turn, the internationalization of the movement and its appropriation by national fine arts movements became a central emphasis, then the social approach, broadly conceived. We have thus moved well beyond examining Impressionism uniquely from the perspective of the aesthetic revolution that it constituted. The focus now is to consider it through the prism of its social, economic, political, and geographical context.[1]

This approach, which brings together different scales of analysis, enables us to take a step back and examine a particular phenomenon in light of the mechanisms at work in the art world.[2] These features are explained by quantitative studies, which measure a phenomenon in its full magnitude through large-scale data collection, while aptly defining its evolution over time. Art sociologists have been using numerical analyses for longer than art historians have, but the latter bring to the table an indispensable disciplinary expertise.

While the use of quantitative tools in itself constitutes a refreshing approach to studying Impressionism, this alone does not suffice. As we will explore in this chapter, Claude Monet's exhibition strategy evolved throughout his career to adapt to both the market and his own aesthetic pursuits. Without cross-referencing quantitative data with more traditional sources of information used in art history (such as Monet's abundant correspondence), we may not be able to grasp the full extent of his approach.[3] Through the use of innovative methodologies, the research presented here brings the artist back in line with the market phenomena of his time, shedding new light on long-cherished traditional sources of information.

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Uncovering Monet's Address Books as a Source of Information

In 1966, Monet's youngest son, Michel, bequeathed to the Académie des Beaux-Arts the Giverny property, as well as everything he inherited from his father: letters, photographs, personal souvenirs, sketchbooks, palettes, and an important collection of paintings. Among these archives are three notebooks containing the artist's accounting records.[4] In the last two notebooks, which cover the years 1877 to 1912, Monet devotes a few pages to recording names and addresses of his contacts, both intimate and professional. From Gustave Caillebotte to Stéphane Mallarmé, from le Père Martin to Georges de Bellio, the social circles, on which the painter relied to build his success as an artist and promote his work, begin to take shape.

These pages, which effectively constitute the artist's address books, offer new insight into understanding an artist about whom we thought we already knew everything. Not only does this uncovered source of information allow us to study Monet's social circles in-depth at a pivotal time in his career, it also makes it possible to map out the artist's network, thus shedding light on the evolution of his social geography. When we overlay these data points with information about the Parisian art worlds of the time, we learn much about the spaces Monet occupied within the social and cultural evolution of the art scene more broadly. Such an emphasis on different perspectives enriches our understanding of how the artist organized his social circles and managed his career, at a time when the institutionalized art world was gradually giving way to a more privatized art market.

Tools for Visualizing an Artist's Social Circles

The two address books contain 59 and 52 entries respectively. While the quantity of entries is similar between the two, the span of time covered in each differs greatly. The first book covers a fairly short period of five years, namely the years 1877 to 1881, and gives rather accurate locations (Figure 31.1). By contrast, the second book, which covers the 30-year period from 1882 to 1912, is far less precise and does not allow us to situate the addresses chronologically with much accuracy. The erasure or repetition of names seems to indicate address changes in some instances but not in others. Some addresses are crossed out without being replaced, while others that should have changed are not. For example, Vincent van Gogh is only listed with his Parisian address, although he resided there only between 1886 and 1888, before passing away in 1890. Indeed, Monet does not seem to keep very meticulous records in his second address book.[5] In all, the artist listed more than 120 names, three of which were added by another hand. The names appear in no apparent order, neither an alphabetical nor any other discernable one. Some, including Émile Bergerat,[6] Emmanuel Chabrier,[7] and Jules-Antoine Castagnary, appear several times; some certain given names are specified, but this is not the rule.

Some of these names – Georges de Bellio,[8] Charles Deudon,[9] Henry Hecht,[10] Charles Ephrussi,[11] and Jacques Doucet[12] – evoke the great history of Impressionism and are therefore easily recognized. Others, such as Bascle, Ratisbonne, and Cahuzac, who are only listed by family name, play a more discrete role and are thus less prominent in the history books.[13] Nevertheless, all together they form the artist's social circle during those defining decades. Despite Monet's close ties with certain

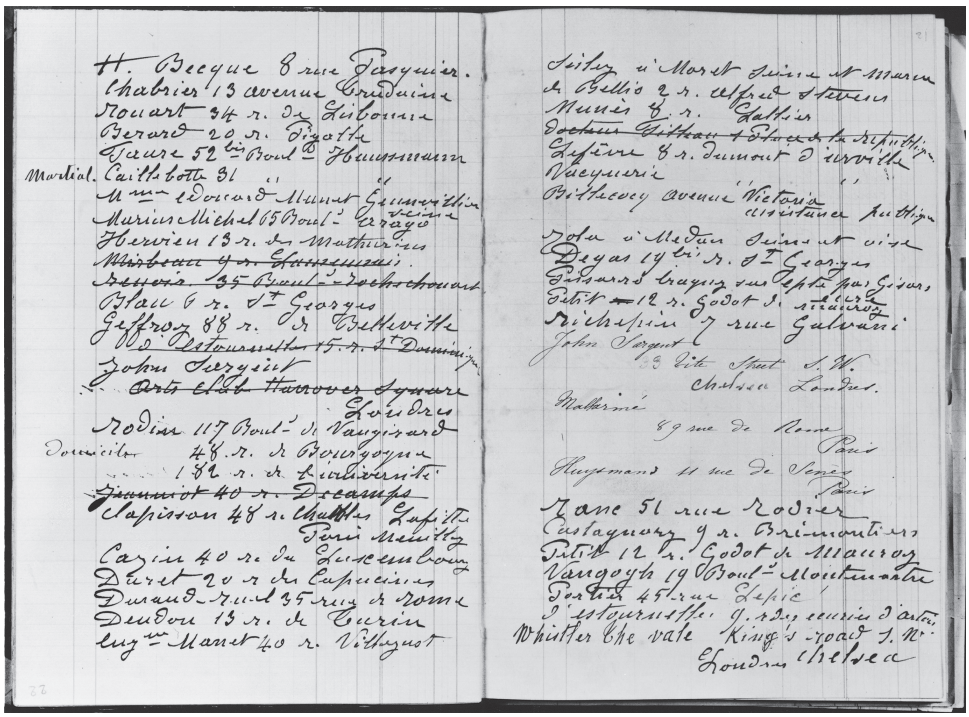

FIGURE 31.1 Double-page of addresses from Monet's account book of 1877–1881, fol. 41, pen and ink on paper, 19 × 15.5 cm. Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris. Source: Photograph Bridgeman Images.

individuals, his identification of their profession (such as painter, musician, comedian, critic, or writer) or their role (such as collector) indicates the clear professional orientation of the address books. Only the Beguin-Billecocqs, a family Monet knew from childhood, should really be considered "relatives" and not directly members of the art world. They are nonetheless of note because they supported Monet in his early career, thus also making up part of his network of collectors.

In order to situate the painter more precisely within the artistic spheres of the late nineteenth century, we can identify a professional typology containing four broad categories: collectors, art dealers, writers and art critics, and fellow artists. The last category, which mixes painters and engravers together with musicians and other artists, conceals obvious fundamental differences. However, grouping together writers and critics is justified by the absence of clearly defined boundaries between these two activities at the time. Indeed, as Dario Gamboni has shown, art criticism separated from the literary field in the period, developing progressively as its own profession during the course of the nineteenth century.[14] Most of the writers in these address books, including Émile Zola, Octave Mirbeau, Joris-Karl Huysmans, and Stéphane Mallarmé, commented on arts and culture of their time, even if only sporadically. Delineating the collector category is also a difficult task, because many artists and writers often buy artwork from their colleagues. This category has therefore been applied to those who do not hold any other function within the artistic sphere.

While imperfect, this typology nevertheless makes it possible to take into account all address book entries, and thus to conduct a truly pertinent analysis of the extent and diversity of Monet's relations. These address books belonged to a man who was very well connected in the broader art world – a true man of his time. The 39 artists, of roughly equal number between the two address books, clearly contradict the idea that the Impressionists were isolated. On the contrary, this source of information attests to a much broader sociability than is often recognized. The impressionist core – Camille Pissarro, Berthe Morisot, Mary Cassatt, Auguste Renoir, Edgar Degas, and Alfred Sisley[15] – figure prominently alongside others like Henri Rouart and Michel Lévy,[16] who were involved in, or at least invited to help, found the Anonymous Society of Artists, Painters, Sculptors, Engravers, etc. (*Société anonyme des artistes, peintres, sculpteurs, graveurs, etc.*) that the Impressionists formed in 1874. However, other listed artists, like Alfred Robaud, Henri Michel-Lévy, Paul César Helleu, Évariste Carpentier, and Pierre Georges Jeanniot were neither part of this anonymous society, nor did they show their work in any of the impressionist exhibitions. Admittedly rather favorable to, or at least not opposed to, the impressionist innovations, their presence indicates that Monet had a broader aesthetic openness than art historians have often been willing to admit.

The collector category is interesting with regard to its evolution between the first address book and the second. Representing a total of 31 instances, collectors are distributed rather unequally between the two: 22 are in the first and only 9 in the second. Important personalities like Georges de Bellio and Charles Deudon – the only names that appear in both address books – and Henri Hecht, Charles Ephrussi, and Jacques Doucet are inscribed next to lesser-known names like Charles Bonnemaison Bascle. Others, such as "Ratisbonne" and "Cahuzac," who are listed only by family name, can be identified by cross-referencing Monet's accounting records. In fact, all names referenced in those records can also be found in the address books.

The decline in the number of collectors in Monet's social circles may seem rather surprising, considering the growth in sales and buyers of Monet's paintings over the decades. Indeed, it remedies a somewhat misguided view of Paul Durand-Ruel's prime of place as the sole intermediary between collectors and artists at the beginning of many of the Impressionists' careers. While this art dealer played a vital role in promoting their art, the painters did not meet their first collectors through him.[17] For example, Zola put the Impressionists in contact with the publisher Georges Charpentier, and Degas introduced them to Rouart, whom he had known since their school days. Rouart himself showed his work as a painter at impressionist exhibitions, but it was as a collector that he encouraged his entourage to support his painter colleagues.[18]

The role of support and intermediary that sociologists Harrison and Cynthia White attribute to Durand-Ruel only came to the fore when the private market was already fairly well established. The low proportion of art dealers in Monet's address books confirms this analysis. Durand-Ruel and Alphonse Portier[19] appear in both address books; Alphonse Legrand[20] and le Père Martin[21] in addition in the first, and Georges Petit in the second. Although this proves that not that many art dealers took interest in the new painting style, their decrease in number over time is even more astonishing. There was a sharp increase in the number of galleries during those decades, and Monet himself diversified his art dealers as well. A few important contacts are not in the artist's address books, with no clear explanation for why. The first is the gallery Boussod & Valadon, which showed Monet's paintings via their employee and

intermediary Théo van Gogh,[22] the latter obtaining the exclusive right to show 10 marine paintings of Antibes in an 1888 exhibition. The other is the gallery Bernheim-Jeune, which organized a one-person exhibition of Monet's work in 1902.

With 31 instances, by contrast, the literary world was well represented in the two books. The importance of this category proves that Monet's passion did not stop at the easel – far from it. He was also a bibliophile, who was very well integrated in the cultural and literary scenes of his time. At more than 900 books, written for the most part by the artist's contemporaries, Monet's own library corroborates this point.[23] The presence of most writers who had supported the movement since its inception – Alfred Lostalot, Zacharie Astruc, Philip Burty, Jules-Antoine Castagnary, Théodore Duret, Émile Zola, Ernest Chesnau, Octave Mirbeau, Gustave Geffroy – is also testament to the painter's taste in art criticism. Conscious of the increasing weight that the press carried, Monet showed throughout his career a superior ability to surround himself with an active support network, as evidenced in a letter to Durand-Ruel of 1883, in which he says:

> [I]t must be recognized that in our time, we can do nothing without the press. The colleagues you are talking about think that the journalists' silence is of little importance to me, but I can guarantee that they will go out of their way to obtain journalists' cooperation when it is their turn to show their work. And rightly so, because there is no doubt that it arouses public curiosity, and every single person with whom I have spoken deplores this silence.[24]

The Geographic Distribution of Monet's Art World

The number and diversity of people in Monet's address books provide the image of a true artist of the time. Far from being isolated, Monet maintained a variety of social ties. Beyond the sociological realm, Monet's address books geographically situate both the artist himself and his social circles in relation to the institutional art world on one hand, and a competitive art market on the other. In other words, they position the artist within the spatio-cultural developments that played out within the Parisian art scene between 1877 and 1912. Even though the competitive art market would eventually prevail, both systems coexisted throughout Monet's lifespan.

These two systems, as well as Monet's social circles, have been mapped to compare their respective spatial evolution.[25] Two maps were produced, each corresponding to one of Monet's address books (Figures 31.2 and 31.3). Each name is represented by a diamond shape of a particular color, as a function of that individual's profession or his relationship with Monet, according to the typology established above. Names that are struck through in the address books are indicated with struck-through text on the maps. Some individuals appear twice on the maps to take into account address changes. The private art market is represented by the names of those art galleries that existed during this time period. These addresses were derived from a Directory of Commerce census conducted between 1855 and 1920, under the entry "painting dealers."[26]

The address books cover uneven periods, which prevents us from being able to draw rigorous comparisons. However, including these galleries on the maps still allows us to

FIGURE 31.2 Map of Paris showing contacts contained in Monet's first address book overlaid with the geography of the Parisian art scene (1877–1881). Source: Map by Julien Cavero, 2019.

measure the explosion of the Parisian art market, as well as its evolution and spatial expansion over time. As for the official art market, it is represented by the main institutional art venues. Among these, only the largest were taken into account. They include the École des Beaux-Arts, the Institut de France, and the Palais des Beaux-Arts et de l'Industrie (all three of which hosted major national and international art events);

FIGURE 31.3 Map of Paris showing contacts contained in Monet's second address book overlaid with the geography of the Parisian art scene (1882–1912). Source: Map by Julien Cavero, 2019.

the Louvre; and finally, the Musée du Luxembourg from 1884 (the year it opened in its current building) on. Although few in number compared to the galleries, these institutions represent emblematic places whose influence and spatial impact have remained of capital importance to this day. Monet's own successive addresses have also been added to the maps. Logically, these were not written in his address books,

but they are essential to understanding the artist's position not only within his own circles but also the broader art scene.

Over the rather short period that the first map covers, one thing is clear: the undeniable domination of Paris's right bank and, more precisely, a perimeter that had the Parc Monceau as its western border, the Gare de l'Est as its eastern one, the Opéra Garnier as its southern one, and Montmartre and the boulevard de Clichy as its northern border. This area was where the vast majority of individuals in Monet's address books then resided. Heavily dotted with galleries, it is perhaps not surprising that the painter chose to stay in this area when he came to Paris. This concentration indicates the presence of a proper art district in an even smaller area in the ninth *arrondissement* – within a triangle formed by the Gare Saint-Lazare, the Église de la Madeleine, and the Hôtel Drouot. Durand-Ruel and le Père Martin rubbed shoulders at their galleries with artists such as Cassatt and Lévy, as well as composers such as Alexis-Emmanuel Chabrier and Frederik Delius. Collectors Ernest May and Georges de Bellio also resided within this triangle.[27]

After developing further around the galleries of the Palais Royal and the rue Le Peletier (home to the former Opéra), the heart of the art world then shifted, seemingly in response to various urban projects in the capital. When renovations of La Madeleine were completed in 1842, many businessmen, including art dealers, settled there.[28] In the 1870s, urban planner Baron Haussmann vastly transformed the Parisian landscape, fundamentally reshaping this artistic geography along with it. The piercing of the main avenues around the new Opéra, inaugurated in 1875, made this area an attractive place to live, drawing many potential clients from the bourgeois and middle classes for a stroll.[29]

Despite the diversity of this overall network, the geographic concentration substantiates Monet's and his circles' inclination for Modernism via modernity. Having been sidelined by the institutional art system, the future Impressionists needed to find a way to reach the public; this was precisely why they decided to organize their first dissident exhibition in 1874. This initiative later compelled Monet to turn to the emerging distribution channels of the time period: private art galleries. Modern-art oriented artists and collectors alike, who were interested in the new artistic styles, were thus concentrating in these new districts, forming what is known as the "dealer-critic system."[30] Conversely, few of Monet's contacts were located on Paris's left bank. Seeking to benefit from the Impressionists' growing influence, several galleries nevertheless opened their doors near the École des Beaux-Arts and the Institut de France, particularly on rue de Seine. This demonstrates that, although the galleries belonged to a competitive system in principle, they also cultivated close ties with the traditional art world.

Not all of Monet's contacts lived within these two geographic poles. Some were located in a strip further West encompassing parts of the eighth, sixteenth, and seventeenth *arrondissements*. This group included writers such as Louis de Fourcaud, critics such as Émile Bergerat, and artists such as Giuseppe de Nittis. The latter's more traditional aesthetic lent him enough notoriety and success to move slightly farther away from the nerve center in search of larger and more quiet spaces.

While Monet was present in Paris throughout this period, he undertook several moves. From December 1871, he resided in Argenteuil with his family, but took an apartment in Paris, at rue Moncey, for a few months at the beginning of 1877. He was thus closer to the Gare Saint-Lazare, the motif of several of his paintings at the time. In 1878, his family left Argenteuil and moved to a large apartment on rue d'Édimbourg.

But they did not stay long, and in October 1878, they left for Vétheuil. The family stayed there for three years, during which Camille, now Monet's wife, passed away.[31] During this period, the painter returned regularly to Paris: he would even secure a *pied à terre* at 20 rue Vintimille from 1879 until 1882.

This pendular movement between Paris and the banks of the Seine is particularly interesting. Monet left Paris to find more affordable rent, but also to discover new vistas and find new motifs for his paintings. But given that the recognition to which the painter aspired was far from assured at this point, his presence in Paris was essential to ensure the promotion of his work. He thus always chose carefully where he stayed in Paris – at the heart of the art scene and in close contact with his social circles.

It was not until the 1880s, on the occasion of his first two one-person exhibitions in 1880 and 1883, that Monet achieved fame for the first time.[32] This new visibility brought him unprecedented financial stability, allowing him to be less physically present within the Parisian art scene. In 1881, he undertook his penultimate move – to Poissy with his two sons, Jean and Michel, accompanied by the Hoschédé family, with whom he had become close.[33] They stayed there for two years before leaving for Giverny, where they settled permanently in 1883.

The second map brings together two seemingly paradoxical dynamics. The increasingly accentuated concentration of galleries in the ninth *arrondissement* responds to the geographic breakdown of Monet's circles. One of the explanatory factors behind this is that the second address book covers a much longer period than the first. In those 30 years, Monet's fame and that of his network had evolved considerably, as did the Parisian art scene itself. Art galleries continued to multiply – a sign that the critic-dealer system was consolidating and competing with the institutional art world. The opening of art galleries in the ninth *arrondissement* collided with the emergence of veritable painting streets, in particular the well-heeled rue Laffitte, about which a reporter in 1886 remarked that, "This is not a street, it is a gallery."[34]

Equally, Monet's network during this period dispersed, although it was still fairly central and concentrated on the right bank. It also moved significantly to the west. While Geffroy, who resided at 88 rue de Belleville, was an exception, Monet's circles were much more likely to prefer the wealthy *arrondissements* around the place de l'Étoile. A new neighborhood was also emerging further north, above parc Monceau and along avenue de Villiers. Renovated in the 1860s by the Pereire brothers, it consisted of edifices and rich mansions, prized by well-known artists such as the painter Georges Callot and the poet Jean Richepin.[35]

Although the move of Monet's network westward can be explained by the prominence its members acquired, it also corresponded to the dynamics that animated the entire Parisian art scene at the time. In response to the concentration of galleries in the ninth *arrondissement*, the more discrete, yet real phenomenon of gallery dispersion is taking place. New galleries put down roots more widely across Paris, particularly toward the west. This was also the case in the decades that followed.[36] Once again, the geography of the artist's social circles can be explained both by its internal logic and the evolution of the Parisian artistic spheres.

The spreading westward did not stop at city limits, as the residences of Paul César Helleu[37] and Léon Clapisson[38] in Neuilly-sur-Seine attest. Later on, many other artistic figures had explored further the banks of the Seine. Pissarro moved to Éragny-sur-Epte in 1884, Sisley to Moret-sur-Loing in 1880, and Zola was based in Melun. A little further north, Berthe Morisot – one of the five female contacts in Monet's address books – settled in Gennevilliers when she married Eugène Manet in 1874. As

indicated above, Monet himself moved to Giverny in 1883. However, this final move did not prevent the artist from traveling. Between 1882 and 1912, Monet continued to search for new motifs during painting excursions on the coasts of Brittany and Normandy, in the south of France, and in London, among others. Even without a *pied à terre* in the capital at this point, he still frequented Paris often enough to organize his exhibitions, meet his friends and colleagues, and promote his career and works.

This extension to the northwest continues beyond French borders as well: John Singer Sargent and James Abbott McNeill Whistler were based in London. For a time, Théodore Duret also held an address in London, where he frequently travelled for work as a journalist, notably as a columnist for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*.[39] Indeed, names of foreign artists and artists based abroad in Monet's address books attest to the internationalization of the artist's career at the turn of the last century.[40] In 1886, Durand-Ruel organized a major exhibition, marking the Impressionists' entry into the US art scene. In 1891, the director of the National Wallpaper Company, William H. Fuller, organized Monet's first solo exhibition at the Union League Club in New York City. Nevertheless, considering the international reach of Monet's work in the early twentieth century, it is surprising that there are not more foreign contacts in his address books.

Broadening the Social and Geographic Study of Monet as an Artist

From the streets of Paris to the gardens of Giverny, from his close friends among the Impressionists to his collectors both known and unknown, Monet's address books sketch a portrait of an artist whose complex and dynamic camaraderie is characteristic of the late nineteenth century. Living at a time when a new art world was competing with traditional fine arts institutions, Monet's efforts to build an active network were crucial in the promotion of his works – and ultimately his successful career as an artist. Well aware of these developments, Monet participated directly in a shift that, in spatial terms, was reflected in a gradual distancing from the historical art hub that was, and continues to be, based in Paris. Furthermore, Monet's address books carry a number of surprises, particularly with regard to the presence or absence of certain key players in the artist's career. Yet, it is the total idiosyncrasy of this source of information that makes it so rich.

From a methodological point of view, the application of quantitative and cartographic methods in art history is not an end in itself, but instead a tool to help us understand better artists' approaches to their art and market. This is why more Impressionists' address books should be examined to extend this study: to shed light on the spaces that the artists occupied in society during their lives, and likewise to bring greater clarity to the chronological evolution of the art world in this period of history more broadly.

Notes

1 Michael Marrinan develops such a geographical approach by studying how Caillebotte's experiences the city of Paris and his travels along the Normandy coast on the occasion of his regattas. See Marrinan, 2016.

2 Becker, 1988.
3 Faizand de Maupeou, 2018.
4 They are currently kept at the Musée Marmottan Monet, filed as Exhibits 5160–5161: 1872–1877; 5160–5162: 1877–1881; and 5160–5163: 1882–1912.
5 With regard to the lack of specificity that characterizes how the artist kept his accounting records, Marianne Alphant describes these pages as "abstract" figures, conducting a more poetic and economic analysis of the notebooks and comparing the "successive approximations" from his painting to those of his accounting. See Alphant, 2010, p. 246.
6 Émile Bergerat (1845–1923), writer and art critic, was a contributor to many newspapers, including *Le Gaulois*, *l'Événement*, and *Le Voltaire* or the *Journal officiel*. With Georges Charpentier, he founded *La Vie moderne*, for which he served as editor. A man of rather eclectic taste, Bergerat was a defender of Impressionism.
7 Emmanuel Chabrier (1841–1894) was a French composer who frequented Parisian modernist art circles during this time period.
8 Georges de Bellio (1828–1894) was a doctor of Romanian origin. Arriving in France in 1856, he took an interest in the Impressionists from the start, buying a painting by Monet at the Hoschedé sale in 1874.
9 Charles Deudon (1832–1914) was a wealthy socialite and art lover whose family's wealth allowed him to satisfy his taste for impressionist paintings, of which he formed a large collection. See Distel, 1989a, pp. 58–65.
10 Henri Hecht (1842–1891) came from a family of collectors, who were among the first enthusiasts of Impressionism and Monet.
11 Charles Ephrussi (1859–1905), a banker and collector of Russian origin, also devoted several books and articles in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* to art history. He discovered the Impressionists in 1875 through Renoir. See Monneret, 1978, p. 224.
12 Jacques Doucet (1853–1929), couturier and collector, first became interested in eighteenth-century art before devoting himself to modern art. Throughout his life, he acquired an archive and art library, which today form the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art in Paris.
13 With the help and guidance of Ségolène Le Men, and by cross-referencing Monet's address books with his accounting records, I was able to decipher and identify almost all the names. However, despite our combined efforts, some could not be identified – like Rone, Gay, and Gaz – and the designation of others, like Édouard Blau, remains uncertain.
14 Gamboni, 1994.
15 Sisley and Degas appear only in the second address book.
16 In a letter to Pissarro dated 5 December 1873, Monet mentions a certain Lévy who "fears to compromise [by] shyness," and who can probably be identified as the painter Michel Lévy, appearing in the first address book. See letter 74 in the correspondence published in Wildenstein, 1996/1974–1991.
17 Galenson and Jensen, 2002, p. 38. The authors argue that it was Renoir's *Portrait of Madame Charpentier and Her Children* (1876; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) that convinced the banker Paul Bérard to commission a series of portraits of his family.
18 Henri Rouart served as an intermediary notably for his brother Alexis and the latter's companion Java Mignon, and for entrepreneurs Gustave Muhlbacher, Charles Jeantaud, and Edouard Laine.

19 Alphonse Portier (1841–1902), who started out as a *marchand de couleurs* (paint vendor), also worked as a "bedroom art" dealer on rue Notre Dame de Lorette. From early on, he took an interest in nonacademic artists, especially Barbizon painters, before actively supporting the Impressionists. Monneret, 1978, pp. 677–678.

20 Alphonse Legrand was an employee of Durand-Ruel before dealing art on his own account out of a gallery located at 22 bis rue Laffitte.

21 Zola mentions this art dealer in his notes for *L'Œuvre*: "Martin, rue Laffitte, a little old-fashioned merchant dressed simply, rather poorly, without ceremony. Democrat. He would go to the painter's home, pouting while browsing the works, stopping in front of one from time to time. Business was not going well, so he wanted to finally do something about it. … His entire business model was based on quick renewal of his capital. He would buy at low prices, resell right away with a 20% profit. He operated with small sums, with little capital and fast turnover. He retired with ten thousand francs a year. In my type, bringing together le Père Aubourg and Martin." See Distel, 1989b, p. 39. Zola was inspired by le Père Martin for the character of le Père Malgras. Le Père Martin opened his first shop as a second-hand dealer and quickly specialized in selling paintings as a "bedroom broker." Based at 69 rue Laffitte, he became one of the Impressionist art dealers.

22 Théodore van Gogh (1857–1891), known as Théo, was the brother of Vincent van Gogh and an art dealer at Boussod, Valadon & Cie.

23 See Le Men, with Faizand de Maupeou, and Maingon, 2013.

24 Letter 338 to Durand-Ruel, [Poissy], 7 March 1883. Wildenstein, 1996/1974–1991.

25 These maps were produced by Julien Cavero with the support of the TransferS laboratory of excellence (ANR-10-IDEX-0001-02 PSL* and ANR-10-LABX-0099). As a matter of principle, studying these historical phenomena requires historical context. Nevertheless, very few digitized historical maps are easily accessible. And although the Parisian landscape evolved during the late nineteenth century, by 1877, the first year for which data sets are available, the profound urban transformations led by Baron Haussmann had already been completed. All addresses in Monet's address book remained intact and without modifications, so we chose a background color representing buildings, gardens, and streets. Sources: Paris Data, http://opendata.paris.fr/opendata/jsp/site/Portal.jsp, ODBL license, Data: VOL_BATI, NBATI, garden; IGN: BD Carthage, DTM 250; ESRI data, Datas and Maps (CA 1892–1912).

26 This work, completed in collaboration with Léa Saint-Raymond and Julien Cavero, was featured in a series of articles published in *Artl@s Bulletin*. The most recent title is Faizand de Maupeou, Saint-Raymond, and Cavero, 2016.

27 Legrand's boutique was also housed there before it moved further north to rue de Rocroy.

28 Marchand, 1993, p. 53: "[M]any businesses had left the old center to move closer to la Madeleine …".

29 Martin, 1890, pp. 168–169: "[T]o give you the full picture, we may point out the numerous artistic displays along boulevard Haussmann, and rues Laffitte, Taitbout, and Châteaudun. Paintings, gouaches, watercolors, drawings, medals, autographs, bronzes, earthenware, weapons, antique furniture are displayed in all the windows and make these streets a kind of museum dedicated to curiosity.".

30 See White and White, 1965.

31 Camille Doncieux, Monet's first wife, died on 5 September 1879.

32 The first was held on the premises of the newspaper *La Vie moderne* and the second in the Durand-Ruel gallery.
33 This refers to Ernest Hoschedé, even though he was not there often, as well as Alice and their six children: Martha, Blanche, Suzanne, Jacques, Germaine, and Jean-Pierre.
34 "Les artistes indépendants." *La Liberté* (18 May 1886), pp. 1–2.
35 Emile (1800–1875) and Isaac Pereire (1806–1880) were bankers and prominent entrepreneurs of the period. They were involved in various sectors including the railroad industry and insurance. Through their real estate company, they also invested in the transformation of Paris led by Haussmann, in particular on the Monceau plain.
36 For a detailed study of the multiplication and diversification of exhibition sites, see Faizand de Maupeou, 2018, pp. 138–148.
37 Paul César Helleu (1859–1927) was a successful French painter of the late nineteenth century, who was close to modern artists like Monet and Whistler.
38 Léon Clapisson (1837–1894) was an art collector. He bought several paintings from Monet, including *Sunset on the Seine at Lavacourt*, *Winter Effect* (1880; Musée du Petit Palais, Paris), and *On the Bank of the Seine, Bennecourt* (1868; Art Institute of Chicago).
39 See Nessler and Royer, 2010, pp. 137–178.
40 For a detailed study of the internationalization of Monet's career, see Joyeux-Prunel, 2013, pp. 211–236.

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