Ambiguity, and the engagement of spatial illusion within the surface of Manet's paintings

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AMBIGUITY, AND THE ENGAGEMENT OF SPATIAL ILLUSION WITHIN THE SURFACE OF MANET'S PAINTINGS

The dissertation proposes that the engagement of spatial illusion within the surface of the paintings of Edouard Manet (1832–83) was a critical dimension to their artifice and ambiguity. Rather than being created arbitrarily or formed in error, it was the result of two intentionally applied spatial strategies which, paradoxically, were anchored within the conventions of linear perspective. This use of a coherent system to structure the ambiguity which has always been thought to have no rational explanation, created a new pictorial and surface coherence.

One strategy involved the spatial shaping provided by offset one-point perspective viewpoints, in which the geometry is part of a frontal view but the view itself seems angled, and the other strategy involved the creation of composite images with the synthesis of separate parts of actual views. Photography was directly involved in both of these strategies, with the *chambre photographique* 'view' camera providing the means to produce images with offset viewpoints, and evidence that many of the views in the composite images were most likely derived from photographs. Additionally, in two of his paintings some of the segments could only have been from aerial photographs taken from a balloon.

A research program of spatial analysis and identification, utilising computer-generated modelling, has resulted in proposals for *Incident in a Bullfight* (1864), *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* (1867), *The Burial* (1867?), *The Railway* (1873), *Masked Ball at the Opera* (1873–74), and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (1881–82). The program and the proposals are presented in the relevant historical, theoretical and comparative contexts.

An important aspect of the perception that the work of Manet brought about a decisive change in painting involved the shift in the dynamic between pictorial space and surface. Although the approaches to this aspect taken by scholars such as Clement Greenberg, T.J. Clark and Michael Fried have provided a cogent discourse for comparison, the proposals made in this dissertation suggest that their conclusions, together with other perceptions of Manet's picture-making process, need to be re-assessed.

Volume 1

AMBIGUITY, AND THE ENGAGEMENT OF SPATIAL ILLUSION WITHIN THE SURFACE OF MANET'S PAINTINGS

Malcolm Park

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Malcolm Park
August, 2001

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I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and to the best of my knowledge it contains no materials previously published or written by another person, nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at UNSW or any other educational institution, except where due acknowledgement is made in the thesis. Any contribution made to the research by others, with whom I have worked at UNSW or elsewhere, is explicitly acknowledged in the thesis.

I also declare that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work, except to the extent that assistance from others in the project's design and conception or in style, presentation and linguistic expression is acknowledged.

Malcolm Park
30 August, 2001

DEDICATION

To the memory of SUZANNE HELEN PARK

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

That there was a decisive change in painting with the work of the nineteenth-century French artist Edouard Manet (1832–1883) seems to be now unquestioned. The nature of that change, and its relationship with later artistic developments, is less certain. It has been seen to incorporate the Modernist declaration of a painting's surface in the very production of the work rather than its concealment, and has seen the mode of representation at the surface as a metaphor for concepts such as modernity, rather than as description, or as a re-alignment of the engagement between the painting and the viewer. Notwithstanding their differences, an important aspect common to such notions involves the dynamic between illusionistic space and surface. This dynamic in Manet's paintings has generally been interpreted as the compression of space into, and its alignment with, the flatness of their surfaces. Although these spatial manipulations have been seen to partly explain their spatial disjunctions or apparent discrepancies, the uncertain and ambiguous qualities of Manet's works have been considered more as traits of his painting process rather than crafted outcomes, and certainly to have no rational explanation.

This dissertation proposes that the engagement of spatial illusion within the surface of Manet's paintings was one of the critical conditions of their artifice and ambiguity, and that in many of his more problematic works that ambiguity was not created as an arbitrary or erroneous outcome of a creative process but, rather, was crafted with clear intent and can indeed be explained. Although Manet used a complex range of spatial manipulations, his spatial ambiguity was primarily created with the application of two strategies which, paradoxically, were both anchored in the conventions of linear perspective.

One strategy involved the ambiguous spatial shaping provided by offset one-point perspective viewpoints in which the geometry is part of a frontal view but the

view itself seems angled. Although Manet would have been aware that such offset viewpoints had been used since the development of linear perspective in the Renaissance, it is proposed that his understanding of its potential for ambiguity and his unique application of it were more influenced by the underlying geometry of the *chambre photographique* 'view' camera and its capacity to produce similar images.

The other strategy involved the creation of composite images as a synthesis of separate parts of actual views, and rather than being loose interpretations of locales, these images were constructed with interlocked or overlaid segments of views taken from the same or different viewpoints. It can be shown that many of these segments were most likely derived from photographs and that in two of his paintings some of the segments could only have been from photographs taken from an aerial balloon.

Perspective, both as a geometry for the construction of spatial illusion and its implicit confirmation within a photographic image, is thus seen as a crucial component in Manet's construction of his spatial ambiguity. Its conventions were used by him to translate the perspective of natural vision to the surface of his works, and were themselves transferred directly from available images such as other paintings, illustrations, or photographs. His use of perspective was, however, certainly not a straightforward or consistent one. Although clearly he had often used the traditional potential of perspective to pictorially unify a view, his more ambiguous works seem to be both a rejection of its conventions as well as a fragmentation of a view's pictorial unity. Nevertheless, it can be shown that in most, but not all, of those works, perspectival geometry provided an underlying structure to his picture-making. This use of a coherent system to structure modes of apparent spatial incoherence or incomprehensibility not only heightened the ambiguity but also created a new pictorial coherence, rather than a unity, within the surface of his works.

Such suggestions are certainly a contradiction of those established beliefs about the incongruities in Manet's use of scale, space and perspective, and the impossibility to rationally explain his works. Most of these perceptions, however, have been speculative or notional at best and are very much open to question. By its very nature,

however, ambiguity is elusive and, superficially at least, very difficult to quantify, inviting and encouraging generalities rather than specifics, and speculation rather than analysis. In art-historical terms its role in the art of Manet has indeed developed an uncritical reputation. The ambiguity of his paintings has been explained by both his contemporaries and later scholars either by inventing narratives of their own making or by claiming the existence of narratives within supposed representations. Too often these narratives have involved issues or contexts external to the work. The identification of representations based upon superimposed contexts can qualify and expand upon those issues, but they cannot provide very cogent insights into a work's ambiguities. The lack of specificity to the work itself and their inability to be contradicted have also allowed such representations to be presented as 'fact'. It follows that only further speculation can qualify, develop or even refute such proposals.

An alternative approach is to search for evidence of the process of the picture-making itself, to look behind the artifice for information which can transform the way in which a work may be read. Whereas a self-contained final image is the mediator of responses and interpretations made in front of its surface, one needs to understand what exists within a surface to find evidence of a process of production. In the same way that X-radiographs can illuminate the existence of previous states within a painting's surface, a visual deconstruction of an image may enable the identification, for example, of what Manet had actually depicted or the underlying geometry which he had used for its spatial illusion, rather than speculating or imagining what is there or not there. Such identification has the potential to provide insights into the layering and meaning of his paintings, and allow interpretations which are less speculative and, by that very fact, more compelling.

Implicit in this search for evidence of the process of production is the question of the importance, or otherwise, of the specificity of the site, the viewpoint(s), and the view(s) involved in a painting's image. As Manet's paintings can exist without a viewer's knowledge of their visual referents, imagined or real, it could be considered that the confirmation of a site, viewpoint, or view would add little to one's understanding.

Alternatively, such an identification could, to some degree, be seen to lay bare the premise of an ambiguity and to uncover, without necessarily providing meaning, the nature of the artifice involved. A search for such evidence is by no means a new technique for art historical research, and indeed has been the time-honoured way to try and sort out fact from fiction. Certainly many works of Manet have been scientifically and visually examined with techniques involving X-radiography, infra-red reflectography and microscopy but, with some notable exceptions[1], the established information has generally not been integrated by Manet scholars into the wider artistic implications of his works. One can only make the conjecture that the perceived nature of Manet's work has precluded an approach which could be seen as a contradiction of the very works themselves.

With the perceptions about Manet's use of perspective, for example, it is surprising that the extent or manner of his use of its geometry has not previously been examined in detail. The fact that in many of his works there are few, if any, readily available lines to facilitate a perspectival analysis, does not mean that the geometry of perspective was not involved. Manet's eye was a trained and expert one, and there is ample direct visual evidence available in both his paintings and drawings to indicate that he understood the principles of linear perspective and had used them in the translation of what he saw onto a work's surface, even if not as an accurately constructed geometry. Certainly many of those paintings of a more problematic nature have provided contradictory cues about his pictorial space rather than obvious indicators of the use of traditional perspectival spatial illusion, but it is that translation which seems to have deflected any notion that analysis is able to contribute to our knowledge about Manet and his art.

In the midst of such notions of speculation and analysis, some questions need to be asked. Is it possible to examine, for example, the extent to which Manet did truthfully paint what he saw? Is it possible to establish the means by which he constructed his images? And is one able to determine the extent to which he adjusted, manipulated, and invented to make things seem real, or conversely, to which he attempted to hide things

in a shroud of ambiguity or apparent invention? Although the answers to these questions can only be established if one can determine what it was that he painted, can that be determined with any certainty, if at all? The inherent artifice of a painting is so layered, and so open to speculation and interpretation that any attempt to do so could be seen to be of limited relevance or use. A painting's meaning, moreover, is seen to be influenced as much by a work's contextualisation as by what is actually depicted. And in addition, with the dynamics of Manet's picture-making involving so many other painterly and colouristic aspects as integral components of his expressive armoury, is it possible to isolate retrospectively one aspect from all the others?

Manet's artifice provides the key to the problem. Although abstruse and complex, his artifice is certainly not arbitrary. The art of picture-making involves the ability to craft the artifice as an integral part of the painting, and the guile to make the techniques which are involved appear less than obvious. If the latter is not achieved then the potential of the artifice is diminished, and the work becomes little more than pastiche or illustration. Manet certainly knew the nature of the artifice he desired and achieved it with deliberate intent. But it was rarely obvious, and the fact that he also layered it with wit and irony enhanced the achievement. Too often, however, the ambiguities, contradictions and fractures resulting from his intentions, or more correctly his presumed intentions, have rather been seen to be variously inexplicable or incoherent[2], indicative of a faulty technique[3], an arbitrary process[4], an artful manipulation with a wilful disregard of conventions[5], or an infusion of his imagination and genius[6]. And rather than being seen as integral parts of the mechanics of his picture-making process, they have been perceived to exist only as unintended, accidental results[7].

It is certainly clear that Manet had preferred not to explain or clarify his works, even to his closest friends and artist colleagues, and had also wished the viewing public to be kept guessing. Such secretiveness does not necessarily imply that intentional strategies of subterfuge were involved in his picture-making process, but if that were so then the inexplicable is more likely to turn out to be the result of such strategies and to have been created with formal intent. The ability to examine the artifice of Manet's

paintings on the basis that it had been crafted with intent and most probably with a strategy of subterfuge has been the basis for the approach taken in the research for this dissertation. Similarly, the potential of a pictorial deconstruction to provide insights into his art and artistic process has been the rationale for undertaking the particular program of spatial analysis, which has involved the extensive use of computer-generated modelling. The results of such a program and their pictorial, contextual, and art historical implications have provided the basis for the various proposals made in this dissertation. In light of the fact that an analytical procedure such as this has not been used previously with Manet's works, and mindful of the cautionary concerns stated above about such procedures, it does need to be unequivocally stated, almost as a statement of defence, that the methodology used is seen as a valid and rigorous means to better understand the rich and complex qualities of Manet's art, and not *per se* as a process of particular significance.

A consideration of the gap which exists between an artist and a work of art and which is potentially so complex, layered and elusive that it is often not able to be closed, highlights the methodological differences between the approach taken here and that of many others. Often taking an approach from outside a work, scholars have examined the interspace between Manet and his paintings by seeing it as a void to be filled with agendas of contextualisation. T.J. Clark, for example, has viewed it from a perception of the times within which Manet lived and worked, together with their social, cultural, and political implications, and in doing so has transmuted the work of art into a metaphor.[8] In contrast, the approach taken here is to look upon the works as repositories of information about production and creative process which, on examination, have the potential to inflect upon such a gap from within and through the works themselves. All approaches are valid, but it is believed that a technique such as this can provide importantly different insights into both Manet's creative practice and the nuances and resonances of his work.

The analytical procedures have been applied both in an overview of Manet's oeuvre in Chapter 4, and in the detailed analyses of five of his paintings as case

studies in Chapter 5. Where possible, these case studies have sought to identify the viewpoint(s) from where Manet had painted a work, what it was that he had actually depicted and how accurate was the depiction, the extent of his use of linear perspective or other spatial geometries in his pictorial space, the types of spatial adjustments and manipulations that he had used, and the nature and means of creation of evident spatial ambiguities. The works include *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* (1867, Fig.34), *The Burial* (1867?, Fig.35), *The Railway* (1873, Fig.53), *Masked Ball at the Opera* (1873–4, Fig.54), and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (1881–2, Fig.80). Except for *Masked Ball at the Opera*, these canvases have been seen in the past as works with problematic spaces, even though for somewhat different reasons, but all involve space as an integral part of their pictorial organisation. And each depicts something of Manet's creative centre, that of urban Paris.

A sixth painting which has been analysed in a somewhat different way is one which Manet had shown in the Paris Salon of 1864, *Incident in a Bullfight* (1864). At an unknown time after the Salon the canvas had been cut to form at least two smaller canvases, and although contemporary descriptions of the original work exist, its original composition has remained unknown. The two extant paintings from the original canvas, *The Bullfight* (c.1863–65, Fig.23) and *The Dead Toreador* (c.1863–65, Fig.24), which have provided the only means by which the composition can be speculated, were brought together for the first time at an exhibition in New York in 1999. A proposal by this writer for the original composition of *Incident in a Bullfight* was made in a joint essay included in that exhibition's catalogue. The analysis, which was based on an examination of the X-radiographs of both paintings, together with those proposal details which were not published in the catalogue, are set-out as the first of the case studies in Chapter 5.

Both the *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* and *The Burial* are paintings which were not displayed in Manet's lifetime and, with the possibility that their existing states are indicative of interim stages of works-in-progress, they provide an opportunity to better understand his artistic process. Additionally, and although the dating of *The*

Burial is uncertain, the probability that it had been painted prior to 1870 means that these two works provide an insight into the degree and sophistication of Manet's spatial manipulation in the 1860s. Although both the site and general view for *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* have generally been known, its composition has been seen as a free interpretation of the Parisian panorama with pictorial compressions and adjustments. Lateral compressions of space indeed are certainly involved, but with the detailed identifications made from the analysis it is proposed that the painting is a composite of parts of relatively accurate views from six different viewpoints which have been overlaid and collaged to form the one image. At least three of those views are considered to be from an aerial balloon and the possibility that most of the views had been taken from photographs is also raised. *The Burial* has also provided speculation about its site and view, and although some clarification was presented in an article by Nancy Locke published as recently as March 2000[9], the identification of the viewpoint(s) and view(s) of the painting and its apparent pictorial anomalies have not been explained. And even though the painting has been seen in more recent times as a depiction of Baudelaire's funeral cortege, details of the event visible in the foreground remain uncertain. It is proposed that the upper part of the painting is a composite of thirteen parts of reasonably accurate views as seen from an aerial balloon in eleven different positions along a feasible flight path, with the view segments overlaid and collaged in a similar manner to that used in *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle.* Implicit in these proposals is the identification of the landmarks and buildings of Paris forming the skyline, as well as the probability that all of these views were taken from photographs. The lower part of the painting, with the burial group and surrounding trees, is proposed as the single view of an anonymous burial at a specific site at the Cimetière du Père-Lachaise in Paris. This collaged image is evidence of Manet's strategy to integrate disparate views, subjects and locales into an ambiguously cohesive pictorial unity.

Until 1998, the siting for *The Railway* and the identification of its background building facades had been the subject of much speculation, not helped by a misreading of the source material. The identifications of both the site and view were made by Juliet

Wilson-Bareau in her catalogue to the *Manet, Monet, La gare Saint-Lazare* exhibition, held in Paris and Washington in that year, and an acknowledgment was also given of the same identifications which had been made independently by this writer.[10] The analysis of the painting in Chapter 5 demonstrates the perspectival basis upon which those identifications were made and the way in which the painting brings together the full range of Manet's spatial and perspectival manipulations. It is proposed that the painting is a composite of two views from two different viewpoints at the same site, with the foreground formed from an offset viewpoint, and with part of the background view adjusted in scale. The spatial geometry of the offset viewpoint as was understood with the contemporary use of 'view' cameras again raises the possible use of either a photographic image from such a camera or at least the application of its perspectival geometry.

Although the site for the *Masked Ball at the Opera* in the corridor to the first floor foyer of the Opéra Rue Le Peletier has always been known, there has been much speculation on why Manet painted such a work at that particular time. The possible influence of the destruction of the Opera house by fire or the implications of an earlier play which had used the identical site as the setting for one of its scenes, had been raised in detail by Éric Darragon in 1983[11]. A proposal for a source for the painting's composition is presented here as well as an explanation of the spatial manipulation of that source to produce the painting's final image.

Since its first showing in the Paris Salon of 1882, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* has become an icon for both the art of Manet and the Paris of his time, but its uncertain and problematic spatial organisation has generated much speculation. There has been universal acceptance that the mirror's reflection cannot be reconciled with what appears in front of it and that a relationship of some kind, be it spoken or one of eye contact, exists between the reflected images of the barmaid and the gentleman. In the belief that this spatial disjunction, and indeed the whole spatial organisation of the painting, was not arbitrary but, rather, was most probably based on a coherent system of spatial illusion, perspectival and spatial analyses of the final painting and related preliminary

works were undertaken to examine such a possibility. It is proposed that the final painting is a composite of relatively accurate views of the theatre at the Folies-Bergère establishment and a reconstruction of the bar in Manet's studio, with offset viewpoints providing the underlying spatial geometry for each of the views. Proposals are also made for the sequence in which the final painting was executed, and for a rational explanation of the mirror and its reflection, including the relationship between the barmaid and the gentleman. Photographs of a bar re-construction are used to confirm the accuracy of the proposal as presented with the computer-generated modelling.

Although these proposals together suggest that some of those works which to date have been considered inexplicable can be explained in factual terms, the explanations are not presented as interpretative readings of the works themselves. They do, however, provide insights into Manet's artistic process and intent, as well as into the nature, construction, and purpose of his spatial ambiguity. Although it is apparent that in these works Manet had followed his dictum 'faire ce que l'on voit'[12] and made direct use of photographic images to an extent much more than previously thought, their ambiguity had been created with a manipulation of pictorial space. This involved an interplay of spatial shaping from particular viewpoints and the fragmentation of pictorial space with interlocked and overlapped views, often with adjusted scales. The resolution of these manipulations into cohesive works of art involved the engagement of all the disparate spaces within the surfaces of his works. And with the extent to which Manet involved these manipulations and composite constructions of views in his paintings of the 1860s it can be seen that the stratagems used in later works, such as in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, were not new and innovative techniques but, rather, were simply part of the development in his spatial experimentations.

The proposals also suggest that Manet's influence on later developments in painting may need to be reconsidered. After Manet, the relationship between pictorial space and surface, and indeed their very roles, was transformed, but the extent to which Manet influenced such developments can never be accurately established. Nonetheless, the nature of his conscious fragmentation of pictorial space and its

cohesive engagement within the surface of a work reinforce, albeit from a different standpoint, those proposals that have seen him as an important influence on the later Modernist notions of the reclaiming of painting's flatness, as well as contradict many of the assumptions about his work upon which those very same notions have been based. Certainly, the dynamic between pictorial space and surface in Manet's paintings has been historically of importance. But their ambiguous relationship underpinned with a complex use of coherent perspective is very different, it is proposed, to those formalist descriptions of Manet's flattening of space and form.

This paradoxical use of perspective also positions Manet's approach as a point of conflation between the development of coherent perspectival spatial illusion used in Western painting from the fifteenth-century Renaissance and those disparate ways in which space and surface, with a purposeful break from the conventions of perspective, were newly related in the art of the twentieth century. From such means, one of the lines of influence on the many different movements of the first decades of the twentieth century in which such spatial experimentations occurred can possibly be repositioned.

In the context, then, of these main considerations of ambiguity, spatial illusion and surface, the content and sequence of the dissertation includes the nature of Manet's art in terms of reality and artifice in Chapter 1, the underlying pictorial characteristics and influences in his work in Chapter 2, critiques and analyses in Manet's own time and since in Chapter 3, an overview of his oeuvre in Chapter 4, and the case studies of six paintings in Chapter 5. The Conclusion presents a summary of the dissertation's proposals together with a review of the research outcomes and their possible implications for further Manet research.

In anticipation of some difficulties that may be experienced by readers when confronted by a plethora of details and references between text and images, particularly in the case studies in Chapter 5, it needs to be stated that such a situation has been dictated by the nature of the research and proposals. It is, as it were, the nature of the beast. Nonetheless, care has been taken to make the process of sifting through the information as user-friendly as possible.

1.
REALITY, ARTIFICE AND AMBIGUITY

In an art-historical context the meaning of the term 'reality' is a problematic one, influenced as much by its point of reference as by its more general descriptive implications. Nonetheless, it can be said that much of Manet's oeuvre gives compelling evidence of being an art of response to the reality of his life and times. His proclamation when a youth that "il faut être de son temps"[1] became a clear precept for his subsequent work and also provides some understanding of the nature of its content. Although his later statements or writings on art are limited in number, they confirm, even if in a somewhat superficial way, his belief in learning from nature rather than from other sources[2], in the importance of reality rather than the invented[3], and in responding to contemporary modernity rather than an imagined past.[4] Together with the need to be of one's time Manet had also stated "faire ce que l'on voit".[5] Not only is the painterly translation of what one sees contingent on many aspects of the process of vision and production, including that of painting directly from a motif, but additionally the term may not be an indicator of a perceived reality. For Manet, reality was not necessarily the equivalence of direct naturalism, but rather a translation of it.[6] There is in his oeuvre an interesting and complex relationship between what was seen and what was painted, particularly in terms of the selective use of parts of a motif and the way in which those parts were manipulated and conjoined within a work.

The subject matter of the new realism had developed in painting after earlier influences from Gustave Courbet (1819–1877) and, among others, its theoretician, the writer Champfleury (Jules Fleury-Husson).[7] It was centred upon the urbanised contemporary milieu of Paris with its own particular dynamics of modernity, spectacle and social change.[8] The manner of Manet's representation of this new subject matter during the 1860s and 1870s established him as the artist whom the public, the critics,

and fellow artists alike saw as the leader of this "new painting".[9] It was certainly seen by the establishment as a revolt against the conventions of academic painting, but by the avant-garde more as a rejection of the irrelevant banality of Salon history painting in preference for one based upon the contemporary and the everyday.

This new sense of realism was not a straightforward one. As was the standard practice of artists in his time, much of what Manet painted was developed and finished in the studio, notwithstanding his work *en plein air* in the early 1870s with his Impressionist friends. His was thus a qualified reality, created, as it were, with the repeated use of models and stock pieces of costume and studio items, and applied as directly seen motifs in works of varying types, including allusions to earlier artistic sources as evident in *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1863, Fig.18), created contemporary history settings as for *The Execution of Maximilian* (1867–69?, Fig.36)[10], costume pieces as seen with the figure of Victorine Meurent in *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada* (1862, Fig.12), a *mise en scène* as in *The Balcony* (1868–69, Fig.45), or the recreation of settings previously recorded in sketch form as in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (1881–82). However, many of Manet's paintings were created directly before an original motif, be they people as seen in his many portraits, including *Portrait of Eva Gonzalès* (1870, Fig.47), interior locales as depicted in the Oil Sketch for *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (1881, Fig.F3), or locales *en plein air* as in *The Swallows* (1873, Fig.55). The verisimilitude with which these motifs were depicted, either as directly seen or as developed in the studio, becomes an important aspect in understanding Manet's process of picture-making, and an important consideration for the research involved in this dissertation. And Manet's direct or indirect use of available images, for a part or the whole of a work, raises another aspect of the reality of his depiction. His use of images from earlier artists is well known[11], but the extent to which he may have used photographs or contemporary illustrations to compose his reality is less than fully understood. Although the evident disjunctions and ambiguities may seem to suggest that Manet had formed parts of his works as imagined inventions, the evidence from this research indicates that he borrowed readily and directly from photographic images and

used his imagination in their transposition into the new context of his painting. He had painted *from* what was seen. The wider implications of this relationship between reality and depiction in Manet's time have been raised by John House when he suggested that:

> Realist enterprises justify themselves by claims to depict just what the the artist sees. But it is never adequate to discuss these enterprises in terms of their degrees of realism, as if they approximated more or less closely to some objective truthfulness. Any painting involves an act of transformation in order to recreate visual experience in terms of line, form and colour on a two-dimensional surface, and to make this translation the painter has to find a framework, a set of codes, within the artificial limitations of the surface and the media used... Moreover, the decision of what to select and how to present it necessarily involves priorities and values. The different ways in which the painters encoded reality in their paintings in the nineteenth century were the physical expression of a wide range of social and ideological viewpoints.[12]

Although reality and its translation became the most important aspect for Manet in the artifice of his work, reality was used in the service of his art and not the converse, and the way in which it was absorbed and manipulated to produce his unique representation of it was a very complex one which changed with his artistic development. And even though reality seems to imbue his art, its translation often seems uncertain and obscure at the pictorial and representational levels, with many of his works certainly ambiguous, contradictory, and problematic. This dichotomy involving reality and ambiguity, with the certainty of the quotidian seemingly used in the service of less certain artistic objectives, layered his works. There is also a contrast between that which can be shown to be strategies of complex manipulation and concealment and his stated need for simplicity. Antonin Proust remembered Manet claiming that "La cuisine de la peinture nous a pervertis", and asking "Comment s'en debarasser? qui nous rendra le simple et le clair?"[13]. But the evidence suggests that, in addition to confusing critics and his viewing public, he may have also misled his closest friends. These uncertainties in the apparent reality of Manet's works have also had a profound effect on both the popular and critical responses to them, with the same aspect often receiving both condemnation and praise[14], protestations in his own time about the lack of clear narrative[15], and speculative explanations in more recent times presented as fact[16].

An important influence on Manet's translation of this new realism had been his friend and mentor from 1858 to the mid 1860s, Charles Baudelaire. In his reviews of the Paris Salons and other writings, Baudelaire had called for a more direct response to the contemporary world but couched the calls in terms of poetic imagination. His review of the Salon of 1845 lamented the lack "d'invention, d'idées, de tempérament... [even though] l'héroïsme *de la vie moderne* nous entoure et nous presse... [and] Ce ne sont ni les sujets ni les couleurs qui manquent aux épopées".[17] He wished that "Celui-là sera le *peintre*, le vrai peintre, qui saura... nous faire voir et comprendre, avec de la couleur ou du dessin, combien nous sommes grands et poétiques dans nos cravates et nos bottines vernies."[18] This reality was not a straightforward one without negotiation. Baudelaire's concern about the influence of photography, for example, was later expressed in his review of the 1859 Salon with the belief that "De jour en jour l'art diminue le respect de lui-même, se prosterne devant la réalité extérieure, et le peintre devient de plus en plus enclin à peindre, non pas ce qu'il rêve, mais ce qu'il voit".[19]

The idea of heroism in modern life was developed further by Baudelaire in his Salon review of 1846, in which he suggested that "Toutes les beautés contiennent... quelque chose d'éternel et quelque chose de transitoire, – d'absolu et de particulier".[20] This was restated in a different context, in his essay 'Le Peintre de la vie moderne' of 1863, when he related that the artist described (Constantin Guys), "cherche ce quelque chose qu'on nous permettra d'appeler la *modernité*"[21], with the aim "de dégager de la mode ce qu'elle peut contenir de poétique dans l'historique, de tirer l'éternel du transitoire".[22] For Baudelaire 'la *modernité*' was "le transitoire, le fugitif, le contingent... la moitié de l'art, dont l'autre moitié est l'éternel et l'immuable".[23] Although there is no evidence of a direct response from Manet to such a paradigm, a perceived duality of the notions of the contemporaneous and the universal can be perceived in his work with the interplay between his translation of the reality around him and the ambiguous nature of his work. And such an interplay can be seen to have had a resonance with other dualities in the creative milieu of his time.

This idiosyncratic use by Manet of reality for art's sake had found earlier expression in Paris with the literary works of writers such as Gustave Flaubert (1821–1880), whose novel *Madame Bovary*, published in 1857, broke from preconceived conventions of narrative. In a letter written to J.-K. Huysmans in 1879, Flaubert asserted that "Art is not reality. Whatever else you do, you must choose from the elements which the latter furnishes".[24] The issue of reality and art had been much discussed in Paris from the 1840s and 1850s and continued to be so during Manet's life. Flaubert's call to selectively use reality could equally be seen in the world of painting as a credo that Manet might have used to explain his own nuanced art. And in the context of the specific proposals made in this dissertation, the wider artistic aims of Flaubert, including the notion that the work itself, and not its creator, subject, or purpose, is of the greatest artistic importance, also provide an intriguing corollary with Manet's strategies of subterfuge and detachment. "What strikes me as beautiful", Flaubert wrote in correspondence in 1852, "is a book about nothing... without external attachments, which would hold together by itself through the internal forces of its style".[25] Flaubert's beliefs that "one ought not let his personality intrude"[26], "passion does not make poetry"[27], "one subject is as good as another. It is up to the artist to raise everything"[28], and "Irony, seems... to dominate life"[29], confirmed a detached objectivity as a prerequisite for both the artist and the art.

Flaubert's "ideological viewpoint", to use John House's phrase, developed an 'art for art's sake' approach in contradiction to those two other positions in the literary field of the 1840s and 1850s, 'social art' and 'bourgeois art'. In Pierre Bourdieu's 1988 essay, 'Flaubert's Point of View', the approach of Flaubert and his colleagues was likened to many aspects of Manet's later achievements.[30] For Bourdieu, "realism... was a partial, and failed revolution... [which] did not really question the tendency to mix aesthetic value and moral (or social) value" and the novel had "seemed predestined for a simple, naive search for the illusion of reality".[31] Bourdieu believed that "Realism...[had] questioned the existence of an objective hierarchy of subjects... [but] was only to reverse that hierarchy".[32] With the employment of "double refusals" as part of his

contradictory position[33] and the invention of pure aesthetics, Flaubert, Bourdieu suggested, had "broken this privileged tie with a specific category of objects... [and] generalized and radicalized the partial revolution of realism", and that "like Manet confronted with a similar dilemma, he painted both bohemia and high society".[34] In doing so Bourdieu believed that Flaubert and Manet had revolutionised their respective art forms. The distancing "from all social positions favored by formal elaboration" and the "elimination of received ideas, of all clichés"[35] are some of the characteristics of this point of view and part of the reasons for Bourdieu's belief that writers such as Flaubert had invented "the modern artist... [as one] recognizing no jurisdiction other than the specific norm of art".[36] But for Bourdieu the most revelatory characteristic was that of the work's composition, claiming that

> Like Manet somewhat later, Flaubert abandoned the unifying perspective, taken from a fixed, central point of view, which he replaced with what could be called, following Erwin Panofsky, an "aggregated space", if we take this to mean a space made of juxtaposed pieces without a preferred point of view.[37]

In taking up Flaubert's explanation of the lack of "the falseness of a perspective" in Sentimental Education[38], by means of the analogy used by Flaubert that it doesn't go to a point as a pyramid, Bourdieu stated that

> In itself the refusal of the pyramid construction, that is, an ascending convergence toward an idea, a conviction, a conclusion, contains a message, and no doubt the most important one: a vision, not to say a philosophy, of history in the double sense of the word... As a bourgeois who was vehemently antibourgeois and completely devoid of any illusions about the "people"... Flaubert preserves in his absolute disenchantment an absolute conviction, which concerns the work of the writer... [of] an absolute refusal to give the reader the deceptive satisfactions offered by the false philistine humanism of the sellers of illusion.[39]

With Bourdieu's correlation of Flaubert and Manet, it follows that Manet is seen to reject the idea of perspective's ideal single view(point) of the world, and replace it with a pictorial space of 'juxtaposed pieces'. Many of Manet's works, with their apparent disavowal of perspective's geometry and their disjunction of spaces, do in fact reflect such a proposition. Are such works, then, evidence of Manet's own intention to provide an alternative to the 'sellers of illusion' rather than of his supposed lack of skill with perspective? Even though Bourdieu's proposition had a philosophical underpinning,

there was no suggestion to how this alternative of either Manet or Flaubert had been achieved, that is, how it had been crafted as a work of art, and there is no statement of intent from Manet to provide such an alternative. Although evidence of an intention may be revealed if his spaces of 'juxtaposed pieces' were themselves examined, the critical concerns for such an approach of analysis and identification, as broached in the Introduction, remain. Flaubert himself reflected upon this problem in correspondence about critics and their lack of concern about the crafting of an art work, when he asked

> Where do you know a good critic who worries about the work *in itself*? There are all kind of analyses of the milieu where the work was produced and the causes that brought it about; but *unknowing* poetics...? where does it come from? its composition, its style? the author's point of view? Never![40]

For Manet, it can be shown that although his works offered new, or alternative, modes of pictorial cohesion, in their crafting he had not abandoned perspective at all. In fact his artifice relied upon it. But rather than being employed for a reliance on verisimilitude, the unifying geometry of perspective was variously used for parts of a fragmented space with a preferred point of view, parts of an aggregated space without a preferred point of view, parts of an overlaid space with multiple points of view, as well as for the conventional, unified single image. Its use was much more complex than Bourdieu implies with its supposed abandonment, but it was concealed as Manet's own 'double refusal', absorbed into the artifice of the painting's surface, both unifying and fragmenting at one and the same time. Art was certainly Manet's primary purpose and it is suggested here that his art, to again reflect Flaubert's view, was not only *not* reality, but was also never meant to appear as such in any straightforward way. But paradoxically, to further paraphrase Flaubert, Manet's art was indeed furnished by elements from the objectivity of reality as recreated by means of the illusion of linear perspective. The refusal of the illusion was crafted with the illusion of perspective. Flaubert would have understood and enjoyed Manet's subterfuge. Bourdieu, on the other hand, although recognising the apparent rejection of a unifying perspective had, at the same time, missed the point (of view).

In Manet's art, the spatial ambiguity is a very potent one, involving not only the very processes of its artifice, including offset viewpoints, spatial disjunctions or slippages, spatial overlays, and interplays between pictorial space and surface, but also his wish to keep the devices used to create that artifice less than obvious. Ideologically, the ambiguity was also part of Manet's private speculation, which was, on the one hand, directed at the works themselves as processes of pure art, engaged at their surface and metaphorically layering them even further, but providing no additional meanings for viewers, and on the other hand distanced from, and taking no heed of, the expectations of others, received ideas, or pre-determined positions. An articulation of such a distancing by Manet, as recorded by his friend and confidant of the 1870s, Stéphane Mallarmé, described an abstracted involvement of the mind, eye, and hand as part of this speculation:

> Each work should be a new creation of the mind. The hand, it is true, will conserve some of its acquired secrets of manipulation, but the eye should forget all else it has seen, and learn anew from the lessons before it. It should abstract itself from memory, seeing only that which it looks upon, and that as for the first time; and the hand should become an impersonal abstraction guided only by the will, oblivious to all previous cunning.[41]

This is not a credo about looking at things with a fresh and innocent eye. It is an artist asserting that with serious art one should speculate anew with each and every work. Rather than using an unfettered eye, it can be shown that Manet's speculations in creating his spatial ambiguity were introspectively purposeful, structured and considered.

Such purposeful spatial ambiguity was, however, not created within Manet's artifice in isolation, and those other dimensions to the ambiguity in his works, such as unclear narratives or uncertain representations, are interwoven in its matrix and cannot be disregarded. Thus, for example, the spatial disjunctions in *The Old Musician* (1862, Fig.7) are reinforced by the incongruous mix of character types; in *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe,* the sequence of spaces which, at one and the same time, seems both clear and uncertain, appears connected with the odd casual seriousness of the group of figures seated in the foreground and the woman bathing behind them; the uncertainty of a

narrative in *The Luncheon* (1868–9, Fig.44) also clearly has a spatial function; the puzzling representation of *Portrait of M. Pertuiset the Lion Hunter* (1880–81, Fig.77) is reinforced by the strangeness of the depicted space; and, the contradictory perspective of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, in itself, raises uncertainty about the painting's narrative and representations.

There is, in addition, the uncertainty of Manet's intent, which, if one is to accept his own statements or to believe the recollections of his friends, was at times as ambiguous as his works. Notwithstanding the unequivocal exposition in this dissertation that Manet's spatial ambiguity was considered and intentional, there is no evidence in his few known direct statements to confirm such a proposition. And any thought that he had intended to make his works provocatively ambiguous, can be contrasted with the sentiments expressed in the non-confrontational essay within the catalogue to his private exhibition of 1867: "L'artiste ne dit pas aujourd'hui: Venez voir des œuvres sans défauts; mais: Venez des œuvres sincères"[42]. But the fact remains that, from the time that they were first viewed in public, many of his works have conveyed an unsettling, ambiguous quality.

It has been suggested that in some works the ambiguity had been consciously created by Manet as an artful manipulation of the inconsistencies inherent in the paintings themselves. But such suggestions are usually qualified. T.J. Clark's reading, for example, of Manet's *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* in his The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers[43], presented the usual and valid responses about the apparent impossibility of the mirror's reflection, and noted that "there seems little doubt that the structure which gives rise to these uncertainties was devised by the artist with conscious care"[44]. But this structure to which Clark refers is not one underlying its spatial construction but, rather, is one which made the impossible reflection be seen as a contrivance that "must have been felt to be somehow appropriate to the social forms the painter had chosen to show". For Clark it was used with intent by Manet as a pictorial metaphor, as an artifice of a single order, without any suggestion

that a contradictory structure could exist to show that the reflection was in fact possible and that the artifice was of a double order, crafted with intent.[45]

Such a contradictory structure, nevertheless, does exist in the painting and, in the midst of all the concealment and ambiguity, Manet provides subtle but definite evidence of it, and in doing so confirms the painting's crafted structure, his strategy of subterfuge, and, above all, his complete understanding of the geometry of perspective. With a touch of self-directed and light-hearted subversion of his very own stratagem, at the right-hand edge of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* Manet painted one half, and only one half, of a reflected rose, and in doing so provided the confirmation, or at least the means to confirm, that the painting was in fact based on correct perspectival geometry. Of course such an implication is not obvious with just the identification of the flower, and indeed only has relevance if the strategies of concealment used by Manet are also identified. Nonetheless, the potential for such identification is there. And such a disclosure also makes clear that Manet's few statements on his art can be now seen either as attempts to confuse or, more probably, as benign pronouncements of a kind required to keep the recipient content. It becomes clear that he was more than happy for his works to be seen by everyone, including his closest friends, in any way they wished, as long as it was other than the one used in its creation. The research for this dissertation has been, in part, a program to identify those very strategies employed by Manet to craft the ambiguous reality in the artifice of his works, and about which he was obviously so secretive.

2.
PICTORIAL PERSPECTIVES

The background to Manet's dynamics in spatial illusion involves both his past and his present. His endeavours and achievements were at one and the same time embedded in the pictorial traditions of the Old Masters and absorbed into the contemporary developments and influences of his own times. They were also set at the vanguard of those crucial changes that led to twentieth-century painting, and were thus a link between his past and future.

Since the fifteenth-century Renaissance, Western art had developed the use of *linear perspective* as the pictorial means to approximate perception with *natural perspective*. All painting is to some degree an artifice, but by the middle of the nineteenth century the potential for perspectival spatial illusion to give a reflection of the *reality* of natural perception was so entrenched into the vision of Western art that the nature of painting's production and reception required, or enabled, the fictive world of history painting, genre painting, sentimental or anecdotal vignettes, the picturesque, and images of reverie and fantasy to imagine the pictorial space, not in terms of the artifice of picture-making, but to be *real*, beyond the *ideal*. The potential for painting to be vitally creative in its own right had thus been diminished. As Clement Greenberg has claimed, "realistic, illusionist art had dissembled the medium, using art to conceal art".[1]

The history of Western pictorial space and its structure provides an interesting comparative background to considerations of Manet's application of a perspectival spatial geometry and his fragmentation of space.[2] Greco-Roman space was an aggregation of different views without a coherent geometry and with each depicted object set in its own separate space.[3] Medieval painting used both a stage space with a limited spatial recession to a vertical background and a stratified space with horizontal bands, often not chronologically connected, set above each other and the spatial recession implied with increased elevation.[4] The Proto-Renaissance contributions of

artists such as Cimabue (c.1240–1302?), Duccio di Buoninsegna (c.1255–1318?), and Giotto di Bordone (1266?–1337) provided tentative but substantial progression towards a unifying spatial system based on empirical observation. Cimabue used a consistent relationship between light and shade[5], Duccio displayed a surprising grasp of convergence in his building forms[6], and Giotto, in his attempts at a coherent spatial system, used a unified viewpoint, angled planes to the left and the right to convey three-dimensional rectilinear form, overlapping planes to indicate recession, and figures formed with a real sense of volume.[7] The bringing together of all these elements within the coherent, consistent geometry of linear perspective emerged in the environment of the early fifteenth-century Renaissance in Florence[8]. Its invention by Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446) in c.1413[9], its initial applications by Masaccio (1401–28) in his frescoes of the 1420s[10], and its codification based upon Euclidean postulates by Leon Battista Alberti in his treatise Della Pittura of 1436[11], established the basis for spatial illusion in Western art. A relatively coherent perspectival geometry of spatial recession, and a related illusion of volume and shadow projection were evident in Masaccio's frescoes, and these devices of geometries and form were integrated with other illusionistic devices such as atmospheric perspective and colour recession to form an overall system of spatial illusion.

In contrast to the tentatively angled forms of the fourteenth-century artists, the characteristics of Alberti's 'perspective box' included its centred viewpoint and its primary space set parallel to the picture plane. This system provided the basis for pictorial space in painting throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, even if used with less accuracy in northern Europe, and its principles and procedures were theoretically developed and applied within the work of many artists such as Paolo Uccello (1396/7–1475)[12], Piero della Francesca (1410/20–92)[13], Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519)[14], and Albrecht Durer (1471–1528)[15].

There were, however, limitations with Alberti's system involving the spatial distortion and apparent change in view which were created with the lateral offset of the viewpoint beyond the limits of a practical cone of vision. But there are many examples

of offsets or displacements of the principal vanishing point in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and these have been seen by James Elkins as a "play" with the potential of perspective[16]. Such a displacement is highlighted with two predella panels depicting the *Miracle of the Host* (Fig.81) painted by Paolo Uccello for an altarpiece in c.1468. Whereas the left hand panel, *The Selling of the Host*, displays a typical Albertian perspective with a central centre of vision and vanishing point, in contrast, the right hand panel, *The Jew's Attempt to Destroy the Host*, has its centre of vision and vanishing point offset far to the right with the extent of view, as part of a widened cone of vision, extended to the left. This creates not only a distortion of the space to the left of the scene, but also the sense that one is viewing the interior room of the scene at an angle, as if part of a two-point perspective, and not perpendicular to the picture plane.[17] The angles of the orthogonals in perspective to the left also accentuate the sense of spatial recession. Although this use of the offset viewpoint remained as one of the standard techniques of perspective practice through to the nineteenth century, it is less than clear whether the artists who used its geometry did so as a conscious decision to make use of its accentuated diagonals or its inherent ambiguity as an apparent angled view[18]. And whether the potential for that ambiguity was also identified by Manet in any earlier works is unknown, even though it can be shown in this dissertation that it was used by him for that very purpose. During his trips to Italy he would certainly have seen many clear examples in the works of artists, such as in Titian's *Madonna of the Pesaro Family* (1519–26, Fig.82)[19]. The possibility of such an influence is later considered in Chapter 4, with the spatial comparison of some important Manet works and their acknowledged sources.

Perspective's geometry was also an obvious influence on pictorial space. Alberti's system set pictorial space parallel to the picture plane, initially with the primary 'action' depicted in the foreground. During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries there were many variations on the extent of evident spatial recession within such a spatial configuration, including: a limited 'stage' space[20]; a spatial recession, often sequential, to a middle distance[21]; and spaces which receded completely into a background

landscape, with either a clear separation between the foreground 'action' and the background[22], or intermediate planes set in the middle-distance[23]. Alternatives to such overt structuring of the pictorial space were also developed, even though perspective remained the underlying geometry. Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564)[24], for example, created an integration between figures and space itself, with its articulations leading to the dynamic use of pictorial space by the Mannerists. And artists of the Renaissance in Venice, with the Byzantine influence and the early contact with the oil paintings of artists such as Jan van Eyck from Northern Europe, used tonal modulation for spatial illusion rather than an overt spatial structure. As noted by David Rosand, Titian, for example, understood the "constitutive elements of spatial representation: architectural perspective and luminous landscape, color and tone", but was reluctant "to build compositionally upon a consistent and fully realized architectural base."[25]

At the same time, developments in theory and practice enabled perspective to relate more accurately to natural perspective with the double-angled depiction of three-dimensional form, as had been attempted in the fourteenth century. This involved the introduction of the technique of *tiers points* by Jean Pélerin (called Viator) in his De Artificiali perspective of 1505[26], and its perfection by Jean Cousin in his Livre de Perspective of 1560[27]. With the important determination of the vanishing point by Guidobaldo del Monte in 1600, and its development and confirmation by Pierre Desargues in the 1630s, perspective's basic principles had been established and clarified and, notwithstanding the many subsequent developments in procedure and application, did not change during the following centuries to Manet's time.[28]

The pictorial potential provided by these conventions of perspective was another matter. The use by the sixteenth-century Mannerists of a shallow but dynamically figured space set parallel to the picture plane, and often with dramatic perspectives using low viewpoints[29], was an influence on painting through the Baroque and Rococo periods of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries[30]. Dramatic spatial perspectives were achieved by Michelangelo Caravaggio (1575–1610) by different means, with a juxtaposition of the limited spatial recession created by his backgrounds of darkness and

the accentuated spatial illusion achieved with the extreme foreshortening of his figures and the pictorial space seemingly projected in front of the painting's surface.[31] Nevertheless, the more visually stable structure of the 'perspective box' of Alberti, characterised by its centred viewpoint and planes set parallel to the picture plane, was continued with many variations as a more formal and classical use of spatial illusion, with its ideal form exemplified in the work of Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665)[32]. These contrasting strands of a classicised, idealised space and the more naturalistic but at times dramatic space, carried through to the nineteenth century in many guises and with many borrowings and overlaps.[33] From the middle of the eighteenth century, for example, the classicised space which had been retained as a counter to the freedom of Baroque space underwent what James Elkins has described as a "single decisive change during the period 1750–1840" with it being "very gently rotated so the picture became a 'two-point'... construction"[34]. Variants of this rotation, Elkins has pointed out, included symmetrical "two-point constructions", and a Neoclassical adjustment involving the centred corner moved slightly to one side.[35] These spatial manipulations using the geometry of perspective to construct an image can be seen against those naturalistic responses to the visible world which had developed in painting from the seventeenth-century, and in which the use of linear perspective was inherent in the translation of natural perspective to its illusion in the two-dimensional surface.

Within perspective's structure during these centuries, spatial ambiguities were intentionally achieved either as the result of pictorial devices such as anamorphosis and perspectival incongruity, or as a contradiction between the geometry of the pictorial spaces and the means of depiction. The anamorphosis in *The Ambassadors* of 1533 by Hans Holbein (1497/8–1543) is an example of such a device but, typically, appears as an appendage and is not directly involved in the artifice of the work[36]. And in those works which present incongruous spaces within frameworks of perspectival geometry, such as the unsettling *Carceri d'Invenzione* series of 1745–61 by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–78), the means to achieve the spatial ambiguity are pictorially obvious.

Las Meninas (1656, Fig.86) by Diego Velásquez (1599–1660), is of particular interest here as it has been seen by many scholars as an influence on Manet's articulation of space in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*[37]. Its complex spatial uncertainty, seen beneath a straightforward spatial appearance, involves: the uncertain interplay between Velásquez as the artist of the actual painting; the self-portrait of Velásquez as the artist within the painting; the unseen surface of the canvas within the painting; the unseen subject of the gaze of Velásquez and the group of the Infanta Marguerita and the court members; the reflection in the mirror on the background wall; and the placement, highlighting, and gaze of the figure seen on the stairs in the background. Although the pictorial spaces seem to have been structured on perspective, the uncertainty in how the painting works raises a doubt about the application of its geometry. Joel Snyder and Ted Cohen have claimed and demonstrated that "At the level of its geometry, *Las Meninas*... is thoroughly and ingeniously orthodox".[38] Although not dissimilar to Manet's spatial ambiguity, that in *Las Meninas* exists within a traditional perspectival unity, not within an apparent rejection of it as seen in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère.*

The forms of illusionistic space from the fifteenth century through to the nineteenth were thus generally based on perspective's geometry, as views either constructed with a knowledge of its procedure or translated with an understanding of its principles. And the many published perspective manuals, particularly from the eighteenth-century, certainly provided the means for artists to construct or translate views in any situation[39]. This knowledge was consolidated by the scientific development of optics, with the *camera obscura* and the later *camera lucida* not only providing tacit confirmation of perspective's principles but, in their ability to make available on a surface an image of a selected view, also being used to an ever-increasing extent as aids for painting from the seventeenth-century[40].

Although seen as a logical progression from these optical devices, photography, with its fixing of the refracted image, not only enhanced this perspectival and spatial confirmation but also provided the means for an artist to record a pose or scene for use as source, *aide-mémoire*, or instrument of transfer. By Manet's time perspective was the

established means of depicting spatial illusion, but photography, with rapid developments made in its technology from the 1840s, brought a new understanding of imagery and its potential within a two-dimensional surface, and liberated painting from many pictorial preconceptions[41]. The composition of images with 'accidental' framing or cropping, the selection of new viewpoints and directions of view, the emphasis on planes in focus, the blurring of images with movement, the overlaying and combining of images, and increased tonal contrast with the reduction of half-tones, were all direct pictorial influences from photography on painting.[42]

Even though many of these pictorial aspects were absorbed and used by Manet[43], the most important connection with photography existed with those two strategies he employed for his spatial ambiguity, the offset viewpoint and the composite image. The interplay discussed above between the offset centre of vision in a one-point perspective and the simultaneous creation of an apparent angled view was an every-day occurrence in the world of the professional photographer in Manet's time. The standard camera used by these photographers, the *chambre photographique*[44], could create its image in exactly that way. The camera could be positioned with its centre of vision set to replicate a one-point perspective and, by means of parallel sliding frames, a part of a wide-angle cone of vision could be selected so that even though its spatial shaping suggested an angled view, the horizontal lines parallel to the photographic plate in the camera would still be seen as horizontal lines of a one-point perspective. Apart from the practical benefit of easier handling of the camera, the frames provided the means to 'correct' perspective[45]. Obviously there was no novelty in the use of such cameras by the 1860s and any artist would have been aware of, and comprehended, their function.

The potential for the same spatial ambiguity also existed, in a converse way, within the fixed image of a relatively wide-angle photograph, taken, for example, as a centre-point perspective. Rather than create the spatially ambiguous photograph which is possible with the *chambre photographique* camera, those parts of a photographic image furthest from the centre of vision can be seen to be spatially ambiguous when

isolated from their original context. Although the horizontal lines parallel to the photographic plate in such a circumstance remain horizontal and confirm the underlying one-point perspective, the offset space can also make the direction of view appear to be angled.[46] Whether this potential for spatial ambiguity was seen by Manet either in an understanding of the *chambre photographique* camera or in the isolation of part of a photographic image is not known, but it is shown in Chapter 5 that Manet directly applied this underlying geometry in creating a number of his problematic works. It can even be proposed that the often-noted tendency of Manet to 'flatten' his perspective derives from this same geometry. It suited him artistically to have these elements more horizontal, and with the geometry he had the means to pictorially create them without a need for artificial 'flattening'.

Permanent photographic images also provided a repertoire of images which could be re-used in part within new composite contexts. Such composites, created by combining and overlaying numerous negatives to form one image or by a 'cut-and-paste' technique with paper prints, had developed in England in the 1850s.[47] Although officially rejected in France as a valid photographic technique[48], the potential for photographs to provide new approaches to imagery was not lost on artists. Again, there is no evidence that Manet utilised photographic images in this way, but this research indicates, as shown in Chapter 5, that discrete parts of what could only have been photographic images were overlaid or interlocked in the creation of some of his most ambiguous works. The evidence also indicates that some of these source photographs could only have been taken from an elevated position, such as from an aerial balloon. The early history of aerial photography in Paris, involving Manet's friend Nadar, and others, is a contradictory one (see Appendix 3), but the possibility that Manet used such photographs is seen as a logical occurrence when set into the circumstances of his own artistic agenda and within the milieu of the Paris in which he lived. Such a possibility may also require re-assessments of the nature and dating of some of his works.

A less direct, but nonetheless important, aspect of photography's influence involved the way in which the fixing of an image onto the surface of a negative re-

framed the way in which reality and real space could be depicted on a painting's surface. What was changing for art with the development of Realism in the 1850s was the move away from the imagined to the real, and in this respect photography, with its recording of an 'actuality', provided an insight into the nature of the surface of paintings.[49] The image in photography, created by means of light refraction and light-sensitive chemicals, exists within its terrain as a record of an 'actuality', no matter how unreal or artificial that 'actuality' is made to appear. And although the artifice of photography is latent and not as overt as that of painting, hidden as it were behind its verisimilitude, it is suggested that artists such as Manet understood that the representation in a painting of that actuality could never be achieved by an attempt at direct 'realism'. Photography confirmed that the concept of 'realism' was an artificial one, and that any sense of truthfulness in a painting's representation could only be achieved by engaging the artifice in its surface and not in the belief of creating a 'real' image of anything, particularly of space.

Photography thus provided the potential for the two-dimensional surface of a work to be a field of new visual and spatial dynamics, and the extent to which Manet realised that potential is one of the many aspects of Manet's art yet to be resolved. His use of photography as a direct image source, and the probability of its use by him as a pictorial influence and a tool for the transfer of images has been raised previously by many scholars[50], but the limited available evidence is not seen as a negation of the research results of this dissertation. Some of the works considered in the overview in Chapter 4 certainly suggest an underlying perspectival geometry taken from photographs and show evidence of composite construction. And of the works examined in Chapter 5, *Incident in a Bullfight*, *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, *The Burial*, *The Railway*, and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* provide evidence of separate views or fragments of views brought together as overlays or collages to form a single, composite image. Such a practice provides the circumstance, but not the direct evidence, in which it can be deemed probable that Manet used photographs in a 'cut-and-paste' procedure, either for transferred images or as actual fragments of photographs, at the preliminary or

intermediate stages in the development of his overall images. A lack of evidence may not be so surprising. If such proposed stratagems were in fact used to create the ambiguities in his works, Manet would certainly not have wished any evidence of a photographic aid to be seen. It may be possible, then, that the extent to which Manet used photography and photographs and the degree of their importance to him in his picture-making process may have been much greater than the lack of evidence has implied.

Pictorial language was certainly extended by photography, but another important aspect of that language involved concepts intrinsic to French art within which Manet's art had been critiqued, particularly during the 1860s, and which also inflected upon his use of spatial disjunctions and fragmentation. These were the complex pictorial notions of *tableau* and *morceau*. In both the theatrical and painting contexts in the 1750s there had been a requirement for works to have a compositional unity as *tableaux*. Michael Fried, who has extensively examined these two issues in his writings, has stated that writers such as Denis Diderot and Friedrich Grimm demanded that in paintings a "pictorial unity be instantaneously apprehensible".[51] This requirement, Fried noted, was an "emphasis on the *tableau*", as "the portable and self-sufficient picture that could be taken in at a glance, as opposed to the "environmental", architecture-dependent, often episodic or allegorical project that could not"[52], and which "denoted the achievement of a sufficiently high degree of compositional and coloristic unity... to produce a powerful and instantaneous effect of formal and expressive *closure*"[53]. Such a concept of pictorial unity continued through to the 1850s when, in critiques of the paintings of Gustave Courbet, the contrasting term of *morceau* was used to indicate that his canvases had failed "to conform to traditional notions of compositional unity... [and] were mere *morceaux*, pieces or fragments, regardless of their actual size"[54]. One of the differences between the two terms can be seen in their use in 1860 by Zacharie Astruc when contrasting the art of Courbet with that of Delacroix. "À l'inverse de Delacroix," stated Astruc, "qui ne voit plus qu'un ensemble où résonne l'idée, lui se plaît au morceau spècial qui l'éloigne. Du morceau on monte à l'ensemble, au tableau"[55]. And in a

posthumously published essay, Delacroix had written that "Le réaliste le plus obstiné... ne peut prendre un morceau isolé ou même une collection de morceaux pour en faire un tableau"[56]. In both of these descriptions a *tableau* was seen not as a summation of *morceaux* but rather as an overarching concept, and that the *morceaux* were incorporated within the unifying *tableau*.

These same notions were similarly applied to Manet and his work. Throughout his career, Manet was criticised for his paintings being insufficiently unified as *tableaux*, and within the concept of the term used in the 1850s, their various parts, seen as separate entities, were described as *morceaux*. In a review of the 1863 Salon des Refusés, in which Manet exhibited *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada*, *Young Man in the Costume of a Majo* (1863, Fig.15), and *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, Théodore Pelloquet, for example, complained that "M. Manet ne sait pas composer un tableau, ou plutôt, il ne se rend pas compte de ce qu'on entend par un tableau"[57], and that "Je vois bien ça et là des morceaux qui approchent de la nature... mais... le reste est d'une incohérence tout à fait inexplicable".[58] Jules Castagnary, in a review of the 1864 Salon, wrote of the fallen matador in *Incident in a Bullfight* as "un morceau excellent; mais... que devient l'ensemble du tableau?"[59], and by 1870 he was still suggesting that Manet "possède une partie des qualités nécessaires pour faire des tableaux. Ces qualités je ne les nie pas; mais j'attends les tableaux"[60].

The nature of Manet's pictorial fragmentation was, however, very different to the perceived lack of compositional unity in Courbet's work, and other critics saw Manet's works more holistically, both in that term's general sense as a summation of the parts, and in its philosophical sense in which the whole is more than a sum of its parts. In his review of the 1863 Salon des Refusés, Astruc spoke of "des oeuvres... si harmonieuses, exécutées avec tant de verve et de force qu'elles semblent jaillies de la nature par un seul élan".[61] Of Manet's art Astruc believed that "lui n'impose et ne montre pour ainsi dire son accent vital"[62], and that "L'individualité est si forte qu'elle échappe au mécanisme de construction. Le rôle de la peinture s'efface pour laisser à la création toute sa valeur métaphysique et corporelle. Longtemps après, seulement, le regard découvre

les formes de l'exécution."[63] Any sense of ambiguity, incomprehensibility, or pictorial disjunction in *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada*, a work referred to by Astruc as a "bizarre tableau qui nous montre une femme victorieuse, dans une cirque"[64], provided no impediment to him specifically praising the three exhibited paintings, stating that "Rien de plus séduisant de ton que la jeune femme tenant son épée nue à la main; de plus franc, de plus robuste que le portrait; de plus savoureux que le grand paysage d'un caractère si jeune, si vivant, et que Giorgione semble avoir inspiré"[65], or to presciently suggest that Manet's "grande intelligence... demande à fonctionner librement dans une sphère nouvelle qu'il vivifiera"[66]. Fried has suggested that

> Astruc saw Manet's paintings as exactly opposite to Courbet's: that is, he claimed that *how* Manet's pictures were painted was far less important *in one's experience of them* than their sheer individuality, their vitality, their immediate, instantaneous power to attract or repel... [and] *all* that was experienced... was the total result, the painting as a whole, in its essential unity.[67]

Such a description makes it clear that Fried has translated Astruc's comments to refer to Manet's works as *tableaux* and made a connection between such an understanding and the writing of Gonzague Privat, who used the terms *morceau* and *tableau* in a later perceptive and supportive review of Manet's two paintings in the Salon of 1865, *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers* (1864–65, Fig.27) and *Olympia* (1863, Fig.19). In contrast to Astruc, Privat believed that "M. Manet a cherché le *tableau* sans se préoccuper assez de la forme et des détails"[68], but when imagining how Velásquez may have advised Manet, he suggested "acharnez-vous à rendre la nature dans toute sa vérité; peignez beaucoup le *morceau*, mais gardez bien précieusement votre tempérament artistique"[69]. For Fried, Privat's interplay between *morceau* and a wider artistic context had suggested in Manet's work a "too glaring disjunction between the realist *morceau* and the artistic *tableau*"[70], confirming for Fried that "during the first half of the 1860s Manet was in search of a new *paradigm* of what a painting was"[71]. Fried has seen that search as one for a *tableau* and has set it within contexts of his own making, 'absorption' and 'theatricality'.

To present an alternative paradigm for which Manet was 'searching', Astruc's responses can be seen in terms other than those determined by Fried. Without reference to *morceau* or *tableau*, Astruc seems to have principally recognised, with some enthusiasm, that Manet's works were artistically cohesive, irrespective of the means by which they had been constructed. Such a view acknowledged that the pictorial fragments of Manet's paintings, rather than being disparate parts in search of the organic, unifying shroud of a *tableau*, existed as separate, and often strangely different, but integral parts of a cohesive whole of his own making. Within this cohesive whole these parts were variously connected or disconnected, unified or in opposition, or ambiguously somewhere in between. And such a cohesive whole ignored conventions, was very unlike a t*ableau*, and in painting terms, was very new. A requirement for a *tableau* precluded a painting surface in which spatial ambiguities and disjunctions could be intentionally sustained, or in which parts of the surface were treated with different, and often contrasting, degrees of emphasis or finish. The apparent contradiction that Manet's cohesive whole was often created with fragments, and without an adherence to preconceived ideas about a unified surface, reflects his 'art for art's sake' approach, and the double contradiction that such a fragmented whole was achieved with unseen threads of linear perspective invokes a Flaubertian 'double refusal'.

The milieu of contemporary Paris in which these critiques of pictorial concepts such as *tableau* and *morceau* were raised also provided the rich tapestry of influences and possibilities from which Manet's pictorial space developed. The artistic sense of the new, the modern, and the avant-garde had received its impetus during the 1850s, and the conjunction of influences and circumstances which transformed Paris provided the background in which Manet brought his program of practice to fruition during the 1860s and 1870s. This layered background of spectacle, *modernité*, and strata of class and gender, also included a new and dynamic physical environment of new boulevards, vistas and viewpoints, and public and private spaces[72]. The problem for an artist such as Manet who wished "être de son temps", to paint "des oeuvres sincères" and "être

vrai"[73] in the visual expression of such a world involved the engagement between the actuality of this reality and the artifice.

Contemporaneity for the avant-garde artists was considered essential, but although subject matter had changed accordingly[74], spatial illusion was handled little differently to that of the Academicians, with the traditional use of perspective. The evocation of *la vie moderne* was achieved at a superficial level with narrative genre works[75] and popular illustrations[76], but the artistic negotiation of the actuality of this world of artifice with its contradictions, ambiguities, uncertainties and disjunctions required a new means of pictorial translation somewhat different to the narrative artifice of Academic imagery. Manet was the artist who best negotiated this new terrain. Although modernity for him was real, its reality could not be literally or overtly depicted, but rather needed the layers within its fabric to be translated into the surface of his paintings with an imagination beyond the directly visible. The pictorial spaces within which this translation evolved had neither the 'artificial' literalness of the spatial depiction of the Academicians nor the equivalence to nature claimed by the later Impressionists, who presented their pictorial artifice, with its rendering 'en plein air' of 'light' on 'landscape' as an 'impression' of what the 'eye' sees at a 'moment' in time, as fact. The concept of time generally evident in Manet's work is neither the narrative climax of a history painting nor the fleeting Impressionistic moment, but was part of a typically contemporary, everyday event of life embodying the past and future in its present.

Manet's pictorial spaces had the same resonance, being neither separate nor unified, open-ended or closed, but responsive to the artistic requirement at hand. *Music in the Tuileries* of 1862 (Fig.9), for example, has often been seen as Manet's first painting which addressed the implications of modernity and the issues of his time. It is certainly not the compositional unity required of a *tableau,* but in spite of its uneven spatial texture, made up of the informal gathering of motley groupings of people, chairs, and trees, it is an artistically cohesive whole and can be contrasted with another work of that period, *La pêche* of c.1861–63 (Fig.8), in which many different and disparate spaces seem to have been interlocked into place, but for which no cohesive whole

seems to exist. What Manet had achieved in *Music in the Tuileries*, with a cohesive whole incorporating uncertain or dislocated pictorial spaces, was continued to be used by him throughout his career. By its very nature, however, his new and unique concept of pictorial space was always unsettling to a certain degree, even when used in scenes of domestic or familial quietude. Particularly in his interior views, Manet's pictorial space was rarely one of a relaxed ease and openness, of a pictorial informality as can be seen, in contrast, in the matter-of-fact space of Frédéric Bazille's *The Studio in the rue de la Condamine* (1869–70, Fig.98) – a space into which one could imagine entering. Manet's space was rarely confrontational, but in both manner and means it was forever acting a dual role, creating its illusion and, at the same time, contradicting itself with its engagement at the surface.

Other visual influences which were absorbed to varying degrees by Manet and his avant-garde colleagues included the direct graphical qualities of popular imagery[77], the potential of lithography as a potent artistic process[78], and the simplicity of Japanese coloured woodblock prints, with their characteristic compositional freshness, angled spatial geometries, and interplay between spatial illusion and surface[79]. The exact circumstances by which the artists in Paris became aware of the woodblock prints are not certain, with conflicting claims for dates and personalities involved. And their influence on French art in Manet's time was looked upon with mixed reactions. One of the most influential in recognising the importance of the *ukiyo-e* prints and who popularised the movement he called 'Japonisme' was Philippe Burty, a close friend of Manet[80]. Together with others such as Félix Bracquemond, another of Manet's friends, Burty typified those who felt that Japanese art provided, among many other things, a fresh, alternative view to prevailing traditions. Edmond Duranty, a supporter of *la nouvelle peinture*, was not so enthusiastic, feeling that it had the potential to reduce French painting to the decorative and the ornamental.[81] Although the extent of direct sources used by Manet is not certain, there are many evident correspondences, all of which involve some degree of interplay between pictorial space and surface. In spatial illusion terms, these include: surface patterning of elements in space[82]; forms depicted with large areas of relatively

unmodulated colour[83]; vertical railings as space modulators[84]; direct application of oblique parallel geometries, with either one plane parallel (or almost parallel) to the picture plane[85], or with no planes parallel to the picture plane[86]; accentuated perspectival recession[87]; and single, staged figures with various rotations of the head, hand gestures or actions.[88] Other paintings show no direct connection in terms of their spatial organisation, but rather are expressions of Japoniste fashion and accoutrements[89]. In all, no pattern of influence is evident from those works which involve a correspondence and it seems that Manet absorbed what he needed within the overriding requirements of his own work.

Although it reflected these contemporary pictorial influences and was a response to the milieu of his time, Manet's work was nonetheless seen, even in the climate of artistic change, to have been radically new and different. But, notwithstanding such an assessment, it did not ignore the past. Despite its appearance, Manet's unconventional imagery can be seen to have been structured for the most part on the traditional conventions of perspective and to thus provide the principal evidence of a point of conflation in Western painting, set between its past and future.[90] Rather than using it to see through the illusionistic 'transparency' of a painting's surface, which had falsely been seen by the Academicians as a time-honoured tradition, Manet idiosyncratically used perspective to position and enmesh his ambiguous and fragmented spatial illusion firmly within its surface and, in doing so, reclaimed the terrain of the painting's surface in its much more traditional role as a field of artistic negotiation.

The concept of the surface as a place of Manet's creative negotiation is in itself, however, not new[91]. When writing in both historical as well as artistic terms on the nature of the surface in Manet's works, James H. Rubin, for example, stated in his Manet's Silence and the Poetics of Bouquets of 1994, that

> Manet had not so much reduced a previously spatial conception of art (though that is the historical effect), as he had produced an art where contact between the creative self and the realm of its creativity... is maintained by treating the canvas as the supporting slab for materials represented by the paint.[92]

For Rubin, "the defining element of Manet's painting... is no longer the frame but the surface", and "the canvas has become the stage for representation"[93]. Believing that "no longer can one so confidently refer to the painting's field as a *space* – realm or site might be more appropriate"[94], Rubin suggests instead that the "space of uncertainty between the viewer and the picture is... the field within which Manet's painting silently operates"[95]. The context, specificities and nuances of Rubin's notions of Manet's space and surface are, however, very different to this dissertation's proposals which see the illusion of space to be the very means by which the surface was reconstituted.

The way in which other avant-garde artists of Manet's time handled pictorial space in the midst of these new influences is of comparative interest. Even though pictorial dynamics were often exploited by other artists with uncustomary views influenced by photography, perspective remained the standard form of spatial geometry. And although the influence of lithography, popular imagery, and Japanese woodblock prints can be seen in compositional effects involving space in their paintings[96], the main impact was rather in their prints, drawings and illustrations. It is of interest to note, however, that the ambiguity involved in the interplay between offset centres of vision and apparent angled views discussed above was not only of interest to Manet. But whereas such an interplay was covertly used by Manet for its ambiguity, its overt use by others often created a strangely distorted space for a painting's content.[97]

Works of three very different artists who were all contemporaries of Manet, Edgar Degas (1834–1917), Paul Cézanne (1839–1906), and Gustave Caillebotte (1848–93), provide comparisons of particular interest with his spatial concepts[98]. The art of Degas, who was as mindful of the traditions of the Old Masters as Manet and as determined to revitalise painting, indicates a similar path, although one with some important pictorial differences.[99] Even though evidence of photography's influence can be seen in works such as *At the Races in the Countryside* (1869, Fig.100), the spatial constructs of his work during the 1860s remained somewhat conventional. During the 1870s, however, Degas was much more dynamic in his experimentations with perspective and space than Manet, even if more literal. His use of raised and lowered viewpoints to create

views with spaces set obliquely to the picture plane, placed an emphasis on the subject and introduced new issues for composition, as evident in *Mlle La La at the Cirque Fernando* (1879, Fig.101) and *Diego Martelli* (1879, Fig.102). The matched dynamics of composition and pictorial space as seen in Japanese woodblock prints seem much more evident in Degas' work than in Manet's and, with the pattern of its spatial indicators seen also as important compositional elements, create a very different kind of interplay between spatial illusion and surface.

Cézanne seems to have experimented with spatial geometries as much as anyone. In two frontal portraits, *Portrait de Louis-Auguste Cézanne* (1866, Fig.94), and *Portrait d'Achille Emperaire* (c.1868, Fig.95), for example, a very clear influence of angled, parallel geometries from Japanese prints is evident, and a work not exhibited in Cézanne's lifetime, *Paul Alexis lisant à Émile Zola* (c.1869–70, Fig.96), not only gives surprising and further evidence of an angled geometry with the reclining figure of Zola, but shows as drastic a disjunction of pictorial space as anything by Manet to that time. In Origins of Impressionism, Henri Loyrette limited his assessment of this particular work to suggesting that "had it been exhibited, it would have promptly invited comparison with Manet because of its colors, the blacks and greens it owed to *Le Balcon*"[100]. But the placement in that same text of its image adjacent to that of Manet's *Baudelaire's Mistress Reclining* (c.1862, Fig.13)[101] (which, likewise, was not exhibited in Manet's lifetime), highlighted their similarly angled and fractured spaces, their brutally 'modern' and unsettling spatial ambiguity, and the extent to which Cézanne had at that time rejected conventions of perspectival space. In the 1870s, Cézanne, influenced at first by the Impressionistic techniques of Camille Pissarro (1831-1903), continued to fracture space but that unsettling, ambiguous quality so evident in *Paul Alexis lisant à Émile Zola* gave way to a more structured approach involving, in part, visual surface texture.

Compared with Degas and Cézanne, Caillebotte's use of an interplay between space and surface is limited, but his work is of general interest here with its often accentuated use of perspective, and of particular interest with the relationship between two of his paintings, *Dans un café* (1880, Fig.H1) and *Le Pont de l'Europe* (1876,

Fig.H9) and two Manet paintings, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* and *The Railway*, respectively. In contrast to Manet, Caillebotte accentuated spatial recession with perspective, particularly with his depiction of the plunging vistas of the new boulevards of Paris[102], and often negated any real interplay between space and surface by the somewhat obvious use of impasto pigment disengaged from the depicted space. There are, however, important points of connection between their works.

With its use of a mirrored double-reflection to choreograph an uncertain scene, Caillebotte's *Dans un café* has often been seen as a possible influence on Manet's later *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* of 1881–82[103]. Certainly *Dans un café* creates an ambiguous spatial interplay that has some similarities to Manet's work, and the analyses of both paintings here only enhance that possible influence (see Appendix 2(a) for the analysis of *Dans un café*, and Chapter 5(F) for the analysis of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*). In a reversed process of influence, Caillebotte's *Le Pont de l'Europe* suggests that it not only may have been influenced by Manet's *The Railway* of 1873, but that such an influence also raises the possibility that Manet and Caillebotte discussed their artistic processes in some detail. Such a possibility is discussed in Appendix 2(b).

With painting immediately after Manet taken in different directions by the later work of Degas, Cézanne, and Claude Monet (1840–1926), and by the developments of Vincent Van Gogh (1853–90), Paul Gaugin (1848–1903), and Georges Seurat (1859–91), the extent of Manet's impact or influence on his contemporaries and on those later developments and changes in painting into the twentieth century is very difficult to accurately evaluate. Even though he was seen as the leader of the 'new painting', and at least at the end of his life supported by many, there was no accord about the nature or worth of his art. At Manet's funeral, Degas was overheard to say that "Il était plus grand que nous le croyions!"[104]. His innovations, recognised by some but usually seen as faults, were not able to be codified or carried on and developed by any would-be 'follower'. His friend Berthe Morisot (1841–95) and his only pupil, Eva Gonzalès (1849–83), were obviously directly influenced by the 'style' of his brushwork and the 'lightness'

of his palette but, for the most part, their works seem devoid of the *gravitas* underlying Manet's works or the *frisson* at their surfaces.

Scholars have also been uncertain about Manet's influence. The paintings of Cézanne and then of the Cubists have often been retrospectively seen as developments from Manet, but there seems little consensus in these assessments. In an article arguing against the multiple viewpoint theory for Cézanne and the Cubists, with its suggestion of the fragmenting and reforming of solids, John Adkins Richardson[105] has claimed that Braque and Picasso, as the two most important cubists, created "pictures from discontinuous fragments and elements of marks"[106], and that "from its very first appearance in the nineteenth century, modernism in painting has been to a greater or lesser extent concerned with the fragmentation of visible wholes."[107] To counter a connection with what he saw as the predictable raising of the multiple viewpoint theory to explain Manet's *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, Richardson offered the even more predictable explanation for its disjunction of the mirror reflection that the man with whom the barmaid is engaged in conversation should "block our view of her – unless we are are meant to identify with him as spectator"[108]. For Richardson "modernity is full of shatterings of visual reality"[109]. In a response to Richardson's proposition, Nan Stalnaker[110] agreed that Cézanne "did not cut up and recombine pieces of traditional space", but that

> he was... working with an idea of pictorial space, which originated with Manet, that rejects single viewpoint perspective as the basis for painting composition. In this new understanding of space, multiple viewpoints were tolerated in a way they were not in traditional pictorial representation.[111]

But in describing this new space in terms posited by Stéphane Mallarmé in 1876[112], Stalnaker claimed that Manet gave priority to the interaction of tones rather than to that of perspective[113].

Such a discourse illustrates the problems in the perceptions of Manet's historical position. Both Richardson's rejection of Manet's possible use of multiple viewpoints and Stalnaker's perception of it in tonal rather than perspectival terms are conceptual speculations, without a confirmation or otherwise of their existence, the means by which

they may have been used, or their artistic purpose. If it had been known in Manet's time, or soon after, that many of his images used multiple viewpoints with perspectival interaction for purposes of spatial ambiguity, the question can be asked whether it would have changed the nature and extent of his influence? But these processes that Manet used were not identified, discussed, or copied, and the uncertainty and speculation that have dominated the assessments of his art have ensured that it has been in constant reappraisal by scholars and not codified to become an icon of influence. And certainly in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, more profoundly influential agencies other than Manet's work were involved. The development of non-Euclidean space and its relationship with time as the fourth dimension[114], the explorations into the domain of the psyche, and the socio-political events within Europe as it stumbled towards the First World War were major influences on philosophy, art, and popular imagination, and their impact far outweighed any possible direct or latent influence on the directions of painting from Manet.

The most relevant, apposite, and longer-term perception of Manet's influence on the direction of painting was incorporated in the retrospective propositions made by Clement Greenberg in his essay of 1961, 'Modernist Painting'.[115] The proposition that "Manet's paintings became the first Modernist ones by virtue of the frankness with which they declared the surfaces on which they were painted"[116] set Manet's art at the vanguard of Modernist art and into a position of influence on all avant-garde art into the twentieth century. Notwithstanding the limited viewpoint from which it was written, Greenberg's essay reassessed Manet's art and its influence, both historically and pictorially, in an unprecedented way and in unambiguous terms, and in the process raised questions about illusion and surface. It also initiated a diverse and important discourse about Manet's artifice and the surface of his paintings which has continued to the present.

3.
"Notorious history of modernism's concern for 'flatness'"

The proposition made by Clement Greenberg in his essay 'Modernist Painting' that "Manet's paintings became the first Modernist ones by virtue of the frankness with which they declared the surfaces on which they were painted"[1] was set within the context of a discourse on Modernism's concern for "the ineluctable flatness" of a painting's support[2]. It not only inflected upon Manet's artifice and surface but also raised the notion that with Manet there had been a decisive change in painting. The re-appraisal of Manet's art in the ensuing debate initiated by the essay accepted its position of primacy but saw the nature of that change in terms that were different to those of Greenberg's Modernist formalism. T.J. Clark, for example, saw it as a change in the nature of representation, and Michael Fried saw it in terms of the relationship between a painting and its beholder. A discourse of the approaches taken by Greenberg, Clark, and Fried is set here against some of the underlying issues of this dissertation involving ambiguity, spatial illusion, and surface.

The notion of a change around Manet was confirmed and made explicit by Clark in the Introduction to The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers[3], where he stated that "Something decisive happened in the history of art around Manet which set painting and the other arts upon a new course"[4]. Such an assertion was set by Clark within a discourse on "a hierarchy of representations"[5] involving 'class', 'ideology', and 'spectacle', and used as the prologue to a discussion on 'modernism'. The change in art at that time, reflecting a "scepticism... as to the nature of representation"[6] involved the process of "constructing a likeness"[7] and led, according to Clark, "on the one hand, to... putting a stress on the material means by which illusions and likenesses were made..., [and] on the other, to a new set of proposals as to the form representation should take"[8]. In these terms the contemporaneous perception of Mallarmé, "that painting shall be steeped again in its cause"[9], was likened to assertions

of Greenberg that "each art in the new age is thought obliged to determine through the operations peculiar to itself, the effects peculiar and exclusive to itself"[10]. And one of those effects involved the "notorious history of modernism's concern for 'flatness' "[11]. Such a history has not only raised issues to do with surface and illusion within the formalist precepts of modernism, but it also has looked forward to the opposing critical position of the more recent contextualised negotiations such as class and gender, or theoretical concepts of the gaze and the observer, and backward to those pictorial transactions at play around Manet.

Clark suggested that a term of modernism such as 'flatness' should "not... be conceived as separate from the particular projects... in which [it is] restated"[12] in that the attraction for the "literal presence of surface"[13] "must have been because it was made to stand for something: some particular and substantial set of qualities which took their place in a picture of the world"[14], and that these "complex and compatible values"[15] were provided by the "set of contexts for [avant-garde] art in the years between, say, 1860 and 1918"[16]. Within such contexts it was perceived that flatness was an "analogue of the 'Popular'"[17] or a means to "signify modernity"[18], that "painting would replace or displace the Real..., for reasons having to do with the nature of subjectivity, or city life, or the truths revealed by higher mathematics"[19], or that the "unbrokenness of surface could be seen... as standing for the evenness of seeing itself, the actual form of our knowledge of things"[20]. For Clark, "flatness... was these various meanings and valuations; they were its substance"[21] and "was therefore in play – as an irreducible, technical fact of painting – with... all of these attempts to make it a metaphor"[22]. Although acknowledging that "it [flatness] resisted the metaphors"[23] and also became "an awkward, empirical quiddity"[24], Clark believed that "there was no fact without the metaphor"[25]. Modernism, he claimed, denied the existence of its own circumstances, and that those "circumstances... were not modern, and only became so by being given the forms called 'spectacle' ".[26] Clark's use of the notion for flatness that "there was no fact without the metaphor" was exemplified by his reading of the reflection in the 'flatness' of the mirror in Manet's *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* as a metaphor for the detached "actual

social circumstances" of the "plain as well as paradoxical" world of the 'modern'.[27] But Clark provided no explanation for the *fact* of either the flatness or the mirror reflection. An opposite approach, that there is no metaphor without the *fact*, is taken in this dissertation. With Manet, it is proposed, his use of the interplay between spatial illusion and surface was a *fact* of the ambiguity that he created.

Greenberg's position on flatness as presented in 'Modernist Painting' was less concerned with contexts and metaphors and more with concepts of the materiality of art practice, but he had been the first to claim a decisive change around Manet with that proposition that "Manet's paintings became the first Modernist ones by virtue of the frankness with which they declared the surfaces on which they were painted"[28]. Such an assertion came within Greenberg's articulation of Modernism, of how its "essence... lies in the use of the characteristic methods of a discipline to criticize the discipline itself"[29] and how "the stressing of the ineluctable flatness of the support... remained most fundamental in the processes by which pictorial art criticized and defined itself under Modernism"[30]. He felt that "realistic, illusionist art had dissembled the medium, using art to conceal art"[31] and had "sensed that it was necessary to preserve what is called the integrity of the picture plane: that is, to signify the enduring presence of flatness under the most vivid illusion of three-dimensional space"[32]. Greenberg suggested that this "apparent contradiction"[33] in the relationship between flatness and illusion, a relationship implicit in pictorial art, was simply reversed by Modernism, with "one [being] made aware of the flatness of their pictures before, instead of after, being made aware of what the flatness contains"[34]. This reduction of the historical identifications of flatness and spatial illusion to a 'before or after' situation is a simplification that does not incorporate the sense that a surface has implicit within it the co-existence of the spatial illusion. Nevertheless, from a perspective almost supportive of Greenberg, and when commenting on Manet's *The Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, Clark was also able to state that "painting is a surface and should admit the fact"[35].

Greenberg's use of the term 'flatness' was quite specifically related to a two-dimensionality, and although his interposed use of the term 'surface' did confuse his

argument it introduced a far more relevant and telling description of the self-criticism of Modernism and its relationship with the illusion of three-dimensional space. Greenberg felt that whilst "the Old Masters created an illusion of space into which one could imagine oneself walking, the illusion created by a Modernist is one into which one can only look, can travel only with the eye"[36], and that "it is a strictly pictorial, strictly optical third dimension"[37]. Manet's manipulation of spatial illusion and surface has a resonance with such a proposition and reflects Greenberg's belief "that Modernism has never meant... a break with the past"[38].

Michael Fried, who has seen the terrain of Manet's modernism as a "network of artistic issues"[39] which art history has failed to address, quoted both Greenberg and Clark in a discourse on the notion of Manet as the first modernist painter. In the 'Introduction' to his Manet's Modernism; or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s[40], Fried suggested that Greenberg's account of modernism, involving the process at some point in the nineteenth century of the endangered arts "demonstrating that the kind of experience they provided was valuable in its own right"[41], was not only open to serious objection, but that the process of the subsequent 'self-definition' meant "not only a relative indifference to considerations of subject matter"[42] but also that "once under way..., although triggered by social developments..., [it] is conducted in a void"[43].

Fried contrasted this with the way in which "the social historians of art understand the emergence of modernist painting in Paris in the 1860s and 1870s as responding to a distinctive experience of modernity"[44]. That experience had been seen either as an "emphasis... on the increasingly dehumanized and dehumanizing aspects of life under commodity capitalism... [or] the rise of a 'society of spectacle' with its newly developed modes of entertainment, leisure activity, fashion, and display"[45], and for both of which "an experiencing subject is imagined as standing at a certain virtual distance from his surroundings, and in a sense from himself"[46]. In Clark's definition of modernism, Fried read the uncertainty about representation to equate with that virtual distance, but he also recognised that Clark had seen in early modernism the stress on the materiality in the way in which "illusion and likenesses were made"[47] and the way in which "the norm

of flatness [played] a crucial role not only in Manet's art but in subsequent modernist painting"[48]. Nonetheless, the insistence that it could not be understood apart from a context of meaning separates Clark, as well as Fried, from Greenberg.

What separates Fried from Clark is Clark's application of the modernist notion of 'flatness' and what Fried has seen as the lack in Clark's "social-historical accounts of Manet's achievement... [of] a sense of engagement with a constantly evolving network of artistic issues in relation to which or in interaction with which the social and/or political meaning of particular paintings is ultimately to be understood"[49]. Both of these aspects are of interest here as both are involved with art practice and the issues to do with surface and implicit space.

For Fried, the pioneering of the "assertion of flatness is largely an artifact of Impressionism"[50] and "the notion that pictorial unity was essentially a surface affair did not emerge or did not fully emerge as the defining characteristic of modernist pictorial practice before the articulation of a distinctively Impressionist point of view in the early and mid-1870s"[51]. He conceded that

> critics of the 1860s castigated Manet's pictures for their occasional failures of perspective, for the harshness with which figures and figure-groups were felt to stamp themselves out against their backgrounds, and... for their seeming incompleteness, their inexplicable lack of finish[52]

but saw those features to "have been associated after the fact with the literal flatness of the support"[53]. Zola's concession of a "resemblance between Manet's paintings and the popular engravings known as *gravures d'Epinal* as well as Japanese color woodblocks"[54] was countered by Fried with the fact that "he [Zola] insisted that seen from the proper distance Manet's paintings offered a coherent spatial illusion in which each object occupied its appropriate plane"[55].

The domain, however, is a nuanced and imbricated one and the difficulties involved in Fried's uncertain positions were evident in an earlier article of 1964, 'Modernist Painting and Formal Criticism'[56], in which he stated

> that the history of painting from Manet... may be characterized in terms of the gradual withdrawal of painting from the task of representing reality... in favor of an increasing preoccupation with problems intrinsic to painting itself.[57].

This dissertation proposes that Manet sought to use, in reflexive speculation, those 'problems intrinsic to painting itself' as a more cogent means of 'representing reality'. There was, it is proposed, no withdrawal from one position in favour of the other. Interestingly, Greenberg's equating of the visuality or opticality in Manet and the Impressionists was elsewhere selectively and tenuously used by Fried to not only separate Manet's paintings of the 1860s from the later period[58], but also to suggest that "the logic of Impressionism's indebtedness to Manet's pictures of the 1860s"[59] attributed Impressionism's simplification of the art of painting to those works. "Manet's quick acceptance of certain 'impressionist' means and ambitions"[60] obviously clouded, then and since, the issue.

What Fried proposed for these "tendencies in his [Manet's] work that lent themselves retroactively to being perceived in those terms"[61] of 'flatness', was a different interpretation involving issues to do with the relationship between a painting and the beholder. Fried suggested that "Manet sought to acknowledge... the presence of the beholder"[62] and that such an "acknowledgment holds the key to Manet's pictures' notorious 'flatness' "[63] in that it is the "product of an attempt to make the painting in its entirety... as a tableau – face the beholder as never before"[64]. Such a concept is involved in Fried's wider considerations of *theatricality* and *absorption* and of Manet's references to past art, but it also gives evidence of his hypothesis about Manet's engagement with the "evolving network of artistic issues"[65]. Certainly Fried's notions of theatricality and absorption are of interest in this dissertation, not only in terms of Manet's limitation of spatial recession and the consequent compression of space, but also in their relationship to Fried's considerations of *tableau* and *morceau.*[66] In terms of Fried's narrow sense of theatricality, however, the observer is seen to engage with a painting, and those depicted within it, *across* its surface, from the space of the stage to that of the audience. But Manet's engagement of space within the surface of his paintings, it is suggested, was intended to do the very opposite to that claimed by Fried, that is, to avoid any sense of borrowed theatrical artifice. An observer engages

with the pictorial space of a Manet painting *within* its surface. The difference is an important one.

Notwithstanding their different approaches, the discourses of Greenberg, Clark and Fried are evidence of a retrospective view that Manet was at the vanguard of a fundamental change in the nature of painting. The notorious 'flatness' of his paintings, indicative of the surface upon which they had been painted, and variously seen by them in terms of its materiality, its function as metaphor, and its potential to engage the viewer, was at its centre. But the terrain of Manet's picture-making between materiality, metaphor, and viewer engagement, that is the artifice, has not been specified. And yet the crafting of that artifice is just as important for any consideration of Manet's influence on the change in painting's direction. Artifice is where medium and meaning intersect and it resides where the observer is engaged, *within* the painting's surface rather than on its "ineluctable flatness". It is proposed that Manet's desire for artistic truthfulness could only be achieved by a paradoxical 'truthfulness of artifice', and he achieved it with a characteristic ambiguity. An amalgam of circumstances and influences provided a background to his reconstitution of the surface of painting, and a major element of this reconstitution involved the engagement of spatial illusion *within* that surface.

These different approaches of Greenberg, Clark, and Fried, are also similar in that their readings of individual paintings used them only as points of reference for, or explanation of, a broader concept. The search for, or examination of, a crafted artifice within the surface of individual works was not their concern. Similarly, it has not been of particular concern in the wider field of Manet literature and scholarship. In a manner which reflects the nature of the art works themselves, that field has been a complex and problematic one, changing with both the passage of time and the currency of art historical orthodoxies and presenting a diverse and often contradictory range of responses and proposals. These diverse circumstances and approaches were well described by John House's opening comments in his essay, 'Manet's Naïveté', written as both background and introduction to the catalogue for the exhibition *The Hidden Face of Manet* in 1986[67]. House noted that

> Critics and historians have rarely agreed on how to deal with Manet's art. In his own lifetime, hostile critics saw his paintings as the denial of true painting and its rules, whereas for his supporters they were a stream of life and light, flooding across the artifices of studio and Salon art. The preoccupations of recent art historians have been very different; they have tended to focus on two aspects: on his so-called visual 'sources', and on attempts to decode the meaning of his paintings. The search for specific sources from past art for individual elements in Manet's paintings has at times become a sort of competition between historians, as ever more works of art have been brought into play as possible fuel for Manet's picture-making; but this focus on particular elements and particular comparisons has tended to obstruct discussions on the whole paintings whose parts are said to have been 'influenced'. In the search for meanings, the paintings have been presented as ever more complex programmes – either as philosophical allegories, or as documentaries whose 'real' meaning only the most dogged social historian can unravel.
>
> The art-historical industry has certainly increased our information about aspects of Manet's art, but it has produced little agreement on how to approach the paintings themselves. Moreover it has diverted attention from a sustained study of their original contexts: the process of their physical making, their presentation alongside other pictures in the exhibitions where they were first shown, and the critical debates which grew up around them.[68]

There may be, as House suggests, "little agreement on how to approach the paintings themselves", and the diversity of opinion may suggest that little consensus can exist. But there is a contradiction. It is surprising that many long-established propositions or beliefs about Manet's works, particularly those seen to be problematic and ambiguous, have continued to be accepted, unquestioned and untested, by scholars. With apparent agreement, the spatial ambiguities, for instance, have been considered structurally inexplicable and addressed with speculative fiction rather than fact or with the licence made available by uncertainty rather than the rigour required to probe for explanations in the work's original contexts. More recent art historical approaches which have contextualised a work from a position of the writer's own making have reinforced this practice. Irrevocably, the work has been subsumed by the author. This visibility of Manet's painting in the midst of the scholarship is an important issue for this dissertation, and is one which highlights the difference between those approaches which have examined the work as object and those which have seen the work as metaphor or as a vehicle to display the interpreter's own inclinations.

In Manet's own lifetime personal attacks were as widespread as those on his art, but the paintings themselves were nevertheless at the centre of such concerns,

criticised as they were for their subject matter, lack of cohesive composition, limited tonal modelling, poor drawing, range and intensity of colours, lack of finish, incongruous mix of scales, incorrect perspective, and improbable poses. Rather than seeing Manet's works as ambiguous, the critics were generally bemused by their lack of intelligibility and narrative. In amongst the critical outbursts made for over twenty years, there were some serious attempts to address their more complex implications with a degree of objectivity and a sensitive response. And there were those more outspoken writers, such as friends Émile Zola[69] and Stéphane Mallarmé[70], who recognised the originality of Manet's paintings and wrote specific articles in support of his cause. Although aspects such as spatial illusion, surface or ambiguity were rarely considered in any of the critiques, reference was made to the related concerns of pictorial coherence and finish, flattened forms, scale, fragmentation, and perspective.

In reviews of *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* at the 1863 Salon des Refusés, Ernest Chesneau had written that "M. Manet aura du talent le jour où il saura le dessin et la perspective"[71], Le Capitaine Pompilius wrote that "vous n'y verriez,... qu'une surprenante, qu'une admirable ébauche"[72], whereas Théodore Pelloquet wrote that "On ne saurait désigner le travail de M.Manet sous le nom d'esquisse ou d'ébauche... L'incohérence, l'inégalité d'exécution de M. Maner [sic] ne s'expliquent et ne se justifient en rien"[73]. The criticism of *Incident in a Bullfight*, exhibited in the Salon of 1864, concentrated on problems of scale, perspective, and form. Théophile Gautier suggested that "M. Manet n'a pas bien calculé la diminution de la perspective. Ses hommes sont beaucoup trop grands par rapport à son taureau"[74], and advised that "M. Manet a eu tort de ne pas consulter pour l'assiette de son tableau ce modeste et utile conseiller dont les plus fiers artistes écoutent les avis, – nous voulons dire *le perspecteur*"[75]. Théophile Gautier *fils* found the painting

> complétement inintelligible. Un taureau microscopique se tient debout, étonné, au milieu d'une arène de sable jaune. Au premier plan, un toréador est étendu dans une pose oblique, au troisième plan, d'autres toréadors détachent leurs corps, beaucoup trop grands, contre la barrière qui clôt l'enceinte.[76]

Hector de Callias also remarked upon the discrepancies in scale, noting "Vient ensuite un taureau microscopic. – C'est la perspective, direz-vous. – Mais non; car au troisième plan, contre les gradins du cirque, les *toreros* représentent une taille raisonnable et semblent rire de ce petit taureau".[77] Gonzague Privat's review of the Salon of 1865 was an enlightened exception to the outcry over *Olympia*, but apart from his references to *tableau* and *morceau*, as noted in Chapter 2, his comments were generally to do with "rares qualités de peinture"[78] and "l'originalité, la finesse dans la couleur et l'harmonie"[79]. After the rejection of Manet's two submissions to the 1866 Salon, Théophile Thoré viewed the paintings in Manet's studio and indicated a preference for them to others which had in fact been selected, but noted when commenting on *Young Woman of 1866* (1866), that "Manet se débat encore... de finir certaines parties d'un tableau pour donner à l'ensemble sa valeur effective"[80]. In 1868 Thoré was again complimentary, suggesting that "le mérite principal" of *Portrait of Émile Zola* (Fig.42) was "la lumière qui circule dans cet intérieur et qui distribue partout le modelé et le relief"[81]. Appraising in 1869 that *The Luncheon* was somewhat incomprehensible, Jules Castagnary wrote that "De même que M. Manet assemble... des natures mortes qui devraient s'exclure... il distribue ses personnages au hasard, sans que rien de nécessaire et de forcé ne commande leur composition".[82] And in a general comment made in the same year, Gautier felt that "la persistance du ton local" gave Manet's figures "une unité puissante, en dépit des fautes de dessin et de perspective"[83]. Those perceptions in the 1860s of Manet's faulty perspective seem to have prescribed it as a fact for all subsequent scholars.

During the 1870s more critics, such as Philippe Burty, Edmond Duranty, Jules Claretie, and Armand Silvestre, were positive in their reviews and defended Manet's art from the continuing criticism. But the main points of discussion were his touch, use of colour, the light in his works, and a continued concern about their degree of finish. Castagnary, for example, described *The Railway* in the Salon of 1874 as "si puissant de lumière, si distingué de ton, et où un profil perdu gracieusement indiqué, une robe de toile bleue modelée avec ampleur, me font passer sur l'inachevé des figures et des

mains".[84] And an aspect of flattened space was unintentionally raised by art critic Jean Rousseau in his description of Manet's only submission to the Salon of 1875, *L'Argenteuil* (Fig.57), by suggesting that "Les têtes et les costumes ont de l'aspect et du mordant, c'est tout. Derrière les personnages, un fleuve d'indigo, massif comme un lingot, droit comme une muraille".[85] Uncertainties were also still seen as problems of intelligibility, rather than in terms of ambiguity. Of *The Railway* Ernest Duvergier de Hauranne had asked "Est-ce un portrait à deux personnages ou un tableau de style que le *Chemin de fer* de M. Manet...? Les informations nous manquent pour résoudre ce problème".[86] A lack of literal information was seen by many as a failing.

Manet's most outspoken supporter during the 1870s was his friend Stéphane Mallarmé, who seemed to be one of the first to understand the allusions and illusions embodied in Manet's work, its means of representation as separate from depiction, and the different ways the technique nuanced its levels of content and meaning. In the richly descriptive account of *Masked Ball at the Opera* in his critical article 'Le Jury de peinture pour 1874 et M. Manet', Mallarmé described it as "la noble tentative d'y faire tenir, par de purs moyens demandés à cet art, tout une vision du monde contemporain"[87]. Not only was the painting seen as something in addition to what was depicted, but an allusion to the intrinsic nature of the process involved was also made. And while recognising that the nature of Manet's spatial illusion was of a different order, Mallarmé saw that difference as the result of using a perspective that did not involve the conventions of linear perspective, stating in his 1876 article, 'The Impressionists and Edouard Manet', that

> If we turn to natural perspective (not that utterly and artificially classic science which makes our eyes the dupes of a civilized education, but rather that artistic perspective which we learn from the extreme East-Japan for example) – and look at these sea-pieces of Manet... we feel a new delight at the recovery of a long obliterated truth.[88]

Another dimension was added to the limited discourse on space, surface, and ambiguity in Manet's work with the exhibition of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* at the Paris Salon of 1882. It was a work which involved all of the spatial strategies that Manet had been developing for two decades and overlaid its ambiguity with overt contradiction.

The reception of the painting by public and critics alike was in fact more positive than most of the works exhibited by Manet in previous years, and although some of the criticism was strident, much of it was tinged with a begrudging admiration. But the lack of correspondence in the mirror's reflection and Manet's apparent disregard of perspective met with criticism and incomprehension and created a problem for all, as typified by Jules Comte's Salon review, which noted:

> Une jeune femme debout au comptoir d'un *bar*; devant elle les divers flacons et bouteilles qui attendent le consommateur; derrière, une glace dans laquelle se réflète la salle, et au premier plan, la figure d'un habitué qu'on aperçoit causant avec la même femme vue de dos, voilà le sujet, que nous prenons tel qu'il nous est donné, sans le discuter. Mais ce qui nous frappe tout d'abord, c'est que cette fameuse glace, indispensable à l'intelligence de tous ces reflets et de toutes ces perspectives n'existe pas: M. Manet n'a-t-il pas su la faire, ou bien a-t-il trouvé que l'*impression* était suffisante? Nous n'aurons garde de répondre à cette question; nous notons seulement ce fait, que tout le tableau se passe dans une glace, et qu'il n'y a pas de glace. Quant aux incorrections de dessin, quant à l'insuffisance absolue de la figure de la femme qui est, en somme, le seul personnage, quant au manque de correspondance entre les objets reflétés et leur image, nous n'insisterons pas; ce sont lacunes familières à MM. les impressionnistes, qui ont d'excellentes raisons pour traiter de haut le dessin, le modelé et la perspective.[89]

In many ways critical responses to this one painting, with its spatial anomalies compressed into the reflective plane of the mirror, have become symbolic of the way in which Manet scholarship and perceptions about his art have developed since its showing in 1882. In the midst of its brilliance as a painting it has provided, without the requirement for analysis, a supposedly demonstrable example of the disjunctions in Manet's works. Irrespective of the prevailing orthodoxies in the past, perceptions of Manet's space, surface, flatness and ambiguity have remained unchanged, and seen primarily in terms of how they have been assumed to exist in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère.*

Compared to the critiques in Manet's own time, and in spite of this fixed perception, scholarship since then has been much more considered, more reflective on his whole oeuvre, and more perceptive about the qualities of the individual major works. Its focus of interest has varied from naturalistic or impressionistic conceptions of the work, the influence of Manet's personality or 'genius', his use of historical sources, the

work as a reflection of contemporary life, the primacy of the forms and colours of his paintings as an expression of technique and style, and, in more recent decades, socio-political contextualisations. Research has been undertaken as either historical or technical analyses, and its programs have included chronological, iconographic, or art practice overviews, examinations of groups of works related to one theme or subject, or the detailed examination of one particular work involving its pictorial aspects and background contexts and influences. Technical examinations of the works have also provided valuable information about Manet's palette, the canvas supports he employed, the cutting of particular canvases, his brushwork and techniques of scraping and layering of pigment, the earlier states underlying the visible surfaces, and the adjustments made in the development of the final image. Programs of research into the crafted artifice of Manet's paintings by means of site analysis and identification have been few, and instances when such research has been integrated with interpretative or historical assessments have been rare.

The potential for the examination of a work of art as object to provide information which is indispensable in understanding its wider implications was, nevertheless, demonstrated admirably by Juliet Wilson-Bareau[90] with *The Hidden Face of Manet* exhibition of 1986[91], and for which the collaborative program of research with conservators provided the most comprehensive array of technical information about Manet's work to date.[92] In her Introduction to the catalogue, Wilson-Bareau explained that the

> study began as an attempt to solve particular problems relating to Manet's paintings, prints and drawings. It has ended by demonstrating that Manet's artistic enterprise was a formidably intelligent one, with a quite remarkable unity and coherence. Any disjointedness, any apparently ragged edges, are due largely to our lack of understanding of the ways in which he developed his paintings. If one looks for them, the cut and ragged edges of his canvas will tell us, quite literally, about the reshaping of pictures or their joining with other canvases, while X-rays and the analysis of pigments can reveal painting that lies beneath the surface.[93]

From the physical information of the canvases, importantly not seen in isolation but set within art-historical contexts, Wilson-Bareau made proposals for Manet's process of

production in a number of important paintings that allowed them to be seen very differently to how they had previously been imagined[94].

That such an approach can provide insights not available to a process of speculation has also been confirmed by many other scholars who have used either scientifically established or well-researched factual information to make important discoveries or proposals about Manet's works. Physical information established by X-radiographs and related scientific procedures has been used in wider research programs undertaken by Juan Corradini from 1959 to 1983[95], Theodor Siegl in 1966[96], Beatrice Farwell in 1975[97], Theodore Reff in 1982[98], David Bomford and Ashok Roy[99], Anne Coffin Hanson[100], and Michael Wilson[101] in 1983, E. Melanie Gifford in 1984[102], and David Bomford and colleagues in 1990[103]. And well-researched, but less scientific, approaches were used by Reff in 1970 to identify a source for Manet's borrowing of images[104], and by Douglas Druick and Peter Zegers in 1983 to make specific site and event identifications in one of Manet's prints[105]. In clarifying a part of the process of production or the identification of an image, such endeavours have usually involved a reassessment of the nature of a work, and have thus also provided the potential for details of its artifice to be re-examined.

This abstracted disassembling of a work by means of a physical or historical analysis and its virtual reconstruction in terms of subsequent hypotheses or proposals seems to present a not inappropriate correspondence to Manet's own process of reconstituting imagery within a work's surface in terms of spatial ambiguity. But most scholarly considerations of the relationship between space and surface in Manet's works have been much more limited, restricted by the preconceptions established by *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* and a standard use of subjective visual judgements or speculations irrespective of the approach taken or the premise upon which it was based.

Prior to Clement Greenberg's exposition in 1961, many aspects of modernist formalism had prevailed in pictorial overviews of Manet's art, involving subjective visual assessments in which the flattening of forms and limitations of spatial recession were

seen as compositional manipulations at the work's surface. Greenberg's proposals both confirmed and extended such considerations. But these manipulations were critically seen by others rather as flawed technique. John Richardson, for example, had claimed in 1958[106] that Manet's "sense of design was faulty"[107], citing numerous examples from Manet's paintings of the 1860s. "*Le Vieux Musicien* is not altogether successful," Richardson believed, "for it is evidently pieced together out of separate studies... [and] there seems to be no spatial, temporal or compositional, let alone thematic, relationship between the figures".[108] By "dispensing with all but the most summary indications of perspective and by trying to reproduce on his canvas the informal... groupings of everyday life... a number of his [Manet's] figure-compositions... disintegrate" Richardson claimed.[109] What made it worse for Richardson was that Manet's spatial illusion was flawed "at times irreparably, by... a fallible sense of scale" as he believed could be seen with "the disproportionate woman in the background of *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, the miniscule boy in the foreground of *L'Exposition Universelle* and the gigantic man with the sunshade in *La Plage de Boulogne*"[110], and "even when he [Manet] took the precaution of making preliminary sketches, he was still apt to end up with a design that is out-of-scale or incoherent, especially if the composition involves a degree of recession or includes two or more isolated figures or groups".[111] Manet's resort to improvisation when "he would reduce the pictorial recession to a minimum" was usually unsuccessful, Richardson believed.[112]

Other writers weren't so critical. Alan Bowness did not see what Richardson had criticised as failings, believing "that most of what Mr. Richardson and Manet's critics see as faults are deliberate experiments – sometimes clumsy perhaps, but bold and adventurous" and added that "one cannot seriously be expected to believe that anyone with as thorough a training as Manet had could not have got his proportions and perspective constructions right had he wished to".[113] As part of that experimentation, Bowness claimed that Manet restricted space to relate it to the picture plane:

> He is not concerned with an illusionistic space, and will sacrifice to make the space as shallow and restricted as possible. Everything is subordinated to this overriding demand – and Manet's innovations are

> as revolutionary as those of anyone. He sees that the lighting, often very harsh, always comes from the front, and thus it eliminates the halftones, reduces modelling to a minimum, and simplifies and flattens the forms. He makes figures and objects in different planes in space touch on the picture plane, and often relates them to the edges of a picture.[114]

And Beatrice Farwell also saw the spatial play in a more positive light, with the assembled composite images seen rather as a synthesis, and suggesting that

> From the *Absinthe Drinker* to the *Bar at the Folies-Bergère* Manet synthesized pictorial space by means of disparate represented objects forced into relationship with one another by the craft of painting and not by the optical laws observed by academicians, the camera, and the Impressionists.[115]

Whereas all of these assessments were made somewhat in isolation from other considerations of the works involved, Nils Sandblad, in his Manet: Three Studies in Artistic Conception of 1954, had set Manet scholarship in a new direction with a synthesis of biographical, historical, iconographic, thematic and pictorial evidence around single works.[116] Anne Coffin Hanson later brought something of Sandblad's synthesis to a more general overview of Manet's oeuvre, his life and times, and his artistic influences and development, but Hanson's pictorial approach was obviously derived from Greenberg's position[117]. She believed that Manet "was not alone among the more inventive artists in the nineteenth century in clinging to the illusion of the real world as a basis for his art, and at the same time, through the craft itself, of changing the character of the canvas away from its function as a window"[118], and in her 1983 essay, 'Manet's Pictorial Language', Hanson suggested that Manet

> held in active tension the flatness of the picture surface and the sensation of the volume of the objects depicted on it, and... that he achieved his goals through a slow and deliberate process of perceiving and reacting, drawing and redrawing, until he reached an effective pictorial expression.[119]

Although this suggests a process of response rather than a strategy of forethought as proposed in this dissertation, the notions of deliberation are certainly similar.

Notions of Manet's surface and space were also raised in a context of artistic speculation with the rich and almost arcane writing of Jean Clay in his 1983 article, 'Ointments, Makeup, Pollen'.[120] Beatrice Farwell, in an editor's statement to an issue of Art Journal in which Clay's article was later published[121], invoked T.J. Clark, and along

the way Clement Greenberg, to better describe Clay's discourse. Clay "takes analysis to extremes of detail and refinement" Farwell suggested, and that "this dissection of paintings layer by layer and of drawings stroke by stroke... attempts to isolate the factors that make this art modern, and that connect with the Greenbergian conception of modernism in which painting seeks to define itself".[122] Farwell suggested that Clark and Clay "offer current extremes of the formalist and contextualist positions, yet they share their quest for answers to the puzzle of Manet's modernism, differently as that term may be defined from their disparate viewpoints."[123] Clark's approach reconstructed "the shifts and dislocations... of social layers", Farwell noted, whereas Clay reconstructed those of "paint layers".[124] For this writer, Clay achieved much more than that.

Clay's article was a rich *mélange* of thoughts, references and propositions swirling around Manet's works, teasing from them some perceptions that notionally correspond with or loosely describe what the spatial analyses for this dissertation have found and what has been earlier proposed here as his artistic speculation. Clay suggested that Manet's borrowings from anywhere and everywhere, from countless Old Masters, from Japanese art, and from photography, were a subversion of "linear continuity, progress and source".[125] And in addition to identifying "appropriation, inversion and condensation" to be "'devices' that turn Manet's efforts into work *about* painting", Clay saw "a tendency temporally, sequentially, to decline (in the grammatical sense) a given visual idea".[126] For Clay, Manet's oeuvre "does not develop, it simply operates by displacement"[127] and suggested that "There is repeated cleavage and conflict among the components of the painting. It is no longer a matter of painting masterpieces, or entities, but of introducing elements of torsion and contradiction. Of inventing painting while destroying it"[128]. Clay hypothesised that "Discrepancy at work in painting... may have been his [Manet's]... program", and presented, as an example, that "the most glaring discrepancy is between the play of illusionistic depth and the demands of the surface".[129] What Clay proposed was an intentional program of reaction, of "a borderline art, always reactive, with no other aim than to place all tradition, even its own, in an untenable position".[130] Formulaic devices of centred compositions, vertical or horizontal

struts, frieze constructions, cropping, and Oriental perspective, were described by Clay as some of Manet's means, together with surface scrapings, and the overcoming of the traditional "distinction between form and background" with a new surface "produced... by weaving, overflowing, and overlapping".[131] And he suggested that composites of merged forms and unexpected configurations were "also produced by the surface".[132] Mindful of Manet's historical influence on 'flattening', Clay proposed that Manet "constantly takes into consideration the empirical reality of the support" with "spaces left blank, equal thickness of line, hatchings, rubbing (frottage)"[133], and that he used walls in the interplay between space and surface, as screens, or as seen in the *Execution of Maximilian* paintings, where the wall not only "cuts the spatial continuity like a cleaver" but is also a "representation of the support".[134] If Manet was "inventing painting while destroying it", then Clay disassembled Manet's art in terms of critical analysis, rather than the physical or historical, and reconstituted it with a maelstrom of language and ideas which, as if taken from the works themselves, gave insight into the artifice of Manet's space and the materiality of his surfaces.

Others also have seen Manet's space in terms other than formalist ones, in either conceptual or, more recently, theoretical terms. In a discussion on the *Masked Ball at the Opera*, Éric Darragon observed, for example, that "L'espace possède chez Manet une force étrange qui retient l'intérêt. Il s'agit d'une donnée esthétique profondément inscrite dans le temps, depuis le *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* au Salon des Refusés jusqu'au *Bar aux Folies-Bergère* du Salon de 1882".[135] From a different position, James H. Rubin believed that "Manet's handling of spatiality, or disregard for it, is linked to his preoccupation with... a 'centred' foreground" and that "what once was an illusionistic space is now the space of imagination or creative thinking".[136] With his concepts oscillating between the physical and the metaphysical, Rubin considered that

> Manet had not so much reduced a previously spatial conception of art (though that is the historical effect), as he has produced an art where contact between the creative self and the realm of its creativity – a virtually physical contact – is maintained by treating the canvas as the supporting slab for materials represented by the paint. the signs of Manet's presence remain virtually in his possession by never leaving the physical present for the illusory and timeless realm of art.[137]

And with terminology similar to that used for the proposals made in this dissertation, but in the process denying any possibility of an ambiguous duality between spatial illusion and surface, Rubin also suggested that Manet's "representation is merged with physicality by locating its site within the painting rather than outside or over and above it – at the surface rather than beyond its frame."[138]

Writing from a viewpoint which sees "the space (social, literal, metaphorical) of modernism as representation"[139], Johanna Drucker has proposed that *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* "offer a radical contrast of representational strategies... with respect to the structure of space"[140]. *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* was seen to be "a studio space, dimensionless, illusionistic, mannered and self-conscious, calling for clear attention to its conceits, but still maintaining the structure and relations of monocular perspective, with all its objectifying and distancing activities"[141]. But she also noted that the way in which that painting "collages the space of an Arcadian landscape into the space of the social domain"[142] involved a "play with the traditional codes of painted space" that "calls attention to the artifice of painting's representational strategies"[143]. In contrast, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* was considered by Drucker to have "abandoned the structuring conventions of painting for those of photography – internal montage, density, mirroring".[144] And the contrast between the two paintings was also seen by Drucker in the relative position of a viewer to those spaces, "outside... the theatrically formed proscenium space" in *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe,* and "completely *inside* the represented space"[145] of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, with its image "collapsing our [the viewer's] space with its own"[146].

The representation referred to by Drucker and her perception of the collapsing of space from within or without the surface of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* were nevertheless partly concerned with the pictorial and confirmed the notion that this particular work typifies those problematic spatial aspects in Manet's art. But the increased use since the 1970s of socio-cultural contextualisations or author-driven theoretical frameworks has seen the ambiguous space and surface of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* become representation and the paradigm for the assessment of Manet's

work in general, apparently encapsulating its essential characteristics. Richard R. Brettell has noted that "during the last generation, the painting has gone from being an examination of flatness and complex pictorial illusionism and become a representational examination of many... class and gender issues"[147]. Additionally, it has become the vehicle for discourse on these very approaches, as noted by Carol Armstrong, "a sort of epicenter for variations on the practice of the social history of art"[148].

And, of course, the epicentre for all of these approaches to *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, and by association to his oeuvre, has been the apparent disjunction between what is depicted in front of the mirror and in its reflection, and the declared presumption by all that it is spatially impossible. As Brettell has observed, "the reflection... has caused more speculation than any depicted mirror in the history of Western art".[149] In addition, it has always been believed that an interaction of some kind, be it by gaze or conversation, existed between the reflected images of the barmaid and the male customer. As noted above, these aspects were evident when it was shown in 1882, and although the visual reading of the work has changed little since then, with the problem of the mirror repeated time and again, it has only become an interpretative issue in more recent years, building to a crescendo in the 1990s.

In 1919, Théodore Duret wrote that "Une glace par derrière la représentait en conversation avec un monsieur, qui n'apparaissait, lui, que reflété. C'est cette particularité de la glace, renvoyant l'image des personnages et des objets dans la salle, qui faisait déclarer l'arrangement incompréhensible."[150] But most writers in the early twentieth century were as concerned with the barmaid's expression as they were with the mirror's disjunction, and many others, such as Jacques-Emile Blanche in 1924[151] and Robert Rey in 1938[152], made no mention of either. Adolphe Tabarant in 1931 wrote that "A droite, en fausse équerre, la blonde serveuse du bar est reflétée de dos, écoutant les propos d'un monsieur dont le jeu d'optique de la glace ne révèle que la tête coiffée d'un chapeau de haute forme".[153] Maurice Bex suggested in 1948 that "the very presence of this figure, more static even than the rich still-life of bottles, glasses and fruit heaped before her on the counter, imparts an amazing balance to the composition, which

is otherwise incoherent to the point of recklessness".[154] And Anne Coffin Hanson, in 1966, proposed that "Manet's space is not explainable or enterable, but remains poised at that curious point of tension between plane and illusion – the very tension which was to lead artists to new solutions in the twentieth century".[155]

In 1975, with the suggestion that "the mirror does not really reflect the phenomenal world as it should but, in effect, contains another and different one... [and]... represents another dimension, the other half, the complement to the other reality", George Mauner had confirmed that issues other than visual phenomena were being considered.[156] But the most influential and, in some ways therefore, the most important contextualised reading of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* has been that by T.J. Clark in his two writings on the work in 1977 and 1984[157], with its implications raised in the discourse involving the views of Clark, Greenberg, and Fried set out above. Although all commentaries continued to discuss the impossibility of the mirror's reflection[158], Clark's approach of seeing the work in terms of class and spectacle seemed to make valid any viewing position outside its domain, both literally and metaphorically. James H. Rubin, for example, suggested that

> Its effect is... tied to the ambiguous identity of self and other: standing directly before the painting, the viewer appears to observe himself (the figure opposite the barmaid in the mirror) from a position other than the one he physically occupies. He takes both positions, the one external, the other within. In viewing itself as other, the self can experience itself as body and object rather than as consciousness and subject.[159]

And in an essay which brought representation, space and ambiguity in Manet's art together, Jack Flam noted that "The *Bar* offers the most striking instance in Manet's art of the primacy of mental vision over actual sight. The spatial ambiguity in the construction of the painting is more extreme than anything in Manet's earlier painting".[160] It was proposed by Flam that

> If part of the modernity of Manet's earlier paintings was expressed in their discordant spatial shifts, sense of alienation, and paralyzed narratives, in the *Bar* he explores the possibilities of multiple narratives and multiple levels of consciousness, and connects the manipulation of space to that of time.[161]

This exposition by Flam was included in the 1996 anthology of essays on *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, 12 Views of Manet's *Bar*.[162] Notwithstanding the calibre of its contributors, the anthology highlighted a marked separation between the work of art and the scholarship. As editor Bradford R. Collins explained, the anthology represented "merely the latest chapters in a long and ongoing process of investigation in both Manet studies and art history", and that "the painting is merely the vehicle for a controlled experiment in current methodology, or methods".[163] This sense of limitation or control was evident when Richard Shiff stated in the Introduction that T.J. Clark's "influential view of Manet's *Bar* constitutes much of the common ground for the twelve essayists".[164] At a superficial level, extreme diversity seemed evident in the essays, which revolved around issues such as gendered separations, Manet's fantasy life, the neurosis of ideology, psychological awareness, iconography of the Immaculate Conception, modern masculinity, and sexuality and spectatorship[165]. But with the common denominators of Clark's view and a methodology of speculation, together with the continued espousal of the unquestioned dogma about the painting's reflection, they contributed little to our understanding of the painting. In fact, the painting, together with any remnants of its surface, was nowhere to be seen.

4.
AN ARRAY OF AMBIGUOUS ANGLES AND ASSEMBLAGES

The ambiguity within Manet's art involving spatial illusion was neither one of form nor content. It was to do with a spatial manipulation that created uncertainty in the spatial reading of his works and provided a non-narrative means by which clear and direct images could be imbued with ambiguity. What seem to be spatially straightforward works are often underlaid with an apparently alternative spatial reading, seen or sensed at various levels of visibility or camouflage, and with the work itself set ambiguously somewhere between the two contradictory positions. Nuances of such a relationship are many, with often what seems obvious to have been made simultaneously uncertain, and often what should be certain seems impossible or disturbingly incorrect. Although the two most important techniques used by Manet to create this ambiguity involve spatial shaping and spatial cohesion, they are structured by the geometries of perspective or parallel projections and accompanied by a range of other spatial manipulations. Manet's oeuvre is considered here in terms of those manipulations, geometries, and strategies.

The spatial geometry of most relevance in Manet's work is that of perspective and the analysis of perspective within a work provides the means to check the extent and accuracy of the use of its geometry, to establish viewpoints, lines of vision, and configuration of the spaces depicted, and to thus reveal information about the process of a painting's development or production. Although it has been shown that the physical examination of Manet's works in the past has provided valuable information for scholars, there is little evidence of perspectival analyses. The only published perspectival analysis found by this writer is one produced by Professor William Conger and incorporated by Mary Mathews Gedo into her consideration in 1994 of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère.*[1]

Notwithstanding this limited application of perspectival analysis to Manet's oeuvre, it has often been used in other art historical research as an appropriate and effective technique of investigation. Scholars such as Martin Kemp[2] and James Elkins[3] have produced many such analyses to varying degrees of complexity, and some paintings such as Piero della Francesca's *The Flagellation of Christ* (c.1460)[4], and Diego Velásquez's *Las Meninas* (1656)[5], have received concentrated analytical attention over many years. The results of these various analyses confirm it to be a valid technique and, despite the apparent lack of perspectival coherence in many of his works, it is no less appropriate to use it in a consideration of Manet as it is of any other artist.

One needs to be mindful, however, of the perceived problems inherent in such a procedure of superimposed examination. At its crudest, a perspectival analysis can constitute an arbitrary and very narrow examination of a work's complex dynamics, applied only to one aspect of its process, almost abjuring the artifice of the work it is examining. In such circumstances an analysis could be seen, at best, as a limited measure rather than an assessment. Doubts in the process have also been raised by scholars at a more conceptual level. In The Poetics of Perspective[6], James Elkins, for example, was critical of the present-day view of perspective's history as the development of a unified system of spatial illusion from its invention in the Renaissance and of the notions of "an 'ideal geometry' somehow 'in' or 'behind' perspective pictures"[7], and questions the validity of art historical perspectival analysis. Notwithstanding the paradox that he himself uses the technique extensively in the book, Elkins sees the use of such analyses to erroneously imply "a single, 'homogeneous, isotropic' space"[8] and that it assumes too much of the artist's intent and practice[9].

Irrespective of how perspective has been perceived, the methodology of perspective, including that as published in educational manuals in Manet's time, has been based on a 'homogeneous, isotropic' space. This basic condition of the system as practised exists irrespective of the shaping of actual space, or of the acknowledged fact that rarely do paintings display uniform accuracy. A work is examined as evidence of a process, not as something of interest only to the extent to which it may match an ideal

geometry. And perspectival analysis provides a genuine means to establish the existence and configuration of its geometry and to note the degree of consistency of that geometry within its theoretical parameters. Such identification also reveals the possible existence of other spatial geometries. With appropriate caution, such has been the approach used for the perspectival and other spatial geometry assessments made in this Chapter 4 and the case studies in Chapter 5. A description of relevant underlying theoretical aspects of surface order and spatial shaping, and of the application of that theory in artistic practice, are set out in Appendix 1.

a) Spatial Geometries

The identified geometries described below are generally treated as discrete characteristics and the existence of secondary geometries or spatial systems is only raised where necessary. The full consideration of contradictory spatial systems involved in one work, together with their ambiguities, are brought together in (d) below.

i) Linear Perspective

Evidence of any underlying perspectival geometry in many of Manet's works is noticeable by its absence. In terms of the existence of visual cues, such as straight lines or forms of regular geometry as evidence of a structured perspectival space, the majority of Manet's paintings, and particularly those of the 1860s, either have none (e.g. *The Fifer*), avoid showing any (e.g. *Olympia*), or reveal only a few (e.g. *The Luncheon*). To a certain extent, then, it is very difficult in these situations to assess any underlying geometry, even though other cues such as diminution may confirm its existence. Nevertheless, Manet's trained eye certainly saw the world in perspectival terms and most of his works take perspective, either wholly or in part, into account in their creation. The articulation of his figures, for example, are generally established within the basic sense of perspective, with their constituent parts, such as the heads, correctly formed in perspective and the features of the faces to those heads correctly aligned in perspective, as seen in all the figures in *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers* and *Café-Concert* (1878–79, Fig.69). And the use of linear perspective as the approximate

equivalence to natural perspective is at least implicit, if not obvious, in his more panoramic views (e.g. *The Swallows*, 1873, Fig.55).

Those works with obvious and direct indicators of cohesive one-point or two-point perspective as their underlying spatial structures are certainly not numerous. A clear use of one-point perspective is seen in *Races at Longchamp in the Bois de Boulogne* (1867?, Fig.38), and with the deeply recessed space of the race track set against the frontally viewed group of horses moving out towards the viewer, its geometry is used to its fullest potential. The only examples of architectonic perspectival frameworks used to similarly create dynamic spaces plunging away from the surface involve the three views of Rue Mosnier painted from Manet's studio in Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg in 1878, including *Rue Mosnier Decorated with Flags, with a Man on Crutches* (Fig.63), *Rue Mosnier Decorated with Flags* (Fig.64), and *Rue Mosnier with Pavers* (Fig.65). Although similar views of the same subject, these three canvases provide interesting comparisons in terms of surface indicators, as discussed in (c) below, and frontal or offset views, as discussed in (d.i) below.

Characteristically for Manet, the number of paintings with clearly angled two-point perspective views is also limited. It is very evident in *Léon on the Balcony, Oloron-Sainte-Marie* (1871, Fig.49), but can be seen in only a few other works, including *Portrait of George Moore* (1879, Fig.74), and to a less-angled extent in *The Spanish Singer* (1860, Fig.4) and *Café-Concert*. Within the slightly angled basic shaping of the space in *Café-Concert*, Manet has created, however, a rich array of angled counterpoints of figures, heads, and gazes which, although not ambiguous, layer the work with spatial nuances.

In between those works with an absence of perspectival indicators and those which are clearly structured on its geometry lie the majority of the works in Manet's oeuvre. They provide a sufficient mix of cues, such as the actual or implied lines projected from vanishing points for a part of the work, correct use of an eye level for those vanishing points or the overall spatial sense of the work, diminution of size related

to the extent of illusionistic depth, or overlapping of forms, for an underlying geometry to be confirmed or established.

Whereas a centre-point perspective clearly seems the geometry in *Interior at Arcachon* (1871, Fig.50), *The Luncheon* provides an example of a one-point perspective with its centre of vision not set centrally within the image. With the table and back wall set parallel to the picture plane the frontal view is established and the one visible side edge of the table set in angled recession positions the offset centre of vision to the right (Fig.44a)[10]. The extent of the offset, however, still enables the scene to be set within a cone of vision without distortion but is not enough to create a concurrent sense of frontal and angled views, as described in (d.i), below. Other works with inferred one-point perspective shaping include: *Music in the Tuileries*, *The Street Singer* (c.1862, Fig.14), *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (see (d.i) for shaping alternatives), *Olympia* (see (d.i) for shaping alternatives), *The Execution of Maximilian* (1867–69?, Fig.36, see (d.i) for shaping alternatives), *Portrait of Émile Zola*, *Masked Ball at the Opera*, *Argenteuil*, *La Prune* (c.1876–8, Fig.62, see (d.i) for shaping alternative), *In the Conservatory* (1879, Fig.72), and *Singer in a Café-Concert* (1880?, Fig.77). Some works, such as *Reading* (c.1866–75?, Fig.32), appear to use only a two-point perspective, and others, such as *Chez le Père Lathuille* (1879, Fig.75), use a two-point angled perspective for its background and a two-point offset perspective for its foreground, as discussed in (d.i) below.

In some other works the apparent use of perspective seems not consistent, simply creating confusion rather than ambiguity. The angled, apparently two-point perspective, view of *The Music Lesson* (1868–70, Fig.48), for example, seems to have two quite separate viewpoints, set at different heights and with different centres of vision, for both of the seated figures. The figure of the guitarist, as posed by Zacharie Astruc, is seen from above, whereas the figure of the woman, with the tell-tale level of her shoulders, is seen from a much lower level, and a fracture in the painting occurs along the line of least resistance, that strange area between the similarly contoured outlines of the two figures. With the uncertain foreshortening of the upper legs of the

guitarist also adding confusion to the depicted three-dimensional forms, this is one of the very few paintings which this writer believes could, in isolation, be used to suggest that Manet had difficulties with perspective. Other examples are less pictorially disruptive. In *Mme Manet at the Piano* (c.1867–70, Fig.33), for example, what seems to be a direct one-point perspective construction is confused by the lack of a single vanishing point for the parallel lines of the piano. And in *The Street Singer*, the perspective given to the swing door on the [viewer's] left is notional and confusing, with the upper part of the door opening outwards with the movement of the singer, but with the lower part apparently not in unison.

Such inconsistencies are seen as individual pictorial anomalies rather than as elements purposefully set within spatial shapings different to their own or as strategies used by Manet to create ambiguity. And these few examples also highlight the fact, made evident elsewhere, that Manet understood perspective and used its pictorial potential to its fullest in the context of his own unique artistic program. They neither support nor diminish the proposals of this dissertation.

ii) Parallel Projection

The works of Manet in which parallel projection is used for their spatial geometry are not numerous, suggesting that, as noted in Chapter 2, the greatest influence of Japanese prints on Manet was not with their spatial geometries, but more with their compositional or stylistic techniques. Any use of such geometries usually involved only part of a work, but in a number of his paintings it can be seen as an alternative to a presumed perspectival geometry. This can be seen, for example, in *The Absinthe Drinker*(c.1858–59, Fig.1), *Young Man in the Costume of a Majo* (1863, Fig.15), and *Still Life with Fish* (1864, Fig.26). In the first two of these works, the walls set parallel to the picture plane establish a frontal view, but in *The Absinthe Drinker* with the man's head turned to his right and the alignment of his head and right foot (Fig.1a), and in *Young Man in the Costume of a Majo* with the alignment of the man's right foot (Fig.15a), an alternative sense of angled oblique shaping is also implied. The horizontal edges of the table in *Still Life with Fish* similarly suggest a frontal view, but no indicators of a centre-

point perspective exist. And although the angled alignment of the pot, the various fish, the carefully placed knife, and the edge of the turned cloth in the lower right corner give a clearer suggestion of an angled parallel projection shaping (Fig.26a), the frontality of the setting creates an intriguing spatial ambiguity for a work of such apparent simplicity[11].

The Absinthe Drinker is also one of a series of works, which includes *Boy with Cherries* (c.1858–59, Fig.2) and *Soap Bubbles* (1867, Fig.30), in which Manet used low walls to both establish the space parallel to the picture plane and act as a spatial 'prop' for ambiguous alignments of single figures. The head of the boy in *Boy with Cherries* is set frontally to match the parallel wall as if in a frontal view, but his torso and arm positions suggest an oblique angling. A clearer sense of an angled projection exists in *Soap Bubbles*, with the boy's torso set parallel to the wall and the angled alignment of the boy's arms, head and bubble pipe, together with the visible angled joins at the top of the stone wall (Fig.30a).

The use of a low wall reappeared, although in a slightly different form as a rail, in the later work, *Portrait of Clemenceau at the Tribune* (1879–80, Fig.76). And an angled geometry seems to underlie the whole work. The papers on the rail in front of Clemenceau are depicted with parallel edges at an oblique angle to the picture plane, probably as an oblique parallel projection, possibly as an offset one-point perspective, but certainly not as a frontal one-point or centre-point perspective. This oblique angling establishes a spatial key for the whole work. Although it is suggested in the description of parallel projection in Appendix 1 that in Japanese woodcuts the figures set within these kinds of spaces were not forced to fit the constraints of the geometry involved, the figure of Clemenceau almost does that without undue distortion. Rather than being in perspective, the front planes of his torso and head are set parallel to the picture plane, and their side planes are set at the oblique angle established by the edges of the papers. Even the top of his head follows the geometry, as can be seen in comparison with the head of Clemenceau in Manet's other *Portrait of Clemenceau* (Musée d'Orsay, Paris) which is clearly structured on the geometry of perspective. Obviously it is all not as extreme and disfiguring as such a description implies, but the angling of the forms is

quite clear. With these cues at work, the top of the rail is easily read as projected obliquely at the same angle (Fig.76a).

Some instances of the perception in Manet's work of an incorrect use of perspective can alternatively be read as the use of a parallel projection. In his *Portrait of Théodore Duret* (1868, Fig.43), for example, the legs of the stool in the lower right corner do not match a coherent perspectival geometry, even if two of the sides of the stool were in fact splayed as they would need to be. All the lines in recession forming the stool and the tray are parallel for each object, suggesting that, although the figure of Duret is clearly constructed in perspective with Manet's eye level approximately at that of Duret's, Manet used a completely different geometry for this addition to the painting[12]. The apparent angles of the floor beneath the stool and that beneath the figure of Duret also do not relate illusionistically and confirm the difference in the geometries used. Interestingly, the shadows formed by the stool perversely fit neither geometry nor, for that matter, any other. None of this seems by accident, is too obvious to be ambiguous or even considered an inconsistency, and appears to be a purposeful disjunction of contradictory systems.

b) Manipulation of space

Apart from his use of linear perspective or pictorial projections as generators of spatial order, there are many other ways in which Manet organised and manipulated illusionistic space, whether intuitively or by intent. The identification of a space in one of his works and its configuration, be it parallel to the picture plane or angled, is influenced mainly by those elements such as walls, floors and ground surfaces, or other dominant elements within the picture. It can also be determined with the identification of the direction of view (centre of vision), and often by the orientation of smaller elements and objects with their capacity to articulate the illusionistic space to a greater extent than the larger framing elements. Within such parameters the spaces within some images are therefore relatively straightforward and can be clearly defined while others are much more complex.

i) Parallel Space

As has often been noted by scholars, a dominant characteristic of Manet's paintings is the placement of the depicted space parallel to the picture plane. It is evident throughout his oeuvre, from his early years with paintings such as *The Absinthe Drinker* and *Boy with Cherries*, through the intermediate years with works such as *Mme. Manet at the Piano*, *The Balcony*, and *Lady with Fans* (1873–74, Fig.56), to his last years during which he produced works such as *In the Conservatory* and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*. In this last work the expansive mirror reflection becomes his most dramatic use of layered parallel spaces. With whatever the choice of subject, from *Still-life with Fish* to *Masked Ball at the Opera*, the medium used, be it drawing, print or painting, or the size of the work, the spaces are arranged as if aligned, both literally and symbolically, with the painting's surface, and the frequency of Manet's use of such a device suggests that it was an integral and essential aspect of his creative process.

The forms by which this alignment was established are many and varied, with: low foreground walls as in *Soap Bubbles*; walls or surfaces as backdrops in close proximity behind figures as seen in *Young Man in the Costume of a Majo*; walls, surfaces or structures in the middle- or long-distance as in *Jetty at Boulogne*(1868, Fig.39); the alignment of a group of figures as in *The Spanish Ballet* (1862, Fig.10); the alignment of furniture, such as the bench seat *In the Conservatory*; the use of horizontal lines to align delineators of space with upper and lower edges of a work, as with the table in *La Prune*; or, the frontality of a figure, as seen in the *Dead Christ with Angels* (1864, Fig.25). Additionally, it can be proposed that in some instances this setting of space parallel to the picture plane was a manipulation from an original angled space in a pictorial source, as described in Chapter 5(E) with *The Masked Ball at the Opera*.

Manet's alignments of parallel space give evidence of his efforts to limit seamless spatial illusion away from the picture plane, and to establish a real connection between the two. Although illusion exists within such parallel spaces, their generating planes resonate with the surface in which they are articulated, and Manet does seem to have made a conscious decision to not introduce spatially dynamic elements and to limit his

spatial palette to allow the directness of his work to be heightened and not diminished by spatial complexity, at least at a superficial level. This meant that his ambiguous manipulations were not subsumed with spatial configurations of great complexity or dynamism. His strategies for spatial ambiguity were also influences on this alignment. Although superficially such an alignment would seem to involve, or imply, frontal perspective views or an oblique parallel projection, Manet's use of the offset one-point viewpoint indicates that this characteristic of setting the space parallel to the picture plane in fact involved another, often hidden, implication.

ii) Layered space

A characteristic mode involving the parallel configuration discussed in (i) above is the controlled layering of space as if in a series of receding planes, and as evident, for example, in *The Balcony* with its primary layers established by the railing, the shutters, and finally the back wall of the room behind, and its intermediate punctuations created with the seated figure modelled by Berthe Morisot, the flower pot and the dog just behind the railing, the figure modelled by Fanny Claus standing further back, the figure modelled by Antoine Guillemet hovering somewhere just inside the space of the room behind the plane of the shutters, and the boy with the tray hidden within the room's darkness. The layering of space evident in *The Street Singer* is similar in nature to that of *The Balcony* but is not as detailed or nuanced. A layering is also apparent in *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, with the primary layers existing at the foreground with the seated group, at the middle ground with the woman bathing, and at the background with small area of light-drenched landscape, and with intermediate articulations provided by the tree trunks and their irregular spacing and different shapes. Spatial recessions in these paintings are neither sudden nor extended, but rather, are paced by the discrete intervals established within the cohesive whole.[13] A gentle layering by intervals is also achieved in *Chez le Père Lathuille*, from the front group, through the interval markers of the waiter, the lamp-post, the tree, and finally the building at the upper left, but with a filtering of space around those elements. A more drastic, but still progressive, layering occurs with works such as *Interior at Arcachon*, in which the foreground space is

connected by means of the intermediate vertical door frames behind it to the expansive space beyond indicated by the opposing line of the horizon.

Controlled layering also occurs in those works in which the primary space is not rigidly set parallel to the picture plane, as seen in *M. and Mme Auguste Manet* (1860, Fig.3), with its hybrid space established by the angled table in the immediateforeground and the figures of M. and Mme Manet aligned at that same angle, but with the figures themselves set frontally. The intervals established by M. Manet's hand, head and figure, Mme Manet's sewing basket and her head and figure, modulate the recession of the illusionistic space in layers set parallel to the picture plane but at an angle from left to right. This duality of angled and parallel elements is a recurring theme throughout these considerations of Manet's pictorial space and its possible inclusion in the pictorial dynamics of such an early work, albeit in a somewhat experimental mode, suggests that from the very beginning of his artistic endeavours Manet's art was set on a path of spatial ambiguity.

In contrast to these stepped intervals, the foreground spaces in a number of canvases are separated quite dramatically, without intermediate layers, from their background spaces. The two most extreme examples of this occur in *The Railway* and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, as discussed in Chapter 5(D) and 5(F), respectively. This lack of intermediate layers allows ambiguous adjustments of scale to be made without causing an obvious pictorial disjunction.

iii) Compressed space

Some of the works with spaces parallel to the picture plane achieve varying degrees of spatial compression between the plane establishing the space and the notional picture plane, as well as with the apparent proximity of Manet, as artist, to his subject. This is shown in works such as *The Street Singer*, *Lola de Valence*, *Olympia*, *Portrait of Émile Zola*, *The Balcony*, *The Railway*, *The Masked Ball at the Opera*, and *In the Conservatory*. A compression is also achieved by the upwards tilting of the space to reduce the extent of apparent recession in, for example, *Portrait of M. and Mme Auguste Manet*. But the tilting is most evident in a work such as *Mlle V...in the Costume*

of an Espada, in which the mixture of viewpoints provides no cohesive spatial recession and results in the ground plane being read, at one and the same time, as a tilted, but feasible, surface on which the various groups are set, and as a pictorial field within the painting's surface in which the disparate parts exist. In such a context the ground seems almost as a backdrop directly behind the figure of the model, Victorine Meurent.

iv) Angled space

Manet's use of clearly articulated angled spaces in isolation, not in interplay with other spatial modes, is limited to works such as *The Picadors* (1866) with its angled barricade and shaded area of bullring, *Léon on the Balcony, Oloron-Sainte-Marie* and its dominant balcony balustrade set in perspective, and *Portrait of George Moore* with its angled backdrop of fence and lattice. Less clearly articulated angled spaces occur with many of Manet's three-quarter view portraits but, as is so often the case with his still-lifes and flower paintings, in those portraits which depict only the head and shoulders, often isolated on the canvas without a suggestion of their surrounds, the spatial illusion involves the three-dimensionality of the forms rather than any illusionistic space. An isolated figure such as the *Matador Saluting* (1866-1867, Fig.29) articulates its angled space, however, with the devices of the direction of the sword extending the angled plane of the matador's figure and his saluting arm defining the angled plane set perpendicular to it (Fig.29a). But in some works in which the three-quarter views of figures are not isolated, the angled spaces are more dominant than the three-dimensional forms, as seen in *Woman Reading* (1879, Fig.73), with its spaces articulated by the background of the *brasserie* and the perspective of the journal read by the woman.

v) Expansive space

The more traditional use of expansive spaces of cohesive evenness are certainly used by Manet, and provide confirmation of Manet's use of linear perspective as an equivalence of natural perspective. This is evident in such works as *Swallows, The Seine at Argenteuil* (1874, Fig.58), and his many marine paintings at Arcachon and Berck. But this consistency can be contrasted with other works of an expansive view in

which the space and the surface seem fragmented, dictated to, and unevenly articulated by, objects and figures. Even though *Music in the Tuileries*, for example, seems to use the characteristics of perspective such as the connection of diminution of size to spatial recession, its patterning of figures, faces, chairs and trees set across its surface, with varied but not hierarchical emphasis, introduces a counter to that spatial structure.

vi) Leakage of space

The relative compression of space in a number of works is relieved by a subtle spatial manipulation that could be described as a 'leakage'. Examples of a direct leakage are apparent through the half-open doorway behind the singer in *The Street Singer*, through the doorway, partly filled with the figure of the man, at the rear of the balcony in *The Balcony*, through the pictorial gap between the edges of the stage sets and the right hand frame of the painting in *Lola de Valence*, through the uncertain gaps between the screens behind the maid with the flowers in *Olympia*, through the railing at the upper level balcony in *Masked Ball at the Opera*, and through the pictorial gap between the top of the barricade and the upper frame of the painting in *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada* (a gap through which one of the bullfighters also seems to be using as a means of entry into, or exit from, the painting!). In this last work, and in addition to the spatial play involved, the placement of the slightly curved line of the top of the barricade near the upper edge of the painting confirms Manet's very careful indication of the perspective involved, with the eye level (at least for the barricade) set at a level above the barricade at a position near, or just above, the upper edge of the painting, and providing an interesting comparison with a similar relationship in the very different context of *On the Beach* (1873). In that work, the slightly curved horizon line has often been noted but its placement also provides a leakage of space from that of the scene, in contrast to the containment achieved with the lower horizon line in *On the Beach at Boulogne* (1868, Fig.40).

Indirect leakages through secondary images were also used by Manet as both pictorial and spatial devices, as seen with the images of the prints and paintings on the wall in *Portrait of Émile Zola*, and the mirror reflection in *Mme Manet at the Piano*. A

mixture of 'leakage' and 'layering' modes is evident in *Portrait of Zacharie Astruc* (1866, Fig.31), with its illusion of the layered middle-distance, in which the small figure of the woman is ambiguously positioned, existing either as an improbable actual space behind the seated figure of Astruc or as the more likely secondary space of a painting hung on the wall or resting on the table.[14] This leakage through secondary images was one of a number of traditions in Western painting, particularly as developed in Venice in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, to which Manet gave regard. Titian's *Portrait of Eleonora Gonzaga delle Rovere* (1536–37, Fig.83), for example, not only gives evidence of the same compositional structure, but also poses the same uncertainty about the secondary image being either a distant view framed by a window or a framed painting.

vii) Geometries within a work

Those aspects of subject and content, such as physical relationships, gaze, cast shadows, and mirrors and reflections, involve spatial geometries which are intrinsic to the work rather than being part of those geometries upon which the work may be structured. But rather than using them as complementary and direct confirmations of the main spaces as they might normally be, at times Manet used their geometries almost as contradictions or modulations, making the works even more spatially uncertain and in the process inflecting on their often puzzling or limited narrative.

Spatial geometries of the physical relationships and gazes between the players in Manet's paintings are extremely varied, but rather than provide confirmation or explanation, they invariably added a further unsettling dimension to the work. This is seen in works such as *The Old Musician*, *Music in the Tuileries*, *The Spanish Ballet*, *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada*, *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, *The Execution of Maximilian*, *The Luncheon*, *The Balcony*, *The Music Lesson*, *Café-Concert*, *Chez le Père Lathuille*, and, above all, in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*.

Manet's use of cast shadows (as distinct from the shading involved in the three-dimensional description of form) was in itself, as was his use of perspective, something of a contradiction. Even though they can be seen at times to be variously inconsistent,

incorrect, and indeed perversely indifferent to conventions of spatial geometry, there is sufficient evidence to make it clear that those discrepancies are, in fact, intentional. What Manet normally disrupted was the spatial geometry involving the light source, the object, and the surface on which the shadow is cast. This apparently arbitrary approach is evident, for example, in: *The Absinthe Drinker*, with its array of wholly inconsistent shadows cast by the figure of the man on the ground, against the low wall and possibly on a wall set further back, by the bottle on the ground, and none by the glass; *The Fifer* (1866), with the shadow on the ground behind the boy's left foot set like a *tache* within the work's surface; *The Execution of Maximilian*, with the strangely shaped and silhouetted shadows of the standing figures seen to have an apparent life of their own; and, *The Tragic Actor* (1865–66, Fig.28), with the odd shadows of Philibert Rouvière's figure cast, possibly as an in-joke, from completely unrelated light sources (even allowing for theatre lighting) and combined with the sword and one of Rouvière's legs to form the monogram 'M'[15]. What is also evident is that Manet clearly understood shadow projection, as can be seen in *Rue Mosnier with Pavers* and *Incident in a Bullfight* (see Chapter 5(A)), and applied it correctly whenever it was artistically required. As with Manet's whole artistic approach, the use of a convention for its own sake, was of little interest to him.

Internal geometries made available by mirrors and their reflections were used by Manet to their fullest effect in the double-reflected world of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, but their limited use in earlier works suggests that there was no detailed program of experimentation with mirrors prior to that complex work. He may have considered that, unless handled with some care, such a device had the potential to make a pictorial 'double-play' far too obvious. With the discounting of the use of a mirror in *Portrait of Zacharie Astruc*, the direct inclusion of a mirror in other works is limited to the reflection of a mantelpiece clock in *Mme Manet at the Piano*, the apparent use of mirrors for double-reflection in the background of *A Café on the Place du Théâtre Français* (c.1876–78, Fig.70), the suggestion of a reflection of the model in *Before the Mirror* (c.1876–79), the depiction of the mirror without an identifiable reflected image in *Nana* (1877), and the

reflected image of a singer in a background mirror in *Café-Concert*. Nonetheless, a progression of a kind towards *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* can be seen in *A Café on the Place du Théâtre Français* and *Café-Concert*, with the double-reflection of chandeliers in the former, and the spatial interplay between the reflected image of the singer and the gaze of the male customer in the direction of where the singer might actually be performing in the latter. In contrast, such dynamics are not involved with *Self-Portrait with a Palette* (1878–79) in which the use of a mirror, as the surface in which the complete image is seen, is implied.

viii) Spaces that are not

Whether intentionally or otherwise and in only a few works, Manet created pictorial spaces which seem to either remain on the surface of the work or to exist as a fantastic mirage. In his *Gypsy with Cigarette* (1862?, Fig.6), for example, the audacious overlapping and interlocking shapes of the gypsy and the two horses (with the gypsy leaning on the hindquarters of the dark-coloured horse facing to the right, and the head of the white horse behind her left shoulder facing to the left) create a space directly behind the gypsy which has no apparent depth, with the canopy of the sky above the group appearing as something of a shock[16]. In *Monet in His Studio Boat* (1874, Fig.60), and in spite of the overlapping of forms, the figure of Monet's wife, Camille, and the space inside the boat in which she sits, read as an unrelated vignette attached directly to the surface of the painting itself. The spatial handling of other elements in the painting, such as the boat's canopy and fringe, suggests that this inverse connection of a recessed space to the work's surface is not by accident. And in *Portrait of M. Pertuiset, the Lion Hunter*, the background space, either because of its colouring or the rather 'odd' context for which it exists, appears as an actual space but with an unreal depth – and as the only expression of *real* fantasy in Manet's oeuvre.

c) Manipulation of surface

The engagement of Manet's pictorial space within the surface of his paintings was an important aspect of his spatial ambiguity. Part of this engagement is seen in (d)

below with the interaction between spaces set both parallel and angled to the picture plane. Additionally, more formal means and techniques of practice were used to limit the extent of spatial illusion within the surface, and therefore to introduce a spatial contradiction, rather than an ambiguity. These formal means have all been noted previously by scholars, and include: the reduction in the modelling of forms with the elimination of half-tones, as in *Olympia*; the lifting or elimination of the horizon with the illusion of space compressed between the 'uplifted' horizontal plane and the surface, as in *Boating* (1874–76, Fig.59); the abstracted use of colour set within both the illusion of space and the surface of the work, as in *Argenteuil*; the lack, or reduction, of foreshortening to those forms with potential to exaggerate spatial recession, as in *Repose* (1869–70, Fig.46)[17]; and, the frank evidence of the paint and its application in the surface, as in *Faure in the Role of Hamlet at the Opera* (1877, Fig.67).

Some other aspects of Manet's practice, however, have not been previously noted in the context of his spatial manipulations. It is evident that Manet used a linear technique with receding planes to tie their spatial illusion to the work's surface and to limit the 'speed' of their illusionistic recession. Invariably he painted or drew the surfaces of horizontal receding planes, be they floors, tables, roads or water surfaces, with textures made up of horizontal strokes or lines. Similarly, the surfaces of his vertical receding planes, such as walls, are invariably built up with vertical strokes or lines. Although linear elements such as gutters and window sills are depicted with strokes or lines along their length, those strokes or lines used to depict a surface are rarely set in the direction of the perspectival recession. Such a technique can be seen throughout Manet's work, including within his prints, as in the lithograph, *The Barricade* (1871?, Fig.52), his paintings as in *Rue Mosnier Decorated with Flags, with a Man on Crutches*, and to a lesser extent his drawings and watercolours, as in *Interior at Arcachon, Mme Manet and Léon* (1871, Fig.51). Horizontal strokes or lines are also particularly evident in those situations where a receding horizontal plane occurs at the base of a work, with their use seen almost as gestures to 'ground' the work into its own surface, rather than allow it to establish the spatial recession. This is seen in many of his etchings, such as *The*

Gypsies (1862, Fig.5), and in his lithographs, such as *The Execution of Maximilian* (1868, Fig.37). Certainly the technique can be seen to have been influenced by the work of Goya[18], but the particular way in which Manet applied it to adjust space was one that was completely his own.

d) Strategies of spatial ambiguity

As stated above, Manet's techniques to create spatial ambiguity involved the interplay between the way in which a work appeared to be spatially read and an alternative means which was either visible or camouflaged. This strategy used two different devices, one involving directions of spatial shaping and the other spatial cohesion.

i) Spatial shaping

Manet's strategy of spatial shaping made use of the fact that particular geometries enabled a depicted view to be concurrently sensed as both frontal or angled, and involved an adjustment of emphasis between the two shapings. The use of this strategy throughout his career ranged from works which displayed both shapings as a pictorial interplay without any real sense of ambiguity to those in which he used the offset viewpoint in a one-point perspective to provide the means for apparently concurrent angled and frontal views. His most spatially ambiguous works employed this technique, and their ambiguity lies in the *possibility* of the alternative shaping, a possibility that only lies within the artifice, or illusion, of the work. An alternative shaping cannot actually exist simultaneously with that used for the painting itself. These aspects are explained in Appendix 1.

An interplay between a frontal and angled spatial shaping, in its simplest form with a horizontal element which is also parallel to the picture plane set against an angled one, is evident throughout Manet's oeuvre. Seen almost as a signature pictorial motif, the interplay was sometimes a clearly visible device, as with the alignment of the sailing boats in *Sea View, Calm Weather* (1864-65) or the angled path in *The Bench* (1881, Fig.78), or in a similarly simple but less obvious form, as with the angled space between

the figures of Suzanne Manet and Eugène Manet in *On the Beach* (1873). But it was also incorporated to differing levels of disclosure within much more complex strategies.

Idiosyncratic applications of the device are displayed in two of Manet's earlier works, *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada* and *Baudelaire's Mistress Reclining* (c.1862, Fig.13). Although its disparate parts and mix of perspectives have always been noted, *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada* also incorporates a dominant parallel space, established by the barrier to the bullring and the uplifted ground surface, and two angled and symbolically colliding spaces with the introduction of Goya's image of the mounted *picador* and the charging bull[19]. The angled shaping established by the *picador* and articulated by his *pica* prevails, extended with a deft touch and wit by the outstretched sword held by the figure of Victorine Meurent upwards and to her right, and set against the parallel space both in its illusion and at the surface of the painting at the barrier in the upper left corner (Fig.12a). Rather than being ambiguous in itself, the spatial interplay in *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada* involves the ambiguous disjunctions of imagery and meaning. *Baudelaire's Mistress Reclining* has its parallel space and frontal view, established by the background wall and echoed by the object on which Jeanne Duval's feet are placed, set against an angled view from the right, articulated by the sofa and the reclining figure of Duval. In this instance its geometry, constructed either as a parallel projection or a perspective projection, is uncertain. But nothing seems certain. The three-dimensional form of the sofa and its angling, the way in which Duval reclines on the sofa or has her feet supported on a possible separate platform, as well as the relative angle of the back wall, are all camouflaged and confused by the indefinite form and spatial position of the diaphanous lace of the billowing curtains, and the ballooned and uncertain form of Duval's crinoline skirt. Although the ambiguity, even the spatial ambiguity, in *Baudelaire's Mistress Reclining* involves much more than the interplay between perceived frontal and angled views, the integration of that interplay into the wider ambiguous implications of the work are complete, and in Manet's oeuvre, almost unmatched until the orchestration of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*.[20]

The most complex and insistently ambiguous angled shaping in Manet's oeuvre is that involving the offset viewpoint, as part of either a one-point or a two-point perspective. As illustrated in Chapter 2 with Uccello's predella panel, *Miracle of the Host*, and as described in Appendix 1, those sections of a view which are offset to the left or right of the centre of vision in a one-point perspective have the potential to be concurrently seen as if both frontal and angled. Although the greatest potential for ambiguity exists when the frontal view involves a one-point perspective, it is also evident, but to a lesser extent, when the perspective is a slightly angled two-point perspective. As the basic spatial shaping in such a situation is already seen to be angled, even if only slightly, any offset space has less potential to create an ambiguous spatial interplay, even if appearing to be a more natural space rather than the, at times, somewhat artificial geometry of the one-point perspective.

It is proposed that Manet made use of both types of the offset viewpoint technique, with variations, throughout his career, culminating in its most complex application in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*. And as discussed in Chapter 2 it is proposed that Manet's understanding of its potential for ambiguity was influenced by the capacity of the *chambre photographique* to produce an equivalent image. Such a circumstance provides the most potent explanation for not only the supposed inconsistencies in so many of Manet's works, but also for their spatial ambiguity. Until photographic evidence is found, the extent to which Manet actually used photographs taken with a *chambre photographique* or for which paintings it provided an available image, must remain speculative. There is, however, an alternative explanation for the geometry of these works, and one which fits the popular notion that Manet kept on 'flattening' his perspective. Rather than making use of the offset one-point geometry to produce the ambiguity, it could be proposed that he had actually created the views as typically angled two-point perspectives and then 'flattened' the least angled plane to be approximately parallel to the picture plane, and thus enabling the angled view to be seen to have the shaping related to a centre-point or, more particularly, an offset one-point perspective. That is, to create the ambiguity in a reverse order. Distortions exist in

both arrangements, with those in the proposed system existing in the diagonals furthest from the centre of vision, and those in the alternative system existing in the flattening of the angled plane. But the arbitrary nature of the alternative procedure and the detailed transpositions required of it make this a less convincing explanation for the ambiguity of the concurrent views. Comparison of these two systems is made in a number of the case studies in Chapter 5. The evidence of Manet's application of the offset viewpoint geometry, or the potential for its application, is considered here in a number of his works, at times in the context of other spatial implications or other related works, and in a general chronological sequence.

In amongst the interplay between spatial illusion and surface in *Music in the Tuileries* (1862) concurrent frontal and angled readings of the space can be identified. Its frontal view is established by the front edge of the crowd set parallel to the picture plane, and reinforced by the vista between the trees to the central patch of sky. An angled reading from an offset viewpoint at the right is intimated by the angled area of seated women in the foreground, and the tell-tale, angled edge of the path in the lower left corner of the painting, the same angle at which the identified figure of Manet stands, partly out of frame, at the painting's left edge. The intimation of an alternative shaping is also seen in *Lola de Valence* (1862/after 1867), with a two-point frontal view, established by the slightly angled floorboards (Fig.11a), and an alternative angled reading from a two-point offset viewpoint to the right suggested by the pose of the figure and the alignment of the edges of the scenery panels (Fig.11b)[21].

Another early work, *Guitar and Hat* (1862), provides an intriguing insight into Manet's interest in the interplay between a frontal and angled sense of the same space. Created as a *dessus de porte* painting in his studio at Rue Guyot[22], and with its motif of guitar, hat, and basket used in the various cover designs for etching albums[23], it was obviously an important work to Manet. It is proposed that part of its importance is related to it being an almost seminal model for all of his later applications of the offset viewpoint. With a back plane set parallel to the picture plane establishing a one-point perspective, a series of rounded forms employed to reduce the effect of distortion when

set at a lateral distance from a centre of vision, and the neck of the guitar used to signal the possibility of the angled shaping, the painting can be seen as Manet's exposition of the geometry's potential and a model to which he could continually make reference. It is no surprise that as a symbol of, and a testament to, his hidden strategies, the painting remained with him throughout his life. The perception that the central design motif in the back plane 'rug' and the crown of the hat are aligned provides an excellent demonstration of the implications of the offset viewpoint. In an assumed frontal view (Fig.17a), the motif would be positioned directly behind the hat, whereas in an assumed offset view from the left the motif would be positioned to the right of the hat (Fig.17b). Theoretically, the guitar, hat, and basket would have to be distorted to provide such a view, but *Guitar and Hat* shows that the ambiguously different spatial shapings of the one image only exist within the illusion of the work's artifice, and cannot be replicated in reality.

The importance that this spatial interplay held for Manet can be demonstrated by its apparent inclusion in his two major works painted in 1863, *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* and *Olympia.* In *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, the frontal view is established by the parallel alignment of the seated group in the foreground through to the bather in the middle distance, and the landscape and sky in the background (Fig.18a). An angled view, with an offset viewpoint to the right, sees the same space shaped through the three figures in the same direction as the river bank towards the dinghy (Fig.18b), and in doing so changes the relationships of the figures and the sense of size diminution. Whereas the still-life of basket, food, and clothes in the frontal shaping is seen to the viewer's left of the seated group, in an angled shaping it is seen to be in front of the seated group. And in the frontal view, the woman bather is seen to be only slightly closer to the viewer than the dinghy, but seems too large a figure for the size of the craft. In the offset view the dinghy is further back beyond the bather and their relative sizes fit the required perspectival diminution much more accurately – suggesting that the painting was structured by Manet on the offset view but that it was understated to allow the more natural reading of an alternative frontal view to generate the spatial ambiguity.

With the seated group borrowed by Manet from Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving after Raphael's *Judgment of Paris*, and the overall work inspired by Titian's *Concert champêtre* (c.1508, Fig.84)[24], the spatial shaping in both of those works is of some interest. The overall composition of Raimondi's *Judgment of Paris* is a collection of separate spatial vignettes combined to be seen from a frontal position, with no sense of an alternative shaping in the borrowed group of two river gods and a water nymph. In the *Concert champêtre* the interplay is more complex, with a frontal view through to the building set centrally at the middle distance established by the parallel alignment of the foreground figures and the well at the left (Fig.84a), and an alternative angled view from an offset viewpoint to the right, with its shaping set through the seated figures in the direction towards the shepherd in the middle distance (Fig.84b). In exactly the same way that the position of the still-life in *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* takes up a different position to the seated group with the alternative shaping, the standing nude at the well in *Concert champêtre* can be seen to be at the viewer's left of the seated group in the frontal view but in front of the group with the angled view. As noted in Chapter 2, Titian's use of the offset viewpoint in *Madonna of the Pesaro Family*, albeit for non-ambiguous purposes, would not have been an isolated instance and, without evidence, can be speculated to have been used by him in other works such as *Concert champêtre* to experiment with spatial manipulation, if not ambiguity.

An examination of *Olympia* provides clear evidence of Manet's conscious manipulation of spatial shaping, with a subtly created alternative to the centre-point view taken from one of the work's major sources, Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (1538, Figs.85 and Fig.85a), a copy of which he had made in the Uffizi[25]. To the knowledge of this writer no discussion has been previously been made about the pictorial space of *Olympia* in terms other than its derivation from the *Venus of Urbino* as a similar centre-point perspective (Fig.19a), but the shaping of the space in which the figure of Victorine Meurent reclines on her bed is not from a central vanishing point. Rather, it is from an offset viewpoint to the right (Fig.19b). Notwithstanding that Victorine's torso is turned slightly towards the artist, the perspective of her complete figure, with the relative visible

positions of her feet and knees, is undoubtedly seen from a viewpoint beyond her feet, and all the indicators of perspective related to the bed, such as the curvature of the folds of the sheet at the vertical face of the mattress and the lateral folds to the cover beneath Victorine's knees, also indicate such a viewpoint. And the figure of the maid is also in accord with this offset shaping. From what is seen of the mattress corner at the right edge of the painting, the perspective of the end of the bed is, however, uncertain and reinforces neither the centre-point or offset geometries. Related images to the final painting nonetheless confirm the offset proposition, with the angled brushstrokes evident in the X-radiograph (Fig.20), the angled lines of the sheet seen in the wash drawing, *The Woman with the Cat* (1862–63, Fig.21), and the series of curved lines at the right-hand end of the bed seen in the subsequent etching, *Olympia* (1867, Fig.22), providing the clearest indication possible that the view was from a vanishing point offset to the right.

Manet's project to paint a large 'history' painting of the execution in Mexico of Emperor Maximilian in 1867 seems to have caused a change in his approach to spatial shaping. Each of the possible frontal and angled views in *The Execution of Maximilian*[26] are each so dynamically depicted, so overstated, that the interplay between them is almost contradictory, rather than ambiguous. The alignment of the large background wall asserts a frontal view (Fig.36a), while the alignment of the groups of the victims and the firing squad equally defines an angled view across the uplifted ground plane shaped as either an oblique parallel projection or an offset one-point perspective (Fig.36b) – but the diminution in height of the victims in relation to the firing squad and of the figures within the two groups confirms the geometry to be that of perspective. In the context of the overt spatial dynamics, the alignment of the rifles, fluctuating between the two shapings but clearly not directed at the victims, presents the only ambiguous element. Although obviously unable to resolve the issue in his series of paintings, it seems that Manet addressed the problem in the lithograph of 1868 (Fig.37) and, without changing the basic arrangement, reconfigured the wall with a return face at the left, approximately

set in alignment with the offset shaping. The divide between the two had been reduced, and some sense of uncertainty, rather than ambiguity, was achieved.

It is clear that many important lessons were learnt by Manet from the difficulties encountered in *The Execution of Maximilian*, with a number of works providing evidence of a continued experimentation with the offset viewpoint through to the summation of its potential in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* in 1881–82. In *Departure of the Folkestone Boat, Boulogne* (1868–71?, Fig.41), for example, the apparently angled view across the wharf is seen to be an offset view from the left (Fig.41a). Although the offset shaping has been signalled to some extent by the shadows formed by the sun as light source, the spatial ambiguity has also been manipulated by an almost extreme disjunction of scale, with the size of the men, funnels and paddle housings in the upper right corner unrelated to that of the stern of the boat and the remainder of the painting.

Within Manet's oeuvre, *Portrait of Stéphane Mallarmé* (1876, Fig.61) is a work which uses the ambiguous spatial interplay of the offset viewpoint in subtle and nuanced ways. For such a touching portrait of Manet's good friend, its use seems apposite. The frontal view is suggested by the horizontal line at the back of the couch at the wall set parallel to the picture plane, and the cushion against which Mallarmé, turned to his right, rests (Fig.61a). The offset view is articulated by the angle of the edge of the cushion on which the books are placed, the general angling of Mallarmé's figure, and the particular alignment of his head, gaze and lower arms. There are, however, many subtle manipulations within these shapings. As is demonstrated in Appendix 1, and also illustrated in paintings such as *La Prune* (c.1876–8, Fig.62) and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, the forms which least display the distortion implicit in the geometry of offset viewpoints are those which are rounded rather than rectilinear. If the books were set within the offset shaping of the cushion beneath them, and with one of their edges already set parallel to the picture plane, then the other edge should be approximately parallel in perspective to the angled edge of the cushion. But it is not. Instead, it is set within the shaping of the one-point perspective geometry of a frontal view. Three unseen items are also involved in the interplay. First, Mallarmé's unseen left leg is

suggested to be angled to his right beneath the covering right leg in the frontal view, but to be perpendicular to the wall as an extension of his upper body in the offset view. Second, the shadow of Mallarmé's head on the wall and pillow behind him indicates that the alignment of the unseen light source, his head, and the resultant shadow is the same as for the offset shaping. And third, at the viewer's left of Mallarmé's head, there is a strange area of thin overpainting which has deleted some of the wallpaper pattern, and which can be seen to have been painted up to the then existing edge of Mallarmé's right cheek and ear. In addition, visible across Mallarmé's lower lip is a curved line of paint correctly depicting the shadow of a non-existent element protruding from his mouth. It is known from later photographs that he used a cigarette holder[27], and it is proposed here that Manet initially painted the portrait with Mallarmé smoking a cigarette in a holder, and that he subsequently deleted it (but not the tell-tale shadow) because it would have pointedly emphasised the angled shaping and reduced the potential for ambiguity. The overpainting covers whatever smoke had been shown. If this proposal is correct, then, in a typical Manet touch, the replacement cigar in Mallarmé's right hand has been set parallel to the wall and the picture plane, ambiguously set into both the frontal and offset shapings.

A painting which could be seen to present a spatial interplay little different to *The Absinthe Drinker* or *Soap Bubbles*, is proposed to be an important step in Manet's application of the offset viewpoint. *La Prune* seems to present a frontal view of the woman seated at the table and turned to her left, with the bowl set to the left of her centre, and with the table, bench seat, and rear partition set parallel to the picture plane (Fig.62a). But no lines or indicators of the spatial shaping of a centre-point perspective exist to confirm this assumption. Without them, the painting could therefore also be seen to have an angled shaping as an offset view from the left (Fig.62b). In such a shaping her head is facing directly across the table and not turned to the left, her right arm sits naturally in front of her rather than into a forced position as in a frontal view and the bowl with the plum now sits directly in front of her. With the use only of the rounded forms of the plum and its glass bowl, rather than rectilinear forms, the visibility of any distortion of

the angled shaping is therefore reduced. Such an arrangement can be seen to have an important and direct relationship with that in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* of 1881–82, but with important differences which are discussed in Chapter 5(F).

Two late and major projects, the *Café-concert de Reichshoffen* which Manet commenced in c.1878 and quickly cut down into at least two smaller canvases, and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* provide important spatial connections which are best considered together. Set chronologically in between those two projects are two paintings which are of interest for their unusual use of the offset shaping. As noted above, *Chez le Père Lathuille* employs both a two-point perspective view for its background and an offset view for its foreground (Fig.75a). The shaping of the background has eliminated the potential for the space of the foreground to be ambiguously seen as both frontal and angled, but this interplay, possibly unique in Manet's oeuvre, gives evidence of Manet's continued experimentation with the offset strategy. *The Suicide* (1881, Fig.79) also provides evidence of this experimentation, with the spatial uncertainty used to enhance the unease of the subject. But rather than using shapings created by frontal and offset viewpoints, its interplay involves an angled view read as either a two-point perspective or an offset one-point perspective from the same viewpoint. With the nearly horizontal angling of the side of the bed suggesting the two-point shaping, the flattened perspective of the bed head frame suggesting the shaping of an offset one-point, and the foreshortened view of the prone figure of the dead man adding a strange frontal element fluctuating between the two shapings, the spatial complexity adds a potent dimension to the work.

In the context of Manet's spatial strategies, the painting which can be seen to have been an important prelude to *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, by the very fact of its failure, is the *Café-concert de Reichshoffen*. By means of detailed scientific examinations, it was established by David Bomford and Ashok Roy[28] that the two extant paintings, *Au Café*, (1878, Fig.66) and *Corner in a Café-Concert* (1878 or 1879, Fig.67) were, in part, fragments from the original canvas for *Café-concert de Reichshoffen*. They showed that the right edge of *Au Café* and the left edge of *Corner in*

a Café-Concert were once joined and that the original canvas had been larger than their combined canvases. The relative positions of the two extant canvases, as initially established by Bomford and Roy[29] and later refined by Juliet Wilson-Bareau[30], are shown in Fig.68. Although the full details of the original canvas are not known, the long table of the co-ordinated image, as the common element between the two smaller works, certainly was the basic element of its overall composition. It also gives the clearest evidence possible of Manet's spatial intentions. The use of the offset viewpoint, as shown with the overlay in Fig.68, is clear and unequivocal, with no attempt to conceal its shaping. And in doing so an interplay between frontal and angled views has been produced which is little different to the shaping in *The Execution of Maximilian*, as discussed above. Certainly there is no ambiguity, the very aspect that the offset viewpoint had the potential to create. Obviously the original canvas had not achieved what Manet wished, and in cutting down the canvas he may have seen merit in setting the spatial interplay into more compact, restricted surfaces. In terms of ambiguity, the reformed and reworked canvases achieved little beyond that of the original work, for the most part devoid of the mediating play of integrated internal geometries.

The culmination of Manet's employment of the offset viewpoint geometry occurred in the relatively large work, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, painted some three years later, and it provides evidence of the re-assessments and transformations that Manet had made after the difficulties of *Café-concert de Reichshoffen*. A detailed explanation of the shapings and strategies used in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* is given in Chapter 5(F). His re-think of the problem involved the turning of the low table of *Café-concert de Reichshoffen* through ninety-degrees to become the bar, a retention of the offset viewpoint to the right but with it camouflaged so that the frontal view was, at one and the same time, both enhanced and subverted, and the use of subtle internal geometries and interplays, such as those seen in *Portrait of Stéphane Mallarmé*, to modulate the overall space and to nuance the ambiguity. He had clearly learnt from *Café-concert de Reichshoffen* that the potential for ambiguity was not possible with a dynamic disclosure

of the offset viewpoint geometry, but rather, it was required to be crafted within the artifice of the work's surface.

ii) Spatial cohesion

The second technique used by Manet for spatial ambiguity involved the interplay between the apparent cohesion of a view's spatial illusion and the degree of visibility of its actual construction as a composite of disparate spaces. A painting as a composite of different views was in itself not original and, as discussed in Chapter 2, such a technique had developed earlier in photography. However, without the presence of a spatial ambiguity, the image would normally become either a seamless compilation with no evidence of the parts, or one without pictorial unity with the disparate parts creating disjunctions of space and scale. Manet, in a wholly unconventional manner for his time, created within the surface of his paintings a new kind of cohesion, in which disjunctions and fragmentations were to varying degrees still evident.

The disjunctions of space in Manet's works appear in many guises, to various levels of visibility, and with different kinds of interaction with the perceived pictorial space. Works in which the disjunctions are overt, for example, include *The Old Musician* and *The Music Lesson*. As has been noted by many scholars previously, the figures or groups of figures in *The Old Musician* seem to exist in their own separate spaces and, as described in (a) above, *The Music Lesson* is fractured in two with different perspectives used for the two figures. Neither work involves a spatial ambiguity. The disjunctions in a painting such as *La pêche* are less overt but the work appears as a series of interlocked fragments creating a view of only partial spatial cohesion[31]. Some of those fragments, such as the double portrait in the lower right corner of Manet and his wife-to-be Suzanne Leenhoff, the hound, and the rainbow had been 'borrowed' from Rubens, or prints after Rubens, but they remained as disparate fragments, and the landscape, thought to depict the area around Île Saint-Ouen[32], does not pictorially unify them. Apart from the incongruous mix of images, the slippages and disjunctions between these fragments also involve perspective and scale. The viewpoint and therefore the perspective, for example, of the group in the lower right corner is very different to that for

the adjacent fragment of the two fishermen in the boat, and certainly no spatial ambiguity exists to conjoin them to be part of a cohesive image.

Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada, however, presents a much more complex set of fractures and disjunctions – and a very different result. If the image did not include the group of the mounted *picador* and bull borrowed from Goya, the eye level for the painting could be reasonably positioned just above the barrier, and the ground could consequently be seen not to rise as sharply. A cohesive space may still have been problematic but, in addition, it would not have been ambiguous. The introduction of the grouping with the *picador*, set at a scale too small for the transitional middle-distance and viewed from a higher relative level than for the remainder of the painting, changes the dynamics of the painting completely, forcing the parts into their separate spaces and relative extent of spatial recessions. The group of standing men, for instance, are no longer held into the larger space, but move forward towards the notional picture plane. The painting is ambiguous rather than just disjointed. Although the disjunctions are obvious, the ambiguity exists in the dynamics of the spaces at the surface of the work, and paradoxically provides a cohesion for this incongruous mix of a costumed and staged female figure, in a possibly borrowed pose[33], placed without any spatial connectors into the setting of a bullring, and in the midst of borrowed groupings of static and active figures.

Whereas the perspectives in both *La pêche* and *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada* are uneven in whole and in part, a work such as *On the Beach at Boulogne* provides an overview of its disparate fragments in a way which provides a pictorial cohesion rather than a spatial cohesion. Notwithstanding that the small size of the work has meant that subtle changes of posture and orientation may not have been contemplated by Manet, most of the figures, or groups of figures, seem to have been depicted either as elevations, or seen from separate viewpoints. Although each separate view has then been set into the overview of the beach and seascape, their independence has been maintained. Photography produced images in which the parts were actually connected by the unseen geometry of perspective but also appeared as

isolated entities, in their own world, in the surface of the photograph[34]. Such is the nature of the spatial ambiguity in *On the Beach at Boulogne*.

The Balcony, for which no perspective geometry seems to have been used by Manet across the width of the canvas, provides a very different kind of spatial cohesion. At least the standing figure of Fanny Claus and the flower pot have been painted as if seen from separate frontal viewpoints, and if a one-point perspective had been used for the spatial shaping of the whole painting, then she would be turned slightly to her right to confirm the purely frontal way she has been depicted. But her placement on the balcony doesn't suggest that to be the case, with the sense of the painting seen as a sequence of one-point perspectives set across its width. Oddly, the fact that the upper surface of the flower pot can also be seen indicates that the separate viewpoints for that sequence of one-point perspectives have been set at approximately the same height across the painting and that a cohesive perspective geometry has at least been used vertically. This odd hybrid construction seems to account for both the painting's spatial ambiguity as well as its apparent spatial cohesion.

A different kind of disjunction, and one which occurs in a number of Manet's important paintings, involves the collaging or overlaying of different views, taken from the same or different viewpoints and set at the same or different scales, into what appears in a work's artifice as a cohesive whole. The process is different to the one used in *La pêche* in that, with an overlay of views, parts of one view are at times seen as isolated elements set within a different view, and the concept of the final cohesive image seems to have determined the nature of the mix of fragments rather than the apparent summation of fragments as in *La pêche*. Such a process has been identified in a number of paintings that are considered and explained in detail in Chapter 5. These include two paintings of the 1860s which had not been exhibited during Manet's lifetime, *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* and *The Burial*, as well as the later canvases, *The Railway* and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*. Part of their ambiguity lies in the fact that they each seem to not relate to the reality of the locales which they depict. Manet has in fact created composite images formed from direct views of the motifs, and each of those

views is structured by perspective. The pictorial cohesion of each of the paintings is not achieved by means of one over-arching perspectival geometry, as the original spatial shapings of the separate parts are usually maintained. Rather, the spatial cohesion is one that was uniquely achieved by Manet with those spaces brought together within the painterly flatness of their surfaces. Although both *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* and *The Burial* can be seen as canvases considered by Manet to be incomplete, the evident use of the composite technique as a working method confirms Manet's constant experimentation with pictorial space. That he also integrated this technique with the strategies involving the offset viewpoint in works such as *The Railway* and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, also suggests that Manet had wished to make the fullest use of its potential for spatial ambiguity.

5.
CRAFTED AMBIGUITY – CASE STUDIES

Each of the six paintings examined in these case studies has either been noted by other scholars or seen by this writer to be spatially problematic. They are considered to be critical works in developing an understanding of the form and means of Manet's strategies for spatial ambiguity. One of the canvases, *Incident in a Bullfight* of 1864 (Section A), has not existed in its original form for over one hundred and thirty years and is examined in its absence by means of two existing fragments. Two of the works, *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* of 1867 (Section B) and *The Burial* of 1867? (Section C), were not exhibited by Manet during his lifetime, may be considered incomplete, and provide important insights into the less than straightforward processes that Manet was using in the 1860s. *The Railway* (Section D) and *Masked Ball at the Opera* (Section E) represent the artistic development and sophistication that Manet had achieved by the mid-1870s, and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (Section F) provides the most problematic or, depending on the viewpoint, the most successful culmination of the artist's endeavours to create works which were both direct and ambiguous.

The analyses for these case studies involved virtual reconstructions of locales where possible, the determination of spatial geometries and viewpoints used, a confirmation of views, and the identification of what was depicted. Usually hand-drawn geometries were employed for the initial analysis and development of hypotheses, but the more detailed considerations were made with computer-generated modelling. Aspects of the techniques involved in these spatial analyses, with particular reference to those for *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* and *The Burial* which involved extensive and detailed processing of the topography of Paris and a range of its buildings and landmarks, are provided in Appendix 4. A perspective overview of Paris (Fig.103) and a related plan (Fig.104), with the topography and relevant buildings and landmarks generated from this modelling, illustrate the physical context of Paris within which the

analysed paintings, with the exception of *Incident in a Bullfight*, were set. And a selection of contemporary photographs (Figs.105-108, inclusive) and an illustration (Fig.109) provide both a general reference for those areas of Paris seen within the images of *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* and *The Burial* and a record of the physical fabric of Paris in Manet's time.

A. *Incident in a Bullfight*

Background

The history of Manet's painting *Incident in a Bullfight* is an uncertain one. Exhibited in the 1864 Paris Salon[1], together with *The Dead Christ with Angels*, the canvas was cut by Manet at an unknown time between the completion of the Salon and 1867, with two separate fragments forming the basis for the reworked and extant paintings, *The Dead Toreador* (Fig.23) and *The Bullfight* (Fig.24). Of those two works, it is known that *The Dead Toreador* was shown at Manet's own *exposition particulière* of 1867 at the Avenue de l'Alma[2], and was thought to have been shown earlier at the Martinet Gallery in 1865[3]. Their conjoined history, however, has been limited. Although the two paintings had been explicitly noted as the fragments of *Incident in a Bullfight* by Théodore Duret in 1902[4], it was not until 1982 when Theodore Reff demonstrated that the two paintings in fact had a common border, with the matching of parts of the X-radiograph images from both paintings – the figures of two small *toreros* and a much larger bull – that they were confirmed to be from the larger 1864 canvas[5].

Since then, further technical examinations of the two works have been undertaken by the Painting Conservation Department at the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, particularly and more recently under the supervision of Ann Hoenigswald, Conservator of Paintings, and this program of examination culminated in an exhibition at The Frick Collection, New York, in 1999. That exhibition, *Manet's* The Dead Toreador *and* The Bullfight: *Fragments of a Lost Salon Painting Reunited*[6], brought these two canvases together for the first time in public since they had been separated and was used to present the current state of the scientific examination of the works, the nature of the re-workings which had been made to both canvases, as well as various proposals for the composition of the unseen 1864 Salon painting. A proposal for the composition by this writer was presented as part of a joint essay with Juliet Wilson-Bareau in the catalogue for the exhibition, and it raised possibilities for the initial composition of the

canvas and presented a specific reconstruction proposal for the Salon painting as a statement of research in progress and as an alternative to some conclusions determined by the conservation team.[7] One of the many outcomes from a colloquium[8] which had been held at The Frick Collection at the time of the exhibition was that the ongoing technical examinations suggested that many more stages of reworkings and alterations by Manet existed than had been envisaged to date, and that much more information had yet to be established before the composition of the Salon painting and its various 'before' and 'after' stages could be fully understood and resolved.

Nevertheless, the proposal made by Wilson-Bareau and this writer was the first to have analysed the forms which were visible in the upper left corner of *The Dead Toreador* X-radiograph and place them into a reconstruction proposal for the overall composition of the Salon painting. In the context of the subject of this thesis, this analysis concentrates on the proposal for the Salon painting, presenting the details of the spatial analysis undertaken and the subsequent proposals. Most of these details were unable to be included in the exhibition catalogue, and only some were presented at the colloquium. The earlier stages of the canvas including a composition with a broader sweep of a bullring and smaller figures, and the reworking of the surfaces of *The Dead Toreador* and *The Bullfight* are of interest in the overall chronological understanding of the works, but are not considered in detail here. Part of those considerations involves a proposal that the fallen figure of the toreador had not been part of the composition with the smaller figures.[9]

At the showing of *Incident in a Bullfight* in the 1864 Salon, the incongruities in scale and proportion, which were obviously very evident, brought derision from the public and the caricaturists. The contemporary parodies of Bertall (Fig.A3)[10], Cham (Fig.A4)[11], and Oulevay (Fig.A5)[12] provide somewhat different perceptions of the painting, and in terms of understanding its composition, present confusing pictorial evidence. They each seem to have incongruous relative scales between their figures, and oddly related planes of recession for the dead toreador, the bull moving from left to right in a direction parallel with the picture plane, and the standing *toreros* in front of the *barrera*. There are, however,

three *toreros* in the Bertall and Oulevay caricatures, all rigidly upright, while there are two in the Cham with stances of semi-action. And a defined crowd only exists in the Bertall caricature.

Responses from the critics highlighted their perceptions about Manet's grasp of pictorial space, perspective and scale. An early critique in May from Louis Leroy involved a satirical conversation between two fictional viewers of the work in which it was suggested that "Le taureau ressemble à une silhouette noire découpée sans le moindre soin" and that "les bonshommes du fond ont beau se rapetisser, ils n'en fuient pas davantage pour cela"[13]. Hector de Callias wrote in L'Artiste at the beginning of June of

> une *Course de Taureaux* divisée en trois plans, – un discours en trois points. – Le premier plan, c'est un toréador, une *espada* peut-être, qui n'a pas su géométriquement enfoncer sa petite épée dans la nuque du taureau, et que le taureau aura éventré avec les deux épées qui lui servent de cornes.
>
> Vient ensuite un taureau microscopique. – C'est la perspective, direz-vous. – Mais non; car au troisième plan, contre les gradins du cirque, les *toreros* représentent une taille raisonnable et semblent rire de ce petit taureau, qu'ils pourraient écraser sous les talons de leurs escarpins.[14]

Jules Castagnary followed in Le Grand Journal with the observation that "l'homme tombé et présenté en raccourci est un morceau excellent; mais où est la perspective et que devient l'ensemble du tableau?"[15] and Théophile Gautier, *fils*, suggested in Le Monde Illustré that the painting was "complètement inintelligible", that the bull was "microscopique" and "Au troisième plan,... toréadors détachent leurs corps, beaucoup trop grands, contre la barrière qui clôt l'enceinte."[16]. With his critique in L'Indépendance belge on 15 June, Théophile Thoré suggested a possible source for the prone figure of the toreador or *matador*, and in his description of the scene raised an aspect involving *picadors* that is important in the proposal made here for the painting, stating:

> Voici une autre victime de la férocité des mœurs, victime volontaire, étendue roide dans le cirque d'un combat de taureaux, qui continue à l'extrémité de la vaste arène. Ce toréador, éventré pour le plaisir de quelques milliers de spectateurs affolés, est une figure de grandeur naturelle, audacieusement copiée d'après un chef-d'œuvre de la galerie Pourtalès... peint par Velazquez tout simplement. M. Manet ne se gêne pas plus pour "prendre son bien où il le trouve," que pour jeter sur la toile son coloris splendide et bizarre, qui irrite les "bourgeois" jusqu'à l'injure. Sa peinture est une espèce de défi, et il semble vouloir agacer le public comme les picadores de son cirque

> espagnol, piquant des flèches de rubans multicolores dans la nuque d'un adversaire sauvage. – Il n'a pas encore saisi le taureau par les cornes.[17]

And while displaying enthusiasm for the painting but presenting a detailed criticism of its scale and perspective, Théophile Gautier wrote in Le Moniteur universel that

> M. Manet n'a pas bien calculé la diminution de la perspective. Ses hommes sont beaucoup trop grands par rapport à son taureau. Il faut une plus longue distance pour réduire à cette taille la bête formidable qu'on appelle un taureau de course. Un *novillo* de deux ans serait plus fort. La courbe décrite par la palissade (*las tablas*) ne s'arrange pas non plus exactement, et le sol, qui devrait être plan, semble en pente comme un plancher de théâtre. M. Manet a eu tort de ne pas consulter pour l'assiette de son tableau ce modeste et utile conseiller dont les plus fiers artistes écoutent les avis, – nous voulons dire *le perspecteur*.[18]

Although these contemporary commentaries, together with the caricatures, provide interesting clues to the Salon painting's form and content, they cannot be read too literally as a description from which reliable information can be taken for use in any reconstruction. Thoré's identification of the Pourtalès Collection painting[19], then thought to be by Velásquez, as a possible source for the angled figure of the *matador*, highlighted the fact that by 1864 Manet had not seen an actual bullfight. His imagery for the painting was thus essentially second-hand, raising questions about his understanding of the sequence and regalia of a *corrida* and accentuating the problems involved in placing a figure established within one set of spatial parameters into the possibly unrelated pictorial space and eye level of the bullring.

Analysis and Proposal

With this background of contemporary documentation, possible sources for a part of its image, and the X-radiographs and other technical information from the two extant works, an analysis of the possible composition for *Incident in a Bullfight* has involved issues of authentic bullfight procedures and bullring details, the identification of three-dimensional forms and cast shadows from the X-radiographs, and spatial problems of scale and perspective. Its considerations of perspective have been influenced by the fact that there are insufficient indicators of a spatial geometry between viewpoint(s) and the view(s) of the bullring for a virtual site to be constructed and analysed accurately

with computer-generated modelling[20]. Even the size of the original canvas is uncertain. Although its size is nominally limited here on the available technical information[21] to the lower and left edges of *The Dead Toreador* canvas and the upper and right edges of *The Bullfight* canvas, it now seems possible that the original canvas may have at least extended above the upper edge indicated with the potential for a crowd as shown in the Bertall caricature[22]. Also taken into account in the analysis is the fact that the form of the two extant paintings can only be used as a guide, with the extent of reworking of each work unable to be determined with any certainty, and the obvious contrast in *brio* between their two surfaces difficult to be reconciled with the knowledge that they are from the same initial canvas and retain forms that also existed in that canvas[23]. The information in the X-radiographs, therefore, presents an important means to look at these aspects but, as has been described in earlier chapters, cannot provide all the answers.

An aspect of identification brings into consideration the regalia and procedures of the *corrida*. In its present form, *The Bullfight* has been confirmed to correctly depict the form and colour of the various outfits worn by the the *toreros*.[24] The extent to which Manet made any changes to such details and whether such changes were carried out before or after his trip to Spain in 1865 remain uncertain. And Thoré's reference, as noted above, to "les picadores de son cirque espagnol, piquant des flèches de rubans multicolores dans le nuque d'un adversaire sauvage" can only be a specific reference to the scene as shown in Manet's painting and not as a metaphor for the fact that "il semble vouloir agacer le public". Such a reference suggests the existence in the painting's image of a *picador* and "flèches de rubans multicolores", or at least that the existence of the latter implies the involvement (possibly unseen) of the former. Either situation is a confusing one in that a *picador*, on horseback, would use a wooden-shafted, unadorned, steel-spiked *pica* into the neck muscles, not at the head, of the bull during the first act of a bullfight, and a *banderillo*, from a standing position, would place the *banderillas*, a pair of rounded dowels with coloured ribbons or papers and with barbed steel points, into the withers of the bull during the second act of the bullfight.[25] A *matador* is not present with the *muleta* and sword during either of these sequences in the *corrida*, in contrast to

the evidence of the contemporary cartoons and commentaries that the fallen figure in the original painting was such a *matador*, and the X-radiograph evidence that the painting of the figure of the toreador, or *matador*, has remained, apart from the adjustment of the feet, basically intact[26]. This possible confusion by Manet with the specific ritual of the *corrida* gives support to the argument that, rather than cutting the original canvas before his trip to Spain as a response to the criticism, Manet did so after realising the errors on actually seeing bullfights during the trip. And in the context of the painting of 1864, there is thus the possibility that a pair of coloured *banderillas* may have existed, although still in an incorrect position at the bull's head, where the shaft, or possible *pica*, is now seen in the lower right corner of *The Bullfight*.

With such possibilities and uncertainties existing, the examination of the co-ordinated X-radiographs of the existing separate paintings was undertaken in an attempt to identify a spatial structure upon which known information of the 1864 painting could be set. Such a structure, although not based upon an underlying perspectival geometry, was provided by the extension of the enclosing barrier seen in *The Bullfight* into the upper left corner of the Dead Toreador canvas. This extension was established with a proposal for the large, apparently interlocking forms seen in the upper left corner of *The Dead Toreador* X-radiograph, identifying the barrier and a corner gate post, two gates with one fully open and the other almost closed, and the shadows of the barrier, post and one gate cast on the ground of the bullring. The details of the resultant proposal, as shown in Fig.A7, are seen to be partly made up of identified elements visible in the co-ordinated images of the existing paintings, as shown in Fig.A8, from the co-ordinated X-radiographs of the existing paintings, as shown in Fig.A9, and from those elements assessed by this writer to have been part of the original painting.

The proposal, with the formats of the two existing paintings shown as (A) and (B), provides a setting for the combined actions of the larger figures of the existing prone *matador* (*c*), and three *toreros* (*d*, *e*, and *f*), and the proposed amended form of the bull (*g*) with the angled *pica* (*h*) set against its head, as discussed above. The forms of the barrier (*j*) and the stand (*k*), as visible in *The Bullfight*, are unchanged. There are,

however, spatial disjunctions in perspective and scale with the relationships of all of these elements. No apparent coincidence of eye levels seems to exist, with that for the barrier nominally set between the curvatures of its top and base at EL1. The eye level for the group of toreros has assessed to be slightly higher, that for the matador to be much higher, and that for the bull to be lower[27]. Combined with these disjunctions of multiple eye levels are also those of scale. If the scale of the barrier were to be used as the spatial determinant, for example, then certainly the bull is too small and the *matador* is too large. But such assessments only confirm the disjunctions and mean little in terms of Manet's picture-making process.

The elements identified in the upper left corner of *The Dead Toreador* X-radiograph include the extended barrier (*j1*), the corner gate post (*m*), and the gates to the bullring, with one open (*n*) and the other almost closed (*p*). Part of the process in analysing these shapes in the X-radiograph involved what has been proposed as two shadows (*q* and *r*) cast on the sand surface of the bullring, one cast by the post (*m*) and the barrier, and the other by the left-hand gate (*p*). The shape of the serrated form of the shadow is a reasonably accurate depiction of the shadow cast by the top edge of a panelled barrier with posts at intervals and with sunlight in the direction shown. The extensions of the post (*m*) and the barrier top set beyond the edge of the proposed canvas provided the form from which the direction of sunlight (*s1*) could be established, and the vertical angled edge of the post is seen to form the straight edge of the shadow on the ground. This same direction of sunlight (*s2*) has been used to establish, from the horizontal distance of its cast shadow on the ground surface (*r*), the height of the gate (*p*), with the shadow of the gate's vertical edge seen parallel in space with the shadow of the post and the shadow of the gate's top incorrectly curved. For simplification, and with the sunlight direction almost parallel in plan with the picture plane, the sunlight was shown in the exhibition catalogue proposal with parallel lines. More accurately, the sunlight is shown here as parallel rays in space with a vanishing point below and out of frame. The foot-rail (*t*) evident in *The Bullfight*, is extended to the left, as partly seen in

the X-radiograph, to the corner post (*t1*) and across the faces of the two gates (*t2* and *t3*).

The profile of the proposed bull (*g*) is a composite of information from the X-radiographs and the form of the bull in *The Bullfight*. Its form within the canvas of *The Dead Toreador* is used to its full extent, but with what until now have been considered to be two horns are proposed here as the bull's right horn and the extension of the shaft visible in the lower right corner of the X-radiograph of *The Bullfight* (not its visible form in the painting), to form the *pica* (*h*). The form of the bull within the confines of the canvas of *The Bullfight* uses the intermittently seen outline of its back in the X-radiograph as well as a form assessed by this writer from the outline of the bull's back visible in the painting, and the end of the bull's tail as seen in the painting. The gap (*u*) between the canvases of the two existing paintings combines the lower and upper forms of the bull's body and the proposed position of the bull's left horn[28].

The positions of the three toreros (*d*, *e*, and *f*) are taken from *The Bullfight*, but, with only two depicted in the Cham caricature, the inclusion of the torero (*e*) is uncertain. The extent of the crowd (*v*) has been limited to that shown in *The Bullfight* but, as indicated above, the original canvas may have at least been above the upper edge of *The Bullfight* canvas. The form and position of the fallen *matador* relates to that of the existing painting and as evident in the X-radiograph, with the different position of his feet seen in the X-radiograph maintained as the possible form in the Salon painting.

Apart from the sunlight rays depicted more accurately in perspective as mentioned above, there are two differences in form between the proposal shown here in Fig.A7 and the proposal published in the exhibition catalogue. The first involves the detailed profile of the top of the barrier as required to form the serrated form of the cast shadow and which was not included in the catalogue diagram for reasons of clarity, and the second involves the top edge of the front wall of the stand (*k*), which has been drawn to more accurately show its form in *The Bullfight*, and which, in fact, demonstrates Manet's understanding of the overlapping curved lines in perspective of the barrier top and the shape of the stand.

As discussed above, there are unresolved problems with any proposal for the Salon painting, and those which still exist in this proposal involve questions of the existence of a *pica* or *banderillas*, the incorrect position of the *pica* against the head of the bull, and the fact that the open gates suggest the bull's recent arrival which, in turn, does not account for the already dead *matador*. Some of these aspects provide confirmation of Manet's then limited knowledge of the bullring and the *corrida*. There are also a number of other problems. First, the direction of sunlight which forms the cast shadows on the ground of the barrier top, the post and the gate, and which is connected to the shadow edge visible in the painting (*b*), cannot form the curved edge (*w*) of the shaded area of the barrier, which is formed by the curved barrier top of the barrier itself. Although the lack of a cohesive space does not allow a correct shape to be determined, it would in reality be more vertical than depicted. And second, the form proposed for the foot-rail (*t2*) to gate (*n*) also presents a functional problem, in that it is seemingly too long and would not allow the gate to fully close. Interestingly the shadow formed by the rail on the face of the gate at (*x*) is, however, reasonably accurate and confirms that the position of the rail to be intentional. This is a possible anomaly which may be easily explained with more knowledge of the means used at the time of closing the gates.

These problems are not seen as impediments for the overall proposal, and only highlight the contradictions which make themselves apparent with so many of the spatial aspects in Manet's art, be they shadows, perspective, scale, or disjunctions. Even though his cast shadows, for example, can be seen at times to be variously inconsistent, incorrect, and indeed perversely indifferent to conventions of spatial geometry, there is sufficient evidence, as here, to make it clear that those discrepancies are intentional and that in all of these contentious areas of pictorial inconsistencies, including shadow projection, Manet knew exactly what he was doing.

As stated above, the ongoing physical examinations of the extant paintings suggest that much more is yet to be revealed about the interim stages of the original canvas and therefore possibly of its imagery when exhibited in the Salon of 1864. In the context of the spatial considerations of this dissertation, *Incident in a Bullfight* is seen as

part of an ongoing development with composite imagery by Manet, but as an outcome with which he was ultimately not satisfied. Its precedents in the early 1860s included *The Old Musician*, *La pêche*, and *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada*, and like *The Old Musician* it was a composite of disparately scaled forms rather than spaces and because of that it created neither a spatial unity within its illusion nor a cohesion of spaces at its surface as had been achieved with *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada*. Although there is no evidence of an interplay of frontal and angled views in this proposal for *Incident in a Bullfight* or in the extant paintings, Manet brought that strategy into play when he worked on the etching and aquatint after *The Dead Toreador* in 1868 (Fig.A6). The simple device of the background plane set parallel to the picture plane in interplay with an apparently angled element in the figure of the *matador* is one that, as discussed in Chapter 4, was used time and again by Manet throughout his career.

B. *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*

In the knowledge that *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* (Fig.B1) was not exhibited during Manet's lifetime, his final intentions for the work must remain uncertain or at least considered with some caution. Although T.J. Clark has suggested that the painting, with its sketchiness, "pretends... to be not quite a picture, not quite finished"[1], it could be just as easily proposed that the work doesn't pretend to be unfinished at all, but rather, that it existed for over a decade as a work-in-progress, a field of innovative experimentation, which Manet had no intention of either completing or exhibiting. As such, and as an unsigned work[2], it would become difficult, indeed impossible, to assume the stage of finality of its existing state or to presume any final intentions for the work. Many of the scholarly commentaries on the work have used the personal and political events of the time to invest the work with presumptions of Manet's purpose and to conclude when and why he stopped working on it, but the painting itself does not provide evidence of, or licence for, such proposals. What the painting's state does allow is an examination of Manet's process and interim manipulations in a way that is not normally available. The analysis here has thus limited its concerns to identifying what the painting depicts and, in doing so, to attempt to establish the way in which Manet constructed this complex and layered panorama.

Background

A background of circumstances and events which surrounded the painting's subject, the Exposition Universelle held in Paris in 1867, certainly provided a context of contemporary issues for Manet at that time and also a chronological framework for his work on *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle.* Situated on the Champ-de-Mars between the Seine and the École de Militaire, the Exposition was "dedicated to progress and peace", represented "a confrontation between the old and the new", and was seen by Napoleon III as a display of France's "prominence in industry and the arts"[3]. But its

spectacle also camouflaged the tensions of the social, economic and physical changes in the Paris of the Second Empire, and Manet's painting has been seen more as a representation of those undercurrents than as a depiction of a World Fair[4].

The official celebrations of art held in Paris during 1867, including the Salon held in the Palais de l'Industrie[5], the exhibition held as part of the Exposition[6], and a commemorative exhibition of Ingres' work held at the École des Beaux-Arts[7], also concealed the reality of the changes which were under way in the world of painting. Manet's decision to mount his own private exhibition of over fifty of his own paintings and prints in opposition to the exhibition of establishment art at the Exposition underlined the concerns of many to the judging procedures involved with official art[8], as well as confirming the approach to painting by those who, as Émile Zola had noted, "take the new road"[9]. Although not without precedent,[10] Manet's exhibition gave evidence of his self-confidence and determination to have his work set before the public and, notwithstanding the previous criticism of his art from both the establishment and the public alike, he had hoped for success[11]. Opened in late May in a temporary pavilion on the Place de l'Alma between the Avenues de l'Alma and Montaigne[12], and with the critical support of a re-published article from Émile Zola as a brochure[13], the exhibition fell short of that expectation. Manet's friend Antonin Proust wrote that "Le public fut cependant sans pitié. Il riait devant ces chefs-d'oeuvre, se réservant sans doute la ressource de pleurer plus tard devant ce qu'il admirait... Jamais, dans aucun temps, il ne s'est vu spectacle d'une injustice aussi révoltante"[14], but Patricia Mainardi has suggested that "Proust's testimony notwithstanding, Manet was simply ignored"[15].

Undercurrents of concern about the militarism of the Second Empire were also evident at the time. The contradiction of the siting of the Exposition as a celebration of peace on the Champ-de-Mars, the parade ground for the adjoining École Militaire, was not lost on those concerned with the militaristic aspirations of Napoleon III and brought satirical comment from both caricaturists[16] and writers. And such concerns were highlighted by the news in early July of the execution of Emperor Maximilian in Mexico, during the failed military campaign there. This event became the catalyst for Manet's

series of paintings depicting the very moment of Maximilian's execution by firing squad[17], with the first version seen by scholars to have been commenced before the end of July[18], and in the process to have interrupted the work on *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*[19]. More personal interludes may also have affected progress on the painting. In August, and apparently as an escape from the disappointment of his own exhibition, Manet had spent some time at the coast at Boulogne and Trouville[20], but on learning of the death of his close friend Charles Baudelaire on 31 August, he had returned to Paris for the funeral held on 2 September.

In the midst of these circumstances and dates, the details of when, from where, and how directly from the motif Manet had actually painted *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, either initially or at any subsequent stage, are less than clear. Previous scholarship on these aspects provides a comparative background for the analysis and proposals made here. Many scholars have placed the painting's production in June of 1867[21], Theodore Reff extended the period to be "the summer of 1867"[22], and although Patricia Mainardi thought that it had been painted "sometime between the opening of the Universal Exposition on April 1 and his [Manet's] departure for Boulogne in August"[23], she also considered that it was "probably done in June after his show had opened on 22 or 24 May, but before he realized that it would not be a success."[24] Such a time frame may, however, be far too limited. As discussed in the analysis and proposal below, aspects of the imagery raise the possibility that Manet may have commenced the work prior to the opening of the Exposition and subsequently worked on the canvas after 1867, even into the 1870s.

Although the painting has always been recognised to have spatial compression or disjunctions, these have usually been seen as the result of Manet's interpretation and manipulation of the panoramic vista from one viewpoint in the Trocadéro area, which was on the opposite side of the Seine to the Exposition site. As part of the preparations for the Exposition, this area of the colline de Chaillot had been lowered and transformed (Fig.B11) from an irregular formation to become an expansive, terraced, open area with a formal road layout, called the Place du Roi-de-Rome[25] (Figs.B6, B10, B15, and B19),

and when completed, it became a popular vantage point for sightseers to view the spectacle of the Exposition and Paris[26]. It also became the nominal site from which most popular illustrations of the Exposition and its layout were made (Fig.B2). Scholarly opinion about Manet's actual viewpoint in this area has been varied. Sigurd Willoch's suggestion for the viewpoint in 1976, noted in a resumé as "Manet s'était placé à un niveau très élevé du Trocadéro, peut-être au coin de la rue Franklin et de la rue Vineuse"[27], was claimed by Patricia Mainardi to be an identification in 1980.[28] Both John Richardson and Theodore Reff, however, had proposed lower viewpoints, with Richardson in 1958 incorrectly inferring that Manet had been impressed by Berthe Morisot's later *View of Paris from the Trocadéro* (1872) and "had decided to paint a similar panoramic view from lower down the same hillside"[29], and Reff in 1982 claiming that "Manet actually stood halfway down the hillside, closer to the exhibition that was his real subject"[30]. Conversely, Nigel Blake and Francis Frascina have seen that "the imaginary viewer (which we become) is positioned so as to be looking from the summit of the Butte de Chaillot"[31], and Robert L. Herbert has suggested that Manet "had stood further back and looked through binoculars"[32]. Although Herbert's notion is unqualified and non-specific, the analysis below shows how the use of some optical device, be it binoculars or a camera, was most probably involved in the development of the painting's foreground. The extent to which Manet painted the work directly in front of the motif or developed it in his studio is qualified by a specific note in the Register of Léon Leenhoff[33] which indicates that Manet was at the Trocadéro "le matin avant 10 heures"[34], and thus infers that he worked at the site on something more time-consuming than his quick pencil sketches. Mainardi, however, has suggested that "if he had painted it "on the motif", it would be his first plein-air picture,"[35] and that Manet's

> method of picture construction for outdoor subjects during this period... was to develop them in his studio from preliminary sketches and drawings...; the *View of the Universal Exposition*, because of its size... its disjunctive spatial construction, and its disposition of figures, seems to be in the same category.[36]

These spatial disjunctions, which also are essentially the concern of the analysis here, have been seen in various ways by previous scholars. Mainardi, for example,

has seen them in terms of compressions of lateral space and spatial recession, and of mixtures of scales, perspective, and degrees of prominence. A lateral compression had been seen with Manet's omission of the Palais de l'Industrie[37], and one in spatial recession when Manet had

> dropped out the middleground completely and jammed together the two areas of maximum interest, the immediate foreground and the distant panorama. Instead of taking a long view, which would clarify the objective spatial relationships, he has thrust the viewer so abruptly into the foreground that the articulation of the Pont d'Iéna, the Seine and the Exposition itself has become almost indecipherable.[38]

The figures in the foreground have also been seen by Mainardi as a mixture of spaces, scales, and perspective, suggesting that

> The workman on the lower left does not appear to be standing on the same ground plane as the women behind him, and the two gentlemen on the right, who seem to be in correct scale to the soldiers, are too large to be that far back from Léon Leenhoff and his dog. Not only do the figures exist in different perspectives from each other, they also seem to be in a different perspective from the panorama... Manet's figures are disruptive of any spatial continuity and can only be seen separately.[39]

The elimination of the Seine had also been noted by Reff and Herbert in contrasting ways, with Reff suggesting that the lower viewpoint meant that Manet "juxtaposed rather abruptly the gardens and figures on the near shore of the Seine and the trees and exhibition buildings on the far shore, virtually eliminating the river itself and its quays"[40] while Herbert claimed that the proposed viewpoint further back was suggested by "the disappearance of the river behind the slope in the foreground" and which allowed Manet "to juxtapose the people in the foreground directly to the fair buildings"[41]. Anne Coffin Hanson had also seen that the result of Manet's "use of arbitrary figure size" was "to break the sense of spatial unity, to reverse the expectation that the entire scene can be realized all at once, and instead to invite the eye to jump from group to group"[42] with "the groups... separated by large areas of open space and... disposed not only across the surface but at different distances from the frontal plane"[43]. And in addition to describing perceived techniques of disjunction, Alan Krell raised the issue of the painting's spatial ambiguity, noting that the painting "plays teasingly with scale and perspective. Nothing, really, is quite right: spaces are

ambiguous, figures are either too big or too small, details rub shoulders with generalities"[44]. Nonetheless, rather than seeing these disjunctions as manipulations of, and omissions from, the view as seen from one viewpoint, the proposal below sees the painting to be a composite image, with nine interlocked and overlaid sections of views, each of reasonable accuracy, from six different viewpoints.

The approaches taken by other scholars on a number of other aspects involved in the analysis and proposals, such as source images and identification, are also of interest. If the painting, with its relatively large canvas, had been mainly created in Manet's studio rather than at the site, the question about possible images which he may have used as source or *aide memoire* other than his own sketches is relevant. As is shown in the analysis below, a number of photographs of the Exposition Universelle were taken from the Trocadéro area at the time of the Exposition Universelle and obviously would have been readily available. And as noted above, many illustrations of diagrammatic views, as if seen from the Trocadéro, appeared in the journals of the day. A possible use of such imagery has been raised by Mainardi and Reff in different ways. Mainardi has suggested that the way in which an Epinal print (Fig.B2) conveyed "the immediacy of near and far seen together" was similar to that of Manet eliminating the middleground[45], whereas Reff has claimed that Manet, "like the popular printmakers,... followed a principle of synecdoche, representing the vast urban panorama by a few of its most familiar landmarks"[46] For this dissertation, a more important question than Manet's possible use of popular imagery is that of the extent to which he worked directly from photographs, using either the imagery to develop notions of pictorial fracture, or photographic prints in a direct cut-and-paste technique. Such a use of photographs, with their accurate perspective, would have facilitated the means to create ambiguity with 'real' views.

Many previous scholarly identifications of what has been depicted in *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* illustrate the difference of approach taken in this dissertation. The more familiar buildings of Paris and the Exposition have been identified by others as discrete two-dimensional forms, noted as being included in the painting or

not included, but not seen as elements in a particular illusionistic view or as a three-dimensional object related to other objects within a virtual space. And in one particular instance, the presumed familiarity has either ignored or intentionally contradicted objective information. Prior to a claim by Adolphe Tabarant in 1947 that the balloon seen in the painting's upper right corner was Nadar's *Le Géant*, reference to it had been in general terms. In 1902 Duret had written "en haut, un ballon qui plane"[47], in 1926 Moreau-Nélaton wrote of "le ballon captif tirait sur sa corde"[48], and in 1931 Tabarant referred to "un aérostat plane"[49]. In 1947, however, Tabarant expanded the reference to "un aérostat plane, qui est celui de Nadar"[50], and in doing so provided subsequent scholars with an incorrect point of reference for the identification of Nadar's balloon, *Le Géant*, and an opportunity to intimate that it had been unique in the skies of Paris. Richardson in 1958 confirmed Nadar's role, writing of "a balloon belonging to Manet's friend, the photographer Nadar"[51], while Mainardi stated that "Manet's balloon is that of his friend Nadar. Called *Le Géant*... it was at that time the largest ever built"[52] and even compounded the incorrect identification by claiming that "the artist actually changed the silhouette of *Le Géant*"[53]. In 1985, Clark conjectured that the balloon in both *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* and Manet's lithograph of 1862, *Le Ballon*, "most probably belonged to the photographer Nadar"[54], and Herbert in 1988[55], Wivel and Wilson-Bareau in 1989[56], Cachin in 1991[57], and Krell in 1996[58] were quite specific about Nadar and *Le Géant*. And in 1993, Blake and Frascina had intimated the rarity of balloons by asserting that "What could be identified by the contemporary Parisian – apart, that is, from the panorama of the city – is the photographer Nadar's balloon to the right"[59]. The balloon was neither *Le Géant* nor Nadar's. As the analysis and proposal below confirm, Moreau-Nélaton's 1926 description of "le ballon captif" made specific and correct reference to a *ballon captif* which provided *ascensions* for the paying public at a well-known facility of the time adjacent to the Exposition site, positioned outside the view of the painting to the right. Of course, the balloon can still be referred to symbolically, metaphorically, or metonymically as Nadar's *Le Géant*, and it can be claimed that Manet had painted it to be that balloon, but the very existence of a balloon

repeatedly ascending and descending during the course of a day from a position outside the image of the painting exactly where the restraining cable indicates, makes it clear that Manet simply painted what he had seen. Its artistic relevance is within the context of the depicted image of the painting itself, not within contexts of external speculation.

Analysis

The overall research for this dissertation has identified Manet's repeated use of actual views, interlocked or overlaid to create composite paintings of varying degrees of spatial ambiguity, with the resultant spatial disjunctions not being the result of arbitrary scatterings of elements, but rather, the considered manipulation of views as seen. Although it can be established very quickly that the scene depicted in *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* is not that of a single, cohesive space, the analysis was carried out to identify those parts of either a single view or of multiple views, if indeed they existed, which may have been brought together in the construction of the painted image. For such an analysis it was required to establish the topography of Paris, the heights and relative elevations of the relevant buildings, monuments and landmarks which may have been involved in the views, and to develop an understanding of contemporary activities, such as aerial ballooning. Details of the research procedures used and the computer modelling of the topography, buildings, monuments and landmarks are given in Appendix 4. The range of buildings and monuments considered was influenced by the decision to not accept, unquestioned and unverified, the previous scholarly identifications and viewpoint proposals, and to more comprehensively understand the relationships of the various elements within the range of particular views and as depicted. Many photographic images of the 1867 Exposition Universelle exist and those selected here as part of the study illustrate the range and nature of the pavilions on the Champ-de-Mars site, and the context of the Exposition in the cityscape of Paris as seen from the colline de Chaillot (Figs.B4–B10, inclusive)[60]. A location plan (Fig.B15), a matching plan using a section of an 1870 map of Paris (Fig.B16), an aerial perspective (Fig.B18) which shows an overview of the site of the painting, including the Trocadéro

area, the Exposition site on the Champ-de-Mars as well as the background vista, and an aerial perspective (Fig.B19) which looks in overview towards the site from beyond the skyline elements, illustrate the area under consideration.

Patricia Mainardi had noted the more familiar buildings and structures to be seen in the painting[61], including the dome of the Panorama National[62], Sainte-Clotilde, Notre-Dame, Saint-Louis-des-Invalides, the Panthéon, the École Militaire, the Pont de l'Alma, and Pont d'Iéna, and the most prominent structures of the Exposition, including the Palais de l'Exposition, the Phare des Roches-Douvers, and the Phare Anglais. In addition to those identifications, the analysis has also been able to identify, depicted in their reasonably correct positions on the Parisian skyline, one of the towers of Saint-Sulpice, Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, the elm tree Orme de Sully, Notre-Dame-du-Val-de-Grâce, and the Observatoire. Below the skyline are also seen the roofs of the Palais des Tuileries and the Palais du Louvre, and the Tour Saint-Jacques. Although positive identification has not been possible because of either the scale of the images or the summary technique used by Manet, it is worth noting that many other buildings and monuments can be seen in those positions where a relevant painted form exists, including the spire of the distant Notre-Dame-de-la-Croix de Ménilmontant, a tower of Saint-Ambroise, the roofs and tower of the Hôtel de Ville, the roof of Saint-Gervais, the roofs and dome of Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis, the spire of Sainte-Chapelle, and the tower of the unfinished Notre-Dame-des-Champs. Within the precinct of the Exposition itself on the Champ-de-Mars and the adjacent river bank, buildings and installations other than those noted by Mainardi have also been used in the analysis, including the Théâtre (as a scale replica of Garnier's Opéra, which was under construction at the time), the Cercle International building for the international journalists, and the riverside buildings of the Restaurant Français, the Hangar des machines marines de la France, and the Hangar des machines marines de la Bretagne. And at the right edge of the painting, beside the figures of the Imperial guardsmen, the excavated cliff facing the Place du Roi-de-Rome, and as seen in the photographs, Figs.B10, B11, and B12, has also been identified.

One aspect of identification involves an omission. It has not previously been noted that the tower of Saint-Germain-des-Prés is not visible in the panorama, but its omission is important for an understanding of the painting's structure. When commenting on the fact that the Palais de l'Industrie was not depicted by Manet, Patricia Mainardi wrote that although "it was certainly within Manet's field of vision, he has omitted it"[63], and in doing so confirmed the proposal that the painting was based upon a single, wide-angle, view which had been manipulated and adjusted, and from which parts of the field of view had been simply deleted[64]. And Sigurd Willoch's earlier reference to the view from the possible viewpoint on Rue Franklin suggested that Manet "aura resserré la perspective"[65]. But as shown in the proposal below, the view of the Panorama National, then adjacent to the Palais de l'Industrie, is seen as depicted in the painting from a very different position and confirms that the preconception of a dismantled view is an inaccurate one. Rather than making arbitrary omissions as compressions of a unified panoramic view, and in the process forming an image as if by default, Manet created his own cohesive, original space within the surface of the painting by selectively using different parts of different views from different viewpoints. As is often stated in this dissertation, the research has showed that Manet had painted from what he saw, no matter how unrelated his final image may seem to the motif, and he did not usually arbitrarily omit elements for pictorial expediency.

Some elements depicted in the painting, such as the Place du Roi-de-Rome, the dome of the Saint-Louis-des-Invalides, and the aerial balloon provide chronological information towards an understanding of when *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* may have been produced. The work involved in the reforming of the colline de Chaillot and creation of the Place du Roi-de-Rome in the Trocadéro area was commenced in 1866 and completed shortly before the opening of the Exposition on 1 April[66], confirming that at least the foreground of the painting had not been laid in before that date. And during the Exposition various events had been held on the Place, including the celebration of the *fête nationale* on 15 August, for which numerous large and small pavilions had been constructed (Fig.B9). But the degree to which such events may have limited Manet in

working directly from the motifs of the Place in the foreground and the Exposition in the background is uncertain. The unusual profile of the Invalides dome in the painting is explained by scaffolding for restoration work on the dome (Fig.B14), but although it had commenced in 1862 its date of completion is uncertain. One contemporary guide for visitors to Paris stated "On vient de réparer (février 1867)... l'extérieur du dôme"[67], another reference has claimed it to have been 1868[68]. Photograph Fig.B6, shows the full height of the scaffolding as seen in the painting at a time when the work on the Place du Roi-de-Rome was complete, and photographs Figs.B4, B5, and B9 show it at a reduced height. With the approximate dating of the photograph Fig.B9 around 15 August, it suggests that if the painting of the Invalides had been made from the motif then it would have been no later than August, 1867, most probably in March prior to the opening of the Exposition, but possibly even no later than February.

A somewhat different period of time during which the object depicted could actually have been seen and painted by Manet is provided by the aerial balloon. As discussed within the wider activities of aerial ballooning in Appendix 3, and as noted above, the balloon as painted, with its restraining cable, is not only quite clearly a *ballon captif*, as described by Moreau-Nélaton, but it is certainly the *ballon captif* which was operated from facilities in Avenue de Suffren. Although unseen outside the painting's frame to the right, these facilities can be seen in three photographs, Figs.B4, B7 and B8[69]. Constructed by Henry Giffard, the *ballon captif* had been installed at the workshop of M. Flaud at No.42 Avenue de Suffren on 26 September, 1867. For the cost of 20 francs per passenger it provided *ascensions captives* for up to fifteen passengers to a height of approximately 300 metres, with four ten minute ascensions per hour (Fig.J4). Even though its arrival at the site adjacent to the Exposition occurred well after the Exposition's opening, the *ballon captif* became the highlight of the related activities, as indicated by an article of 26 October:

> Nous n'hésitons pas à dire que pour être arrivé tard, le ballon captif de MM. Giffard et Flaud n'en est pas moins la chose extra-curieuse et le succés superlatif de l'Exposition. Captif, ce ballon de 21 mètres, presque aussi grand que *le Géant*, contenant 5,000 mètres cubes de gaz, pesant, chargé, 3,500 kil. et retenu dans la main de l'homme à 300 mètres de hauteur, par un câble *progressif* que M. Yon, le cordier de

> génie, a filé et qui résiste à 50,000 kil. d'effort! Il fait ainsi quatre voyages par heure, aller et retour, de la terre au ciel, en toute sécurité, jour ou nuit; et ce qui seul est plus admirable que lui, c'est le spectacle dont il nous mène jouir. Je l'ai vu, ce spectacle, et ne l'oublierai jamais.[70]

Although discussed by scholars as a symbol of hope in the future[71], in the climate of such popular interest and familiarity, the inclusion of the balloon by Manet is as much a topical, contemporary note as any other[72]. It is of interest to note that although the restraining cable for the balloon is seen in the painting to be from the site in Avenue Suffren, the balloon would not have been seen, or photographed, in its position above the Palais de L'Exposition or with its cable set at such a steep angle. Ascensions with the balloon were never made in windy conditions or were quickly aborted whenever winds arose. If the painting had been commenced prior to the establishment of the ballon captif on 26 September without an area available on the right side of the canvas to depict the balloon set vertically above its anchor point, the only way that Manet could have included it in the view was to position it as he did. In doing so he provided clear evidence that the motif of the balloon was added to the work after that date.

The sight of a balloon in the sky above the Exposition was thus not unusual, and when seen in the context of the balloon flights above Paris in the years prior to, and particularly in the months during, the Exposition, any suggestion that a balloon depicted by Manet would necessarily be Nadar's *Le Géant* does not reflect the reality. In fact, during the period of the Exposition many free flights[73] were made from various venues. As discussed in more detail in Appendix 3, from May to July seven free flights were undertaken by the Godard brothers from the Hippodrome at Place d'Eylau, *Le Géant* made three flights from June to August leaving the Esplanade des Invalides, and the balloon *L'Impériale* not only was used as a *ballon captif* above the Esplanade des Invalides but also made free flights from there, on at least one occasion with *Le Géant*[74]. The incidence of flights can be gauged from a description by Camille Flammarion of a flight made in June, 1867, during which he observed two other balloons, *Le Géant* flown by Nadar and the other by Louis Godard, also in the sky making parallel flights[75]. Such activities have implications for an understanding of the painting. The dates of the

operation of the *ballon captif* from the facility at Avenue de Suffren certainly place any direct sighting of that balloon or the availability of any photographic image of it to a date after 26 September, meaning that either the painting was not commenced until after that date or, as more likely, the balloon was a progressive, or later, addition.

Aerial balloons also may have had a more direct involvement in the production of the painting. Analysis has showed that the painting was constructed as a composite of nine different perspective views taken from six different viewpoints. The main structure of the background panorama was based upon three views from two separate viewpoints in buildings on the western side of Rue Franklin overlooking the newly-formed Place du Roi-de-Rome, and the foreground was based upon a view taken from a grassed bank on the eastern side of Rue Franklin, which had been formed as part of the excavation work required to form the Place. The latter viewpoint is considered by this writer to have been the one from which Manet, seated on the grass, worked directly in front of the motif, making his typical small sketches for future use in the studio. From there he would have also observed and noted the various groups of sightseers and a gardener, requested Léon Leenhoff to walk with his dog on the curved road towards him, sketched the form of the roads, garden and grassed areas of the Place, and assessed how a foreground, at a much larger scale than it appeared, could be set within the painting in front of the background of the Exposition and the panorama of Paris. Even some elements of the background, such as the height of the Phare Anglais were determined from this vantage point. At the left-hand side of the painting, the background also included a series of four views, all of which were set adjacent to each other on the canvas and taken from elevated positions that could only have been from aerial balloons. And an area which is little more than a few summary brush marks on the primed ground at the left-edge of the painting below the Pont de l'Alma and the Seine river is seen either as a part of the canvas which was to be painted as a fifth aerial view, or left unpainted as self-referential evidence of the means by which the painting was constructed[76].

Although the views as used were different in scale and set at relative height positions on the canvas which contradicted even the eye levels of their various perspectives, they were juxtaposed in such a way that a sense of a cohesive view from one viewpoint was *almost* conveyed. A sense of disjunction is somewhat enhanced, however, by the depiction of the separate groups and figures in the foreground – with each seemingly painted as isolated, self-contained pictorial elements, and with no narrative interaction between them.

The nature of such a proposed composite raises, however, many questions. To what extent, it can be asked, did Manet use photographic images in his construction of the painting? If the views from an aerial balloon are valid, how were those views recorded, and by whom? As sketches by Manet himself? As photographs by his friend Nadar a full year before his self-proclaimed success in aerial photography in 1868? And if the painting is a composite of juxtaposed views, was it worked out on the canvas or with a prior cut-and-paste technique using photographs?

Many photographs of the Exposition were taken from the vicinity of Rue Franklin, and thus ready-made and accurate visual images were available for reference. Of these photographs, three (Figs.B4, B5, and B6) have been used in the analysis to verify the accuracy of the computer modelling and to clarify many of the detail aspects of the work, and in the process the positions of the three viewpoints for the photographs at Nos.14, 22, and 35 Rue Franklin, respectively, were established[77]. A computer-generated perspective view from No.14 with the viewpoint (SP7) set at 20.5 metres above ground, is seen in Fig.B21, and is included for comparison with the photograph from the same position. These viewpoints of the photographs, as seen on the site plan (Fig.B19), in fact occur on either side of, and at similar heights to, the positions of the proposed viewpoints for the views which were used by Manet to establish the main compositional structure of his painting. With the existence of these many photographs confirming that professional photographers had realised that a market existed for images of the Exposition, then it is more likely that the views used by Manet, established to have been from two other buildings in Rue Franklin, at No.25 and No.29, were taken

from photographs rather than from sketches made at the upper levels in each building, or painted directly onto the canvas at those locales. The viewpoint on the grassed bank for the foreground composition of the group of sightseers is also set in close proximity to these painting viewpoints but, in contrast, is set lower at ground level. Such a viewpoint would have been less advantageous for a professional photographer, and although Manet may have commissioned a photograph from there for enlargement of the foreground site, this would have been the most likely viewpoint that Manet actually used for his own visual recording.

The possibility that a number of viewpoints were from aerial balloons carries with it the implication that the views had been recorded with aerial photography. As discussed in Appendix 3, a number of anomalies exist within the known history of aerial photography, and although it seems inconceivable that Nadar did not attempt further experiments between his first limited success in taking aerial photographs in 1858 and his successful exposure of photographic plates in 1868 from the *ballon captif* above the Hippodrome[78], no photographs exist to contradict this hiatus of almost a decade. Nevertheless, the analysis has identified four parts of *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* which relate to views seen from three viewpoints which are set at heights above ground that could only have been possible either as seen from aerial balloons or as perspective constructions. Whereas the landmarks in three of these views are not related to the Exposition, one view shows the Restaurant Français and thus could only have existed as an actual scene during the construction, exhibition, or demolition stages of the Exposition. Although it is possible that Manet conceived and constructed separate perspective views from elevated viewpoints and then used selected sections of each view, it is not seen by this writer to be have been very likely. Manet translated what he saw, even reproduced images, and even though he understood the perspectival geometries underlying any imagery, the research suggests that he would not have even contemplated using such a procedure.

If the proposed views are valid and are as seen from a balloon, they could have been recorded as sketches, but as the detail in these views makes it difficult to imagine a

sketch in a moving balloon being able to capture the specific relationship of the elements depicted, it becomes more likely that photographs were involved. As discussed in Appendix 3, the lack of any direct evidence of aerial photographs in Paris between 1858 and 1868 suggests that aerial photographs were only possible after 1868 and that three of those separate areas of the painting were made as additions or alterations some length of time after its commencement, even into the 1870s. Nadar's record of experimentation and innovation with aerial photography also makes it possible that, prior to the images of 1868, photographs were actually successfully exposed but that the images had not been able to be permanently fixed. As also noted in Appendix 3, such a possibility does not immediately place unknown images before the eyes of Manet for inclusion in this painting, but the fact that the views involved are grouped, adjacent to each other at the left side of the canvas, increases the possibility that they were added at the same time, whenever that may have been. The proposals involving such aerial photographs have assumed the same use of a *carte-de-visite* camera as that by Nadar in 1868, with its four short focal length lenses and the relatively short exposure time that was possible, as discussed in Appendix 3.

Unfortunately any notions of underpainting, alterations, or scraping with earlier work on the canvas cannot be clarified by technical information as, to date, no X-radiographs or infra-red examinations of the painting have been undertaken[79]. And circumstances of past conservation on the canvas have also made it impossible to assess if the canvas had been cut down by Manet at an interim stage[80]. This would have been of interest as the analysis has suggested that Manet first painted the extent of the horizon with the Val-de-Grâce set at the right-hand edge of the painting and the hills at Ménilmontant and Montreuil seen at the left. Such a view showed a reduced extent of the Palais de l'Exposition at the right and had the potential, if the canvas had been a little wider, for the position of Manet's exhibition pavilion to be included, or at least inferred, at the left.

There are also some sections of the canvas which remain unidentified. The unpainted area of canvas at the left edge of canvas was assessed in the process of

analysis, but without any resolution, as a possible component in a number of views, including as the pair of piers, with their equestrian statues set on top, at the western end of the Pont d'Iéna. And in the adjacent, jumbled area of pigment which has been described by Clark as "a crush of people crossing a bridge and a steamboat beside them disgorging still more"[81], a steamboat funnel with its cloud of smoke and steam can certainly be seen, but the spatial implications of Clark's proposal have not been able to be confirmed or resolved.

Proposal

Although the analysis has found *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* to be a composite of a series of relatively accurate views, the possible circumstances of those separate views add important dimensions and complexities to the understanding of both the painting's production and Manet's artistic practice. In contrast to earlier proposals, the time at which the painting was commenced and the period during which Manet worked on the canvas are presented here to be more, rather than less, uncertain. This is not seen as a loss of clarity but rather as a valid response to the assessed information. Set around the chronological framework of the Exposition Universelle being held between 1 April and 30 October, 1867, and in light of the research and the computer modelling outcomes, it is suggested that: the painting may have been commenced, with its main composition laid-in, at any time between February and 26 September of that year; the view of the newly-formed Place du Roi-de-Rome, on which are set the foreground figures, could not have been seen before mid-March; the aerial balloon was painted after 26 September onto an already established composition; and, the views encompassing the Restaurant Français, the Panorama National and Pont de l'Alma, and the Palais des Tuileries, Palais du Louvre and the Tour Saint-Jacques most probably had been painted as part of the painting's initial composition but were possibly painted after July, 1868 and even during the 1870s[82].

It is proposed that the painting is a composite of various views from viewpoints and directions of view as shown on the location plan (Fig.B15), the site plan (Fig.B19),

a perspective overview of the site (Fig.B20), and detail plan (Fig.B28), and that most of these views were available to Manet in the form of photographs which he then used both as source images and as components of a cut-and-paste collage. The main composition of the painting was based upon three parts of two panoramic views of the Exposition and the skyline of Paris (taken from viewpoints, or station points, SP1 and SP2), and the groupings of sightseers in the painting's foreground were as viewed from a grassed bank overlooking the Place du Roi-de-Rome, in a position (viewpoint SP3) which was forward of viewpoints SP1 and SP2, and set between their lines of sight. As noted above, Robert L. Herbert had explained the pictorial elimination of the Seine river in terms of a possible use of binoculars by Manet, and for the enlargement of the foreground grouping, an optical device such as binoculars or a camera, used to take a photograph for that purpose or for use as an *aidememoire*, may have been employed. It is also proposed that the four views at the left side of the canvas around the Restaurant Français, the Panorama National and Pont de l'Alma, and the Palais du Louvre, were based on three separate aerial photographs taken from aerial balloons at viewpoints SP4 above the Seine river near the Exposition, SP5 above an area between the river and colline de Chaillot, and SP6 above the Esplanade des Invalides.

Those sections of the canvas which are considered to have been painted by Manet without reference to photographs, although possibly to his on-site sketches, are the figure groupings in the foreground and the balloon in the upper right corner. Manet's somewhat ironic depiction of the figures in the foreground seems to have come from direct observation rather than being fleshed-out from figures in a photograph. And, as noted above, the position of the *ballon captif*, painted above the Palais de l'Exposition with an angled restraining cable, was one that did not relate to the procedures of the ascensions. Although painted as a record of the actual balloon, its position gives support to a chronology for the painting that indicates the basic composition, without Avenue de Suffren in view, to have been in place before 26 September, and that Manet's wish to include the *ballon captif* at some time after that date thus required it to be painted with the angled cable.

Each proposed perspective view is overlaid with a painting format set, in both size and position, relative to those parts identified as existing in the painting, and the form and relative position in the painting of those selected parts are confirmed with the overlay line drawing (Fig.B38) made from the painting. The different views are shown to have been overlaid and interlocked as a composite image by Manet, with disparate elements existing at one and the same time as perspectivally correct parts of visibly indeterminate smaller views and as part of the cohesive image at the surface of the painting itself. In such a process the spaces of the parts have been engaged at the work's surface. Details of the proposed views are as follows:

i) The main composition of the painting was based on views from a viewpoint (station point) SP1 in a building at No.29 Rue Franklin overlooking the Place du Roi-de-Rome[83], set at approximately 23 metres above the road level[84]. The view from this vantage point (Fig.B23) was first painted by Manet as a broad sweep of the Parisian skyline with the hills of Ménilmontant, Montreuil and Vincennes at the left, and the dome of Val-de-Grâce at the right (format A in Fig.B23). The Exposition was painted at the right side of the canvas with a section of the Palais de l'Exposition correctly positioned at the right edge. Pictorially, a disposition of the view in this way, with the central area of the canvas mainly comprised of elements in the middle-distance and distance, would have had limited potential for any manipulation of space.

The depiction of a more concentrated section of the view from the same viewpoint, set slightly to the right of the first view, centred on the dome of the Invalides, and with a broader expanse of the Palais de l'Exposition and the more dynamic positioning of the Exposition elements in front of it, overcame such a shortcoming (format B in Fig.B23), and formed the basic structure for the right hand background of the painting. This second part of the same view was overlaid the first part, with the Val-de-Grâce positioned where the Panthéon had been initially placed, and the Observatoire at the right edge of the canvas where the dome of Val-de-Grâce had been painted. Although the extent of retention of the skyline forms of other domes,

towers, and spires from the first view is uncertain, the overlaid view was certainly conjoined with elements of the first view rather than being used as a complete overpainting with complete erasure. The hills on the left skyline, with the spire of Notre-Dame-de-la-Croix de Ménilmontant accurately positioned, the part of the Palais de l'Exposition at the right, and the dome of Val-de-Grâce, for example, were retained, and other elements, such as the Tour Saint-Jacques, are proposed to be also visible in amongst the detail of the second layer. In the second part of the view, the skyline relationships between, from the left, the Phare des Roches-Douvers, Saint-Sulpice, the Invalides, the Panthéon, Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, the elm tree the Orme de Sully[85], Val-de-Grâce, the Phare Anglais, Notre-Dame-des-Champs and the Observatoire, together with the Exposition buildings and the Pont d'Iéna, can be seen to be depicted with reasonable accuracy in the painting. Those identified sections of the two views which are part of the existing painting, are shown as part-images 1 and 2 in their relative positions and confirmed in detail with overlay line drawings in Figs.B24 and B25, respectively. Such a process described with these two parts of the same view is illustrative of the collaging technique that Manet applied to the whole work and in other works.

Although possibly being little more than coincidence, it is interesting to note that one of the aerial balloons set in position above the Esplanade des Invalides can be seen from viewpoint SP1 at the very position at which the dome of the Panorama National was set in the painting. With flights made by balloons from the Esplanade from June to August during the time of the Exposition, the appearance of a balloon in such a position, as seen by Manet or in a photograph, may have been an influence in positioning the dome of the Panorama National at that position with a semi-circular shape.

ii) Although the tower of Saint-Germain-des-Prés is visible to the left of the Phare des Roches-Douvers in the perspective view from SP1, it is not visible in the painting. This was achieved by the use of a view from a lower viewpoint, SP2, in a building at No.25 Rue Franklin, at an approximate height of 10 metres above the

road level. From such a position the view, as seen in Fig.B26, shows that the tower of Saint-Germain-des-Prés is unseen, hidden behind the Phare des Roches-Douvers on the site of the Exposition. The view also displays the relationship between Sainte-Clotilde, Sainte-Chapelle, Notre-Dame, and the Phare des Roches-Douvers as accurately depicted in the painting. This is shown as part-image 3 in its relative position and confirmed in detail with the overlay line drawing in Fig.B27.

iii) With the foreground of the painting, Manet's concept was obviously to both create spatial ambiguity as well as limit the 'speed' of spatial recession by incorporating this setting right across the canvas at a much larger scale than the remainder of the painting. Such a device has made the relationship between the foreground setting and the background of the Exposition and the cityscape both feasible and disjointed at one and the same time. And when viewed, any involuntarily attempt to reconcile these contrasting spaces into one construct, makes the foreground composition seem less than spatially feasible or cohesive. But, and notwithstanding Manet's typical subtle adjustments of scale and painterly technique with each object at the surface of the canvas, the foreground can be shown to be an accurate perspectival view of part of the newly-formed Place du Roi-de-Rome, with the figures depicted at their appropriately relative sizes[86] in actual positions which have been able to be determined on the grassed and road surfaces.

The viewpoint at SP3 is as from a seated figure on the grassed bank which had been formed as a transitional plane between the eastern edge of Rue Franklin and the conical form of the Place du Roi-de-Rome, as visible in photographs, Figs.B10 and B12, and the perspective view Fig.B20. This viewpoint is set below, in front of, and between, the centre of visions from SP1 and SP2, and it becomes clear that Manet had wished to maintain, as much as possible, a similar spatial shaping for both the foreground and the background. The viewpoint provided two prospects, a wide view similar to those from SP1 and SP2, and a closer view of a

selected part of the open area of the Place du Roi-de-Rome as the setting for the foreground groups of figures. From this lower, and closer vantage point, particular elements of the wider view (format A, in Fig.B29), are seen to be slightly larger and set relatively higher than as seen from SP1 or SP2. The higher positions of Sainte-Clotilde, Sainte-Chapelle, Notre-Dame, the Phare Anglais are as depicted in the painting, and shown as part-image 4 in Fig.B30. Also included in the painting from this view are a part of the excavated cliff face created by the earthworks in forming the Place du Roi-de-Rome, and possibly a more accurate lateral position for the Observatoire.

To enable a three-dimensional confirmation of overlap and size diminution in the perspective view of the foreground groups of figures, rectilinear prisms were used as simplified indicators for each individual figure. A plan of the layout, with the positions of the viewpoint and the various figures and groups of figures used in the perspective view, is seen in Fig.B28. The perspective of the figure groupings (format B, in Fig.B29) confirms that the painting's foreground depicts a perspectivally accurate and cohesive, but relatively distant, view of which a part (part-image 5) had been enlarged and spread across the full width of the canvas, as confirmed with the overlay line drawing in Fig.B31.

As discussed above, of all the viewpoints for the painting's views, SP3 is seen as the one from which Manet responded directly to the motif, by means of his sketchbook, or possibly as oil sketches created directly onto smaller canvases. Obviously Léon Leenhoff, with his dog, would have been requested to pose for Manet on the circular road, but the other figures and groups of figures need only have been, and also give evidence in the painting to have been, vignettes observed and recorded at different times.

iv) The building of the Restaurant Français was used by Manet as a transitional element between the more general view of the Exposition developed from viewpoints SP1 and SP2 and the view of the Panorama National and Pont de l'Alma at the left edge of the painting. A view of the Restaurant as seen in the

painting is shown from viewpoint SP4 at a height of seventy metres above ground in Fig.B32, and confirmed as part-image 6 of the painting with the overlay line drawing in Fig.B33. Such a viewpoint would only have been possible from an aerial balloon.

All the views proposed to be from aerial balloons have been presented in the vertical 'eight by five' format with a horizontal angle of view of twenty degrees to relate to the imagery which would have been obtained from the use of a *carte-de-visite* camera.

v) From viewpoints SP1 or SP2 in Rue Franklin, the dome of the Panorama National could not have been seen to the extent shown in the painting above the trees and rooftops, and the form of the arches to the Pont de l'Alma as it then existed would have been much flatter, as seen at the left edge of Fig.B23, than as depicted[87]. The lateral relationship between the dome and the bridge would also not have been as seen in the painting.

A viewpoint SP5, at a height of eighty-five metres above ground, provides a perspective view as seen in Fig.B34 for the particular views of the Panorama National (format A) and the Pont de l'Alma (format B) as seen in the painting, and shows that the view of the Panorama and the buildings and trees seen directly beneath it had been reduced in size relative to that of the bridge. The curvature of the Panorama's dome in the painting is greater than it actually was[88], and still is, but the height of the viewpoint, which in such a position would only have been possible from an aerial balloon, allows the dome to be seen, sets the dome laterally in a position above the Pont de l'Alma as required, shows the river bank at the left angled above the bridge and, with the overlap in perspective of the arch profiles at each side of the bridge, produces a shape in silhouette very similar to that as seen in the painting. Relative to the view of the Restaurant Français this combined view has been set into the painting at a lower position than that required by the perspective of the Restaurant, providing further evidence of a cut-and-paste technique. The accuracy of the view of the dome of the Panorama National

and the trees along the angled bank of the Seine set beneath it, as part-image 7, and that of the Pont de l'Alma with the angled river bank set above it and the trees to the right river bank beneath it, as part-image 8, are confirmed with the overlay line drawings in Figs.B35 and B36, respectively.

vi) Adjacent to the trees between the Panorama National and the Pont de l'Alma, and in the area of the painting extending across to the spires of Sainte-Clotilde, a series of roof forms can be seen as part of the cityscape. These are proposed to be part of a view, seen or recorded, from another elevated viewpoint SP6, set at eighty-seven metres above the Esplanade des Invalides, and in a position that can only have been from an aerial balloon. As discussed above, it is proposed that the balloon had been either *Le Géant*, which had made flights from the Esplanade, or *L'Impériale* when it was used as a *ballon captif* at that locale.

A perspective view from SP6, as seen in Fig.B37, clearly shows the raised roof form of the Pavillon de Flore of the Palais des Tuileries, the overlapping raised roofs of the Palais du Louvre behind it, the tower on the Place du Louvre, and the isolated profile of the Tour Saint-Jacques. Further to the right are the combined roofs, towers, and domes of the Hôtel de Ville, Saint-Gervais, and Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis. Those elements from this view which have been identified in the painting are shown as part-image 9 and confirmed with the overlay line drawing in Fig.B38.

Such a view provides clear evidence of the spatial disjunctions which exist within the overall image of the painting. As can be seen by the painting format size shown in Fig.B37 and its translation to the the form of the painting in Fig.B38, the relative scale of the elements in part-image 9 is much smaller in the painting to, say, that of the Pont de l'Alma as part-image 8 in Fig.B36. And not only are the perspectives in these two separate part-images very different but there is also no correlation between the eye levels for each view, with that for part-image 8 set much higher than the one for part-image 9.

That viewpoint SP6 is in a position that can be directly connected to the very locale from which aerial balloon flights were known to have been made during the period of the Exposition seems a circumstance other than coincidence. Although a photograph could have been taken from above the Esplanade des Invalides at any time after the Exposition, the concentration of flights, as described in Appendix 4, from that very site during the Exposition adds further evidence to the suggestion that aerial photographs had been successfully taken, although possibly not 'fixed' as a permanent image, from the skies above Paris before Nadar's photographs in July of 1868.

The overall proposal sees the image of *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* to have been created with this series of relatively accurate views, of different scales, taken from a number of different positions, and collaged on the canvas at pictorially unrelated levels. As confirmation of the accuracy of the proposal, the composite image of the interlocked and overlaid computer-generated sections of views is seen in Fig.B39 and with the line drawing overlay made from the painting in Fig.B40.

By its very nature, the collaged image can be seen, at one and the same time, to be both spatially cohesive and disjointed. Such spatial ambiguity is heightened, within the interlocking and overlaying of the views, by the spatial filtering through the figures in the foreground into the differently scaled space beyond, by the recession of space to the left and not to the right, and by the repetition of some motifs, and the erasure of others. No work that Manet exhibited showed such complex collaging, and in his oeuvre it is only matched by *The Burial*, another work not exhibited in his lifetime. This would suggest that *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* was seen by Manet as an important experiment in assessing the implications of the technique and seeing how far the spatial ambiguity could be stretched before the painting simply became a collection of disparate views. With the painting in a state which seems transitional rather than complete, it seems impossible to presume the final form intended by Manet, but, in terms

of spatial ambiguity and fracture, one senses that the work is finely balanced, and exactly as he wished it to be at that stage.

Furthermore, *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* is a work which confirms, and in many ways better than any other, Clement Greenberg's proposition that "Manet's paintings became the first Modernist ones by virtue of the frankness with which they declared the surfaces on which they were painted". As argued in Chapter 3, the reason for them being the first was more to do with Manet's spatial ambiguity rather than with the different ways in which Greenberg, Clark, and Fried have seen Manet's use of flatness of his paintings. It is also one of the few paintings of the nineteenth century which, in representing a sanctioned and popular contemporary public event, employed illusionistic imagery which was also complexly experimental.

C. *The Burial*

As another incomplete[1] painting not shown in Manet's lifetime, *The Burial* (Fig.C1) also needs to be considered with caution in regard to presumptions of his intent, the degree to which he may have considered the work complete, and problems of dating the work from depicted motifs. But, in its present state, with the concealment of his strategies probably far less than would have been the case if exhibited in his lifetime, the painting provides an opportunity to more directly examine and better understand his artistic process. Interestingly, some correspondences between *The Burial* and *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* also add to that understanding, with the most obvious being the uncertain and ambiguous interplay between their foregrounds and backgrounds in terms of surface composition, illusionistic space, and content. Notwithstanding the notional connection between the sightseers and the Exposition as their object of interest in *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, the foregrounds and backgrounds in both paintings seem to make ambiguous connections.

Such uncertainty is highlighted by the outcomes of the analysis for *The Burial* which point to a possible separation in terms of time and locale between the funeral in the foreground and the backdrop of the Parisian skyline. Although the painting has been generally considered a unified, but manipulated image, the proposal here has assessed the background in the upper half of the painting [henceforth referred to as the *upper part*] in terms of collaged views from a series of different viewpoints, and the foreground in the lower half [henceforth referred to as the *lower part*] as a single view and in a locale completely unrelated to that used for the upper part.

Background

Little is known about the production of the painting or what it represents. Although titled in the inventory of Manet's works after his death as "Enterrement à la Glacière"[2], and notwithstanding Henri Loyrette's emphatic claim that "La Glacière is certainly where

we are"[3], it seems that its locale has never been thought by others to be as straightforward. Nevertheless there has been general scholarly accord with the dating of the work, in the identification of what is depicted, and, in more recent times, what the burial represents.

The earlier commentaries on the painting were varied but relatively straightforward. In 1902, Théodore Duret dated the painting at 1869-70, noted "un grenadier de la garde impériale" at the rear of the funeral cortège, and "à l'horizon, une partie de Paris que domine le Panthéon"[4]. In 1931, Adolphe Tabarant dated it at 1870, placed it at "rue de l'Estrapade, au pied de la butte Mouffetard"[5], noted "les dômes de l'Observatoire, du Val-de-Grâce, du Panthéon, et le clocher de Saint-Etienne-du-Mont"[6] and suggested that "La présence d'un grenadier de la garde impériale atteste que ce tableau fut peint avant la chute du Second-Empire, mais nous ne croyons pas qu'il soit antérieur à 1870"[7]. Tabarant qualified his dating in 1947 to be possibly "De janvier ou février 1870"[8].

Later responses and assessments also became interested in the symbolism of the work and its representation, but were no less varied and certainly no less speculative. Georges Bataille in 1955 dated the work "from early 1870" and observed that it "betrays the attraction exerted on him [Manet] by the idea of death"[9] but, in contrast, John Richardson's concern in 1958 was that the work "surely belongs with two snow-scenes done during the seige in the following winter"[10]. For somewhat different reasons, Charles Sterling and Margaretta Salinger conjectured in 1967 that Manet had "probably painted the picture in 1870 on the eve of the Franco-Prussian War, as it bears a strong resemblance in style to a landscape made in February of 1871 at Oloron-Sainte-Marie"[11], and also speculated that the view had "been from the foot of the Montagne Saint-Geneviève in the neighborhood of the Rue Monge, perhaps from the little rise where, in 1869, they had begun to excavate the ruins of the old Roman amphitheatre, called the Arena of Lutetia"[12]. In 1971, Linda Nochlin had concurred with the position and dating of Sterling and Salinger, but addressed the painting's subject matter in a wider discourse on realism and attitudes to death, and suspected that

> the composition of *Phocion* [Nicolas Poussin, 1648] was in his [Manet's] mind when he began painting his unfinished *Funeral*, substituting observed, contemporary Paris for imaginatively reconstructed Athens and a shabby, shambling nineteenth-century procession for that of the stoical hero of antiquity[13].

A more recent, and seemingly relevant, source for the painting's subject was raised by George Mauner in 1975 when making a connection between *The Burial* and the funeral in 1867 of Manet's friend, Charles Baudelaire. In many ways Mauner's proposal changed the scholarly approach to the work as the implications from such a proposal set it within the rich and complex context of the relationship between Manet and Baudelaire and of Baudelaire's seminal writings on modernity and contemporaneity. The dating of the work has been repositioned, and the known facts of Baudelaire's funeral and place of burial have also forced the painting's locale and vista of the Parisian skyline to be reconsidered. But even though Mauner's proposal is a thoroughly enticing notion, it is one that has yet to develop beyond speculation. The service for Baudelaire's funeral on 2 September, 1867, had been held at the church of Saint-Honoré d'Eylau with the cortège moving to Montparnasse cemetery. An evocative description of the occasion, written soon after by Charles Asselineau in a letter to Auguste Poulet-Malassis, noted that "Il y avait environ cent personnes à l'église et moins au cimetière. La chaleur a empêché beaucoup de gens de suivre jusqu'au bout. Un coup de tonnerre, qui a éclaté comme on entrait au cimetière, a failli faire sauver le reste." The letter had been first published in 1906[14] and its description of the weather and the gathering of friends seems to have been used as a source, with the use of some melodramatic licence, by Adolphe Tabarant in his 1942 La vie artistique au temps de Baudelaire[15]. And Asselineau's description obviously provided the link for Mauner when he wrote that

> On 2 September, Manet attended the poet's funeral, and the descriptions given by witnesses of that occasion, including the threatening summer storm and the small cortège moving toward the cemetery of Montparnasse, suggest Manet's painting *L'Enterrement*. Here there are a few human mourners, but nature grieves in the sketchy patch of trees, probably cypresses, which echo the shape of the carriage and figures directly below it.[16]

Theodore Reff[17], Charles S. Moffett[18], and Françoise Cachin[19] subsequently concurred, in very similar terms, that the painting most probably depicted the funeral of

Baudelaire, and considered its dating to be 1867. Reff also moved the locale "toward the southwest, in the area of the Cimetière de Montparnasse"[20] but, with an obvious awareness of all the contradictions of viewing the skyline buildings from such a position, added that

> We must conclude either that Manet, working from memory and perhaps from sketches, though none have survived, represented the five buildings in a manner that is topographically impossible but pictorially varied and interesting or that they have not been identified correctly.[21]

Taking a cue from his own claim, Reff suggested that the identification of the Panthéon, Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, and the Tour de Clovis could not be doubted but that "the small cupola could belong to many buildings, both sacred and secular, besides the Observatoire", and that "the large dome near it could be that of the Sorbonne rather than the Val-de-Grâce" seen from "the area of the Cimetière de Montparnasse"[22]. Henri Loyrette, in 1994, had seen the redating of the work to 1867 as a confirmation of the stylistic similarities between *The Burial* and other paintings such as *Races at Longchamp in the Bois de Boulogne* and *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, but noted that the skyline as painted could not have been as seen from the locale of Baudelaire's funeral and, with some contradiction, reclaimed the locale to be "near the rue de la Glacière"[23]. That the locale had been there was supported, claimed Loyrette, by the view from Gentilly in a painting of Jean-Jacques Champin, with Manet's position considered, in comparison, to be "lower down and quite near the rue de la Glacière"[24]. Certainly Champin's view confirmed the basic orientation of Manet's view, or views, but what Loyrette didn't point out was that the vertical relationship between the domes of Val-de-Grâce and the Panthéon as seen from the heights of Gentilly was very close to that as seen in the painting, whereas the proposed viewpoint lower down and closer to the motif would significantly raise the height of Val-de-Grâce relative to that of the Panthéon. The raised line of sight from Gentilly is of some relevance in terms of the analysis and proposals made below. Loyrette's selective scholarship and his later speculations on the depicted funeral, exemplified in part the unsubstantiated claims and confusion that have typified responses to *The Burial*, but his droll disclaimer that

"perhaps... we have been following for more than a century a sad, anonymous funeral procession"[25] placed the work and its scholarship into a context which may be closer to the truth than had been considered by anyone previously.

The two most detailed and comprehensive considerations of the painting have been made by Éric Darragon in a doctoral dissertation in 1987[26], and Nancy Locke in an article, 'Unfinished Homage: Manet's *Burial* and Baudelaire' in 2000[27]. Although their approaches are different, both studies have raised some interesting points. In terms of dating and locale, Darragon had seen the painting little differently to many other scholars, but was more specific, added to the identifications, and raised a number of relevant issues. He proposed that the painting "montre Paris d'un point bas"[28], and that "Le site évoqué, au pied de la Montagne Sainte-Geneviève, vers les Gobelins, n'est pas déterminé de façon précise"[29]. In addition to the standard skyline identifications, the tower of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas was correctly identified but, oddly, Saint-Médard was seen to be "cachée par les arbres au second plan"[30]. Stylistic comparisons had suggested to Darragon that *The Burial* "annonce les vues peintes durant le siège de Paris et la tonalité grave, le style nerveux et libre, certaines couleurs également, s'accordent avec l'activité des années 1868-69"[31], but had also highlighted differences with the *Vue de l'Exposition Universelle de 1867*, from the year of Baudelaire's death. In almost every respect, in the landscape, figures, composition, tone, viewpoint, and the light and sky, Darragon had seen the two paintings to be very different. And while he believed *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* showed its subject to be borrowed from contemporary engravings, *The Burial* showed "une scène banale de la vie quotidienne, mais traitée pour des raisons complexes comme un événement presque tragique"[32]. Importantly, as a response to the suggestions that the painting depicted Baudelaire's funeral, Darragon brought some objectivity into that question, noting that it was hazardous to make such a claim and that the inspiration of the work was still unclear[33]. Nevertheless, Darragon saw the broader aspects of the work's subject in terms of Manet's originality to "interroger la dimension nationale et religieuse à partir de ce

cortège funèbre"[34] and symbolically interpreted its prescient relationship with "la conduite d'un Parisien parmi d'autres en 1870–71"[35].

Although only made in general terms, Darragon's reference to "les Gobelins" certainly brought into closer focus the area around the Manufacture des Gobelins as the locale or vantage points in the analysis. Whether Darragon had specifically identified the building or had determined that the locale needed to be somewhere in the vicinity of the Gobelins is not known, but to this writer's knowledge it was the first specific reference to that area depicted in the painting.

A slightly different reference to the Manufacture des Gobelins was made by Nancy Locke in her recent examination of *The Burial* . Locke pre-empted some of the research outcomes of this writer, but the areas of consideration, research approach, interpretation of visual data, and proposals for the painting are all very different. The main thesis of her article was that *The Burial* had been painted by Manet as a homage to Baudelaire, and in a wide-ranging discourse that speculated on the possible nature of such a homage, Locke suggested that "The idea of a painting that in some way memorialized Baudelaire would be more meaningful if its referents were both allusive and elusive"[36] In those terms, such a painting would not have been "in the manner of Courbet's *The Painter's Studio*"[37], and would not have depicted the Cimetière de Montparnasse or any of Baudelaire's dwellings[38]. Nor would it have conveyed "such modes as the cult of the dead, the sentimental visit to the grave, the epic funeral"[39], or pictured "recognizable literary figures, family and friends"[40].

Although seeing possible influences on Manet from works such as Goya's *The Meadows of San Isidro*[41] or in the socio-political effects of a controversial plan of Haussmann for a necropolis at Méry-sur-Oise and its possible impact on traditional Parisian funeral practices[42], Locke's most telling points for her proposal for *The Burial* are seen in her analogies with the works of Baudelaire, and in Manet's exploration of Baudelarian subjects. In discussing the locale for the painting in the thirteenth Arrondissement of Paris, Locke felt that "Baudelaire's bitter and exquisite portraits of the poor and the marginalized provided complex precedents for Manet's gypsies,

prostitutes, and *chiffonniers*"[43] and that consequently the "territory of the chiffonniers might be an appropriate spot for a painting in honor of Baudelaire"[44]. For Locke, the

> steeples and chimneys and noisy workshops of Baudelaire's cityscapes [in *Les fleurs du mal* and *Le spleen de Paris*] are not specific. His representations of urban squalor in "Le vin des chiffonniers" or of an industrial pastoral in "Paysage" are achieved through the dissonant incorporation of aspects of modernity into a harmonic poetic project.[45]

But "without making it [the painting] into a tableau identifiable with *Les misèrables* or yesterday's newspaper", Locke believed that "Manet would have wanted enough site-specificity that his painting carried the pungency of Baudelaire's language"[46]. Such are the preconceptions of Locke about the nature of a painted homage to Baudelaire from Manet, but her reading of the painting as "a small, elegant cortege making its way across a meadow"[47] displaying the "juxtaposition of a view well known to Parisians and a quality of deliberate unfinish that can be understood within the framework of mourning: refusing the monumental, refusing the elegiac"[48] hardly seems to make it, in either specific or general terms, a memorial to Manet's late friend.

In addition to Baudelaire's funeral influencing her dating of *The Burial*, Locke also saw the painting to stylistically "combine the loose notation of cityscape visible in the *Universal Exposition* with the handling of space typical of the *Execution* [*The Execution of Maximilian*], which would suggest that the painting is from the same period – late 1867 or early 1868"[49]. But no aspects of the painting's content or revealed information seem to have been taken into account. The considerations of Locke's article of most interest here are those of the painting's locale, and the topography and identification of what is depicted, based on her premise that the painting is a view from a single viewpoint in the area of the Butte-aux-Cailles. An evocative description by Émile de Labédollière in 1860[50] of a view from this area, that took in the skyline monuments of Paris, was seen by Locke as one "that almost perfectly describes Manet's view"[51]. But in addition to noting the buildings seen on the skyline, Labédollière had also referred to the "lignes imposantes de la manufacture des Gobelins" and the "vallée arrosée par la Bièvre"[52].

This reference to the Bièvre river and the Manufacture des Gobelins introduced Locke's consideration of the same area as that noted by Darragon, and which is also examined in the analysis and proposals below. As a geographical identity, where shown on the location plan (Fig.C32), and the site plan (Fig.C36), the area [henceforth referred to as the 'Bièvre domain'] which was a composite of properties with different private ownerships and functions, had no specific name in the 1860s and today includes the areas of the Square René Le Gall[53] and the Mobilier National building[54]. It was located to the south-west, and directly to the rear, of the Manufacture des Gobelins, enclosed on the eastern and western sides by the two arms of the Bièvre river, and included the tanneries area of the Île des Singes to the north (Fig.C18), the Jardin des Gobelins in the centre (Fig.C17-dwg.4)[55], and a rustic, overgrown area with makeshift dwellings to the south (Fig.C21). At that time the street which cut across the two arms of the river at this southern end was named Rue du champ de l'Alouette (now named Rue Corvisart), and was an extension of the street which retains that original name today[56]. The whole area seems to have been surrounded to varying densities by tanneries, which effectively turned the two arms of the river into waste canals. The eastern arm of the Bièvre ran directly beside Rue Croulebarbe and behind the Manufacture des Gobelins (Figs.C17-dwg.1, C19) and the adjacent building of the historic Hôtel de la Reine Blanche (Figs.C17-dwg.1, C18, C19), and was enclosed on its west side adjacent to these buildings and Rue Croulebarbe with a continuous wall. Also behind the Manufacture on the line of this wall was the eighteenth-century hunting lodge of a Comte Jean de Julienne (Figs.C17-dwg.1, C19). All of these elements of buildings and walls are important in the analysis of the imagery in the painting. A continuous wall also existed at the east side of the western arm of the river, but the most obvious element at that side of the Bièvre domain was the line of poplar trees which grew on the west side of the western arm. These trees can also be shown to be important components in the collaging of the pictorial space of *The Burial*, and are discussed in detail in the analysis.

Labédollière's description of the view was compared by Locke to the view depicted in Jean-Baptiste Langlacé's *Paris vu des hauters de Gentilly* (1815, Fig.C4)[57].

With the Butte-aux-Cailles noted at the right of the painting, Locke suggested that although the vantage point was "considerably more to the south and slightly to the west of Manet's, it is possible to see certain similarities in the relationships between the Val-de-Grâce, the Panthéon, St-Étienne-du-Mont, and the Tour de Clovis in the two paintings"[58]. Although the details of those relationships were not considered by Locke, Langlacé's painting presents for this writer points of interest in an examination of *The Burial*, and these are also discussed in the analysis.

The reference to the Manufacture des Gobelins was illustrated by Locke with a wood engraving[59], *Les Gobelins – La bièvre*, which showed a number of aspects that can be identified in the painting and were discussed above, including the low walls at the side of the Bièvre river along Rue Croulebarbe and behind the Manufacture des Gobelins, and a large chimney. This illustration, however, was a typically inaccurate one with not only its perspective being wholly incorrect but with visible elements, including the rear of the Manufacture des Gobelins and the position of the semi-circular wall to its chapel, the form of the Hôtel de la Reine Blanche, and the position of Val-de-Grâce, all moved, deleted, or adjusted, at will. Nevertheless, Locke correctly proposed "the band of yellow drawn across the right center of the picture"[60] to be the walls at the side of the Bièvre.

Other identifications by Locke are, however, problematic. Her suggestion that the single chimney shown in the same illustration had been "that of the tannery... in the old Hôtel de la Reine Blanche"[61] might be thrown into question by later photographs in the immediate area of the Hôtel which only show numerous smaller chimneys (Fig.C18). Nevertheless, a more accurate illustration titled "La Bièvre, rue des Gobelins", seen as the second of four illustrations in Fig.C17, confirms that one large chimney was seen to the left of these buildings from such a vantage point, but suggests it to be further behind the Hôtel. This problem of the one large chimney depicted in the painting has been examined here also in the context of another large chimney existing in the area of Boulevard Arago and Rue de la Glacière, and the proposal includes the possibility that both chimneys were included as overlaid images from different views. A question can

also be raised about Locke's claim that the "long, reddish rooftop in front of the cypress trees"[62] represented the Gobelins tapestry works, with the analysis below showing that the roof is that of the Hôtel de la Reine Blanche and the rear of the Manufacture des Gobelins building set further to the right. And rather than the trees above these roofs being cypresses, it can be shown that the painting included a part view of the poplar trees at the western side of the Bièvre domain collaged into that part of the canvas.

Literary descriptions of the area around the Bièvre and Butte-aux-Cailles and the views from various vantage points seem to have been numerous, and that of Labédollière, with which Locke's proposal was connected, had not been an isolated one. Honoré de Balzac's text in his novel La femme de trente ans[63] of some twenty years earlier, and Alfred Delvau's piece set in a historical context in Histoire anécdotique des barrières de Paris[64] five years later, provided similar responses to the vista. As Locke had noted, Labédollière's text seemed to echo Balzac's writing which, importantly, in its description of a similar view of the same area raises a number of topographical points of interest:

> Entre la barrière d'Italie et celle de la Santé, sur le boulevard intérieur qui mène au Jardin des plantes, il existe une perspective digne de ravir l'artiste ou le voyageur le plus blasé sur les jouissances de la vue. Si vous atteignez une légère éminence à partir de laquelle le boulevard, ombragé par de grands arbres touffus, tourne avec la grâce d'une allée forestière verte et silencieuse, vous voyez devant vous, à vos pieds, une vallée profonde, peuplée de fabriques à demi villageoises, clairsemée de verdure, arrosée par les eaux brunes de la Bièvre ou des Gobelins. Sur le versant opposé, quelques milliers de toits, pressés comme les têtes d'une foule, recèlent les misères du faubourg Saint-Marceau. La magnifique coupole du Panthéon, le dôme terne et mélancolique du Val-de-Grâce dominent orgueilleusement toute une ville en amphithéâtre dont les gradins sont bizarrement dessinés par des rues tortueuses. De là, les proportions des deux monuments semblent gigantesques; elles écrasent et les demeures frêles et les plus haut peupliers du vallon. Á gauche, l'Observatoire, à travers les fenêtres et les galeries duquel le jour passe en produisant d'inexplicables fantaisies, apparaît comme un spectre noir et décharné. Puis, dans le lointain, l'élégante lanterne des Invalides flamboie entre les masses bleuâtres du Luxembourg et les tours grises de Saint-Sulpice.[65]

The locale for Balzac's description of "sur le boulevard intérieur qui mène au Jardin des plantes" can be shown to be at the intersection of the inner Boulevard des Gobelins and Rue du champ de l'Alouette slightly to the west of Labédollière's locale which must have been very close to the intersection of the Boulevard and Rue du Petit Gentilly.

Balzac's description of the view is, however, more panoramic, from the Observatoire at the left to, noted later in the writing, the "canal Saint-Martin" and "les vaporeuses collines de Belleville" at the right[66]. Such a description, even though in one important detail an incorrect one[67], clarifies in principle that in a view from a single viewpoint at such a locale a number of major buildings are seen between the Observatoire and Val-de-Grâce and that a viewed coincidence of the Observatoire and Val-de-Grâce would not have been possible. And the description of "les plus haut peupliers du vallon" is a specific reference to the poplars discussed above, and which are discussed in detail in the analysis below. From a vantage point "au point d'intersection du Boulevard de l'Hôpital et du Boulevard des Gobelins, derrière le grand café qui se trouve élevé juste sur l'ancienne Butte aux Cailles"[68], Delvau's writing from the locale to be later named Place d'Italie not only noted the buildings on the skyline, but also evoked the stepping-down of the roofs beneath the skyline to the level of the Bièvre river, as is also conveyed in Manet's painting with the lighter-toned areas of paint broadly applied, without detail, between the skyline and the tree-tops:

> puis, au-dessous, descendant comme les gradins d'un amphithéâtre vers le fond du vallon où serpente la Bièvre, d'innombrables rangées de toitures pittoresques, de séchoirs de mégissers, de greniers de tanneurs, et, plus bas encore, des étendages de blanchisseuses, qui sont du meilleur effet – à cette distance.[69]

Other writers, including Victor Hugo and J.-K. Huysmans, wrote of the locale around the Bièvre river itself and the vistas seen from this lower vantage point. Locke noted that the area known as *Champ de l'Alouette* had been described by Hugo in *Les misèrables*[70], but she did not quote the specific references made to the view of the skyline, which included important identifications for *The Burial.* Hugo's description, with others, is discussed in the analysis.

One specific identification made by Locke is not only of interest in the analysis of *The Burial* but also adds to the possible importance of aerial balloons and the area around the Butte-aux-Cailles in Manet's imagery. Locke proposed that Manet had depicted the first balloon flight which landed on the butte in 1783 as a print image tacked to the curtain within his print for a proposed album frontispiece of 1862 (Fig.16).[71] In the

context of the considerations of aerial ballooning and photography in this dissertation, such a proposal, with which this writer concurs, becomes part of an intriguing pattern of visual references, both direct and indirect and particularly from 1862, that were made by Manet about aerial ballooning. Whether Manet became familiar with the Bièvre domain and the Butte-aux-Cailles areas when a student at the nearby Collège Rollin[72] is unknown, but it is suggested that the subject of Manet's connection with aerial ballooning and the possible connections between Manet, the Butte-aux-Cailles area and aerial photography in general warrants further research.

In contrast to these aspects of the upper part of *The Burial*, the identification of the funeral group and its locale and the spatial manipulations of the painting have received limited scholarly consideration. In many ways the spatial implications of the funeral are as important in understanding Manet's spatial strategies as they are in any search for the work's meaning. Notwithstanding the more recent consensus that the painting is a memorial or homage to Baudelaire, most scholars have also noted, or have tried to avoid noting, that the specific details of the funeral as depicted cannot be made to match the specific details of Baudelaire's funeral and his burial site at Cimetière du Montparnasse. The points of conjecture with the funeral in the painting include whether an actual funeral was seen and depicted by Manet, even if used anonymously and symbolically in the painting, and, if so, the identities of the deceased and the participants, the locale of the funeral, and whether the funeral cortège is moving from the left to the right or has indeed arrived at the burial site. The identification of the locale would clarify the nature and extent to which the painting had been collaged, and the details of the funeral group could clarify any ambiguous spatial shaping that Manet may have employed. Prior to the Baudelaire connection, Sterling and Salinger had conjectured that "The white pall over the coffin and the white horse... are customary for a child or young girl"[73], but the regulations of the time, as discussed below, seem to contradict this, with a white cloth over the coffin of a child or young girl not a regulatory requirement, and the choice of a white horse an option at extra cost. Locke proposed that "Manet might have intended a subtle effect of theatricalizing the movement and location of the cortege" with the

presence of this man as "an observer who watches the funeral procession"[74], but there is no certainty that the cortege is in fact moving and an official observer at a burial required by the regulations in certain circumstances would more readily explain his presence. In terms of locale, both Darragon and Locke made indirect connections with the area behind the Manufacture des Gobelins. Darragon had stated that the location of the scene "vers les Gobelins, n'est pas determiné de façon précise"[75], had noted that "la valeur spéciale de la composition repose sur l'espace ouvert et verdoyant, au premier plan"[76] and the "terrains vers les Gobelins et la Bièvre étaient encore largement ouverts"[77], but also that "Aucun cimetière n'existait à cet endroit"[78]. Locke's reference to this locale for the burial was even less clear, with the cortege seen to be moving "from the dense elevation of the grove at left to the green of the meadow at right" and entering "an area almost enclosed by the curving yellow band of the Bièvre; the meadow itself becomes an oval, almost like an arena or amphitheater."[79] In an earlier reference to the Bièvre with what was described as a topographical shift in the painting, Locke had noted that the "band of yellow... in all likelihood represents the low retaining walls built along the Bièvre River"[80]. Although such a pictorial shift suggested that Locke had not seen the meadow to be actually related to the wall at the rear of the Gobelins, no alternative site was named. In contrast, the analysis and proposals below present a case, based upon circumstantial evidence, that the depicted funeral is at a specific locale in the Cimetière du Père-Lachaise in the Twentieth arrondissement of Paris.

Scholarly considerations of space as a creative component in the painting have also been limited. Linda Nochlin raised aspects in terms of pictorial structure, contrasting the "willed meaning" underlying that of Poussin's *Phocion* and the "casual non-significance" underlying Manet's *Funeral* [*The Burial*][81]. And the composition of *The Burial* was seen by her in terms of "lightly brushed, discrete entities – formless figures, shapeless clouds, scrubby trees – scattered across the surface of the canvas"[82], and its coherence seen to arise "from the conjunction of immediate perception and swift notation: at no point in the canvas does one element give pictorial or conceptual reinforcement to another"[83]. The painting's space, for Nochlin, was

> neither finite and measured nor infinite and boundless: it is a contingent space, both extensive and flat at the same time, a result of certain structural conjunctions on the picture surface. It is above all a shallow space, if not a flat one: one cannot progress through it or measure it off, or see it as an ample, coherent stage for the presentation of significant action and meaning, as one could in Poussin's painting.[84]

At the descriptive level, these notions of the painting being the "result of certain structural conjunctions on the picture surface" have resonances with the general proposals of this dissertation and the specific proposals made below. Nochlin certainly had seen Manet's successful destruction of traditional order to imply "a consistent if not a totally conscious viewpoint on the part of the artist"[85], but the viewpoint was seen, at one level, as a greater interest "in the appearance of the landscape panorama as a whole than in the funeral"[86] and, at another and more obscure level, "as an expression of a more universal contemporary attitude towards death and the relation of man and nature"[87]. The form of any structural conjunctions on the surface of the painting, however, was assessed neither in the context of Manet's picture-making practice nor in terms of its implication for spatial disjunctions or ambiguity.

The only other response to the painting's space that has not been couched in generalities has been the inference by Locke of a pictorial fracturing with specific topography seen to be set within a framework of pictorial shifts. She observed that "Even if Manet characteristically pulls background elements forward and makes the perspective more abrupt than did... Langlacé, the topography represented in *The Burial* nevertheless remains... specific"[88]. The grove of trees in the left foreground was seen by Locke to register as an elevation, rendered by Manet with a lightening of the grove's right edge "in order to set it off from the meadow at right as well as from the dark foliage that encloses the procession"[89]. And a topographical shift was also seen at the "band of yellow drawn across the right center of the picture, beyond the foreground meadow"[90]. But the implications of these perceived shifts in terms of a possible different viewpoint or the overall form of the painting as a composite were not developed.

Analysis

The procedures and techniques employed in this analysis and the computer modelling of the topography, buildings, monuments and landmarks, are as described for *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* in 5(B) above and in Appendix 4, with the modelling used to confirm or make new identifications of the painting's buildings and landmarks and, in particular, to assess their depicted relationships in terms of viewpoints, and views or composite views. Two aerial overviews of the site for the upper part of *The Burial* provide a sense of the topography and these relationships. The painting of Victor Navlet, *Le XIIIe vu d'une Montgolfière* (1855, detail, Fig.C4), is a painting replete with contradictions in the context of this analysis. With a view as if seen from an aerial balloon, and including a balloon in its complete image, its detail is such that it can only have been a perspective construction even if Navlet had actually experienced the view from a balloon. But although the depicted view presents a picturesque sense that is worth noting, those same details are, nevertheless, very standardised and at times very inaccurate[91], limiting the value of the painting for any reliable historical detail. With a similar direction of view to the Navlet, a computer-generated perspective (Fig.C34) shows, when read in conjunction with the location plan (Fig.C32), the positions of the various landmarks and buildings of interest, with: La Glacière, the Butte-aux-Cailles, the Bièvre domain, Manufacture des Gobelins, and Hôtel de la Reine Blanche seen in the foreground; Saint-Pierre du Petit-Montrouge, the Observatoire, Val-de-Grâce, the elm tree Orme de Sully, Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, the Panthéon, Saint-Étienne-du-Mont and Tour de Clovis in the middle-distance; and Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Église de la Sorbonne, Sainte-Chapelle, the Tour Saint-Jacques, Saint-Séverin, and Notre-Dame, among others, in the distance; and Saint-Pierre-du-Montmartre on the very distant Butte Montmartre. The Cimetière du Père-Lachaise, as the proposed site for the lower part of *The Burial*, is seen in the location plan, Fig.C63.

Unfortunately the only examination by this writer of the X-radiograph made of the painting has been by means of a photographic print (Fig.C2)[92], without the benefit of

technical information from conservators. Any interpretations presented here are thus limited in their accuracy by these circumstances, but it is believed that a number of aspects which can be raised are revealing. On the skyline Manet seems to have experimented, as part of a collage in flux, with the positions of the domes, spires and towers, and with some parts of the covered or scraped forms still evident. Even the skyline itself seems to have been first painted at a higher position with ghosted forms of the Val-de-Grâce dome, and the dome and lower roof of the Panthéon visible. Some specific aspects of the overpainting can be identified. At the left edge of the painting a vertical, rectilinear shape has obviously been overpainted with the tree on the skyline and the analysis has suggested that shape to be the tower of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas as seen in one particular view. And the lower roof and triangulated profile of the facade of Val-de-Grâce have been overpainted with the form of the problematic 'dome' adjacent to it. The proposal is made below that the image of this dome had first been a famous elm tree seen above the roof and that the complete image including the roof was then changed to be the single form of the Observatoire dome as seen from a different viewpoint. The X-radiograph also suggests in the central grouping of buildings around what has been identified as the Hôtel de la Reine Blanche, that not only does a lower viewpoint seem to have been used at an earlier stage but what has been determined to be the row of dark poplars above these roofs gives a strong indication that some of the trees had in fact originally been painted as some of the many smaller chimney stacks in that area. And in the lower left of the canvas, some dense areas of pigment present a much more specific depiction of what could be read as tombs than is visible in the surface of the painting.

It became quickly evident in the analysis that no one viewpoint could provide a view that would incorporate the lateral relationships for the grouping of the skyline buildings seen in the painting. And although the Butte-aux-Cailles area had the potential for an elevated vantage point to provide a sweeping view in the general direction required, it could not provide the vertical relationships required. Earlier paintings, such as those used by Loyrette and Locke for comparison with *The Burial*, not only provided

topographical information but also highlighted the problems involved in a single-viewpoint concept. Langlacé's painting from Gentilly, for instance, shows the line of the barrières de la Santé, de la Glacière and d'Italie, marked by the row of trees in the middle distance. In front of, and therefore to the south of, those trees is seen the two arms of the Bièvre river and at the left in the foreground, the *étangs* which when frozen in winter were used for ice skating and after which the area known as La Glacière, shown by the buildings in front of the trees at the left, was named. In the far distance, between Val-de-Grâce and the Panthéon can be seen the Butte Montmartre. Although Langlacé's painting is not an altogether accurate view, the lateral relationships of the skyline buildings demonstrate that the scene depicted in *The Burial* could not be possible from any one vantage point as used by Langlacé. In addition, the position and relative height of the squared twin towers of Notre-Dame at the right-hand end of the roof to Saint-Étienne-du-Mont also indicate that the height of any viewpoint that could maintain a similar elevation of the towers in relation to the Tour de Clovis and Saint-Étienne-du-Mont would need to be at an elevation similar to, or higher than, the heights of Gentilly. Another painting which also depicts topography of interest, but more as a vignette of that part of the city, as a *veduta* set in pastoral surrounds, is Sigismond Himely's *Vue prise de la Glacière* (Fig.C4)[93]. Its view, however, not only shows at the right the Butte-aux-Cailles, but also correctly shows at the left the Observatoire in its position to the south-west of Val-de-Grâce. Even though the vantage point of the Himely is, as is that of the Langlacé, not directly relevant for the views of *The Burial*, it makes clear that from the general direction of Gentilly and the Butte-aux-Cailles, no view could place the domes of the Observatoire and Val-de-Grâce adjacent to each other. Although not photographically accurate, these paintings nevertheless provided qualified information for analysis and what they demonstrate about the impossibility of a single viewpoint was confirmed by the computer modelling.

For the upper part of the painting, the series of different views have been determined to be from eleven viewpoints, set at heights above the varying ground levels from twenty-two to one hundred and thirty-two metres. They are stretched in a

relatively straight line in plan, with one above the area to the south of Saint-Pierre du Petit-Montrouge and the remaining ten set at relatively regular intervals in a continuous curve down from above the area known in Manet's time as La Glacière and along the line of Boulevard d'Italie towards the Place at the intersection of Boulevard d'Italie and Rue Mouffetard. The viewpoints, as if points on a flight path of an aerial balloon, had not been predetermined or arrived at fortuitously but, rather, are the result of an examination of all possible circumstances. To establish inter-related points in space which provide a series of views relevant to relationships of elements in *The Burial* cannot simply be coincidental[94]. Even so, although such a pattern is almost unarguable, it is also almost inexplicable.

The positions of such points, however, are not absolute without some flexibility. Viewpoints for those views that only involve the relationship between two elements in space which are at similar heights and close together are able to be moved along a line of limited distance and still produce the proposed view. And those that involve three or more elements in space to be co-ordinated have very little range of movement before the precise relationships are no longer held. Venues other than aerial balloons for the determined viewpoints of the proposal are nevertheless limited. Because of the inclined centre of vision used, the viewpoint from which the Observatoire is seen adjacent to Val-de-Grâce can be moved closer to the subject, to a position which is aligned with and at a similar height to the top of the tower of Saint-Pierre du Petit-Montrouge, without the required view being lost. But if the viewpoint were moved laterally to the church's tower then the very specific detail of the view is not maintained. Generally, however, no other structures, such as chimney stacks, of the required height were available as vantage points in the proximity of the eleven positions, and even if some of the viewpoints with only two elements were projected backwards to any high buildings on the top of Butte-aux-Cailles, for example, others would not be able to be moved, and the details of the images would be no longer relevant. If the proposed viewpoints are valid, then it could only mean that Manet either used photographs taken from an aerial balloon or had indeed sketched the views himself from a balloon.

Although any consideration of a dating for the painting of c.1867–70 would make, as discussed in 5(B) above and in Appendix 3, the aerial photographs only possible after Nadar's photographs of July, 1868, there are a number of aspects that make any sketches from a balloon less likely. The regular intervals between ten of the viewpoints would not only have provided the time to make each of a sequence of eight exposures on one plate in a *carte-de-visite* camera, but the identification of the viewpoints as a series of points in space set at regular intervals suggests, in itself, a repetitive activity such as making exposures in sequence. As is also shown in the proposals, the directions of view for the sequence of viewpoints are generally towards the north and more particularly to the combined motif of Val-de-Grâce and the Panthéon, and such a pattern confirms the restricted views of a camera fixed in one position to the basket of a balloon, rather than the more flexible possibility of someone making quick sketches in any direction desired. And even though contemporary reports of flights noted that the baskets beneath the balloons would, at times, oscillate[95], such a rotation can be accommodated within the formats of the views from each viewpoint.

The question of the dating of the painting is also raised in one of the views. The gap which can be seen in the painting between the right-hand side of the Tour de Clovis and the reduced profile of the roof to Saint-Étienne-du-Mont can be replicated in a view from a particular viewpoint in the proposed flight path (Figs.C49 and C51). Such a correlation cannot have been by coincidence and confirms that both Manet's depiction and the computer modelling of the church and tower were reasonably accurate. For such a small, yet precise, detail to have been noted in sketch form from an aerial balloon would simply have been impossible, whereas it could have been recorded in an aerial photograph. An enlarged detail (Fig.C10) of a contemporary photograph (Fig.106) taken from Saint-Gervais illustrates, in reverse, the detailed forms of the roof. Although the precise date is unknown, the construction work on the roof and facade of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont had been completed in 1868, and the question that can then of course be asked is, how could a photograph be taken after July 1868 of a stepped roof form which no longer existed? Or, conversely, how could a photograph be taken from an aerial

balloon of the stepped roof form when the means to take such a photograph supposedly did not exist? As discussed in Appendix 3, the possibility exists that photographs could have actually been taken but were experimental in nature and not permanently 'fixed'. Until further research either establishes the exact completion date of the construction work on the roof of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont or finds that Nadar in fact made other photographs in that hiatus before 1868, no answer can be provided.

Specific identifications of unfamiliar elements of the painting were crucial in terms of a full realisation of the painting's imagery and an understanding of its composite construction. The view which incorporates the lighter- and warmer-toned forms of the Hôtel de la Reine Blanche and the lighter green area behind the Manufacture des Gobelins in the middle distance is, in many ways, the focus which supports the possibility that the composite image is seen as a unified space. And the funeral in the foreground is, tentatively at least, an extension of that space somewhere in, or in the vicinity of, the Bièvre domain. Whereas the description by Labédollière was of a view overlooking this area, a different but as evocative a description made from within the setting, after approaching it from the opposite direction, appeared in Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* of 1862. When describing the area known as "le champ de l'Alouette", the narrator related that

> Quand on a monté la rue Saint-Jacques, laissé de côté la barrière et suivi quelque temps à gauche l'ancien boulevard intérieur, on atteint la rue de la Santé, puis la Glacière, et, un peu avant d'arriver à la petite rivière des Gobelins, on rencontre une espèce de champ, qui est, dans la longue et monotone ceinture des boulevards de Paris, le seul endroit où Ruisdael serait tenté de s'asseoir.
>
> Ce je ne sais quoi d'où la grâce se dégage est là, un pré vert traversé de cordes tendues où des loques sèchent au vent, une vieille ferme à maraîchers bâtie du temps de Louis XIII avec son grand toit bizarrement percé de mansardes, des palissades délabrées, un peu d'eau entre des peupliers, des femmes, des rires, des voix; à l'horizon le Panthéon, l'arbre des Sourds-Muets, le Val-de-Grâce, noir, trapu, fantasque, amusant, magnifique, et au fond le sévère faîte carré des tours de Notre-Dame.[96]

Although similar to that of Labédollière's, such a description of the area and the view of the skyline makes two references of particular interest here, to the "peupliers" and "l'arbre des Sourds-Muets".

As mentioned above, a distinctive and historic feature of the Bièvre domain had been the line of poplars which had grown beside the western arm of the Bièvre. But as a result of their cyclical removal every fifty years or so for safety reasons, their irregular appearance in illustrations and photographs had been puzzling[97]. Even after the river was covered early in the twentieth century, the poplars have remained to mark its course, as can be seen from an aerial photograph of the area in 1996 (Fig.C22). Evidence from illustrations and photographs indicate that the poplars certainly existed during the 1860s, 1870s, and well into the 1880s, with their removal approximately around 1890. The reference to the poplars by Honoré de Balzac cannot be dated with certainty[98], but with all the references taken into account it suggests that in c.1840 they were tall, mature trees, and thus making their removal cycle to be c. 1845–50, c.1885–90, c.1945-50, and c.1996. It is proposed that these trees have been painted in three separate positions in *The Burial*, but with only their tops depicted in each view: first, at the centre-left of the canvas below the large tree on the skyline; second, to the left of the Hôtel de la Reine Blanche and the Manufacture des Gobelins in the centre of the canvas; and third, as the row of trees set beneath the Panthéon and above the roofs of the Hôtel de la Reine Blanche and the Manufacture des Gobelins, at the centre-right. In the latter context at least one of these poplars seems to have covered an earlier chimney stack painted behind and above the roof of Hôtel de la Reine Blanche. All previous scholarly references to these trees have seen them as cypresses[99], but the trees adjacent to the western arm of the Bièvre river had always been poplars, and the silhouettes of poplar trees which had existed in Manet's time in an area adjacent to the Bièvre river but on the southern side of the Boulevard des Gobelins, as seen in the photograph Fig.C20, directly convey the same character as those depicted in the painting.

Outcomes from the process of examination and analysis to solve the dome-like form adjacent to the drum and dome of Val-de-Grâce have complicated the issue rather than clarified it, with many aspects considered and a resultant proposal that involves two possibilities as part of Manet's deliberations. As discussed above, it has been

considered by most scholars that the rounded form was that of the large dome of the Observatoire, but without a rational explanation of a specific view it has been thought that Manet purposefully transposed the dome to its depicted position adjacent to that of Val-de-Grâce. In the development of composite images, and as has been shown with that of *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, such new relationships are part of the end result of such a cut-and-paste process, but rather than being the result of an arbitrary conjunction, the tension between the two forms that would have been observed in an existing image is considered by this writer to have been the reason for its inclusion. This relationship of counterpoint between these two domes is visible from two directions. From the north-east it could have been photographed by a professional photographer from the roof level of the church of Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis and seen at the left of one of the many standard views from elevated positions of the Panthéon and its surrounding landmarks. But in such a view the size of the Observatoire dome is too small in relation to that of Val-de-Grâce. In contrast, a view from the south-west, with the Observatoire closer to the viewpoint, provides the required size relationship, and from an elevated viewpoint the required vertical relationship is able to be replicated with the computer modelling.

Another suitable 'dome', albeit a semi-circular silhouette found on the distant horizons in a number of photographs dating from as early as 1845 (Figs.C11, C13, C14, C15, and C16) was established to be a large elm tree, known as the Orme de Sully, at the southern end of the courtyard to the then Institut des Sourds-muets in Rue Saint-Jacques (Fig.C12)[100]. Apparently famous for its size and prominence on the Parisian skyline, the elm had been noted in an article of 1903 which reported the fact that the tree was dying:

> Le fameux "orme de Sully", qui faisait l'admiration des visiteurs de l'Institut des sourds-muets, rue Saint-Jacques, vient de mourir. Et comme la direction de l'école craint de le voir s'abbatre quelqu'un de ces jours, elle va en faire couper toute la partie supérieure.
>
> Jusqu'à ces dernières années, ce géant des arbres parisiens avait encore des feuilles tardives. Cette année, les vieux gardiens de l'école ont attendu vainement. Les feuilles ne sont pas venues. D'ailleurs, si comme le veut la tradition, il a été planté sur les ordres de Sully, vers l'an 1600, il n'en a pas moins commencé son quatrième siècle, ce qui est d'une longévité assez remarquable.

> L'orme de Sully avait une hauteur d'environ 50 mètres. Sa circonférence, mesurée à la base, accuse six mètres.[101]

The very dome-like shape of the elm as particularly seen in the Marville calotype, its size as seen in the winter-time photograph taken from the Panthéon (Figs.C6, and C8), its correct relative position to the dome of Val-de-Grâce as seen in the reversed image of the Martens daguerrotype, and its close physical proximity to Val-de-Grâce present an intriguing and convincing argument that the Orme de Sully could be the 'dome' in the painting. On the one hand such a proposition can be confirmed with a computer-generated view from one of the developed viewpoints, but on the other it is confronted by two potential problems – the purity of its shape and the possibility that the elm had been painted a second time, as part of a separate view on the skyline, with its image cut at the painting's left edge. In spite of a slight serration at the painted edge of the 'dome', probably the result of the brush dragged across underpainting rather than intentional figuring, its form is regular and untextured. But for a painting which was obviously in flux, its painted shape could simply be seen as a blocking-in of its form. Such a regular shape also seemingly contrasts with the form of the more recognisable tree at the edge of the painting. The analysis has shown that in one particular view the position of the Orme de Sully is in such a lateral position relative to the surrounding buildings, but somewhat lower, and the possibility that the tree at the painting's edge represents the elm is an uncertain one.

Nevertheless the evidence of the information from the views is seen to present a chronology for the image of the 'dome' in which Manet first painted the Val-de-Grâce, with the profile of its angled facade and roof to the left of the church's dome as seen in the X-radiograph, and the Orme de Sully correctly positioned above and behind the lower roof and facade of the church. With the dome of the Observatoire seen to make a very similar but more ambiguous relationship with Val-de-Grâce, it can be seen that the elm and the roof and facade of the church were then overpainted with the dome of the Observatoire. The evidence in the X-radiograph that the roof and facade of Val-de-Grâce had been initially painted suggests that any depicted dome-like form in the first composition had only been visible behind the roof and that the overpainting suggests

that the second form had been visible in front of the roof – a sequence as proposed for Manet's use of the Orme de Sully and the Observatoire dome. Whereas a depiction of the elm would have identified a viewpoint, that of a non-specific dome kept that particular aspect of the painting an ambiguous one.

Another element which was clearly characteristic of the area around the Bièvre domain was the industrial chimney stack, and as can be seen in a photograph taken from the Panthéon in 1878 (Fig.C6), and in a detail of the same photograph (Fig.C8), countless stacks existed[102]. One very tall stack is depicted in *The Burial* to the left of the central building group of the Hôtel de la Reine Blanche and, as noted above, Nancy Locke had proposed it to be the stack for a tannery in the Hôtel. Most of the stacks in that immediate area seemed shorter and the painted stack is set further to the north. To address this issue of the stack an analysis was carried out to assess the implications of positions and heights of stacks if seen from the series of viewpoints which had been developed for the skyline buildings. Notwithstanding the fact that the date of the photograph from the Panthéon was a decade after the period of 1867 to 1870 on which the research and analysis had concentrated, an examination showed that one stack seemed to be more evident in the area to the north of the Manufacture des Gobelins, but also that the tallest stack in the area existed just to the south-west of the intersection between Boulevard Arago and Rue de la Glacière. The computer modelling not only established that a chimney stack (C6) at that position became an accurate component in the view from viewpoint SP3 in which the Val-de-Grâce and the domed crown of the Orme de Sully were adjacent, but that in the view from viewpoint SP7 which showed the Hôtel de la Reine Blanche and the Manufacture des Gobelins, a chimney stack (C7) in approximately the correct area also became an obvious component in that view, with the image of both stacks superimposed and set in the same position in the painting. Although any stacks could have been painted by Manet during the 1870s, and the proposal includes them as indicative of a spatial possibility, such a proposal needs to be tempered by the fact that the research has not yet established if those specific stacks actually existed in, say, 1867.

In overview, the identifications, and possible identifications, in the upper part resulting from the analysis have included, from the left on the skyline: the initial painting of the tower of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas beneath the tree painted on the horizon; the tower of Saint-Germain-des-Prés; the tower of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas; a depiction of the dome of the Observatoire transformed from that of the Orme de Sully as the hemispherical dome-like object seen adjacent to the drum and dome of Val-de-Grâce; a spire representing both that of Sainte-Chapelle and Notre-Dame in different views; Saint-Pierre-du-Montmartre on the Butte Montmartre, and beside it, a second depiction of the spire of Sainte-Chapelle seen above the roof of the Panthéon; the dome, drum and lower roofs of the Panthéon; the peak of Saint-Séverin's tower; the tower and the lower roof over the nave of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont[103]; the Tour de Clovis; the higher roof over the apse of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont; and at the right-hand edge of the canvas, the towers of Notre-Dame. In the lower section of the upper part of the painting, from the left, the identifications have included: the poplar trees to the eastern side of the west arm of the Bièvre river in the Bièvre domain; the speculative identification that two chimney stacks, one near the intersection of Boulevard Arago and Rue de la Glacière and the other to the north of the Hôtel de la Reine Blanche, are represented by the same chimney stack seen in the painting; the tower and roof of Saint-Médard; the wall set at the western side of the eastern arm of the Bièvre river in the area behind the Hôtel de la Reine Blanche and the Manufacture des Gobelins; the buildings making up the Hôtel de la Reine Blanche; the rear wall of the Manufacture des Gobelins; and, a suggestion of, rather than the depiction of, the hunting lodge of Comte Jean de Julienne.

The analysis of the funeral scene in the lower part of the painting has been influenced by pictorial, topographical, and horticultural considerations, details of funeral practices in Paris in the mid-nineteenth century, as well as the possible explanations of the scene's content. Even though the proposal made here is based solely on circumstantial evidence, the characteristics of the locale and the nature of the funeral are such that, if valid, any evidence can only ever be circumstantial, with a continued search for specific information about the funeral's identity or Manet's connection with it, for

instance, an impossible quest. It is believed, however, that there are sufficient indicators in the totality of the evidence here for the proposal not to be seen as speculative. Interestingly, no item of researched material has yet contradicted the proposal as an explanation for the depicted funeral.

Part of the explanation is grounded in the debates that were prominent in France in the nineteenth century on funeral policy between the law, organised religions, the civil institutions, and the community. And part of the debate involved the right for an individual to have a separate grave rather than be buried in the *fosse commune*, or common grave, and the problems of religious, and other, segregation within cemeteries[104]. The right to have separate graves was given expression with the ability of many, as individuals or families, to obtain *concessions à perpétuité*, as private areas purchased within cemeteries [105]. But as the result of uncertain legislation, the attitude of clerics, and the policies about the circumstance or classification of the deceased, many were denied the right to be buried in anything but unconsecrated ground, including, among others, unbaptised or stillborn children, alcoholics, and those who had not practised their religion, who had been prohibited from receiving a Catholic burial, or who had died by suicide. To ensure that such funerals had been properly carried out and not been moved to a consecrated part of a cemetery, agents of the civil authorities were responsible to take, deliver and bury the corpses.[106] By the very nature of their worldly circumstances, many of those deceased would have been buried in the *fosse commune*.

The regulations in mid-nineteenth century Paris[107] also established minimum funeral requirements for deceased children under the age of seven[108] and for others above that age[109], and the minimum requirements for a *service ordinaire* and six other classes with varying number of vehicles, number and type of personnel, and level of decoration. Many aspects were optional at extra cost and some decisions were to be made only by the family concerned. The cloth over the coffin, for instance, was not a regulatory requirement, even for the funeral of a child or young girl, and the decision for the cloth to be either black or white was one left to the family. For the hearse to be

drawn by white horses was also an option at extra cost. Often, a wider range of classes with more variations than the minimum stipulated by the regulations, was also provided by commercial undertakers, as seen in the illustration, Fig.C23. These regulations and modes of practice provide information for identifications in *The Burial.* With the presence of the coachman wearing his *chapeau à cornes* (as illustrated in Fig.C24, for example), the undertaker wearing a *frac noir* at the rear of the hearse, no evidence of a costumed master of ceremonies or a robed cleric, and the undraped hearse with tassels possibly at its corners, the modest funeral depicted in the painting is consistent with a *service ordinaire* or *neuvième classe* funeral as depicted in Fig.C23. And the isolated figure at the side of the hearse in the painting, detached from the intimate gathering of the family, but seemingly not directly involved in any of the activities of the undertaker, is seen as the authorised agent observing the proceedings. Apart from the imperial guardsman at the left of the group, the identities of the others in the mourning group have remained obscure, with some seen possibly as veiled women, or nuns in habits.

Details of the proposed setting have also influenced this assessment of the nature of the funeral. The locale for the funeral in the painting shows an open area, without tombs or headstones, in which the cortege is adjacent to an angled row of trees, and gives evidence of a viewpoint from which the complete cortege is viewed from above and behind the hearse. On the left is a group of trees which are either positioned closer to the viewpoint or are larger trees, and with a suggestion of tombstones seen between the trunks. The Cimetière du Père-Lachaise in the Twentieth arrondissement of Paris has an area which existed in c.1867 and which would have met all the topographical details of the funeral scene as well as the funeral circumstances depicted. The perimeter configuration of the 68th Division in the cemetery existed then (Fig.C26)[110] as it does today, but whereas it is now covered with tombs (Figs.C27, and C30), its use then was very different. In 1867 it was a relatively open area, still used as a *fosse commune*, and with only a small number of *concessions à perpétuité.* It had earlier been part of a much larger northern section of the cemetery which had been used for that purpose, as

seen in an 1855 map (Fig.C25), and which had gradually reduced in area until it was finally closed on 1 January, 1874[111].

The 68th Division and the adjoining 56th Division are seen as the setting for the funeral scene in the painting, with Manet's viewpoint at the upper level of the 56th Division on the Allée de la Chapelle (now, Avenue de la Chapelle), near the stairs on Chemin Pozzo di Borgo (now, Avenue des Ailantes), and with the cortege in the south-west corner of the 68th Division , as shown in the site plan (Figs.C63 and C64). Both divisions sloped down from the Allée de la Chapelle to Chemin Neigre (now, Avenue des Peupliers), with the known positions of rows of trees to both sides of the latter providing the requisite trees seen behind the cortege in the painting, and the path between the two Divisions, the Chemin Pozzo di Borgo, with the known positions of short rows of trees on both sides at its lower end providing the closer trees in the painting's left foreground[112]. Within the 68th Division three isolated trees, with their positions known, are seen to provide the different kinds of foliage seen at the right edge of the canvas, with the uppermost set across the Manufacture des Gobelins building proposed as the foliage of a branch to the tree nearest the viewpoint. More specific identifications of the trees depicted in the painting are, however, not possible. Although it is known that the layout of these Divisions did not exist in 1855 and that the tree positions around the Divisions as shown were as recorded in c.1873, no record of planting has been found. Additionally, no trees which were growing in c.1867 exist in the cemetery today[113].

The view as available from the proposed viewpoint today is as shown in the photograph, Fig.C28, with little more to see than tree foliage, but the painting format overlay provides some idea of the direction of view towards the partly-seen space behind the trees. A photograph taken with a similar direction of sight to that of the proposed viewpoint but from a position much closer to the site of the funeral (Fig.C29) clarifies some aspects of the view, but is still unable to show the proposed site. The actual site is seen in photographs, Figs.C30 and C31, taken recently from Avenue des Peupliers. In Fig.C30, the holly tree seen at the right is in exactly the same position as

the tree which was closest to the hearse in 1867, and in Fig.C31, which is a view across the proposed site back towards Manet's viewpoint, the same holly tree is seen at the left.

Records show that in 1867 only two *concessions à perpétuité* existed in the 68th Division, one taken out in the name of *Famille Collet* in 1864 and the other in the name of *Famille Ailliot* in 1867[114], but a tomb with the name of *Famille Meunier*, facing the then Chemin Pozzo di Borgo, has an engraved date of 1832. Of these three, the Meunier and Ailliot tombs exist in the area and view in question. It is proposed that the Meunier tomb existed in its present form in 1867 and is the object seen between the trees trunks at the left of the painting, and with more clarity and direct relationship to the actual tomb in the X-radiograph (Fig.C2). The Ailliot *concession*, purchased on 17 December, 1867, and positioned directly beyond the mourning group seen in the painting is the site of the depicted burial. The tomb which exists today at the *concession* can be seen in the photographs, Figs.C30 and C31[115], and as the earliest engraved name on the tomb is dated 1885, it is probable that it had not been erected in 1867, and that the site was initially used only as a grave site. Nonetheless, if it had been constructed immediately after the purchase of the *concession* in time for this first burial, the top of the tomb, if depicted in the painting, would have been at the level of the heads of the group of mourners. With no other *concessions* existing at that time in the field of view, the coincidence between their positions as would have been seen from the proposed viewpoint and in the painting provides a point of confirmation for the proposal[116].

Such a hypothesis also provides an explanation for the positional details of the cortege. The direction in which the hearse is facing, indicating an arrival from the left, is consistent with the direction from which the cortege would have approached the site from the main entrance to the cemetery in Boulevard de Ménilmontant. The funeral cortege has just arrived at its destination on the only strip of near-level ground in the Division, the hearse has gone past the grave site to be moved backwards to the grave for direct access for the coffin taken from the rear of the hearse[117], and the group of mourners is waiting, not moving in procession, for the coffin to be lifted from the hearse.

Although the image of the funeral may have been borrowed from an illustration, a detached and unobtrusive observation of the funeral would have been possible at the elevated vantage point on the Allée de la Chapelle. A winter date related to the December purchase of the Ailliot *concession* contradicts the foliaged scene of the painting which suggests a summer period of June to August, but this could be simply explained with Manet making initial sketches of the burial in December of 1867 and revisiting the site at later times during the development of the painting's composite image, in the summer of 1868, or even into the 1870s. No attempt has been made with this proposal to speculate on why Manet might have been present at the cemetery, and no specific connection has been established between Manet and the names of the deceased in tombs in the 68th Division or in the 56th Division in the vicinity of his proposed vantage point. The existence of a tomb with joint family names of Girod and Fournier near the proposed viewpoint in Allée de la Chapelle is an intriguing circumstance, but Fournier, as the maiden name of Manet's mother[118], was a relatively common French name and the limited research to date has provided no connection of that family with Manet.

The question that arises with the depiction of such a funeral at this locale is to do with the current belief that the painting is in some way a symbolic depiction of Baudelaire's funeral or a homage. A date of December 1867 certainly falls within a likely period that Manet may have contemplated a homage to his friend, but if this proposal for the site at Cimetière du Père-Lachaise is a valid one, it seems that the complete painting is, at most, a very private memorial. With the composite nature of the work and the use of images from two completely unconnected sites, it is more likely to have been one of Manet's works-in-progress, with elements added and deleted in the process of his experimentations over an extended period of time. The funeral of a person unknown to Manet, and indeed to posterity, was simply recorded and set into the foreground of the unrelated composite landscape of the upper part of the painting in a way pictorially not unlike that for the group of sightseers in *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle.* Such a mundane explanation offers information about the painting's subject matter, clarifies the

nature of the depicted scene, and provides insights into Manet's process – but certainly does not detract from the poignancy of the image.

The composite image of *The Burial*, made up of the multiple views of the two separate locales depicted in the upper and lower parts of the canvas, was created by Manet either as a collage of the visible elements in a compositional manipulation at the painting's surface or, alternatively, as a collage of different views as a manipulation of the illusionistic space at the surface. The difference between the two possibilities is an important one, and the analysis has showed that selected parts of a series of different views had been interlocked and overlaid, in exactly the same way as in *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, to form an image as if of an unsettling, but unified, single view. Although the lack of evidence in the form of photographic images and the apparent anomalies in dating mean that the proposal for such a composite image remains circumstantial, the evidence presented here in the details of the proposal demonstrates that it was developed from thorough analysis of researched information rather than expedient speculation.

Proposal

This proposal sees *The Burial* as a complex composite of relatively accurate perspective views which were interlocked and overlaid as a collage, with no consistent scale, to create an apparently cohesive single image replete with spatial ambiguity. Such a cohesion of fragments and disjunctions is so similar to that for *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, another painting of that period which was incomplete and not exhibited in Manet's lifetime, that it becomes clear, as discussed in 5(B) above, that both works were experiments in re-defining the relationship between spatial illusion and a painting's surface. But, also as discussed elsewhere with other works, the resultant spatial disjunctions were not the result of arbitrary scatterings of elements, but rather, were the considered manipulation by Manet of views as directly or indirectly seen.

For the painting's upper part, the views which provide the relevant composite parts are made from eleven elevated viewpoints as part of a flight path, presumably of

an aerial balloon, and in the directions shown as seen in Fig.C36[119]. Because many of the views were found to have been generally directed towards the joint motif of the domes of Val-de-Grâce and the Panthéon, and because of the different scales used by Manet, the size of the buildings, domes, and towers as painted cannot match the various sizes evident in all the relevant views. In such circumstances the lateral position of a dome's axis, for example, has been used. The thirteen parts of views as seen from the eleven viewpoints in the flight path and compared with the overlay line drawing made from the painting (Fig.C38), are as follows:

i) From viewpoint SP1, at a height of 68 metres above ground, the view as seen in Fig.C39 shows the main dome of the Observatoire set pictorially adjacent to the dome and drum of Val-de-Grâce. This viewpoint is set in the line of the other ten viewpoints but is 1.3kms further to the west. As described in the analysis it is proposed that this view was used for the image as seen in the painting after the Orme de Sully had been initially painted in that position, set above and behind the lower roof and facade of Val-de-Grâce as seen from SP4. The image of the two domes as depicted in the painting is confirmed as part-image 1 with the overlay line drawing in Fig.C40.

ii) From viewpoint SP2 at a height of 131 metres above ground, the view as seen in Fig.C41 shows the most prominent forms on the painting's skyline, the domes of Val-de-Grâce on the left and the Panthéon on the right, in their lateral and vertical relationships, as depicted in the painting and confirmed as part-image 2 with the overlay line drawing in Fig.C42. At such an altitude, the view does not show those two landmarks as silhouettes against the sky, but provides a direct demonstration that the vertical relationship between the two domes as painted was not possible from any vantage point connected to the ground.

iii) From viewpoint SP3 at a height of 70 metres above ground, the view as seen in Fig.C43 shows the specific lateral relationship between Val-de-Grâce, Sainte-Chapelle, and the Panthéon, and the vertical relationship between Val-de-Grâce

and Sainte-Chapelle, as depicted in the painting and confirmed as part-image 3 with the overlay line drawing in Fig.C44. As can be seen with many of these part views, Manet used the domes of the Panthéon and Val-de-Grâce as axes around which the selected views were connected.

iv) From viewpoint SP4 at a height of 34 metres above ground, the view as seen in Fig.C45 shows the Orme de Sully (the elm tree), as the first depiction of the problematic dome set adjacent to the dome of Val-de-Grâce, and with the chimney stack speculated to be near the intersection of Boulevard Arago and Rue de la Glacière, all as depicted in the painting and confirmed as part-image 4 with the line overlay drawing in Fig.C46. As noted in the analysis, the X-radiograph suggests that the dome-like shape of the tree has been painted as seen in the view behind the lower roof and the triangulated pediment of the facade to Val-de-Grâce.

v) From viewpoint SP5 at a height of 25 metres above ground, the view as seen in Fig.C47 and the enlarged detail shows the distant profile of Butte Montmartre with the tower of Saint-Pierre-du-Montmartre together with a second depiction of the spire of Sainte-Chapelle seen above the roof of the Panthéon, all as depicted in the painting and confirmed as part-image 5 with the overlay line drawing in Fig.C48. A photograph (Fig.C9), taken from an elevated position on Notre-Dame, illustrates the profile of the Butte and the position and relative size of Saint-Pierre-du-Montmartre. Although the full profile of the Butte Montmartre in the painting, set at a slope down to the profile of Val-de-Grâce, does not match the view from SP5, the lateral and vertical relationships of the tower, spire and roof of the three buildings are surprisingly accurate for three objects set at such different distances from the viewpoint[120], and in doing so provide further evidence that such an alignment would not have been possible except from its record in a photograph.

vi) From viewpoint SP6 at a height of 24 metres above ground, the view as seen in Fig.C49 has been used for two separate parts of the painting, adjacent to each other but with their scales slightly different and their images set closer together. One part includes the full image of the Panthéon, with its angled view as depicted

in the painting and confirmed as part-image 6 with the overlay line drawing in Fig.C50. The other part includes the very precise lateral and vertical relationships between the tower and the roof, with its stepped profile, of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, the Tour de Clovis, the Tour Saint-Jacques, and the twin towers of Notre-Dame, as depicted in the painting and confirmed as part-image 7 with the overlay line drawing in Fig.C51. For this writer, if one image provides irrefutable evidence of the claims made here about Manet's use of existing images, it is this one. For such a complex three-dimensional arrangement of building forms, which are all existing at different distances from the viewpoint and at different relative heights[121], to be depicted in the painting with such coincidence of detail with the perspective view, no explanation other than the use by Manet of a photographic source seems possible.

vii) From viewpoint SP7 at a height of 25 metres above ground, the view as seen in Fig.C52 shows the row of poplar trees beside the Bièvre river in the Bièvre domain set directly beneath the skyline profile of the Panthéon, as depicted in the painting and confirmed as part-image 8 with the overlay line drawing in Fig.C53. With the height of the poplars and the full extent of the row in the late 1860s unknown, together with the informal nature of the trees themselves, this view and the proposed correlation with the painting cannot be as specific as many of the other views, and, in those terms, must remain a somewhat open claim. Notwithstanding these reservations, the perspective of the row fits perfectly. Although directly connected with the Panthéon in the view, as noted in the analysis the trees have been set above the roofs seen in the view from SP9 and in some instances seem to have been transformations of chimney stacks originally painted behind those roofs to the lower buildings.

viii) From viewpoint SP8, at a height above ground of 28 metres, the view as seen in Fig.C54 shows the Orme de Sully on the horizon to the left of the tower of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas with the mansard roofs of the Palais du Luxembourg set at a lower level. Below the horizon is seen the row of poplar trees beside the Bièvre

river in the Bièvre domain. Although the Orme de Sully only relates to the lateral position of the tree seen on the horizon at the left edge of the painting, its position, the height of the tower, and the tops of the poplar trees set in behind and above the trees related to the foreground burial scene are confirmed as part-image 9 with the overlay line drawing made from the painting in Fig.C55.

ix) From viewpoint SP9 at a height of 24 metres above ground, the view as seen in Fig.C56 has been used for two separate parts in the painting. One part includes the spire of Notre-Dame, the tower and roof of Saint-Médard, the chimney stack positioned to the north of the Hôtel de la Reine Blanche, and the row of poplar trees beside the Bièvre river in the Bièvre domain. With the spire of Notre-Dame set in the same position as the spire of Sainte-Chapelle seen from viewpoint SP3, and the chimney stack set in the same position as the stack seen from viewpoint SP4, the three vertical elements of the spire, the tower of Saint-Médard and the stack are aligned vertically at the right-hand end of the poplar trees, as depicted in the painting and confirmed as part-image 10 with the overlay line drawing in Fig.C57. As noted in the analysis, the positions of these chimney stacks have, as yet, only been based upon details assessed from distant photographs and not on any clear identification of specific stacks at known positions in the period of interest. The other part of the view used in the painting includes the Hôtel de la Reine Blanche, the rear of the Manufacture des Gobelins including the rounded wall to its chapel, the wall set beside the east arm of the Bièvre river, the hunting lodge of Comte Jean de Julienne, the open area of the Jardin des Gobelins in the Bièvre domain, all as seen in the painting and confirmed as part-image 11 with the overlay line drawing in Fig.C58.

x) From viewpoint SP10 at a height of 27 metres above ground, the view as seen in Fig.C59 shows the towers of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas and Saint-Germain-des-Prés on the skyline, with the mansard roofs of the Palais du Luxembourg seen at a lower level. As noted in the analysis, the tower of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas in this position is only visible in the X-radiograph in which it is seen to have been

initially painted where the large tree is painted on the horizon. The positions of the two towers and the lower sloping roofs of the Palais du Luxembourg are confirmed as part-image 12 with the overlay line drawing in Fig.C60.

xi) From viewpoint SP11 at a height of 22 metres above ground, the view as seen in Fig.C61 and the adjacent enlarged detail, shows one small, but convincing, detail – the uppermost part of Saint-Séverin's tower visible just above the brow of the hill adjacent to the roof at the facade of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, as depicted in the painting and confirmed as part-image 13 with the overlay line drawing in Fig.C62. Although the viewpoint used provides the correct relationship of the tower to the roof, a viewpoint slightly to the west separates the two elements but brings into view the spire of Sainte-Chapelle just to the left of the Tour de Clovis. Visible in the painting and evident in the X-radiograph, what seems to have been a clearly executed vertical area of painting in that position suggests that a vertical element such as the spire may have been overpainted. It is hoped that any future detailed examination of the painting may clarify such a possibility.

xii) For the painting's lower part, the view is proposed to be set in the Cimetière du Père-Lachaise from the south-western side of the Allée de la Chapelle, as seen on the site plan, Fig.C64, and as follows:

From a single viewpoint SP12 at ground level, a view of the funeral scene as seen in Fig.C65 nominally shows all the elements as depicted in the painting, and as confirmed as part-image 14 with the overlay line drawing in Fig.C66, including, from the left: the rising (towards the viewer) topography of the 56th Division; the rising pathway of Chemin Pozzo di Borgo with trees to each side; the tomb of the 1832 Meunier *concession* seen between the trees on the northern side of Chemin Pozzo di Borgo; the funeral cortege on the flat, lower section of the 68th Division and behind it the rows of trees lining Chemin Neigre; and, at the right-hand edge of the painting the cut-off profiles of three trees which existed within the 68th Division at that time. The forms and positions of the hearse, the officials and the mourners, and

the trees have been established within the computer modelling with the use of stylised or rectilinear forms. The positions of all trees were as noted in plans of the area from c.1873, but without knowledge of their size or shape. The two closest to the hearse are shown overlapped as seen in the painting and the one closest to the viewpoint is shown outside and to the right of the format but in a position which would enable a branch to be set across the roof and wall of the Manufacture des Gobelins as seen in the painting. Thus, although the forms of the elements used are diagrammatic, their positions and relative sizes, together with the underlaying perspective of the view, provide evidence of the relative accuracy of the location details and view.

When these parts of views are overlaid and interlocked together within the format of *The Burial*, the composite image, as seen in Fig.C67 and compared with the line drawing made from the painting in Fig.C68, shows how the spatial fragments and disjunctions were used by Manet to develop an apparently cohesive space. Even more so than with *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, some caution with such a proposal is deemed necessary. On the one hand, the basis upon which these views are proposed remains unproved, while on the other, with none of the circumstances whimsically created – pulled out, as it were, from thin air – much of the imagery in the views cannot be shown to be false or incorrect, particularly with the upper part of the painting. There is also an acute awareness that in the approach which has resulted in these proposals for many specific parts of views, it is clearly possible to see anything one wishes and to make images fit such a complex image in unwarranted ways. It could also be claimed that with a cut-and-paste image it would be possible to match the painting using a range of completely unrelated imagery. That is probably so, but compared to such a random selection of imagery, the viewpoint of each piece of imagery in this instance is known, and it has been established that those viewpoints are part of a specific and identifiable pattern.

Nevertheless, in such circumstances the analysis has been carried out with as much objectivity as possible. This is the very reason why two part views which suggested one of the forms in the painting to be the Église de la Sorbonne have been rejected. And even though the proposals of aerial balloons and photographs for the upper part may all seem improbable, the views provide images which this writer believes cannot be avoided and need to be explained. Additionally, the proposal for the lower part is not based upon views of well-known landmarks of Paris, and by that very fact is more open to question. It relies more on the compilation of circumstantial evidence in its formation rather than a demonstration of its validity, but, as stated previously, no evidence related to the site or the circumstances of the funeral has yet been found to contradict the proposal. Although the site selection was made after detailed analysis, it was certainly expected that such an apparently improbable identification would quickly be shown, particularly with chronological details of events, to be incorrect. In fact the opposite has been the case.

That the collaging technique used to form the composite image of *The Burial* was very similar to that for *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* suggests that not only were the initial compositions for both paintings developed by Manet at about the same time, but also that the application of the technique in works which are so very different was an experiment to assess its artistic potential. Superficially, such a technique involving the integration of relatively disparate fragments may have seemed more suited to the gregarious image of *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* rather than the introspection of *The Burial*, but the technique provided the ambiguous undercurrents, not the appearance. It gave an unsettling edge of uncertainty to the festivities on the Champ-de-Mars and rendered a loss of closure to the poignancy in *The Burial*.

D. *The Railway*

Background

The most recent scholarly writing concerned with *The Railway* (Fig.D1), a work painted by Manet during 1872 and 1873 and exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1874, has been a review by Adrian Lewis[1] of Juliet Wilson-Bareau's catalogue for the *Manet, Monet, and the Gare Saint-Lazare* exhibition of 1998[2]. It is a continuation of the scholarly confusion over the painting's site, and is a further claim that processes of identification and site analysis are limited in their ability to provide meaning for a painting.

In the exhibition's catalogue, Wilson-Bareau, as curator, had set out the identification of the painting site and, more importantly, views from it as seen in the work itself. The site in question, at the rear of No.58 Rue de Rome in the *Europe quartier* of Paris, had always been known – but because a connection had never been made between views from the site and the painting, it had been only noted in passing or completely relocated by most scholars. At the same time that Wilson-Bareau had been carrying out her research which was used as the basis for the exhibition, this writer had also arrived at the same conclusions. On becoming aware of this fact, Wilson-Bareau graciously acknowledged it in the catalogue[3]. The real difference between the identifications of Wilson-Bareau and this writer, and the conclusions arrived at by previous scholars, is that it can be shown how the views from the known site related to the imagery of the painting, and in particular to the doors and windows of the building in the upper left corner of the painting. These elements can be shown to be part of the building facades to No.2 and No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, in the latter of which was Manet's own studio at that time.

Lewis's review is, in part, a recapitulation of the details of a proposal in an earlier article[4] in which he and co-writer, Roger Cranshaw, had confirmed but effectively discarded the site because, as Lewis explained, the "evidence led in an opposite direction to the thrust of Wilson-Bareau's argument"[5]. Not only had Lewis rejected

Wilson-Bareau's belief that "the meaning of *The Railway* is 'brought into sharper focus' by the identification of the building in the picture's top left as Manet's studio"[6], but also rejected that the painting represents a precise view, seeing the identification as "a speculative and reductive explanation"[7]. Even a veiled acceptance of the proposition by Lewis enabled his case to be made that the " 'identification' of the site (even if methodologically accepted) does not expunge whatever connotation the painted image sets up"[8]. Wilson-Bareau was judged by Lewis not to have explored "contemporary schemata of mother-and-child representations in order to explain the critical complaints about the unreadability of the relationship of this woman and child", and to have been blind to the evidence that "the model herself [Victorine Meurent] operated intertextually in the contemporary culture wars as a signifier of a sort of Bohemian licence."[9] One could have suggested, claimed Lewis, that "free-floating signifiers such as grapes, fan and dog resonated with the vestiges of awkwardly duplex symbolism" or that Manet "deployed smoke to connote reverie."[10] And, speculated Lewis, "Manet's art might legitimately be seen as the construction by a highly critical and self-aware artist of an 'open text' designed to raise questions and thereby provoke viewers to reflect on their relationship with the *representa*."

In so many ways the remainder of the review became a veritable check-list of other notions of the authorial position of Lewis and against which Wilson-Bareau's writing was judged. In such terms, Lewis was also critical of site analysis, believing "that it allows one to note decisions made with visual material... but truncates discussion of the construction of meaning"[11]. Its failure "to engage in the public arena of contested meaning as Manet did"[12] demonstrated for Lewis "the limitation of site analysis presented as if it were the social history of art."[13] On the contrary, the physical fabric of an urban domain, in this instance the city of Paris in transformation during the latter half of the nineteenth century, provides as complex and profound an imprint of social history as can be imagined against any other measure. The fact that it was the very means by which so many artists of that time addressed the need to engage contemporaneous

issues suggests that the reading of a painting through such an imprint would expand rather than truncate "discussion of the construction of meaning".

Additionally, Lewis argued that a site identification "does not expunge whatever connotation the painted image sets up"[14]. As has been proposed elsewhere in this dissertation, site analysis has the potential to enhance or clarify such connotations, rather than expunge. For Lewis, the pictorial reading of a depicted motif can almost deny, or contradict, any initial identification. In his description of the doors and windows in the upper left corner of the painting, for example, Lewis stated that the

> subsuming of wooden door and stone carriage entrance into a non-existent tall brown shape which extends down the left side of the woman's head (connecting colouristically as surface-design with her nearby brown hair) is every bit as subversive of the norms of pictorial illusion as the famous flat red triangle and abutted bottles in the *Bar at the Folies-Bergère*.[15]

That, for this writer, is hardly subversive. To know that this "tall brown shape" is not fictional at all but, rather, specifically and clearly is a depiction of the street entrance to Manet's own studio, setting both his metaphorical persona, as a coded self-portrait, as well as his creative domain into such a proximity to the woman's face (in actuality, Victorine Meurent, Manet's favourite model) is far more subversive and suggestive of intimate overtones and meaning than an object subsumed in becoming a "surface-design" element. And such readings were not possible before the identification. The doors and windows are both the fact of their identification and the fiction of their representation, not one or the other.

The earlier article by Cranshaw and Lewis considered, in part but in detail, those problems of the painting's site relevant to the proposals made here[16]. Although reviewing and detailing the confusion of the previous scholarship[17], Cranshaw and Lewis rejected the possibility that the view from the site directly provided the view seen in the painting, and in so doing continued the history of confusion. Their argument was partly and reasonably based upon the view, which had been held previously by others[18], and since by Wilson-Bareau in the exhibition catalogue[19], that the painting would have been produced in Manet's studio. But they saw the sketches not to have

been made from the rear of No.58 Rue de Rome[20], and the upper left area of the painting's background to be a fictional garden[21], claiming that "no such garden could or did exist in such a position"[22]. And this fictional garden became the means by which Cranshaw and Lewis observed that

> no immediately apparent narrative or pictorial relationship is established between the garden and the rest of the painting. The trainsmoke serves to conceal the spatially irresolvable juncture to the left and right background sections. The railings have concealed the inconsistency of the background for over a century.[23]

The 'trainsmoke' has indeed been used to conceal a disjunction in the painting, but one that is explainable and directly related to Manet's strategies of spatial ambiguity. The explanation revolves around the identifications of the actual site, the views available from it, and the extent to which such views have been used by Manet. Not only has there been scholarly confusion about these aspects in the past but, typically, Manet seems to have made little attempt to clarify any of them to the public, critics or friends alike. After seeing the painting in Manet's studio in 1872, and before it was viewed in public, Philippe Burty wrote that the girl "regarde, à travers les grilles du square des Batignolles, la cotonneuse fumée blanche que jette au passage un train de chemin de fer. Comme fond, à travers les barreaux de fer, les maisons de l'autre berge de la voie."[24] Manet had either requested Burty to identify the site further north at the Batignolles area or, more likely, had not offered an identification of locale. After a visit to Manet's studio in 1873, and although not writing about *The Railway*, Léon Duchemin, under the pseudonym of Fervacques, may have added to later confusion about the painting's locale by making reference to "les verrières qui donnent sur la place de l'Europe"[25], although at the same time correctly describing the view of the rear facades to the buildings on Rue de Rome. The only hint that Manet may have confided with someone about the strategies at play in his work appears in the article of complaint by Stéphane Mallarmé on the rejection of the *Masked Ball at the Opera* and *The Swallows* by the Paris Salon of 1874. Mallarmé made reference to *The Railway*, a work accepted by the jury, with a strangely oblique comment, suggestive of hidden ruses:

> Comme la sagesse la plus profonde ne prévoit pas tout et que ses desseins manquent toujours par quelque point, restait le troisième

> tableau, important lui-même sous un aspect trompeur et riche en suggestions pour qui aime à regarder.
>
> Je crois que cette toile, échappée aux ruses et aux combinaisons des organisateurs du Salon, leur réserve encore une autre surprise, quand ce qu'il y aura à dire à son sujet aura été dit par ceux qu'intéressent certaines questions, notamment de métier pur.[26]

A sense that Mallarmé may have been privy to Manet's deliberations are also conveyed in his critique of the *Masked Ball at the Opera*[27]. The criticisms of *The Railway* at its showing in the Salon[28] were certainly not to do with the identification of site or views but were typically concerned with the painting's illegibility of narrative and sketch-like finish, and the grille separating the foreground from the background generated much visual play from the caricaturists. Most of the comments on the site involved the sense of outdoor light rather than the locale itself, but Edmond Duranty, without being site specific, confirmed the locale when he wrote that "une femme et une petite fille adossées à une grille d'un jardin de la place de l'Europe qui donne sur le chemin de fer"[29].

The apparent confusion over the site continued after Manet's death. In 1902, Théodore Duret had written that Manet painted the work "en plein air"[30], but had been more specific in 1919, writing that "Cette grille servait de clôture à un jardinet, dominant la profonde tranchée où passe le chemin de fer de l'Ouest, près de la gare St-Lazare. Par derrière les deux femmes, se voyaient des rails et la vapeur de locomotives, d'où le titre du tableau"[31], and, as a catalogue entry, "Une femme assise et une petite fille vue de dos, se profilent sur la grille d'un jardinet de la rue de Rome, surplombant les abords de la gare Saint-Lazare, à Paris"[32]. And in 1926 Étienne Moreau-Nélaton reiterated Fervacques' error in describing the windows to Manet's studio as looking out on the Place de l'Europe, but had noted the painting's genesis that "Manet l'avait rêvée et réalisée chez un confrère, domicilié rue de Rome 58 et en possession d'un jardin donnant sur la tranchée de la ligne de l'Ouest... le jardin d'Alphonse Hirsch"[33].

In 1931 Adolphe Tabarant commenced the process of specifying the site of the depicted wall and grille fence at an impossible position, stating that

> Occupant le coin de gauche, au premier plan, une jeune femme, de face et regardent devant elle, est assise sur le mur de scellement de la haute grille dominant la tranchée du chemin de fer de l'Ouest, au pont de l'Europe, à l'intersection de la rue de Rome et de la rue de

> Constantinople...Le second plan montre, à gauche, l'angle d'un immeuble de la rue de Rome, à droite les croisillons métalliques du tablier du pont de l'Europe. Le fond est constitué par la tranchée où, à travers les fumées de la vapeur, on distingue les voies, les signaux, les baraques-vigies du chemin de fer.[34]

This was both confirmed and contradicted by Tabarant in a note that identified the correct address but relocated it as before:

> Ce tableau fut peint dans le jardinet du peintre Alphonse Hirsch, situé en bordure de la tranchée du chemin de fer de l'Ouest, derrière son atelier du 58 de la rue de Rome, et formant un petit enclos triangulaire entre ce qui est actuellement le 2 de la rue de Constantinople et la première assise de gauche du pont de l'Europe... Les détails du décor furent peints à l'atelier de la rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, d'après des études faites sur place.[35]

And in 1947 Tabarant spoke of the sequence in which the painting had been produced:

> L'été finissant était un délice, et de sa fenêtre de la rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, d'où il embrassait le pont de l'Europe et la tranchée du chemin de fer de l'Ouest, Manet se grisait de Paris, de cette subtile lumière, de cette atmosphère limpide qui font si pénétrante la douceur de vivre. Il avait pris maintes fois des croquis du pont et de la tranchée,... L'idée lui vint d'interpréter un plein air de cet aspect caractéristique du nouveau Paris, et sans aucune esquisse préalable il réalisa cet éclatant morceau, le *Chemin de fer*..., pour lequel Victorine Meurent prit la pose dans le petit jardin du peintre Alphonse Hirsch, à l'intersection de la rue de Rome et de la rue de Constantinople. Occupant le coin, au premier plan, elle est de face et regarde devant elle, assise sur le mur de scellement de la haute grille dominant la tranchée... Le second plan montre, à gauche, l'angle d'un immeuble de la rue de Rome, à droite les croisillons métalliques du tablier du pont. Le fond est constitué par la tranchée où, à travers les fumées de la vapeur, on distingue les voies, les signaux, les baraques-vigies du chemin de fer... .
>
> Seuls les détails du décor furent peints à l'atelier,...[36]

Some clarity was brought to the situation by Rodolphe Walter in 1979 when, in his article 'Saint-Lazare l'impressionniste', he not only confirmed that at the time of the painting Hirsch had rented a studio on the fourth floor of the rear building at No.58 Rue de Rome, but also that "Les bâtiments dont on aperçoit la façade, à gauche sur le tableau, appartiennent à la bordure opposée de la tranchée, et non à la rue de Rome comme il [Adolphe Tabarant] a été écrit."[37]. He had also noted that

> Dans son appartement situé au 4 de la rue de Saint-Pétersbourg... , Manet aperçoit le pont de l'Europe et la tranchée des Batignolles d'où lui parvient, obsédant, le roulement des trains. Pour se rapprocher du motif et du même coup s'en libérer, il traverse le pont et, par la rue de Constantinople, se rend chez son confrère Alphonse Hirsch, au No.58 de la rue de Rome, dont l'étroit jardin surplombe aujourd'hui encore les voies. Il y représente Victorine Meurent en costume bleu et chapeau "Niniche" tournant résolument le dos au spectacle. Celui-ci occupe toute l'attention de la fillette en robe claire qui tient d'une main potelée un barreau de la grille que l'on devine noire de suie. A droite, en pan

> coupé, le pont de l'Europe; en bas, les rails et la cabane d'un poste d'aiguilleur. Le passage d'un train, objet de la contemplation de l'enfant, est suggéré par un nuage où vapeur blanche et fumée grise se mêlent.[38]

With those descriptions, Walter had set the complete scene, as it were, of the painting. He had confirmed the site of the garden at No.58 Rue de Rome, described the physical connection between the studio and the garden, corrected Tabarant's erroneous description of the background buildings, and noted that the "pont de l'Europe" [not the Place de l'Europe] could be seen from Manet's studio. For some reason he did not identify the background buildings to be those in Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, possibly believing them to be in Rue Mosnier, "à la bordure opposée de la tranchée", or possibly because of the Parcels Depot building obstructing the direct line of sight. Nonetheless, all the elements were in place to resolve the issue but all claims subsequent to Walter simply confused the issue further.

Following Tabarant's claims, Theodore Reff in 1982 made reference to the correct address but placed it "near the corner of the rue de Constantinople"[39]. And with that information obviously unchecked, and suggesting that the "setting is... more contrived than appears at first", Reff established two different viewing points, one for the figures and one for the view of the Pont de l'Europe, and suggested that the "illusion of immediacy" was enhanced by "eliminating the heavy diagonal trellis and vertical fence of the bridge on the other side of the rue de Constantinople, and indeed the width of the street itself, including instead only the thin black fence around the garden".[40] Reff's claims of wholesale and wilful elimination of physical elements by Manet were supported by Harry Rand who confirmed that to achieve the apposition between the girl and the cloud of steam "Manet merged the garden and the railroad cut, and he eliminated the intervening street. The picture's subject predicated the adjustments to reality."[41]. Walter's clarity had disappeared under the weight of unsubstantiated and exotic speculation. Nevertheless, the unsubstantiated claims continued. In 1983 Françoise Cachin basically reiterated Tabarant's claim that the studio of Alphonse Hirsch was "situated at the intersection of the rue de Rome and the rue de Constantinople, where the Pont de L'Europe begins, overlooking the Gare Saint-Lazare"[42], seemingly

unaware that from that intersection the site would overlook neither the station nor the cutting. And in 1988, Robert L. Herbert deduced from contemporary illustrations a completely new locale, "along one of the streets bordering the tracks, namely the rue de Londres"[43].

In 1988 Reff compounded his contradictions of 1982 by re-positioning the site to the triangular garden behind No.50 and No.52 Rue de Rome. An impossible description of the tracks being seen with a view to the pier and girder on the opposite side was presented; the bridge girder still supposedly had been omitted by Manet; and it was proposed that "At the upper left we see the building where his studio was located, with its windows overlooking the Place de l'Europe"[44]. Reff had possibly realised that from this new viewpoint one could clearly see the angled side wall to No.2, Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg and not the street facade of No.4 as required, and then attempted to overcome the discrepancy by combining the two addresses into the one building.[45] Erroneously citing Rodolphe Walter, Reff confirmed his impossible claim by stating that

> Across the Place de l'Europe, on the Rue de Rome, lived the painter and etcher Alphonse Hirsch, who also had a studio in the same building. It was in the garden behind this studio that Manet placed the figures for 'Le Chemin de Fer'.[46]

As shown above, Walter had specified that one could see the 'pont de l'Europe' not the Place de l'Europe, and had confirmed the address of Hirsch's studio to be at No.58 Rue de Rome.

It is difficult to understand how the position of the site at No.58 Rue de Rome was repeatedly moved to a position other than where it had been noted, or alternatively, after accepting its location, for it to be then claimed, as has Cranshaw and Lewis, that the painting did not depict views from the site. In contrast, it seems to have been common knowledge with residents of the locale that Manet had painted the work from the site.[47]

Analysis

The initial analysis, undertaken in 1996 as an outcome from an examination of Gustave Caillebotte's *Le Pont de l'Europe*, involved an examination of *The Railway*, Manet's preliminary sketches (Figs.D3 and D4), his Rue Mosnier paintings *Rue Mosnier Decorated with Flags, with a Man on Crutches*, and *Rue Mosnier with Pavers* and his Rue Mosnier sketches (Fig.D5). The examination had been mainly concerned with a confirmation of the identifications of the viewpoint(s), sightline(s), and background buildings at No.2 and No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg. Subsequent analyses of the X-radiograph (Fig.D2) and infra-red reflectographs of *The Railway* were undertaken at the National Gallery of Art, Washington.[48] A photograph of the building at No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg[49] confirmed the identification of the carriage doors and windows in the upper left corner of the painting, and partly confirmed the proposition that they were part of a view from the garden at the rear of No.58 Rue de Rome.

Initially it was thought that the painting had been structured as a single perspectival view from a position in the garden adjacent to the rear facade of No.58 Rue de Rome, but with some uncertainty as to whether it had been created in the garden directly from the motif or in the studio from sketches or photographs. Subsequent analysis of views from the garden, different floors in the rear building at No.58 Rue de Rome overlooking the railway cutting, and the bottom of the railway cutting, as detailed below, clarified the spatial shaping in the foreground view of the garden and the composite nature of the final image. It also influenced the assessment of the circumstances in which the painting may have been created. The co-ordinated information that was required for the developed analysis included detail topographical information around the site, visual records, measured on-site information, and calculated dimensions from archival photographs. Although initial testing was carried out by means of hand-drawn geometries, the computer-generated modelling was used to clearly differentiate between views, and to clarify the way in which different views are proposed to have been juxtaposed in the final painting.

The overall topography of the site, including the rear of No.58 Rue de Rome and the small garden, the railway cutting with the retaining wall on the western side and bank on the eastern side, the Place de l'Europe with its radiating streets supported on the Pont de l'Europe, No.2 and No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, and Rue Mosnier, is shown in a perspective overview (Fig.D20), and plans and sections (Figs.D21, D22, and D23). This overview can be seen in conjunction with the contemporary illustration by Lamy (Fig.D6) which, although not showing the viewing site or the building facades seen in the painting's background and showing detail forms of walls other than as built, provides an understanding of the railway cutting and its relationship with the Gare Saint-Lazare beyond the Place de l'Europe.

Other aspects of the topography and site details are illustrated with both contemporary and recent photographs. A composite photograph (Fig.D7) from a third floor window at the rear of No.58 Rue de Rome shows the Place de l'Europe, at the right, but also shows the Parcels Depot building interrupting the view of the buildings on Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, at the left. Views from the rear garden level looking towards the Parcels Depot building and the adjacent bridge pier, which is the one depicted in the painting, are seen in photographs taken from behind the grille (Fig.D11) and through the grille (Fig.D12). Details of the garden as seen in the painting can also be identified, including the top of the wall and the grille fence (Fig.D10)[50] and the rounded 'knuckles' on the vertical rods (Fig D8), but with the plate at the base of the grille set along the top of the wall no longer in existence. A photograph of the grille at No.54 Rue de Rome (Fig.D9) confirms the original existence of such a plate. From outside the garden, the rear facade of No.58 Rue de Rome overlooking the unseen railway cutting below is shown in a contemporary postcard photograph taken from the Place de l'Europe (Fig.D13). In a similar postcard photograph, the facade of No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg overlooking the Place de l'Europe is seen in the view looking across the Place and up Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg (Fig.D14). Recent photographs taken in Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg also show this facade (Fig.D15), as well as the carriage doors and adjacent windows to the

street facades of No.2 and No.4 (Fig.D17). The complete facade of No.4 is seen in a contemporary photograph taken from Rue Mosnier (Fig.D16).

Specific points of consideration required to confirm the identifications made in the painting, to better understand the circumstances of its production, and to investigate the spatial manipulations used by Manet, included: the need to establish in detail what could have been seen from garden and rear building at No. 58 Rue de Rome in 1872 and 1873, and how the views related to the graphite sketches and the painting; the extent to which the graphite sketches influenced the form of the painting; whether the painting had been created on site or from photographs as source or *aide-mémoire* in the studio[51]; an explanation for the angle at which the top of the garden wall is seen in the painting; and, whether Victorine Meurent, as the model, had been sitting on the wall, an unseen seat or stool, or had only modelled for Manet in such a pose in his studio. These various aspects have been examined in terms of a general gathering of information and more specifically with comparisons of views from different viewpoints.

The view from the garden beyond the grille fence was made up of a middle-ground of the railway cutting with its sloping bank at the left and the bridge structure at the right, and of a background of the building facades. At the top of the sloping bank, on the northern side of Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, a paling fence, seen in both the painting and the two graphite sketches, enclosed the open area opposite Manet's studio at No.4[52]. In the painting this fence is seen in front of the facade of No.4 and in the two sketches in front of the facade of No.2. It continued around into Rue Mosnier as seen at the left of the Rue Mosnier sketch (Fig.D5), and at the left of the two paintings *Rue Mosnier Decorated with Flags, with a Man on Crutches*, and *Rue Mosnier with Pavers*. The Rue Mosnier sketch also depicts, beyond the fence at the left and across the railway cutting in which is seen a train's funnel and a cloud of steam, the rear of the buildings to Rue de Rome set above the retaining wall to the cutting.

The two sketches provide important information about viewpoint and views, insights into Manet's fragmentation of views, and a possible key to the scale adjustment that exists in the background of the painting. Sketches made directly from a motif, even if

quickly executed, often provide in their detail a reasonably accurate record of the extent of visual overlap of elements, and thus the means to determine the viewpoint used. Manet's sketches provide such details, with the paling fence cutting across the carriage entry door to No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg (Fig.D3), and the spiked top of the grille fence to the triangular garden adjacent to No.2 seen just above the paling fence (Fig.D4). These relationships, as seen in the computer-generated perspective views, indicate the viewpoint for the sketches to have been at the level of the rear garden, and that obviously the interposing grille fence had not been drawn.[53]. Unfortunately the page from Manet's sketchbook which may have included sketches of No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg is lost, but the remaining sketches also show that, in the process of recording the scene, Manet actually fragmented the image as he went from one part of the motif to another, creating separate sketches of different parts and at different scales, but combining them as composite images in the very process of drawing them. In other words, these sketches for *The Railway* seem to have been composed in a similar way to that of the painting. Such a realisation raises the question whether Manet creatively used the process of making the sketches to be more than quick visual notations, or the serendipity of the organisation of these separate sketches was retrospectively used by him as the genesis for the composite painting. At the level of technique the sketches have also suggested the use by Manet of a notational 'shorthand', with many of the elements drawn as if angled elevations. With the lower shed, for example, the series of parallel horizontal lines in real space of the base of the walls, the eaves and the roof ridges, all of which would have been seen as lines in perspective to a vanishing point set at the higher eye level, were drawn by Manet as horizontal lines. Similarly, the base of the pier and bottom of the bridge truss are drawn horizontally, and not as they would have been seen in perspective. The "flattening" of Manet's space may have thus developed from a sketch technique which provided him with coded information other than a record of natural perspective.

With the viewpoint of the sketches established at the level of the rear garden, an important identification issue was able to be confirmed. In addition to claiming that the

sketches were made from the level of the railway cutting, Lewis also stated that "the doors in the picture are different in design from those to Manet's building"[54] and that "there were similar carriage doors at the rue de Saint-Petersbourg [sic] end of the rue Mosnier"[55]. In the context of the comparative perspective views from different levels, the confirmation that the views of the sketches and the painting involved the same motif as seen from the rear garden established that the carriage entry door seen in one of the sketches and in the painting not only looked to be, but in fact was that to No.2 Rue de Saint-Petersbourg. Lewis had referred to doors in Rue Mosnier (Fig.D18), but those had been considered by this writer in a wider survey of the area to ensure similar doors did not exist, and with the form of their adjacent windows and balconies were seen to be completely unlike those depicted in the painting.

The question of whether Manet painted the work directly in front of the motif or in his studio can be addressed in various ways. The limited depth of the garden as a site for setting up an easel, the narrowness of the ledge of the wall on which Victorine Meurent is seen to be sitting, and an assessment of lighting directions had suggested to Wilson-Bareau that the painting was created in the studio[56]. In contrast, the two pencil sketches were considered by her to have been "clearly made on the spot, probably at ground level in the little back garden"[57], but a "change in the relationships between the signalmen's hut and the stone pillar from drawing to painting"[58] suggested to Wilson-Bareau a viewpoint for the painting higher than the garden, at Hirsch's fourth-floor studio. Lewis agreed with Wilson-Bareau's proposal that the painting was created in the studio, but disagreed on the viewpoint for the sketches, stating that

> their low viewpoint proves that they were not done from the fourth-floor window of 58 rue de Rome or even... from its garden. Accepting the probability of their being done on the spot, it is more likely that the drawing with the bridge pier was done on the railway tracks, and certainly (as the angle of the pier proves) well to the right of 58 rue de Rome.[59]

Although the analysis indicates that the sketches were made from the garden level, it points to the painting being created in the studio from the sketches and photographs for reasons other than those stated by Wilson-Bareau. No matter how the view as seen

from the garden had been recorded, directly onto a canvas or with a camera, the limited depth of the garden would have been no more of a problem for painting at an easel than for taking a photograph with a camera. And with the rounded stone coping to the top of the wall, the width available between its front edge and the vertical rods of the grille fence is 235mm (a little more than nine inches), a more than adequate surface on which Victorine Meurent could have been comfortably seated[60]. Taken together, these aspects suggest that there would have been no difficulties in creating the scene in the garden, with Victorine seated on the wall and the young girl standing beside her, and for it to have been recorded either directly onto a canvas or photographed. That it is proposed to have been photographed is based upon the evidence of the offset spatial shaping used by Manet.

The angle at which the top of the wall is seen in the painting provides the key to this assessment. In actuality the wall slopes down to the [viewer's] right and the fact that it is seen to slope up to the right indicates that it is viewed at an angle as if in a two-point perspective. The angle at which it would be seen, however, in a two-point angled view has been determined to be greater than that depicted, with Manet either 'flattening' the perspective or using the geometry of an offset viewpoint, as a construction or as available with a *chambre photographique*. Although, as discussed above, it is plausible that the canvas, or at least part of it, was painted in the garden, the awareness that Manet had been consistently experimenting with ambiguous spatial shaping of the offset viewpoint, makes the possibility that a photograph had been taken with such a camera for use as source and *aide-mémoire* in the studio more than an unfounded speculation. The use of photography by Manet in the painting of *The Railway* has been previously raised by scholars, but in compositional rather than spatial shaping terms. It has been suggested by Gabriel Weisberg that

> the randomness of the entire scene... gives the impression of continuing beyond the confines of the canvas, much like a snapshot image. While no specific photographic source has come to light, the impact of this medium... cannot be underestimated in helping Manet toward the final realization of his composition.[61]

And Harry Rand has proposed that "It is entirely possible that the composition was established in a posed tableau vivant that Manet had photographed as the basis for his work."[62] Notwithstanding these assessments, an analysis of the spatial shaping of the depicted view from the garden level not only made it evident that the offset geometry solved the problem of the angle of the sloping wall top, but it also provided an explanation for the apparent distortion or stretching of the young girl's left arm[63].

The extent of Manet's activity at the site of No.58 Rue de Rome can also be seen in terms of the residencies of the various *appartements* and *ateliers* in the rear building overlooking the railway cutting. As noted above, Rodolphe Walter had confirmed with the *calepins du cadastre* records that a *Hirsch fils* leased one of the *ateliers* on the fourth floor and that Hirsch's mother resided in an *appartement* on the third floor, and Wilson-Bareau had presented in the exhibition catalogue these records of residency in more detail[64]. Interestingly, the contact with Hirsch did not necessarily provide Manet with access to the rear garden and the circumstances of his presence there are unknown. Further examination has revealed, however, that *appartement* No.8 had been leased for twelve months in 1873 by someone named Faure[65]. Research has not been able to establish that the very person who bought *The Railway* from Manet on its completion, the famous baritone of the time, Jean-Baptiste Faure, had any connection with the lessee, but in the context of this analysis which establishes that part of the painting was based upon a view from the second floor, such a possible confirmation that Manet indeed had access to that floor, and possibly the rear garden, through contact with the Faure family is a tantalising one.

Although adding little to an understanding of the painting's spatial manipulation, the X-radiograph of the painting (Fig.D2) provides evidence of the extent of adjustments made by Manet within the field of separate definable motifs. As has been demonstrated by Wilson-Bareau, a number of changes are apparent, including the spacing of the rods of the grille and details to the form and dress of the two figures[66]. The changes of most interest, however, involve the relationship between the carriage entry door and the adjacent window(s) to Manet's studio in the facade of No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg,

with evidence that, at an earlier stage, two windows had correctly existed (*a* and *b*) to the left of the door in positions as seen in the photograph, Fig.D17. It is also evident that this group of door and windows had been set in positions both higher and lower than the final position, but that the two windows had been replaced with the single window (*c*) set in the position of the wall panel between the original two windows. That is, Manet deleted one window and set the one painted window further away from the door than it actually existed. Nonetheless, the position of one of the small windows to the lower ground floor (*d*), set in its lateral position directly beneath the window at (*b*), remained unchanged in the painting and gives evidence of the earlier position. Such reworking of a surface is typical of Manet's known painting process but, as has been established by this research, there seems to have been a hierarchy of adjustments within which Manet worked, with a common factor being that each item had its own domain on the surface of the canvas within which, and in terms of which, it was realised.

These many considerations were developed in concert with the computer-generated perspective views from various viewpoints at the rear of No.58 Rue de Rome as the means to identify the views, viewpoints, and spatial geometry of the sketches and painting. The viewpoints, except for that in the garden, are set at 1.5m above the specified levels and in the positions indicated in the plans and sections in Figs.D21, D22, and D23. The views, with each overlaid with the painting format for comparative purposes, include: from SP1 at 1.2m above the garden level, a 2P-angled view as seen in Fig.D27, and a 2P-offset view as seen in Figs.D28 and D29; from SP2 at the first floor level, a 2P-angled view as seen in Fig.D33; from SP3 at the second floor level, a 2P-angled view as seen in Figs.D30 and D31; from SP4 at the third floor level, a 2P-angled view as seen in Fig.D34; from SP5 at the fourth floor level, a 2P-angled view as seen in Fig.D35; and, from SP6 at the level of the railway cutting, a 2P-angled view as seen in Fig.D32.

It can be seen from these various views that the foreground and upper-left background of the painting relate with reasonable accuracy to the 2P-offset view from SP1 at the garden level, rather than the 2P-angled view, but that the perspective and

scale in the upper-right background of the painting do not relate. Although the 2P-angled view relates to the way in which the scene would be viewed with normal vision, and therefore as would have been seen by Manet when making the sketches, the angle of the garden wall in the angled view is greater than in the painting, and any turn to the left to reduce the angle of the wall top, but with the same cone of vision, would simply change the view. Nonetheless, in the two views from SP1 the overlap of elements, such as with the paling fence to the door and lower ground floor window to No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, confirms that the view of the left background was recorded from the garden level. In the right background, the perspective of the bridge pier and truss and the building facade behind relates more accurately, however, to part of the view from viewpoint SP3 at the second floor level than from the other levels. This view, seen without a painting format overlay in Fig.D30, is shown in Fig.D31 with one overlay that relates to the composition as seen from the garden level, and in which the bridge pier and truss are too large, but also with another, larger overlay, in relation to which the relative sizes of the bridge pier and truss are reduced to that as seen in the painting.

The painting can be seen to be a composite of these two part-views, and their relationship to the geometry of the painting is confirmed by line overlays from the painting, with the offset view as seen from the garden shown as part-image 1 in Fig.D42, and the angled view from the second floor level shown in its reduced size as part-image 2 in Fig.D43. The composite image for the complete painting, with part-image 2 set behind the grille fence of part-image 1, is shown in Fig.D44, and is overlaid for confirmation with a line drawing from the painting in Fig.D45. The separation of these different views is maintained by the nebulous connecting device of the clouds of smoke and steam from the railway below.

The graphite sketches present an important influence on this image of the final painting. Even if drawn as quick notations by Manet, the sketches are shown by the modelling to be complex translations of the view. A two-point angled view from the garden, with the grille fence eliminated and as shown in Fig.D36, presents the view upon which the sketches are based. When overlaid by diagrammatic line drawings made

from the sketches, as shown in Fig.D37, it can be seen that the two sketches comprise a total of four separate, but connected, elements of the one view. In Figs.D38 and D39, the two part-images at similar scales can be seen to include the carriage door and adjacent windows of the street facade of No.2 Saint-Pétersbourg in one and the corner brickwork to the building and an upper shed in the other[67], and in Figs.D40 and D41, the two part-images, at different scales, include the facade overlooking the triangular garden with the upper shed repeated at the left in one and the bridge pier and truss, and lower shed in the other. It is confirmed in Fig.D37 how these four sketches depict, with reasonable accuracy for such small and obviously quick visual notations, parts of a field of view somewhat wider than is evident from the sketches themselves. The reduction in scale of that part of the sketch depicting the bridge pier and truss provides an interesting prelude to the fact established by the analysis, and as discussed above, that the upper right area of the painting which also includes the bridge pier and truss had also been reduced in scale in comparison to the painting's foreground and upper left background. A direct translation by Manet of the collaged image of the sketches as one of the influences on the final form of the painting is thus more than likely.

Proposal

Although the proposal made here is an outcome of the analysis, it is neither one simply made from an examination of computer-generated views nor seen as one completely resolved or indeed complete. In particular it is an outcome of the examination of the spatial shaping used in the work, both in itself and in the context of the perceived program of Manet's spatial ambiguity. And it has been tempered, above all, by the abstruse qualities of the painting and the freshness of the graphite sketches made directly from the background motif. Spatially, *The Railway* is a most complex painting. At one level, and in terms of layered space as discussed in Chapter 4, the painting presents an uncertain recession, from the foreground to the finite background, without intermediate intervals other than the grille fence acting as both a transparent backdrop screen for the foreground and a filter for the space. The spaces with their identified

adjustments of scale and perspective become, when modulated by this screen and simultaneously held together and separated by the cloud of smoke and steam, both clear and uncertain, with the painting variously seen as a unified space based upon a single view, a composite of disparate parts held together by the unifying element of the grille fence, or one in which there is no spatial resolution and the ambiguity is used as an unsettling undercurrent to the gentle intimacy of the foreground setting. As with so many of his more problematic works, Manet has ensured that both everything and nothing is obvious.

The proposal is set within a context of residency in the apartments and studios at the rear of No.58 Rue de Rome, with the two-storey space at the ground floor level of the rear building of unknown occupancy, the second floor apartment leased for one year in 1873 by someone named Faure, and the fourth floor apartment leased by the painter Alphonse Hirsch. It is proposed that prior to undertaking the painting, Manet made the graphite sketches from the rear garden, without recording the screen of the grille fence, and that the subsequent painting was created as a composite of two views based, in part, upon the fragmentation of those sketches. The painting was also based upon a photograph taken with a *chambre photographique* from the viewpoint SP1 within the rear garden, and with the offset view looking across the railway cutting to the facades of No.4 and No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg. Such a view, with its centre of vision at the left of the canvas, was not only ambiguously both frontal and not frontal, but also created the required angle of the top of the wall and gives explanation to the spatial shaping around the figures of Victorine Meurent and the young girl.

Areas of the painting's background are related to such a view in different and contrasting ways. In the upper left corner, the overall position of the facades to No.4 and No.2 and the fence on the opposite side of the street above the inclined bank, relate with reasonable accuracy to the view. Although the windows adjacent to the door to No.4 have been repositioned, the X-radiograph shows that at an earlier stage the facade had been accurately painted in its relationship to the foreground. The background at the right-hand side, with the facade of No. 2 facing the Place de l'Europe, the bridge

pier and truss, the shed near the base of the pier, and the railway tracks on the floor of the cutting in the middle distance, is very different. Not only reduced in scale in relation to the foreground, it has been depicted as seen from the viewpoint SP3 at the second floor level, either sketched or painted directly, or painted from a photograph in the studio. Together with the bridge pier set in the lateral position in which it would have been seen from the garden and the reduction in scale, the left and right sides of the background could thus not be connected. Any disjunctions that may have become apparent with an unresolved interlocking of two images which were disparate in both perspective and scale were avoided, with the two parts pictorially integrated by the cloud of smoke and steam, the signature of the *chemin de fer*[68]. These spatial dynamics created an interaction between the uncertain space and its means of production at the surface, negating a spatial unity but creating, as has been noted for many of Manet's other works, a spatial cohesion at the painting's surface. Although painted from what he had seen and sketched from No. 58 Rue de Rome, the evidence of fragmentation and ambiguous spatial shaping as the basis for the composite final work indicates that it was a studio construction based upon photographs and created by Manet behind the window visible in the painting's upper left corner[69].

E. *Masked Ball at the Opera*

Manet's *Masked Ball at the Opera* remains at a problematic intersection of many aspects and issues of life in Paris in Manet's time, in terms not only of actual events and circumstances but also of their subsequent interpretation by scholars. It has always been known that the site of the work had been the first floor corridor and an overlooking balcony, behind the loges and adjacent to the main foyer, in the Opéra rue le Peletier in Paris (Figs.E8, E9, E10, and E11)[1], and that the depicted gathering was on the occasion of one of the famous masked balls held at the Opéra. What is less clear is the reason for Manet painting the work, when it was painted, and what influenced or determined its form.

Notwithstanding the many contemporaneous events that have been raised by scholars as important influences on, and reasons for, *Masked Ball at the Opera*, the proposal made here clearly sets the painting within Manet's program of spatial ambiguity. In fact, the directness of the translation of the image from the proposed source suggests that its potential for spatial interplay may have been the initial reason for the use of the image, and provides further evidence of Manet's ongoing concern with the potential and implications of spatial manipulation. *Masked Ball at the Opera* presents and represents a very different slice of Parisian life to that of *The Railway,* a work painted at the same time, and it has generated scholarly concerns very different to those of site identification. Its representation has been seen in much more declarative terms as a commentary on political, social and gender issues of the time, and in the context of Manet's use of sources it has also been seen to derive from a number of external images. It can be shown, however, that the use of the offset viewpoint was similarly used in *Masked Ball at the Opera* for spatial ambiguity, albeit in a subtly different way.

Background

Although *Masked Ball at the Opera* had been submitted to the 1874 Paris Salon, and rejected, it is not known when Manet commenced the painting, and the possible influences on the genesis of the work suggest very different times. The earliest public commentary on the work was written by Fervacques in *Le Figaro* on 27 December, 1873, as part of a chronicle of his visit to Manet's studio[2]. Replete with descriptive flourishes, the writing nonetheless captures the undertones and overtones implicit in the work. For a work which is shown to be underlaid with subtle spatial ambiguities, such responses seem fitting. Certainly all the visible aspects were not described and the work was placed in no other context than that of human intercourse. But as an evocation of the locale and its social activity the passage has not been matched. In his observation of the setting in the corridor and its female participants, Fervacques wrote:

> Cette toile, qui est destinée à Faure, représente le couloir de l'Opéra une nuit de bal masqué. Voilà bien le tableau exact. Entre les colonnes épaisses, le mur des loges où les gommeux sont collés en espaliers, et les entrées du foyer séparées par les légendaires tablettes de velours rouge, un flot d'habits noirs taché çà et là d'une pierrette et d'une débardeuse, ondule sans avancer. Des dominos discrets, à la figure masquée par la quadruple barbe de dentelle, circulent au milieu de cet océan humain, pressés, bousculés, serrés de près, auscultés par cent mains indescrètes. Les pauvrettes, passant la douane de ce cap périlleux, laissent ici un fragment de dentelle, là une branche de lilas blanc de leur bouquet, qui jaunit sous les exhalaisons délétères du gaz et sous l'âcre odeur humaine qui s'épand en effluves lourdes et pesantes.[3]

and then of the men in the gathering:

> Ils sont là en tas, l'œil allumé par les truffes et le Corton du dîner, la lèvre humide, l'œil sensuel, avec des chaînes d'or épaisses au gilet et des bagues aux doigts. Le chapeau est incliné en arrière d'un air vainqueur; ils sont riches, cela se voit: ils ont des louis plein leurs poches et ils sont venus pour s'amuser. Et ils s'amusent. Ils tutoieraient leur sœur si elle passait par là.[4]

Fervacques wondered if "Peut-être n'y a-t-il pas tout cela dans ce tableau, peut-être aussi y a-t-il autre chose encore?"[5], and concluded that "En tout cas, c'est une œuvre de haut mérite, vécue, pensée et admirablement rendue. Nous verrons, au prochain Salon si le public est de mon avis"[6].

With the painting rejected by the jury for the Salon of 1874, the public did not receive an opportunity to assess it, but the jury's decision was taken to task by

Stéphane Mallarmé in an article, 'Le Jury de Peinture pour 1874 et M. Manet'[7]. In the midst of his argument that the public should be allowed to see all of the submitted works and make up its own mind, Mallarmé saw *Masked Ball at the Opera* as "capital dans l'œuvre du peintre et y marquant comme un point culminant d'où l'on résume mainte tentative ancienne"[8] and as "une vision du monde contemporain"[9].

The masked balls at the Opéra rue Le Peletier were part of that contemporary milieu, but they were also part of a well-loved tradition of Paris. Opened in 1821, the Opéra building had been one of the venues in Paris used for the costume balls held each year from December to March during the Carnival period, and had become famous for the masked balls held at the time of Mi-Carême in March from 1837.[10] The colour, clamour and frenzy of the balls inspired many written pieces, of which Victor Poupin's in 1865 was typical:

> Qui n'a pas été au bal de l'Opéra?
> Qui n'a pas admiré, une fois dans sa vie, l'indescriptible féerie de ce coup d'œil? Qui n'a pas été ébloui de ces milliers de lumières réflétées par des milliers de cristaux? Qui ne s'y est pas senti étourdi par les cris, par les rires, décontenancé par les quolibets, enivré par les fleurs? Qui n'a pas été tenté, ne fût-ce qu'un instant, de se laisser entraîner par cette folie communicative du bacchanal que provoque l'orchestre irrésistible![11]

Away from the physical exhuberance of the balls themselves, the foyer areas became the domains of flirtation and intrigue, as further described by Poupin, "dans un coin du foyer, un jeune homme retenait, par de joyeuses folies, un élégant domino toujours prêt à s'échapper et toujours retardé par le plaisir de la réplique"[12].

As the very subject of Manet's painting, the gatherings in the corridor behind the loges obviously were catalysts of some kind, be they direct or indirect, in the creation of the work, but the extent to which he worked directly at the site in the Opéra is not known. In 1931 Tabarant wrote that the work had been painted "d'après des notes prises au foyer de l'Opéra"[13], but in 1947 he was much more explicit, describing, without evidence, that

> En cette fin de mars 1873,... Dans la nuit de la Mi-Carême, le jeudi 20, le bal paré, masqué et travesti de l'Opéra... put voir Manet, calepin de croquis en mains, prenant notes sur notes. Il le revit dans la nuit du 30 au 31, au Bal des Artistes...[and] De minuit à six heures, Manet ne se lassa pas de crayonner des pages.[14]

Tabarant's claim that the painting had been developed from April to November[15] of that year was accepted by many later scholars. Of two preparatory oil sketches[16], one (Fig.E2) seemingly depicts the same corridor outside the loges as in the painting, but both could be seen as studio studies as much as site sketches. And an uncertain ink wash drawing[17] relates to those occasions described by Théodore Duret when Manet had invited his friends "par groupes de deux ou trois ou isolément, en habit noir et en cravate blanche, poser dans son atelier"[18].

There were, however, other historical events which also provide connections between the painting and the locale. The production of a play *Henriette Maréchal* in 1865 provided such a connection with the painting of some eight years later. Written by the de Goncourt brothers, Edmond and Jules, the play opened on 5 December, 1865, at the Théâtre français to great outcry and disturbance and was closed before the end of the month after only six performances[19]. The reasons for the opposition to the play seem to have been very complex, partly involving preferential treatment afforded the de Goncourts because of their friendships within the circle of Princess Mathilde, the cousin of Napoleon III, but subsequent events involving the leader of the protests suggest that the reason was more directly political and very much a republican issue. The play's first act, titled *Le Bal de l'Opéra*, had been set in the first-floor corridor of the Opéra, and two contemporary illustrations of the set (Figs.E6, and E7) show somewhat different configurations of columns and balcony balustrade to each other, but with the Bertall conveying something of the depiction in the painting. How these illustrations related to what actually existed in the corridor is uncertain but they confirm that the corridor in question would have been a well-known locale to most Parisians. The similarity between the actual set and the painting had also been noted by Edmond de Goncourt himself in 1873 when, after visiting Manet in his studio in Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, he noted in his journal on 20 November that "Aujourd'hui, j'étais dans l'atelier de Manet, regardant son tableau du BAL DE L'OPÉRA, qui est pour ainsi dire la mise en scène du premier acte d'HENRIETTE MARÉCHAL"[20]. John Hutton has suggested, however, that Edmond de Goncourt's claim had been a self-serving one, even if it "has found a ready

echo in art-historical literature"[21], and that "the circumstances of the scandal regarding the Goncourt play... make it exceedingly improbable as inspiration for Manet's painting on any level, particularly in the tumultuous climate of late 1873."[22] Nonetheless, and as described below, the artist whose work is proposed as the source for Manet's painting was a close friend of the de Goncourts and one of the intimate circle around Princess Mathilde. The "borrowing" of an image from an artist who not only knew the playwrights of *Henriette Maréchal* but whose political position was also obviously very different to Manet's adds an intriguing dimension to the possible reasons for Manet's painting.

If Manet had been influenced in using the locale of the corridor because of the nature of the gatherings there during masked balls, or that it had been used for the setting of a particular play in 1865, then any such considerations would have been seen in a new light with an occurrence in October 1873. On the night of 28–29 October, the Opéra rue Le Peletier was destroyed by fire[23], and although Garnier's new Opéra building had been in the process of being built at the time, the destruction of the much-loved venue was seen as a great loss to the city. Whether the fire was a catalyst for Manet's painting or was an influence on its development from an earlier commencement is not known, but within a month of the fire, on 18 November, the baritone Jean-Baptiste Faure had bought the painting directly from Manet[24], "tout frais peint"[25]. Éric Darragon has not only seen that for Manet "l'incendie joue un rôle de révélateur"[26] but has also suggested that, with *Henriette Maréchal*, "il est assez probable que le souvenir de la mise en scène du Théâtre-Français donnait au tableau, dans l'esprit même de Manet, une perspective et une mémoire intéressante"[27] and "qu'à la fin octobre 1873, Manet ait songé à la mise en scène des Goncourt pour son efficacité propre"[28].

In many ways the painting has been understood by scholars in terms less directly related to the locale or the occasion of its imagery and more in terms of the contemporary political and social issues. John Hutton has claimed, for example, that "the painting is incomprehensible apart from the events of its immediate period, particularly the controversy over the collapse of the royalist political fortunes in late October and early November 1873"[29] and has seen it as a "sardonic and biting salute to the death of the

monarchist thrust for power"[30]. Whereas Melissa Hall has pointed out that in the nineteenth century the Polichinelle figure represented the triumph of a morally righteous order, and that the figure of Polichinelle in the painting intensified "the issue of morality... as a central theme"[31], Marilyn R. Brown has suggested that "Manet may well have intended his *Polichinelle*, traditional and popular in its form, as an emblem of what he hoped would be a resurgence of the French modern tradition of art and life under the supposedly democratic auspices of the Third Republic"[32]. And Linda Nochlin and Alan Krell have addressed the work in terms of class and sexual commodity, with Nochlin suggesting that the "detached parts of female bodies constitute a witty rhetorical reference, a substitution of part for whole, to the sexual availability of lower-class and marginal women for the pleasure of upper-class men"[33], and Krell noting that the painting "takes us into the world of the demimonde and sexual barter, a favoured theme of Manet."[34]

Although such readings see the physical surrounds and space of the corridor only as a setting in which the players act out their perceived roles or functions, the configuration of the painting's frontal space, established by the balcony and its railing set parallel to the picture plane, and its articulation by the two round columns, cannot be seen as incidental or arbitrary. At least in compositional, if not spatial, terms, the question as has been asked by Linda Nochlin, remains – "Where did Manet get the idea for this rigorously horizontal two-story composition?"[35] The popular imagery of the masked ball at the Opera had been established by Gavarni from 1839 and had continued in the illustrated press each year during the ball season[36]. Joel Isaacson has suggested "Manet's conception... hardly seems divorced from – and was very likely conditioned by – the repeated designs of the illustrators" in which a "crowd is depicted... in a compressed relief grouping".[37] Similarly, it has been suggested by Darragon that "un grand nombre de ces illustrations paraissant à l'époque du carnaval qui attestent la formule d'un groupement compact de la foule, en frise"[38], and by Hutton that Manet's painting "derives directly from the standardised image of the theme"[39]. A more specific borrowing from El Greco's *Burial of Count Orgaz* has been proposed by Alain de

Leiris[40], and Linda Nochlin has conjectured that "Manet may have based the *Ball at the Opera* on the rigorously horizontal, two-tiered composition of Jean-François Bosio's *The Ball at the Opera* (1804)"[41].

A work which is here proposed to have been used as a direct source by Manet is a contemporary painting by Pierre-François-Eugène Giraud (1806–1881), *Le bal de l'Opéra* (1866). The painting was first shown in the Paris Salon of 1867[42], photographed by the photographer Robert Bingham (Fig.E3)[43], and illustrated as a wood engraving in L'Univers Illustré on 28 December, 1867 (Fig.E4). In his review of the Salon, Théophile Gautier *fils* wrote of Giraud's painting:

> Il faut être essentiellement Parisien pour goûter toute la saveur du tableau de M. EUGENE GIRAUD, '*Le Bal de l'Opéra*', et il faut être homme de beaucoup d'esprit et de talent pour l'avoir peint comme l'a fait M. Giraud. Avec une exactitude mêlée de finesse qui sait trouver le côté comique des choses sans tomber dans la caricature, il a représenté le turbulent et périlleux défilé situé entre les colonnes du rez-de-chaussée, devant le foyer, ce passage où les vertus assez hardies pour s'y aventurer, risque d'être ballotées d'un Charybde en habit noir à un Scylla en gants blancs. Quel mouvement, quelle cohue de gens et de mots, que de chatteries chuchotées à l'oreille, que d'injures hurlées par des voix avinées! Tout cela grouille, crie et rit, s'emmêle et se démêle de la façon la plus gaie et la plus française.[44]

And in similar vein, a short article by M. Vernoy which explained the publication of the engraving in L'Univers Illustré also provided a cogent description of the activities in the corridor, reading in part:

> Pour célébrer l'inauguration du Carnaval parisien, avec tous les égards que mérite ce *grand* événement, nous avons eu l'idée de faire graver le tableau de M. E. Giraud, intitulé *le Bal de l'Opéra*, qui a obtenu un succès aussi complet que mérité au dernier Salon. Cette composition si vraie et à la fois si spirituelle vous transporte, chers lecteurs, au milieu de l'enfer du corridor des premières loges, en face de l'entrée du foyer. C'est là que l'on rit, que l'on échange à foison des plaisanteries plus ou moins légères; c'est là aussi que se sont refugiées les dernières miettes de "l'intrigue," qui jadis faisait florès à l'Opéra; c'est enfin le coin le plus célèbre de tout le bal, et par son originalité il justifie entièrement sa réputation.[45]

Interestingly, Gautier confused the levels stating the locale to be on the ground floor but correctly placed it in front of the foyer, while Vernoy correctly described it at the level of the first floor loges.

To the knowledge of this writer, Bingham's photograph of the painting has not been previously published and the wood engraving has only been published twice

since 1867. It was included, with no reference to Manet or the journal and with a dating of 1861, in Albert Boime's 1980 book, Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision[46], to illustrate a description by Boime of the masked balls. With no reference to the journal and with the same dating of 1861, it also appeared in Kathleen Adler's 1986 monograph Manet, with Adler making specific reference to Manet, noting Giraud's work as "One of the many illustrations of the masked balls to be found in popular magazines and newspapers, this example has a close compositional affinity to Manet's painting"[47]. Darragon cited the reproduction in Boime's book in his article of 1983[48], but it seems that since 1986 no further reference to it has been made. Not only is there a "close compositional affinity with Manet's painting" as Adler has suggested, but it is proposed that Giraud's image, whether in the form of the painting in the Salon, the photograph of Bingham, or the published engraving in the journal, was the primary influence and source for Manet's work.

Eugène Giraud had been a well-known artist of history paintings, exotic scenes from Italy, Spain, and Africa, portraits, and caricatures[49], with many submissions to the Paris Salons between 1831 and 1880[50]. Of interest in this consideration of Manet's painting is Giraud's established and intimate position within the circle around Princess Mathilde, cousin of Napoleon III, his friendship with Nieuwerkerke, *directeur général des Musées Impériaux*, and his contact and friendship with the Goncourt brothers, the writers of *Henriette Maréchal*[51]. If a proposal that Manet used Giraud's image as source is a valid one, then a new chronological framework for the development of Manet's painting is introduced, and the implications of Giraud's social and political world may be seen to have been an influence. The direct borrowing of Giraud's subject matter, locale, and composition could be seen, on the one hand, as a specific point of reference or, on the other, simply as a means to a pictorial end. Certainly the appearance of Giraud's image around 1867 suggests that Manet took note of it, most probably as a retained reproduction, at that time. The possibility therefore exists that *Masked Ball at the Opera* was either in gestation or had actually been commenced by Manet from early 1868, with

subsequent events, both public and private, influencing its development through to Faure's purchase on 18 November, 1873.

In her 1972 essay, 'Popular imagery and the work of Édouard Manet'[52], Anne Coffin Hanson suggested that "A continued search for sources may yield little more than a longer list of names, but it still seems profitable to ask what kinds of sources Manet used and why"[53]. But she also cogently argued that Manet had "practised a kind of image-collecting"[54], and because of that "it is usually futile to search for the one 'correct' source for a given motif"[55]. Such concerns have been more recently augmented by those methodologies which consider visual identifications separate from broader contextualisations to be irrelevant. The identification of this borrowing from Giraud not only raises, however, new spatial aspects in *Masked Ball at the Opera* but also provides further evidence of, and insights into, Manet's program of spatial manipulation. The analysis presented here suggests that Manet transformed the obvious angled spatial arrangement of the source image to be an ambiguous underlay in his own work.

Analysis and Proposal

A comparative analysis of the Giraud and Manet images shows that, in terms of the overall disposition of the figures, the lower section of Giraud's, as shown with the cropped image in Fig.E5, is very similar to the complete image of Manet's, with the landscape of top-hats above the men in evening dress, the women in dominoes or costumed, the detailed extent of the visible floor surface in the foreground shaped by the feet, legs, and dresses of the participants, and the overhanging leg of a young woman on the balcony. The area of lighter tone at the left and the darker area at the right with the masked women in dominoes, are also similarly positioned. Notwithstanding a prevailing "suspicion of the attribution of sources based entirely on compositional analogies"[56], Giraud's image provides a compelling compositional source for Manet's painting.

But typically Manet has 're-framed' the visual source to create his complex and enigmatic work. Giraud's view is clearly an angled two-point perspective whereas Manet's is a frontal one-point perspective, and in the transformation from Giraud's space

to Manet's space, a number of other aspects have been altered. The cropping of Giraud's image changed the vertical format to a horizontal one and in the process reduced the throng of merrymakers on Giraud's balcony to disembodied legs, with the one overhanging the railing retained, but repositioned. Although the backdrop of columns and balcony is re-orientated from its angled perspective in the Giraud to the frontal one in the Manet, the foreground group of revellers in the Giraud was, interestingly, already aligned with the picture plane. And with that re-orientation of the space, the three panels from the Giraud balcony railing had been retained but seemingly stretched to the wider spacing between the columns in the Manet. The group of 'dark' figures to the centre front was reformed, with the elimination of the white-wigged reveller and the figure gesturing a greeting to those above in the balcony, a more defined group was formed at the right, and both of the couples to the left in the Giraud were turned to be in profile in the Manet. And the lascivious stance of the top-hatted rake of Giraud's flirting couple, with the woman *en débardeuse*, was much more suggestive than that of Manet's gentleman, and similarly, the dynamic mood of Giraud's crowd was reduced to a restrained demeanour within Manet's groupings. In addition, the area of highlight at the left is retained, but its focus on a male *Pierrot* figure in the Giraud is changed to the woman in a *bébé* costume in the Manet, with the outward-looking *Pierrot* extracted from the crowd to become an inward-looking *Polichinelle*. Notwithstanding these adjustments, it becomes apparent not only that the Giraud work was used as the basis, both in content and composition, for *Masked Ball at the Opera* but that Manet had made his own variations on the theme of the gathering in the corridor of the Opéra.

The initial spatial analysis was undertaken on the premise that Manet had typically flattened the perspective to produce a frontal view, but with the different proportional relationship between the columns and the balcony, together with the number of panels to the balcony railing, requiring examination. The application of the research considerations of offset viewpoints changed these perceptions, complicated the analysis, and left it with some unresolved aspects. In the context of the overall approach taken in this dissertation, even these established results are of importance. It

is proposed that the space of the Giraud was seen by Manet to incorporate those two elements with which he had been experimenting, that is, the space set parallel to the picture plane with the foreground group of revellers, and an angled space with the structure of the balcony. But this dual shaping of Giraud's was obvious, without ambiguity. Manet retained the alignment of the foreground group, re-aligned the balcony structure to be the same, and produced an apparently frontal view with the position of the viewpoint assessed, as determined from the slightly off-centre view of the clusters of lamps on the columns, to be slightly to the left of a central position. But that insistently frontal view was underlaid by Manet with the ambiguous implications of angled views from offset viewpoints to both the left and to the right. With the site not allowing the offset viewpoints to actually see the complete motif as was possible from the more central viewpoint, the angled shaping could only have been developed by Manet directly within the surface of the work, and not established with a *chambre photographique* as is proposed for *The Railway* or *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*.

The concept for Manet's painting can therefore be seen to have evolved from the borrowing of a coherent part of another work, rather than one conceived as a composite of parts, and it is also clear that such a direct borrowing had not been seen by Manet as a hindrance or limitation in achieving his own vision in paint. At one level, the extent of pictorial contrivance is therefore surprisingly limited, but in terms of spatial shaping, it can be seen that the spatial implications in the Giraud were seen by Manet as an existing situation full of potential for experimental re-shaping. Analysis of the re-shaping was undertaken with the computer-modelled reconstruction of the corridor site in the Opéra rue Le Peletier, using dimensional information gathered from archival documents (e.g. Figs.E8 and E9), photographs and illustrations. Inconsistencies between all the examined documents meant, however, that the modelling, as shown in the plan, elevation, and cross-section (Fig.E12) and the isometric view (Fig.E13), could not be constructed with complete accuracy. Nevertheless, when used to assess and check the perspective in the Giraud painting, the modelling was able to show it to be a two-point angled view from a viewpoint SP1 within the foyer and in the direction as shown in

Fig.E12, looking across the corridor. The reasonable accuracy of the computer-generated view (Fig.E16) from this viewpoint when confirmed with the overlay line drawing made from the painting (Fig.E17), not only demonstrated that the processed dimensional information was reasonably accurate but also that Giraud had obviously used the principles of perspective in a constructed view, or taken the geometry directly from a photograph.

Because of the number of balcony railing panels depicted, the proportions of the columns and the implications of the spatial shaping, Manet's painting presents a somewhat contradictory representation of the space of the corridor and balcony. At first it seems evident that the columns in the Manet have been set further apart than in the Giraud and that the three-panel balcony railing set between the columns has been stretched accordingly, but with the central panel made wider than the two side panels. And the columns in the Manet also seem to have been made wider than in the Giraud. The reconstruction of the corridor established, however, that with the same spacing of the three railing panels as seen between columns *C3* and *C4* in the Giraud, seven panels fitted exactly between the central columns *C2* and *C3*. And when this reconstruction was compared with Manet's work it was seen that the proportion of height to width of that central bay, using the centre line of the columns *C2* and *C3* for the width, was exactly as depicted in the painting. A surprising accord, probably not accidental, was also seen to exist in the depth of the edge beam to the balcony floor. And when the seven railing panels in the central bay were seen as a combined sequence of two, three, and two panels rather than seven separate panels, the combined proportions matched those in the painting more closely than three panels of equal width.

Thus, in the re-alignment by Manet of the columns and balcony in the Giraud to be parallel to the picture plane he transposed the view to be between the central columns rather than between those used by Giraud. Although the one-point frontal perspective view evident in *Masked Ball at the Opera* could have been easily developed by Manet from an understanding of an elevation of the elements, without recourse to recording the view from a particular position on site, the underlying spatial ambiguities in the work

suggest that the apparently straightforward frontal view of the painting is more complex than it seems. A one-point frontal perspective view from Manet's viewpoint SP2 in the foyer space (Fig.E18), with the centre of vision slightly to the left of the image's centre, confirms, when overlaid with the line drawing made from the painting (Fig.E19), the painting's depiction of the balcony between the central columns in the corridor. The accuracy of the correlation suggests that Manet's adaptation of Giraud's image may have incorporated information about the site that had been neither directly evident in Giraud's perspective view nor obviously available for examination after the Opéra fire, and consequently, that *Masked Ball at the Opera* had existed in some form, or at least been in gestation, before the fire.

The spatial shaping of the painting in the one-point frontal view, as seen with the overlay lines set to the floor surface in Fig.E20a provides an interesting comparison with the implications of offset viewpoints to the left and the right as shown with overlay lines in Fig.E20b and Fig.E20c, respectively. As discussed in Appendix 1 and Chapter 4, the ambiguous existence of an alternative spatial shaping only exists within a work's artifice, even if the implied alternative viewpoint could be used. For these alternative offset views in *Masked Ball at the Opera*, this is reinforced by the fact that, because of the walls between the foyer and the corridor, the theoretical views could not be seen from the either of the offset viewpoints. The alternative spatial shapings underlying the work had been conceptualised by Manet at the surface of the canvas.

With the offset viewpoint to the left, and the resultant angled shaping as seen in Fig.E20b, the figures in the crowd align with this shaping possibly even more than with the frontal shaping. This can be particularly seen with the angled alignment of the couple in profile at left-centre. When seen in this shaping it is realised that, with their parallel alignment to the picture plane, it is impossible to see the back of the woman *en débardeuse* and the front of the man from a central viewpoint unless they, as a couple, were set at more of an angle to the picture plane. As depicted, they fit perfectly into the offset shaping. Similarly, although physically set parallel to the picture plane, the

direction in which the central group with the women in dominoes is facing, angled to their left, underscores this angled shaping.

The whole sense of the painting changes drastically, however, when the implied angled shaping from the offset viewpoint to the right is applied, as seen in Fig.E20c. For comparison, the vanishing point for this right-side shaping was positioned to provide the same, but opposite, angling as that for the left-side, and coincidentally was found to exist at the figure which has been identified by many other scholars as Manet's self-portrait. Although such an identification is, for this writer, an unconvincing one, the transformation of some aspects of the work when seen in the shaping from a vanishing point in such a position possibly enhances such a claim. Many of the figures in the crowd can be seen to individually not fit the shaping, but the relationship of the figure of Polichinelle to the group is transformed. From being an enigmatic, peripheral figure in both the frontal shaping and that with the offset viewpoint to the left, cut at the painting's left edge, the Polichinelle in this shaping is seen in a position which centrally faces the space between the columns and in which he has become the focus of the gathering – still isolated, different in appearance, and ignored by the revellers as before, but nonetheless the focus of the space. In such a position his stance, with legs apart and his arm raised, remains somewhat declamatory although of unspecified function, but it takes on the sense of admonition rather than salutation, and in doing so changes the tone of the painting completely. To have such a function covertly and ambiguously set within the fabric of the painting's somewhat straightforward spatial appearance gives evidence of the potential of Manet's strategy of implied concurrent spatial shapings. The relationship of the Polichinelle to the group, indeed his function in the painting, has always been seen as problematic, somewhat unsettling. The explanation of the perceived relationship within such a spatial shaping does not change that reading. The alternative, but concurrent, perception is always there as a latent ambiguous layer of the work, as one which can be neither dropped into or out of as the spatial shaping is re-assessed, nor developed and isolated to make the work something different to what it actually is.

At a practical level of technique, and as discussed in Appendix 1, the possibility of a sensed simultaneous angled shaping is enhanced with Manet's use of rounded forms, such as with the columns, and the visually flexible figures of the revellers. Not only would rectilinear columns have made a centre-point perspective inflexible and unable to be read in any other way, but the distortion would be very evident. Indeed, the existence of the square capitals at the top of the columns in the Giraud image may have been one of the reasons why they had been cropped by Manet. The implications of a comparison between round and rectilinear forms are also an important analytical aspect of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* in Chapter 5(F) below.

Masked Ball at the Opera is not only seen as an important step in Manet's development of spatial ambiguity but, by the very fact that it involved another image as pictorial source and intermediary, it also provides some understanding of his continued spatial experimentation. Although, as suggested above, the connection with Eugène Giraud's *Le bal de l'Opéra* raises broader implications, such as political, for Manet's reasons in creating his painting, in the context of this study the use of the Giraud image importantly introduces new possibilities in the dating of *Masked Ball at the Opera* and demonstrates how Manet transformed the obvious spatial shaping in the Giraud into the ambiguously nuanced space of his own canvas.

F. *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*

The painterly brilliance and evocation of the artificial world of the Folies-Bergère theatre reveal little of the complex and singular artifice used by Manet in the creation of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*. As stated in the Introduction, since the painting's first showing at the Paris Salon in 1882, the concerns underlying the speculations and interpretations of critics and scholars have been the painting's uncertain spatial organisation and the apparent discrepancies of the mirror reflection. A caricature of the time by Stop (Fig.F9) presented a witty confirmation of the perceived problem of the painting, by indicating that "Nous croyons devoir réparer cette omission" of the *monsieur* who "n'existe pas dans le tableau" and drawing him directly in front of the barmaid[1]. Such a tongue-in-cheek proposal in fact sets out the spatial arrangement which has been considered by most scholars to the present day to be the only, although impossible, outcome of the reflection. T.J.Clark's assertion "that *we* must be where *he* is. But we cannot be"[2] echoes the similar claims of many others. Whereas the critics in Manet's time saw the problems in pictorial or narrative terms, the more recent scholarship, as also discussed in Chapter 3, has seen the discrepancies and inherent ambiguities of the work in more speculative, theoretical, and abstruse terms.

It has been suggested by Bradford Collins, for example, that "the key problematic... the barmaid's unexplained refusal or inability to respond positively to the male spectator's intense gaze, upends one of the crucial features of the Venetian tradition: the returned gaze"[3]. Jack Flam has proposed that "it is part of Manet's more general strategy, through the use of *mise en abyme*, to transform what at first appears to be straightforward physical description into a kind of elliptical, metaphysical narrative"[4]. Penny Florence has theorised that "Several readings are suggested, left incomplete and mutually incompatible, as long as the painting is assumed to be a unitary sign. If... it is read as complex and tending towards iconicity, this structure is comprehensible in cognitive terms"[5]. Claiming knowledge of what Manet had in mind,

George Mauner has asserted that "The reflected bottles do not correspond in any way to the actual ones, either in configuration or location, a phenomenon that leaves no doubt as to the artist's intention"[6], and in countering readings of class, prostitution, and the "male gaze", Carol Armstrong has claimed that the painting

> uses the devices of modern painting precisely to destabilize the structure of gender positionality pertaining to the commodity culture it depicts: its disjunctive mirror unfixes the place of the viewer in front of the painting, such that no identity can be assumed between the spectator of the painting and the male customer depicted within it, and neither can the folded-out barmaid be firmly secured as a safely othered object of the gaze – instead the *Bar* suggests a constant oscillation between the same and the other. Not only that, it argues against its own absolute collapse with the structures of commodity culture that it celebrates by everywhere insisting on its critical *difference* from the world it depicts – by insisting on its status as a *painting* rather than a reflection.[7]

And Paul Smith, in seeing the anomalies of the painting's reflections in terms of Richard Wollheim's intentional theory and as a development of Baudelaire's strategies of reader identity, has claimed that "the *Bar* is a 'real allegory' of the intractability of the social aporia generated by the class and gender relations it represents"[8].

Nevertheless, in the midst of such approaches there have been attempts to grapple with the reality of the apparent discrepancies in terms of picture-making or examine those aspects of spatial manipulation that are involved in the proposals made here. Armstrong has also concluded that, in addition to the painting's functions involving gender and identity

> the zone of the mirror represents a very special fascination with opticality which was by no means Manet's only specular option, not the only way to represent the optical space of the mirror, but which also cannot be reduced to explanation according to the social and sexual circumstances of the place represented, the Folies-Bergère; rather I'm inclined to think that Manet chose the Folies-Bergère because it offered him something illusionistically complex to paint.[9]

And in describing the work as a series of interruptions, Armstrong explained that

> with each successive interruption the spatial reading of the canvas is confounded and the separate planes of its illusion are complexly and inextricably woven together, so that they are shown to be indivisible into separate planes. Their layers of illusionistic depth are shown to be collapsed and paper thin – like a series of flat collage elements glued on top of each other on a flat surface, thickening that surface into a slightly thicker thin-ness, declaring its two-dimensionality to be a very thin three-dimensionality that belongs both here in the world of real objects and there in the world of representations.[10]

Such layering, illusionistic or otherwise, is nevertheless related to the visible surface. Scientific examination of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* [henceforth also referred to as the Final Painting] has established a layering of a different kind, beneath that surface. The most thorough and objective investigation of the painting to date was carried out as part of the research for the *Hidden Face of Manet* exhibition and catalogue in 1986[11] by Juliet Wilson-Bareau, the exhibition's curator, and Robert Bruce-Gardner[12]. By means of an examination of X-radiographs (Fig.F2[13] and Fig.F4) of both the Final Painting and an earlier oil sketch (*Oil Sketch for A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, 1881, Fig.F3) [henceforth also referred to as the Oil Sketch], Wilson-Bareau was able to demonstrate that the posture and central position of the barmaid's reflection as seen in the Oil Sketch was initially used in the Final Painting but then adjusted and moved, at transitional intervals, to its final position to the right. Wilson-Bareau also suggested that the initial painting of the reflected image of the barmaid in its final position showed her "waist and hips were much slimmer, and she was leaning forward, with her arms still bent at the elbow, just like the 'real' girl in the sketch" and that the "decision to straighten the barmaid's arms and give her a more upright pose in the Courtauld picture was therefore made at a late stage in the development of the composition"[14]. Wilson-Bareau's examination, which took into account preliminary sketches and relevant contemporary documents, was augmented with extensive background information, set in the wider context of the examination of other *café-concert* paintings and drawings of Manet, and celebrated, moreover, the painterly qualities of the two works, noting that "Manet gave free rein to his wit and invention"[15].

Other aspects of the scientific examination of the Final Painting carried out for that exhibition were also later published by Robert Bruce-Gardner in Impressionist & Post-Impressionist Masterpieces: The Courtauld Collection[16]. Importantly, Bruce-Gardner confirmed that the *Hidden Face of Manet* exhibition had shown that "For Manet the process of constructing an image began with a record of things seen... but the evolution of the final image has been shown to take place on the canvas during painting."[17] In describing the changes that had been made to the arm positions of the barmaid, from one

with "her left hand resting on her right forearm... first sketchily painted, perhaps only broadly blocked in"[18] to that as seen in the painting, Bruce-Gardner explained that

> The decision to change the position of the arms inevitably entailed some reworking of the rest of the figure, the X-radiograph shows how Manet broadened the shoulders, redefined the waist with dense opaque paint and corrected the contours of the figure. The X-radiograph also indicates that the foreground still life had been at least partially painted before the change. The paint is very thick in the area of the right forearm, this is particularly clear in a raking light, and the extreme opacity of the X-radiograph here suggests that the edge of the the glass bowl of mandarins originally underlay it. On the left, a painted reflection of a champagne bottle can be seen continuing under the upper arm.[19]

In these identifications of prior states of the canvas, Wilson-Bareau and Bruce-Gardner provided more background knowledge to the apparent spatial disjunctions in the Final Painting than had until then been established, but did not allow their descriptions to project beyond the available information to make speculative spatial proposals.

The other technique which has the potential to investigate the spatial structure of a work from information both in its visible surface and as revealed by scientific examination, is that of perspectival analysis. But to this writer's knowledge, the only such analysis to have been made of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* has been that carried out by Professor William Conger and presented by Mary Mathews Gedo in her consideration of the artist and the painting in her 1994 Looking at Art from the Inside Out: The Psychoiconographic Approach to Modern Art[20]. Without any presented evidence, Conger's quoted analysis suggested that

> Although Manet probably did not employ formal perspective constructions in his *Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, his composition *seems* to be organized according to the logic of one-point linear perspective, except for the mirrored images of Suzon and her customer, positioned at the extreme right.[21]

Nonetheless, Conger seemed able to recognise that a strategy of ambiguity was involved when he suggested that "*The composition subverts perspectival logic so consistently as to suggest that Manet deliberately followed a pictorial strategy that exploited perspective for the sake of maintaining ambiguity* [Gedo's emphasis]"[22]. With that statement this writer can agree, but the evidence of Conger's analysis suggests that it was hardly an analysis at all. The space of the theatre as indicated in the plan[23]

is undocumented and incorrect, and detail aspects of the analysis[24], such as the choice of the vanishing point at the intersection point (*4*) for the perspectival framework around the fruit bowl, are given no explanation. In spite of such obvious problems, Gedo felt able to conclude that

> As the results of the researches... demonstrate, no matter how one struggles to reconcile Manet's final vision with observed reality, no matter how many theoretical positions one assumes vis-à-vis the *Bar*, in the end, his pictorial puzzle resists rational solution.[25]

Other scholars have been far more emphatic without evidence of any analysis. "Historians have attacked the problem like sleuths expecting to find some key to a logical and naturalistic explanation. There is none" Anne Coffin Hanson has asserted[26]. The painting was hardly presented by Manet as a puzzle waiting for a solution, but the continued acceptance by scholars of assumptions without confirming evidence or explanation, or even without examination, is in itself perplexing. To date, it has been accepted by all scholars that the mirror's reflection cannot be reconciled with what is seen in front of it, that the barmaid is facing directly across the bar, and that the reflected image of the barmaid is looking at and engaging, in some manner, with the gentleman seen in the upper right corner. The implication of this last assumption, that it places the gentleman in front of the barmaid in real space and therefore in the position of the viewer, has also been seen by many as the painting's very ambiguity, as something other than its incorrect handling of the reflection[27]. As a result of these assumptions it has been generally thought that the background setting seen reflected in the mirror in the Final Painting was not a direct depiction of what was able to be seen inside the theatre of the Folies-Bergère, but rather, was a free and inventive description of Manet's own making, even if possibly based on his observations or sketches. "It now seems fairly certain" Jack Flam has claimed "that the setting evokes a bar on the first floor balcony of the folies, although Manet largely reinvented the place in his picture"[28].

An analysis of the Final Painting has shown that all of these assumptions are incorrect and that it is a composite of actual views, with the reflected view of the theatre

space in the mirror behind the barmaid a reasonably accurate one from a specific viewpoint in the theatre, and the combined view of the barmaid, the bar and its collection of bottles, bowl of fruit and flowers, together with their reflections in the mirror, is a reasonably accurate one from a viewpoint which is different to the first and unconnected with the space of the theatre. The geometry of the perspective and reflections shows that the barmaid is facing towards the artist, at an angle across the bar, and that the gentleman is not looking at the barmaid at all but, rather, at the reflected view of the theatre in the mirror. Although the apparent spatial disjunctions can thus be explained, in terms of ambiguous spatial shaping, such an explanation neither discounts the way in which the painting is read nor provides answers to questions about Manet's intentions in creating such ambiguity. It does, however, explain how the ambiguity was created. The background to the analysis of the Final Painting involved the subject itself, documentary evidence of the painting's production, evidence from preliminary or related images, and the development of Manet's art to that stage.

Background

At the time of the painting around 1881 and 1882, the Folies-Bergère in Rue Richer (Fig.F21) was a famous night-life locale in Paris, well known for its variety theatre entertainment and as a place for prostitutes to freely mix with prospective clientele[29]. It comprised two large spaces, with one an awning-covered entry *jardin* with large balconies at the sides and through which one gained access, at ground and first-floor levels, to the second space, the theatre. Seating in the theatre was arranged at the ground floor level with loges set at one level in a horseshoe configuration, and within which seating, in rows on a sloping floor, was set directly facing the stage. At the first floor level the seating, both in stepped levels and as loges, was set as an overlooking balcony in a horseshoe configuration similar to that on the ground floor (Fig.F22). The spaces behind the curved seating at both levels were the famous *promenoirs* where customers were served drinks by *serveuses* from behind a series of *comptoirs* and where the prostitutes gathered. As J.-K. Huysmans had noted: "Ce qui est vraiment

admirable, vraiment unique, c'est le cachet boulevardier de ce théâtre"[30]. The overall atmosphere and appeal of the establishment was evoked with a description published in La Vie Parisienne in 1878:

> Que demande l'étranger en arrivant à Paris?
> *Les Folies-Bergère.*
> C'est que là surtout se trouve condensé l'esprit du crû. On y voit les habitudes parisiennes comme en déshabillé; on y vit de la vie de ce monde léger, aimable, prime-sautier, charmant, poli, étincelant de brio et finement moqueur, dont M. Sari a si heureusement saisi les goûts,... L'esprit parisien se condense et se respire dans cette atmosphère tiède et parfumée; mais on comprend aussi que ce lieu de délices, tout à la fois théâtre, concert, café, jardin, est également crée en vue de la foule comospolite [sic]....
> Partout des comptoirs tenus par de charmantes vendeuses, dont les yeux espiègles et les gracieux sourires attirent une foule de clients.
> L'enchanteur, M. Sari, a semé dans son jardin fantastique toutes les séductions. – La troupe des Hanlon Lees, des pantomimes, des ballets, une musique entrainante... rien n'est négligé pour varier les plaisirs.
> Le regard est ravi, l'oreille charmée. Tout vous séduit, vous éblouit.[31]

Visual information about the detailed configuration and appearance of the theatre interior at that period is limited to seating plans, posters, illustrations of varying accuracy, and a gouache painting by Jean-Louis Forain. A pictorial Seating Plan of 1875 by Barclay (Fig.F13) clearly illustrates the elements in the theatre space and the seating arrangement as described above. At the *rez-de-chaussée* level is seen the *loges* set behind the columns supporting the upper balcony, and with the *fauteuils d'orchestre* seating and *stalles* area behind set in rows facing the stage on the sloping floor. At the *galerie* level is seen the curved balcony and its seating mixture of *loges* and *fauteuils*, the columns at the side walls supporting the exposed roof trusses, a decorative frieze at the top of the wall, and the suspended chandeliers. Large mirrors were set between the columns at the side walls. Behind the curved seating areas at both levels are the *promenoirs*. Although inaccurate both in scale and perspective, two posters of the 1870s provide further insights into the character of the theatre's interior. In the 1874 *Folies-Bergère* poster by Lévy (Fig.F10) the view of the theatre in the background is from the opposite direction of the Barclay seating plan and the foreground depiction of the bars and stairs does not relate to the background scene. Although it is of interest to see the depiction of a bar in the background at the balcony level to the right of the stage as a

possible indicator of a position of a bar, the actual seating arrangement and the space that was available between the balcony front and the side wall made such a position for a bar and customers unlikely[32]. The view of the theatre in Jules Chéret's 1875 colour lithograph poster, *Aux Folies-Bergère* (Fig.F11), is from the left side (facing the stage) of the theatre looking to the mirrored wall opposite. In addition to those elements visible in the Barclay seating plan can be seen the aerialists in action suspended from the roof structure. Although for graphical purposes the bar in the foreground is similarly unrelated to the background, the depictions of the barmaids and customers at a bar in both posters provide some sense of how these small facilities were used.

Most of the available illustrations of the theatre at that time convey the entertainment and activities rather than any accurate details of the surrounds. A published illustration of a political meeting in 1871 after a drawing by Vierge (Fig.F12), is one of the few that conveys with reasonable accuracy the ceiling profile which still existed in 1881, the chandeliers, and the upper balcony seating, but its dating of a decade earlier and lack of spatial accuracy has allowed it to be only used here for guidance. The men standing at the right are on the stairs at the side of the tiered seating and the men seated directly in front and to the left are in the loges. Jean-Louis Forain's *Le Bar aux Folies-Bergère* of 1878 (Fig.F8) provides the closest chronological evidence to Manet's two paintings of the theatre's interior and shows a surprisingly similar use of pictorial elements. A bar, with details of finish not unlike those shown in Manet's Oil Sketch, has a similar display of bottles and bowl of fruit as seen in Manet's Final Painting. The mirror and its gold-finished frame can be seen set against the reveal of the engaged column at the left of the painting, with its lower edge seen at a similar height to that in Manet's Final Painting. The reflected image in the mirror includes the barmaid, her chair, the bar, and a vase of flowers which are in reality outside the depicted scene to the left, the balcony opposite, and the wall mirrors set against the column behind the crowd. And the technique, although not an original one, of showing only the reflected image of the flowers and not the flowers themselves provides a possible influence on the way Manet developed his imagery in the same space. The uncertain dating of the

Forain's work leaves, however, such a possibility open.[33] An examination of Forain's work suggests that its angled view could indeed be of the very same bar depicted by Manet, with the elements correctly positioned laterally, but the perspective and relative heights of the balcony fronts make such a proposal unresolved.

Apart from its surrounds, and although generally considered to have been set within the theatre, the exact position of the bar depicted in Manet's Oil Sketch has always been in some doubt. As noted above, it has always been known that, for the development of the Final Painting, Manet had set-up a bar in his studio as a reconstruction of one in the theatre. Léon Leenhoff's description of the Oil Sketch as "C'est le bar au premier étage à droite de la scène et d'avant-scène"[34] clearly sets the bar on the first floor level in the theatre, on the right-hand side, and in the proximity of the *avant-scène* as seen in the Lévy poster. Notwithstanding that description, others have proposed very different locations, with Novelene Ross proposing that "The bars were located in mirrored alcoves in an artificial garden area on the Folies ground floor"[35], and Kathleen Adler seeing the painting as "a barmaid presiding over one of the many small bars that lined the walls of the great winter garden"[36]. William Conger's proposal, as the only one which has previously specified an exact position, placed the bar in the general area implied by Leenhoff[37], but in contrast, the proposal made here sets the bar much further from the stage, towards the *promenoir*[38].

The period during which Manet produced the preparatory works and the Final Painting is thought to have been from the spring of 1881 until its showing in the Paris Salon on 1 May, 1882[39], but interrupted by a stay at Versailles from July to October, 1881, due to his declining health. A chronological sequence of a kind can be developed from annotations made by Léon Leenhoff, memoirs of friends and colleagues, a letter from his brother Eugène to Berthe Morisot, and the uncertain chronologies presented by biographers and cataloguers such as Adolphe Tabarant. The annotations of Léon Leenhoff appear in a posthumous Register of Manet works made in 1883 and hand-written on a series of card-mounted photographs of Manet's works taken by Fernand Lochard[40]. Leenhoff's descriptions suggest that Manet made sketches at the Folies-

Bergère, and from those the wash drawings and Oil Sketch were developed, with annotations on a Lochard photograph card of a wash drawing explaining it to be a "Dessin à la plume fait d'après des croquis pris aux Folies-Bergère"[41], the Oil Sketch noted in the Register to be an "Esquisse du Bar aux Folies-Bergère. Première idée du tableau. C'est le bar au premier étage à droite de la scène et d'avant-scène. Portrait de Dupray. A été peint dans l'été 1881"[42], and the same work noted on the Lochard photograph card to be "Peint d'après des croquis pris aux Folies-Bergère. Henry du Pray cause avec la fille du comptoir dans l'atelier de la rue d'Amsterdam"[43]. But interestingly, of a pastel portrait of Méry Laurent, whose highlighted figure is seen in the reflected balcony in the Final Painting, Leenhoff wrote on the Lochard photograph card "pastel fait d'après une photographie"[44], suggesting that its development was also based upon photographic images.

Record of Manet actually working on the Final Painting had also been made by others. Gaston La Touche recalled in 1884 that "L'hiver se passa... Il travaillait à son *Bar* des Folies-Bergère. J'allais souvent le voir; je posai même le monsieur qui est reflété dans la glace"[45]. Georges Jeanniot, in recounting in 1907 his experiences of visiting Manet, wrote "Lorsque je revins à Paris en janvier 1882, ma première visite fut pour Manet. Il peignait alors le *Bar aux Folies-Bergère*, et le modèle, une jolie fille, posait derrière une table chargée de bouteilles et de victuailles"[46]. And Manet's brother Eugène wrote of him in a letter to Berthe Morisot in early March, 1882[47], that "Il se prépare un four pénible à l'Exposition. Il refait toujours le même tableau: une femme dans un café"[48].

Less reliable datings have been made by Adolphe Tabarant for the preparatory and final works, including: *Le modèle du "Bar aux Folies-Bergère"*[49], of which he wrote "C'est là le portrait du modèle qui posa pour le motif définitif de la serveuse du *Bar aux Folies-Bergère*. Il fut exécuté au cours de l'automne de 1881, à l'atelier de la rue d'Amsterdam."[50]; the *Etude pour le "Bar aux Folies-Bergère"* [the Oil Sketch], of which he wrote "C'est le peintre Henri Dupray qui joue ici le rôle du monsieur causant avec la serveuse du bar. L'étude fut peinte à l'atelier de la rue d'Amsterdam dans les derniers mois de 1881, d'après des croquis pris par Manet aux Folies-Bergère"[51]; and the Final

Painting which he claimed "fut peint dans les derniers mois de 1881 à l'atelier de la rue d'Amsterdam, d'après un modèle qui vint y poser et des croquis pris par Manet aux Folies-Bergère"[52].

If the datings and sequence suggested by Leenhoff are accepted, then the initial sketches made by Manet at the Folies-Bergère would have been made before the summer of 1881, the date given for the Oil Sketch. Ronald Pickvance has noted that such a dating was a surprising one, and has suggested it to be more probably October, 1881, at the earliest[53]. But the existence of other drawings, some of questionable authenticity, which touch upon the subject or locale of the Final Painting and have been dated prior to 1881, confuses the issue, as such works can be seen as either part of a wider recording by Manet of theatres and cafés-concerts, or part of a longer-term project leading towards the final image.

One of these earlier images, *Au paradis* (Fig.F6), appeared as a transfer lithograph after a wash drawing in the spring of 1877 in Revue de la Semaine, and has been seen by Juliet Wilson-Bareau to show "spectators in the upper balcony of a variety theatre, looking down towards the action out of sight on the stage"[54]. For this writer, and in spite of the implications of the work's title, the setting suggests the specific locale of the Folies-Bergère theatre, in the loges at the lower level beneath the upper balcony, and to be much more indicative of the Folies-Bergère than the drawing specifically noted by Leenhoff as "Dessin à la plume fait d'après des croquis pris aux Folies-Bergère" (Fig.F7). This latter work, titled differently by Adolphe Tabarant, Alain de Leiris, and Juliet Wilson-Bareau[55], contains no details, either in the decorative relief to the upper balcony front, its balcony seating, or background detail which, for this writer, would particularly place the scene at the Folies-Bergère.

Of the numerous other works of Manet which have been connected with *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*[56], many with uncertain provenances and in unknown locations, the possible existence of the preliminary sketches is tantalising and the details of a wash drawing is of particular interest here. Although no *in situ* pencil sketches have been published or documented, the catalogue for a sale of *Dessins et Aquarelles d'Edouard*

Manet from the Pellerin collection at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, in 1954, made reference to "Quarante dessins é la mine de plomb et à la sanguine d'après les maîtres et d'après nature: *le bar des Folies Bergères* [sic], *personnages, études de navires, de voiliers et de barques*" in its description of Album No.5[57]. None of the five drawings reproduced in the sale catalogue relates to the Folies-Bergère, and the present location of the drawing(s) which depict "le bar des Folies Bergères" is unknown. A wash drawing, *Study for Un Bar aux Folies-Bergère* (c.1881, Fig.F5) [henceforth also referred to as the Wash Drawing] had been noted by Charles Sterling in the catalogue to the 1932 retrospective exhibition, writing that "Manet a exécuté divers croquis sur place, dont un aquarellé, qui a figuré dans une vente anonyme à Paris, le 1er avril 1914, sous le nº 68"[58] and by Tabarant, when writing of Manet in 1947, "Il lava d'aquarelle un plus grand croquis (23 x 20), qu'il offrit à Antonin Proust"[59]. Although the work in question has an uncertain provenance[60] and, apart from a discussion by Bradford R. Collins in 1996[61], has received little scholarly attention, it presents for this writer a probable link in the Final Painting's development and is used in the analysis below as an authentic work of Manet.

Such a background of dates, comments and memoirs provides little real understanding, however, of the circumstances of Manet's translation of the motif in the Folies-Bergère theatre. If the project had been in gestation for some years, then the earlier images of audiences in balconies and of orchestras may have been involved in the development. Manet would have typically made small pencil sketches directly from the motif, but they could have been produced much earlier than the summer of 1881, or, alternatively, as more usually considered, after October, 1881. And although the Oil Sketch is generally thought, influenced by Leenhoff's notation, to have been painted by Manet in his studio using his sketches, the reasonable accuracy of its perspective and the immediacy of its technique raise the question of whether a secondary source such as a photograph or illustration had been used, or if it had also been produced in the theatre, during closing hours with no customers moving between the bar and the balcony seating. When Leenhoff's note about Manet using photographs to create his imagery as

well as the results of the other case studies in this dissertation are taken into account, it seems completely feasible that Manet used photographs to create the composite juxtapositions and the detailed perspectival arrangement of the Final Painting. The nature of these spatial manipulations, as explained below, confirms that this was not a straightforward work, and in that period from January to April, 1882, when it is known that Manet, severely restricted by his illness, was working on the painting in his studio in Rue d'Amsterdam and driving his brother to distraction with his constant reworking of the painting's surface, photography would have provided the means to bring the painting to its complex, ambiguous resolution.

With their use of spatial interplay and mirror devices, the works of other artists, such as Velásquez' *Las Meninas* (Fig.86) and Gustave Caillebotte's *Dans un café* (1880, Fig.H1), have been seen as possible influences on the Folies-Bergère project. As stated in Chapter 2, the ambiguity of Velásquez' *Las Meninas* had been achieved with spatial uncertainty apparently within the conventions of perspective, whereas Manet's work achieved its ambiguity with an apparent disregard of those conventions. Although *Las Meninas* makes use of a mirror in the most minimalist way, the uncertainty about its reflection, or indeed if it is a mirror at all, established the painting's ambiguity. Manet, in contrast, used the mirror to its fullest extent with it being the wall surface, the reflected image and the painted surface at one and the same time. But rather than creating Manet's ambiguity, it is shown in the proposal that the mirror is the means by which he applies his strategy of ambiguous spatial shaping. The painting *Dans un café* by Gustave Caillebotte, a contemporary of Manet in the 1870s, also provided, in terms of spatial manipulation and mirror reflection, interesting points of comparison with *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*. The nature of a previous spatial proposal for *Dans un café*, and a new proposal by this writer are discussed in detail in Appendix 2, and it is shown that the spatial interplay involving an offset viewpoint and photography is very similar to that used by Manet in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*. Such a similarity also raises the question of Manet's use of mirrors. In an unprecedented way, Caillebotte had used the mirrored reflections to interweave fact, ambiguity and artifice, and Manet, who would

have recognised a good device for ambiguity when he saw one, may have realised that the use of mirrors and angles could not only satisfy his wish to cover his tracks but, if not used literally, could also layer the inherent artifice of a work and add an uncertain refraction to its surface. With the results of the research for this dissertation indicating that many of Manet's works were composites of interlocked or overlaid views, it is clear that Manet would have recognised the potential of Caillebotte's painting for his own approach. At one and the same time the painting could be a composite of seemingly unrelated parts which were also interconnected by the spatial relationships of the mirrored images. Novelene Ross has proposed that a work of Mary Cassatt, *Lydia in a Loge, Wearing a Pearl Necklace* (1879) may have also been an influence on Manet.[62] Although a mirror reflecting the audience at the Opéra in tiered balconies is seen behind the woman, the fact that mirrors had not not existed at the back of the loges allowed Ross to equate such an arbitrary use of the mirror device with her claim that Manet had similarly used a mirror to combine impossible multiple views from the entry *jardin* at the Folies-Bergère.[63] In this instance, the incorrect reading of Manet's work makes the proposed connection a very tenuous one.

Although Manet had rarely used the mirror prior to *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* as a device of disjunction, two works, the pastel *A Café on the Place du Théâtre Français* (1876-78, Fig.70), and *Café-concert* give evidence that Manet had been experimenting in the late 1870s with the ambiguity of mirrored reflections in the milieu of cafés and cafés-concerts. The mirrors in *A Café on the Place du Théâtre Français* are not defined, but the reflections, with suggestions of chandeliers, add a false sense of shimmer to an otherwise cheerless interior[64], and although most of the elements seen in *Café-concert* resurface later in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, their handling in the former work does not involve the ambiguity so evident in the latter. The space in *Café-concert* is literal, the spatial interplay involved in the positioning of the reflected image of the singer at the left of the work and the implication that the male customer is looking at her outside the painting to the right seem obvious, and the vignettes of the woman in the lower left corner and the waitress quaffing a beer are replete with narrative and, as such, counter

any potential for spatial ambiguity. In terms of being seen as preparatory steps in Manet's handling of mirrors and reflections, there is nothing exceptional in either of these works.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the development of those spatial strategies used by Manet in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, other than those involving mirror reflection, had been evident in many earlier works. Two of these were important for very different reasons. The balance between literalness and ambiguity had obviously been less than successful in the *Café-concert de Reichshoffen*, with the dominant perspective of the marbled table top signalling the use of the offset viewpoint, and thus eliminating any potential for ambiguity. The adjustments made by Manet in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* are clear, with the dominant spatial shaping apparently set parallel to the picture plane but, as shown in the proposal below, actually constructed within the angled space from an offset viewpoint. In *La Prune*, a single figure of a woman is seated behind a horizontal, marble surface which is set parallel to the picture plane. It appears that the view is a frontal one and the woman is turned to her left. It has been shown in Chapter 4 that the work can also be seen as a view from an offset viewpoint to the left with the woman facing directly in front of her. In *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* a single figure of a woman stands behind a horizontal, marble surface set parallel to the picture plane. Notwithstanding the discrepancy of the reflection, it appears that the view is a frontal one and the woman is facing directly to the front. As is shown in the proposal below, the woman is actually turned to her left and the view is from an offset viewpoint to the right. Manet has applied the same basic strategy in each painting but has reinforced the ambiguity in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* by aligning the apparent view and direction in which the barmaid looks. Additionally, and importantly, whereas the apparent space of *La Prune* can exist without the alternative reading, that of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* was actually created with the alternative reading. A potent difference indeed.

As noted above in Chapter 3, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* had been reasonably well received by the critics and the public on its first showing at the 1882 Paris Salon. But the mythologies about the problems of the reflection and the barmaid and the

gentleman facing each other were created at that time, and although some were open-minded about the disjunctions, others used the problems as evidence of Manet's limitations. J.-K. Huysmans had noted the response and the cause, writing that:

> Le *Bar des Folies-Bergère* de M. Manet stupéfie les assistants qui se pressent, en échangeant des observations désorientées, sur le mirage de cette toile.
> ...Derrière elle s'étend une glace qui nous montre, en même temps que le dos réverbéré de la femme, un monsieur vu de face, en train de causer avec elle; [65]

Emile Bergerat had agreed that "l'effet de reflet dans la glace ne se comprend pas du premier coup. Mais quelle loi en art décrete que les effets doivent être saisis et perçus dès l'abord?"[66]; Paul Alexis wrote of a "glace, dans un coin de laquelle on voit encore reflété, le visage à favoris d'un client, d'un adorateur sérieux peut-être, qui parle de près à la jolie vendeuse"[67]; Dubosc de Pesquidoux noted "l'excentricité de la facture et les bizarreries de l'exécution. Sa dame de comptoir... se reflète dans la glace posée derrière son dos et cause avec un interlocuteur qu'on ne voit, lui, que dans le miroir"[68]; and Saint-Juirs wrote of "La jeune personne qui tient galamment ce bar, fait face au public. Elle a derrière elle une grande glace, où se réflète sa personne d'abord, puis celle du monsieur avec lequel elle flirte"[69]. But Jules Comte in his Salon review dwelt on the problems of the reflection more than others, noting that

> Une jeune femme debout au comptoir d'un *bar*, devant elle les divers flacons et bouteilles qui attendent le consommateur; derrière, une glace dans laquelle se réflète la salle, et au premier plan, la figure d'un habitué qu'on aperçoit causant avec la même femme vue de dos, voilà le sujet, que nous prenons tel qu'il nous est donné, sans le discuter. Mais ce qui nous frappe tout d'abord, c'est que cette fameuse glace, indispensable à l'intelligence de tous ces reflets et de toutes ces perspectives, n'existe pas: M. Manet n'a-t-il pas su la faire, ou bien a-t-il trouvé que l'*impression* était suffisante? Nous n'aurons garde de répondre à cette question; nous notons seulement ce fait, que tout le tableau se passe dans une glace, et qu'il n'y a pas de glace. Quant aux incorrections de dessin, quant à l'insuffisance absolue de la figure de la femme qui est, en somme, le seul personnage, quant au manque de correspondance entre les objets reflétés et leur image, nous n'insisterons pas; ce sont lacunes familières à MM. les impressionnistes, qui ont d'excellentes raisons pour traiter de haut le dessin, le modelé et la perspective.[70]

As discussed in Chapter 3 and above, the critical responses to the painting have changed with time but the perceptions about the disjunctions of its mirror reflection and its problematic spatial organisation have remained constants and have been seen as

the primary indicators of the painting's ambiguity[71]. The analysis and proposals made here demonstrate that the painting is, in fact, spatially explainable, and that its ambiguity is based on a devised spatial interplay which was far more complex and nuanced than has been previously imagined.

Analysis and Proposal

With the research of others demonstrating that the composition of the Final Painting had been initially based upon that of the Oil Sketch, and the perception that the depiction of the space was more literal in the Oil Sketch, it meant that any attempt to address and understand the construction of the spatial ambiguities in the Final Painting firstly required an understanding of the earlier painting. The only doubts which have been raised previously about the authenticity of this preliminary painting have involved the painting of the bar, with Tabarant noting in 1931 that "sur la photo Lochard le comptoir n'apparaît pas. Reproduit notamment (sans le comptoir) dans l'*Edouard Manet* de Julius Meier-Graefe... et (avec le comptoir), dans le *Manet* de J.-E. Blanche"[72]. Such a situation implied that the lower section of the bar had been painted by another hand. The Lochard image is not of the complete canvas with only the bar top visible, the Meier-Graefe reproduction is an image trimmed on all four sides with the area in which the bar may or may not exist completely removed at the bottom edge[73], and the Blanche reproduction has slight trimming at the top and side edges but with the bar essentially as it exists today[74]. When Ronald Pickvance claimed in 1996 that "an untrimmed Lochard photograph among the duplicate albums in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, clearly shows the bar as it always existed in the painting"[75] it seemed to confirm that the bar had always existed in that form. A clear resolution of this aspect is important in any full understanding of the Oil Sketch, as the lack of a reflected image of the bar can only be analysed when those objects in front of the mirror are fully understood.

The analysis of the Oil Sketch was based upon the belief that the different heights and sizes of the chandeliers were not arbitrary depictions of unrelated objects but seemed to be parts of a consistent perspective view, from one viewpoint, of their first-

and second-reflected images in the mirrors set to the side walls of the Folies-Bergère theatre. The fact that a flat mirror dictates the perspectival relationship between an object and its reflected image suggested that a cohesive geometry was more, rather than less, likely. And it was considered that the perspectival geometry for the chandeliers was also the same as for the barmaid and her reflected image. As seen in Fig.F27, a vanishing point can be reasonably established to the right for the perspective of these elements, and when it is combined with the horizontal frieze above the reflected image of the mirrors and the slightly angled bar front, the geometry of the depicted space can be seen to be either a two-point frontal perspective with one plane almost parallel to the picture plane or a one-point perspective with an offset viewpoint. But as the existence of a probable vanishing point gave no guarantee that Manet had not arbitrarily used it to falsely suggest a space with diminishing dimensions, a virtual reconstruction of the forms and space of the theatre interior was needed for analytical purposes.

Such a reconstruction of the interior was computer-modelled using calculated dimensions from archival photographs, site measurements, and dimensional information gathered from archival documents, which included translated dimensional information from architectural drawings of renovations to the Folies-Bergère establishment in 1926. These renovations were made under the authority of the then Director, Paul Derval, and although the aesthetic of the establishment was completely transformed and many changes made for increased seating, crowd circulation and access, architectural drawings (Figs.F16–F20, inclusive) which were prepared for that project contained invaluable information. These previously unpublished drawings provided an accurate physical framework, including enclosing wall and structural grid positions as a basis for developing the form of the theatre interior in 1881, and revealed, for example, the important fact for the mirror reflections that the side walls of the theatre were not parallel[76]. But they didn't provide details of what the profile of the seating levels in the upper balcony may have been. Nevertheless the framework established from them was the means by which all the data gleaned from archival photographs and illustrations could be co-ordinated.

Typical of these archival images are two photographs (Figs.F14 and F15) of unknown date (although certainly before 1926 and probably in the early 1900s), but both clearly from the same period. They confirmed that the theatre had undergone many changes during its life and that any clear understanding of its exact form at an earlier date without photographic evidence may, in fact, be impossible. It could be seen that changes had been made to the profile of the roof structure, the shape of the upper balcony and its seating arrangement, and canopied structures to the loges closest to the stage. And a mezzanine seating floor to the rear of the theatre above the balcony level had also been added. Nevertheless such images as these have provided invaluable information for cross-referencing, and the revelatory reflections seen in the mirrors to the side walls in the view from the balcony towards the stage confirmed all that had been previously imagined.

Notwithstanding a detailed examination of many documents, the profile of the balcony seating has been the most problematic aspect during the reconstruction. And part of this problem has been to accurately establish the first floor level in 1881. Although the underside of the existing balcony front seems basically to be at the height it existed in 1881, the interim adjustments to the seating arrangements and floor levels have made it, as yet, impossible to establish with certainty the depth, rise, and number of the seating levels within the balcony. The proposed sectional form, as seen in Figs. F23 and F24, and the apparent one depicted in the background of the Oil Sketch, shows one intermediate seating level between the main floor level and the lowest level of seating in the balcony. Although the form has been based upon extensive research and examination, and is not guesswork, neither is it presented as historically exact. It is also known that Manet had worked from a set-up of a bar in his own studio, and thus the possible connections, spatial or otherwise, between the bar in the theatre and that in the studio needed to be understood. An examination of the Oil Sketch, the X-radiographs of the Oil Sketch, the Wash Drawing, other drawings which had been proposed by scholars to be related works, the Final Painting, and the X-radiographs of the Final

Painting, provided the imagery around which the analysis of the bar in the theatre and that of the bar set-up in Manet's studio were undertaken.

Initial testing of hypotheses had been, as usual, carried out with hand-drawn geometries, but the computer-generated modelling proved invaluable in accurately plotting the single- and double-reflections in the mirrors to the non-parallel side walls of the theatre, in providing comparative perspectives for analysis at both sites, and forming the proposed composite image of the final painting. The three-dimensional arrangement of the theatre which was the basis for the analysis is shown in the first floor plan (Fig.F22), longitudinal section (Fig.F23), cross-section (Fig.F24), and an isometric view (Fig.F25). This latter view shows: the actual space of the theatre *AS* with its side wall mirrors at planes *w1* and *w2*; the first-reflected space of the theatre *RS1* set behind the mirrors at *w1* with the actual mirrors at *w2* seen in reflection at *w2'*; and the second-reflected space of the theatre *RS2* set behind the mirrors at *w2'* with the actual mirrors at *w1* seen in second-reflection at *w1"*. The components within the theatre, including the proposed bar, the balcony and its seating, the chandeliers, and the stage with its proscenium arch can be seen in the actual space and correctly reflected in the first- and second-reflected spaces. For reasons of clarity, roof trusses and ceiling profiles are not fully shown in this pictorial view. A sense of the space of the theatre interior can also be seen in Fig.F26, with a computer-generated perspective view taken from the *promenoir* on the first floor level, showing the balcony, stage, and chandeliers, and the proposed bar in front of the wall mirrors, with their single- and double-reflections of the balcony and its seating levels.

A consideration of the Oil Sketch in the context of the space of the theatre required a number of pictorial aspects to be noted and addressed. Although the frieze was horizontal and the bar front angled slightly upwards to the left as if in perspective, the balcony front was clearly more angled and could not have been set across the width of the canvas as the horizontal element evident in the Final Painting. There also seemed to be no reflected image of the bar, and the figure of the gentleman, as modelled by Henry Dupray seemed spatially uncertain, apparently real as his figure is seen in front of the

lower mirror frame although seemingly not in the same space as the barmaid, but also possibly a reflected image looking up at the reflected image of the barmaid. In the latter situation his figure in real space would be seen, however, somewhere in the real space, although not necessarily within the pyramid of vision of the canvas from a single viewpoint. And if the position in real space required the figure to be set in front of the barmaid with the understanding that Manet had eliminated the figure, not only would that echo the concerns made about the Final Painting, but in the opinion of this writer it is not consistent with Manet's artistic practice. What was seen was painted, even if adjusted and re-contextualised, not wilfully eliminated. But if the figure of Dupray was seen to be in real space, standing behind the bar and beside the barmaid, then parts of the barmaid's reflected image, such as the cuff to her sleeve, would not be painted over his figure and his reflected image would be apparent, to some extent at least at the right-hand edge of the canvas. Although as can be seen in the later analyses of the Wash Drawing and the Final Painting that solutions for the gentleman and his reflected image are a direct result of understanding those particular reflections, such is not the case with the Oil Sketch.

Even though the situation of Dupray, then, is not fully resolved, the evidence from the analysis suggests that Manet painted the figures of the barmaid and Dupray at different times, with the painting of the barmaid at the bar with the mirrors behind her in the setting of the theatre, and that of Dupray as a later addition in the studio, without a mirror behind him. Such a proposal would partly take into account Leenhoff's note about it being painted in Manet's studio, explain the accuracy of its rendering of the reflected interior of the theatre, and confirm that Dupray had been painted in a position as if behind the real bar but without an apparent reflection. With such a proposal, the figure of Dupray is seen as an addition to experiment with the potential for reflections to be incorporated into his program using the spatial shaping of offset viewpoints. And the fact of being painted at different times without any real connection between the barmaid and Dupray may have set in place that evident sense of disconnected gazing that carried through into the Final Painting.

In the context of these considerations and the perspectival analysis of the work, the bar was found to be positioned where shown in the first floor plan (Fig.F22), adjacent to the right-hand wall as noted by Leenhoff but much closer to the promenoir area. With the awareness and confirmation from the computer modelling that in a two-point perspective the front of the bar would be angled upwards and to the left much more than is evident in the Oil Sketch, the arrangement of a one-point perspective with an offset viewpoint to the right provided the geometry as required to illustrate that the Oil Sketch is a cohesive perspectival view from a single viewpoint. Such an offset view also raises the possibility that the overall view with, or without the figures of the barmaid and Dupray, had been recorded as a photograph from a *chambre photographique.*

A detailed arrangement of the bar with the positioning of the viewpoint (SP1) and the barmaid and Dupray is shown on the detail plan and section (Fig.F29), with the reflected images shown in their perceived positions behind the mirror. The mannequin part-figures for the barmaid and the gentleman were used to make the essential verifications of reflection displacements, but it can be noted that the position of the reflected image of Dupray in the perspective has no clear equivalent in the painting. The offset one-point perspective view from SP1, as seen in Fig.F30 with the Oil Sketch format positioned, provides a new understanding that the shape of the reflected balcony is part of its continuation back around behind the bar and not as a horizontal element as in the Final Painting. The accuracy of the view is confirmed with the overlay line drawing made from the Oil Sketch (Fig.F28), as seen in Fig.F31, with the shapes, sizes, and relative positions of many of the reflected elements reasonably coincident, including: the first-reflected images of the columns with attached gas lamps *c9'* and *c10'*, the frieze *fr2'* above, chandelier *ch5'*, the balcony front *bf'*, and the sloping line of the end loge partition at *p'*; and the second-reflected images of the chandeliers *ch1"*, *ch7"*, *ch5"*, and *ch2"*. While the part of the second-reflected image of chandelier *ch4"* has not been shown in the painting, the light seen on the second-reflected column c1" seems to have been enlarged as a combination of the two sources. Notwithstanding the level of detail considered, the vagueness of the form and grouping of the bottles on the bar and their

possible reflected images precluded any attempt to analyse their actual or reflected positions.

Complexities involved with the reflected images of the balcony and its seating also need some detailed clarification. The reflected image of the top edge of the balcony closest to the actual bar is shown at *bt'*, in a position almost coincident with the bottom edge of the visible balcony front *bf'* but angled slightly in the opposite direction. The painted area beneath this line is proposed to be the inside face of the balcony front, but such an assessment is complicated by the actual divisions in the theatre between the *promenoir* and the balcony seating and between the seating levels within the balcony. Without certainty, but based upon the visual evidence in the 1871 illustration (Fig.F12), the seating plan (Fig.F13), and the confirmed extent of the *loges* in the interior photograph (Fig.F14), the dividers at the sides of the balcony have been determined to be open grilles of some kind rather than solid ones as seen around the loges. In the perspective, only the top rails of these dividers have been depicted to illustrate their form. Either the viewpoint is a different one or Manet had chosen to not show an open railing, a proposition which in itself contradicts what this writer has assessed to be Manet's practice of not wilfully eliminating elements. These details nevertheless address, in part, the aspect of the Final Painting noted by many scholars, of an accentuation of the apparent separation between the reflected bar and crowd in the balcony opposite with the reflected *promenoir* space between the bar and the balcony not conveyed by any aspect of the near seating. Any possible uncertainties in the balcony details are not seen as a contradiction of the confirmation of the Oil Sketch as a reasonably accurate view of the Folies-Bergère interior.

Manet had generally developed his paintings in his studio, with many reworkings, and the evidence indicates that the same procedure was used for the Final Painting. As noted above, Jeanniot had described how Manet had recreated a bar and its accoutrements in his studio, but made no mention of a mirror. A different model to the one used for the Oil Sketch was employed and, on Gaston la Touche's own evidence, he posed as the gentleman. As noted above, it has been previously established from an

examination of the X-radiograph of the Final Painting that Manet first transferred the composition of the Oil Sketch to the canvas of the Final Painting without major alterations. The transformation of the image from that of the Oil Sketch to that of the Final Painting is partly explained by the moving, at intervals, of the reflected image of the barmaid towards the right and its final position, as discussed above. Seemingly undertaken to make the relationship between the barmaid and her reflected image less spatially obvious than in the Oil Sketch, this adjustment raises the question about Manet's use of a mirror in his studio and of any intermediate assessments between the Oil Sketch and the Final Painting. As it must be assumed that no large mirror was being used in the studio, it can be asked to what extent was Manet aware of the spatial and perspectival implications of this transposition of the barmaid's reflected image to the right? Although the perspectival geometry for the Final Painting can be shown to use, as for the Oil Sketch, the offset viewpoint, the number of moves of the barmaid's reflected image suggest some uncertainty by Manet of the implications of the changes in the context of his wider agenda of spatial ambiguity. The existence of the Wash Drawing provides evidence that he returned to the Folies-Bergère to experiment with, or to confirm, the potential for ambiguity with an increased separation between the barmaid and her reflection, and in the process to confirm that the reflected image of the gentleman could be incorporated in the view without including him in the depicted real space. Whether the actual Wash Drawing was created on site at the theatre or was later developed as a more finished image from sketches is uncertain, but working in front of the mirror would have confirmed for Manet what it is here claimed he had already understood from the *chambre photographique*, that is, the potential to create an apparent frontal view with an angled view from an offset viewpoint. Although the proposals presented here for the Final Painting are able to be made without reference to the Wash Drawing as an intermediate step in Manet's process, a number of aspects of its composition provide evidence that he used it for that purpose. If it had been a preliminary sketch before the Oil Sketch, then it would not have the disjunction of the reflection, and if it had been produced, as had been his normal practice, after the Final

Painting for publication purposes, then it would have related more to the final image, and as explained below, it would not have indicated the frieze set at the top of the mirrors.

The Wash Drawing presents a view of the interior of the theatre different to that seen in the Oil Sketch, but of the very same bar. Its provenance by no means ensures its certainty by Manet's hand, and, as mentioned above, it has received minimal scholarly attention. But with its particular qualities of bold and confident, yet subtle, brushwork, and its vivid shorthand in capturing the essence of things, as seen for example in the face of the gentleman, it exhibits characteristic touches of Manet. Bradford Collins has proposed that "Manet seems to have made the Proust sketch while at work on the final painting" and that, in terms of those changes made to the position of the reflected figure of the barmaid, it was "probably instrumental in those changes, that is, made to test and develop his changing thoughts on the subject."[77]. With Collins' proposal that Manet made the Wash Drawing while working on the Final Painting this writer agrees, but it is proposed that it was created with the specific intention to resolve a physical arrangement that could achieve the pictorial requirement. Such an arrangement not only separated the figure of the barmaid and her reflected figure as is seen in the Final Painting, but unlike the Oil Sketch, it also allowed the reflected image of the gentleman to be seen without seeing his actual figure.

The arrangement that is proposed to have produced the Wash Drawing used the same bar as for the Oil Sketch, a different offset viewpoint SP2, and the barmaid and gentleman as shown on the plan and section (Fig.F33). Their reflected images are indicated in their perceived positions behind the mirror, with that of the gentleman seen within the angle of view to the right, and his actual figure outside the angle of view to the left, not directly in front of, or looking at, the barmaid. And the barmaid is seen to be turned to her left facing the artist in his offset position, and not facing directly across the bar. Because of the lack of detail, no attempt has been made to plot the positions of the actual bottles on the bar top and their reflected images. An offset one-point perspective view from SP2 is seen in Fig.F34 with the Wash Drawing format positioned and the spatial shaping indicated with the parallel lines set on the bar top. If nothing else, the

demonstration of the spatial arrangement underlying the Wash Drawing provides an important transitional insight into the supposed relationship between the barmaid and the gentleman in the Final Painting. In the Wash Drawing the position of the gentleman is far less ambiguous than in the Final Painting, with his size enabling it to be sensed that he is not directly in front of the barmaid but offset to the side. And rather than gazing at the barmaid, it could just as easily be claimed that he is looking at the artist by way of the mirror, that is, looking at the artist's reflected image, as the plan arrangement confirms. The figure of the barmaid indicates all the spatial implications evident in the Final Painting, with different alignments for her torso, head, and gaze, but with the interesting difference being that in the Wash Drawing her slightly offset gaze is to her left rather than to her right as in the Final Painting. In the possibility that the Wash Drawing is not an authentic Manet, the detailed description of these aspects is set out in the analysis of the Final Painting, but all of these noted nuanced differences and similarities provide further evidence that the Wash Drawing is from Manet's hand.

There is, however, a practical problem involved with such a proposal for an offset one-point perspective. An artist standing at viewpoint SP2 is not going to look directly ahead, as the geometry requires, to sketch the motif actually positioned to the left. The most practical technique would be to look in the direction of the angle of view, rather than the theoretical direction of view straight ahead, and to attempt to record the overlapping relationships of the objects seen within a mental concept of a one-point perspective. The difficulties in such a process would reinforce a notion that a photograph had been taken for all of the images on which Manet had worked in order to more easily apply the spatial shaping, but those same difficulties may also explain the inconsistencies in the Wash Drawing, with the bar top at the bottom edge shown horizontal as if part of a one-point perspective, and the frieze at the upper edge shown at an angle as if part of a two-point perspective.

Notwithstanding these problems or the inherent approximate translation of detail with a brush technique, the perspective view can be confirmed to relate, although somewhat loosely, to the Wash Drawing as seen with the overlay line drawing (Fig.F32)

in Fig.F35. Although the reflected image of the bar top is set much higher than in the Wash Drawing the lateral positions of the the barmaid and her reflected image importantly confirm the underlying geometry to achieve the spatial disjunction. Elements of the reflected theatre in the background, such as the first-reflected images of the column *c9'* with its lamp, the frieze *fr2'*, and the line of the balcony *bf'* set straight across the drawing on both sides of the barmaid, and the second-reflected images of the proscenium arch *pa"*, and the corner junction between the side and front wall at *r"*, also provide points of relative coincidence. Below the reflected balcony front the round columns, *cg*, can be seen at the ground floor level supporting the balcony. The absence of chandeliers from the Wash Drawing can be explained, or at least speculated, with circumstantial evidence. If the chandeliers as seen in the Oil Sketch had been included in the perspective view, they would have appeared in the upper part of the image. The forest of vertical lines set across the image, possibly seen as a graphic device to suggest the wall mirrors, could also be seen as the suspension cables used to raise and lower the chandeliers, either for the requirements of the theatre performances or for maintenance. In the perspective these cables, *ch.c*, are shown as if the chandeliers had been lowered. Such a speculation reinforces what Manet's images convey, and that is that he had made his notations at the theatre at times when the establishment was closed to the public. In terms of recording the physical details of the locale, such an arrangement would have certainly been the most practical.

As determined for the Oil Sketch, the uncertainty of the forms of the bottles on the bar top precluded any analysis of their spatial organisation, but the similarity in composition of the bottle groupings and the fruit-bowl, and the reflected images of the bottles with that as seen in the Final Painting suggests three possibilities. First, it could be further evidence that Manet was experimenting with the disjunction of actual and reflected images; second, it could confirm that the Wash Drawing was created by Manet after the Final Painting; or third, another hand could have created it after seeing the Final Painting. That the Wash Drawing is by Manet's hand prior to the Final Painting can be shown with the inclusion in its image, even if only with the use of two angled lines, of the

frieze at the top of the wall mirrors. The implication of its inclusion is explained in detail in the analysis of the Final Painting below, but it is important in that, apart from those family members and colleagues who may have seen the Oil Sketch with the frieze included, anyone other than Manet would have only seen the more public Final Painting with the frieze excluded and thus would have had neither a visual source nor a reason to include it.

The increased angle of view with the offset viewpoint for the Wash Drawing confirmed for Manet the means to achieve the potential suggested by the Oil Sketch. Not only did it create that unsettling disjunction between the barmaid and her reflection, but more importantly it enabled him to have only the reflected image of the gentleman in an arrangement which could actually be choreographed, not imagined. This suggests that in the Oil Sketch, Manet had wanted the only image of Henry Dupray to be within the reflected space of the mirror, not in real space, but at that stage had not known how to achieve it. His tentative moves of the reflected image of the barmaid away from her real self in his development of the Final Painting in his studio, together with the confirmation of the required choreography with the Wash Drawing in the theatre at the Folies-Bergère give certain evidence that he had resolved the problem.

The most obvious changes from the Oil Sketch to the Final Painting include: the apparent change of view of the artist from an angled position to one that seems to be frontal with the barmaid facing directly across the bar; the displacement, as noted above, of the reflected image of the barmaid to the right; the different pictorial size and position of the reflected image of the gentleman and his apparent spatial relationship with the barmaid; the more visible top of the bar; and the more horizontal depiction of the reflected balcony front and its appearance to the right between the figures of the barmaid and her reflection. Other incidental changes involved the displacement of the bottles, fruit-bowl and flowers across the bar, the details of the crowd in the reflected balcony, and the addition of the legs of the aerialist in the upper left corner. Notwithstanding these changes it can be seen that, in isolation, the configuration of the reflected

chandeliers is little different to that in the Oil Sketch. There is, however, one important change between the two paintings that, to the knowledge of this writer, has not been commented upon previously by scholars, but it is the one that reveals Manet's agenda of spatial ambiguity for the Final Painting. In the Oil Sketch, the reflected frieze *fr2'* seen at the top of the mirrors in the first-reflected space, allows one to understand in which mirror each chandelier is reflected. Chandelier *ch5* is visible in the first-reflected space as *ch5'* and the existence of the frieze makes it pictorially clear that all the other visible chandeliers are seen in the second-reflected space. If the frieze were not visible as seen in the cropped painting in Fig.F37, then the positions in space of the reflected chandeliers could not be easily assessed and the means to make perspectival sense of the arrangement would be removed. The ambiguity of it all would thus be enhanced. Manet's quite conscious removal of the frieze from the Final Painting, and precisely no more than the frieze, achieved that very effect. It is also this change which provides further evidence that the Wash Drawing is from Manet's hand. Anyone else other than Manet, without knowledge of the Oil Sketch and its frieze, would not have had a reason to produce a drawing in which the frieze is indicated. Only Manet himself was in such a position.

The apparent changes in the position and stance of the barmaid also require detailed explanation. In the Oil Sketch the barmaid is set at an angle to the bar and to her left, with her figure set almost frontally to the artist's angled view but with slightly more of her right shoulder seen than her left. Her head is turned further to her left, and her hands are held together in front of her, with the right held over the left. In comparison, the barmaid in the Final Painting provides an intriguingly different set of observations. The head is almost frontal to the artist's position, but her figure is turned slightly to her right as more of her left shoulder is seen than her right, her bust covers more of her right arm, more of the left side of her waist is seen than the right, and if her hips were fully seen without the covering arms then more of the left hip would be seen than the right. The relationship of the barmaid's figure to the bar is influenced by the positions of her hands and the articulation of her arms. Both of the hands are set on the back edge of the bar

approximately equidistant from the centre line of her figure in space (not the centre of her figure as seen in the painting), with the wrists turned outwards away from the figure. From these hand positions the barmaid's left arm is clearly held straight and is seen to cover her left hip whereas her right arm appears bent and does not cover her right hip at all. To create such a pose the model would have stood slightly away from the bar with her hands set symmetrically on the bar's back edge and then, with her hands held in the same position, rotated her figure to her left towards the artist standing at her left, with her right hip moving towards the bar and her left hip away from the bar. Although the figure is not turned fully to be facing the artist (i.e. the artist sees more of the barmaid's left side than her right), her head is turned further to be frontal to the artist. Such intricacies of pose show an intentional, thoroughly considered, and quite consistent depiction of the figure set in a particular position from a particular viewpoint, the arrangement for which is different to that used for the Oil Sketch at the bar inside the Folies-Bergère theatre. Manet's assessments for the Wash Drawing and its lateral displacement of the barmaid's reflected figure had influenced the required physical arrangement and to be able to work directly with the spatial geometry he created the bar set-up in his studio in Rue d'Amsterdam.

An analysis of the foreground of the Final Painting has established this arrangement of the bar, the viewpoint SP3, and a direction of view for a one-point offset perspective, as shown in the plan and section (Fig.F38) and an isometric view (Fig.F39). It provides the key to the problem of the reflections, with the positions of the bar and its arrangement of bottles, fruit-bowl and vase, the barmaid, and the gentleman shown in actual space in front of the mirror, together with their reflected images, as if existing behind the mirror. The bar is set parallel to the mirror, the barmaid is in the centre of the view, and the gentleman, as for the Wash Drawing, stands unseen outside the angle of view to the left with his reflected image seen within the angle of view to the right. It shows that the bar is much longer than in the Oil Sketch, and even though the barmaid appears to be looking directly across the bar, the arrangement shows her to be turned to her left, as in the Wash Drawing, to the extent required to produce the detail aspects

described above. This is confirmed by the angled perspective of the series of parallel lines set directly across the bar top. And contrary to all previous opinion, the gentleman is not in front of the barmaid and, rather than being engaged with her in some kind of conversation, is in fact looking past her into the mirror in front of him. The arrangement also demonstrates, with the width of the painting image indicated by the angle of view, the means by which the reflections work. The group of bottles *bg3*, for example, are not seen in the field of view but are seen as reflected images *bg3'* and conversely the fruit-bowl *fb* and the group of bottles *bg1* are seen in actual space, but their reflected images, *fb'* and *bg1'*, are not seen. And from the plan alone it can be seen how only a half of one of the roses which are seen in actual space is visible as a reflected image. It is this very play between, on the one hand, setting up a pictorial space which is clearly ambiguous and apparently incomprehensible, and on the other, almost giving the game away with an explanation of the spatial shaping that makes quite clear that all aspects of the painting's complex construction, as well as its ambiguity, were consciously crafted by Manet. If a reflected image of all the roses in the vase had been included in the painting, then the the whole perspectival geometry would have been obvious and the ambiguity achieved with the apparent discrepancies in the reflection would have been negated. Interestingly, and not surprisingly, Manet has taken the ambiguity to the brink of exposure and thereby given an edge to it all.

All of these aspects are evident and confirmed in pictorial terms in the computer-generated perspective view using the viewpoint SP3 as shown in Fig.F40 with the Final Painting format indicated, and with its accuracy confirmed with an overlay of the line drawing made from the Final Painting (Fig.F36) as seen in Fig.F41. The perspective makes clear how some of the bottles in group *bg3* are partly visible as reflected images *bg3'* between the barmaid's actual waist and right arm, and how the bottles in group *bg2* are basically concealed by both the barmaid's actual figure *bm2* and her reflected image *bm2'*. Importantly, the perspective also shows that the gentleman *g2* is not seen in actual space, outside the angle of view to the left, neither in front of nor looking at the barmaid, but nevertheless with the reflected image of his face seen adjacent to the

barmaid's head within the angle of view. Even without an explanation, the spatial shaping is evident when the more extensive view is seen beyond the limits of the painting's format and is reinforced with parallel lines set to the bar top. When seen in perspective these lines act as surface indicators of the shaping of the space, as described in Appendix 1. Without that contextual information the barmaid in the perspective view would appear in a somewhat similar way as in the painting, apparently facing directly across the bar.

Although Manet hinted at the underlying spatial structure with the reflected half-flower, he also did his best to cover his tracks and to confuse. Both the angle of the reflected bar end at the left and the visibility of the inside faces to the two engaged wall columns indicate a space of a centre-point perspective, but they are simply used to enhance a perception of a frontal view. The required shape of the bar to provide such an illusion is shown in the plan and the isometric view, and although it cannot be seriously suggested that the prop that Manet used for the bar top actually had an angled end that prompted the use of such a false indicator of the perspective, far too many tongue-in-cheek manipulations have become evident in the research for such a suggestion to be completely ruled out. But the most subtle subterfuge that Manet used actually confirms, when understood within the context of the spatial shaping, the very strategy that it had been introduced to negate. In the bar top, the veins of the marble have been set in an angled direction which is exactly the opposite to that of the actual shaping of the space, with the intention to counteract such a reading. If set in the direction of the shaping, as is evident in *La Prune*, the ambiguity would have been reduced, as confirmed in Fig.F40 with the parallel lines set across the bar top seen in perspective.

The perspective view confirms that the foreground composition of the Final Painting was based on the underlying geometry of an offset viewpoint. In order to confirm the proposals in terms of real space, rather than the virtual space of the computer, photographs of a bar re-construction have been taken to demonstrate that the artifice of the painting's pictorial space was not one invented by Manet but was one

based upon actual space and objects. The re-construction of the bar and its still-life, together with the modelled 'barmaid' and 'gentleman', would have been little different to Manet's set-up in his studio, and although prepared before final adjustments were made in the computer modelling, the photographs nonetheless are very close to the perspective views. Rather than attempting to match the appearance of Manet's work with authentic dress and detail, the purpose was to demonstrate its spatial arrangement and in doing so to present a rebuttal of the claims made for well over a century of the painting's impossible spatial organisation. David Carrier's assertion that "Unless doctored, a photograph could not show the barmaid and her reflection as they appear in the painting"[78] may be dispelled by these undoctored photographs.

Taken with a 'large-format', or 'view' camera, which in principle is little different to the *chambre photographique* of Manet's time, the production setting is evident in Fig.F48, with the temporary nature of the bar reconstruction very evident and the camera recording its own image at the offset viewpoint to the right. Within that overall image to the camera's left, the area in the photograph not included in the painting's format has been subsequently screened to demonstrate the context from which the final image has been taken. The isolated image equivalent to the painting's format is shown, for purposes of comparison, in Fig.F49 with marble figuring to the bar top as seen in the Final Painting, and in Fig.F50 with the parallel lines set to the bar top as seen in perspective in Fig.F40.

In summary, the proposal for the process used by Manet in developing the work from the Oil Sketch to the Final Painting, after making sketches on site, is that the Oil Sketch was initially a view of the barmaid at a bar in the theatre of the Folies-Bergère, with the barmaid, bar, and their reflections painted on site but with the possibility that the accuracy of the overall setting had been developed from a photograph. In either situation there had been a preconception that the spatial shaping of the work(s) was to be from an offset viewpoint. The figure of Henri Dupray, as the customer, had been added in isolation in Manet's studio in Rue d'Amsterdam, either as part of a preconceived composition or as an experiment in the potential for spatial ambiguity, but not in front of a

mirror. After the transfer of this composition to the canvas for the Final Painting, and with a bar set-up in his studio, Manet experimented by increasing the displacement between the barmaid and her reflected image and transforming the uncertain image of Dupray into one which was firmly set within the mirrored reflections and pictorially close to the figure of the barmaid, but which was spatially ambiguous and in real space not connected. Implications of these changes needed to be tested within the context of the theatre and were confirmed with the Wash Drawing made at the same bar but from a different viewpoint.

The Final Painting progressed to fruition in the studio as a composite, in a continuation of Manet's cut-and-paste technique. The background has two components, one from the Oil Sketch with its reflected image of the crowd in the balcony seating and the chandeliers from the theatre interior at the Folies-Bergère (part-image 1 from SP1 as seen in Fig.F42), and the other of the balcony front from the Wash Drawing stretched horizontally across the image and below it a partial view of the ground floor columns supporting the balcony (part-image 2 from SP2 as seen in Fig.43). And the foreground is the view of the bar, barmaid and gentleman, together with their reflected images as composed by Manet in his studio (part-image 3 from SP3 as seen in Fig.F44). Such a composite image is shown in Fig.F45, and confirmed with an overlay of the line drawing from the Final Painting (Fig.F36) as seen in Fig.F46.

Interestingly, such a composite provides additional information about Manet's picture-making process. As can be seen in Fig.F46, some elements in the computer-generated part-images oddly seem to relate more accurately to the image of the Final Painting than to the preliminary work. In the background view from SP1, for example, the lights to the reflected images of columns *C9'*, *C10'*, and *C2"*, relate more accurately than in the Oil Sketch and it can be seen that the combined widths of the reflected columns *C10'* and *C3"* exactly fit the depicted width of the column *C10'* in the Final Painting. Additionally, the supporting columns beneath the balcony as seen from SP2 relate more accurately to their depiction in the Final Painting than in the Wash Drawing. The only possible explanation for such an unexpected conjunction is that, whereas his eye had

been used to initially assess and transfer the imagery in the Oil Sketch and the Wash Drawing, photographs of the theatre's interior were used when Manet was constructing the final image in his studio. Consequently, it can be seen that photographs, as a record and confirmation of offset views from within the theatre and as confirmation of an offset view in his studio, were involved in the creation of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* from its conception to the final brushstroke.

From the three depictions of barmaids, bars, and gentleman customers in the Oil Sketch, the Wash Drawing and from the re-construction in his studio, Manet's program to produce a work which was spatially ambiguous, to be seen as a frontal view but actually constructed with the geometry of an offset viewpoint, becomes clear. Physically and metaphorically held, framed and modulated by the reflections of the mirror, and with the figure of the barmaid nuanced with subtle detail adjustments of posture and articulation, the two players in the painting present a complex choreography that inflects upon their relationship. Established in the analysis above to be neither facing nor looking at each other, their gazes can be assessed with the integration of Manet's studio bar arrangement within the reflected interior of the theatre. The detached gaze of the barmaid can be confirmed to be to nowhere in particular, somewhere just to the left of the the artist's position, but certainly not to the figure of the gentleman, and he is seen to be looking past the barmaid to something reflected in the mirror and, in the process of such an activity, presenting a much more telling and subtle inflection on the relationship between the two than the sexual commodification reading that has been so often made[79]. The absence of contact in such close proximity is far more suggestive. But what is he looking at? The reflected figure of the aerialist seen in the upper left corner?[80] The reflected seated figure of the woman identified as Méry Laurent in the opposite balcony?[81] Or nothing in particular? Whichever is the case, if this proposal for *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* is considered to be valid, then previous interpretations need to be re-assessed.

CONCLUSION

The outcomes of the research and the proposals made in this dissertation have explained at a pictorial level many of Manet's most problematic paintings, and presented insights into processes involved in his picture-making. These processes, involving strategies of spatial ambiguity, show that Manet was much more deliberate than has been previously thought in the creation of those unsettling, uncertain qualities which have always been perceived in his work, but usually in terms of illegibility of narrative, contradictory or faulty depictions, or incomprehensible spaces. That Manet should have crafted his artifice in such a way and to the extent shown here should not be surprising.

As an integral component of his art and underlying many works throughout his career at varying levels of involvement, influence, and visibility, this spatial ambiguity has been shown to provide not only the spatial structures upon which many of Manet's works evolved, but also the artistic means by which they could be layered. It was neither the point of his paintings nor simply a pictorial vehicle for their content, but the means to interplay his apparently clear and dynamic images with displacement, effacement, deflection, reflection, or the implied or explicit dualities of unity/fragmentation, cohesion/fracture, or frontal/angled, so as to locate them away from the obvious and unequivocal. And by being crafted with unambiguous and rational structures and elements the ambiguity also provided an element of contradiction, ensuring that there was no singular point of focus in the geometry, space, narrative, or meaning in the works, always keeping them open-ended, without closure.

The two strategies for this spatial ambiguity were independently developed in the early 1860s, conjoined in a number of works in the 1870s, and brought to their most creative integration in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*. One involved the spatial shaping provided by offset viewpoints in perspective views, in which the geometry is part of a frontal view but the view itself seems angled, and the other involved the creation of

composite images, seen as cohesive views from a single viewpoint but in reality the synthesis of disparate parts of different, but actual, views. Both were influenced by processes of photography, with the offset viewpoint geometry available in the *chambre photographique* 'view' camera, and the composite images created from parts of photographic images, with some of those only possible as aerial photographs taken from a balloon. In their different ways, both strategies used the unifying geometry of linear perspective to create a new kind of coherence between spatial illusion and surface, with the illusion inherent in linear perspective retained but recontextualised and engaged within the surface of a painting, and in doing so to reclaim the terrain of the painting's surface in its much more traditional role as a field of artistic negotiation and speculation. It is proposed that it was this new coherence, rather than a reconstitution of the flatness of a painting's surface, which underlay the developed understanding that a decisive change in painting, involving a shift in the dynamic between pictorial space and surface, had occurred with Manet's work. The anchoring of this new dynamic within the conventions of linear perspective also positioned the work as a point of conflation in Western painting, set between its past and future.

It is clear that these strategies were carried out by Manet, apparently without divulging the nature of the work to friend or family, over a period of at least twenty years. To a certain extent, that in itself is a contradiction of the typical image of the artist who was more than happy to have visitors present while painting, and of whom Théodore Duret wrote, "Variant sans cesse, il ne se tenait point à un sujet une fois réussi, pour le répéter. L'innovation, la recherche perpétuelle formaient le fond de son esthétique"[1]. But it does fit the artist whose work is never quite what it seems. For someone whose statements about his own art were few in number, and of which most were couched in general homiletic terms unrelated in any direct way to his own works, a proposition that Manet steadfastly undertook a long-term, covert program of pictorial strategies may not seem so implausible. With the intended outcome involving spatial ambiguity, any disclosure of the mechanisms by which it was created also would have subverted those very intentions. That those same strategies are the very means by which a number of

his spatially problematic paintings have been able to be now explained confirms both their use by Manet and their concealment.

Variously involving the description of the underlying spatial shapings, identifications of elements and locales, and the processes by which the images were constructed, these explanations and proposals, developed and refined by means of computer-generated modelling with selected works, have demonstrated the extent to which Manet used these strategies of spatial ambiguity throughout his oeuvre. In doing so they have presented new understandings of *Incident in a Bullfight*, *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, *The Burial*, *The Railway*, *Masked Ball at the Opera*, and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, provided insights into the nature and development of his artistic practice, and repositioned that practice, both historically and artistically, into new contexts.

These proposals not only suggest that the accepted readings of particular paintings of Manet need to be reconsidered but also provide a new understanding of their artifice from which other aspects of interest in his art or its contexts could be re-examined. Moreover, with the methodology used in the research demonstrating that Manet's art can be addressed in ways very different to previous approaches, the potential for new avenues of study into its enigmatic domain may also be realised. The last word, as always, has yet to be written.

APPENDICES:

Appendix 1.
COMPARATIVE SPATIAL SHAPING

Notions of the engagement of spatial illusion within the surface of a painting involve contrasting aspects. There is a separation, both perceptual and metaphorical, with one endeavouring not to be the other. And yet, at the same time, there is an integration involved with the illusion held within the surface. It is where it is made, seen only by means of the other. Evidence of such illusion and its engagement can be identified as aspects of *literal representation, iconography*, or *translated meaning*, but it can also be seen as a *surface order*, and it is in such a context that it is considered here in terms of spatial geometries, spatial shaping and spatial cohesion. The relevant theoretical and art practice implications of these aspects are described here as background information for an overview of Manet's oeuvre in Chapter 4, and the case studies in Chapter 5.

The descriptions are set at the level at which the geometries are involved. There seems no point, for example, in describing pictorial configurations in terms which have no relevant relationship to Manet's process or their actual engagement in a painting. Neither the research nor its exposition required a description of these configurations in terms of basic geometrical categories such as *metric*, *similarity*, *affine*, or *projective*, as the theory is too many steps removed from the context in which the configurations are discussed. And at an art practice level, conventions are understood only as required for application, not as theoretical geometries. The two modes of spatial geometry of interest are termed here *linear perspective* projection and *parallel* projection.

The psycho-physiological processes of visual perception involved in this interplay between the creation of spatial illusion and surface are relevant here only to the extent that, although visual perception is still not fully understood, relatively recent

research has indicated that the *natural perspective* of actual space and the *linear perspective* of spatial illusion are perceived with the same eye/brain processes, in both cases almost instantaneously, and without any intermediate conceptualising process involved in the perception of spatial illusion.[1]

a) Spatial Geometries

The means available to artists for the visual representation of spatial illusion on a two-dimensional surface are many and varied, including *spatial geometries*, *atmospheric perspective*, *colour distance* (in terms of *hue*, *value*, and *intensity*), *overlap*, *form modelling*, the perceptual implications of *surface texture*, cast *shadows* as a confirmation of a *spatial geometry* and surfaces in *shade* as an aspect of *form modelling*. Within the context of this dissertation's proposals the use of *spatial geometries* as a means of visual representation is of primary interest, but the other techniques are discussed in the context of the adjustment of spatial illusion in (b) below.

Spatial geometries manipulate and give order to the surface of a painting, transforming it into a field upon which views are constructed. Although they can treat the view/surface relationship in many ways, a common denominator in most of these geometries is that the space which is being depicted is itself homogeneous and isotropic. This applies to the most usual mode of spatial geometry used in Western art, that of *linear perspective* as developed in the fifteenth-century Renaissance.

i) Linear Perspective

The subject of perspective is an extremely complex one and its forms and processes have been many and varied. In The Poetics of Perspective, James Elkins has set-out ten classes of Renaissance perspective methods[2], and in setting perspective into an overview of other projections and branches of mathematics, has noted eleven methods of linear perspective[3]. Often, however, many published descriptions of perspective present construction procedures as principles[4] and ignore the singular principle that parallel lines in space, including one set through the viewpoint itself, are seen to converge to a vanishing point at infinity.

Linear perspective involves the projection of sight lines from a single viewpoint to relevant points seen in space onto a picture plane set perpendicular to the centre of vision. Although its geometry can present distorted views, within the parameters of a single viewpoint, a single centre-line of vision, a consistency of scale, and a limited cone of vision, its geometry is regular and consistent and presents a reasonable approximation of a space as seen by *natural perspective.* The inherent vanishing-points to which any series of parallel lines converge establish the consistent and characteristic relationship between size diminution and the increase in distance from the viewpoint. The many apparent variations in linear perspective, such as those described as *one-point, two-point,* and *three-point* are nomenclatures determined by the viewpoint, the direction of view and the related orientation of the primary planes and objects to that direction of view. They can be explained as discrete processes but, importantly, many views from one viewpoint and one centre of vision can incorporate any number of combinations of one-point, two-point, or even three-point geometries at the same time. The underlying geometries are evidence of what is included in the view, not the converse.

The different spatial contouring or *shaping* characteristics of pictorial spaces constructed with those *one-point* and *two-point* perspective geometries that are of most interest here are illustrated using the same subject in Fig.G1, with the space articulated by means of the grids set to the series of co-ordinated planes. Categorisation is made in terms of centre-point (CP), one-point (1P), or two-point (2P) perspective, and frontal, angled or offset views from frontal or offset viewpoints as required to clarify the types of shaping used by Manet. These categories are descriptive rather than prescriptive as often the transition from one type to another is not clear-cut. All centres of vision in the diagrams are set horizontal, and the examples using offsets to the right are indicative of similar geometries to the left.

The constructions of the perspectives involving projections onto a picture plane (PP) are not shown in the diagrams, but the comparative variations in picture plane alignments and cone of vision angles (angle of vision) and angles of view are indicated.

Within the illustration of the different shapings, standard terminology such as *viewpoint*, or *station-point* (SP), *centre of vision* (CV), and *vanishing point* (VP) is used. It is recommended that reference to perspective manuals is made for more detailed descriptions of these terms[5].

CP-frontal

The characteristic one-point perspective, described as a *centre-point* (CP), from viewpoint SP1, with the space set parallel to the picture plane, and the vanishing point for orthogonals at the position of the centre of vision. The view is obviously frontal but is categorised as such for comparative purposes, centred laterally around the centre of vision, and set within a reasonably narrow cone of vision, or angle of vision (av), avoiding edge distortion.

See: *Guitar and Hat* (Fig.17a).

1P-frontal

A one-point perspective, from viewpoint SP2, with the space set parallel to the picture plane. With the use of the fixed subject for comparative purposes, it can be seen that although the basic geometry is the same as in the centre-point, with the space set parallel to the picture plane and the view frontal within a reasonably narrow angle of vision, the view of the subject is offset slightly to the side.

See: *Races at Longchamp in the Bois de Boulogne* (Fig.38); *Mme Manet at the Piano* (Fig.33).

2P-frontal

A two-point perspective, from viewpoint SP2, with the centre of vision at a slightly angled direction, with the space almost parallel to the picture plane and one vanishing point set very close to the centre of vision. The view is still considered frontal rather than the more typically angled view of a two-point perspective.

See: *Lola de Valence* (Fig.11a).

2P-angled

A typically angled view of a two-point perspective, from viewpoint SP3, with the space angled in two directions to the picture plane from vanishing points to the left and right of the centre of vision.

See: *Léon on the Balcony, Oloron-Sainte-Marie* (Fig.49).

1P-offset

A one-point perspective with the subject seen from the offset viewpoint SP3. The space is set parallel to the picture plane but the extent of view (ev) in which the subject is seen is to the left of the centre of vision as part of a widened angle of vision, and thus involving edge distortion. In such an offset view the orthogonals projected from the vanishing point are so angled that, when seen in isolation, the space within the limited extent of view seems to be as angled to the picture plane as parallel to it. Such an arrangement, with the space seen as both parallel and angled to the picture plane, has the potential to create spatial ambiguity within a painting, as discussed in (d) below.

See: *The Execution of Maximilian* (Fig.36b).

2P-offset

A two-point perspective with the subject seen from the offset viewpoint SP3. The space is slightly angled to the picture plane, but the extent of view in which the subject is seen, as for the 1P-offset, is to the left of the centre of vision as part of a widened angle of vision, and also thus involving edge distortion. With one vanishing point very close to the centre of vision, the shaping of the space within the limited extent of view seems to be angled as if in an angled (2P-angled) space. Although the potential for spatial ambiguity therefore still exists, with the space already seen as a two-point space, even if only slightly angled, the potential for spatial ambiguity is less than with the 1P-offset arrangement.

See: *Chez le Père Lathuille* (Fig.75a).

An important aspect in understanding the implications of spatial shaping is that with three directions of view taken from the same viewpoint SP3, the different perspectives produced are the result of different projections of the very same view. That is, although the picture plane on which each view is projected is set in a different relationship to the visual rays projected from the viewpoint through relevant points of the object, the very same extent of each object and their overlaps are seen in each view. The shapes are different and the difference lies in the shaping of the space. M.H. Pirenne, in his authoritative book of 1970, Optics, Painting and Photography, clearly elucidated these differences by means of the text, comparative photographs, and diagrams[6].

ii) Parallel Projections

The conventions in parallel projections use orthographic relationships and the notion of single or double diagonal parallel recession, in order to lay-out the space and show standardised aspects of form. It is diagrammatic space and does not involve single viewpoints, presenting a concept of space that is understood rather than seen as an equivalent to natural vision. Although the vertical dimensions generally remain constant in any of the modes irrespective of the spatial context, the space is shaped or contoured differently in each. A characteristic of these modes as used in Japanese woodblock prints of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for instance, is for the space to be splayed upwards and diagonally across a work's surface, with the resultant 'lifting' of the floor (or ground) planes. Although spatial recession in these modes is consistent, with no diminution of size related to the extent of recession, there are many variations involving the degree of the oblique inclination and the scale(s) of recession. The forms of the two parallel projections which are discussed in the text, oblique and isometric, are illustrated in Fig.G2.

iii) Artistic practice

The principles of these spatial geometries and configurations are not able, however, to be simply and directly applied to artistic practice. There are no set ways in which artists view, assess, and translate the space of the world around them, and their

methods are not necessarily underpinned by the logic of spatial geometries. Their use of the geometries may be intentionally or unintentionally correct or incorrect, complete or partial, or consistent or inconsistent. And the way in which they might translate the motif space to a two-dimensional surface in the field would usually be different to its translation in the studio, where construction of a geometry can be more considered and accurate.

When viewing a motif from one position in the field an artist is typically not constructing a perspective on the working surface but, rather, is translating a superimposed understanding of perspective's principles onto the view. Not only is the artist's eye at work here but also the mind's eye. Rarely would artists limit themselves, or even contemplate doing so, to looking exactly with one, and only one, centre-line of vision from one fixed eye position in an approximation of linear perspective's single viewpoint and centre-line of vision. The understanding of the geometrical concept is, to varying degrees of skill, a knowledge base which can be applied as the need arises. The assessment of the apparent perspective in front of an artist is often with a roving eye and with many centre-lines of vision, notionally used within the bounds of their perceived extent of vision for the work. In such circumstances the resulting perspective views for each centre-line of vision from the same viewing-point are different, notwithstanding the fact that the extent of the elements seen and their respective overlaps are the same, as discussed in (i) above. The direct translation of such multiple-views to an artist's working surface may produce an image which, among its countless possibilities, encompasses all, some, or none of the discrete views, which themselves may be combined or separated with endless possibility. Alternatively, the translation may be brought under the regime of perspective's unifying geometry at the working surface, with the vision organised by the knowledge.

An artist can also view a motif from different viewpoints, with each viewpoint obviously using different centre-lines of vision, and producing completely different and discrete perspectives. These discrete views, in part or whole, can be later combined or blended to form a single image which superficially could be assumed, without prior

knowledge, to be from a single viewpoint. The different perspectives embodied in such a combined view do not necessarily belie the single viewpoint and the aggregated image can often be accepted as a wholly feasible space. The skill and intent of the artist can determine whether the combined image is seen as a unified image, a pastiche of obviously unconnected parts, or a single image incorporating disjunctions and slippages.

No matter where or in what sequence the spatial geometries are applied, their use in the practice of artists is also often inconsistent. The space articulated by linear perspective's geometry can be said to be contoured or *shaped* in a way established by the vanishing-points used. Very often artists will set into these illusionistic spaces the depiction of objects which have not been established by the same geometry. In such a circumstance, a viewer would normally notice the discrepancy between the underlying perspective geometries of the space and the object if the object's geometry were quite specific and uniquely identifiable (although the complexities of spatial perception can at times make even that uncertain). The same cannot be said, however, for objects which are amorphous in appearance or, as living creatures, very flexible. Although the discrete parts of a human figure (head, rib-cage, pelvis and limbs), for example, are spatially structured and any perspective view of the figure is determined by the viewpoint and direction of view, figures can quite easily be set into, and be seen to fit without much discrepancy, the space of a completely different perspectival geometry. This is particularly so if the size of the figure is approximately correct. The slippage between the underlying geometries of the space and figure in such a situation is usually accommodated by the viewer[7].

b) Adjustment of spatial illusion

The extent of illusory spatial recession can be increased or reduced by many strategies using the various pictorial means set out in (a.i) above. With the specific consideration of this dissertation involving the engagement of spatial illusion within its surface production, the reduction of recession is an obvious means to enhance that

engagement, and can be achieved by various means, including: a limit to the extent to which the spatial geometry projects the space inwards; a disjunction of a spatial geometry with the cues of recession, such as diagonal lines, concealed or confused with other elements; a limit in atmospheric perspective; a related reduction in the fusion of shapes in recession; the painting of planes receding in space to be painted with horizontal or vertical lines or brush strokes rather than diagonal ones in the direction of recession; the painting of receding planes without tonal modulation; the related reduction of form definition by a similar reduction in tonal modulation, resulting in 'flatter' painted areas; an arbitrary modulation of light and shade to reduce the illusory sense of a coherent space and to enhance the sense of a surface or awareness of a surface; an arbitrary casting of shadows to again reduce the sense of a coherent illusory space as well as to confuse the coherent relationship of light source, objects, and surfaces; a limit to the extent and number of overlaps; and the placement of actual or implied planes parallel to the picture plane. Most of these techniques, as used by Manet, are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

c) Adjustment of surface

The extent of the apparent spatial illusion or recession in a two-dimensional work can also be adjusted by the nature of its visible surface. The visible surface represents the materiality of the illusion, where the artifice is created. Its identity fluctuates not only from the degree to which spatial illusion is apparent but also with the extent to which the presence of a medium and its manipulation is evident. A surface of even finish has the potential to enhance the apparent depth of illusory space with its so-called *transparency*, whereas a surface that is irregular in texture, with a lack of even finish and evidence of textural variations with brush strokes and other processes of application, reduces the potential for that transparency. These perceptions are, of course, also affected by the distance from which the surface is seen. Although, particularly in his own time, Manet's works were often considered unfinished, as *ébauches*, this aspect is not

an integral one in understanding the modes and applications of his pictorial space, and is therefore discussed in the analyses only where of relevance.

d) Ambiguous spatial shaping

i) Views

The different perspective views and their spatial shapings of the same subject from three different viewpoints and six different directions of view, and their spatial shapings, are compared in Fig.G1. Some of the shapings of these views, such as with the CP-frontal, 1P-frontal, 2P-frontal, and the 2P-angled, are fairly clear and unambiguous. But the spatial shapings in the offset views, the 1P-offset and the 2P-offset, are not so clear. The 1P-offset perspective can be seen to incorporate aspects from the CP-frontal or 1P-frontal, and the 2P-angled views. The space remains parallel to the picture plane as for any 1P view, but the orthogonals visible in the view are angled in a similar way to that for a 2P view and provide the sense that the view is actually an angled one. The offset view is able to suggest, or to make seem possible, two different shapings within the one fixed image, to be ambiguously seen as both a frontal and an angled view at one and the same time. The spatial shaping of the 2P-offset perspective from SP3 is similarly seen to incorporate aspects from both the 2P-frontal and the 2P-angled views, with its offset shaping providing the simultaneous sense of an angled view but, with its space angled in both directions even though almost parallel to the picture plane, its offset view is not quite as ambiguous as the 1P-offset.

Such offset views, however, have inherent pictorial problems involving distortion which have the potential to make it difficult for a naturalistic sense to be maintained without adjustment. With an increase in distance from the centre of vision, the square grid of the horizontal plane can be seen to become more distorted and the rectilinear forms of the cubes seen in one set of views become wider. A comparison of the different way in which the rounded forms of cylinders, set in the same positions as the cubes and as seen in the second set of views, do not increase in width is of particular interest here.

Whereas the cubes set furthest from the centre of vision provide ready evidence of their displaced position, the cylinders set in the same position not only provide little indication of their displacement but also illustrate that the use of rounded forms in such positions does not readily make the spatial geometry identifiable. It is this very technique that Manet used to full effect in many of his paintings, particularly in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère.*

It is also of interest to note that in the fixed image of a painting, the only possible spatial variation can occur with the different ways in which the illusionistic space can be read or presumed to have been constructed. Such an approach implies that the one fixed view of the subject can be seen in a different spatial shaping to the one within which it had been constructed. But even though it may be possible for the alternative shaping to be implied, in reality it can only exist within the artifice of the work, as the subject would clearly need to be distorted to provide an appearance as if seen from a second position. Alternatively, two identical views, as images of two very differently shaped subjects from separate viewpoints, could theoretically be superimposed, but then, of course, no spatial ambiguity would be involved.

ii) Ambiguous shaping – surface indicators

Although established by viewpoint positions and directions of view, spatial shaping can be confirmed, contradicted or made ambiguous by the way in which the visible surfaces are rendered. Any markings on a depicted surface which are set in the direction of the spatial shaping confirm that shaping, any surfaces which are depicted without any directional markings generally neither confirm nor contradict an underlying spatial shaping, and depicted surfaces with markings which are not in the direction of the spatial shaping have the potential to either contradict or make ambiguous that shaping. Examples of these techniques as used by Manet are discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

iii) Adjusted shaping – fragmentation

Whereas a painting presents a permanent image which has to achieve its dynamics within its created borders, photography provides multiple permanent images

which can also be readily cropped or fragmented. Although the centre of vision of a photographic negative image is also the centre of the image, the fixed image can then subsequently be fragmented at will. By isolating a part of a photographic view which has been ostensibly taken with the underlying angled space of a centre-point perspective, the view can be made to seem as if from an offset viewpoint or with the angled centre of vision of a two-point perspective.

Fig.G3 shows such a photograph, taken from the Trocadéro in Paris looking across the Seine to the Eiffel Tower. Although actually a two-point perspective (2P-frontal) and not an exact one-point perspective (1P-frontal), its spatial shaping is very much a frontal, rather than an angled view. Fig.G3a shows that the centre of vision and centre of image for the uncropped image of the photograph are one and the same, and that the vanishing point for horizontal lines on the axis through the Eiffel Tower is set to the right of the centre of vision as an indication of its slightly angled view. When isolated from the context of the overall geometry, parts of the image take on the appearance of different spatial shapings. The shaping of the segment shown in Fig.G3b, displaced laterally to the left from the original centre of vision and therefore as seen from an offset viewpoint (2P-offset), seems, however, that of an angled (2P-angled) view, and the segment shown in Fig.G3c, with the vanishing point of the overall image intentionally set centrally within the truncated image, seems that of a centre-point perspective (CP-frontal). As photographic images, their potential for spatial ambiguity is limited when compared to the adjustments possible in a painting, but they illustrate the way in which the sense of a pictorial space can be transmuted without, in fact, altering anything other than the context of the shaping indicators.

Appendix 2.
MANET AND CAILLEBOTTE

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a) Caillebotte's choreography for *Dans un café*

The possible connection between Gustave Caillebotte's *Dans un café* (Fig.H1) and Manet's *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* is an uncertain but tantalising one[1]. Although it is not known if Manet had been influenced by Caillebotte's play of mirrors, with its visual uncertainty and ambiguity, an understanding of the spatial organisation underlying *Dans un café* adds some interesting aspects to such a possibility.

Interestingly, and in contrast to *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, there is no known site for *Dans un café* and thus a solution for its mirrors and angles requires one to be created. A proposal for such a solution was made by Kirk Varnedoe in the exhibition catalogue Gustave Caillebotte: A Retrospective Exhibition in 1976[2], and without exception, all subsequent scholarly writings have accepted his proposal to be correct. Notwithstanding the way in which Varnedoe has greatly influenced our understanding of Caillebotte with his perceptive insights and informed scholarship, his proposal for *Dans un café* can be shown to be incorrect.

The painting involves a setting in a café, with an *habitué* leaning against a table and his reflection seen in a mirror behind him. Two men are seated at a table apparently in front of another mirror with one leaning to one side, a hat-rack is visible apparently fixed to the surface of this mirror and with the inside of the hats visible in their reflected image, a coat on a wall seems to be in the same plane as this second mirror, and two sets of wall-bracket lights of different size are seen, suggesting that one set is further away from the viewer than the other. There is a light-filled doorway or window, with an awning, in the upper right corner, and the direction of light in the real space is from the habitué's right (or viewer's left) side. The artist is not seen in the reflection.

Varnedoe's proposal involved double reflection in parallel mirrors, and the geometry of the single and double-reflected spaces in such an arrangement is shown in Fig.H3. As

can be confirmed with a hand-drawn perspective of the arrangement as seen in Fig.H4, the view does not correspond with the painting, either in its perspectival geometry or in the relationship of its parts. The seated men, for example, are to the left of the *habitué*, rather than to the right, and the man furthest from view is to the left of his companion, whereas in the painting he is to the right. And Varnedoe suggests that to enhance the ambiguity of the painting, Caillebotte had consciously deleted the second reflection of the man leaning to one side, even though the position of the mirror for such a reflection doesn't relate to the painting.[3] But Caillebotte normally painted what he saw and the explanation is more complex.

The very different plan arrangement of the alternative proposal, with single and double-reflected spaces involved, is shown in Fig.H5[4]. The direction of view related to the position of the image indicates the use of a two-point offset viewpoint, and in this instance, with the viewpoint positioned not to be seen in any reflection[5], also strongly suggests the use of a *chambre photographique*[6]. A view of the arrangement as seen in Fig.H6, and with an overlay drawing from the painting in Fig.H7, shows that the view produced with this proposal, in both its perspectival geometry and the relationship of its parts, presents a reasonable correspondence. Such a proposal presents an alternative explanation for the second reflection of the seated man nearest the mirror, with the perspective and scale of the men and the table at which they are seated only possible if they are set away from the wall and turned to be almost parallel with the mirror and wall behind the habitué. Certainly to have seen a second reflection would have made the whole arrangement obvious, limited the potential for ambiguity, and negated the whole artifice of the painting. But rather than delete the second reflection as Varnedoe suggests, Caillebotte has stage-managed the setting.

Caillebotte has also enhanced the painting's ambiguity of the single- and double-reflected spaces by the unifying spatial and pictorial device of transposition, with the main light source for the setting, which comes from outside the painting to the viewer's left, actually being seen within the painting, and emanating from its surface, in the upper right corner. It is indeed a wry touch, and one which resonates with two of Manet's

works, the earlier *The Railway*, with the window behind which the canvas was actually painted set in the upper left corner, and the later *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, in which things that apparently should have a reflection don't seem to, and things that are seen in reflection aren't there. Notwithstanding the altogether different nature of Manet's artifice to that of Caillebotte's, with Manet's almost as a reflection on artifice, the evidence that these spatial ambiguities involving mirror reflections in *Dans un café* were based on the geometry of an offset viewpoint and most probably produced with the use of a *chambre photographique* also provides a direct correlation with *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*.

b) *The Railway* and *Le Pont de l'Europe*

In the context of a discussion on the possible influence of Manet on his colleagues in Chapter 2, it is noted here that Manet's *The Railway* of 1873 may have been a possible influence on Gustave Caillebotte's painting of *Le Pont de l'Europe* in 1876. *Le Pont de l'Europe* is typical of Caillebotte's accentuation of recession, but analysis by this writer[7] shows that, like Manet, he adjusted the scale of that part of the painting which included the building at No.2, Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg in the Europe *quartier* of Paris, and the nearest pier of the Pont de l'Europe to that building. In Caillebotte's painting the area in the upper left of the canvas including the building and the pier, as shown in Fig.H9, has been increased slightly in scale, whereas in Manet's the area in the upper right corner including those same elements, as shown in Fig.H8, has been reduced in scale[8]. In both paintings, however, the adjusted areas are separated from other unadjusted areas to the side by the same pictorial device of the smoke(screen) from an unseen train below. Is this coincidence, is it Caillebotte's veiled homage to Manet (with the implicit suggestion that Caillebotte had understood what Manet had done), or does it indicate, in spite of their obvious differences in age and artistic stature, that they had discussed their creative processes in detail and in private? The available evidence provides little information about the extent of contact between Manet and Caillebotte, either in person or by correspondence[9]. Nonetheless, with their many common friends and artist colleagues, the short distance between their studios of

that time – at No.4, Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg and No.77, Rue de Miromesnil, respectively – and the fact that Caillebotte painted two major works depicting locales in Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg (*Le Pont de l'Europe* and *Rue de Paris: Temps de pluie* of 1877) within a two year period and at sites a short distance on either side of Manet's studio, contact between them would surely have been a natural and obvious occurrence. That no record of any such contact is intriguing and the possibility that Manet, of all artists, had discussed his most private artistic processes and stratagems with another artist is a tantalising one.

Appendix 3.
AERIAL BALLOONS AND PHOTOGRAPHY

The proposals made in Chapter 5 that a number of the view fragments in *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* and *The Burial* had been made from aerial balloons and possibly recorded as photographs raise as many questions as provide explanations. And although the clear correlation of computer-generated views from elevated viewpoints with areas of both paintings enables the proposals to be more than speculation, it is acknowledged that the lack of photographic evidence limits their veracity. The histories of aerial ballooning and photography above Paris provide a limited chronological framework against which the dating of the paintings may be checked, but the evidence is at times contradictory. And in the context of such contradictions, and with such extensive archival photographic records of the period, the dearth of visual evidence of aerial photographs is intriguing.

Part of the reason for that may relate to the claims and counter-claims of photographers seeking notice and fame. And one of the most competitive, but also influential, players in the worlds of both aerial ballooning and photography was Nadar (pseudonym for Gaspard-Félix Tournachon, 1820–1910), whose colourful life and exploits were matched by his colourful, and often witty, prose. A close and loyal friend of both Daumier and Baudelaire and, importantly, a friend of Manet, Nadar seems to have epitomised the vitality and creative energy of the times in Paris, and was at the forefront in many of the developments made in both fields. The most successful portrait photographer in Paris in the late 1850s and 1860s, Nadar also invested in ballooning projects which were financial disasters. In many ways the details of Nadar's aerial photographic endeavours, their datings and circumstances, are critical in terms of both understanding the history of aerial photography in Paris and providing points of reference for the proposals made here.

In spite of contradictory information, the very first exposure of an aerial photographic image on a glass plate seems to have been achieved by Nadar, when accompanied by one of the Godard brothers[1] and after many failures, from a *ballon captif*[2] above Petit-Bicêtre in the Bièvre valley in late November, or early December, 1858. The details of Nadar's, at times comical, efforts to achieve that image are described in his memoirs of photography, Quand j'étais Photographe[3]. The occasion had been preceded by Nadar's application on 23 October for a patent for the mapping of land from a series of overlapping aerial photographs[4] and by an announcement in Le Monde Illustré of 30 October, stating:

> La photographie réalise chaque jour quelque nouveau progrès, c'est-à-dire qu'elle opère continuellement de nouvelles merveilles. Hier, c'était des images photographiques des astres qu'elle soumettait admirablement amplifiées à l'étude de la science, aujourd'hui, c'est un boulet en plein vol dont elle saisit l'image. Que sera-ce demain? M. Nadar, qui a pris une si large part dans ces découvertes, se charge de nous l'apprendre, mais attendons quelques jours. Son ballon se prépare, et ce sera du haut des airs qu'il photographiera les aspects les plus saisissants, lacs, paysages, forêts, de nos sites et de nos cités. On avait des vues prises à vol d'oiseau que l'imagination seule avait entrevues, nous aurons cette fois des vues réelles, puisqu'elles ne seront autres que la nature se reflétant elle-même sur la plaque où elle vient se décalquer. Voilà aujourd'hui la grande préoccupation de la science et de l'art.[5]

Afterwards, the achievement was noted by the editor of The Photographic News in its issue of 3 December, 1858[6]. Even Henry Negretti, who in 1863 erroneously[7] claimed to be the the first to have made an aerial photograph from a balloon ascent over London, acknowledged Nadar's flight, but claimed that "Messrs. Nadar and Godard... did not succeed in obtaining sufficient steadiness for their purpose."[8] In a rejoinder contesting Negretti's claims, Nadar stated that "The dates of my patents prove it, on the one hand; and, besides, I myself obtained, in spite of most detestable materials, results (a simple positive upon glass, it is true), above the valley of the Bièvre, at the beginning of winter in 1858"[9]. Unfortunately, this exposed plate no longer exists. The complete technical aspects of the camera that Nadar used are not known, but the equipping of the balloon basket and the type of camera shutter were described by Nadar in his memoirs:

> Au cercle de l'aérostat est appendue la tente, imperméable au moindre rayon diurne avec sa double enveloppe orange et noire, et sa toute petite lucarne de verre jaune aphotogène qui ne me donne que juste la lueur nécessaire. – Il fait chaud là-dessous, pour l'opérateur et pour l'opération. Mais notre collodion et nos autres produits ne peuvent s'en douter, plongés dans leurs bains de glace.
>
> Mon objectif verticalement amarré est un Dallmeyer, c'est tout dire, et le déclic de la guillotine horizontale que j'ai imaginée (– encore un brevet! –) pour le découvrir et le réopturer d'un trait, fonctionne impeccablement.[10]

The earlier failures experienced by Nadar had been caused by the hydrogen sulphide, present in the coal gas used for the balloon, desensitising the collodion plates which had been sensitised whilst in the balloon.

Notwithstanding a beginning in 1858, archival evidence of the developments in aerial photography, over Paris at least, during the subsequent decade surprisingly does not exist. A reference to that development and Nadar's role in it can be seen in Honoré Daumier's lithograph, *NADAR élevant la Photographie à la hauteur de l'Art* (1862, Fig.J2), published in Le Boulevard[11] some three years after Nadar's ascent above the Bièvre. This is the same year that Manet produced his first lithograph, *The Balloon* (1862, Fig.J1), depicting the festivities of the Fête de l'Empereur on 15 August at the Esplanade des Invalides[12], and the etching as a proposed design for an album frontispiece (Fig.16), with its balloon depicting, as proposed by Nancy Locke, the first balloon flight of 1783 above the Butte aux Cailles[13]. Nadar's own endeavours increased dramatically in the 1860s with the construction in 1863 of *Le Géant*[14], a large balloon twenty-two metres in diameter, and its first two flights undertaken from the Champ-de-Mars were made in the midst of great public interest in October, 1863 (Fig.J3). The second of these, on 18 October, ended in disaster with a crash landing near Neuberg[15]. Undeterred, Nadar made further flights until financial problems forced its sale in 1867 during the time of the Exposition Universelle. There were, however, many other balloons flown by many well known *aéronautes*, including Henry Giffard, the brothers Louis, Eugene, and Jules Godard, Charles and Camille Flammarion, James Glaisher, Wilfred de Fonvielle, and Gaston Tissandier. And although Nadar's *Le Géant* had been the largest balloon in the skies of Paris in 1863, a balloon constructed by the Godard brothers in 1864, *L'Aigle*, was much larger, with a diameter of thirty metres,

confirming that the retrospective singling out of *Le Géant* as the balloon of the Parisian skies may be symbolically apposite, but does not reflect the actual circumstances.

1867, the year of the Exposition Universelle held at the Champ-de-Mars, was a busy year for balloon flights above Paris. Flights were made by the Godard brothers from the newly re-opened Hippodrome at Place d'Eylau, with the first flight on 9 June, Ascension Day, and five others in June and July[16]. During the second of these flights, the balloon flew over the Exposition site on its way to Mainville in the Senart forest, and on a later undated flight it flew over Grenelle and Vaugirard in the early stages of a long flight to Angouleme. Even with no evidence of photographs, such flight paths could account for viewpoints SP4 and SP5 in the proposals for *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* in Chapter 5(B). Apart from the flights providing a free spectacle for the public on the ground, ballooning itself was also made more accessible to the public by means of paid ascents in securely restrained *ballons captifs.* During the Exposition, the Esplanade des Invalides became an important venue for balloons, with a fenced enclosure used as an amphitheatre for the activities. From that site *Le Géant* made three flights between June and August, the first while still owned by Nadar, and a smaller balloon, *L'Impériale*, was installed there as a *ballon captif.* The activities of either of these balloons above the Esplanade could account for viewpoint SP6 in the proposal for *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, and the flight paths of two of the three ascensions by *Le Géant* could also account for the line of elevated viewpoints proposed for *The Burial* in Chapter 5(C)[17]. But although the written descriptions of the flight made on 23 June are contradictory and provide tantalising possibilities for the proposals, no direct evidence of a descent over La Glacière is described.

Another ballooning event of significance in 1867 was the establishment by Henry Giffard of a *ballon captif* on a site at No.42 Avenue de Suffren, adjacent to the Exposition on the Champ-de-Mars, for a period from 26 September to the close of the Exposition in early November (Fig.J4)[18]. Such an installation demonstrates that, rather than being *Le Géant* as has been previously claimed[19], the balloon with the cable seen in the upper right corner of *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* is clearly Giffard's

ballon captif. As noted in Chapter 5(B), because ascensions were never made in windy conditions or were quickly aborted whenever winds arose, the balloon would not have been seen in a position above the Palais de l'Exposition with its angled cable as depicted by Manet. Its inclusion in this manner points to the fact that the painting's composition, with Avenue de Suffren out of frame to the right, had been resolved prior to the installation of the *ballon captif* on 26 September. Unable to paint the balloon directly above its anchor point as would have been seen, Manet had set it above the Palais de l'Exposition with its angled cable signalling the position of the installation beyond the southern boundary of the Champ-de-Mars site.

With such exposure during these years of the 1860s, ballooning had captured the popular imagination, and the public perceptions are exemplified in an article responding to the move of the *ballon captif* from the site at Avenue de Suffren to the Hippodrome at Place d'Eylau, where it opened on 9 May, 1868. Appearing in Science pour tous on 13 June, 1868, it was noted that

> Le ballon qui a si vivement excité la curiosité pendant l'Exposition a changé de domicile; il habite maintenant l'Hippodrome et les Parisiens le voient presque tous les jours monter et descendre au-dessus de l'Arc de triomphe.
>
> On a été plus de dix jours cependant sans apercevoir ce gros globe dessiner sa silhouette sur le ciel. Ceux qui ont l'habitude de marcher le nez en l'air, et ils sont plus nombreux qu'on ne le pense, commençaient à s'inquiéter sur le compte du ballon captif. Il manquait évidemment à la population des quais, des Ternes, du Gros-Caillou, de Montmartre, Batignolles, etc. Sa perspective fait bien à côté du dôme de l'Église russe, de la flèche de Saint-Augustine. Le ballon est presque passé à l'état de monument public, et nous sommes ainsi faits que notre œil est maintenant choqué lorsqu'il ne le rencontre pas à l'horizon.[20]

An ostensibly important development in aerial photography was also made in 1868 by Nadar from the Hippodrome *ballon captif*, when he successfully photographed the Étoile area around the Arc de Triomphe. On that occasion, at least two, and possibly three, glass plates were exposed, with eight images to each plate (Fig.J6)[21]. The event was reported with an article, 'Nadar heureux' in Le Moniteur de la photographie on 18 July[22], noted to have taken place two days previously, that is probably 16 July, and later reported again with an article of the same title in Le Petit Figaro on 31 July[23]. The dating of the event has been subsequently confused with the '1858' dating of a

print made of one of the images which had been exhibited in the 1889 Exposition (Fig.J7)[24], and by Nadar himself, who, in his memoirs, stated

> Dès les premiers jours du printemps suivant, – 1856, – j'obtenais à premier essai cette fois, avec une douzaine d'autres points de vue, un cliché de l'avenue du Bois de Boulogne, avec l'amorce de l'Arc de Triomphe, la perspective des Ternes, Batignolles, Montmartre, etc.
> Ce cliché affirmait *premier*, malgré son imperfection, la pratique possibilité de la Photographie aérostatique: c'était avant tout ce que j'avais visé.[25]

With the opening of the *ballon captif* facility at the Hippodrome on 9 May, 1868, and the reported dating of his achievement to be 16 July, no earlier dating than 1868 is possible for the event. And if the fanfare over such an achievement was justified, then it also may have been the very first use of a multi-lens camera in this way. On that basis, any similar multiple imagery of the Panthéon and Val-de-Grâce areas, as proposed to have been used by Manet in *The Burial*, or for that matter single images as proposed for *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, could only have been available to Manet after that time.

Such a conclusion may not, however, tell the full story. In the midst of all the ballooning activity and photographic developments there are a number of aspects which raise some questions and highlight some anomalies. First, are Nadar's obvious errors in dating the event of 1868 as 1856 and the dating of an 1868 image as 1858, unintended oversights, attempts by Nadar to stake a claim in a rewritten history, or, as suggested by Jean Prinet and Antoinette Dilasser, to connect it to his patent taken out in 1858[26]? Second, with such energies spent at that time in the development of photography in general and in aerial photography in particular, it seems odd that after Nadar's limited achievement in 1858, and the subsequent successes by James Wallace Black in Boston in 1860 and Henry Negretti and others in London c.1863, that Nadar's next real subsequent achievement did not occur until 1868, a decade later. Such a hiatus in such a dynamic environment of experimentation and endeavour seems implausible. Third, the 'cabin' beneath *Le Géant's* balloon had been fitted with a photographic darkroom when constructed in 1863, and yet no records exist of photographs taken between 1863 and 1867 from one of the largest balloons in use in Paris by the pioneer of aerial

photography. It is impossible to imagine that Nadar took no photographs from *Le Géant* during that period, or that if he did they were all unsuccessful. Fourth, the occasion of Nadar's achievement in 1868 with the very opportune journalistic recording of his exultant "Eureka!" is too much like a calculated publicity stunt, and one which was typical of Nadar's activities in seeking public exposure for his commercial activities. He had been financially ruined with *Le Géant* and was required to sell it the year previously, in 1867. Why he would have needed to orchestrate an event in 1868 which was incorrectly claimed to be historic and ensure that it received public attention is not clear, but the evidence indicates that the event was claimed to be something that it was not. And fifth, in spite of its play on the elevation of photography in general with that of the aerial balloon, the question can be asked if Daumier's lithograph of 1862, which depicted Nadar in a balloon photographing the cityscape of Paris, was only making a belated reference to Nadar's exploits above Petit-Bicêtre in 1858, over three years earlier, or did it imply later activities? It is also of interest that the Parisian panorama used by Daumier should show a view from an elevated position not dissimilar to those produced from above La Glacière as used by Manet in *The Burial*. Did Daumier conceive such an aerial image of the Parisian cityscape with what could be seen as the Val-de-Grâce dome on the left and the Panthéon dome on the right by imagination, translation from images formed at a lower level, or by means of an aerial photograph?

The technical circumstances of Nadar's achievement provide some clarification of the circumstances but not an explanation. The images achieved by Nadar were created with the exposure of the 24 x 30 cm glass collodion-coated plates[27], and each plate, with eight images per plate, would have been exposed on eight separate occasions at a different area of the plate in a *carte-de-visite* camera, or similar, with four 'portrait' lenses of relatively short focal length, and fitted with a frame which held the sliding plate, viewfinder and shutter. The principles of this arrangement had been explained in 1862 by the inventor of the *carte-de-visite* camera, Disdéri (Fig.J5)[28]. Rather than requiring to prepare eight separate plates with collodion, the use of such a camera and sliding plate provided the opportunity for eight sequential exposures of short duration (1-2 seconds)

on one prepared plate (preparation time: 4-5 minutes), with initially four exposures made on one half of the plate and then, after the plate has been pushed across in the frame, the four remaining exposures made on the other half.[29] Thus the means to achieve multiple images with short exposure times had been available from 1862, the year before Nadar's *Le Géant* had been constructed. Although not stated in the announcement of Nadar's apparent success in 1868, the real achievement of that event most probably was that it was the first image that he had been able to 'fix' as a permanent image. As a real innovator and one continually experimenting with photographic processes Nadar could have produced many negative images taken from *Le Géant* or other balloons prior to 1868[30], but possibly had been unable to make them permanent enough for any public announcement[31].

Obviously such a scenario is still somewhat removed from one in which Manet may have received from Nadar copies of deteriorating and disappearing images taken from aerial balloons in 1867 above the locales of the Exposition Universelle on the Champ-de-Mars and La Glacière. But it does provide an explanation for the dearth of images prior to 1868. In addition, the correlation between the sequence required by Nadar to make the exposures in 1868 and the one which would be expected to have taken place from the series of balloon viewpoints as proposed for *The Burial* in Chapter 5(C) is a surprising one. With eleven viewpoints forming a feasible balloon flight path, ten of them are set at regular intervals of approximately seventy to one hundred metres, a sequence which could be seen to represent the time intervals between each opening of the shutter of a camera attached to a balloon in flight[32]. In light of the correspondence between such circumstances in production of a series of photographic images from an aerial balloon, and the series of views within Manet's *The Burial* and *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, seen from a series of elevated viewpoints as if from an aerial balloon, it seems likely to this writer that the full story of aerial photography in Paris during the 1860s has yet to be revealed.

Later developments in aerial ballooning shed little light on aerial photography until 1878. During 1869 the Godard brothers continued to make flights from the Hippodrome

and Gaston Tissandier made flights from the vacant Champ-de-Mars in the balloon *Pole Nord*. The Godard brothers and Nadar were involved with balloons during the blockade of Paris by the Prussians in 1870, with Nadar establishing a balloon corps at the Place Saint-Pierre on Butte Montmartre, initially for reconnaissance and later for communication purposes[33]. No note seems to have been made of aerial photographs taken from any of these balloon activities or, if taken, they do not appear to exist today as a record. The first aerial photograph after 1868 seems to have been one taken by the photographer Dagron from the *ballon captif* installed at the 1878 Exposition[34], and even that decade between those two events raises further questions about the limited evidence of aerial photographs. Dagron had also been involved with the installation in 1878-79 of a *ballon captif* in the Cour des Tuileries, next to the ruins of the Palais des Tuileries, but the only images are of the balloon anchored at the site or in flight, not from the balloon itself. The earliest and most relevant aerial photograph after 1868 that has been found in the research for this dissertation is an anonymous photograph taken from above the Champ-de-Mars (Fig.J8), hand-annotated at 1885, and held in the archives of the Musée de l'Air et de l'Espace, Paris. It admirably illustrates how a view from a balloon at the heights proposed for the viewpoints in *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* and a number of those in *The Burial* would have appeared at that earlier time.

Appendix 4.
ANALYTICAL PROCEDURES

The analyses underlying the proposals made in Chapter 5 and Appendix 2 involved certain processes that require explanation and clarification. All were initially undertaken as hand-drawn geometries as part of the process of examination, conceptualisation and testing, and with the exception of that for *Incident in a Bullfight*, all the analyses involved the subsequent use of computer-generated three-dimensional modelling to produce perspectival views as the final means to assess proposal concepts, facilitate identification, and resolve viewpoints. In contrast to hand-drawn perspectives which usually required a viewpoint selection for assessment purposes, the computer-generated modelling enabled various viewpoints and the resultant views to be easily compared.

The modelling was constructed with information established from archival and photographic records, and, where available, site measurements. Although limited by the discrepancies and contradictions of the archival information the modelling was able to produce views of reasonable accuracy when checked against contemporary photographs[1]. It also produced views which could be assessed against the imagery of the painting in terms of position, size and perspective, by means of overlay line drawings made from the paintings.

The use of such overlays was seen as a means to assist with identification and to provide insights into Manet's spatial manipulations rather than an attempt to recreate any sense of Manet's artistic endeavours or to diminish a work to a simple matching exercise. Nevertheless, an overlay line drawing made from the reproduced image of a painting is quite obviously an arbitrary and reductive description of that work, and the use of such drawings for comparison with perspective views was only made within their acknowledged limitations. Rather than providing any confirmation of a proposal, the comparative use of the line drawings provided points of interest which were then

considered in greater detail with a reproduction of the work. In practice, and particularly when the perspectives were rendered with surfaces and not used as line drawings, the technique proved to be an effective means to confirm or suggest spatial implications of the painting under consideration, and indeed to reveal possible aspects not previously identified or understood. Unfortunately it also provided the ready means to make convenient, but false, identifications from the accidental correlation of shapes and lines. In the form in which the perspectives and overlays are presented as illustrations in this document they convey only the initial comparison and provide no evidence of that subsequent examination of the work itself.

Although the positions of elements in the line drawings were not adjusted to make a coincidence more exact, circumstances arose in which it was seen that the initial line drawing had been created without taking into account an aspect highlighted by the perspective. Conversely, other situations also arose in which, because of uncertainty about the physical information set into the model, the overlay provided some clarity, and the model itself was adjusted where deemed appropriate. Such situations are noted in the text of the relevant case study.

The modelling was also used in testing and demonstrating the two principal spatial strategies proposed to have been used by Manet, the offset viewpoint one-point perspective and the collaged composite image, with perspective views displaying rendered surfaces and seamless composite images. The rendering potential of the three-dimensional modelling programs was restricted as deemed appropriate for the purposes of conveying the concepts, analyses, and proposals.

Aspects of the detailed analyses carried out for Manet's *Incident in a Bullfight*, *View of the 1876 Exposition Universelle*, *The Burial*, *The Railway*, *Masked Ball at the Opera*, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, and Caillebotte's *Dans un café* are discussed below:

a) *Incident in a Bullfight*

Incident in a Bullfight was the only Manet work for which a virtual site could not be constructed as a means of refining the analysis of the two extant paintings, *The Bullfight* and *The Dead Toreador*. The initial examination had established that too many variables

and contradictions existed for a cohesive space to be constructed. Rather, principles of perspective and shadow projection were applied with hand-drawn geometries to analyse the form and space of the elements seen in the upper left corner of *The Dead Toreador* X-radiograph. The resolution of these elements had seemed crucial in any attempt to further connect the two existing canvases and resolve the original composition.

b) *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* and *The Burial*

As two paintings depicting, in part, cityscape views of Paris at approximately the same time, both *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* and *The Burial* presented many common areas for research and analysis. The approaches taken with each work have differed, however, with the general site of the major viewpoint(s) and the direction of view(s) for View *of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* previously known, and those for *The Burial* uncertain, at best.

Nonetheless both paintings involved views of Paris and information of the topography and relevant buildings and landmarks was established in the computer modelling to facilitate the analysis of such a complex spatial organisation. The information gathered and co-ordinated included extensive topographical details, the published dimensions of the relevant churches, public and private buildings, bridges, and monuments, as well as calculated dimensions from photographs. Although the contours and point-levels for Paris of 1967 have been used[2], the basic topography was considered to have changed little and, more importantly, the levels at which buildings shown in the painting still existed were able to be accurately plotted. The compilation of the information has not been without its problems. Major discrepancies, particularly with regard to the positions and alignments of streets in some areas of Paris, existed between contemporary maps, such as the 1870 Nouveau Plan de Paris by Chaix[3], and the map of 1967. As the configuration of many of the streets and the position of landmark buildings had not changed in that time, the problem obviously lay in the maps. The more recent plan, with its accurate grid, has been used to provide the framework for the co-ordinated information used for the computer-generated modelling, and those areas which

no longer existed in 1967, such as around the colline de Chaillot, have been integrated as accurately as possible. Additionally, the published measurements of the heights of many of the various buildings and monuments of Paris were either non-existent or not available in any co-ordinated form from any institution and, when found, were at times contradictory or simply did not relate to photographic evidence. In those situations the information assessed to be the most reliable has been used. Notwithstanding these problems, the accuracy of the complex three-dimensional information was able to be checked against a number of contemporary photographs and, in balance, considered more than adequate for the purposes of the analysis.

In such modelling, the forms and details of the buildings and landmarks have not been developed, except where considered necessary, to enable them to be seen in the generated views as quasi-replicas of the paintings and, although constructed as accurately as possible, do not go beyond the level required for the analysis. Forms of churches, for example, have generally been limited to those elements of relevance, such as spires, towers and upper roofs, which would enable an analysis of their shapes and relative lateral positions and heights when identified in a view to be made. In order to indicate the overlap of other buildings which have not been specifically shown, the fabric of the buildings spread across Paris at the time has been nominally shown with blocks projected vertically above the ground contours to heights of 10, 15, 20, or 30 metres as deemed appropriate for the location. Main avenues and boulevards have been used to establish the pattern of these building blocks, with smaller streets generally shown around the two main viewpoint areas.

With a number of views in both paintings proposed to be from aerial balloons, the degree of accuracy used in establishing their positions needs clarification. When a view was ascertained to involve only one building or element of interest, a viewpoint which could produce the relevant view was not easily limited to one specific point in space, as judgement was required to assess the comparative perspective of the view and the overlay when the viewpoint was moved along the selected centre line of vision. When a view involved two buildings or elements the position of one specific point in space for a

viewpoint was more easily determined particularly if the buildings were not approximately aligned. And when three or more elements were involved the viewpoints could usually be positioned with some accuracy as their spatial separation provided very clear checks of both lateral and vertical displacements. Even in these latter circumstances, the position determined for a viewpoint was, however, only as accurate as the information used to establish the modelling. Nonetheless, when the patterns of the various types of viewpoints were assessed in *The Burial* the positions of those viewpoints which used only one element in a view could be seen to easily fit into the line of positions established by those which used two or more elements in a view. Thus, although there is a degree of flexibility in the positions of some of the viewpoints, the proposed flight path passes through the possible positions of all of the viewpoints.

c) *The Railway*

The initial hand-drawn spatial analysis undertaken in 1996 had been mainly concerned with the confirmation of the identifications of the viewpoint(s), sightline(s), and background buildings at No.2 and No.4 rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, and the realisation that the depicted view included a window to Manet's own studio at No.4. The computer-generated modelling was used to confirm initial assessments of the view of the upper right background being from a floor level above the rear garden at No. 58 rue de Rome, and of its adjusted scale, but the understanding of the offset spatial shaping in the foreground view of the garden and the relationship of the study sketches to the view across the railway cutting was only achieved with analysis from the modelling.

d) *Masked Ball at the Opera*

The computer-generated modelling provided the means to readily compare different views from different viewpoints in the virtual re-construction of the corridor and balcony.

e) *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*

Although the proposals for the views within the interior of the Folies-Bergère theatre and Manet's studio, together with the composite image of the Final Painting, had been established in principle with hand-drawn geometries, the modelling proved

invaluable in the virtual reconstruction of the space and in the detailed resolution of the various views.

f) *Dans un café*

All of the spatial analysis and the subsequent proposal for single- and double-reflections in Caillebotte's *Dans un café* was established with hand-drawn geometries before this writer had contemplated the use of computer modelling. Nevertheless, the modelling facilitated the virtual re-construction of the unknown space and to enable the arrangement of the two men seated at the table to be better understood.

The computer modelling work was carried out by Mark Jacques, of Sydney, New South Wales, and Darren McKimm, of East Maitland, New South Wales, using a number of different software programs, including: *Microstation 6.1*; *Autocad R14*; *3DStudio MAX R2*; and, *Poser*[4]. Initial analyses with Mark Jacques concentrated on the work of Gustave Caillebotte, including *Le Pont de l'Europe*, *Rue de Paris; Temps de pluie*, and *Dans un café* – with the analysis of the latter included, in part, in Appendix 2. Of the Manet analyses, Mark Jacques produced the modelling for *The Railway*, *Masked Ball at the Opera*, and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*. Darren McKimm produced the modelling for *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* and *The Burial*, and assisted with the process of generating the views on *The Railway* and *Masked Ball at the Opera*. Although the assistance of Mark Jacques and Darren McKimm is noted in the Acknowledgments, the exceptional quality of their work must also be noted here.

Volume 2

AMBIGUITY, AND THE ENGAGEMENT OF SPATIAL ILLUSION WITHIN THE SURFACE OF MANET'S PAINTINGS

Malcolm Park

2 Volumes

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NOTES

Endnotes for each chapter or, as in Chapter 5, each section, are discrete sequences.
References to publications are also contained within each separate chapter or section. The first reference provides all publication details; the second reference uses an abbreviation of the title, the publication date, and notes the position of the first reference, e.g. 'Duret 1919 (as in n.24)'; and, all subsequent references are limited to the abbreviation of the publication, e.g. 'Duret 1919'.
Reference to a Note (Footnote or Endnote) on a particular page of a publication is made after the page number with the abbreviation 'n' as a prefix, e.g. 'p.8-n.6'.

Introduction

1. See the later discussion in Chapter 3 on work by scholars such as Juliet Wilson-Bareau, Juan Corradini, Theodore Reff, and Anne Coffin Hanson.
2. e.g. Théodore Pelloquet, in his review of the Salon des Refusés of 1863 and in discussing the lack of cohesion in *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1863, Fig.18), wrote that "L'incohérence, l'inégalité d'exécution de M. Maner [sic] ne s'expliquent." (Théodore Pelloquet, L'Exposition: Journal du Salon de 1863, no.22, 23 July, 1863. Quoted from: Michael Fried, Manet's Modernism: or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1996, p.575-n.115).
3. e.g. In 1864, Jules Castagnary questioned Manet's technique by asking "Dans son *Episode d'une course de taureaux*, l'homme tombé et presenté en raccourci est un morceau excellent; mais où est la perspective et que devient l'ensemble du tableau?" (Jules Castagnary, 'Salon de 1864', Le Grand Journal, no.11, 12 June, 1864, p.3). Théodore Duret, in his early assessment of Manet, wrote in particular terms that "Son faire n'est pas poussé à un point assez arrêté, son modelé manque de fermenté, et ces défauts s'accusent surtout chez lui dans le traitement des figures." (Théodore Duret, Les Peintres français en 1867, Dentu, Paris, 1867, pp.110–11). Josephin Péladan suggested more broadly that, as an artist, Manet was "Sans idéal, sans conception, sans émotion, sans poésie, sans dessin" (Josephin Péladan, 'Le Procédé de Manet; d'après l'exposition de l'École des Beaux-Arts', L'Artiste, February, 1884, p.103). And more recently, John Richardson wrote that with Manet's art "the spatial illusion is flawed, at times irreparably, by a... habitual weakness (*due possibly to some defect in the artist's vision* [this writer's emphasis]), a fallible sense of scale" (John Richardson, Manet: Paintings and Drawings, Phaidon Press, London, 1958, p.13).
4. e.g. Jules Castagnary, in his response to *The Luncheon* (1868–69, Fig.44) and *The Balcony* (1868-69, Fig.45) as part of his review of the Salon of 1869, wrote of Manet that "Ses sujets, il les emprunte aux poêtes ou les prend dans son imagination; il ne s'occupe pas de les découvrir sur le vif des mœurs. De là, dans ses compositions, une grande part d'arbitraire." (Jules Castagnary, 'Le Salon de 1869', Le Siècle, 11 June, 1869, p.3).
5. e.g. Seymour Howard, in his article 'Early Manet and Artful error: Foundations of Anti-Illusion in Modern Painting' suggested that the "oddities in Manet's painting have been usually explained as defects of technical ability, and they have been considered as by-products of his methods of composing", but that "They can also be explained as willfully subjective and self-justifying distortions." (Art Journal, v.37, no.1, Fall, 1977, p.16). Anne Coffin Hanson, in referring to the two paintings, *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* (1867, Fig.34) and *On the Beach at Boulogne* (1868, Fig.40), within a wider discourse of Manet's compositional devices, wrote that "Perspective rules require that figures diminish in size in exact proportion to their distance from the spectator, but in both these pictures size is often arbitrary" (Anne Coffin Hanson, Manet and the Modern Tradition, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1977, p.201), and believed that "in view of the carelessness of perspective training at mid-century and Couture's apparent lack of interest in the subject, I doubt that Manet had much knowledge of the details of mathematical perspective." (ibid., p.201-n.318).
6. e.g. Théodore Duret wrote that "La faculté de voir à part, chez Manet, ne venait ni d'un acte raisonné, ni d'un effort de volonté, ni du travail. Elle venait de la nature. Elle était le don. Elle correspondait, chez lui peintre, à la supériorité qui chez l'écrivain crée le poète, l'homme à part exceptionnellement inspiré." (Théodore Duret, Histoire de Edouard Manet et de son œuvre, avec un catalogue des Peintures et des Pastels, Bernheim-Jeune, Paris, 1919, pp.64-65).
7. e.g. The ambiguities in *The Luncheon* and *The Balcony* were seen by Jules Castagnary as an "attitude contradictoire" which confused him. Of *The Luncheon*, he suggested that "De même que M. Manet assemble, pour le seul plaisir de frapper les yeux, des natures mortes qui devraient s'exclure; de même, il distribue ses personnages au hasard, sans que rien de nécessaire et de

forcé ne commande leur composition. De là l'incertitude, et souvent l'obscurité dans la pensée." (Castagnary 1869 (as in n.4), p.3).

8. See a consideration of Clark's writings in Chapter 3.
9. See the discussion of Locke's article "Unfinished Homage: Manet's *Burial* and Baudelaire" in Chapter 5(C).
10. Juliet Wilson-Bareau, Manet, Monet: La gare Saint-Lazare, exh. cat., Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris, 1998, p.187-n.34 (also, Manet, Monet, and the Gare Saint-Lazare, exh. cat., Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1998, p.186-n.34).
11. See the discussion of Darragon's article 'Manet, le Bal masqué à l'Opéra' in Chapter 5(E).
12. Recorded by Manet's life-long friend Antonin Proust as "Voilà qui est fort sot... il faut être de son temps, faire ce que l'on voit, sans s'inquiéter de la mode" (Edouard Manet: Souvenirs, L'Échoppe, Paris, 1996, p.10).

1. Reality, artifice and ambiguity

1. Antonin Proust, Edouard Manet: Souvenirs, L'Échoppe, Paris, 1996, p.10.
2. e.g. "ne faites de la peinture que d'après Nature. Cette dernière est encore plus forte que MM. et X.Z.", as recorded by Gaston La Touche ('Édouard Manet. Souvenirs intimes', Le Journal des arts, 15 January, 1884, p.2).
3. e.g. "je ne puis rien faire sans la nature. Je ne sais pas inventer.", as recorded by Émile Zola ('Mon Salon II – Édouard Manet', L'Événement illustré, 10 May, 1868, p.3). Such sentiments can, of course, be contradicted with Manet's almost flippant suggestion, as recorded by Berthe Morisot, that "You can do *plein air* painting indoors, by painting white in the morning, lilac during the day and orange-toned in the evening". Quoted from: Juliet Wilson-Bareau, ed., Manet by himself, Little, Brown and Company, London, 1995, p.303.
4. Nevertheless, his comment, as remembered by Antonin Proust, that "nous n'avons pas d'autre devoir que d'extraire de notre époque ce qu'elle nous offre; sans pour cela cesser de trouver bien ce que les époques précédentes ont fait" (Proust 1996 (as in n.1), p.38), indicates that he believed the past could offer important lessons.
5. Proust 1996, p.10.
6. In his 1867 article of support, 'Une nouvelle manière en peinture – Edouard Manet', Zola wrote that Manet "aura compris... qu'il lui restait à essayer de voir la nature telle qu'elle est... la traduisant à sa manière." (L'Artiste: Revue du XIXe Siècle, ed. Arsène Houssaye, 1 January, 1867, pp.43–64. Quoted from: Émile Zola: Œuvres complètes, ed. Henri Mitterand, Cercle du livre précieux, Paris, 1969, v.12, p.828).
7. For the socio-political background to Courbet's art, see: T.J. Clark, Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution, Thames and Hudson, London, 1973.
8. For the best description of the social and physical milieu of Paris at this time see: Robert L. Herbert, Impressionism: Art, Leisure and Parisian Society, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988. Also see discussion and other references in Chapter 2.
9. The sense at the time that painting had taken a new direction, rather than simply a reactionary one, is evident from the titles used by Zola for his 1867 article (see n.6) and by Edmond Duranty for his 1876 article, La Nouvelle Peinture: A Propos du groupe d'artistes qui expose dans les galeries Durand-Ruel (pamphlet, E. Dentu, Paris, 1876), supporting the Impressionists at the time of their second group exhibition.
10. Although the depiction of the locale and circumstances of the execution were not based on factual visual information, the paintings of *The Execution of Maximilian* were also not quite fiction. Information about the incident, including written reports, photographs showing staged scenes purporting to be reconstructions, and composite photographs with images of those executed, when alive, set into locales claimed to be the exact location, had been received in Paris during the months after the event, providing imagery and information in response to which anyone who was interested, such as Manet, could create a second-hand reality.
11. The literature on Manet's visual 'borrowings', both direct and indirect, from earlier artists is extensive, and the examples known or claimed are numerous, including: from Corneille le Jeune, after Giulio Romano in *The Surprised Nymph* (1859–61); from Marcantonio Raimondi, after Raphael in *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1863); from Titian in *Olympia* (1863); from El Greco in *Masked Ball at the Opera* (1873–74); from Peter Paul Rubens in *La pêche* (1861–63); from Diego Velásquez in *The Tragic Actor* (1865–66), and *Philosopher* (1865–67); from Rembrandt in *The Surprised Nymph*; from Bartolomé Murillo in *Boy with Dog* (1860–61); and, from Francisco de Goya in *Young Woman Reclining, in Spanish Costume* (1862), *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada* (1862), *Lola de Valence* (1862), *The Execution of Maximilian* (1867–69?), *Portrait of Théodore Duret* (1868), and *The Balcony* (1868–69).
12. John House, 'Manet's Naïveté', introductory essay, in Juliet Wilson-Bareau, 'The Hidden Face of Manet; An investigation of the artist's working processes', exh. cat. The Burlington Magazine, v.128, no.997, April, 1986, p.1.
13. Recorded by Antonin Proust, Édouard Manet. Souvenirs publiés par A. Barthélemy, H. Laurens, Paris, 1913, p.16.

14. Of the barmaid in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, Henry Houssaye's response was that "Il paraît que ce tableau représente un *bar* des Folies-Bergère; que cette robe bleu criard, surmontée d'une tête de carton comme on en voyait jadis aux vitrines des modistes, représente une femme;" ('Le Salon de 1882', in La Revue des Deux-Mondes, 15 June, 1882, p.583), whereas Émile Bergerat effusively noted that "la belle fille en robe noire-bleue qui tient le comptoir est excellement dessinée, modelée sur un beau ton local, franche de coloris, naturelle de pose et toute pleine de caractère." ('Salon de 1882', Le Voltaire, 10 May, 1882, p.2).
15. Jules Castagnary was obviously bemused by the lack of narrative in both *The Luncheon* (1868–69) and *The Balcony* (1868–69). In his Salon review of 1869, Castagnary wrote:

    > Que fait ce jeune homme du *Déjeuner*, qui est assis au premier plan et qui semble regarder le public? Il est bien peint, c'est vrai, brossé d'une main hardie; mais où est-il? Dans la salle à manger? Alors, ayant le dos à la table, il a le mur entre lui et nous, et sa position ne s'explique plus. Sur ce *balcon* j'aperçois deux femmes, dont une toute jeune. Sont-ce les deux soeurs? Est-ce la mère et la fille? Je ne sais.
    > ('Salon de 1869', Le Siècle, 11 June, 1869, p.3).

16. Michael Paul Driskel, for example, in his essay 'On Manet's Binarism: Virgin and/or Whore at the Folies-Bergère', asserts that his

    > strongest claims regarding Manet's share in the production of meaning for his work [*A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*] are that he willfully appropriated the iconography of the Immaculate Conception and placed it in an ambience where he knew prostitution of one type or another was commonplace, and thereby inscribed in his picture a *lorette* or the trope of irony consisting of two opposed, yet interrelated conceptions of women which had broad cultural resonance and rich associations.
    > (in 12 Views of Manet's *Bar*, ed. Bradford R. Collins, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996, p.158).

17. Claude Pichois, ed., Charles Baudelaire: Critique d'Art, 2 vols., Armand Colin, Paris, 1965, v.1, p.77.
18. id.
19. ibid., v.2, p.308.
20. ibid., v.1, p.173.
21. ibid., v.2, p.452.
22. id.
23. id.
24. Gustave Flaubert, letter to J.-K. Huysmans, 1879. Quoted from: Documents of Modern Literary Realism, ed. and trans. George J. Becker, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1963, p.96.
25. Becker 1963 (as in n.24), p.90.
26. ibid., p.95.
27. ibid., p.91.
28. ibid., p.93.
29. ibid., p.91.
30. Pierre Bourdieu, 'Flaubert's Point of View', trans. Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, Critical Inquiry, v.14, 1988, pp.539–62.
31. ibid., p.560.
32. id.
33. ibid., p.552. Bourdieu sees Flaubert as positioned in the same "geometric locus of contraries" of Baudelaire.
34. ibid., p.560.
35. ibid., p.562.
36. ibid., p.551.
37. ibid., p.562.
38. Gustave Flaubert, in letter to J.-K. Huysmans, ibid., p.562.
39. ibid., p.562.
40. Gustave Flaubert, quoted in: Bourdieu 1988 (as in n.30), pp.554–55.
41. Stéphane Mallarmé, 'The Impressionists and Edouard Manet', Art Monthly Review, September, 1876. Quoted from: Charles S. Moffett, et al., The New Painting: Impressionism 1874–1886, exh. cat., The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, San Francisco, 1986, p.29.
42. 'Motifs d'une Exposition Particulière", in Catalogue des Tableaux de M. Édouard Manet exposés Avenue de l'Alma en 1867, Paris, 1867, p.5.
43. T.J. Clark, The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers, Thames and Hudson, London, 1985.
44. ibid., p.251.
45. ibid., p.252.

2. Pictorial Perspectives

1. Clement Greenberg, 'Modernist Painting', in Art in Theory: 1900–1990, eds. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, Blackwell, Oxford and Cambridge, 1993, p.755.

2. Relevant aspects of the underlying geometry of perspective and its practice are discussed in Appendix 1.
For study of pictorial space in Western art, including perspective, see:
William M. Ivins, Jr., Art & Geometry: A Study In Space Intuitions, Dover Publications, New York, 1964 (1946);
John White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, Faber and Faber, London, 1957 (1967; 1972; Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1987);
Sidney J. Blatt, in collab. with Ethel S. Blatt, Continuity and Change in Art: The Development of Modes of Representation, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale, 1984;
and, William V. Dunning, Changing Images of Pictorial Space: A History of Spatial Illusion in Painting, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, 1991.
For historical and theoretical studies of linear perspective, see:
Samuel Y. Edgerton, The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective, Basic Books, New York, 1975;
Pierre Descargues, Perspective, trans. I. Mark Paris, Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1977;
Marco Chiarini, 'Renaissance Space and the Birth of Perspective in Painting', in Space in European Art, E.H. Gombrich et al., exh. cat., The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 1987, pp.127–34; and, Martin Kemp, The Science of Art: Optical themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1990.
3. For historical study of Greco-Roman space, see: Ivins 1964 (as in n.2), Ch.2 – Greek Art, pp.10–37, Ch.2 – Greek Geometry, pp. 38–48, Ch.9 – The Greeks Again, and What They Missed, pp.95–104; Blatt, 1984 (as in n.2), pp.124–59; White 1957 (as in n.2), Ch.16 – 'Spatial Design in Antiquity', pp.236–73; and, Dunning 1991 (as in n.2), pp.1–9.
4. For historical study of Medieval space, see: Blatt 1984, pp.159–90; and, Dunning 1991, pp.10–15.
5. For commentary on Cimabue's space, see: White 1957, pp.23–30; and, Dunning 1991, pp.15–19.
6. For commentary on Duccio's space, see: White ibid., pp.78–83.
7. For commentary on Giotto's space, see: White ibid., pp.57–77; and, Dunning 1991, pp.26–34.
8. For historical study of Renaissance space, see: William M. Ivins, Jr., On the Rationalisation of Sight, with an Examination of Three Renaissance Texts of Perspective, Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers No.8, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1938 (De Capo, New York, 1973); Blatt 1984, pp.197–241: Marco Chiarini, 'Renaissance Space and the Birth of Perspective in Painting', in Space in European Art, E.H. Gombrich et al., exh. cat., The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 1987, pp.127–34; Decio Gioseffi, 'Italy's Contribution: Perspective and the Renaissance', ibid, pp.135–44; and, Dunning 1991, pp.35–88.
9. For historical and theoretical discussions of Brunelleschi and perspective, see: White 1957, pp.113–21; Martin Kemp, 'Science, Non-science and Nonsense: The Interpretation of Brunelleschi's Perspective', Art History, v.1, no.2, June, 1978, pp.134–61; and, Kemp 1990 (as in n.2), pp.11–14, 344–45.
10. For historical and theoretical discussions of Masaccio's works, see: White 1957, pp.135–41; Kemp 1990, pp.16–21; and, Dunning 1991, pp.57–68.
11. For historical and theoretical discussions of Alberti's 1435 treatise De Pittura, see: Ivins 1938 (as in n.8), pp.14–27; White 1957, pp.121–26; and, Kemp 1990, pp.21–24.
12. For historical and theoretical discussions of Uccello's works, see: White 1957, pp.202–07.
13. For historical and theoretical discussions of della Francesca's works, particularly *Flagellation of Christ*, c.1460, and treatise, De Prospectiva pingendi, c.1474 , see: Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, Piero della Francesca: The Flagellation, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1972 (1990); James Elkins, "Piero della Francesca and the Renaissance Proof of Linear Perspective", The Art Bulletin, v.69, no.2, 1987, pp.220–30; Kemp 1990, pp.26–35, including the analysis of part of *Flagellation of Christ*; and, Laura Geatti and Luciano Fortunati, '*The Flagellation of Christ* by Piero della Francesca: A Study of its Perspective', Leonardo, v.25, no.3/4, 1992, pp.361–67.
14. For historical and theoretical discussions of da Vinci's application of perspective, see: White 1957, pp.207–15; Kemp 1990, pp.44–52, including analyses of *Annunciation*, c.1472–3 and *Last Supper*, c.1497; and, Dunning 1991, pp.71–82.
15. For historical and theoretical discussions of Durer's works and treatise Unterweysung der Messung, 1525, see: Ivins 1938, pp.34–43; and, Kemp 1990, pp.53–61, including an analysis of *St. Jerome in His Study*, 1514, engraving.
16. Such a description by Elkins is set within his wonderfully erudite chapter, 'Demonstration, Play, Arcanum', which examines "the Renaissance exploration of perspective" in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (James Elkins, The Poetics of Perspective, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1996, pp.117–80).
17. Martin Kemp (Kemp 1990, pp.36–40) has analysed the two predella panels, *The Selling of the Host*, on the left, and *The Jew's Attempt to Destroy the Host*, on the right, in terms of the evident preliminary and final geometries. Kemp notes that in *The Jew's Attempt to Destroy the Host* the vanishing point offset to the right "results in a plunging system of space in which the scene is viewed from a standpoint outside the house" (ibid., p.38), but does not connect that observation to the way in which the geometry ambiguously makes the view of the interior as if an angled one with a sense of its own centre of vision different to the actual centre of vision for the work.

James Elkins, also without commenting on its spatial ambiguity, has suggested that although Uccello may have "meant his construction to have narrative meaning... it is more likely that he thought of it as a construction, with a more general dramatic meaning." (Elkins 1996 (as in n.16), pp.147–48).

18. James Elkins has suggested that the Mannerists "disassembled, sheared, and disjointed perspective without abandoning the theatrical perspective box they inherited from the earlier Renaissance" (Elkins 1996, p.154), and detailed how artists such as Pontormo and Bronzino used offset viewpoints in the details of paintings to make them "unsettling and hard to read" (id.).
19. The painting gives evidence that, in the process of its making, Titian was aware of the potential for an offset viewpoint to provide different spatial readings of the same work. David Rosand, in his essay 'Titian and Pictorial Space', explained such a duality as a site-specific function:

    > Situated on an altar along the left wall of the church, the *Pesaro Madonna* is visible along the length of the nave; the picture must function both as wall painting and as altarpiece, accessible from a diagonal approach as well as frontally. In accommodating this double routing, Titian designed a radically asymmetrical composition. In its several early versions, revealed in X-ray examination, he conceived an ambitious architectural perspective, with the vanishing point well off to the left of the field; the Madonna and Child were enthroned to the right beneath a vaulted canopy that seemed, when viewed on the diagonal from the left, a transept extension of the nave of the Frari itself.
    > (David Rosand, Titian. Prince of Painters, ed. Susanna Biadene, exh. cat, Prestel-Verlag, Munich, 1990, p.97)

    The suggestion that the different spatial reading was for practical site-specific needs does not preclude that Titian was aware of the painting's potential for spatial ambiguity. In more general terms, Rosand also stated that Titian showed a "general reluctance to exploit orthogonal recession; rather, deliberately countering the spatial momentum of perspective construction, ... [to favour] a shallow foreground stage" (ibid., p.95). Such a reluctance is similarly evident in Manet's handling of space.
20. e.g. Andrea del Castagno, *Last Supper*, 1447.
21. e.g. Piero della Francesca, *Flagellation of Christ*, c.1460; and, Melozzo da Forli, *Sixtus IV Appointing Platina*, 1474–77.
22. e.g. Raphael, *School of Athens*, 1510–11.
23. e.g. Perugino, *Giving of the Keys to St. Peter*, 1481; and, Titian, *Presentation of the Virgin*, 1534–38.
24. e.g. *Creation of Sun, Moon, and Plants*, 1511 (ceiling fresco detail, Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome).
25. David Rosand 1990 (as in n.19), pp.94–5.
26. For a discussion of Pélerin's book, see: Ivins 1938, 27–34; Kemp 1990, pp.65–6.
27. For a theoretical discussion of Cousin's book, see: Kemp ibid., pp.67–68.
28. For this writer, the earliest cogent exposition of perspective's underlying principle is provided in the drawing by Guidobaldo del Monte in 1600 as part of the original proof and definition of the *punctum concursus* (vanishing point) in his "Problema Proposito", bk.2.54 (see: Elkins 1996, p.113). All methods and procedures of perspective, no matter how complex, have this spatial geometry as their basis. William M. Ivins, however, suggested that del Monte "summed up the perspective knowledge of the sixteenth century and worked out a number of elaborate variations but seemingly added little to the basic theory", and proposed that it was Girard Desargues in the 1630s who "opened the way to both the perspective and descriptive geometries" (Ivins 1938, p.10).
29. e.g. Jacopo Pontormo, *Entombment*, 1525–28.
30. For historical discussion of pictorial space of the Mannerists, the Baroque and Rococo periods, and of pictorial space in general in European art from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century, see: Blatt 1984, 'Mannerism', 'The Baroque', and 'Parallel Development in Renaissance and Baroque Art and Science', pp.241–89; James Elkins, 'Mannerism: Deformation of the Stage', Storia dell'arte, v.67, 1989, pp.257–62; Dunning 1991, Ch.8 – The Baroque Age, pp.89–100, Ch.9 – The Rococo Age, pp.101–114; Paul Philippot, 'Space in the Art of Northern Europe in the 16th Century', in Space in European Art, E.H. Gombrich et al., exh. cat., The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 1987, pp.169–77; Konrad Renger, 'Space in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Art', ibid., pp.199–208; and, Norman Bryson, 'Transformations in Rococo Space', in Word and Image: French Painting in the Ancien Régime, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, pp.89–121.
31. For discussion of space in the work of Caravaggio, see: Frank Stella, 'Caravaggio', in Working Space, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1986, pp.1–22; and, Dunning 1991, pp.96–100.
32. See: Kemp 1990, pp.126–28, for perspectival analyses of Poussin's works, such as *Holy Family on the Steps* (c.1646), which show that the perspective of their apparent geometrical solidity "has been constructed with decidedly non-Euclidean approximations" (ibid., p.127).
33. See references in n.30.
34. James Elkins, 'Clarification, Destruction and Negation of Pictorial Space in the Age of Neo-Classicism, 1750–1840', Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte, v.56, no.4, 1990, p.577.
35. ibid., p.578.

36. For discussion of anamorphosis and *The Ambassadors*, see: Kemp 1990, pp.208–11.
37. George Mauner seems to have been the first to suggest such an influence, writing in 1975 that

> In his letter to Fantin-Latour from Madrid, Manet mentions the *Meninas* as a 'tableau extraordinaire,' yet there had been no direct reference to it in his earlier work. But this self-portrait, while clearly linking himself as a personality to Velasquez, does not exhaust his use of *Las Meninas*. In fact the painting in its concept and structure may have been the initial stimulus for... *Un Bar aux Folies-Bergères* [sic].

(George Mauner, Manet, Peintre-Philosophe: A Study of the Painter's Themes, The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park and London, 1975, p.151).

38. Joel Snyder, and Ted Cohen, 'Reflexions on *Las Meniñas*: Paradox Lost', Critical Inquiry, v.7, no.2, Winter, 1980, p.430.
39. e.g. Louis Bretez, La perspective pratique de l'architecture...., Paris, 1706; Edme-Sébastien Jeaurat, Traité de Perspective à l'usage des artistes...., Paris, 1750; Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes, Elémens de perspective pratique à l'usage des artistes...., Paris, 1800; Jean-Thomas Thibault, Application de la perspective linéaire aux arts du dessin, Paris, 1827; Adèle Le Breton, Traité de perspective simplifiée (linéaire), Paris, 1828 (including perspective in mirrors); Charles Pierre Joseph Normand, Parallèle de diverses méthodes du dessin de la perspective..., Paris, 1833; Joseph-Alphonse Adhèmar, Traité de Perspective à l'usage des artistes, Paris, 1836; and Charles Blanc, Grammaire des arts du dessin, Paris, 1867 (1876).

    James Elkins has suggested in his article, 'Clarification, Destruction and Negation of Pictorial Space in the Age of Neo-Classicism, 1750–1840' (Elkins 1990 (as in n.34), pp.560–82), that from the middle of the eighteenth century perspective manuals developed two opposing tendencies, with a "split between the practical and the mathematical" (ibid., p.561). On the one hand the diagrams and mathematics became so complicated that the manuals were of little practical use, and on the other there was a simplification of space with the "revival of the perspective box – taken more from High Renaissance compositions such as the *School of Athens* than from compositionally similar mid-fifteenth century experiments" (ibid., pp.574–75). Such a split, Elkins stated, "was gradually erased by the adoption of a standard method in the second half of the nineteenth century" (ibid., p.580).
40. For an excellent historical and technical coverage of the *camera obscura* and other optical devices, see: Kemp 1990, pp.188–217.

    An analytical technique of interest for this dissertation has been used by Philip Steadman in examining the possible use of a *camera obscura* by the Dutch artist Johannes Vermeer (1632-75). In an initial essay ('In the studio of Vermeer', in The Artful Eye, eds. Richard Gregory et al., Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995, pp.353–72), and a recently published book, Vermeer's Camera. Uncovering the Truth Behind the Masterpieces (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001), Steadman has analysed in detail the probability that, in translating a scene to canvas, Vermeer had used a *camera obscura* with a lens set at the viewpoints for his paintings, in order to project an image onto a wall in the room where it could be traced. But rather than limiting the analysis to the optical geometry involved, Steadman has used virtual reconstructions and scaled reconstructions for purposes of analysis and confirmation.
41. For an excellent coverage of photography's relationship to the traditional arts, see: Peter Galassi, 'Before Photography', in Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography, exh. cat., Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1981, pp.11–31; and for further discussion, Helmut Gernsheim, Creative Photography: Aesthetic Trends 1839–1960, Faber and Faber, London, 1962; Aaron Scharf, Art and Photography, Allen Lane The Penguin Press, London, 1968; and, W. Rotzler, Photography as Artistic Experiment: from Fox Talbot to Moholy-Nagy, Amphoto, New York, 1976.
42. Many of these aspects are raised by Aaron Scharf in discussing the influence of photography on Impressionism and Edgar Degas (Scharf 1983 (as in n.41), pp.165–209).
43. For discussion of Manet's use of photography, see n.50.
44. Interestingly, the principles underlying the *chambre photographique* are little different to those of the standard camera used by professional photographers today, known variously as the 'view', 'four by five', or 'large format' camera. For a description of the camera, see: Robert G. Mason, and Norman Snyder, eds., The Camera, Time Life Books, New York, 1970, p.67. Such a camera was used to take the photographs (Figs.F48, F49, and F50) included in this dissertation as a demonstration of the bar set-up for *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*.
45. Most examples of perspective correction in nineteenth-century French photographs seen by this writer have been for vertical parallel lines, typically of tall structures, rather than for the correction of horizontal parallel lines. Certainly a correction of horizontal lines would not be required as often, as the opportunity to be positioned frontally to a plane at ground level is much easier than to the facade of a tall building. Additionally, unless the distortion is obvious, or lines exist which signal the spatial shaping, the ability to readily identify such a photograph would be less likely than with a photograph correcting vertical lines.
46. The principle involved is certainly not limited to spatial constructions related to horizontal lines parallel to the photographic plate. The adjustment of angled lines in space in a photographic image taken by a *chambre photographique* has been used to explain an adjustment made by Manet in *The Railway* (see Chapter 5(D)).

47. O.G. Rejlander invented the technique of composite photographs in England to create large allegorical images to match the compositions of paintings. His first such photograph, *The Two Ways of Life*, 1857, used thirty seven separate negatives, with the image printed directly onto the sensitive paper. His experiments in the photomontage of images from separate negatives also produced "ghost photographs", as seen in his *Hard Times*, 1860, with a fusion of the separate images. The composite technique was developed by Henry Peach Robinson but, in contrast to Rejlander, as a photo-montage with separate printed images cut-and-pasted together to fit a predetermined composition with the joins made invisible. His early successful works included *Fading Away*, 1858, made up from five negatives, and *The Lady of Shalott*, 1861, from two negatives. Although criticised and seen by many at the time, and since, as an artificial photographic technique, its potential to liberate the image-making processes for artists was confirmed with parallel developments in painting into the twentieth century. For details and images of the works of Rejlander and Robinson, see: Gernsheim 1962 (as in n.41), pp.77–83; Rotzler 1976 (as in n.41), p.77; and, Scharf 1983, 'Composite Pictures', pp.108–13.
Manet's clear use of composite, cut-and-paste imagery from the early 1860s seems a direct development, no matter how circuitous the influence, from such a technique.
48. Scharf 1983, p.109.
49. For a study of the relationship between photography and Realism, see: Robert A. Sobieszek, 'Photography and the Theory of Realism in the Second Empire: A Reexamination of a Relationship', in One Hundred Years of Photographic History, ed. Van Deren Coke, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1975, pp.146–59.
From very different positions, notions of actuality and reality in terms of photography are raised by: Roland Barthes in his 1980 essay, 'Camera Lucida; Reflections on Photography', Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography, trans. Richard Howard, Hill and Wang, New York, 1981; and, Linda Nochlin, Realism. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1990, p.44.
50. The works of Manet which have been proposed, with some evidence, to have been directly influenced by photographic images include: *Edgar Allan Poe*, 1861–62?, etching; *Portrait of Charles Baudelaire*, 1865, etching; and the portraits of Emperor Maximilian, and Generals Miramon, Mejia, and Diaz, as used in *The Execution of Maximilian*, 1867–69. Many other works by Manet have been speculated by various scholars to have been indirectly influenced by photography, and the nature and variations of these speculations add to the sense that Manet's use of photographic imagery was an extensive one. For these proposals and speculations, see: Beatrice Farwell, Manet and the Nude: A study in Iconography in the Second Empire, Garland Publishing, New York and London, 1981 (Ph.D. Diss.,1973), 'Photography', pp.125–35, in 'Manet and Baudelaire', pp.178–79, in 'Déjeuner sur l'herbe: Evolution and Analysis, p.195, 'Olympia: Evolution and Analysis', p.205; Anne Coffin Hanson, Manet and the Modern Tradition, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1979 (1977), Ch.6 – Photography, pp.193–96; Scharf 1983, pp.62–75; Juliet Wilson-Bareau, et al., Manet: The Execution of Maximilian: Painting, Politics & Censorship, exh. cat., National Gallery Publications, London, 1992, pp.38, 49, 52–3, 58, 59; Michael Fried, Manet's Modernism: or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1996, text: pp.323–26, notes: pp.583–85; Jean Adhémar, 'Le *Portrait de Baudelaire* gravé par Manet', La Revue des Arts, no.4, December, 1952, pp.240–42; Aaron Scharf, and André Jammes, 'Le réalisme de la photographie et la réaction des peintres', L'Art de France, v.4, 1964, pp.174–91; Gerald Needham, 'Manet, Olympia, and Pornographic Photography', in Woman as Sex Object: Studies in Erotic Art, eds. Thomas B. Hess, and Linda Nochlin, Newsweek, New York, 1972 (1973), pp.81–9; Larry L. Ligo, 'Manet's Frontispiece Etchings: His Symbolic Self-Portrait, Acknowledging the Influences of Baudelaire and Photography upon his Work', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, s.6. v.108, September, 1986, pp.66-74; Larry L. Ligo, 'The *Luncheon in the Studio*: Manet's Reaffirmation of the Influences of Baudelaire and Photography upon his Work', Arts Magazine, v.61, no.5, January, 1987, pp.46–51; Larry L. Ligo, 'Manet's *Le Vieux Musicien*: An Artistic Manifesto Acknowledging the Influences of Baudelaire and Photography upon his Work', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, s.6, v.110, December, 1987, pp.232–38; Stephen Bann, 'The Odd Man Out: Historical Narrative and the Cinematic Mode', History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History, no.26 (The Representation of Historical Events), 1987, pp.56–60; Atsushi Miura, 'La vision photographique dans *Combat de taureaux* de Manet', Revue de l'art, no.79, 1988, pp.73–75; and, Larry L. Ligo, '*Baudelaire's Mistress Reclining* and *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume*: Manet's Pendant Portraits of his Acknowledged "Mistresses," Baudelairian Aesthetics and Photography', Arts Magazine, January, 1988, pp.76–85.
51. Michael Fried, Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1988, p.88.
52. ibid., p.89.
53. ibid., p.89.
54. ibid., p.268.
55. Zacharie Astruc, Le Salon intime: Exposition au boulevard des Italiens, Paris, 1860, p.65. Quoted from: Fried 1996, p.558-n.8.
56. Eugène Delacroix, 'L'Idéal et le réalisme', L'Artiste, 1 June, 1868, p.339. Quoted from: Fried 1996, p.558-n.11.

57. Théodore Pelloquet, L'Exposition: Journal du Salon de 1863, no.22, 23 July, 1863. Quoted from: Fried 1996, p.560-n.20.
58. Fried 1996, p.575-n.115.
59. Jules Castagnary, 'Salon de 1864', Le Grand Journal, no.11, 12 June, 1864, p.3.
60. Jules Castagnary, 'Salon de 1870', Salons (1857–1879), G. Charpentier & E. Fasquelles, Paris, 1892, v.1, p.429.
61. Zacharie Astruc, Le Salon de 1863. Quoted from: Fried 1996, p.448.
62. id.
63. id.
64. id.
65. id.
66. Fried 1996, p.449.
67. Fried 1996, pp.481,482-n.97.
68. Gonzague Privat, Place aux jeunes! Causeries critiques sur le Salon de 1865, Paris, 1865, p.136. Quoted from: Fried 1996, p.559-n.13.
69. Privat, ibid., pp.65–66. Quoted from: Fried 1996, p.559-n.17.
70. Fried 1996, p.271.
71. ibid., p.482.
72. For discussion of the physical transformation of Paris during the Second Empire under the supervision of Baron Haussmann, and its influence on painting, see: Stephen F. Eisenman, 'Edouard Manet and Haussmannization', in Nineteenth Century Art: A Critical History, Thames and Hudson, London, 1994, pp.238–41.
The most relevant description of the physical, social and cultural world of Paris in Manet's time is given in Robert L. Herbert's Impressionism: Art, Leisure & Parisian Society, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988. Also, see: Theodore Reff, Manet and Modern Paris, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1982; T.J. Clark, The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1986 (1984); Theodore Reff, 'Manet and the Paris of His Time', in Kunst um 1800 und die Folgen. Werner Hofmann zu Euren. Sonderdruck, Prestel-Verlag, Munich, 1988, pp.247–62; Barbara Stern Shapiro, Pleasures of Paris : Daumier to Picasso, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in assoc. with David R. Godine, Boston, 1991; and, Otto Friedrich, Olympia: Paris in the Age of Manet, Aurum Press, London, 1992.
73. " 'Être vrai', telle est sa formule", as remembered by Antonin Proust (Antonin Proust, Edouard Manet: Souvenirs, L'Échoppe, Paris, 1996, p.94).
74. See: Stephen F. Eisenman, 'Manet and the Impressionists', in Eisenman 1994 (as in n.72), pp.238–54.
75. e.g. Jacques Joseph Tissot, *Jeunes Femmes regardant des objets japonais*, 1869 (reproduced in Christopher Wood, Tissot, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1986, Figure 28, p.39)
76. As seen in journals, e.g. Edmond-Charles-Joseph Yon, *La Grenouillère*, engraving, L'Illustration, 16 August, 1873 (reproduced in Francis Frascina, et al., Modernity and Modernism: French Painting in the Nineteenth Century, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, in assoc. with The Open University, 1993, pl.169, p.178), and posters, e.g. Fig.F12.
77. For an excellent coverage of the role of journalistic illustration in the work of artists in Manet's time, see: Joel Isaacson, 'Impressionism and Journalistic Illustration', Arts Magazine, v.56, June, 1982, pp.95–115; and, for discussion of the role of popular imagery in Manet's work, see: Anne Coffin Hanson, 'Popular Imagery and the Work of Edouard Manet', in French 19th Century painting and literature, ed. Ulrich Finke, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1972, pp.133–63.
78. For discussion of Manet's role in the development of lithography in the nineteenth century and his use of its artistic potential, see: Frances Carey, and Antony Griffiths, from Manet to Toulouse-Lautrec, French Lithographs 1860–1900, exh. cat., British Museum Publications, London, 1978, including introductory essays, pp.11–20, and Manet catalogue entries, pp.32–44; and, for historical and technical details of individual Manet lithographs, see: Juliet Wilson, 'Lithographies', in Manet: Dessins, aquarelles, eaux-fortes, lithographies, correspondance, exh. cat., Galerie Huguette Berès, Paris, 1978, unpaginated, cat. nos.73–90.
79. For concise explanations of the circumstances and nature of the influence of Japanese woodblock prints in France from 1854, see: Gabriel P. Weisberg, et al., 'Aspects of Japonisme', in Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854–1910, exh. cat., The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, 1975, pp.120–30; Klaus Berger, Japonisme in Western Painting from Whistler to Matisse, trans. David Britt, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York, 1992 (1980), pp.1–19; and, Michel Melot, 'The Discovery of Japan', The Impressionist Print, trans. Caroline Beamish, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1996, pp.90–94.
For discussion of the possible influence of Japanese woodblock prints on Manet, see: Colta Feller Ives, 'Edouard Manet' in The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1974, pp.23–33; Klaus Berger, 'Edouard Manet (1832–83)', in Berger ibid., pp.20–33; Siegfried Wichmann, 'Manet', in Japonisme, the Japanese influence on Western art since 1858, trans. Mary Whittall, James Ramsay, Helen Watanabe, Cornelius Cardew, and Susan Bruni, Thames and Hudson, London, 1981, pp.22-25; Anne Coffin

Hanson, 'Japanese Art', in Manet and the Modern Tradition, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1977 (second printing, with corrections, 1979), pp.185–92; and, Jacques Dufwa, 'Manet', in Winds from the East: A Study in the Art of Manet, Degas, Monet, Whistler, Almquist & Wiksell International, Stockholm, and Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, 1981, pp.51–82.

80. For a description of Burty's influence on the exposure of Japanese art and culture to Manet's Paris, see: Gabriel P. Weisberg, 'Philippe Burty and a critical Assessment of Early "Japonisme" ', in Japonisme in Art: An International Symposium, ed. Yamada Chisaburo, Committee for the Year 2001, Tokyo, 1980, pp.109–25.
81. Weisberg, 1980 (as in n.80), p.113.
82. e.g. Edouard Manet, *Sea View, Calm Weather*, 1864-65, and, Ando Hiroshige, *Sailing boats at Arai*, late 1840s, coloured woodcut, from series 'Fifty Three Views of the Tokaido" (Fig.87).
83. e.g. Edouard Manet, *The Fifer*, 1866, and, Katsukawa Shunei, *The Wrestler Tanikaze and his Pupil Taki-no-oto*, c.1796, coloured woodcut (Fig.88).
84. e.g. Edouard Manet, *The Railway*, and, Hokusai, *Azuma and Yogoro, two celebrated lovers*, c.1798, coloured woodcut (Fig.89).
85. e.g. Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Clemenceau at the Tribune*, 1879–80 (Fig.76), and, Harunobu (1725–70), *Courtesan with her attendant*, n.d., coloured woodcut (Fig.90).
86. e.g. Edouard Manet, the stool in *Portrait of Théodore Duret*, 1868 (Fig.43), and, Harunobu (1725–70), *Osen of the Kagiya serving tea to a customer*, n.d., coloured woodcut (Fig.91).
87. e.g. Edouard Manet, *Rue Mosnier Decorated with Flags, with a Man on Crutches*, 1878 (Fig.63), and, Ando Hiroshige, *Night Scene at Saruwaka-cho*, 1856–59, coloured woodcut, from series 'Famous Places in Edo: A Hundred Views' (Fig.92).
88. e.g. Edouard Manet, *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada*, and, Torii Kiyomasu I, *The Actor Nakamura Senya in the Role of Tokonotsu*, 1716, coloured woodcut (Fig.93).
89. e.g. Edouard Manet, *Lady with Fans*, 1873–4 (Fig.56).
90. The research development for this dissertation necessitated a re-assessment of some notions involving visual perception. Initially it was thought that the implications of visual perception would be influential, or of importance, in developing the outcomes of the research. This has not been the case. The original proposal for the dissertation included the suggestion that Manet's use of spatial illusion in part broke a nexus between the perception of actual space with natural perspective and that of spatial illusion in a painting's surface with linear perspective, implying that the perception of spatial illusion involved a conceptual component. Such an implication had been influenced by the theoretical discourse on the perception of paintings and the related psychology of perception which had developed since the 1970s in art-related journals. Much of this discourse, involving writers such as Rudolf Arnheim, David Carrier, Nelson Goodman, E.H. Gombrich, Joel Snyder, David R. Topper, and Marx W. Wartofsky was, in part and at best, speculative and obviously was not keeping abreast of the more scientific research in visual perception. Further research for this dissertation raised questions which required some objective evidence rather than the continuance of a speculative claim. Subsequent discussion with Professor Barbara J. Gillam, of the Department of Psychology, University of New South Wales, made it clear that the current understanding is that the processes involved in the perception of the *natural perspective* of actual space and the *linear perspective* of spatial illusion are the very same. As is noted here, the engagement of space within the surface of Manet's paintings still presents itself as a point of conflation between his past and future, but it is presented without the implication of the breaking of a nexus.
91. Other scholarly responses to the relationship of spatial illusion and surface in Manet's paintings are discussed in Chapter 3.
92. James H. Rubin, Manet's Silence and the Poetics of Bouquets, Reaktion Books, London, 1994, p.30.
93. id.
94. id.
95. ibid., p.24.
96. As can be seen in Auguste Renoir's *Frédéric Bazille Painting "The Heron"* (1867, Fig.97), for example, with the parallel angling of the canvas on which Bazille is painting.
97. As can be seen in Carolus Duran's *The Merrymakers* (1870, Fig.99), for example, with one pair of table edges set parallel to the picture plane and the vanishing point for the other pair offset to be outside the painting format to the left (Fig.99a).
98. In the context of a discussion on the types of spaces used in the nineteenth century, see: Françoise Cachin's comparison of Manet's spaces with those of Degas and Cézanne in her essay 'The Variety of Space in Nineteenth-Century Art', in E.H. Gombrich et al., 1987, pp.235–41.
99. See: Dunning 1991, pp.124–29.
100. Gary Tinterow, and Henri Loyrette, Origins of Impressionism , exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1994, p.212.
101. ibid., pp.212–13.
102. Noted by scholars, such as J. Kirk T. Varnedoe, in J. Kirk T. Varnedoe, and Thomas P. Lee, Gustave Caillebotte. A Retrospective Exhibition, exh. cat., The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 1976, p.67; and, Roseanne H. Lightstone, 'Gustave Caillebotte's oblique perspective: a new source for *Le Pont de l'Europe*', The Burlington Magazine, November, 1994, pp.759–62.
103. Varnedoe and Lee 1976 (as in n.102), p.146.

104. Jacques-Emile Blanche, Propos de peintre: de David à Degas, Editions Émile-Paul Frères, Paris, 1919, p.144.
105. John Adkins Richardson, 'On the "Multiple Viewpoint" Theory of Early Modern Art', The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, v.53, no.2, Spring, 1995, pp.129–37.
106. ibid., p.134.
107. ibid., p.135.
108. id.
109. id.
110. Nan Stalnaker, 'Another Look at the "Multiple Viewpoint" Theory : A Reply to Richardson', The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, v.54, no.3, Summer, 1996, pp.287–90.
111. ibid., p.287.
112. ibid., p.288.
113. ibid., p.289.
114. For discussion of the artistic responses to the theories, see: Linda Dalrymple Henderson, 'The Nineteenth-Century Background', in The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1983, ch.1, pp.3–43.
For a more specific discussion of the relationship of the theories and the Cubists, see: Giorgio de Marchis, 'The Fourth Dimension', in Space in European Art, E.H. Gombrich et al., exh. cat., The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 1987, pp.257–77.
115. Greenberg 1993 (as in n.1).
116. ibid., p.756.

3. "Notorious history of modernism's concern for 'flatness'"

1. Clement Greenberg, 'Modernist Painting', in Art in Theory: 1900–1990, eds. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, Blackwell, Oxford and Cambridge, 1993, p.756. Original publication of radio lecture, Arts Yearbook, 4, 1961, pp.101–08.
2. id.
3. T.J. Clark, The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers, Thames and Hudson, London, 1985.
4. ibid., p.10.
5. ibid., p.6.
6. ibid., p.10.
7. id.
8. id.
9. From Stéphane Mallarmé, 'The Impressionists and Edouard Manet', The Art Monthly Review and Photographic Portfolio, London, trans. George T. Robinson, v.1, no.9, 30 September, 1876, p.222. Quoted in: Clark 1985 (as in n.3), p.10.
10. Greenberg 1993 (as in n.1), p.755.
11. Clark 1985, p.12.
12. id.
13. id.
14. ibid., p.13.
15. id.
16. id.
17. id.
18. id.
19. id.
20. id.
21. id.
22. id.
23. id.
24. ibid., p.14.
25. ibid., pp.13–14.
26. ibid., p.15.
27. ibid., p.254.
28. Greenberg 1993, p.756.
29. ibid., p.755.
30. ibid., p.756.
31. ibid., p.755.
32. ibid., p.756.
33. id.
34. id.
35. Clark 1985, p.248.
36. Greenberg 1993, p.758.
37. id.
38. ibid., p.759.

39. Michael Fried, Manet's Modernism: or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1996, p.288.
40. Fried 1996 (as in n.39).
41. Greenberg 1993, p.755.
42. Fried 1996, p.14.
43. id.
44. ibid., pp.14–15.
45. ibid., p.15.
46. id.
47. Clark 1985, p.10.
48. Fried 1996, pp.15–16.
49. ibid., p.288.
50. ibid., p.17.
51. id.
52. id.
53. id.
54. id.
55. ibid., p.17, p.461-n.47.
56. Michael Fried, 'Modernist Painting and Formal Criticism', American Scholar, v.33, 1964, pp.642–48.
57. ibid., p.642.
58. Fried 1996, pp.18,19.
59. ibid., p.407.
60. id.
61. ibid., p.17.
62. ibid., p.266.
63. id.
64. id.
65. ibid., p.288.
66. As discussed in Chapter 2.
67. John House, 'Manet's Naïveté', 'The Hidden Face of Manet: An investigation of the artist's working processes', exh. cat., The Burlington Magazine, v.128, no.997, April, 1986, pp.1–19.
68. ibid., p.1.
69. For discussion of Zola's role as art critic, and his writings on, and relationship with Manet, see: Ima N. Ebin, 'Manet and Zola', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, s.6, v.27, June, 1945, pp.357–78; F.W.J. Hemmings, 'Zola, Manet and the Impressionists (1875–80)', Modern Language Association Publications, v.73, no.2, 1958, pp.404–17; Gaëton Picon, 'Zola's painters', Yale French Studies, trans. J.L. Logan, no.42, 1969, pp.126–42; Lilian R. Furst, 'Zola's art criticism', in French 19th Century painting and Literature, ed. Ulrich Finke, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1972, pp.164–81; Alan Krell, 'Manet, Zola, and the 'Motifs d'une Exposition Particulière', 1867', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, v.99, March, 1982, pp.109–15; and, Fried, 1996, passim.
70. For discussion of Mallarmé's writing on the visual arts and Manet's works, see: Penny Florence, 'A new problematic of the imaginary', Mallarmé, Manet and Redon: Visual and Aural Signs and the Generation of Meaning, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986, pp.26–45; and, Jean C. Harris, 'A Little-known Essay on Manet by Stéphane Mallarmé', The Art Bulletin, v.46, no.4, December, 1964, pp.559–63.
For additional discussion of the relationship between Manet and Mallarmé and their collaborations, see: Alan Bowness, 'Manet and Mallarmé', Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin, v.62, no.293, 1967, pp.213–21. Also see references in n.87 and n.88.
71. Ernest Chesneau, 'Salon des Vaincus', Le constitutionnel, 19 May, 1863. Quoted from: Alan Krell, 'Manet's Déjeuner sur l'herbe in the Salon des Refusés: A Re-appraisal', The Art Bulletin, v.65, no.2, June, 1983, p.317.
72. Le Capitaine Pompilius (pseud., Carle Desnoyers), 'Lettres particulières sur le Salon (des Refusés)', Le Petit Journal, no.131, 11 June, 1863. Quoted from: Fried 1996, p.446.
73. Théodore Pelloquet, L'Exposition: Journal du Salon de 1863, no.22, 23 July, 1863, Quoted from: Fried 1996, p.575-n.115.
74. Théophile Gautier, 'Le Salon de 1864', Le Moniteur universel, 25 June, 1864, p.1.
75. id.
76. Théophile Gautier, *fils*, 'Le Salon de 1864', Le Monde Illustré, 18 June, 1864, p.397.
77. Hector de Callias, 'Salon de 1864', L'Artiste, v.1, 1 June, 1864, p.242.
78. Gonzague Privat, Place aux jeunes! Causeries critiques sur le Salon de 1865, Paris, 1865, pp.63–64. Quoted from: Fried 1996, p.559-n.14.
79. ibid, p.65. Quoted from: Fried 1996, p.559-n.16.
80. Théophile Thoré, (pseud., W. Bürger), Salons de W. Bürger, 1861 à 1868, préf. T.Thoré, 2 vols., Librairie de Ve Jules Renouard, Paris, 1870, v.2, p.318.
81. Thoré 1870 (as in n.80), v.2, p.532.
82. Jules Castagnary, 'Le Salon de 1869', Le Siècle, 11 June, 1869, p.3.
83. Théophile Gautier, L'Illustration, 15 May, 1869, p.311.

84. Jules Castagnary, 'Le Salon de 1874', Le Siècle, 19 May, 1874, p.1.
85. Jean Rousseau, 'Le Salon de 1875', Le Figaro, 2 May, 1875, p.1.
86. Ernest Duvergier de Hauranne, 'Le Salon de 1874', La Revue des deux mondes, 1 June, 1874. Quoted from: House 1986 (as in n.67), p.18-n.19.
87. Stéphane Mallarmé, 'Le Jury de peinture pour 1874 et M. Manet', in La Renaissance littéraire et artistique, 12 April ,1874, pp.156.
88. Stéphane Mallarmé, 'The Impressionists and Edouard Manet', The Art Monthly Review and Photographic Portfolio, London, trans. George T. Robinson, v.1, no.9, 30 September, 1876, pp.117–22. Quoted from: Charles S. Moffett, et al., The New Painting: Impressionism 1874–1886, exh. cat., The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, San Francisco, 1986, p.31.
89. Jules Comte, 'Les Salons de 1882. III', L'Illustration, 20 May, 1882, p.335.
90. Wilson-Bareau and this writer are research colleagues involved in a mutual and continuing endeavour to better understand Manet's works. The informal association was initiated after it was realised that both had made the same identifications in *The Railway* and it has continued on a number of projects since, the most recent of which involved a proposal for *Incident in a Bullfight* of 1864 as part of an exhibition at The Frick Collection, New York, in 1999. Details of this proposal are given in Chapter 5(A).
91. Juliet Wilson-Bareau, 'The Hidden Face of Manet: An investigation of the artist's working processes', exh. cat., The Burlington Magazine, v.128, no.997, April, 1986, pp.21–86.
92. Wilson-Bareau's program of Manet research, spanning the period from 1978 to the present, has resulted in a body of literature which includes exhibition catalogues, catalogue essays and entries, edited collections of correspondence and statements, and articles and reviews.
93. Wilson-Bareau 1986 (as in n.91), p.21.
94. The works considered included: *La Nymphe surprise* (1861) and related works; *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1863) and related works; *Olympia* (1863) and related works; *The Execution of Maximilian* series; *Reichshoffen* (1877–78), *Au café* (1878), *Coin de café-concert* (1878 or 1879), *La serveuse de bocks* (c.1878–80), and *Café-concert* (c.1878–80); *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (1881–82) and related works.
95. Juan Corradini, Edouard Manet: La Ninfa Sorprendida, exh. cat., Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de Buenos Aires, Instituto Jung de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, 1983.
96. Theodor Siegl, 'The Treatment of Edouard Manet's *Le Bon Bock*', in Bulletin: Philadelphia Museum of Art, v.62, no.291, Autumn, 1966, p.133–41.
97. Beatrice Farwell, 'Manet's *Nymphe Surprise*', The Burlington Magazine, v.117, no.865, April, 1975, pp.224–29.
98. Theodore Reff, '*The Dead Toreador*, 1864', in Manet and Modern Paris, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 1982, pp. 214–15.
99. David Bomford, and Ashok Roy, 'Manet's *The Waitress*: An Investigation into its Origin and Development', National Gallery Technical Bulletin, v.7, 1983, pp.3–19.
100. Anne Coffin Hanson, 'Manet's Pictorial Language', in Françoise Cachin, et al., Manet 1832-1883, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1983, pp.20–28.
101. Michael Wilson, Manet at Work: An Exhibition to Mark the Centenary of the Death of Edouard Manet 1832–83, exh. cat., National Gallery Publications, London, 1983, passim.
102. E. Melanie Gifford, 'Manet's At the Cafe: Development and Structure', Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, v.42–43, 1984–85, pp.98–104.
103. David Bomford, et al., Art in the Making: Impressionism, exh. cat., National Gallery, London, and Yale University Press, London and New Haven, 1990, pp.112–19.
104. Theodore Reff, 'Manet and Blanc's 'Histoire des Peintres' ', The Burlington Magazine, v.112, 4 July, 1970, pp.456–58.
105. Douglas Druick, and Peter Zegers, 'Manet's *Balloon*: French Diversion, The Fête de l'Empereur 1862', The Print Collector's Newsletter, v.14, no.2, May–June, 1983, pp.38–46.
106. John Richardson, Edouard Manet: Paintings and Drawings, Phaidon Press, London, 1958.
107. ibid., p.13.
108. ibid., p.13.
109. id.
110. id.
111. ibid., pp.13,14.
112. ibid., p.14.
113. Alan Bowness, 'A Note on 'Manet's Compositional Difficulties' ', The Burlington Magazine, v.103, June,1961, pp.277.
114. id.
115. Beatrice Farwell, Manet and the Nude: A study in Iconography in the Second Empire, Garland Publishing, New York and London, 1981, p.65.
116. Nils Gösta Sandblad, Manet: Three Studies in Artistic Conception, trans. Walter Nash, C.W.K. Gleerup, Lund, 1954.
117. As published in an exhibition catalogue (Edouard Manet: 1832-1883, exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, and The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, 1966), a monograph

(Manet and the Modern Tradition, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1977), and a series of articles.

118. Hanson 1977 (as in n.117), pp.200–01.
119. Hanson 1983 (as in n.100), p.20.
120. Jean Clay, 'Ointments, Makeup, Pollen', October, trans. John Shepley, no.27, 1983, pp.3–44.
121. Beatrice Farwell, 'Editor's Statement: "Manet et Manebit" ', Art Journal, v.44, no.1, Spring, 1985, pp.7–8.
122. ibid., p.8.
123. id.
124. id.
125. Clay 1983 (as in n.120), p.4.
126. ibid., p.7.
127. ibid., p.8.
128. id.
129. ibid., p.9.
130. ibid., p.8.
131. ibid., p.13.
132. ibid., p.19.
133. id.
134. id.
135. Éric Darragon, 'Manet, *Le Bal masqué à l'Opéra*', Bulletin de la Societé de l'histoire de l'art français, 1985, p.161.
136. James H. Rubin, Manet's Silence and the Poetics of Bouquets, Reaktion Books, London, 1994, p.184.
137. id.
138. id.
139. Johanna Drucker, 'The Representation of Modern Life: Space to Spectacle', in Theorizing Modernism, Colombia University Press, New York, 1994, p.1.
140. ibid., p.24.
141. ibid., p.25.
142. ibid., p.24.
143. ibid., p.25.
144. id.
145. id.
146. ibid., p.26.
The question can certainly be asked if, in the coalesced dynamics of representation, pictorial space, surface, and viewer, there is a research game of semantics involved here. The idea of a transparency of the surface *through* which one sees the spatial illusion involved with traditional use of perspective can be seen against notions, for example, of Greenberg's seeing of a work *at* the surface; of Fried's engagement between the pictorial space and the the viewer *across* [this writer's terminology for Fried's notion]; of Clay's composites produced *by* the surface; of Bowness's compression of space *to* the surface; by Rubin's representation *within* a painting *at* its surface; by Drucker's placement of a viewer *inside* and *outside* a work; and this writer's proposal for the engagement of space *within* the surface. Notwithstanding these differing descriptions, and even though all the notions imply specific meanings, at times overlapping, the concepts can be said to be attempts to inflect upon the complex nature of Manet's art and to contribute to the ongoing process of its scholarship, rather than to claim definitive explanations based upon the choice of correct terminology.
147. Richard Brettell, Modern Art 1851–1929: Capital and Representation, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, p.177.
148. Carol Armstrong, 'Counter, Mirror, Maid: Some Infra-thin Notes on *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*', in 12 Views of Manet's *Bar*, ed. Bradford R. Collins, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996, p.25.
149. Brettell 1999 (as in n.147), p.177.
150. Théodore Duret, Histoire de Edouard Manet et de son œuvre, avec un catalogue des Peintures et des Pastels, Bernheim-Jeune, 1919, pp.195–96.
In the original edn. Duret had written: "Derrière elle une glace occupait le fond du tableau et la montrait causant avec un monsieur, qui n'apparaissait, lui, que reflété. C'est cette particularité de la glace renvoyant l'image des personnages et des objets, qui faisait déclarer l'arrangement incompréhensible." (H. Floury, Paris, 1902, p.154).
151. Jacques-Emile Blanche, Manet, F.Rieder et Cie., Paris, 1924.
152. Robert Rey, Manet, trans. Eveline Byam Shaw, French and European Publications, New York, and Hyperion Press, Paris, 1938.
153. Adolphe Tabarant, Manet: Histoire catalographique, Montaigne, Paris, 1931, pp.410–11.
154. Maurice Bex, Manet, House of Beric, London; Pierre Tisné, Paris, 1948, pp.16–17.
155. Hanson 1966 (as in n.100), p.187.
156. George Mauner, Manet, Peintre-Philosophe: A Study of the Painter's Themes, The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park and London, 1975, p.161.

157. T.J. Clark, 'The Bar at the Folies-Bergère', in The Wolf and the Lamb: Popular Culture in France, from the Old Regime to the Twentieth Century, eds. Jacques Beauroy, et al., Anma Libri, Saratoga, 1977, pp.233–52; and, Clark 1985, pp.205–58.
158. See, for example:
Novelene Ross, Manet's *Bar at the Folies-Bergère* : And the Myths of Popular Illustration, UMI Research Press, Ann Arbor, 1982, p.9;
Kathleen Adler, Manet, Phaidon Press, Oxford, 1986 (1983), p.227;
Cachin, et al. 1983 (as in n.100), p.481;
Robert L. Herbert, Impressionism: Art, Leisure & Parisian Society, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988, p.80;
Rubin 1994 (as in n.136), p.87;
Collins 1996 (as in n.148): Carol Armstrong, p.33; Albert Boime, p.47; David Carrier, p.73; Kermit S. Champa, p.107; Bradford R. Collins, p.121; Jack Flam, p.165; James D. Herbert, pp.221–22; John House p.239;
Fried 1996, pp.345–46; and,
Alan Krell, Manet, and the Painters of Contemporary Life, Thames and Hudson, London, 1996, p.199.
159. Rubin 1994, p.88.
160. Jack Flam, 'Looking into the Abyss: The Poetics of Manet's *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*', in Collins 1996, p.168.
161. ibid., p.172.
162. Collins 1996.
163. Bradford R. Collins, 'Preface', ibid., p.xxi.
164. Richard Shiff, 'Introduction: Ascribing to Manet, Declaring the Author', intro., ibid., p.3.
165. In a review of the publication, Paul Smith wrote that "The cumulative effect of the methodological pluralism in this book (or its paradoxical consensuality) is that 'Manet' has no agreed use, and so is deconstructed by default." ('Manet Bits', joint book review of: 'Manet and the Painters of Contemporary Life', Alan Krell; 'Manet by Himself', ed. Juliet Wilson-Bareau; 'Manet's Modernism or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s', Michael Fried; and '12 Views of Manet's Bar', ed. Bradford Collins, Art History, v.20, no.3, September, 1997, p.478).

4. An array of ambiguous angles and assemblages

1. Mary Mathews Gedo, 'Final Reflections: *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* as Manet's Adieu to Art and Life', in Looking at Art from the Inside Out: The Psychoiconographic Approach to Modern Art, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne, 1994, pp.1–55, 247–46. See a detailed consideration in Chapter 5(F) of the analysis and proposals of Conger and Gedo.
2. Martin Kemp, The Science of Art: Optical themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1990, passim: including perspectival analyses of works by Giotto, Pietro Lorenzetti, Masaccio, Donatello (relief sculptures), Lorenzo Ghiberti (relief sculptures), Piero della Francesca, Domenico Veneziano, Paolo Uccello, Andrea Mantegna, Jacopo Bellini, Leonardo da Vinci, Albrecht Durer, Diego Velásquez, Pieter Saenredam, Gerard Houckgeest, Nicolas Poussin, and Jacques-Louis David.
3. James Elkins, 'On the Arnolfini Portrait and the Lucca Madonna: Did Jan Van Eyck Have a Perspectival System?', The Art Bulletin, v.73, no.1, March, 1991, pp.53–62; and, The Poetics of Perspective, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1996 (1994), passim, including detailed discussion of perspectival manipulations in works by, Masaccio, Uccello, Piero della Francesca, Vincenzo Foppa, Fernando Gallego, Ercole de' Roberti, Vincenzo Catena, Pontormo, Bronzino, and Leonardo Parasole; and perspectival analyses of works by Donatello (relief sculpture), Jan van Eyck, Andrea Castagno, Giorgione, and Tintoretto.
4. See Chapter 2, n.13.
5. Including: José Guidol (1973), Joel Snyder and Ted Cohen (1980), John F. Moffitt (1983), Joel Snyder (1985), Martin Kemp (1990), and Frederic Chordá (1991).
6. Elkins 1996 (as in n.3).
7. ibid., p.219.
8. ibid., p.244.
9. ibid., pp.219–47. Also, see the implications of artists' practice in terms of perspective in Appendix 1.
10. The end of the reflected image of the bar in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* presents a similar indicator of perspective, but is shown in the analysis in Chapter 5(F) to be a subterfuge. There are no circumstances in *The Luncheon* that indicate the use of the angle of the table as such a device.
11. Charles S. Moffett discusses these alignments rather in compositional terms of diagonals and axes, suggesting that the large fish had been placed on the opposite axis to the knife "in order to both enliven and balance the compositional structure" (in, Françoise Cachin, et al., Manet 1832–1883, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1983, pp.214–16). As a confirmation that the manipulation is spatial and not compositional, the interplay

in this painting between the parallel and angled spaces is little different to that used to create the spatial confusion with the bottles, fruit-bowl and flowers on the bar, and their reflection, in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*.

12. The process by which Manet, in an additional sitting, painted these elements in the lower right corner of the painting, adding the still-life items as he progressed, was described by Duret as Manet's "manière instinctive", and explained as an issue of colour: "Evidemment le tableau tout entier gris et monochrome ne lui plaisait pas. Il lui manquait les couleurs qui pussent contenter son œil et, ne les ayant pas mises d'abord, il les avait ajoutées ensuite, sous la forme de nature morte." (Théodore Duret, Histoire de Edouard Manet et de son œuvre, avec un catalogue des Peintures et des Pastels, Bernheim-Jeune, Paris, 1919, pp.88–89).
13. Such intervals have a resonance with the layering of spaces evident in the viewing of stereoscopes, which in Manet's time were extremely popular. These layered spaces at intervals of stereoscopes have been described, however, by Jonathan Crary as an "assemblage of local zones of three-dimensionality,... which... never coalesce into a homogeneous field" (Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century, MIT Press, Cambridge and London, 1990, p.126).
14. As proposed by Françoise Cachin, in Cachin, et al., 1983 (as in n.11), p.251.
15. An identification possibly as speculative as Michael Fried's identification of "the engraved monogram (an *E* and an *M* superimposed?) on the coffeepot the maid holds in the *Luncheon...*" (Michael Fried, Manet's Modernism: or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1996, p.497-n.169).
16. Charles S. Moffett has noted that "The composition, subject, and technique would have been considerably astonishing in 1862" (Cachin, et al. 1983 (as in n.13), p.94), and there is no noting of the work before it appeared in the 'Inventaire après décès' in 1883, listed in 'Estimation des tableaux et études' as 'No.47. *Femme mexicaine*' (Denis Rouart, and Daniel Wildenstein, Edouard Manet: Catalogue raisonné, La Bibliothèque des Arts, Lausanne and Paris, 1975, v.1, p.27).
17. Such a reduction in foreshortening is certainly not an indication of Manet's limited technique. His wholly convincing, and very beautiful, rendering of the foreshortened large fish in *Still Life with Fish* (1864, Fig.26) provides testament to the contrary.
18. This technique is particularly evident in Goya's prints and drawings, e.g. the series of prints *Los Caprichos*, plate 7 (*Ni asi la distingue*), 1797-98, etching and aquatint, and its preparatory drawing (*Por aberle yo dicho, q.^{e} tenia buen mobimiento no puede ablar sin colear*, pen and sepia ink with Indian ink wash); and the series of prints illustrating *La Tauromaquia*, plate 30 (*Pedro Romero matando a toro parado*, 1815-16, etching and aquatint).
19. The image of the picador and the charging bull had been taken from Goya's *La Tauromaquia* (see n.18), plate 5 (*El animoso moro Gazul es el primero que lanceó toros en regla*, 1815-16, etching and aquatint). The group of standing figures in front of the barrier in the upper right of the painting had been derived from other images in *La Tauromaquia*, including plate 19 (*Otra locura suta en la misma plaza*, 1815, etching and aquatint), and plate 16 (*E mismo vuelca un toro en la plaza de Madrid*, 1815-16, etching and aquatint). Derivations cited in Beatrice Farwell, 'Manet's *Espada* and Marcantonio', Metropolitan Museum Journal, v.2, 1969, pp.200, 202.
20. Any sense of the painting's spatial shapings or ambiguities are simply non-existent in the watercolour claimed to be Manet's study for the painting (see: Cachin, et al. 1983, cat.no.28, p.98). Even apart from its clumsy transcription of the two-dimensional composition, it cannot be attributed to Manet.
21. Adolphe Tabarant had suggested that "Le fond... qui originairement était neutre, représente les portants d'un théâtre, côté coulisses, ajoutés par Manet sur les conseils de ses amis" (Adolphe Tabarant, Manet: Histoire catalographique, Éditions Montaigne, Paris, 1931, p.81). A suggestion that Manet added the stage scenery panels, with the angled shadow on the stage floor between them, as an afterthought, adds an intriguing aspect to a proposal for an implicit offset viewpoint. It could be seen as a purposeful experiment in such an early work by Manet to reveal to a certain extent the offset shaping of the painting's space.
22. In the 'Inventaire après décès', listed in 'Estimation des tableaux et études' as 'No.22. *Dessus de porte, nature morte*' (Rouart and Wildenstein 1975 (as in n.16), v.1, p.27).
23. For a detailed description of the use of the painting's motif in the various cover designs for etching albums see: Juliet Wilson-Bareau, in Cachin, et al. 1983, cat. nos. 45, 46, 47, pp.136–41.
The details of the painting itself have received little scholarly attention, with the vertical plane described by Henri Loyrette as recently as 1994 as "a painted and carved ledge with a cartouche that confirms the function of the painting – a trompe l'œil designed to feature a number of studio props, arranged on a shelf above a door." (Gary Tinterow, and Henri Loyrette, Origins of Impressionism, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1994, cat. no. 85, p.395). There is, in fact, little other than the cartouche in the painting which could be described as a *trompe l'œil*. It is proposed that, rather than being a carved ledge, the decorative elements behind the guitar, hat, and basket, are the edge designs of a wall 'rug' or 'hanging', doubled over at a high level, and which is also the very fabric depicted by Manet as a curtain in the cover design etching *Eaux-fortes par Edouard Manet*, of 1862 (illustrated in Cachin, et al., 1883, cat. no.45, p.137). At the left edge of the painting an angled fold in the outer layer of the hanging is visible, in front of either its angled return or the layer behind. The unevenness of the 'straight' lines of the background

design is caused by the way in which the fabric is hanging. The hanging touches the floor with a fringe. In addition, the guitar and basket have been set into the surface of the outer layer of the hanging, forming a slight, but discernible, hollow. Manet, therefore, had not taken the design from a painted and carved panel in the painting and placed it at the lower edge of the hanging in the etching, but had depicted only its lower edge in the painting and depicted the complete hanging in the etching. As always, Manet had not created the object. This proposal was developed in conjunction with Julia McLaren, *documentaliste* in Paris, who suggested the possibility of the forms at the left edge being a fabric. From that suggestion, the other aspects of this proposal were jointly developed and realised. We were fortunate that at the time of our deliberations the painting was in Paris as part of the *Manet: les natures mortes* exhibition at the Musée d'Orsay. Julia McLaren was able to examine the work and confirmed that the back surface is clearly painted as a fabric, that the fabric is indeed pushed in by the guitar, and that the bottom strip of the hanging is a fringe. One could almost imagine that an actual tear in the wall hanging in his studio may have been transformed by Manet, with a wry touch, into the opening through which the head of Polichinelle appears in the etching.

24. The claim by Antonin Proust that Manet had said that he wanted to redo the work that he had copied, "les femmes de Giorgione, les femmes avec les musiciens", and "le faire dans la transparence de l'atmosphère" (Antonin Proust, Édouard Manet souvenirs (with 1897 text), L'Échoppe, Paris, 1996, p.30) has received a cautionary commentary from Françoise Cachin (Cachin, et al. 1883, p.166).
25. Edouard Manet, after Titian, *Venus of Urbino*, 1857?, panel, 24 x 37, Private Collection.
26. For a detailed consideration of the series of related works, see: Juliet Wilson-Bareau, Manet: The Execution of Maximilian: Painting, Politics & Censorship, exh. cat., National Gallery Publications, London, 1992.
27. See: Anon., *Stéphane Mallarmé et sa collection de tableaux, 89, rue de Rome*, c.1894–95, photograph, Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, illustrated in Jean-Michel Nectoux, Mallarmé; peinture, musique, poésie, Adam Biro, Paris, 1998, p.203; and, Dornac, *Stéphane Mallarmé dans le salon des "Mardis"*, 89, Rue de Rome, c.1894, photograph, Documentation du Musée d'Orsay, Paris, illustrated in ibid., p.206.
28. David Bomford, and Ashok Roy, 'Manet's *The Waitress*: An Investigation into its Origin and Development', National Gallery Technical Bulletin, v.7, 1983, pp.3–19.
For a developed discussion on the background of the *Café-concert de Reichshoffen* painting, the procedures and deliberations involved in the reworking of the *Au Café* and *Corner in a Café-concert* paintings, see: Juliet Wilson-Bareau, 'The Hidden Face of Manet: An investigation of the artist's working processes', exh. cat., The Burlington Magazine, v.128, no.997, April, 1986, pp.65–71.
29. Bomford and Roy 1983 (as in n.28), Figure 8, p.10.
30. Wilson-Bareau 1986 (as in n.28), Figure 77, p.66.
31. The disparate, but interlocked, fragments include: the group portrait in the lower right corner, together with the foliage and trees at the right edge of the painting; the foreground in the lower left corner; the fishermen in the boat; the area of water to the left of the boat; the area of water to the right of the boat; the boy (noted by Adolphe Tabarant to be Suzanne Leenhoff's ten-year old son, Léon Koëlla-Leenhoff (Manet: Histoire catalographique, Éditions Montaigne, Paris, 1931, p.61)) fishing on the opposite bank and the sun-lit area around him; the middle distance terrain and the trees to the left, the grove of trees with the diminutive figures of bathers in the upper right corner; and the scene in the distance with the town's roofs, the sky, and rainbow.
32. For a coverage of the literature regarding various sources, see: Charles S. Moffett, '*La pêche*', in Cachin, et al. 1983, cat. no.12, pp.70–72.
33. For a review of proposals for sources of the pose, see: Charles S. Moffett, '*Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada*', in Cachin, et al. 1983, cat.no.33, pp.110–14.
34. e.g. as seen in a stereoscopic photograph of 1860–65, *Le Pont Neuf*, by Hippolyte Jouvin (illustrated as a complete image and detail, in Aaron Scharf, Art and Photography, Allen Lane The Penguin Press, London, 1968, ill.113 and 114, p.134.

5. Crafted ambiguity - case studies:

A. *Incident in a Bullfight*

1. Listed in the Salon catalogue as: "No.1282 – *Épisode d'une course de taureaux*."
2. Listed in the exhibition catalogue as "No. 5 – *L'Homme mort*, L.1m.53c., H.0m.75c."
3. "In late 1864 or early 1865 he [Manet] wrote to the dealer Louis Martinet, indicating his intention to send eight pictures to an exhibition at his gallery. Item no.2 in Manet's list is '*L'Espada mort*'." (Charles S. Moffett, in Françoise Cachin, et al., Manet 1832–1883, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1983, pp.196.
4. In his Histoire de Edouard Manet et de son œuvre. Avec un catalogue des Peintures et des Pastels (H. Floury, Paris, 1902), Théodore Duret noted of *L'Homme mort* that "Ce tableau est le fragment principal du tableau exposé au Salon de 1864, sous le titre *Épisode d'un combat de taureaux*, qui a été coupé et divisé en deux." (cat.no.51, p.205), and that a work described as "trois

torreros contre la balustrade de la corrida, avec un taureau noir par devant" was catalogued as "Le second fragment du *Combat de taureaux*" (cat.no.52, p.205).

5. Theodore Reff, Manet and Modern Paris, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1982, pp.214–15. Reff also pointed out that earlier X-radiographs were read as evidence that *The Bullfight* had not been part of the 1864 canvas.
6. Susan Grace Galassi, the curator of the exhibition, invited Juliet Wilson-Bareau and this writer to develop our ongoing research into *Incident in a Bullfight* in collaboration with Ann Hoenigswald and her colleagues at the Conservation Department, National Gallery of Art, Washington. For an excellent overview of the history of the original canvas and its two fragments, see Galassi's essay in the exhibition catalogue of the same title, Susan Grace Galassi, et al., *Manet's* The Dead Toreador *and* The Bullfight: *Fragments of a Lost Salon Painting Reunited*, The Frick Collection, New York, 1999, pp.7–18.
7. Malcolm Park and Juliet Wilson-Bareau, 'Another View of Manet's Bullfight Pictures', ibid., pp.22–24.
8. Colloquium held at The Frick Collection, New York, on 7 June, 1999.
9. For this writer, Manet's disjunctions can be seen as integral parts of the *possible* or *not-possible* cohesion of a work's overall space. As has been described in more detail in Chapter 4, an earlier work, *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada*, presented extreme disjunctions of scale and space, but with the complex spatial interrelationships between its disparate elements seen cohesively at the surface of the work, the *possibility* exists that the spaces are woven together. The very possibility makes the overall space ambiguous. It is suggested that the relationship between the toreador and the smaller figures, as proposed for an earlier composition involving those elements by Ann Hoenigswald (Galassi, et al 1999 (as in n.6), plate 4), is an obvious contrast between 'large' and 'small' and makes any cohesion of the overall space, even an ambiguous one, *not possible* – and makes their conjunction in the one image one that Manet would not have made.
10. Bertall (pseud. for Charles Albert d'Arnoux), "Joujoux espagnols accommodés à la sauce noire de Ribera,...", caricature, Le Journal amusant, 21 May, 1864.
11. Cham (pseud. for Amédée de Noé), "Ayant eu à se plaindre de son marchand de couleurs,...", caricature, 'Une Promenade au salon. Croquis par Cham', Le Charivari, 22 May, 1864.
12. H. Oulevay, "Un toréador mis en chambre, par Manet – ....", caricature, 'Au Salon de 1864', Le Monde illustré, 28 May, 1864.
13. Louis Leroy, 'Salon de 1864, VIII', Charivari, 25 May, 1864, p.79.
14. Hector de Callias, 'Salon de 1864', L'Artiste, 1 June, 1864, p.242.
15. Jules Castagnary, 'Salon de 1864', Le Grand Journal, 12 June, 1864, p.3.
16. Théophile Gautier, fils, 'Le Salon de 1864', Le Monde Illustré, 18 June, 1864, p.397.
17. Théophile Thoré (W. Bürger, pseud.), L'Indépendance belge, 15 June, 1864.
    Published in Théophile Thoré (W. Bürger, pseud.), Salons de W. Bürger, 1861 à 1868, préf. T.Thoré, 2 vols., Librairie de Ve Jules Renouard, Paris, 1870, v.2, pp.98–99.
18. Théophile Gautier, 'Le Salon de 1864', Le Moniteur universel, 25 June, 1864, p.1.
19. Other sources for the figure have since been proposed. See: Gerald M. Ackerman's discussion of the possible influence on Manet of Jean-Léon Gérôme's *The Dead Caesar* of 1859 and other Gérôme images in his article 'Gérôme and Manet', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, s.6, v.70, September, 1967, pp.163-76; and Theodore Reff's discussions on Gérôme's work and Léopold Flameng's *Roland Dead* (*The Dead Soldier*), 1865, in Reff 1982 (as in n.5), pp.216–19.
    Also see a review of the literature in: Charles S. Moffett's catalogue entry, "*The Dead Man* (*The Dead Toreador*), Cachin, et al. 1983 (as in n.3), pp.196–98.; and, Susan Grace Galassi, Galassi, et al. 1999 (as in n.6), p.12, p.17-n.23.
20. See Appendix 4 for details of the computer-generated modelling.
21. Ann Hoenigswald, 'Technical Observations', Galassi, et al. 1999, p.19.
22. Discussed at the Colloquium (see n.8).
23. Reference was made to the closeness of brushwork and palette as evident in *The Bullfight* and that of *The Bullfight* of 1865–66 in the Art Institute of Chicago – a work which had been painted after Manet's return from Spain – by Theodore Reff in a lecture presented at The Frick Collection, New York, 20 November, 1982 (cited in: Cachin, et al. 1983, p.196).
24. Confirmed by bullfight expert, Mr. Stanley Conrad, at the Colloquium (see n.8).
25. For a description of the stages of a *corrida*, and an explanation of the words, terms, and phrases used in bullfighting, see Ernest Hemingway, Death in the Afternoon, Jonathan Cape, London, 1955 (1932), and especially 'An Explanatory Glossary', pp.263–340. Stanley Conrad (see n.24) made it clear, however, that the forms of the *corrida* had often changed and had not been static from the nineteenth century.
26. See Ann Hoenigswald's 'Technical observations', Galassi, et al. 1999, pp.19–21.
27. Without a consistent spatial geometry, the assessments have been based upon the form and sensed spatial shaping of each element, and apart from the eye level for the barrier which can use the difference in curvature between the top and bottom of the barrier as a gauge, no accurate placement of the other eye levels can be attempted.
28. At the time of the proposal made for the exhibition catalogue, the gap between the two canvases had been estimated by this writer to have been 5.5 cm, rather than the Ann Hoenigswald's estimation of 4.0 cm (Galassi, et al. 1999, p.21) which had been based upon a more accurate

examination of the actual tacking margins. The 5.5cm had been based upon the triangulation of the angled pica seen in the X-radiographs of both paintings, but was assessed by means of the visual examination of small photographic prints. There has not been an opportunity for a more detailed examination to be made, but on further consideration the gap has been reduced in the proposal in Fig.A7 to 4.5 cm.

B. *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*

1. T.J. Clark, The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers, Thames and Hudson, London, 1985, p.62.
2. "Signé... de la main de Mme veuve Edouard Manet." (Adolphe Tabarant, Manet: Histoire catalographique, Montaigne, Paris, 1931, p.171).
3. Robert L. Herbert, Impressionism: Art, Leisure & Parisian Society, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988, p.4.
4. For a discussion of these issues as a background to the painting, see: Clark 1985 (as in n.1), pp.60–66.
5. The Salon was held from 15 April to 5 June.
6. The Exposition opened on 1 April and closed on 30 October.
7. The Ingres exhibition was held from 8 April to 15 June.
8. The specific reasons for Manet holding his own exhibition remain uncertain. As Patricia Mainardi has explained: "Because of the complicated procedure, there has been some confusion in the historical accounts which variously state that Manet had not been invited to exhibit, that he did not apply because he was afraid of being rejected, or that he was in fact rejected." (Patricia Mainardi, 'Edouard Manet's *View of the Universal Exposition of 1867*', Arts Magazine, v.54, no.5, January, 1980, p.113-n.6). In a letter to Zola dated 2 January, 1867, Manet indicated that "on m'a jugé indigne de profiter comme tant d'autres des avantages de l'envoi sur liste." (Françoise Cachin, et al., Manet 1832–1883, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1983, p.520).
9. Letter from Émile Zola to Antony Valabrègue, 4 April, 1867. Quoted from: John Rewald, The History of Impressionism, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1973, p.168.
10. Precedents of independent exhibitions included those of Jacques-Louis David in 1799, Horace Vernet in 1822, and Gustave Courbet in 1855.
11. In the letter to Zola dated 2 January, 1867, Manet wrote that "Je vais risquer le paquet et, secondé par des hommes comme vous, je compte bien réussir." Quoted from: 'Appendix 1, Letters from Manet to Zola', Cachin, et al. 1983 (as in n.8), p.520.
12. "à l'angle des avenues de l'Alma et Montaigne", Tabarant 1931 (as in n.2), p.167.
13. Éd. Manet – Étude biographique et critique, brochure, E. Dentu, Paris, 1867.
14. Antonin Proust, Édouard Manet souvenirs (with 1897 text), L'Échoppe, Paris, 1996, pp. 34–35.
15. Mainardi 1980 (as in n.8), p.109.
16. e.g. Honoré Daumier's lithograph showing a father and son overlooking the site of the Exposition, with the caption:
    "– O mon fils! quel admirable tableau! Vois-tu d'ici le Palais de l'Exposition, ce temple de la Paix!...
    – Oui papa, et l'Ecole militaire aussi!"
    (Le Charivari, 16 January, 1867, p.7).
17. News of Maximilian's execution on 19 June at Querétaro was published in L'Indépendance belge in Paris on 1 July, and was formally announced on 6 July (Juliet Wilson-Bareau, Manet: The Execution of Maximilian: Painting, Politics & Censorship, exh. cat., National Gallery Publications, London, 1992, pp.36–37). Also see that publication for a comprehensive discussion on the circumstances of Maximilian's execution and Manet's series of paintings on that subject.
18. ibid., p.50–51.
19. Françoise Cachin, Manet, trans. Emily Read, Grange Books, London, 1991, p.69.
20. In his memoirs, Antonin Proust had noted that "Au mois d'août, je passai quelques jours avec Manet à Trouville. Quand le courrier arrivait, lui apportant des nouvelles de son exposition, il disait: "Voici le flot boueux qui vient. La marée monte." (Proust 1996 (as in n.14), p.35).
21. e.g. Adolphe Tabarant, Manet et ses œuvres, Gallimard, Paris, 1947, p.140; and, Henri Loyrette who agreed with Tabarant, writing that "There is no reason to doubt the biographer's [Tabarant's] statement... Not until June could he have found a period of calm in which to paint" (in, Gary Tinterow, and Henri Loyrette, Origins of Impressionism , exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1994, p.413.
22. Theodore Reff, Manet and Modern Paris, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1982, p.36.
23. Mainardi 1980, p,110.
24. ibid., p.112.
25. For a description of the undertaking, see: Clark 1986, pp.60–61.
26. Mainardi 1980, p.110, p.115-n.33.
27. Sigurd Willoch, "Edouard Manets Fra Verdensutstillingen i Paris 1867", Konsthistorisk Tidskrift, 45, 1976, p.108 ('Résumé' in French language).

28. Patricia Mainardi 1980, p.110.
29. John Richardson, Edouard Manet: Paintings and Drawings, Phaidon Press, London, 1958, p.122.
30. Reff 1982 (as in n.22), pp.36–37.
31. Nigel Blake and Francis Frascina, 'Modern Practices of Art and Modernity', in Francis Frascina, et al., Modernity and Modernism: French Painting in the Nineteenth Century, part of The Open University Course – A316: 'Modern Art: Practices and Debates', Yale University Press, New Haven and London, in assoc. with The Open University, 1993, p.106. The summit would have been then, as now, in the Cimetière Passy.
32. Herbert 1988 (as in n.3), p.5.
33. The annotations of Léon Leenhoff appear in a posthumous Register of Manet works made in 1883 and hand-written on a series of card-mounted photographs of Manet's works taken by Fernand Lochard. For a full description and reference information of the collections of the Leenhoff documents, including the Register of works of 1883 and the Lochard photographs, see: Juliet Wilson-Bareau, 'The Hidden Face of Manet: An investigation of the artist's working processes', exh. cat., The Burlington Magazine, v.128, no.997, April, 1986, 'Documents', p.97.
34. Mikael Wivel, with Juliet Wilson-Bareau, and Hanne Finsen, Manet, exh. cat., Ordrupgaardsamlingen, Ordrupgaard, Copenhagen, 1989, pp. 94–95.
35. Mainardi 1980, p.110.
36. id.
37. ibid., p.111.
38. ibid., pp.110–11.
39. ibid., p.111.
40. Reff 1982, p.87.
41. Herbert 1988, p.5.
42. Anne Coffin Hanson, Manet and the Modern Tradition, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1977, p.201.
43. ibid., p.202.
44. Alan Krell, Manet, and the Painters of Contemporary Life, Thames and Hudson, London, 1996, p.156.
45. Mainardi 1980, p.110. Mainardi contrasted the Epinal print to other popular images of the Exposition which avoided the problem of small figures in views with high vantage points by "adopting a distant view and eliminating the foreground". The Epinal print, Mainardi claimed, "breaks all perspective rules" by showing the figures "frontally from eye level and the panorama in bird's-eye perspective" (id.). The relative placement of feet in recession of many of the figures in the foreground, as well as the sense of looking down upon most of their heads, seems to contradict this latter claim.
46. Reff 1982, p.36.
47. Théodore Duret, Histoire de Edouard Manet et de son œuvre. Avec un catalogue des Peintures et des Pastels, H. Floury, Paris, 1902, p.216.
48. Étienne Moreau-Nélaton, Manet raconté par lui-même, 2 vols., Henri Laurens, Paris, 1926, v.1, p.92.
49. Tabarant 1931 (as in n.2), p.170.
50. Tabarant 1947 (as in n.21), p.140.
51 Richardson 1958 (as in n.29), p.122.
52. Mainardi 1980, p.112.
53. id.
54. Clark 1985, p.66.
55. Herbert 1988, p.5.
56. Wivel and Wilson-Bareau 1989 (as in n.34), p.95.
57. Cachin 1991 (as in n.19), p.69.
58. Krell 1996 (as in n.44), p.155.
59. Frascina et al. 1993 (as in n.31), p.107.
60. Of some interest is the possible recording, in the position indicated on the right-hand side of the photograph Fig.B7, of Manet's exhibition pavilion at the intersection of Avenue de l'Alma and Avenue Montaigne. What appears to be a light-toned structure at that intersection cannot be positively confirmed to be the pavilion.
61. Mainardi 1980, pp.110–11.
62. The shape of the dome for the Panorama National in the painting is more rounded and higher than as it existed in 1867, and still exists. An alternative dome was initially sought, with consideration given to many other domes including, for example, those of the Chapelle de l'Assomption and the Halle-au-Blé, but the relationship of the Panorama's dome to the arched forms of the Pont de l'Alma and the angled bank of the Seine in the view from viewpoint SP5 confirmed the dome to be that of the Panorama.
63. Mainardi 1980, p.111.
64. Similar proposals can be seen in Chapter 5(D), with Manet supposedly deleting a bridge and a road out of his field of view to paint the claimed view of *The Railway*.
65. Willoch 1976 (as in n.27), p.108 ('Résumé' in French language).
66. Clark 1985, p.61.
67. Edmond Renaudin, Paris – Exposition. Guide à Paris, Éd. Ch. Delagrave, Paris, 1867, p.176.

68. J. Wemeare, ed., Les Invalides: trois siècles d'histoire, Musée de l'Armée, Paris, 1974, p.502.
69. The enclosure was described by Wilfred de Fonvielle as "le vaste cirque de toile où ont lieu les ascensions" ('Le grand ballon de l'Exposition Universelle', L'Illustration, 3 October, 1867, p.219).
70. Auguste Luchet, 'Le ballon captif', item in 'Courrier de l'Exposition Universelle', Le Monde Illustré, 26 October, 1867, p.259.
71. See Patricia Mainardi's discussion of this aspect, with reference to Charles Meryon's etching *Le Pont-au-Change* (1854) and Victor Hugo's poem "Plein Ciel" (Mainardi 1980, p.112), and George Mauner's discussion of Hugo's poem and reading of Manet's lithograph, *The Balloon*, as a crucifixion in the context of the "association of a balloon ascent with religious meaning" (George Mauner, Manet, Peintre-Philosophe: A Study of the Painter's Themes, The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park and London, 1975, pp.173–77).
72. See quote from article by Henri de Parville in Appendix 3, n.17. The topicality of the *ballon captif* can also be gauged by the fact that in the short period of just over a month during which it operated, three caricatures by Cham, using the ballon captif as their subject, appeared in Le Charivari. Two of these related directly to the installation: "LE BALLON CAPTIF", 29 October, 1867; and, "LES DERNIERS JOURS DE L'EXPOSITION", 10 November, 1867.
73. Flights made without a restraining connection to the ground, with ascents controlled by the jettisoning of sandbags and descents by the release of gas from a valve at the top of the balloon.
74. Nadar had been forced to sell *Le Géant*, and was only involved in its first flight from the Esplanade des Invalides on 23 June (see Appendix 3).
75. Camille Flammarion, Voyages Aériens, Éd. Ernest Flammarion, Paris, 1881, p.125.
76. The various "clues" that can be found in Manet's paintings are not seen by this writer as enticements for viewers to solve paintings which had been purposefully made complex and "unreadable". Any concern with the viewing public was for his own esteem as a respected artist, and he had little regard for what anyone else thought of his art – a very serious and private process in which no one else was involved. All of his strategies and all of his techniques, including the placement of those elements that give evidence of, or are pointers to, the way in which a work had been devised or constructed, are seen as integral aspects of his speculative artistic process. The inclusion of such indicators was an artistic necessity – about which he may have chuckled – but it was certainly not part of some game of "hide-and-seek" for viewers.
77. With no archival plan information available, the positions of the large detached houses at Nos.14 and 22 on the eastern side of Rue Franklin were established by measurements assessed from contemporary photographs. Viewpoints SP7 and SP8 were found to be within the assessed sizes of these two buildings, most probably at roof level at No.14 for SP7, and from the belvedere at No.22 for SP8. The street numbers noted have been determined from descriptions contained within the *calepins du cadastre* records (D1P^4/470 – Rue Franklin, Archives Fiscales, calepins du cadastre, Archives de Paris, Paris), and do not relate to present-day numbering. Viewpoint SP9 was positioned at No.35 as part of the row of buildings on the western side of Rue Franklin and on the northern junction with Rue Vineuse, set some eight metres above road level and within the enclosure of the building. There is a slight discrepancy between this height and that assessed from the photograph itself of five metres, suggesting that the levels incorporated into the modelling for the upper part of Rue Franklin were too low.
78. The news of the successful exposure of the plates was announced in July, 1868 (Le Moniteur de la photographie, 18 July, p.1074; and, Le Petit Figaro, 31 July, p.3. See Appendix 3, n.22, n.23). The *ballon captif* at the Hippodrome had been the one used at the Avenue de Suffren facility during the Exposition and had been moved after its closure in early November, 1867.
79. This writer has corresponded with Leif Einar Plahter, former chief restorer, Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo, on the extent of technical examinations carried out in the past. In correspondence dated 8 May, 2000, Mr. Plahter indicated that the painting had not been x-rayed or examined with infrared vidicon equipment, but he doubted, with the visibility of the ground in many areas and the thinly applied colour in others, that X-radiographs would have been helpful in assessing changes in the composition.
80. Original tacking margins have been cut off the canvas, the edges cannot be examined properly due to the use of putty and retouchings, and the stretcher is not original (communicated by Leif Einar Plahter, correspondence, as in n.79).
81. Clark 1985, p.60.
82. Although the Palais des Tuileries was destroyed by fire in 1871, the ruins remained during the 1870s, and the Pavillon de Flore at the south-west corner was retained and rebuilt.
83. In 1867, the street numbering from No.25 to No.35 in Rue Franklin, and in contrast to that noted in n.77, seems to have been little different to that at the present time (D1P^4/470 – Rue Franklin, Archives Fiscales, calepins du cadastre, Archives de Paris, Paris). Although No.25 has either been divided into 25a and 25b, or has been changed to 25b, such a change has no effect on the positioning of the viewpoints in particular buildings, with the relative heights of the buildings estimated from the number of floors recorded in the *calepins du cadastre*, and the lateral positions of the different buildings also assessed from contemporary photographs.
84. Although the height of 13 metres above the road level falls within the enclosure of Nos.25 and 29 Rue Franklin, the assessment as noted in n.77 that the upper end of Rue Franklin may have been set in the computer modelling a little lower than it existed in 1867 would mean that the views were no different but that the heights of the viewpoints above road level could have been 10-11 metres.

85. Details of the then-famous elm tree seen on the horizon are discussed in Chapter 5(C) where it is proposed to have been, at one stage, the elusive dome in *The Burial*.
86. The following heights were used for the various prisms: the women in the group (1.6m); the couple (man – 1.7m, woman – 1.7m); woman on horseback (head of woman – 1.9m); two men (each – 1.9m); guardsmen (standing – 1.65m); gardener – 1.7m; boy and dog (boy – 1.2m).
87. Mainardi referred to modern photographs and wrote in the present tense when noting that the pylons of Pont de l'Alma were "much more massive than they actually are" (Mainardi 1980, p.111). The bridge in the painting was opened on 2 April, 1856 (Engineering, 12 April, 1867, p.350) and demolished in 1970, with the existing bridge opened in 1972.
88. The extent of the distortion is unusual for Manet and became the basis of the search noted in n.62.

C. *The Burial*

1. Although it can be reasonably assumed that any work exhibited by Manet during his lifetime had been taken to his required level of completion, the same surely does not apply to those works which Manet had not exhibited. It has been assumed or determined by some scholars that works such as *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* and *The Burial* are in the form as finally intended by Manet, with Nancy Locke, for example, referring to the "quality of deliberate unfinish" of *The Burial* (Nancy Locke, 'Unfinished Homage: Manet's *Burial* and Baudelaire', The Art Bulletin, v.82, no.1, March, 2000, p.80). The difficulty in defining 'completion' was also used by Linda Nochlin to set *The Burial* into an external context and claim that "The painting is unfinished, but 'complete', in Baudelairian terms" (Linda Nochlin, Realism, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1990, p.256-n.48).
2. Denis Rouart, and Daniel Wildenstein, Edouard Manet: Catalogue raisonné, 2 vols., La Bibliothèque des Arts, Lausanne and Paris, 1975, v.1, p.44.
3. Henri Loyrette, 'L'Enterrement', in Gary Tinterow, and Henri Loyrette, Origins of Impressionism, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1994, cat.no.105, p.411.
4. Théodore Duret, Histoire de Edouard Manet et de son œuvre, avec un catalogue des Peintures et des Pastels, H. Floury, Paris, 1902, p.224.
5. Adolphe Tabarant, Manet: Histoire catalographique, Éditions Montaigne, Paris, 1931, p.202.
6. id.
7. ibid., p.203.
8. Adolphe Tabarant, Manet et ses œuvres, Gallimard, Paris, 2nd edn., 1947, p.171.
9. Georges Bataille, Manet: biographical and critical study, trans. Austryn Wainhouse and James Emmons, Skira, Geneva, 1983, p.50.
10. John Richardson, Edouard Manet: Paintings and Drawings, Phaidon Press, London, 1958, p.124.
11. Charles Sterling, and Margaretta Salinger, French Paintings: A Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, XIX Century, 3 vols., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1955–1967, v.3, p.44.
12. id.
13. Nochlin 1990 (as in n.1), pp.93–94. Somewhat different comparisons with El Greco's depiction of a city or landscape have been made, with Éric Darragon suggesting that "Manet voit Paris comme Gréco pouvait voir Tolède" (Éric Darragon, Recherches sur la conception du sujet dans l'œuvre d'Édouard Manet (1832–1883), unpublished doctoral dissertation, Université Paris–Sorbonne (Paris IV), 5 vols., Paris, 1987, p.506), and Henri Loyrette stating that "Here we are reunited with the tragic panoramas of El Greco" (Loyrette 1994 (as in n.3), p.411).
14. Letter, written 6 or 7 September, 1867, published in Eugène Crépet and Jacques Crépet, Charles Baudelaire: Étude biographique d'Eugène Crépet. Revue et et mise à jour par Jacques Crépet, Léon Vanier, Paris, 1906, p.275.
15. Adolphe Tabarant, La vie artistique au temps de Baudelaire, Mercure de France, Paris, 2nd edn., 1963 (1942), pp.424–25.
16. George Mauner, Manet, Peintre-Philosophe: A Study of the Painter's Themes, The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park and London, 1975, p.120.
17. Theodore Reff, Manet and Modern Paris, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1982, p.41.
18. Charles S. Moffett, 'The Burial', in Françoise Cachin, et al., Manet 1832–1883, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1983, cat.no.98, pp.260–61.
19. Françoise Cachin, Manet, Chêne, Paris, 1990, p.72.
20. Reff 1982 (as in n.17), p.40.
21. Reff 1982, p.40.
22. id.
23. Loyrette 1994 (as in n.3), p.411.
24. id.
25. id.
26. Darragon 1987 (as in n.13).
27. Nancy Locke 2000 (as in n.1), pp.68–82.
28. Darragon 1987, p.503.
29. ibid., p.504.

30. id.
31. ibid., p.503.
32. id.
33. ibid., p.504.
34. ibid., p.507.
35. ibid., p.508.
36. Locke 2000, p.78.
In adopting a *modus operandi* of conjecturing what Manet's painting would *not* have been, Locke articulated an approach with the statement that "Given this tantalizing mix of the particular and the ambiguous, it is necessary to think more broadly, or better yet, speculate" (ibid., p.69), and gave expression to it with the surmise that "Perhaps Baudelaire's thinking, his *fleurs du mal*, his *poèmes en prose* were so embedded in Manet's notion of his own work that Baudelaire's death could only give rise to a painting that had to remain unfinished and unresolved." (ibid., p.79).
37. "a painting done in the manner of Courbet's *The Painter's Studio* would have been anathema to Manet's style and inappropriate as well" (ibid., p.77).
38. ibid., p.78.
39. ibid., p.79.
40. ibid., p.78.
41. With the publication of a monograph on Goya by Charles Yriate in April, 1867, in which a reproduction of the *The Meadows of San Isidro* appeared, Locke believed that "it is not surprising... to find that Manet may have had Goya in mind in the execution of *The Burial*" (ibid., p.74).
42. ibid., p.75.
43. ibid., p.77.
44. ibid., p.78.
45. ibid., pp.79–80.
46. ibid., p.80.
47. ibid., p.78.
48. ibid., p.80.
49. ibid., p.74.
50. Émile de Labédollière, Le Nouveau Paris, histoire de ses 20 arrondissements, Gustave Barba, Paris, 1860 , p.208.
51. Locke 2000, p.69.
52. Labédollière 1860 (as in n.50), p.208.
53. The area was opened to the public in 1938.
54. For a detailed history of the area, see: Gilles-Antoine Langlois, ed., Le XIIIe Arrondissement: Une ville dans Paris, Délégation à l'Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris, Paris, 1993, including the following chapters:
Béatrice de Andia, '2000 ans d'histoire', pp.12–24;
Gilles-Antoine Langlois, 'Le territoire du XIIIe arrondissement', pp.27–33;
Maurice Stockburger, 'La rivière des castors', pp.48–49;
Jean Anckaert, 'La disparition de la Bièvre', pp.50–53;
Michel Le Moël, 'Le mythe de l'hôtel de la Reine Blanche', pp.62–69;
Gilles-Antoine Langlois, 'La grande maison des Gobelins, dite "hôtel Mascarini", pp.70–79; and 'L'Hôtel royal des Gobelins', pp. 80–89.
55. In earlier plans the gardens of the Manufacture des Gobelins included the complete area in the centre and to the south between the two arms of the river. See illus.69, *Les jardins ouvriers de la Manufacture vers 1835*, in Langlois 1993 (as in n.54), p.88.
56. Prior to the tanneries being built to the west side of the western arm of the Bièvre, the area adjacent to and to the north of Rue du champ de l'Alouette had been named the Champ de l'Alouette. See: *Nouveau Plan Routier de la Ville et Faubourgs: Paris divisé en douze Mairies. Année 1814*, Journeaux l'ainé, Paris, 1814.
57. The image used in Locke's article is a truncated version of the complete painting.
58. Locke 2000, p.69.
59. Referred to by Locke as an etching.
60. Locke 2000, p.70.
61. ibid., p.71.
62. id.
63. Honoré de Balzac, 'La femme de trente ans', in La Comédie humaine – Études de Mœurs: Scènes de la vie privée, ed. Pierre-Georges Castex, Gallimard, Paris, 1976, pp.1039–1214 (intro. and préf., pp.1017–38; Histoire du texte, 1584–90; Notes et variantes, pp.1591–1666).
64. Alfred Delvau, Histoire anécdotique des barrières de Paris, E. Dentu, Paris, 1865.
65. Balzac 1976 (as in n.63), v.2, p.1142.
66. ibid., p.1143.
67. Balzac's description of how "l'élégante lanterne des Invalides flamboies" between the Palais du Luxembourg and Saint-Sulpice was in fact a view not possible from any position. The computer-modelling has showed that from the determined vantage point the dome of Val-de-Grâce itself is the one seen exactly in the position described by Balzac and that directly beneath such a grouping the poplars would have been seen. With the earlier reference to the group of buildings set between the

Observatoire and Val-de-Grâce, the transposed description can only be seen as intentional literary licence.

68. Delvau 1865 (as in n.64), p.226.
69. id.
70. Victor Hugo, Les Misérables, Robert Laffont, Paris, 1985. Originally published in 1862.
71. Locke 2000, p.69, p.81-n.17. Previous suggestions for the landscape depicted in the etching had included: Theodore Reff's "flat low-lying plains of Holland" ('The Symbolism of Manet's Frontispiece Etchings', The Burlington Magazine, v.104, no.710, May, 1962, p.185); Anne Coffin Hanson's "a balloon soaring over some dutch windmills" (Anne Coffin Hanson, Manet and the Modern Tradition, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1979, p.72); and, Larry Ligo's suggestion that the windmills were on "on the highest point in the city of Paris: Montmartre. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Montmartre was almost literally covered with windmills" ('Manet's Frontispiece Etchings: His Symbolic Self-Portrait, Acknowledging the Influences of Baudelaire and Photography upon his Work', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, s.6. v.108, September, 1986, p.68). Jean C. Harris saw it as a reference by Manet to his balloon motif in his lithograph, *The Balloon* (Jean Collins Harris, Edouard Manet: Graphic Works, A Definitive Catalogue Raisonné, Collectors Editions, New York, 1970, p.117), and Juliet Wilson-Bareau also saw it as a possible allusion to the occasion of *The Balloon*, as well as being one of "a popular category of the period" (Cachin, et al. 1983 (as in n.18), p.138).
72. The position of the Collège Rollin which Manet actually attended must remain uncertain if previous scholarship is considered. Most references to the collège, including that by Théodore Duret in 1902 (Théodore Duret, Histoire de Edouard Manet et de son œuvre. Avec un catalogue des Peintures et des Pastels, H. Floury, Paris, 1902, p.3) have simply named the institution without locating it. Adolphe Tabarant in 1931 described it as "collège Rollin, l'ancien Rollin de la rue des Postes" (A. Tabarant, Manet: Histoire catalographique, Montaigne, Paris, 1931, p.9) in the *Cinquième* arrondissement (at the area which now exists across Rue Pierre Brossolette between Rue Lhomond and Rue Vauquelin). Others have since used that same location, but without reference to Tabarant or a primary source (e.g. Kathleen Adler, Manet, Phaidon Press, Oxford, 1986, p.9), but Françoise Cachin, after referring to the secondary school by name only in 1990 (Cachin 1990 (as in n.19), p.12), in 1995 stated it to have been "on the Avenue Trudaine" in the Neuvième arrondissement, and at the existing site of the Lycée Jacques Decour (Françoise Cachin, Manet: The Influence of the Modern, trans. Rachel Kaplan, Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1995, p.14). All general maps of Paris until c.1867 showed the Abattoir Montmartre located at that site and it was only with the 1870 Chaix map (Nouveau Plan de Paris Divisé en 20 Arrondissements, A. Chaix & Cie., Paris, 1870), at a time much later than Manet's years of attendance, that a Collège Rollin is indicated there. In these circumstances the site at Rue des Postes is used here.
73. Sterling and Salinger 1955–67 (as in n.11), pp.44–45.
74. Locke 2000, p.80.
75. Darragon 1987, p.504.
76. Darragon 1987, p.505.
77. id.
78. id.
79. Locke 2000, p.80.
80. ibid., p.70.
81. Nochlin 1990, p.95.
82. id.
83. id.
84. id.
85. id.
86. ibid., p.93.
87. ibid., p.95.
88. Locke 2000, p.70.
89. id.
90. id.
91. In spite of the inaccuracies, it is interesting to note that, in the context of their cyclical cutting-down and as would be expected, the poplar trees beside the Bièvre river are not shown in Navlet's painting.
92. A photographic print of the X-radiograph was kindly made available for examination and reproduction by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
93. Although undated, and irrespective of its rustic style, the extent of visible building development seems not dissimilar to that in the Langlacé, and when Himely's year of birth is taken into account, it must be considered to have have been painted some time after 1815.
94. Two views from separate viewpoints which fell within the line of the proposed flight path and which provided identification of the same object have not been included because the apparent form in the painting, although plausible, was not specific enough for the identification to be other than speculation. The possible form of a dome seen against the profile of Butte Montmartre to the left of the Panthéon in the painting could possibly have been the dome of the Église de la Sorbonne in relation to the position of Val-de-Grâce in one view and to that of the Panthéon in a second view.

The position of the dome was accurate in each view but the shape in the painting is not unquestionably that of a dome.

95. e.g. Wilfred de Fonvielle wrote "Quand à la rotation du ballon, elle n'est pas constante, j'ai pu compter quelquefois deux ou trois secondes entières sans que le soleil parait changer d'azimut." (J. Glaisher, et al, Voyages Aériens, Hachette, Paris, 1870, Troisième partie, p.370).
96. Hugo 1985 (as in n.70), Quatrième partie, Livre deuxième – I: 'Le champ de l'Alouette', p.684.
97. Information on this cycle of growth and controlled removal was provided by grounds staff at Square René Le Gall to *documentaliste* Julia McLaren in July, 2000.
98. The date when Balzac first wrote the fourth part, *Le doigt de Dieu*, in which the quoted passage is contained is not known but, after many changes, the complete work was published in its final form as part of La Comédie humaine in 1842 (Balzac 1976, v.2, p.1586).
99. George Mauner wrote that "Here there are a few mourners, but nature grieves in the sketchy patch of trees, probably cypresses, which echo the shape of the carriage and figures directly below it." (Mauner 1975, p.120), and Locke was more definite with the identification as cypresses, writing that "Above and behind the funeral cortege, the dark and ragged cypress trees appear to make a procession of their own against the light, scratchy middle ground." (Locke 2000, p.69).
100. Now the Institut National des Jeunes Sourds.
101. As noted in an unreferenced copy of a newspaper item, with hand annotated date of "juin 1903". Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
102. Writing in 1877, J.-K. Huysmans had evocatively brought the effect of the stacks into a description of the skyline: "tandis qu'à perte de vue dans le ciel s'étageaient les charpentes et les terrasses des mégissiers, au-dessus desquelles se superposaient, séparés par des tuyaux d'usine, les emphatiques et lourds dômes du Panthéon et du Val-de-Grâce." (J.-K. Huysmans, La Bièvre et Saint Séverin, P.-V. Stock, Paris, 1898, Brionne, 1986, p.13).
103. The painting shows the roof of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont with the section above the nave near the facade set at a lower level than the section over the choir, and a gap formed between the two with the roof over the transepts set at an even lower level. These configurations seem to have been part of restoration and alteration work which was carried out between 1861 and 1868 and which also included major work on the church's facade (Catherine Marquet, ed., Paris (Guides Bleus), Hachette, Paris, 1999, p.605).
Two paintings of Claude Monet in 1867, *Garden of the Princess* (Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin) and *The Quai du Louvre* (Gemeentemuseum, The Hague), also show the roof to be in the form as depicted by Manet in *The Burial*.
104. For discussion of these aspects see: Thomas A. Kselman, 'The Origins of Commercial Funerals', Death and the Afterlife in Modern France, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993, sub-chapters: 'Class, Identity, and Concessions', pp.182–89, and 'Segregation and Equality in the Cemetery', pp.189–99.
105. For a discussion on the historical background of, and physical problems involving, *concessions à perpétuité*, see: Kselman 1993 (as in n.104), pp.183–88.
Without a very detailed program of research, a complete understanding of the chronological sequence of the burial of deceased, particularly in *concessions à perpétuité*, is extremely difficult. The date at which a *concession* had been first purchased may be a guide to a death at that time, but it does not give information about those previously deceased who were re-interred in a family *concession*, or when a tomb had been actually built. The names and dates which are engraved on their stone surfaces are also not comprehensive and do not necessarily provide evidence of the date of the earliest burial actually held at the site. The date of the purchase of the *concession* would seem to be the most reliable guide for that.
106. J. Escargueil (Abbé), Les Enterrements civils considérés au point de vue social, religieux et législatif, René Haton, Paris, 1877, pp.67,68.
107. For regulation details, see: J.-B. Mesnard, Regulateur general des convois, Fontaine, Paris, 1845. For description of contemporary funeral practices, see: Pétrus Borel, 'Le croque-mort', in Les français peints par eux-mêmes, 2 vols. in one book, Éditions Furne et Cie., Paris, 1853, v.1, pp.120–27. For discussion of the development of commercial undertakers in Paris in the nineteenth century see: Kselman 1993, 'The Origins of Commercial Funerals', ch.6, pp.222–56.
108. The regulations for a *service ordinaire* funeral of a child under the age of seven required that the deceased child's coffin, covered by either a black or white cloth, be on a stretcher carried by two porters and preceded by a funeral director. The decision for the cloth to be black or white was made by the families (Mesnard 1845 (as in n.107), p.9).
109. The regulations for a *service ordinaire* funeral for those older than seven required the coffin, covered by either a black or white cloth, carried on a hearse, drawn by two black horses and driven by a coachman, accompanied by four pallbearers and preceded by a funeral director. The families involved decided the colour of the cloth. The *service ordinaire* was the most basic of six classes, with the first class requiring a hearse drawn by four horses, and the provision for up to eighteen draped carriages, two valets on foot, and a master of ceremonies in the cortege. The second and third classes had the master of ceremonies but not the valets. Fourth and fifth class hearses were to be draped in black with silver fringing. The sixth class had a hearse with the silver fringing but was not draped, the provision for one extra draped carriage, and only the funeral director and the coachman in attendance. All coffins for the first to fifth classes were to made of oak, with those in the sixth made of pine. There were additional charges for optional extras such as white horses,

decorations to the horses, and tassels to hold the drapes to the hearses (Mesnard 1845, pp.8,12, and 'Tableaux indicatifs de 6 classes de convois et pompes funèbres de la ville de Paris', unpaginated section after p.109).

110. At least until c.1870 other more general maps of Paris displayed an earlier layout of this area of the cemetery which was very different to that which actually existed in 1867 and as exists today.
111. For details, see: P.-E. Follacci, and A. Hervieu, 'Les agrandissements successifs', in Le Père Lachaise, anthology, Éditions Action artistique de la ville de Paris, Paris, 1998, p.72.
112. The specific tree positions have been established from plans of the 68th Division and the 56th Division held at the Archives de Paris, Paris (*Cimetière de l'Est. 68e Division*, site plan, n.d. (c.1873), *Cimetière de l'Est. 56e Division*, 15 October, 1873, site plan, Archives de Paris, Paris).
As the result of a destructive storm in 1999 which uprooted and damaged many trees in the Cimetière du Père-Lachaise, the trees lining the existing Avenue des Peupliers (then, Chemin Neigre) are no longer seen in the clearly defined rows as would have been visible in 1867 and had been visible for an aerial photograph of 1984 (Fig.C27).
113. Information provided by: Direction des parcs, jardins et espaces verts, Service des cimetières, Mairie de Paris, Paris.
114. Details provided by the Administration of the Cimetière du Père-Lachaise.
115. As discussed in n.105, a complete understanding of the chronological sequence of events involved with a particular *concession à perpétuité* is difficult to establish. Complete details of the burials in the 68th Division of c.1867 are not available from the records held at the Cimetière du Père-Lachaise, but it is known, for example, that the remains of a Paul Texier, a five-year old boy, who had been buried after his death on 9 August, 1867, had been then transferred to the site of a family *concession* bought in 1868. The remains of his father, Pierre, who died at the age of forty-four on 17 January, 1866, are also held in the tomb of the *concession* but had obviously also been moved after the purchase. The Texier tomb is not in the field of view of interest here.
116. The position of the Ailliot *concession* beyond the group of mourners sheds no light on an identification of the dark shape seen in the painting to the left of the isolated figure of the proposed agent. Its size and form accords with neither an item carried by the agent nor an open grave seen foreshortened in perspective.
117. As advised by M. Yvan Quercy, of the Musée de L'Attelage et du Corbillard, Cazes-Mondenard, the moving backwards of a horse-drawn hearse of that period would not have been a problem.
118. The maiden name of Manet's mother had been Eugénie Désirée Fournier (1811–85). Her brother, and Manet's uncle, Edmond Fournier (1800–1865), had been the relative most supportive of Manet's wish, when young, to become an artist.
119. Flights of aerial balloons of the time were controlled with ascencions made by jettisoning sandbags strung from around the balloon's basket, and descents by opening a valve flap at the top of the balloon to release some of the retained gas. Once the supply of sandbags was exhausted the flight was at an end. The forces of nature were also influential, with the direction of flights only determined by the direction of the prevailing winds, and movements up and down affected by hot-air currents.
120. From viewpoint SP5, the Panthéon is 1.9 kms, Sainte-Chapelle is 2.95 kms, and Saint-Pierre-du-Montmartre is 6.45 kms.
121. From viewpoint SP6, the Tour de Clovis is 1.85 kms and its top 27.5m above it, the tower of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont is 1.9 kms and its top 32.5m above it, the towers of Notre-Dame are 2.65 kms and their tops 31.5m above it, and Tour Saint-Jacques is 3.2 kms and its top is 14.5m above it.

D. *The Railway*

1. Adrian Lewis, 'Place de L'Europe and the Privileging of Site', review of exh. cat. *Manet, Monet and the Gare Saint-Lazare*, Juliet Wilson-Bareau, Art History, v.22, no.2, June, 1999, pp.300–05.
2. Juliet Wilson-Bareau,
Manet, Monet, and the Gare Saint-Lazare, exh. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 1998), Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1998;
Manet, Monet: La gare Saint-Lazare, exh. cat. (Musée d'Orsay, Paris, 1998), Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris, 1998.
3. ibid., New Haven and London, p.186-n.34.
4. Roger Cranshaw, and Adrian Lewis, 'Manet's *Le Chemin de Fer* (1872–3): Producing the Art Historical Text', Issues: in Architecture, Art and Design, (Polytechnic of East London), v.2, no.1, Winter, 1991–2, pp.76–103.
5. Lewis 1999 (as in n.1), p.301.
6. id.
7. id.
8. id.
9. The 'evidence' presented being how Moreau-Nelaton had recalled the " 'quarrel created because of his choice of model': 'visitors to the Salon of 1874 confronted there her person which few found to their taste' " (Lewis 1999, p.305-n.15).
10. The 'evidence' presented being "the 1876 Portrait of Mallarmé,...the 1874 etching of Theodore de Banville (second version) in which dream images emerge from tobacco smoke" (ibid., p.305-n.16).

11. Lewis 1999, p.303.
12. ibid, p.304.
13. id.
14. ibid., p.301
15. Lewis 1999, p.305-n.19.
16. Published in a journal of the faculties of architecture, art, and design at the Polytechnic of East London, the article had not received wide scholarly circulation and had been unknown to both Juliet Wilson-Bareau and this writer at the time of our separate researches. It can be said that nothing in the proposals of Cranshaw and Lewis would have influenced the researches of this writer other than in the surprise that the site had yet again been identified and had then been ignored.
17. Reasonable questions were raised about the the collective information of Duret, Moreau-Nélaton, and Tabarant on the painting site, and the contradictions and errors in the claims of others such as Theodore Reff (Manet and Modern Paris, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1982, pp. 81-82), Robert L. Herbert (Impressionism: Art, Leisure & Parisian Society, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988, p.83), and Harry Rand (Manet's Contemplation at the Gare Saint-Lazare, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987, pp. 83–84), methodically unravelled.
18. e.g. Harry Rand, 'To the *Gare Saint-Lazare*', Arts Magazine, v.61, no.5, 1987, p.54.
19. Wilson-Bareau 1998, p.57.
20. Cranshaw and Lewis 1991–92 (as in n.4), p.85. Oddly, they also noted that the drawings were not made from the bridge itself (id.).
21. A description of the fictional garden was made with detailed identifications. (Cranshaw and Lewis 1991–92, p.86).
22. ibid., p.86.
23. ibid., pp.86–87.
24. Philippe Burty, "Les Ateliers", La Renaissance littéraire et artistique, v.I, 2 November, 1872, p.220.
25. Fervacques (pseud. for Léon Duchemin), 'L'HIVER A PARIS: *Jeudi 25, décembre*', Le Figaro, 27 December, 1873, p.1. See discussion of article, Chapter 5(E), n.2.
26. Stéphane Mallarmé, 'Le Jury de Peinture pour 1874 et M. Manet', La Renaissance littéraire et artistique, 12 April 1874, p.156.
27. See discussion in Chapter 5(E).
28. Lent to the Salon by its owner, the baritone Jean-Baptiste Faure. Exhibited as: No.1260 *Le Chemin de fer.*
29. Edmond Duranty, 'Le Salon. II', in Musée Universel: Revue illustrée hebdomadaire 1874, v.4, Paris, 1874, p.136.
30. Théodore Duret, Histoire de Edouard Manet et de son œuvre. Avec un catalogue des Peintures et des Pastels, H. Floury, Paris, 1902, p.102.
31. Théodore Duret, Histoire de Edouard Manet et de son œuvre. Avec un catalogue des Peintures et des Pastels, Bernheim-Jeune, Paris, 1919, p.114.
32. ibid., '152. – Le Chemin de fer. Salon de 1874', p.256.
33. Étienne Moreau-Nélaton, Manet raconté par lui-même, 2 vols., Henri Laurens, Paris, 1926, v.2, p.11.
34. A. Tabarant, Manet: Histoire catalographique, Montaigne, Paris, 1931, p.236.
35. ibid., p.237.
36. A. Tabarant, Manet et ses œuvres, Gallimard, Paris, 1947, pp.221–22.
37. Rodolphe Walter, 'Saint-Lazare, l'impressionniste', L'Oeil, no.292, November, 1979, p.53-n.13.
38. ibid., pp.51.
39. Reff 1982 (as in n.17), p.56.
40. id.
41. Rand 1987 ('To the *Gare Saint-Lazare*', as in n.18), p.59.
42. Françoise Cachin, et al., Manet 1832–1883, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1983, p.340.
43. Herbert 1988 (as in n.17), p.307-n.40.
44. Theodore Reff, 'Manet and the Paris of His Time', in Kunst um 1800 und die Folgen. Werner Hofmann zu Euren, eds. Christian Beutler, et al., Prestel-Verlag, Munich, 1988, p.251. As can be seen in the proposal, the windows of Manet's studio do not overlook the Place de l'Europe.
45. Such a situation is one that highlights the research approach taken by this writer, which is to undertake whatever research or analysis is required to achieve an understanding, rather than to obscure discrepancies with speculative or impossible claims.
46. Reff 1988 (as in n.44), p.251.
47. When this writer made contact in 1996 with an elderly resident at No.58 Rue de Rome, Mme Mercier, she stated she had spent her whole life there and that it had always been common knowledge to be the site from where Manet had painted *The Railway*.
48. The examination of the X-radiograph with Juliet Wilson-Bareau was made possible with the kind co-operation of Sarah Fisher and Ann Hoenigswald, Conservation Department, National Gallery of Art, Washington.
49. Jean-Jacques Lévêque, Manet, Crescent Books, New York, 1990, p.79.

50. The closer wall is a more recent edge to a garden bed.
51. For a discussion on different assessments of the influence of photography on Manet in general and with *The Railway*, within the context of a scathing critique of Harry Rand's proposals, see: Cranshaw and Lewis 1991–92, p.88.
52. Although not known at the time of this analysis, and as noted in n.21, Cranshaw and Lewis had seen that open area as a fictional garden in the painting.
53. The height of the fence has been set in the computer modelling at 180cm. The computer modelling showed that there is no overlap of the fence and the door from the fourth-floor level, and the door, together with all the windows at the ground floor level, is unable to be seen from the base of the railway cutting.
54. Lewis 1999, p.301.
55. ibid, p.304-n.10.
56. Wilson-Bareau 1998, p.57.
57. ibid, p.56.
58. id.
59. Lewis 1999, p.304-n.6.
60. This dimension was stated by Wilson-Bareau (Wilson-Bareau 1998, p.57) and confirmed by Lewis (Lewis 1999, p.301) to be five inches.
61. Gabriel Paul Weisberg, 'Aspects of Japonisme', preview of exh. *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854–1910*, The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, April, 1975, p.126.
62. Rand 1987 ('To the *Gare Saint-Lazare*'), p.54.
63. An aspect noted previously by others, e.g. "Mlle Hirsch's arm seems rather long, extended across the space between her and Victorine" (Rand 1987 (Manet's Contemplation..., as in n.17), p.124).
64. From the *calepins du cadastre* records for No.58 Rue de Rome (*Archives Fiscales, calepins du cadastre*, D1P^4/973, Archives de Paris, Paris), Wilson-Bareau confirmed that "the fourth-floor studio was leased to *Hirsch peintre* from July 1872", that "the third-floor apartment was rented to *Hirsch veuve*, presumably the artist's widowed mother who had previously been at 70 Rue de Rome", and that "ownership of the ground floor *atelier* and the adjoining garden at the rear remains unspecified in the cadastre records (1862–1900)." (Wilson-Bareau 1998, p.185-n.33).
65. The *calepins du cadastre* records shows that the lessee for *appartement* No.8 in 1872 had been "Cicile M", in 1873 "Faure vp", and in 1874 "Kuhn, dentiste". The meaning of the "vp" which appears under the column heading of "NOMS, PRÉNOMS ET QUALITÉS des locataires" is uncertain as it seems to be neither the person's initials nor indicative of a profession.
66. Wilson-Bareau 1998, p.57, p.186-n.44.
67. In the translation to the painting, this upper shed has not been included. Details of its size or actual position on the bank are unknown and have not been speculated.
68 On seeing the painting at the 1884 retrospective exhibition, Jacques de Biez wrote "True the locomotive is missing and as for the train – you do not see it. The smoke is enough for me" (trans. in Pierre Courthion, and Pierre Cailler, eds., Portrait of Manet by Himself and his Contemporaries, trans. Michael Ross, Cassell & Company, London, 1960, pp.76–77).
69. See Appendix 2 for a comparison of particular aspects such as this in the paintings of Manet and Gustave Caillebotte.

E. *Masked Ball at the Opera*

1. As noted by Fervacques after a visit to Manet's studio: "Cette toile... représente le couloir de l'Opéra une nuit de bal masqué" (Fervacques (pseud. for Léon Duchemin), 'L'Hiver à Paris: Jeudi 25, décembre', Le Figaro, 27 December, 1873, p.1); as remembered from an undated visit to Manet's studio by Jules-Camille de Polignac in his memoirs of 5 May, 1883: "La première fois que je suis entré dans l'atelier de Manet, il travaillait à un tableau qui appartient, je crois, à Faure et qui représente le couloir de l'ancien opéra un soir de bal masqué." (Quoted from Éric Darragon, 'Manet, Le Bal masqué à l'Opéra', Bulletin de la Societé de l'histoire de l'art français, 1985, pp.166, 173-n.20; cited in Pierre Courthion, and Pierre Cailler, eds., Manet Raconté par Lui-Même et par Ses Amis, Pierre Cailler, Geneva, 1953, v.1, p.229); and, as described by Théodore Duret: "A proprement parler, ce n'est pas le bal de l'Opéra qui est montré, puisque la scène ne se passe pas dans la salle, lieu de la danse, mais dans le pourtour derrière les loges." (Théodore Duret, Histoire de Edouard Manet et de son œuvre. Avec un catalogue des Peintures et des Pastels, H. Floury, Paris, 1902, p.88).
2. Fervacques 1873 (as in n.1), p.1. Apart from Marilyn Brown (1985 and Éric Darragon in 1987, references to the article have mistaken the quoting of the dateline of Fervacques' article at 25 December by Étienne Moreau-Nélaton (Manet raconté par lui-même, 2 vols., Henri Laurens, Paris, 1926, v.2, p.9) as the date of Le Figaro in which the article appeared. The article, with its lead-in of "Visité l'atelier de Manet" was part of a diary piece, under the title 'L'Hiver à Paris', which appeared 2–3 times a week. The much-quoted transcription of the Fervacques article by Moreau-Nélaton contains numerous editing changes from the original, including (ibid., v.2, with paragraphs of quoted article noted): p.8, para.1, "tourbillonnent" in place of "tourbillonne"; p.9, para.5, "passant" in place of "passent", and "laissant" in place of "laissent"; p.10, para.6, "coiffée d'un bonnet" in

place of "coiffée crânement d'un bonnet", and "Ils sont là tous" in place of "Ils sont là en tas"; p.10, para.7, "*Contes de Fées*" in place of "*Contes des Fées*", and "et de la politique" in place of "ou de la politique". Many changes in punctuation are also apparent.

3. Fervacques 1873, p.1.
4. id.
5. id.
6. id.
7. Stéphane Mallarmé, 'Le Jury de Peinture pour 1874 et M. Manet', La Renaissance littéraire et artistique, 12 April 1874, pp.155–57.
8. ibid., p.156.
9. id.
10. For a description of the relationship between the masked balls and society, see: Robert L. Herbert, Impressionism: Art, Leisure & Parisian Society, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988, pp.130–32; Melissa Hall, 'Manet's *Ball at the Opera*: a Matter of Response', Rutgers Art Review, Spring, 1984, pp.29–45; and John Hutton,'The Clown at the Ball: Manet's Masked Ball of the Opera and the Collapse of Monarchism in the Early Third Republic', The Oxford Art Journal, v.10, no.2, 1987, passim.
11. Victor Poupin, Un Bal à l'Opéra, Paris, Librairie Achille Faure, Paris, 1867, part VII-pt.II, p.15 (originally published as 'Un bal à l'Opéra', L'Art, 30 November, 1865).
12. ibid., p.16.
13. Adolphe Tabarant, Manet: Histoire catalographique, Éditions Montaigne, Paris, 1931, p.251.
14. Adolphe Tabarant, Manet et ses œuvres, Gallimard, Paris, 1947, p.204.
15. id.
16. Listed as No.214 (étude préparatoire) and No.215 (esquisse), in Denis Rouart, and Daniel Wildenstein, Edouard Manet: Catalogue raisonné, v.1, La Bibliothèque des Arts, Lausanne and Paris, 1975).
17. Listed as No.503 (Lavis à l'encre de Chine), Rouart and Wildenstein 1975 (as in n.16).
18. Duret 1902 (as in n.1), p.89.
19. For a personalised record of the trials and tribulations in mounting and presenting the production of *Henriette Maréchal*, of the reception the play received, and the reasons for the early closing of the play, see Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, Journal. Mémoires de la vie littéraire, Fasquelle et Flammarion, Paris, 1956, *années* 1864 and 1865, passim. The first reference occurs in the entry for Friday, 29 January, 1864: "Nous allons voir le directeur de Beaufort pour notre pièce, HENRIETTE, présentée au Vaudeville." (ibid., v.2, p.16).
For a detailed description of the political circumstances and the climate of censorship encountered by the de Goncourts in preparing for the play, and the protests led by Georges Cavalié (pseud. Pipe-en-bois), see: Michel Caffier, Les Frères Goncourt: "un déshabillé de l'âme", Presses Universitaires de Nancy, Nancy, 1994, pp.141–52; and, Éric Darragon, 'Manet, Le Bal masqué à l'Opéra', Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français, 1985, pp.161–74.
20. Goncourt 1956 (as in n.19), v.2, p.951.
21. Hutton 1987 (as in n.10), p.77. Hutton made specific reference to the article of Éric Darragon (Darragon 1985).
22. id.
23. For contemporary reports of the fire, see: Incendie de l'Opéra, 28 Octobre 1873, news-sheet with text and illustrations. Imp. moderne, Paris, 1873; 'Incendie de l'Opéra', L'Illustration, Journal Universel, no.1603, 15 Novembre, 1873, p.307; 'L'Incendie du Grand Opéra', Le Monde Illustré, no.865, 8 November, 1873, p.294. For more historical details of the fire, see: Albert de La Salle, 'Salle de la rue le Peletier (1821)', in Les Treize Salles de l'Opéra, Librairie Sartorius, Paris, 1875, pp. pp.271–79.
24. One of five paintings sold to Faure on that day: "Vendu à Faure. *Bal masqué à l'Opéra*...6 000 fr.". *Carnet de Manet*, 18 November, 1873. Cited in Moreau-Nélaton, v.2, 1926, pp.10–11. Referenced from Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Yb^{3}2401 8^0, don. Moreau-Nélaton, 1910, by Anthea Callen, in 'Faure and Manet', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, s.6, v.83, March, 1974, p.176-n.31.
25. Tabarant 1931 (as in n.13), p.250.
26. Darragon 1985 (as in n.1), p.164.
27. ibid., p.169.
28. ibid., p.170.
29. Hutton 1987, p.77.
30. id.
31. Hall 1984 (as in n.10), p.38.
32. Marilyn R. Brown, 'Manet, Nodier, and *Polichinelle*', Art Journal, v.44, no.1, Spring, 1985, p.46.
33. Linda Nochlin, 'Women, Art, and Power', in Visual Theory: Painting and Interpretation, eds. Norman Bryson, et al., Polity Press, Cambridge, 1992, p.23.
34. Alan Krell, Manet, and the Painters of Contemporary Life, Thames and Hudson, London, 1996, p.123.
35. Linda Nochlin, 'A Thoroughly Modern Masked Ball', Art in America, November, 1983, p.196.

36. Joel Isaacson, 'Impressionism and Journalistic Illustration', Arts Magazine, v.56, June, 1982, p.105.
37. id.
38. Darragon 1985, p.169. See also, referenced Illustration no.10, p.170: an engraved illustration titled *Au Bal de l'Opéra*, after a drawing by Hadol, which appeared in La Vie Parisienne, 25 February, 1865, pp.104–05.
39. Hutton 1987, p.81.
40. Alain de Leiris, 'Manet and El Greco: *The Opera Ball*', Arts Magazine, v.55, September, 1980, pp.95–99.
41. Nochlin 1983 (as in n.35), caption to illustration, p.197.
42. No.664 – *Le bal de l'Opéra.*
43. The original painting is seen in the photograph to be signed and dated: "E. Giraud 1866".
44. Théophile Gautier *fils*, 'Salon de 1867', L'Illustration, 11 May 1867, p.298.
45. H. Vernoy, 'Le Bal de l'Opéra', L'Univers Illustré, no.676, 28 December, 1867, p.811 (illustration, p.809).
46. Albert Boime, Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1980, illus.IX.11, p.305.
47. Kathleen Adler, Manet, Phaidon Press, Oxford, 1986, Figure 146, p.160, with quoted description part of the illustration's caption.
48. Darragon 1985, p.173-n.10.
49. Three watercolour caricatures by Giraud of Alexandre Cabanel, Jean-Léon Gérôme, and Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier are illustrated in, Patricia Mainardi, Art and Politics of the Second Empire. The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1987, illus.120, 121, 122, respectively, p.186.
50. For a concise history of Giraud's life and works, see: Isabelle Julia, 'Pierre-François-Eugène Giraud', in Isabelle Julia, and Jean Lacambre, Les années romantiques, exh. cat., Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris, 1995.
51. Goncourt 1956, *années* 1863, 1864, 1865, v.2, passim.
Entries in the *Journal* bring the members, including Giraud, of Princess Mathilde's circle together, recording soirées at Nieuwerkerke's apartment at the Louvre (20 *mars*, 1863), or visits to Princess Mathilde's chateau at Saint-Gratien (*Dimanche* 13 *août*, 1865). It is noted in the entry of 15 December, 1865, that after a successful presentation of the play *Henriette Maréchal*, "Eugène Giraud nous dit ce soir, dans les coulisses, que la Princesse a reçu des lettres anonymes affreuses à propos de notre pièce, lui promettant que la première torche serait pour son hôtel et qu'on pendrait 'tous ses amants!' " (ibid., p.229).
52. Anne Coffin Hanson, 'Popular Imagery and the Work of Edouard Manet', in French 19th Century painting and literature, ed. Ulrich Finke, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1972, pp.133–63.
53. ibid., p.133.
54. ibid., p.134.
55. id.
56. Hutton 1987, p.78.

F. *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*

1. The full caption reads: "UNE MARCHANDE DE CONSOLATION AUX FOLIES-BERGÈRE. – (Son dos se reflète dans une glace; mais, sans doute par suite d'une distraction du peintre, un monsieur avec lequel elle cause et dont on voit l'image dans la glace, n'existe pas dans le tableau. – Nous croyons devoir réparer cette omission.)".
2. T.J. Clark, The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers, Thames and Hudson, London, 1985, p.250.
3. Bradford R.Collins, 'The Dialectics of Desire, the Narcissism of Authorship: A Male Interpretation of the Psychological Origins of Manet's *Bar*', in 12 Views of Manet's *Bar*, ed. Bradford R. Collins, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996, p.129.
4. Jack Flam, 'Looking into the Abyss: The Poetics of Manet's *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*', in 12 Views of Manet's *Bar*, ed. Bradford R. Collins, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996, p.183.
5. Penny Florence, Mallarmé, Manet and Redon: Visual and Aural Signs and the Generation of Meaning, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986, p.53.
6. George Mauner, Manet, Peintre-Philosophe: A Study of the Painter's Themes, The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park and London, 1975, p.161.
7. Carol Armstrong, 'Facturing Femininity: Manet's *Before the Mirror*', October, no.74, Fall, 1995, pp.100–01.
8. Paul Smith, 'Manet Bits', joint book review of: 'Manet and the Painters of Contemporary Life', Alan Krell; 'Manet by Himself', ed. Juliet Wilson-Bareau; 'Manet's Modernism or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s', Michael Fried; and '12 Views of Manet's Bar', ed. Bradford Collins, Art History, v.20, no.3, September, 1997, pp.481–82.

9. Carol Armstrong, 'Counter, Mirror, Maid: Some Infra-thin Notes on *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*', in 12 Views of Manet's *Bar*, ed. Bradford R. Collins, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996, p.35.
10. ibid., p.41.
11. Juliet Wilson-Bareau, 'The Hidden Face of Manet: An investigation of the artist's working processes', exh. cat., The Burlington Magazine, v.128, no.997, April, 1986, pp.i–xii, 1–96.
12. Robert Bruce-Gardner, Director of Conservation, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.
13. Produced by Robert Bruce-Gardner in the Technology Department of the Courtauld Institute of Art, London.
14. Wilson-Bareau 1986 (as in n.11), p.79.
15. ibid., p.72.
16. Robert Bruce-Gardner, et al., 'Impressions of Change', in John House, et al., Impressionist & Post-Impressionist Masterpieces: The Courtauld Collection, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1987, pp.21–34.
17. ibid., p.30.
18. id.
19. id.
20. Mary Mathews Gedo, 'Final Reflections: *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* as Manet's Adieu to Art and Life', in Looking at Art from the Inside Out: The Psychoiconographic Approach to Modern Art, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne, 1994, pp.1–55, 228–46.
21. ibid., p.38.
22. id.
23. ibid., Figure 10, p.25.
24. ibid., Figure 15, p.39, and 'Appendix: Key to Figure 15', pp.53–55.
25. ibid., p.38.
26. Anne Coffin Hanson, Edouard Manet: 1832–1883, exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, and The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, 1966, p.185.
27. See Clark's rich discussion on the uncertainties, contradictions, paradoxes, and ambiguities which are raised in the assessments of the physical relationships between viewer, barmaid and customer in: Clark 1985 (as in n.2), pp.249–54.
28. Jack Flam 1996 (as in n.4), p.178.
29. For details of the theatre's history, see: two articles by Auguste Vitu, 'Les Folies-Bergère', Le Figaro, 26 June, 1877, pp.1–2, and, 'Premières Représentations: Folies-Bergère – Les Hanlon – Ouverture du Jardin d'Eté', Le Figaro, 29 June, 1878, p.4; Paul Derval, The Folies-Bergère, trans. Lucienne Hill, Methuen, London, 1955; Kathleen Adler, Manet, Phaidon Press, Oxford, 1986, p.224; Robert L. Herbert, Impressionism: Art, Leisure & Parisian Society, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988, pp.79–80.
30. J.-K. Huysmans, 'Les Folies-Bergère en 1879', in Croquis Parisiens, H. Vaton, Paris, 1880, p.23.
31. 'Le Jardin des Folies-Bergère', La Vie Parisienne, 24 August, 1878, p.500.
32. There may have also been an exit staircase to the ground floor behind the seating as existed in 1926 (Fig.F18) and as exists at present.
33. In 1991 Barbara Stern Shapiro had written that "Recent research has proved that this small but informative gouache is a particular view of the Folies-Bergère", but unfortunately provided neither evidence nor reference (Barbara Stern Shapiro, Pleasures of Paris : Daumier to Picasso, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in assoc. with David R. Godine, Boston, 1991, p.133). Contact has been made by this writer with Barbara Stern Shapiro to establish the source of the research, but her notes used at the time of writing the catalogue do not clarify the situation.
34. Recorded in the Register of works, No.265. Quoted from: Wilson-Bareau 1986, p.89-n.109.
For a full description of, and reference information on, the collections of the Leenhoff documents, including the Register of works of 1883 and the Lochard photographs, see: Wilson-Bareau 1986, 'Documents', p.97.
35. Novelene Ross, Manet's *Bar at the Folies-Bergère*: And the Myths of Popular Illustration, UMI Research Press, Ann Arbor, 1982, p.6.
36. Adler 1986 (as in n.29), p.225.
37. Gedo 1994 (as in n.20), Figure 10, p.25.
38. In the initial analysis it had been a preconception of this writer that the bar would have been set centrally in front of a mirror between a pair of columns. The offset position of the bar in the proposal provided the required geometry, and was determined by the complex relationships of the roof truss centres to the stage, and the positions of the chandeliers to the roof truss centres and the theatre space, particularly the first floor balcony and *promenoir*. Although the offset position cannot be confirmed or contradicted by Forain's gouache, the viewpoint for such a position, be it Manet's or a photographer's, interestingly is directly in front of the column. In other words, the column was used to ensure the viewpoint was not seen as a reflected position. Certainly, if the proposed bar were moved to the centre of the mirror in front of which it is placed, that is towards the stage end of the theatre, it would have been positioned too close to the balcony seating. If the position of the other bars at the first floor level were known then the position of the proposed bar could also be

assessed in terms of their relationship. Presumably, there would have been another bar set in front of the mirror on the opposite wall in the theatre, as indicated.

39. No.1753 – *Un bar aux Folies-Bergère.*
40. See n.35.
41. Register of works, No.247. Quoted from: Wilson-Bareau 1986, p.89-n.108.
42. ibid., p.89-n.109.
43. ibid., p.89-n.110.
44. ibid., Figure 98, p.78, and p.89-n.116.
45. Gaston La Touche, 'Édouard Manet. Souvenirs intimes', Le journal des arts, 15 January, 1884, p.2.
46. Georges Jeanniot, 'En Souvenir de Manet', La Grande Revue, v.46, no.15, 10 August, 1907, pp.844–60. Quoted from Étienne Moreau-Nélaton, Manet raconté par lui-même, 2 vols., Henri Laurens, Paris, 1926, v.2, p.95.
47. Ronald Pickvance, Manet, exh. cat., Fondation Pierre Gianadda, Martigny, 1996, p.245.
48. Quoted from: Pickvance 1996 (as in n.47), p.245.
49. Denis Rouart, and Daniel Wildenstein, Edouard Manet: Catalogue raisonné, 2 vols., La Bibliothèque des Arts, Lausanne and Paris, 1975, cat. no.65, v.2, p.26.
50. A. Tabarant, Manet: Histoire catalographique, Montaigne, Paris, 1931, p.414.
51. ibid., pp.413–14.
52. ibid., p.411.
53. Pickvance 1996, p.245.
54. Wilson-Bareau 1986, Figure 96, p.78.
55. Tabarant 1931 (as in n.50), Aquarelle No.73. – *Au Café-Concert* (*Le Paradis*), 1879, lavis d'encre de Chine, p.546; Alain de Leiris, The Drawings of Edouard Manet, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969, cat.no.517.– *Au théâtre*, Figure 390, p.132; and, Wilson-Bareau 1986, Figure 97. – *Aux Folies-Bergère*, c.1878–80, p.78.
56. e.g. A. Tabarant, Manet et ses œuvres, Gallimard, Paris, 1947, pp.371, 376.
57. 'Album No.5', in Dessins et Aquarelles d'Edouard Manet. Réunis en cinq albums par Auguste Pellerin. Vente Galerie Charpentier, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 1954 (Sale date, 10 June, 1954), (unpag.).
58. Charles Sterling, Exposition Manet, 1832–1883, exh. cat. (Musée de l'Orangerie), Éditions des Musées Nationaux, Paris, 1932, p.65.
59. Tabarant 1947 (as in n.56), p.423.
60. Rouart and Wildenstein 1975 (as in n.49), v.2, cat.no.57 – *Le Bar*, p.186, not illustrated; illustrated in a sale notice for "Galerie Motte, Genève, Samedi 18 novembre 1961", Connaissance des Arts, October, 1961; noted in an exhibition at the O'Hana Galleries in London in 1962, The Connoisseur, no.149:270, April, 1962, text p.270, illus. p.271, and, Apollo, June, 1962, text p.296, illus. p.297. Location unknown.
61. Collins 1996 (as in n.3), pp.118, 121, Figure 14 (unpag.). Another wash drawing also discussed by Collins (ibid., pp.117, 136-n.13, Figure 13 (unpag.)), and first noted as a preliminary sketch for the painting by Jacques Mathey in 1961, is discounted by this writer to be from Manet's hand.
62. Ross 1982 (as in n.35), p.7.
63. id.
64. Novelene Ross has suggested that this pastel "parallels the spatial ambiguity of the Bar" but her ambiguity is that of the blurred reflections in the "café window glass and/or mirror" (Ross 1982, p.5).
65. Written in 1882 but not published until 1883: J.-K. Huysmans, 'Appendice - Salon de 1882, part II – Autres artistes' , L'Art Moderne, Charpentier, Paris, 1883, p.271.
66. Émile Bergerat, 'Salon de 1882 – III', Le Voltaire, 10 May, 1882, p.2.
67. Paul Alexis, 'Avant le salon', Le Réveil, 1 April, 1882. Quoted from: Clark 1985, p.311-n.66.
68. Dubosc de Pesquidoux, L'Union, 15 June, 1882. Quoted from: Clark 1985, p.312-n.69.
69. Saint-Juirs (pseud. of René Delorme), 'Guide critique du Salon de 1882' (supplement to Le Clairon, n.d.), Paris, 1882, p.9.
70. Jules Comte, 'Salon de 1882', L'Illustration, 20 May, 1882, p.335.
71. For surveys of scholarship on *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* relevant at their time of publication, see: Ross 1982, pp.10–14; and, David Carrier, 'Manet and His Interpreters', Art History, v.8, n.3, September, 1985, pp.324–25. In the context of introducing twelve essays on the painting, Richard Shiff also takes a wider view on different responses to the work in 'Introduction: Ascribing to Manet, Declaring the Author', Collins 1996, pp.1–24.
72. Tabarant 1931, p.413.
73. Julius Meier-Graefe, Edouard Manet, R. Piper & Co., Munich, 1912, illus.165, p.279.
74. J.-E. Blanche, Manet, trans. F.C. de Sumichrast, John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, 1925, p.37.
75. Pickvance 1996, p.246. An unsuccessful search has been made at the Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris to find such an image, and an attempt to contact Ronald Pickvance has, to date, also been unsuccessful.
76. A fact confirmed with measurements taken on site.
77. Collins 1996, p.119.
78. Carrier 1985 (as in n.71), p.326.

79. For this writer, such a reading has always seemed a wholly inappropriate and one-dimensional narrative overlay to a gender representation that was much more complex, and indeed more ambiguous, in both spatial and relational terms.
80. As speculated by this writer.
81. As speculated by Juliet Wilson-Bareau in discussing the implications. Tabarant had noted that "Manet fait figurer dans ce tableau la belle Méry Laurent, accoudée sur le bord de la rampe." (Tabarant 1931, p.412).

Conclusion

1. Théodore Duret, Manet, Bernheim-Jeune, Paris, 1919, p.92.

Appendices:

Appendix 1: Comparative Spatial Shaping

1. See Chapter 2, n.90.
2. James Elkins, The Poetics of Perspective, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1996, Table 2, p.87.
3. ibid., Table 1, pp.4–5.
4. e.g. A so-called Ground Line is often described as a basic principle, when it is simply part of a construction method, and an inappropriate one at that, for establishing heights.
5. For an excellent introduction to historical, theoretical and practice aspects of linear perspective, see: B.A.R. Carter, 'Perspective', in The Oxford Companion to Art, ed. Harold Osborne, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1970, pp.840–61.
   For an excellent and concise description of the geometrical construction of perspective, see: Martin Kemp, 'The basis of the perspective construction', in The Science of Art: Optical themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1990, Appendix 1, pp.342–43.
6. M.H. Pirenne, Optics, Painting & Photography, Cambridge University Press, London and New York, 1970, pp.103–13.
7. Even if the size of a figure is correct, it is no guarantee that the slippage between the figure and the space is able to be accommodated. Due to the limited grasp of spatial geometry, most painting prior to the Renaissance was an unintentional mixing of spatial orders, often with glaring inconsistencies and disjunctions between figures and their spaces. Even after the development of linear perspective, as a spatial geometry in which figures could be correctly placed, stock figures with predetermined poses or gestures were often used by artists in unrelated spaces, often with results for which no amount of slippage could compensate. Interestingly, figures set in the angled spaces of Japanese prints of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were obviously not forced to fit within the constraints of their spatial orders, other than as a reinforcement of their shaping with the turn of a head or the extension of a limb, but were usually seen to be integrated within the diagrammatic spaces.

Appendix 2: Manet and Caillebotte

1. *Dans un café* was first exhibited at the fifth Impressionist exhibition in 1880, and Manet possibly commenced *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* in 1881 (see discussion on this aspect in Chapter 5(F)). To this writer's knowledge, the possible influence of *Dans un café* on Manet's painting was first raised by Kirk Varnedoe in 1976 when he wrote that

   > Not simply in the elements of the composition, but in... emphasis on structure parallel to the picture plane; ambiguity about spatial position and depth; and sensitivity to ennui in modern life – Caillebotte's picture bears an interesting relationship to Manet's *Bar at the Folies Bergère*... of 1882. There can be little doubt that Manet saw *Dans un café* at the Impressionist exhibition of 1880; and in his first sketch for the *Bar*... , the relationship seems even closer, in the sidewise gaze of the barmaid, the self-contained gesture of her hands, and the juxtaposition of principal/large and secondary/small/ reflected figures.
   > (J. Kirk T. Varnedoe, and Thomas P. Lee, Gustave Caillebotte. A Retrospective Exhibition, exh. cat., The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 1976, pp.145–46.)

   The proposal made here by this writer also raises the use by both artists of offset viewpoints.
2. J. Kirk T. Varnedoe, 'Dans un café', in Varnedoe and Lee 1976 (as in n.1), cat. no. 50, pp.144–46. The same proposal was made by Marie-Josèphe De Balanda in Gustave Caillebotte: La vie, la technique, l'œuvre peint, Edita S.A., Lausanne, 1988, p.48.
3. ibid., p.145.

4. This proposal has been discussed with Kirk Varnedoe, and he has graciously acknowledged that it seems to correctly explain the spatial ambiguities of the painting.
5. This may not have been so. A preliminary drawing by Caillebotte, *Homme devant un miroir* (c.1880, Fig.H2), is more clearly a work from life, and seems to indicate that the limit of the mirror to the left is not as in the painting, but continues past the extent of both the painting and the drawing. If the mirror extended in this way, the reflected image of the artist would be seen in the drawing, with his head in the approximate position of the indecipherable mark near the drawing's left edge.
6. The initial analysis of the painting carried out in 1996 and presented at a post-graduate seminar at the College of Fine Arts, University of NSW, in November 1996 proposed the same SP and CV as presented here, and in doing so noted that this had meant either a selective process by Caillebotte in producing only one half of the view around the constructed centre of vision or, more likely, the cropping of a photographic image. It was pleasing to find from subsequent research that the offset geometry potential of the *chambre photographique* confirmed the latter proposal to be basically correct and that rather than cropping an image, the image most probably had been created with a camera.
   In the context of Caillebotte's known use of, and fascination with photography, his use of a camera in a situation where he was obviously seeking some spatial interplay is not surprising.
7. The analysis of *Le Pont de l'Europe* by this writer is unpublished. It presents alternatives to the analysis and the proposals for directions of views made by Kirk Varnedoe and Peter Galassi (Varnedoe and Lee 1976, including: J. Kirk T. Varnedoe and Peter Galassi, 'Caillebotte's Space', pp.60–74; J. Kirk T. Varnedoe, 'Le Pont de l'Europe', cat.no.16, pp.97–104; and, Peter Galassi, 'Caillebotte's Method', pp.192–206.).
8. In *Le Pont de l'Europe*, Caillebotte increased the relative size of the building by moving his viewpoint further up the pavement, by approximately ten metres, from the position at which the main view of the bridge was recorded. Although the centre of vision was still in the angled direction as for the remainder of the painting, the new viewpoint adjusted the relative positions of the bridge piers, and the building on the corner of Rue Mosnier, to be as seen in the upper left corner of the painting. In *The Railway*, the reduced area of the upper right background was also seen from a viewpoint, a second floor apartment, that was different to that used for the remainder of the painting at the garden level.
9. In an undated dinner invitation from Caillebotte to Pissarro, Manet is noted as one of the guests:

   "Mercredi
   Mon cher Pissarro,
   Voudriez-vous venir lundi prochain dîner à la maison? Je viens de Londres et voudrais vous dire certaines choses relativement à une exposition possible. Vous vous trouverez chez moi avec Degas, Monet, Renoir, Sisley et Manet. Je compte absolument sur vous.
   A lundi, 7 h. Tout à vous.
   G. Caillebotte"

   (Quoted from: Marie Berhaut, Gustave Caillebotte; Catalogue raisonné des peintures et pastels, rev. and exp. 2nd edn., Wildenstein Institute, Paris, 1994, letter no.5, p.273. Berhaut suggests a date of 1877?)

Appendix 3: Aerial Balloons and Photography

1. Nadar had taken his first flight with the leading French *aéronautes*, Louis and Jules Godard (Beaumont Newhall, Airborne Camera: The World from the Air and Outer Space, Hastings House, New York, 1969, p.19).
2. An aerial balloon restrained from the ground for controlled ascensions of limited altitude.
3. Nadar, 'La première épreuve de photographie aérostatique', in Quand j'étais Photographe, Éditions d'aujourd'hui, Paris, 1979 (Flammarion, Paris, 1900), pp.75–97.
   In these memoirs, Nadar acknowledged the limited quality of the image but believed it to have been the first such image. In describing the development of the plate, Nadar wrote:

   J'insiste et force: l'image peu à peu se révèle, bien indécise, bien pale, – mais nette, certaine...
   Je sors triomphant de mon laboratoire improvisé.
   Ce n'est qu'un simple positif sur verre, très faible par cette atmosphère si brumeuse, tout taché après tant de péripéties, mais qu'importe! Il n'y a pas à nier: – voici bien sous moi les trois uniques maisons du petit bourg: la ferme, l'auberge et la gendarmerie, ainsi qu'il convient dans tout Betit-Bi-cêtre [sic] conforme. On distingue parfaitement sur la route une tapissière dont le charretier s'est arrêté court devant le ballon, et par les tuiles des toitures les deux pigeons blancs qui venaient de s'y poser.
   J'avais donc eu raison!
   (ibid., p.90).
4. See: Newhall 1969 (as in n.1), pp.19–20.
5. "F.G.", 'La photographie dans les airs', Le Monde Illustré, no.81, 30 October, 1858, p.287.

6. The Editor wrote that "photography, hereafter aerostatic, may render great services in the taking of ground plans, hydrography, etc. There is no necessity for us to insist upon the importance of this scientific event" (The Photographic News, 3 December, 1858). Quoted from: Newhall 1969, p.27.
7. The claim ignored the achievement of James Wallace Black, who in 1860 successfully exposed six plates in photographing Boston from a balloon.
8. From an article written by Negretti which appeared in the Daily Telegraph and reprinted in The Photographic News. Quoted from: Newhall 1969, p.29.
9. Newhall 1969, p.29.
10. Nadar 1979 (as in n.3), p.85.
11. Published as part of a series 'Souvenirs d'Artistes' in Le Boulevard, 25 May, 1862.
The existence of Daumier's lithograph at that date was used by Nadar in his memoirs to counter claims made in Les Inventions nouvelles that the first aerial photograph had been achieved by M. Paul Desmarets in 1881. Nadar wrote "qu'il soit besoin de renvoyer à l'année du Charivari où chacun peut retrouver la lithographie de Daumier reproduite sur la couverture de ce livre." (Nadar 1900, p.96).
12. As a contradiction of all previous speculative claims, the event was identified by Douglas Druick and Peter Zegers in their article 'Manet's *Balloon*: French Diversion, The Fête de l'Empereur 1862' (The Print Collector's Newsletter, v.14, n.2, May–June, 1983, pp.38–46).
Apart from making that identification, Druick and Zegers provided a historical background to the use of a balloon on that occasion. From 1852, 15 August had been celebrated as the national holiday, and in Paris from 1855 to 1862 at two locations, the Barrière du Trône and the Esplanade des Invalides. From 1853 balloon ascensions had been part of the festivities, with only one ascent involved each year from the Esplanade, and usually between four and five in the afternoon.
13. See discussion, Chapter 5(C), n.71.
14. Initially conceived as a means to raise finances for heavier-than-air projects, *Le Géant* was financed by Nadar, constructed by the professional balloonists, the Godard brothers, and at 45 metres in height, 22 metres in diameter, and 6000 cu.metres in volume, was the largest balloon in the Paris skies in 1863. For further details of *Le Géant*, see: Nigel Gosling, "Félix Tournachon – 'Le bon Nadar' ", in Nadar, Secker & Warburg, London, 1976, pp.13–16.
15. On its inaugural flight on 4 October from the Champ-de-Mars, with Nadar and thirteen other passengers in its large 'cabin', the balloon travelled 45km. in five hours to Meaux. Prior to the ascent of the second flight on 18 October, the balloon was inspected by Napoleon III (Gosling 1976 (as in n.14), p.13). The flight, with nine passengers, including Mme Nadar and the Godard brothers, ended after seventeen hours in a crash landing near Neuberg (ibid., p.15).
16. J. Glaisher, et al, Voyages Aériens, Hachette, Paris, 1870, p.169.
17. For details of flights of *Le Géant*, see Marion Fulgence, 'L'aérostat "Le Géant" ', in Les Ballons et les voyages aériens, Hachette, Paris, 1869, pp.229–47.
18. See details in Chapter 5(B).
19. See discussion in Chapter 5(B), n.50 – n.59, inclusive, and Chapter 5(C).
20. Henri de Parville, 'Le ballon captif de l'Hippodrome', Science pour tous, no.28, 13 June, 1868, p.218.
21. Two 24 x 30 cm glass plates, each with eight images, and three individual images exist. One of the larger plates which has been reproduced on many occasions previously, is illustrated here (Fig.J6), and the other has only recently been illustrated in an article by Thierry Gervais ('Un basculement du regard. Les débuts de la photographie aérienne, 1855-1914', Études photographiques, no.9, May, 2001, Fig.2, p.92). Gervais also suggests that the three separate images could have come from a third plate (ibid., p.107-n.18). Some of the historical aspects researched and presented here are raised in the Gervais article, which only came to this writer's attention shortly before the printing of this dissertation.
It is of interest here to note that on the plate illustrated in the Gervais article the blurring of the image on the bottom row, second from the right, seems to have been created with a rotational movement of the camera in the one position rather than a sideways movement.
22. A. Gill, 'Nadar heureux', Le Moniteur de la photographie, 18 July, 1868, p.1074. Cited in Gervais 2001 (as in n.21), pp.93, 107-n.17.
23. The report in Le Petit Figaro stated:
> Il y a quinze ans que ce garçon d'esprit et de talent revait de faire de la photographie en balloon....
> Aujourd'hui voilà bien un résultat....
> Je l'ai vu revenir de son expédition aérienne. Il était radieux, transfiguré. Il brandissait son cliché en criant: Eureka!...

Above the text, one of Nadar's exposures was illustrated with a wood engraving and caption: "FAC-SIMILE de la photographie faite par NADAR, en ballon captif", (Le Petit Figaro, 31 July, 1868, p.3).
24. This annotated photograph is taken from one of the three separate images (see n.21), and claimed by Gervais to have been enlarged by Nadar's son, Paul, for the Exposition of 1889 and, with the agreement of his father, labelled the photograph: "Premier Resultat de Photographie aérostatique – Applications: Cadastre, Stratégie, etc. – Cliché obtenu à l'altitude de 520m par NADAR 1858". Hand annotations on the image include: "Montmartre", "Arc de Triomphe", and "Avenue du Bois de Boulogne".

25. Nadar 1900, pp.96, 97.
26. Jean Prinet, and Antoinette Dilasser, Nadar, Armand Colin, Paris, 1966, p.134. In their book, Prinet and Dilasser raised and discussed many of the anomalies raised here about the dates and sequence of events in Nadar's involvement in aerial photography, but not with the specific purpose, as here, to try and understand the apparent hiatus in the development of aerial photography between 1858 and 1868 or to attempt to show that aerial photographs had been taken in 1867.
27. Information about the plates had been provided by the Archives Photographiques, Mediathèque d'Architecture et du Patrimoine, Caisse National des Monuments, Paris.
28. A.A.E. Disdéri, L'Art de la Photographie, Chez l'Auteur, Paris, 1862. The frame was described by Disdéri as:

"Un autre perfectionnement très-utile a été apporté à la chambre noire par une construction qui permet d'obtenir sur la même glace plusiers images à la fois (fig.7)." (p.99)

"La figure 8 représente ce châssis. Il s'adapte à la chambre par sa partie antérieure B, à la manière des châssis ordinaires; V est le rideau à demi levé. O est l'ouverture destinée à laisser passer les rayons lumineux et que l'on munit de diaphragmes plus ou moins grands. Les cadres *aa*, AA circulent dans les rainures XX en demeurant toujours bien appliqués sur le fond plein du châssis. Le cadre AA contient la glace dépolie G, le cadre *aa* contient lui-même un nouveau cadre *bb* circulant de haut en bas, et renfermant la glace sensible L, recouverte de la planchette qui la protége. Le ressort *r* retient le cadre bb élevé par le tenon *l*, et permet de l'abaisser. Quand on veut faire huit épreuves sur la glace, on adapte à l'ouverture O, on lui substitute la glace sensible qu'on fait glisser à son tour avec le cadre *aa*: des divisions tracées en haut de ce cadre et qu'on fait coïncider avec le centre du châssis indiqué aussi, déterminent la position de la glace qui reçoit ainsi, lorsqu'on lève le rideau, l'impression lumineuse dans sa partie inférieure de droite, et on fait circuler le cadre *aa* quatre fois successivement de gauche à droite, pour obtenir quatre épreuves dans la moitié inférieure de la glace. On abaisse alors à l'aide du ressort *r* le cadre *bb*, et l'on fait circuler quatre fois encore, de droite à gauche, le cadre *aa*. On obtient ainsi quatre nouvelles épreuves dans la moitié supérieure de la glace. Il est inutile d'ajouter qu'à chaque épreuve, à chaque mouvement, il faut baisser et lever le rideau." (pp.100–02)

"Le premier obstacle que l'on rencontre avec les appareils ordinaires, vient de l'obturateur de l'objectif qu'on ne peut mouvoir ni facilement ni commodément, avec lequel il est presque impossible de régler la durée de la pose, et qui, lorsqu'on a besoin de précipiter l'opération, communique à l'appareil tout entier un ébranlement fatal à la netteté de l'épreuve." (pp.102–03)

("Another very useful improvement to the chambre noire is a construction which allows you to obtain several images on the same plate (fig.7)." (p.99)

"Figure 8 represents the chassis that adapts to a carte de visite camera. You attach the chassis to the camera by its top side B; V is the shutter slightly raised, O is the opening which lets the rays of light through and onto which you attach lenses of varying sizes. The frames *aa*, AA move along the grooves XX. The frame AA holds the viewfinder G, the frame *aa* holds another frame *bb* which moves up and down and which holds the plate L in place, covered with a wooden plate to protect it. The spring *r* holds the frame *bb* at the top with the help of a catch *l*, and allows it it to be lowered when necessary. When you want to have eight photos on one plate, you fit onto the opening O the lenses that correspond to this; you focus by sliding the viewfinder across to the opening O, then swap it for the plate which you slide across with the frame *aa*: there are subdivisions marked out on the top of this frame which you line up with those on the centre of the chassis, thereby obtaining the the image on the bottom right-hand corner of the plate when you lift the shutter, and then you move the frame aa along successively from left to right to obtain four images in the lower half of the plate. With the help of the spring *r*, you lower the frame *bb*, and then you repeat the process using the upper half of the plate. It is pointless to mention that the shutter has to be raised and lowered with each photo." (pp.100–02)

"The first obstacle that we come across with ordinary cameras comes from the shutter which cannot be used easily or practically and with which it is very difficult to control the exposure time, and which, when you need to use it quickly shakes the camera so much that the clarity of the photo is lost." (pp.102–03)

Translation: Julia McLaren)

See Fig.J5 for a reproduction of Disdéri's illustrations fig.7 and fig.8.

29. Additionally, developing would have needed to be undertaken within 45 minutes, the time taken for washing would have been 1 minute, and that for fixing 2 minutes.
An understanding by this writer of the potential to make eight exposures in this way was gained from a discussion with Mr. Mark Osterman, of George Eastman House, Rochester, New York.

30. During his life Nadar made many balloon flights, and despite the available records of the flights taken by many of the *aéronautes*, including many specifically made for scientific experiments, it would seem that details of many of the flights made at that time, including those of Nadar, were not recorded.
31. Raised as a possible explanation by staff at the Archives Photographiques, Mediathèque d'Architecture et du Patrimoine, Caisse National des Monuments, Paris.
32. No attempt was made with the computer-modelling to pre-determine the lateral positions of the viewpoint positions.
33. For details of Nadar's establishment and supervision of the balloons, see: Gosling 1976 (as in n.14), pp.18–20.
34. Gervais states that "Prudent Dagron réalise une photographie au collodion humide sur laquelle on distingue le pont Saint-Michel et le Panthéon. D'un format étonnant (28 x 22 cm), cette image est floue et accuse des déformations" (Gervais 2001 (as in n.21), p.107-n.19, and cites Gaston Tissandier, La Photographie en ballon, Gauthier-Villars, Paris, 1886, p.10. As the image is not reproduced, it is uncertain if Gervais had seen the image or was paraphrasing Tissandier's description.

Appendix 4: Analytical procedures

1. Such was the accuracy of the processed information that it enabled a landmark to be accurately positioned before it was known what it actually was. One large dome-like shape which appeared on the skyline in three panoramic photographs was thought to be the 'dome' adjacent to the dome of Val-de-Grâce in *The Burial*. By means of the intersection of three sight lines the computer modelling was able to establish that the unknown object was at the southern end of the courtyard of the Institut des Sourds-muets in Rue Saint-Jacques. Research of that very locale showed it to have been the then-famous elm tree, the Orme de Sully (see Chapter 5(C)).
2. *Atlas Géologique de la Ville de Paris*, E. Gérard, Inspection Générale des Carrières, Préfecture de la Seine, Paris, 1925 (rev., P. Tissier, 1967). Cartes et Plans, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
3. *Nouveau Plan de Paris: divisé en 20 arrondissements*, A. Chaix & Cie., 1870. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
4. When using the *Microstation* and *3DStudio Max* programs, the selection of the viewpoints for the analysed views, both as painted images and photographs, had been made by a process of trial and error. On literally the last day before the printing of the dissertation, it came to the attention of this writer that in June, 2001, a computer software program had been released which incorporated a facility that could automatically establish the spatial co-ordinates of the viewpoint for a perspectival image, such as a photograph, or the view of a minimum number of four known points in space. Such a facility has the potential to make analyses as undertaken here to be less time-consuming and more accurate.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

NOTES:

1. References to all illustrations are made with the prefix **Fig.**, e.g. **Fig.E6**.
2. References to the date of an art work and its illustration number are made at the first inclusion in the text and, except where considered necessary, not thereafter.
3. Titles of the art works illustrated are those often used in English language art history scholarship. No attempt has been made with the works of the French nineteenth-century artists to rationalise the titles into the one language, or to use only those titles used when a work was first exhibited.
4. Unless otherwise indicated, all works listed are *oil on canvas*.
5. Unless otherwise indicated, measurements are in *centimetres*, and as *height* x *width*.
6. Illustrations for the complete text are enumerated from **1** to **109** in sequence in the following categories:
   Manet
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   General Reference
   Illustrations for the case studies in Chapter 5 are listed with the following prefixes:
   A for ***Incident in a Bullfight***
   B for ***View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle***
   C for ***The Burial***
   D for ***The Railway***
   E for ***Masked Ball at the Opera***
   F for ***A Bar at the Folies-Bergère***
   Illustrations for the Appendices are listed with the following prefixes:
   G for **Appendix 1. Comparative spatial shaping**
   H for **Appendix 2. Manet and Caillebotte**
   J for **Appendix 3. Aerial balloons and photography**

ABBREVIATIONS:

anon.	anonymous; artist or photographer unknown
c.	*circa*
CP	centre-point (perspective)
CV	centre of vision
ins.	inches
n.d.	not dated
SP	viewpoint, station point
1P	one-point (perspective)
2P	two-point (perspective)

ILLUSTRATION CODES:

1. The codes used for buildings and landmarks in Paris in Fig.104 are used as standard reference codes in analytical illustrations in Chapter 5, e.g. **42** is the standard reference code for the Cathédrale Notre-Dame.
2. Items common to analytical illustrations within each Section of Chapter 5 have standard reference codes as required, e.g. **c9** is the reference code for column No.9 in the Folies-Bergère theatre throughout the analysis of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* in Section F.
3. Reference codes for items within separate illustrations use either descriptive codes, e.g. **ch** for chandelier, or lower-case letters in alphabetical sequence, e.g. **a**, **b**, **c**, **d**,... etc.
4. In all drawings involving mirror reflections, any item, such as **c9**, is denoted as **c9'** when seen as a single-reflected image, and as **c9"** when seen as a double-reflected image.

Manet

Illustrated works are listed in approximate chronological sequence.

1 Edouard Manet, *The Absinthe Drinker*, c.1858–59, 181 x 106. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen.
1a *The Absinthe Drinker*, with oblique overlay.
2 Edouard Manet, *Boy with Cherries*, c.1858–59, 65 x 55. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.
3 Edouard Manet, *M. and Mme Auguste Manet*, 1860, 111.5 x 91. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
4 Edouard Manet, *The Spanish Singer*, 1860, 147.3 x 114.3. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
5 Edouard Manet, *The Gypsies*, 1862, etching, 2nd state, 32 x 23.8 (image: 28.5 x 20.6).
6 Edouard Manet, *Gypsy with Cigarette*,1862?, 92 x 73.5. The Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.
7 Edouard Manet, *The Old Musician*, 1862, 186 x 247. National Gallery of Art, Chester Dale Collection, Washington.
8 Edouard Manet, *La pêche*, 1861–63, 76.8 x 123.2. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
9 Edouard Manet, *Music in the Tuileries*, 1862, 76 x 118. The National Gallery, London.
10 Edouard Manet, *The Spanish Ballet*, 1862, 61 x 91. The Phillips Collection, Washington.
11 Edouard Manet, *Lola de Valence*, 1862/after 1867, 123 x 92. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
11a *Lola de Valence*, with 2P-frontal overlay.
11b *Lola de Valence*, with 2P-offset overlay.
12 Edouard Manet, *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada*, 1862, 165.1 x 127.6. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
12a *Mlle V...in the Costume of an Espada*, with angled overlay
13 Edouard Manet, *Baudelaire's Mistress Reclining*, c.1862, 90 x 113. Budapest Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.
14 Edouard Manet, *The Street Singer*, c.1862, 175.2 x 108.5. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
15 Edouard Manet, *Young Man in the Costume of a Majo*, 1863, 188 x 124.8. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
15a *Young Man in the Costume of a Majo*, with 1P-offset (oblique?) overlay.
16 Edouard Manet, *Eaux-fortes par Edouard Manet*, 1862, etching, second design for album frontispiece. The New York Public Library, New York.
17 Edouard Manet, *Guitar and Hat*, 1862, 77 x 121. Musée Calvet, Avignon.
17a *Guitar and Hat*, with CP-frontal overlay.
17b *Guitar and Hat*, with 1P-offset overlay.
18 Edouard Manet, *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, 1863, 208 x 264. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
18a *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, with 1P(CP?)-frontal overlay.
18b *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, with 2P(1P?)-offset overlay.
19 Edouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1863, 130.5 x 190. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
19a *Olympia*, with 1P(CP?)-frontal overlay.
19b *Olympia*, with 1P-offset overlay.
20 Positive print from composite X-radiograph of *Olympia*.
21 Edouard Manet, *The Woman with the Cat*, 1862–63?, ink wash, 20 x 27. Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
22 Edouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1867, etching, large plate: 16.1 x 24.2, image: 13.3 x 18.5,. The New York Public Library, New York.
23 Edouard Manet, *The Bullfight*, c.1863–65, 48 x 108. The Frick Collection, New York.
24 Edouard Manet, *The Dead Torerador*, c.1863–65, 76 x 153.3. National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection, Washington.
25 Edouard Manet, *The Dead Christ with Angels*, 1864, 179 x 150. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
26 Edouard Manet, *Still Life with Fish*, 1864, 73.4 x 92.1. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.
26a *Still Life with Fish*, with oblique overlay.
27 Edouard Manet, *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers*, 1864–65, 190.8 x 148.3. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.
28 Edouard Manet, *The Tragic Actor*, 1865–66, 187.2 x 108.1. National Gallery of Art, Washington.
29 Edouard Manet, *Matador Saluting*, 1866–67, 171.1 x 113. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
29a *Matador Saluting* , with 2P-angled overlay.
30 Edouard Manet, *Soap Bubbles*, 1867?, 100.5 x 81.4. Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon.
30a *Soap Bubbles*, with oblique overlay.
31 Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Zacharie Astruc*, 1866, 90 x 116. Kunsthalle, Bremen.
32 Edouard Manet, *Reading*, 1866–75?, 61 x 74. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
33 Edouard Manet, *Mme Manet at the Piano*, c.1867–70, 38 x 46. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
34 Edouard Manet, *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, 108 x 196.5. Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo.
35 Edouard Manet, *The Burial*, 1867?, 72.7 x 90.5. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

36 Edouard Manet, *The Execution of Maximilian*, 1867–69?, 252 x 305. Städtische Kunsthalle, Mannheim.
36a *The Execution of Maximilian*, with CP-frontal overlay.
36b *The Execution of Maximilian*, with 1P-offset overlay.
37 Edouard Manet, *The Execution of Maximilian*, 1868, lithograph, 33.3 x 43.3.
38 Edouard Manet, *Races at Longchamp in the Bois de Boulogne*, 1867?, 43.9 x 84.5. The Art Institute of Chicago, Potter Palmer Collection, Chicago.
39 Edouard Manet, *Jetty at Boulogne*, 1868, 60 x 73. Private Collection, Paris.
40 Edouard Manet, *On the Beach at Boulogne*, 1868, 32 x 65. Virginia Museum of Art, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Richmond, Virginia.
41 Edouard Manet, *The Departure of the Folkestone Boat, Boulogne*, 1868–69, 59 x 71. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Mr. and Mrs. Carroll S. Tyson Collection, Philadelphia.
41a *The Departure of the Folkestone Boat, Boulogne*, with 1P-offset overlay.
42 Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Émile Zola*, 1868, 146 x 114. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
43 Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Théodore Duret*, 1868, 43 x 35. Musée du Petit Palais, Paris.
44 Edouard Manet, *The Luncheon*, 1868–69, 118 x 153.9. Neue Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.
44a *The Luncheon*, with 1P-frontal (offset?) overlay.
45 Edouard Manet, *The Balcony*, 1868–69, 169 x 125. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
46 Edouard Manet, *Repose*, 1869–70, 147.8 x 111. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, RI.
47 Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Eva Gonzales*, 1870, 191 x 133. The National Gallery, London.
48 Edouard Manet, *The Music Lesson*, 1868–70, 140 x 173. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
49 Edouard Manet, *Léon on the Balcony, Oloron-Sainte-Marie*, 1871, 40 x 60. Foundation E.G. Bührle Collection, Zurich.
50 Edouard Manet, *Interior at Arcachon*, 1871, 39.4 x 53.7. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.
51 Edouard Manet, *Interior at Arcachon, Mme Manet and Léon*, 1871, graphite and watercolour, 18.5 x 23.5 double page from sketchbook. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
52 Edouard Manet, *The Barricade*, 1871?, lithograph, 46.5 x 33.4.
53 Edouard Manet, *The Railway*, 1873, 93 x 114. National Gallery of Art, Washington.
54 Edouard Manet, *Masked Ball at the Opera*, 1873–74, 59 x 72.5. National Gallery of Art, Washington.
55 Edouard Manet, *The Swallows*, 1873, 65 x 81. Foundation E. G. Bührle Collection, Zurich.
56 Edouard Manet, *Lady with Fans*, 1873–74, 113 x 166. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
57 Edouard Manet, *Argenteuil*, 1874, 149 x 115. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai.
58 Edouard Manet, *The Seine at Argenteuil*, 1874, 62.3 x 103. Private Collection.
59 Edouard Manet, *Boating*, 1874–76, 97.2 x 130.2. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
60 Edouard Manet, *Monet in His Studio Boat*, 1874, 80 x 98. Neue Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.
61 Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Stéphane Mallarmé*, 1876, 27 x 36. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
61a *Portrait of Stéphane Mallarmé*, with 1P-frontal overlay.
61b *Portrait of Stéphane Mallarmé*, with 1P-offset overlay.
62 Edouard Manet, *La Prune*, c.1876–78, 73.6 x 50.2. National Gallery of Art, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Washington.
62a *La Prune*, with CP-frontal overlay.
62b *La Prune*, with 1P-offset overlay.
63 Edouard Manet, *Rue Mosnier Decorated with Flags, with a Man on Crutches*, 1878, 64.8 x 80. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.
64 Edouard Manet, *Rue Mosnier Decorated with Flags*, 1878, 65 x 81. Private Collection, Zurich.
65 Edouard Manet, *Rue Mosnier with Pavers*, 1878, 64 x 80. Private Collection.
66 Edouard Manet, *Au Café*, 1878, 77 x 83. Oskar Reinhart Collection, Winterthur.
67 Edouard Manet, *Corner in a Café-Concert*, 1878 or 1879?, 98 x 79. The National Gallery, London.
68 Co-ordinated images of *Au Café*, and part *Corner in a Café-Concert*, with 1P-offset overlay.
69 Edouard Manet, *Café-Concert*, 1878–79, 47.5 x 32. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.
70 Edouard Manet, *A Café on the Place du Théâtre Français*, c.1876–78, pastel on canvas, 32.4 x 45.7. Glasgow Art Galleries and Museums, Burrell Collection, Glasgow.
71 Edouard Manet, *Singer in a Café-Concert*, 1880?, 93 x 74.5. Private Collection, Paris.
72 Edouard Manet, *In the Conservatory*, 1879, 115 x 150. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nationalgalerie, Berlin.
73 Edouard Manet, *Woman Reading*, 1879, 61.7 x 50.7. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.
74 Edouard Manet, *Portrait of George Moore*, 1879, 55 x 46. Mellon Collection, Washington.
75 Edouard Manet, *Chez le Père Lathuille*, 1879, 92 x 112. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai.
75a *Chez le Père Lathuille*, with 2P-offset overlay.
76 Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Clemenceau at the Tribune*, 1879–80, 116 x 94. Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas.
76a *Portrait of Clemenceau at the Tribune*, with oblique overlay.

77 Edouard Manet, *Portrait of M. Pertuiset, the Lion Hunter*, 1880–81. 150 x 170. Museu de Arte, São Paulo.
78 Edouard Manet, *The Bench*, 1881, 65.1 x 81.2. Private Collection.
79 Edouard Manet, *The Suicide*, 1881, 36 x 45. Foundation E.G. Bührle Collection, Zurich.
80 Edouard Manet, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, 1881–82, 96 x 130. Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

Other Artists

Illustrated works are listed in approximate chronological sequence.

81 Paolo Uccello, *Miracle of the Host*, part of predella fragments, 1468, panel, 4.2 x 35 (whole predella). Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino.
82 Titian, *Madonna of the Pesaro Family*, 1519–26, 485.1 x 269.2. S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.
83 Titian, *Portrait of Eleonora Gonzaga della Rovere*, 1536–37, 114 x 103. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.
84 Titian (formerly attributed to Giorgione), *Concert champêtre*, c.1508, 105 x 137. Musée du Louvre, Paris .
84a *Concert champêtre*, with CP-frontal overlay.
84b *Concert champêtre*, with 1P-offset overlay.
85 Titian, *Venus of Urbino*, 1538, 119.4 x 165.1. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.
85a *Venus of Urbino*, with CP(2P?)-frontal overlay.
86 Diego Velásquez, *Las Meninas*, 1656, 318 x 276. Museo del Prado, Madrid.
87 Ando Hiroshige, *Sailing boats at Arai*, late 1840s, coloured woodcut, from series 'Fifty Three Views of the Tokaido'. Private Collection.
88 Katsukawa Shunei, *The Wrestler Tanikaze and his Pupil Taki-no-oto*, c.1796, coloured woodcut, 37.8 x 25.1.
89 Hokusai, *Azuma and Yogoro, two celebrated lovers*, c.1798, coloured woodcut (signed Kako).
90 Suzuki Harunobu (1725–70), *Courtesan with her attendant*, n.d., coloured woodcut, 27.5 x 20.
91 Suzuki Harunobu (1725–70), *Osen of the Kagiya serving tea to a customer*, n.d., coloured woodcut, 19.5 x 24.
92 Ando Hiroshige, *Night Scene at Saruwaka-cho*, 1856–59, coloured woodcut, from series 'Famous Places in Edo: A Hundred Views', 39 x 26.
93 Torii Kiyomasu I, *The Actor Nakamura Senya in the role of Tokonotsu*, 1716, coloured woodcut, 58.4 x 33.
94 Paul Cézanne, *Portrait de Louis-Auguste Cézanne*, 1866, 200 x 120. National Gallery of Art, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Washington.
95 Paul Cézanne, *Portrait d'Achille Emperaire*, c.1868, 200 x 120. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
96 Paul Cézanne, *Paul Alexis lisant à Émile Zola*, c.1869–70, 130 x160. Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand.
97 Auguste Renoir, *Frédéric Bazille Painting "The Heron"*, 1867, 105 x 73.5. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
98 Frédéric Bazille, *The Studio in the rue de la Condamine*, 1869–70, 98 x 128.5. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
99 Carolus Duran (Charles-Émile-Auguste Duran), *The Merrymakers*, 1870, 90 x 139. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit.
99a *The Merrymakers*, with 1P-offset overlay.
100 Edgar Degas, *At the Races in the Countryside*, 1869, 36.5 x 55.9. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
101 Edgar Degas, *Mlle La La at the Cirque Fernando*, 1879, 116.8 x 77.5. The National Gallery, London.
102 Edgar Degas, *Diego Martelli*, 1879, 110 x 100. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

General Reference

103 Perspective: Aerial overview of Paris, 1867. Partial street layout, with buildings, monuments and landmarks used in case studies.
104 Reference plan of Paris, 1867. Buildings, monuments and landmarks used in case studies.
105 Frédéric Martens (Friederich von Martens), *Panorama of Paris*, 1845, daguerreotype, 10 x 37. Reversed view to south-east from the Louvre. Courtesy of George Eastman House, Rochester, NY.
106 Anon., *Panorama of Paris*, n.d. (c.1866), photograph. View to south-west from Saint-Gervais. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
107 Anon., *View of Île de la Cité*, 1868?, photograph. View to south from Tour Saint-Jacques. Photo Bulloz.
108 Charles Marville, *View of Paris skyline*, 1855, calotype. View from Marville's studio at 25 Rue Saint Dominique. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
109 Félix Benoist, *Paris en 1860. Vue à vol d'oiseau prise au dessus du rond-point des Champs-Elysées*, 1860, lithograph (J. Arnout). Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Chapter 5:

A. *Incident in a Bullfight*

A1 Co-ordinated images: *The Bullfight* (Fig.23) and *The Dead Torerador* (Fig.24).
A2 Co-ordinated images: positive prints from composite X-radiographs of *The Bullfight* and *The Dead Torerador*, 1999. Ann Hoenigswald, Conservation Division, National Gallery of Art, Washington.
A3 Bertall, *"Joujoux espagnols accommodés à la sauce noire de Ribera..."*, caricature, Le Journal amusant, 21 May, 1864.
A4 Cham, *"Ayant eu à se plaindre de son marchand de couleurs,..."*, caricature, 'Une Promenade au salon. Croquis par Cham', Le Charivari, 22 May, 1864.
A5 H. Oulevay, *"Un toréador mis en chambre, par Manet –..."*, caricature, 'Au Salon de 1864', Le Monde Illustré, 28 May, 1864.
A6 Edouard Manet, *Dead Toreador*, 1868, etching and aquatint, 15.6 x 22.4, fourth state, National Gallery of Art, Washington.
A7 Proposal by author for *Incident in a Bullfight*
A8 Extent of proposal for *Incident in a Bullfight* established from co-ordinated images of *The Bullfight* and *The Dead Torerador*.
A9 Extent of proposal for *Incident in a Bullfight* established from co-ordinated X-radiographs of *The Bullfight* and *The Dead Torerador*.

B. *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*

B1 Edouard Manet, *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867 (see Fig.34).
B2 Charles François Pinot and Sagaire, *Diagrammatic view of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, Épinal print. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
B3 *Exposition Universelle de 1867. Le Palais et les jardins du Champ-de-Mars d'après le Plan Officiel*, 1867, plan. Site of 1867 Exposition Universelle. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
B4 (Frédéric?) Martens, *Panoramic view of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, photograph. View from No.14 Rue Franklin. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
B5 Quinet *fils*, *Part view of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, photograph. View from No.22 Rue Franklin. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
B6 Dontenville, *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, photograph. View from No.35 Rue Franklin. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
B7 (Frédéric?) Martens, *General view of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, photograph. View from eastern end of Exposition site. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
B8 Anon., *Part view of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, photograph. View to south-west from eastern end of Exposition site. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
B9 Jean Petit, *Part view of Exposition Universelle*, 1867, photograph. View to north-east from Place du Roi-de-Rome, with Exposition and Pont d'Iéna in background, pavilions for national holiday celebrations in foreground. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
B10 Anon., *Part view of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, photograph. View to west from the Phare Anglais. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
B11 Anon., *View of works at Trocadéro*, 1866, photograph. View to south-west, Rue Franklin in background. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
B12 Buildings on Rue Franklin, 1867, detail of photograph, Fig.B7.
B13 *Les Promenades de Paris: Champs Élysées: Panorama*, n.d., architectural drawing of the Panorama National – plan, section, and elevation. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
B14 Anon., *Restoration of the Invalides dome*, 1866, photograph. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
B15 Painting site: location plan
B16 A. Chaix & Cie., *Nouveau Plan de Paris: divisé en 20 arrondissements*, 1870. Map detail. Extent as for location plan, Fig.B15. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
B17 Painting site: perspective, overview to east.
B18 View towards painting site: perspective, overview to west.
B19 Painting site: plan, Rue Franklin – viewpoints and directions of view.
B20 Painting site: perspective – overview of viewpoints near Place du Roi-de-Rome.
B21 Perspective for comparison with photograph, Fig.B4: SP7 – Photograph format.
B22 Overlay line drawing from *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* (Fig.B1).
B23 Perspective: SP1 – Overlay: painting formats.
B24 Perspective, part-image 1: SP1 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22.
B25 Perspective, part-image 2: SP1 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22.
B26 Perspective: SP2 – Overlay: painting format.
B27 Perspective, part-image 3: SP2 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22.
B28 Painting site: plan – Viewpoint SP3 for figures in foreground.
B29 Perspective: SP3 – Overlay: painting formats.

B30 Perspective, part-image 4: SP3 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22.
B31 Perspective, part-image 5: SP3 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22.
B32 Perspective: SP4, *carte-de-visite* format – Overlay: painting format.
B33 Perspective, part-image 6: SP4 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22.
B34 Perspective: SP5, *carte-de-visite* format – Overlay: painting formats.
B35 Perspective, part-image 7: SP5 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22.
B36 Perspective, part-image 8: SP5 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22.
B37 Perspective: SP6, *carte-de-visite* format – Overlay: painting format.
B38 Perspective, part-image 9: SP6 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22.
B39 Composite, part images 1–9 – Painting format.
B40 Composite, Fig.B39 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22.

C. *The Burial*

C1 Edouard Manet, *The Burial*, 1867? (see Fig.35).
C2 Positive print from composite X-radiograph of *The Burial*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
C3 Jean-Baptiste Langlacé, *Paris vu des hauters de Gentilly*, c.1815, oil on paper, 25.5 x 32.5. Musée Carnavalet, Paris. Photothèque des Musées de la Ville de Paris.
C4 Sigismond Himely (1801–1872), *Paris: Vue prise de la Glacière*, n.d.. Musée Carnavalet, Paris. Photothèque des Musées de la Ville de Paris.
C5 Victor Navlet, *Le XIIIe vu d'une Montgolfière*, 1855, detail. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
C6 Anon., *View to south from the Panthéon*, 1878, composite photograph. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
C7 *View to south from the Panthéon*, 1878, detail of photograph, Fig.C6. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
C8 *View to south from the Panthéon*, 1878, detail of photograph, Fig.C6. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
C9 Anon., *View to north from Notre-Dame*, n.d., stereoscopic photograph. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
C10 *Roof of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont* , n.d. (c.1866), detail of photograph, Fig.106.
C11 Anon., *View from Rue du Champ de l'Alouette*, n.d. (c.1860?), stereoscopic photograph. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
C12 Anon., *Orme de Sully*, n.d., wood engraving, publication details unknown. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
C13 Orme de Sully, 1845, detail of daguerreotype, Fig.105.
C14 Orme de Sully, 1855, detail of calotype, Fig.108.
C15 Orme de Sully, 1867, detail of photograph, Fig.B6.
C16 Orme de Sully, 1868?, detail of photograph, Fig.107.
C17 Lepere (?), *La Manufacture des Gobelins*, n.d., (hand annotation "1886"), wood engraving, publication details unknown. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
C18 Anon., *Vieux Paris – Panorama de l'île des Singes et du Chateau surnommé à tort de la Reine Blanche (No.548)*, 1885? (hand annotation "1905"), postcard photograph. View from Île des Singes. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
C19 L. Christy, *Vieux Paris – Ruelle des Gobelins entre le pavillon de chasse de M. de Julienne et la chapelle de la manufacture des Gobelins (No.15)*, n.d. (hand annotation "1905"), postcard photograph. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
C20 H. Blancard, *La Bièvre near La Glacière*, c.1887–89, photograph. View from area south of Boulevard d'Italie. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
C21 Anon., *Paris – La 'Bièvre – LL. (458)*, n.d. (hand annotation "1903"), postcard photograph. View of west arm of Bièvre river from Rue Corvisart. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
C22 Anon., *La moitié nord-ouest du XIIIe. en 1983*, 1983, detail of photograph. Aerial view with poplar trees on old course of the Bièvre River. Interphotothèque Documentation française.
C23 *Parisian hearses, mid-nineteenth century*, 1856, illustration (Reproduced from M. Balard, Les mystères des pompes funèbres de la ville de Paris dévoilés, Allard, Paris, 1856, in Thomas A. Kselman, Death and the Afterlife in Modern France, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1993, ill.18, p.241).
C24 Villot, *Enterrement de la Première victime du bombardement*, 1871, illustration, publication details unknown. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
C25 F.T. Salomon, *Le Père Lachaise*, 1855. Map detail. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
C26 Avril frères (Charles and Eugène Avril), *Plan général de Paris et de ses environs. 1866*, 1866. Map detail, p.12. Plan of Cimetière du Père-Lachaise. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
C27 Robert Cameron, *Cimetière du Père-Lachaise*, 1984, detail of photograph. Aerial view.
C28 Julia McLaren, *View towards proposed site for lower part of painting, from Avenue de la Chapelle above 56th Division, Cimetière du Père-Lachaise*, 2001, photograph. Overlay: painting format. Collection of author.

C29 Julia McLaren, *View of tombs in 68th Division, Avenue des Ailantes, Cimetière du Père-Lachaise*, 2001, detail of photograph. Collection of author.
C30 Julia McLaren, *68th Division, Cimetière du Père-Lachaise*, 2001, photograph. View of proposed site for burial group depicted in painting. Collection of author.
C31 Julia McLaren, *68th Division, Cimetière du Père-Lachaise*, 2001, composite photograph. View of proposed site for burial group depicted in painting, looking towards viewpoint SP12. Collection of author.
C32 Site for upper part of painting: location plan.
C33 A. Chaix & Cie., *Nouveau Plan de Paris: divisé en 20 arrondissements*, 1870. Map detail. Extent as for location plan, Fig.C32. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
C34 Site for upper part of painting: perspective, overview to north.
C35 Site for upper part of painting: perspective, overview to south.
C36 Site for upper part of painting: plan and sectional elevation – viewpoints and directions of view from aerial balloon.
C37 Site for upper part of painting: perspective – overview of viewpoints in aerial balloon.
C38 Overlay line drawing from *The Burial* (Fig.C1).
C39 Perspective: SP1, *carte-de-visite* format – Overlay: painting format.
C40 Perspective, part-image 1: SP1 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38.
C41 Perspective: SP2, *carte-de-visite* format – Overlay: painting format.
C42 Perspective, part-image 2: SP2 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38.
C43 Perspective: SP3, *carte-de-visite* format – Overlay: painting format.
C44 Perspective, part-image 3: SP3 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38.
C45 Perspective: SP4, *carte-de-visite* format – Overlay: painting format.
C46 Perspective, part-image 4: SP4 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38.
C47 Perspective: SP5, *carte-de-visite* format – Overlay: painting format.
C48 Perspective, part-image 5: SP5 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38.
C49 Perspective: SP6, *carte-de-visite* format – Overlay: painting formats.
C50 Perspective, part-image 6: SP6 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38.
C51 Perspective, part-image 7: SP6 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38.
C52 Perspective: SP7, *carte-de-visite* format – Overlay: painting format.
C53 Perspective, part-image 8: SP7 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38.
C54 Perspective: SP8, *carte-de-visite* format – Overlay: painting format.
C55 Perspective, part-image 9: SP8 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38.
C56 Perspective: SP9, *carte-de-visite* format – Overlay: painting formats.
C57 Perspective, part-image 10: SP9 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38.
C58 Perspective, part-image 11: SP9 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38.
C59 Perspective: SP10, *carte-de-visite* format – Overlay: painting format.
C60 Perspective, part-image 12: SP10 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38.
C61 Perspective: SP11, *carte-de-visite* format – Overlay: painting format.
C62 Perspective, part-image 13: SP11 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38.
C63 Site for lower part of painting: location plan – Cimetière du Père-Lachaise, from www.gargl.net/lachaise/
C64 Site for lower part of painting: plan – 56th and 68th Divisions, Cimetière du Père-Lachaise – viewpoint and direction of view.
C65 Perspective: SP12 – Overlay: painting format.
C66 Perspective, part-image 14: SP12 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38.
C67 Composite, part-images 1-14 – Painting format.
C68 Composite, Fig.C67 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38.

D. *The Railway*

D1 Edouard Manet, *The Railway*, 1873 (see Fig.53).
D2 Positive print from composite X-radiograph of *The Railway*. National Gallery of Art, Washington.
D3 Edouard Manet, *The Pont de l'Europe*, 1872?, graphite, single leaf page (verso, part Fig.D4).One of two studies from sketchbook. Jean-Claude Romand Collection, Paris.
D4 Edouard Manet, *Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 1872?, graphite, 18.2 x 24.3 as double leaf page. One of two studies from sketchbook. Jean-Claude Romand Collection, Paris.
D5 Edouard Manet, *Rue Mosnier with a Gaslamp*, 1878, graphite with brush and lithographic ink tusche on tracing paper, 27.8 x 44. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.
D6 Auguste Lamy, *Paris. Bridge erected on the site of the Place de l'Europe, over the Western Region Railway*, 1868, wood engraving, L'Illustration, Journal Universel, 11 April 1868, p.236.
D7 Julia McLaren, *View from third floor, rear, No.58 Rue de Rome*, 1997, composite photograph. Collection of author.
D8 Author, *Detail of grille fence, rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome*, 1998, photograph.
D9 Author, *Detail of grille fence with base plate intact, rear garden, No.54 Rue de Rome*, 1998, photograph.
D10 Julia McLaren, *View of grille fence and wall, rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome*, 1997, photograph. Collection of author.

D11 Julia Mclaren, *View through grille fence from rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome*, 1997, photograph. Collection of author.
D12 Author, *View from rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome*, 1998, photograph.
D13 Anon., *584. Paris – Pont de l'Europe, C.L.C.*, c. 1900-05, postcard photograph. View from Place de l'Europe of rear facades of buildings to Rue de Rome. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
D14 Anon., *423. – Paris – Pont de l'Europe (Gare St-Lazare)*, c.1905, postcard photograph. View across Place de l'Europe towards Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
D15 Julia McLaren, *Angled facade of No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 1997, photograph. Collection of author.
D16 Anon., *Facade of No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 1872 or later, photograph (albumen print). Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
D17 Julia McLaren, *Carriage entry doors and windows, No.4 and No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 1997, photograph. Collection of author.
D18 Julia McLaren, *Carriage entry doors, No.2 Rue Mosnier*, 1997, photograph. Collection of author.
D19 Painting site: location plan – A. Chaix & Cie., *Nouveau Plan de Paris: divisé en 20 arrondissements*, 1870. Map detail. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
D20 Painting site: perspective overview.
D21 Painting site: plan – viewpoints and directions of view.
D22 Painting site: cross-section – viewpoints and directions of view.
D23 Painting site: rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome – plan and sections.
D24 Overlay line drawing from graphite sketch (Fig.D3).
D25 Overlay line drawing from graphite sketch (Fig.D4).
D26 Overlay line drawing from *The Railway* (Fig.D1).
D27 Perspective: SP1, 2P-angled, wide view from rear garden.
D28 Perspective: SP1, 2P-offset, view from rear garden.
D29 Perspective: SP1, 2P-offset, view from rear garden – Overlay: painting format.
D30 Perspective: SP3, 2P-angled, view from second floor.
D31 Perspective: SP3, 2P-angled, view from second floor – Overlay: painting formats.
D32 Perspective: SP6, 2P-angled, view from railway cutting – Overlay: painting format.
D33 Perspective: SP2, 2P-angled, view from first floor – Overlay: painting format.
D34 Perspective: SP4, 2P-angled, view from third floor – Overlay: painting format.
D35 Perspective: SP5, 2P-angled, view from fourth floor – Overlay: painting format.
D36 Perspective: SP1, 2P-angled, view from rear garden, without grille fence.
D37 Perspective, SP1, 2P-angled, view from rear garden, without grille fence – Overlay: composite, part-overlays (Figs.D38–D41).
D38 Perspective, SP1, 2P-angled – Overlay: sketch format, Fig.D24, part line drawing, left side.
D39 Perspective, SP1, 2P-angled – Overlay: sketch format, Fig.D24, part line drawing, right side.
D40 Perspective, SP1, 2P-angled – Overlay: sketch format, Fig.D25, part line drawing, left side.
D41 Perspective, SP1, 2P-angled – Overlay: sketch format, Fig.D25, part line drawing, right side.
D42 Perspective, part-image 1: SP1, 2P-offset – Overlay: part line drawing, Fig.D26.
D43 Perspective: part-image 2: SP3, 2P-angled – Overlay: part line drawing, Fig.D26.
D44 Composite, part-images 1 and 2, with steam cloud areas removed – Painting format.
D45 Composite, Fig.D44 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.D26.

E. *Masked Ball at the Opera*

E1 Edouard Manet, *Masked Ball at the Opera*, 1873–4 (see Fig.54).
E2 Edouard Manet, Oil Sketch for *Masked Ball at the Opera*, 1873–4, 46.7 x 38.2. Courtesy of Bridgestone Museum of Art, Ishibashi Foundation, Tokyo.
E3 Robert Bingham, *'Le Bal de l'Opéra', Peint par E. Giraud, Photographie par Bingham*, 1868?, photograph, 26.0 x 19.05. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
E4 *'Le bal de l'Opéra' – Tableau de M. Eugène Giraud. Dessin de M. L. Breton, d'après une photographie de M. Bingham*, 1867, wood engraving (graveur: H. Delaville), 23.5 x 17.6, *L'Univers Illustré*, no.676, 28 December, 1867, cover page. Musée de l'Opéra, Paris.
E5 Cropped image, Fig.E3: proposed extent of image used by Manet.
E6 Anon. (Mopin?), *Théâtre-Français. – Première représentation d''Henriette Maréchal', de M M. de Goncourt. – Scène du bal masqué de l'Opéra (1er acte)*, 1865, illustration, Le Monde Illustré, 16 December, 1865, p.388. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris.
E7 Bertall, 'Théâtre-Français: *Henriette Maréchal*, par M M. Edmond et Jules de Goncourt. – Acte 1er; Le bal masqué de l'Opéra', 1865, wood engraving, L'Illustration, 16 December, 1865, p.388.
E8 Painting site: location plan – A. Chaix & Cie., *Nouveau Plan de Paris: divisé en 20 arrondissements*, 1870. Map detail. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
E9 *Opéra rue le Peletier, 2ème Étage au niveau du Foyer*, n.d., architectural drawing. Plan at foyer level. Musée de l'Opéra, Paris.

E10 *Opéra rue le Peletier, Coupe longitudinale du Théâtre de L'Académie Royale de Musique à Paris*, n.d. (hand annotation "1841"), architectural drawing. Longitudinal section. Musée de l'Opéra, Paris.
E11 Anon., *Académie Royale de Musique*, n.d., lithograph. View of entrance, Opéra rue le Peletier. Musée de l'Opéra, Paris.
E12 Painting site: first floor corridor and balcony – Plan, elevation and cross-section.
E13 Painting site: first floor corridor and balcony – Isometric view.
E14 Overlay line drawing from *Le Bal de l'Opéra* (Fig.E3).
E15 Overlay line drawing from *Masked Ball at the Opera* (Fig.E1).
E16 Perspective: SP1, 2P-angled – Overlay: painting format, *Le Bal de l'Opéra*.
E17 Perspective: SP1, 2P-angled – Overlay: line drawing from *Le Bal de l'Opéra*, Fig.E14.
E18 Perspective: SP2, 1P-frontal – Overlay: painting format, *Masked Ball at the Opera*.
E19 Perspective: SP2, 1P-frontal – Overlay: line drawing from *Masked Ball at the Opera*, Fig.E15.
E20a *Masked Ball at the Opera*, with 1P-frontal overlay.
E20b *Masked Ball at the Opera*, with 1P-offset (left) overlay.
E20c *Masked Ball at the Opera*, with 1P-offset (right) overlay.

F. *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*

F1 Edouard Manet, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, 1881–82 (see Fig.80).
F2 Positive print from composite X-radiograph of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*. Robert Bruce-Gardner, Director of Conservation, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.
F3 Edouard Manet, *Oil Sketch for A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, 1881, 47 x 56. Private collection.
F4 Positive print from composite X-radiograph of *Oil Sketch for A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*. Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam.
F5 Edouard Manet, *Study for A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, c.1881, wash drawing, 8.75 x 9.75 ins. Location unknown.
F6 Edouard Manet, *Au paradis*, 1877, brush and ink transfer lithograph, 20.5 x 25.5 (image). Private collection.
F7 Edouard Manet, *Aux Folies-Bergère*, c.1878–81, brush and pen and indian ink over pencil, 15 x 21.5. Private collection.
F8 Jean-Louis Forain, *Le Bar aux Folies-Bergère*, 1878?, gouache, 31.8 x 19.7. The Brooklyn Museum, New York.
F9 Stop, *"Une Marchande de consolation aux Folies-Bergère.–..."*, caricature, wood engraving, Le Journal Amusant, 27 May, 1882, p.5.
F10 E. Lévy, *Folies-Bergère. Opérettes, Pantomimes, Gymnastes, Ballets, Clowns*, 1874, lithographic poster, 142 x 62. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
F12 Jules Chéret, *Aux Folies-Bergère*, 1875, colour lithographic poster. Musée de la Publicité, Paris.
F12 Vierge, *Les Réunion Électorales.– Aux Folies-Bergère. – ...* , 1871, illustration, publication details unknown. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
F13 Barclay, *Théâtre des Folies-Bergère*, 1875, illustrated seating plan, 15.5 x 38.5. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
F14 Anon., *Folies-Bergère theatre, view from balcony*, n.d., photograph. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris.
F15 Anon., *Folies-Bergère theatre, view from stage*, n.d., photograph. Roger-Viollet, Paris.
F16 *Théâtre des Folies-Bergère: Plan General du Rez-de-Chaussée – No.24*, 1926, architectural drawing. Restoration of Folies-Bergère – ground floor plan. Archives de Paris, Paris.
F17 *Théâtre des Folies-Bergère: Plan General au Niveau du Premier Balcon – No.26*, 1926, architectural drawing. Restoration of Folies-Bergère – first floor plan. Archives de Paris, Paris.
F18 *Théâtre des Folies-Bergère: Coupe sur le Hall montrant l'escalier – No.30*, 1926, architectural drawing. Restoration of Folies-Bergère – cross section, entrance hall. Archives de Paris, Paris.
F19 *Théâtre des Folies-Bergère: Coupe sur la Salle montrant la scène – No.27*, 1926, architectural drawing. Restoration of Folies-Bergère – cross section, theatre. Archives de Paris, Paris.
F20 *Théâtre des Folies-Bergère: Coupe Longitudinale – No.32*, 1926, architectural drawing. Restoration of the Folies-Bergère – longitudinal section. Archives de Paris, Paris.
F21 Painting sites: location plan – A. Chaix & Cie., *Nouveau Plan de Paris: divisé en 20 arrondissements*, 1870. Map detail. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
F22 Painting site: Folies-Bergère theatre – First floor plan.
F23 Painting site: Folies-Bergère theatre – Longitudinal section.
F24 Painting site: Folies-Bergère theatre – Cross section.
F25 Painting site: Folies-Bergère theatre – Isometric layout: actual, first-reflected, and second-reflected spaces.
F26 Perspective: bar site in Folies-Bergère theatre.
F27 Perspective analysis: *Oil Sketch for A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (Fig.F3).
F28 Overlay line drawing from *Oil Sketch for A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (Fig.F3).
F29 Bar in Oil Sketch, Folies-Bergère theatre: Plan and section – SP1, 1P-offset.

F30 Perspective: SP1, 1P-offset – Overlay: Oil Sketch format.
F31 Perspective: SP1, 1P-offset – Overlay: line drawing from Oil Sketch, Fig.F28.
F32 Overlay line drawing from *Study for A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (Fig.F5).
F33 Bar in Wash Drawing, Folies-Bergère theatre: Plan and section – SP2.1P-offset.
F34 Perspective: SP2, 1P-offset – Overlay: Wash Drawing format.
F35 Perspective: SP2, 1P-offset – Overlay: line drawing from Wash Drawing, Fig.F32.
F36 Overlay line drawing from *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (Fig.F1).
F37 Cropped image, Fig.F3, without frieze above wall mirrors.
F38 Bar in Final Painting, Manet's studio: Plan and section – SP3, 1P-offset.
F39 Bar in Final Painting, Manet's studio: Isometric view: actual and single-reflected spaces.
F40 Perspective: SP3, 1P-offset, with lines to bar top – Overlay: Final Painting format.
F41 Perspective: SP3, 1P-offset, with lines to bar top – Overlay: line drawing from Final Painting, Fig.F36.
F42 Perspective, part-image 1: SP1, 1P-offset – Overlay: line drawing from Final Painting, Fig.F36.
F43 Perspective, part-image 2: SP2, 1P-offset – Overlay: line drawing from Final Painting, Fig.F36.
F44 Perspective, part-image 3: SP3, 1P-offset – Overlay: line drawing from Final Painting, Fig.F36.
F45 Composite, part-images 1-3 – Final painting format.
F46 Composite, Fig.F45 – Overlay: line drawing from Final Painting, Fig.F36.
F47 Production setting: proposed bar arrangement for Final Painting – as SP3, 1P-offset, with marble figuring to bar top. Photographed by Greg Callan, 2000.
F48 Proposed bar arrangement for Final Painting – as SP3, 1P-offset, with marble figuring to bar top. Photographed by Greg Callan, 2000.
F49 Proposed bar arrangement for Final Painting – as SP3, 1P-offset, with lines in perspective to bar top. Photographed by Greg Callan, 2000.
F50 Final Painting – Overlay: lines in perspective on bar and reflected bar tops.

Appendices:

Appendix 1: Comparative spatial shaping

G1 Comparative spatial shaping: perspective projection.
G2 Comparative spatial shaping: pictorial projection.
G3 Julia McLaren, *View from Trocadéro*, 2000, photograph. Collection of author.
G3a *View from Trocadéro* – spatial shaping, complete image.
G3b *View from Trocadéro* – spatial shaping, upper left part as fragment.
G3c *View from Trocadéro* – spatial shaping, upper right part as fragment.

Appendix 2: Manet and Caillebotte

H1 Gustave Caillebotte, *Dans un café*, 1880, 155 x 115. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen.
H2 Gustave Caillebotte, *Homme devant un miroir*, c.1880, graphite and charcoal drawing on paper, 40 x 27. Study drawing for *Dans un café*. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven.
H3 Varnedoe proposal. Plan: actual, first-reflected, and second-reflected spaces.
H4 Varnedoe proposal. Perspective: 2P-angled – Painting format. Drawing by author.
H5 Proposal by author. Plan: actual, first-reflected, and second-reflected spaces.
H6 Proposal by author. Perspective: 2P-offset – Overlay: painting format.
H7 Proposal by author. Perspective: 2P-offset – Overlay: line drawing from *Dans un café*.
H8 Edouard Manet, *The Railway* (see Fig.53) – part of image reduced in scale.
H9 Gustave Caillebotte, *Le Pont de l'Europe*, 1876, 124.7 x 180.6. Musée du Petit Palais, Geneva – part of image increased in scale.

Appendix 3: Aerial Balloons and Photography

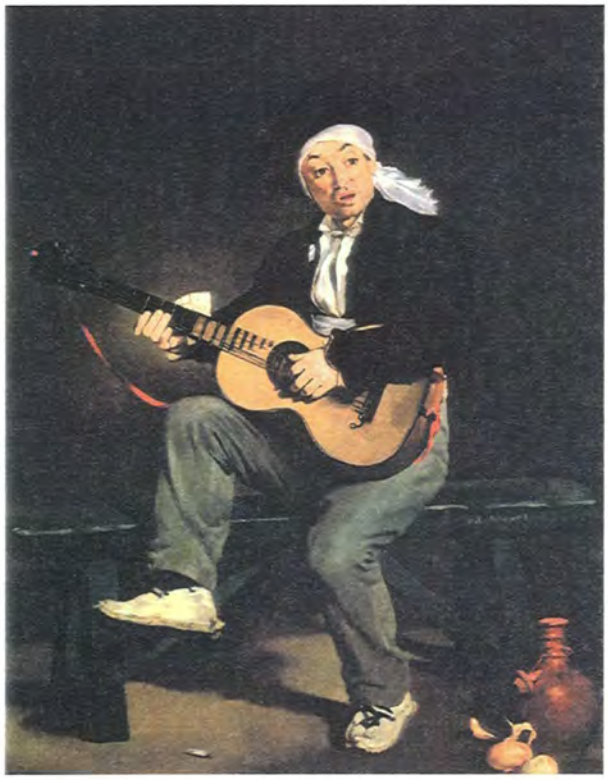
J1 Edouard Manet, *The Balloon*, 1862, lithograph, 40.3 x 51.5.
J2 Honoré Daumier, *NADAR élevant la Photographie à la hauteur de l'Art*, 1862, lithograph, in 'Souvenirs d'Artistes', Le Boulevard, 25 May, 1862.
J3 E. Lamy, *Le Géant prior to ascent at Champ-de-Mars, 18 October, 1863*, 1863, photograph. Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
J4 *Ascension captive: 42, Avenue de Suffren*, L'Illustration, 1867. Advertisement for the *ballon captif*. Musée de l'Air et de l'Éspace, Paris.
J5 Disdéri, *Camera and frame for production of multiple images on one plate*, 1862, illustrations. Published as *Figures 7* and *8*, Disdéri, L'Art de la Photographie, Chez l'Auteur, Paris, 1862.
J6 Nadar, *Views of Paris from ballon captif above Hippodrome, Place d'Eylau*, 1868, photograph (contact print from collodion negative). Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
J7 Nadar, *Premier Résultat de Photographic aérostatique, par Nadar 1858*, 1868, photograph (annotations inscribed 1889). Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
J8 Anon., *View from balloon above Champ-de-Mars*, 1885, photograph. Musée de l'Air et de l'Espace, Paris.

1
Edouard Manet, *The Absinthe Drinker,* c.1858–59

1a
The Absinthe Drinker, with oblique overlay

2
Edouard Manet, *Boy with Cherries,* c.1858–59

3
Edouard Manet, *M. and Mme Auguste Manet,* 1860



4
Edouard Manet, *The Spanish Singer,* 1860

5
Edouard Manet,
The Gypsies,
1862, etching

6
Edouard Manet, *Gypsy with Cigarette,* 1862?

7
Edouard Manet,
The Old Musician, 1862

8
Edouard Manet,
La pêche,
1861–63

9
Edouard Manet,
Music in the Tuileries,
1862

10
Edouard Manet,
The Spanish Ballet,
1862

11
Edouard Manet, *Lola de Valence*, 1862 / after 1867

11a
Lola de Valence, with 2P-frontal overlay

11b
Lola de Valence, with 2P-offset overlay

12
Edouard Manet,
Mlle V... in the Costume of an Espada, 1862

12a
Mlle V... in the Costume of an Espada,
with angled overlay

13
Edouard Manet,
Baudelaire's Mistress Reclining, c.1862

14
Edouard Manet,
The Street Singer, c.1862

15
Edouard Manet,
Young Man in the Costume of a Majo, 1863

15a
Young Man in the Costume of a Majo,
with 1P-offset (oblique?) overlay

16
Edouard Manet,
Eaux-fortes par Edouard Manet,
1862, etching

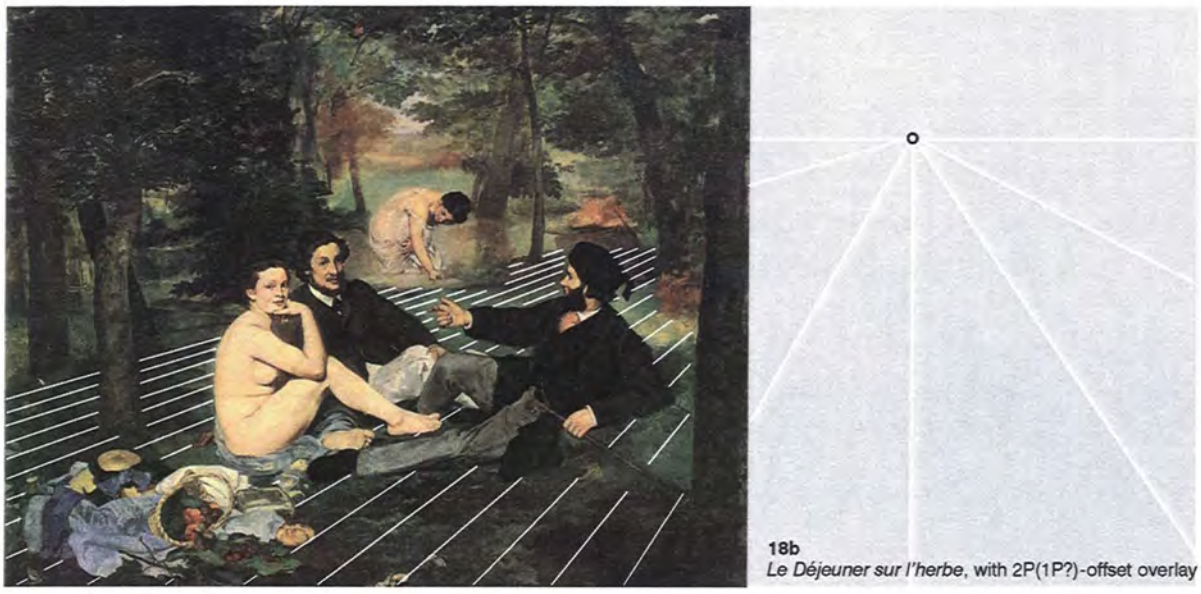
17
Edouard Manet, *Guitar and Hat*, 1862

17a
Guitar and Hat, with CP-frontal overlay

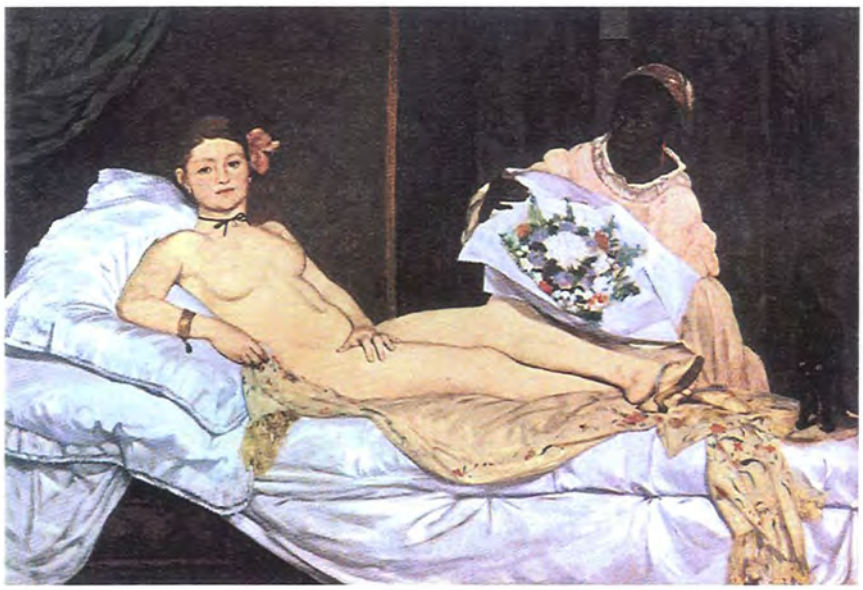
17b
Guitar and Hat, with 1P-offset overlay

18
Edouard Manet, *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, 1863

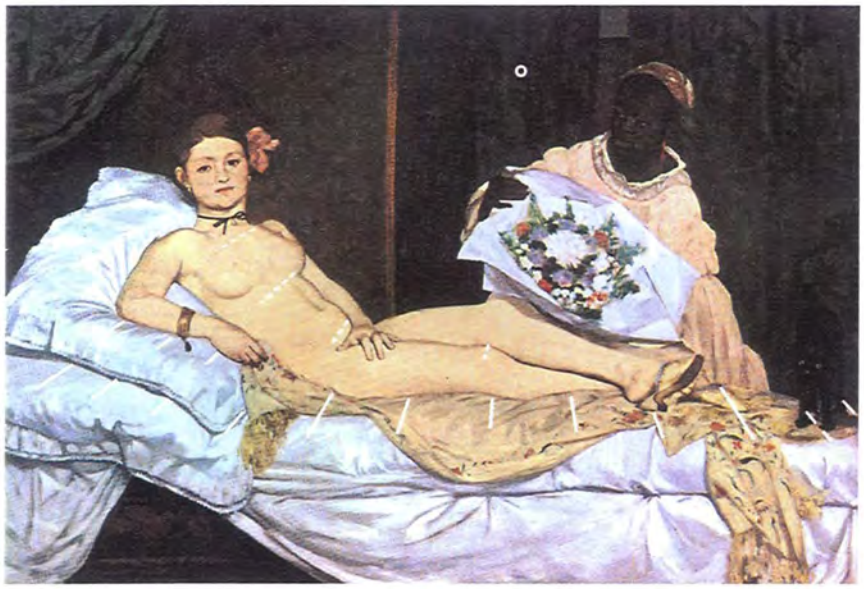
18a
Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe, with 1P(CP?)-frontal overlay



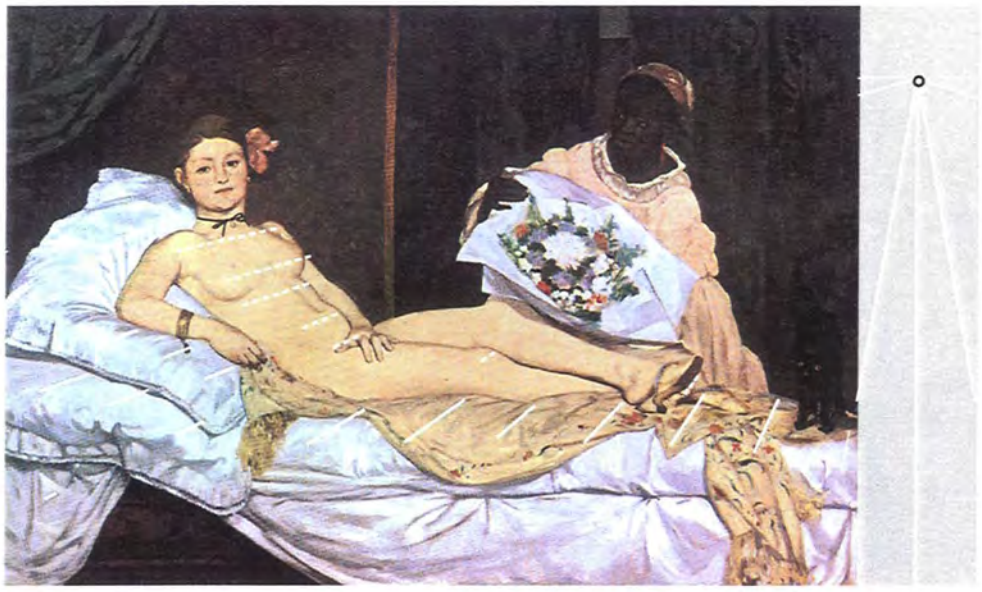
18b
Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe, with 2P(1P?)-offset overlay



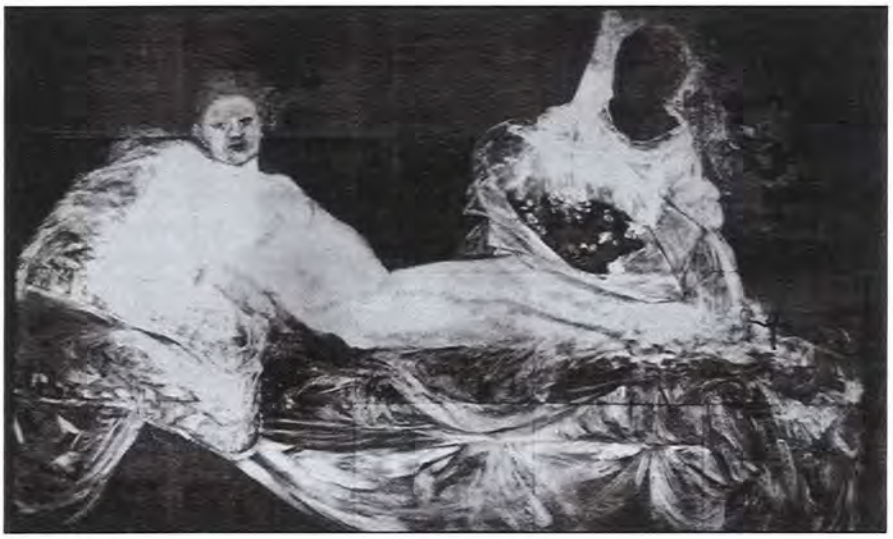
19
Edouard Manet,
Olympia, 1863



19a
Olympia, with
1P(CP?)-frontal overlay



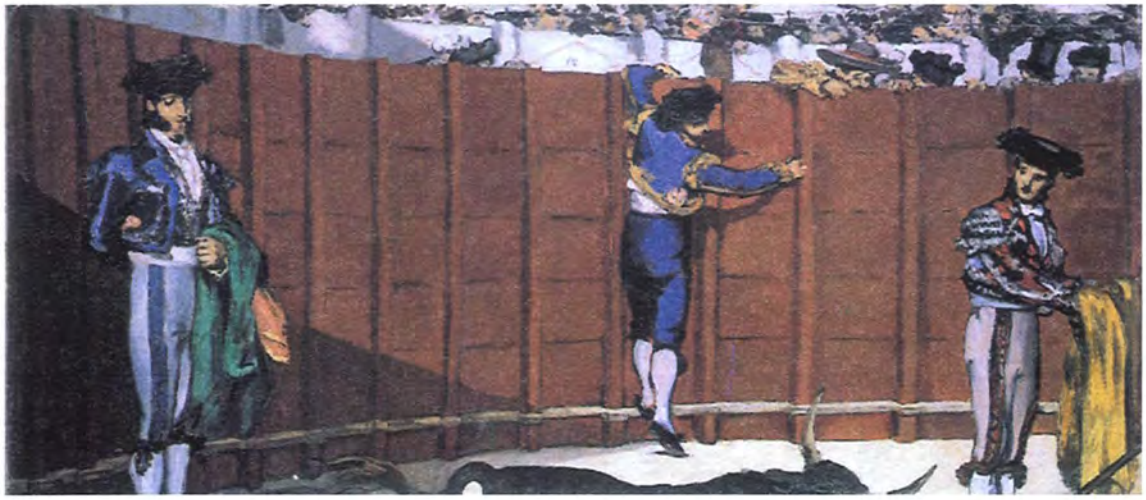
19b
Olympia, with
1P-offset overlay



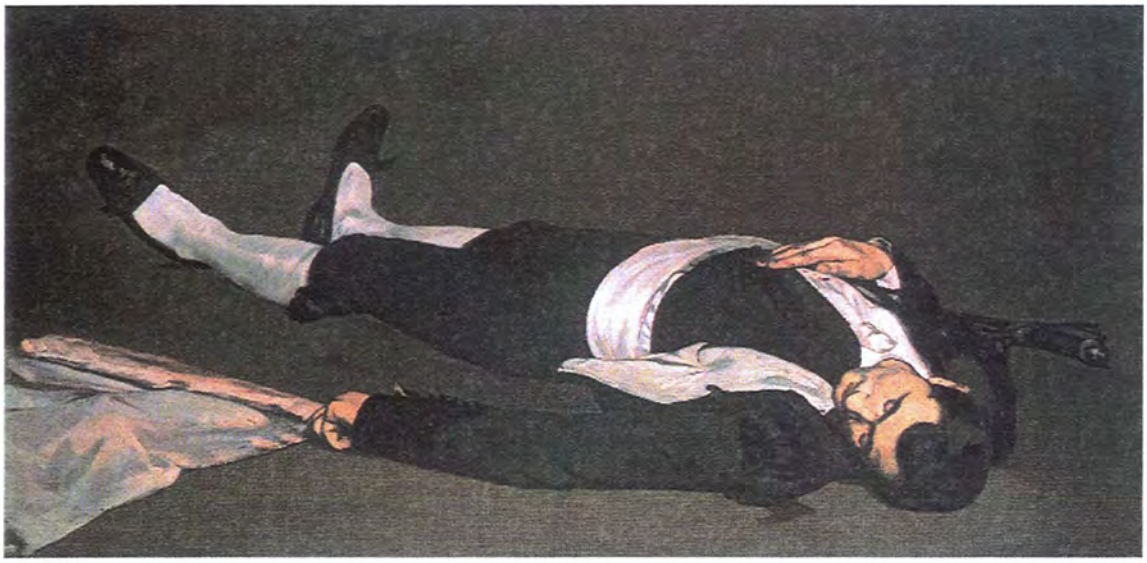
20
Positive print from composite X-radiograph of *Olympia*

21
Edouard Manet, *The Woman with the Cat*, 1862–63?, ink wash

22
Edouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1867, etching



23
Edouard Manet, *The Bullfight*, c.1863–65

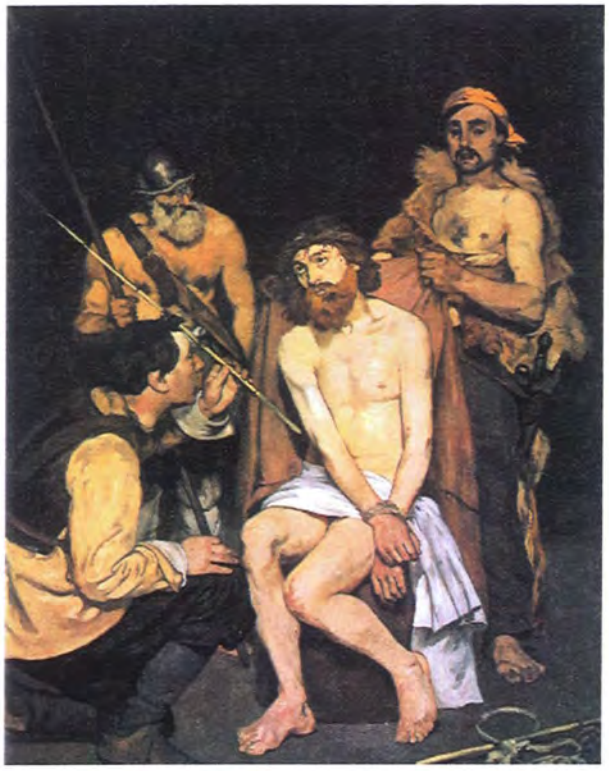


24
Edouard Manet, *The Dead Toreador*, c.1863–65

25
Edouard Manet, *The Dead Christ with Angels*, 1864

26
Edouard Manet, *Still Life with Fish*, 1864

26a
Still Life with Fish, with oblique overlay



27
Edouard Manet,
Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers, 1864–65

28
Edouard Manet, *The Tragic Actor*, 1865–66

29
Edouard Manet, *Matador Saluting*, 1866–67

29a
Matador Saluting, with 2P-angled overlay

30
Edouard Manet, *Soap Bubbles*, 1867?

30a
Soap Bubbles, with oblique overlay

31
Edouard Manet,
Portrait of Zacharie Astruc,
1866

32
Edouard Manet,
Reading, 1866–75?

33
Edouard Manet,
Mme Manet at the Piano, c.1867–70

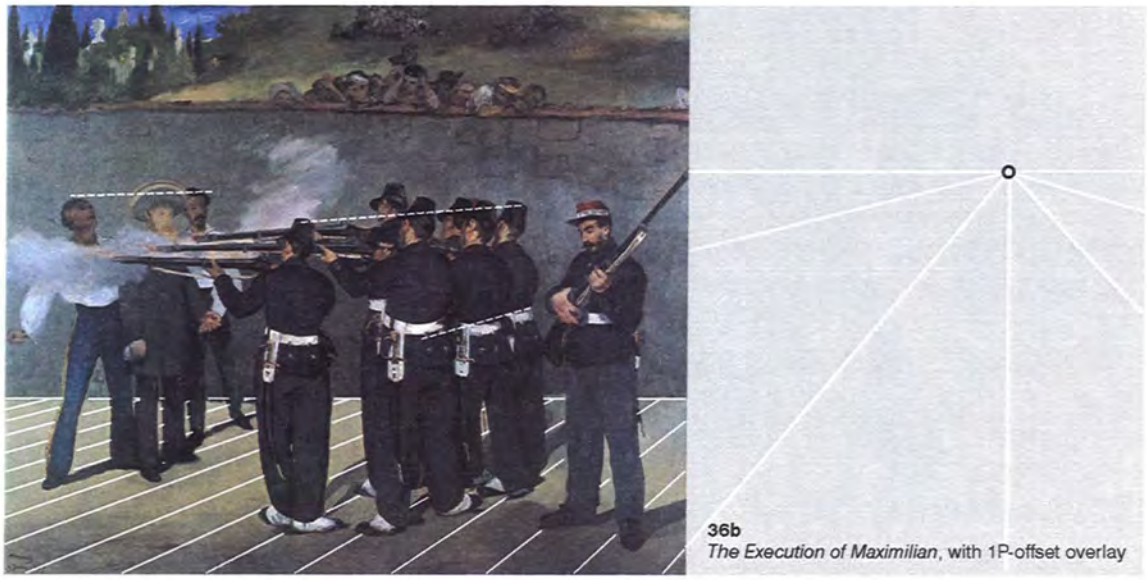
34
Edouard Manet, *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867

35
Edouard Manet, *The Burial*, 1867?

37
Edouard Manet,
The Execution of Maximilian, 1868, lithograph

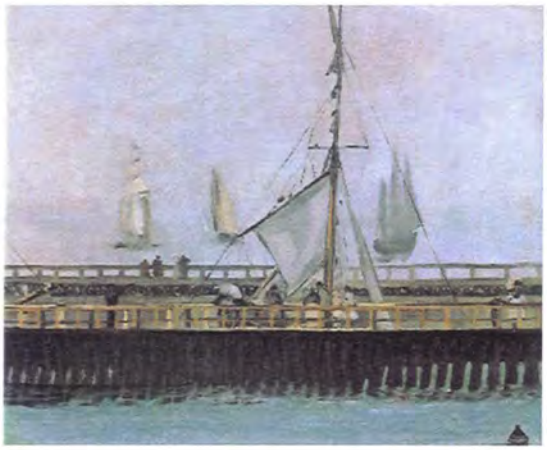
36
Edouard Manet,
The Execution of Maximilian, 1867–69?

36a
The Execution of Maximilian, with CP-frontal overlay



36b
The Execution of Maximilian, with 1P-offset overlay

38
Edouard Manet,
Races at Longchamp in the Bois de Boulogne, 1867?

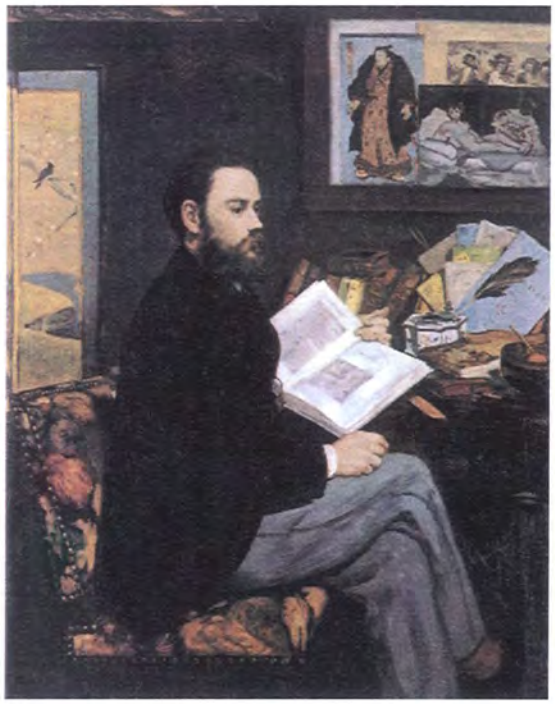


39
Edouard Manet, *Jetty at Boulogne*, 1868

40
Edouard Manet, *On the Beach at Boulogne*, 1868

41
Edouard Manet,
The Departure of the Folkestone Boat, Boulogne, 1868–69

41a
The Departure of the Folkestone Boat, Boulogne,
with 1P-offset overlay



42
Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Émile Zola*, 1868

43
Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Théodore Duret*, 1868

44
Edouard Manet, *The Luncheon*, 1868–69

44a
The Luncheon, with 1P-frontal (offset?) overlay

45
Edouard Manet, *The Balcony*, 1868–69

46
Edouard Manet, *Repose*, 1869–70

47
Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Eva Gonzales*, 1870

48
Edouard Manet, *The Music Lesson*, 1868–70

49
Edouard Manet, *Léon on the Balcony, Oloron-Sainte-Marie*, 1871

50
Edouard Manet, *Interior at Arcachon*, 1871

51
Edouard Manet,
Interior at Arcachon, Mme Manet and Léon, 1871, graphite and watercolour

52
Edouard Manet,
The Barricade, 1871?,
lithograph

53
Edouard Manet, *The Railway*, 1873

54
Edouard Manet, *Masked Ball at the Opera*, 1873–74

55
Edouard Manet, *The Swallows*, 1873

56
Edouard Manet, *Lady with Fans*, 1873–74

57
Edouard Manet, *Argenteuil*, 1874

58
Edouard Manet, *The Seine at Argenteuil*, 1874

59
Edouard Manet, *Boating,* 1874–76

60
Edouard Manet, *Monet in His Studio Boat*, 1874

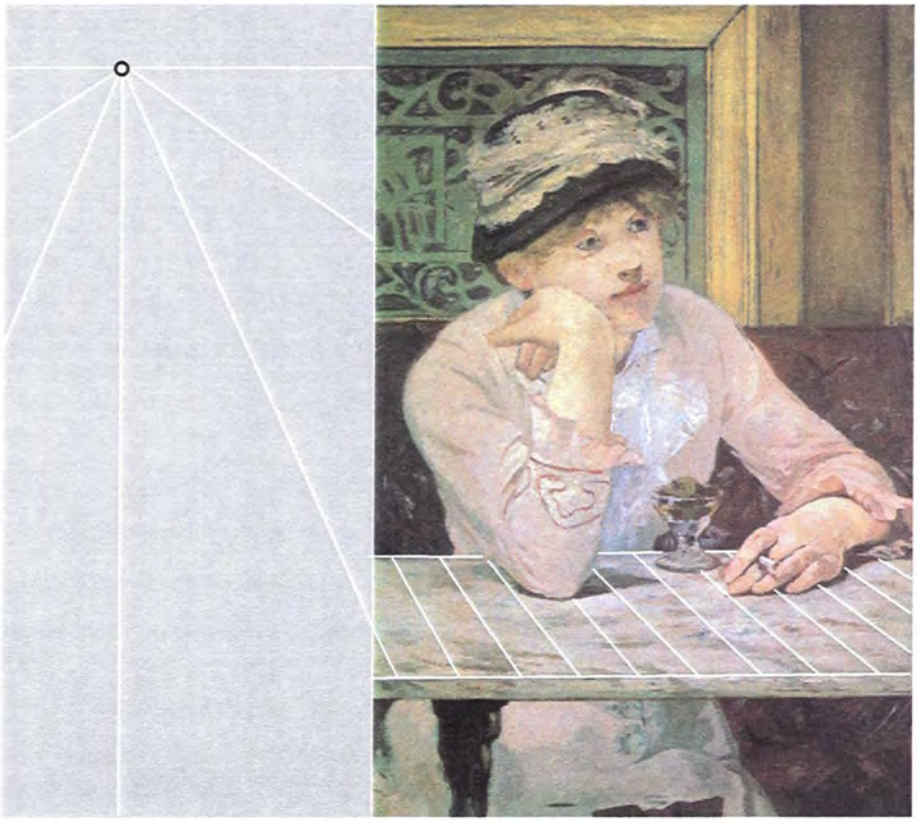
61
Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Stéphane Mallarmé*, 1876

61a
Portrait of Stéphane Mallarmé, with 1P-frontal overlay

61b
Portrait of Stéphane Mallarmé, with 1P-offset overlay

62
Edouard Manet, *La Prune*, c.1876–78

62a
La Prune, with CP-frontal overlay



62b
La Prune, with 1P-offset overlay

63
Edouard Manet,
Rue Mosnier Decorated with Flags, with a Man on Crutches, 1878

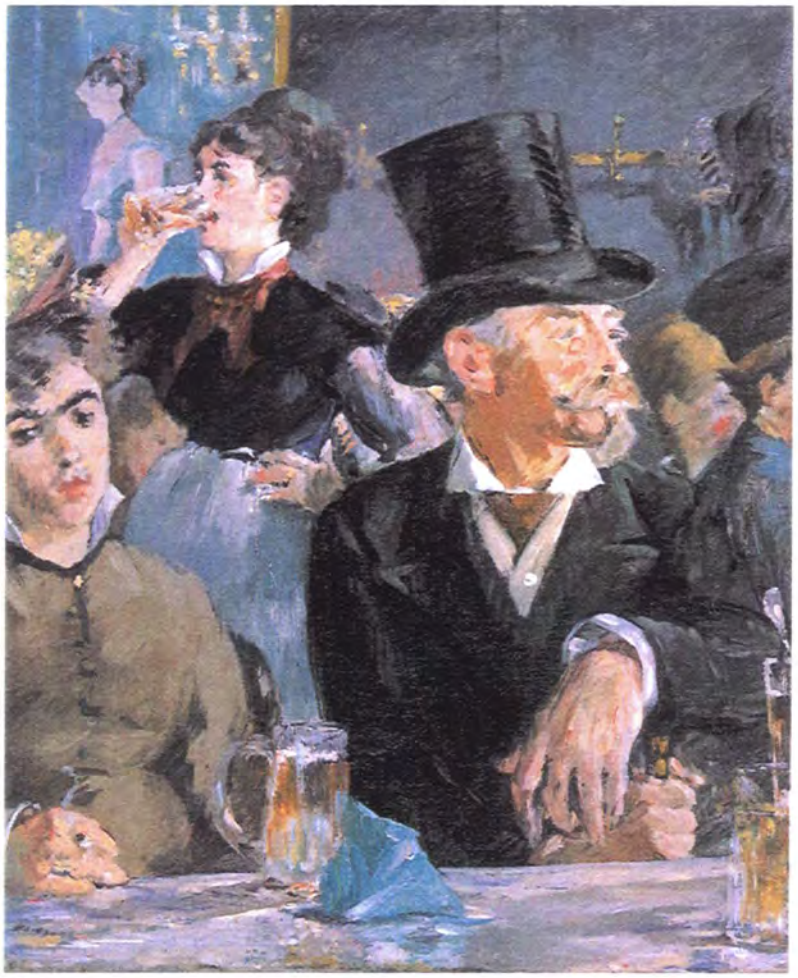
64
Edouard Manet,
Rue Mosnier Decorated with Flags, 1878

65
Edouard Manet,
Rue Mosnier with Pavers, 1878

66
Edouard Manet, *Au Café*, 1878

67
Edouard Manet, *Corner in a Café-Concert*, 1878 or 1879

68
Co-ordinated images of *Au Café* and part *Corner in a Café-Concert*, with 1P-offset overlay



69
Edouard Manet, *Café-Concert*, 1878–79

70
Edouard Manet,
A Café on the Place du Théâtre Français,
c.1876–78, pastel on canvas

71
Edouard Manet, *Singer in a Café-Concert*, 1880?

72
Edouard Manet, *In the Conservatory*, 1879

73
Edouard Manet, *Woman Reading*, 1879

74
Edouard Manet, *Portrait of George Moore*, 1879

75
Edouard Manet, *Chez le Père Lathuille*, 1879

75a
Chez le Père Lathuille, with 2P-offset overlay

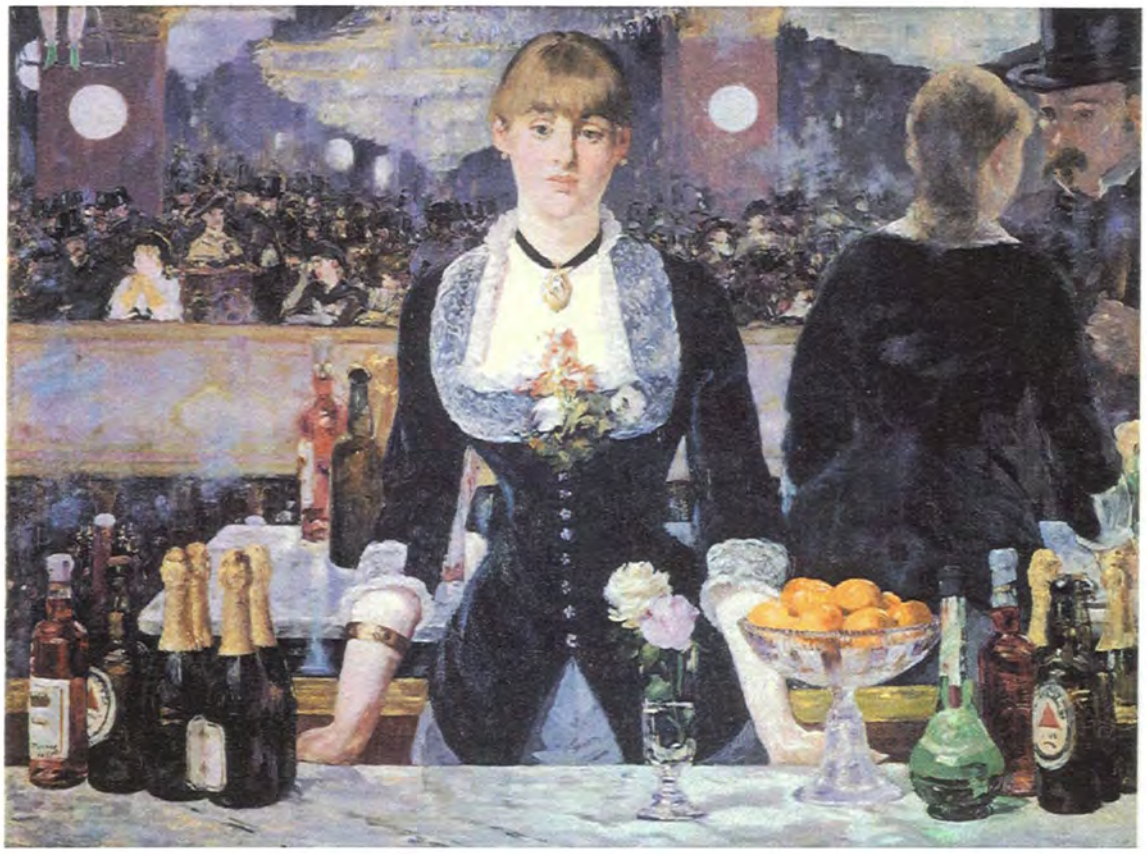
76
Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Clemenceau at the Tribune*, 1879–80

76a
Portrait of Clemenceau at the Tribune, with oblique overlay

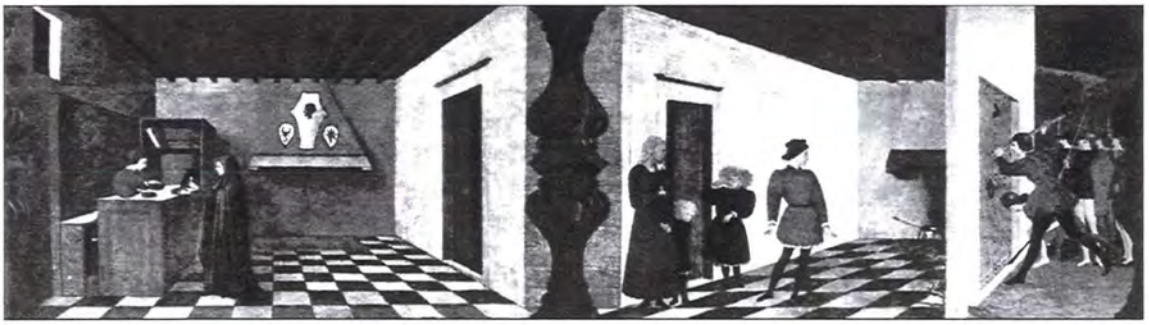
77
Edouard Manet, *Portrait of M. Pertuiset, the Lion Hunter*, 1880–81

78
Edouard Manet, *The Bench*, 1881

79
Edouard Manet, *The Suicide*, 1881



80
Edouard Manet, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, 1881–82



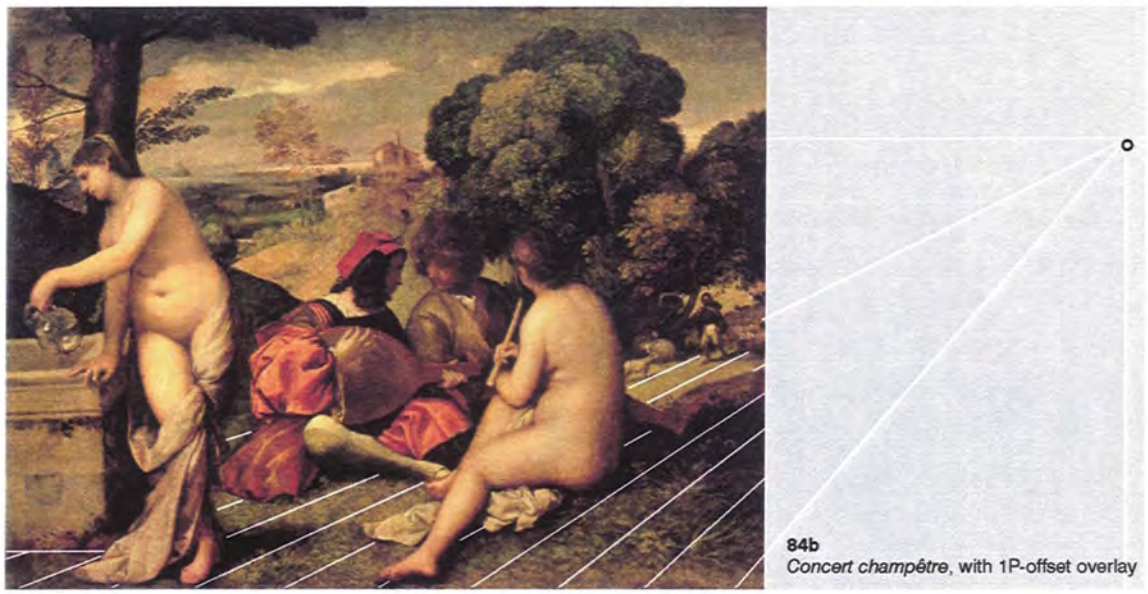
81
Paolo Uccello, *Miracle of the Host*, part of predella fragments, 1468, panel

82
Titian, *Madonna of the Pesaro Family*, 1519–26

83
Titian, *Portrait of Eleonora Gonzaga della Rovere*, 1536–37

84
Titian, *Concert champêtre*, c.1508

84a
Concert champêtre, with CP-frontal overlay



84b
Concert champêtre, with 1P-offset overlay

85
Titian, *Venus of Urbino*, 1538

85a
Venus of Urbino, with CP(2P?)-frontal overlay

86
Diego Velásquez, *Las Meninas*, 1656

87
Ando Hiroshige, *Sailing Boats at Arai*, late 1840s, coloured woodcut

88
Katsukawa Shunei, *The Wrestler Tanikaze and his Pupil Taki-no-oto*, c.1796, coloured woodcut

89
Hokusai, *Azuma and Yogoro, two celebrated lovers*, c.1798, coloured woodcut

90
Suzuki Harunobu (1725–70), *Courtesan with her attendant*, n.d., coloured woodcut

91
Suzuki Harunobu (1725–70), *Osen of the Kagiya serving tea to a customer*, n.d., coloured woodcut

92
Ando Hiroshige, *Night Scene at Saruwaka-cho*, 1856-59, coloured woodcut

93
Torii Kiyomasu I, *The Actor Nakamura Senya in the Role of Tokonotsu*, 1716, coloured woodcut

94
Paul Cézanne, *Portrait de Louis-Auguste Cézanne*, 1866

95
Paul Cézanne, *Portrait d'Achille Emperaire*, c.1868

96
Paul Cézanne, *Paul Alexis lisant à Emile Zola*, c.1869–70

97
Auguste Renoir,
Frédéric Bazille Painting 'The Heron', 1867

98
Frédéric Bazille, *The Studio in the rue de la Condamine*, 1869–70

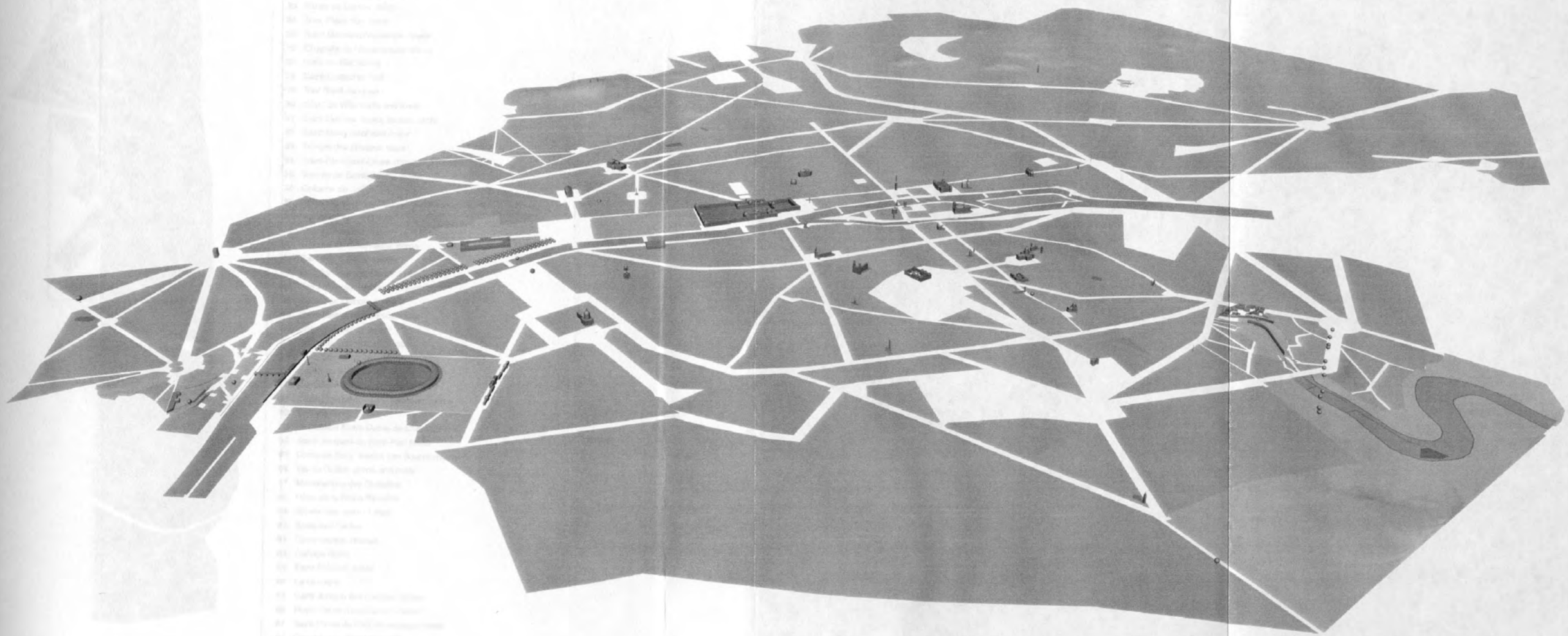
99
Carolus Duran, *The Merrymakers*, 1870

99a
The Merrymakers, with 1P-offset overlay

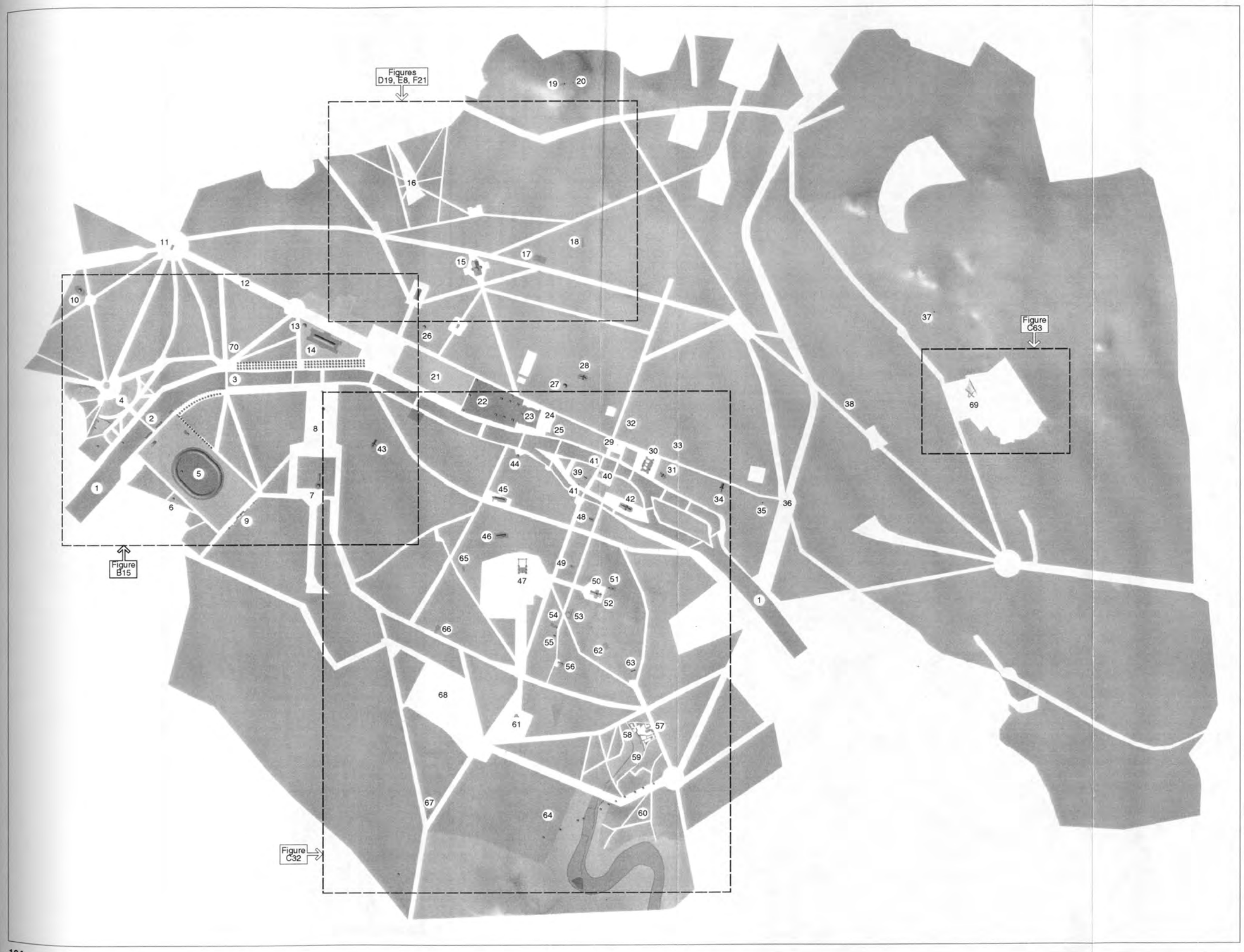
100
Edgar Degas, *At the Races in the Countryside*, 1869

101
Edgar Degas, *Mlle La La at the Cirque Fernando*, 1879

102
Edgar Degas, *Diego Martelli*, 1879



103
Perspective: aerial overview of Paris, 1867. Partial street layout, with buildings, monuments and landmarks used in case studies

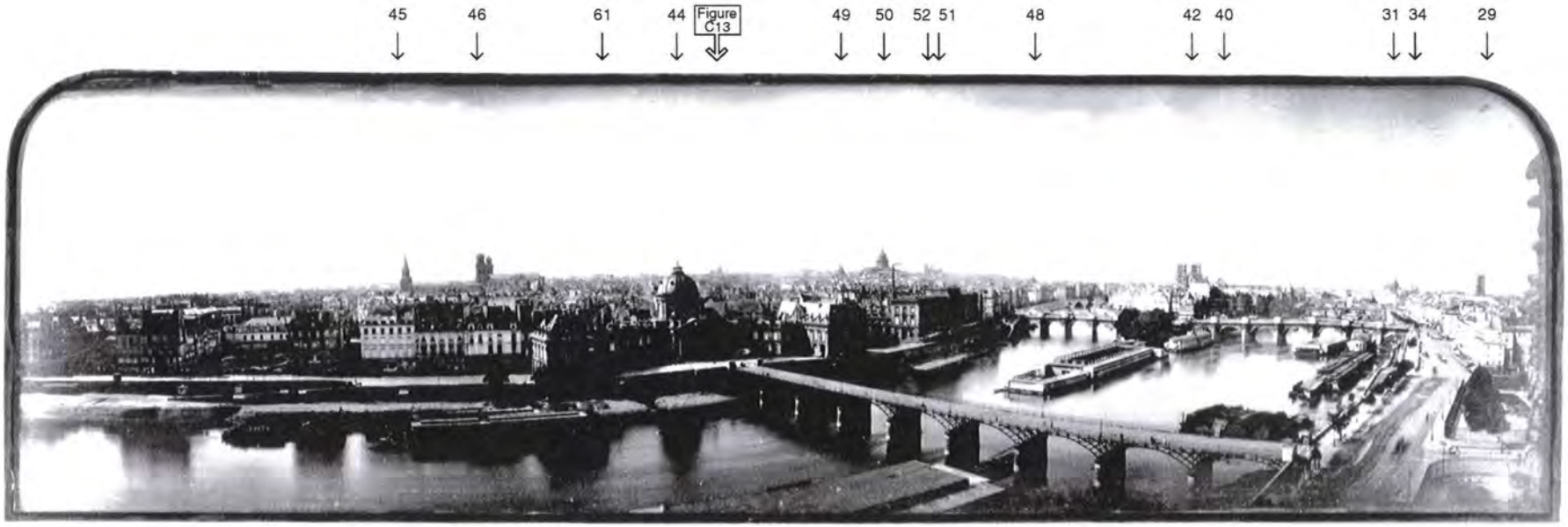


1 Seine River
2 Pont d'Iéna
3 Pont de l'Alma
4 Place du Roi-de-Rome, Trocadéro
5 Champ-de-Mars
6 Ballon captif enclosure, avenue de Suffren
7 Invalides: dome, and roof of Saint-Louis
8 Esplanade des Invalides
9 École Militaire: roofs
10 Hippodrome, Place d'Eylau
11 Arc de Triomphe
12 Avenue des Champs-Élysées
13 Panorama National: dome
14 Palais de l'Industrie
15 Opéra
16 Place de l'Europe
17 Opéra, Rue le Peletier
18 Théâtre Folies-Bergère
19 Saint-Pierre-du-Montmartre: tower
20 Tour Solférino
21 Jardin des Tuileries
22 Palais des Tuileries: roofs
23 Palais du Louvre: roofs
24 Tour, Place du Louvre
25 Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois: tower
26 Chapelle de l'Assomption: dome
27 Halle-au-Blé: dome
28 Saint-Eustache: roof
29 Tour Saint-Jacques
30 Hôtel de Ville: roofs and tower
31 Saint-Gervais: tower, facade, roofs
32 Saint-Merry: roof and tower
33 Temple des Billettes: tower
34 Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis: dome and roofs
35 Temple de Sainte-Marie: dome
36 Colonne de Juillet
37 Notre-Dame-de-la-Croix de Ménilmontant: spire
38 Saint-Ambroise: towers
39 Sainte-Chapelle: spire
40 Tribunal du Commerce: dome
41 Palais du Justice: towers
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame: towers, spire
43 Sainte-Clotilde: spires and roof
44 Institut de France: dome
45 Saint-Germain-des-Prés: tower
46 Saint-Sulpice: towers
47 Palais du Luxembourg: roofs
48 Saint-Séverin: tower
49 Église de la Sorbonne: dome
50 Panthéon:dome and roofs
51 Saint-Étienne-du-Mont: tower and roofs
52 Tour de Clovis
53 Monastère Notre-Dame-de-Charité: dome
54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas: tower
55 Orme de Sully: Institut des Sourds-muets
56 Val-de-Grâce: dome and roofs
57 Manufacture des Gobelins
58 Hôtel de la Reine Blanche
59 Bièvre: two arms of river
60 Butte-aux-Cailles
61 Observatoire: domes
62 Collège Rollin
63 Saint-Médard: tower
64 La Glacière
65 Saint-Joseph des Carmes: dome
66 Notre-Dame-des-Champs: tower
67 Saint-Pierre du Petit-Montrouge: tower
68 Cimetière du Montparnasse
69 Cimetière du Père-Lachaise
70 Site of Manet's 1867 exhibition pavilion

NORTH

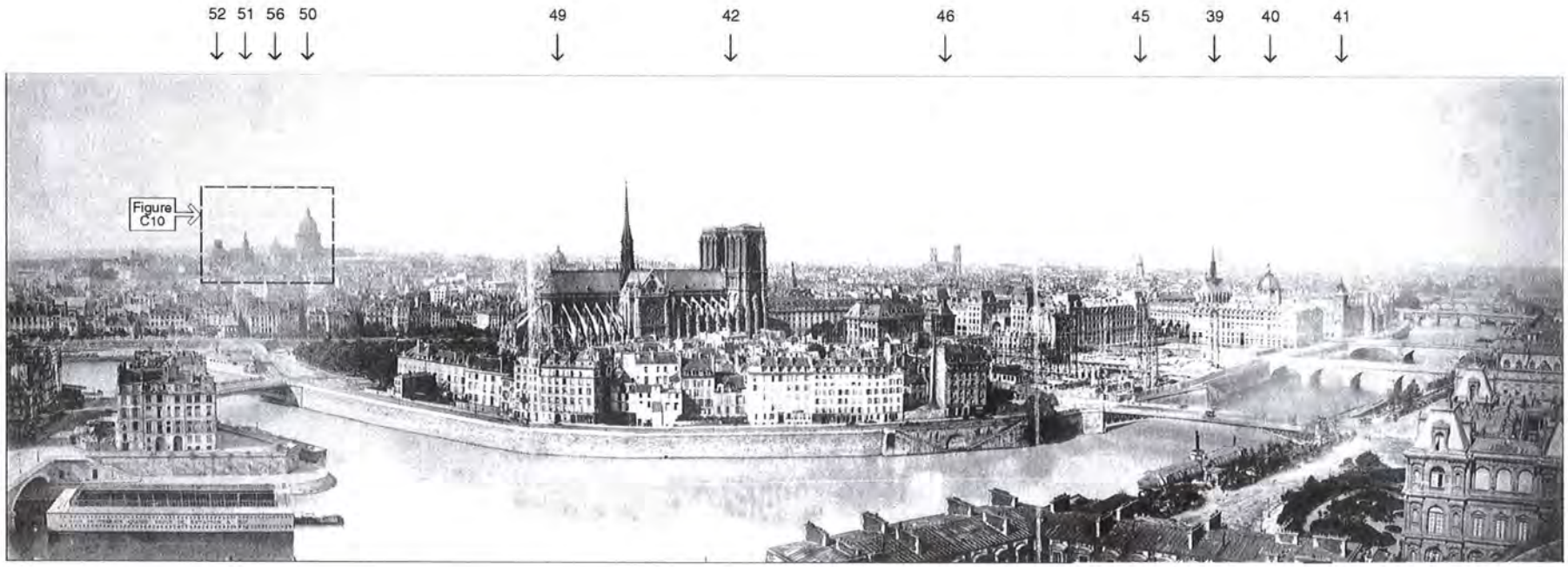
0 1 km

104
Reference plan of Paris, 1867. Buildings, monuments and landmarks used in case studies



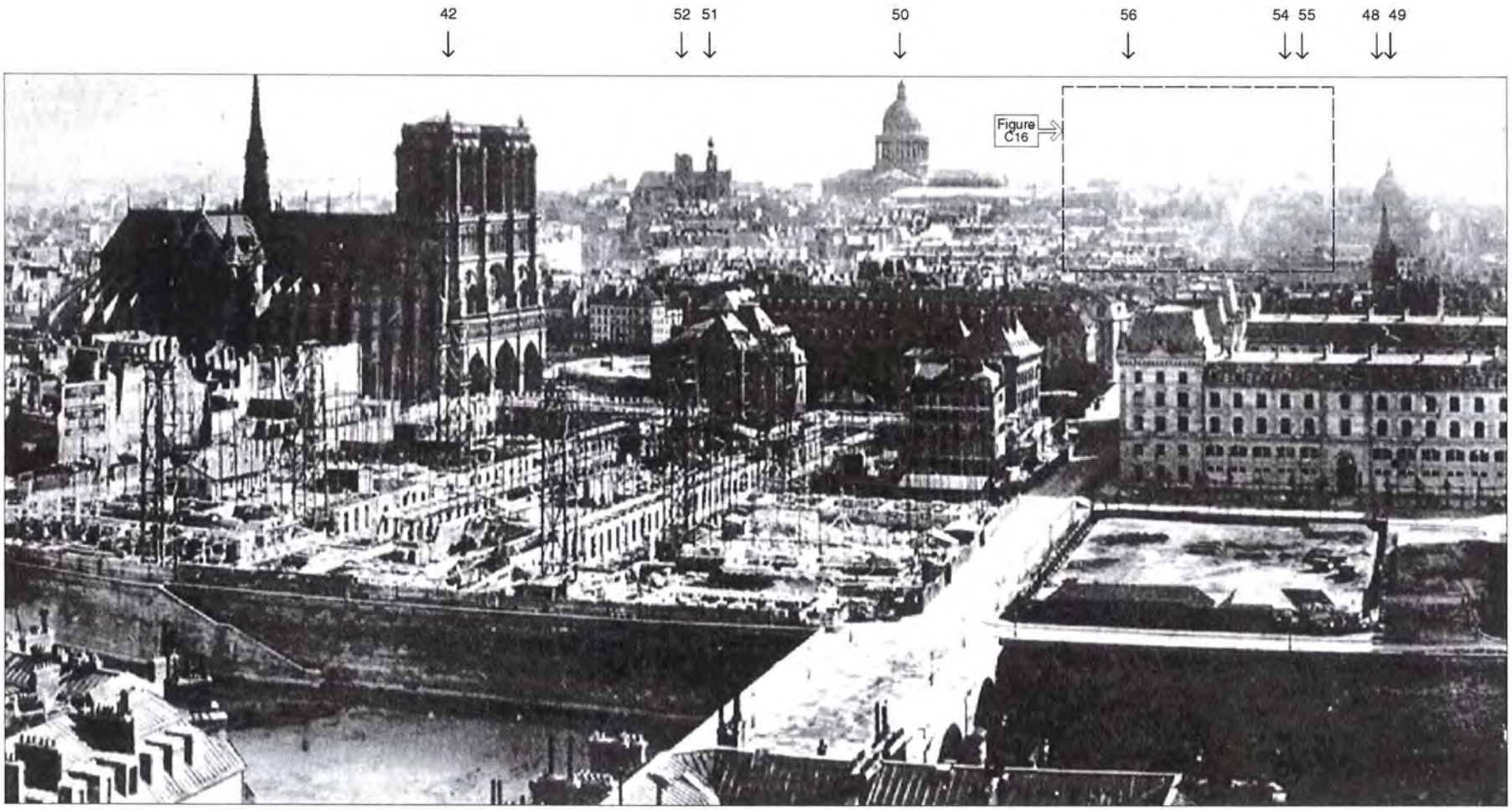
105
Frédéric Martens, *Panorama of Paris*, 1845, daguerreotype. Reversed view to south-east from the Louvre (Courtesy of George Eastman House, Rochester, NY)

29 Tour Saint-Jacques
31 Saint-Gervais
34 Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis
40 Tribunal du Commerce
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
44 Institut de France
45 Saint-Germain-des-Prés
46 Saint-Sulpice
48 Saint-Séverin
49 Église de la Sorbonne
50 Panthéon
51 Saint-Étienne-du-Mont
52 Tour de Clovis
61 Observatoire



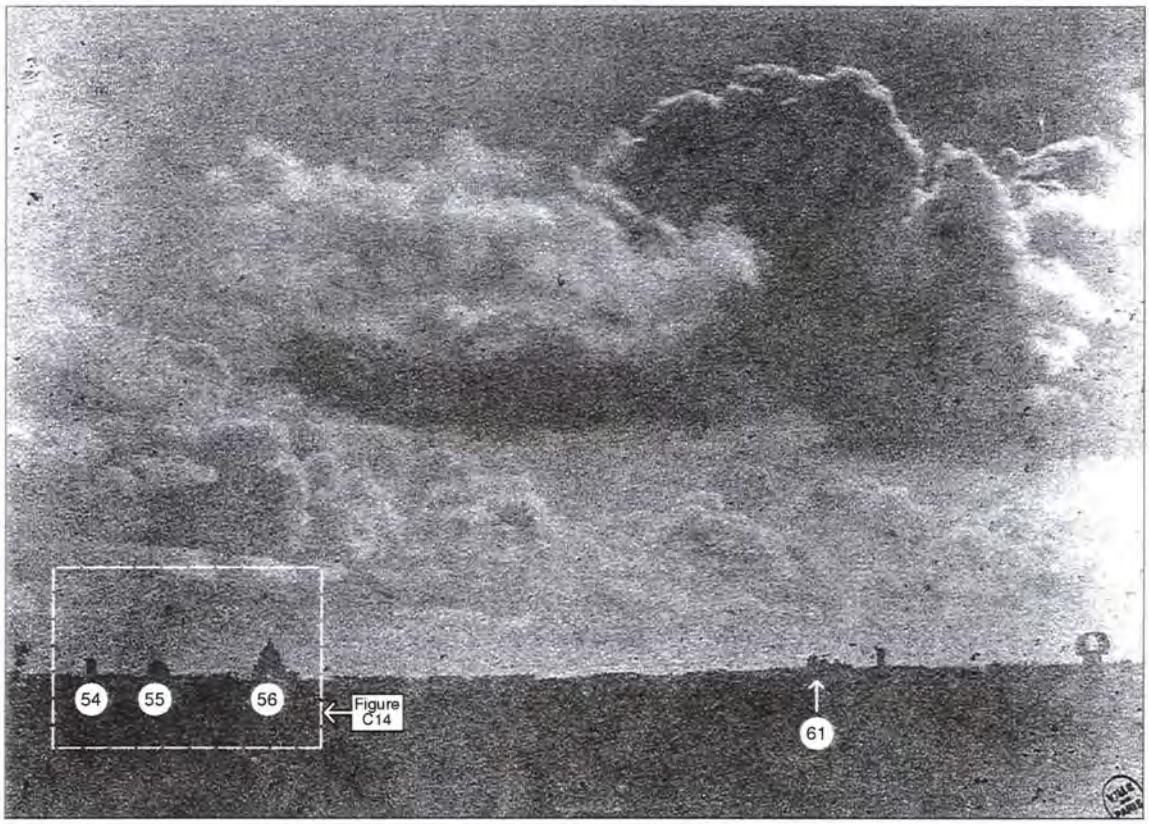
106
Anon., *Panorama of Paris*, n.d. (c.1866), photograph. View to south-west from Saint-Gervais

39 Sainte-Chapelle
40 Tribunal du Commerce
41 Palais du Justice
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
45 Saint-Germain-des-Prés
46 Saint-Sulpice
49 Église de la Sorbonne
50 Panthéon
51 Saint-Étienne-du-Mont
52 Tour de Clovis
56 Val-de-Grâce



107
Anon., *View of Île de la Cité*, 1868?, photograph. View to south from Tour Saint-Jacques

42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
48 Saint-Séverin
49 Église de la Sorbonne
50 Panthéon
51 Saint-Étienne-du-Mont
52 Tour de Clovis
54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55 Orme de Sully
56 Val-de-Grâce

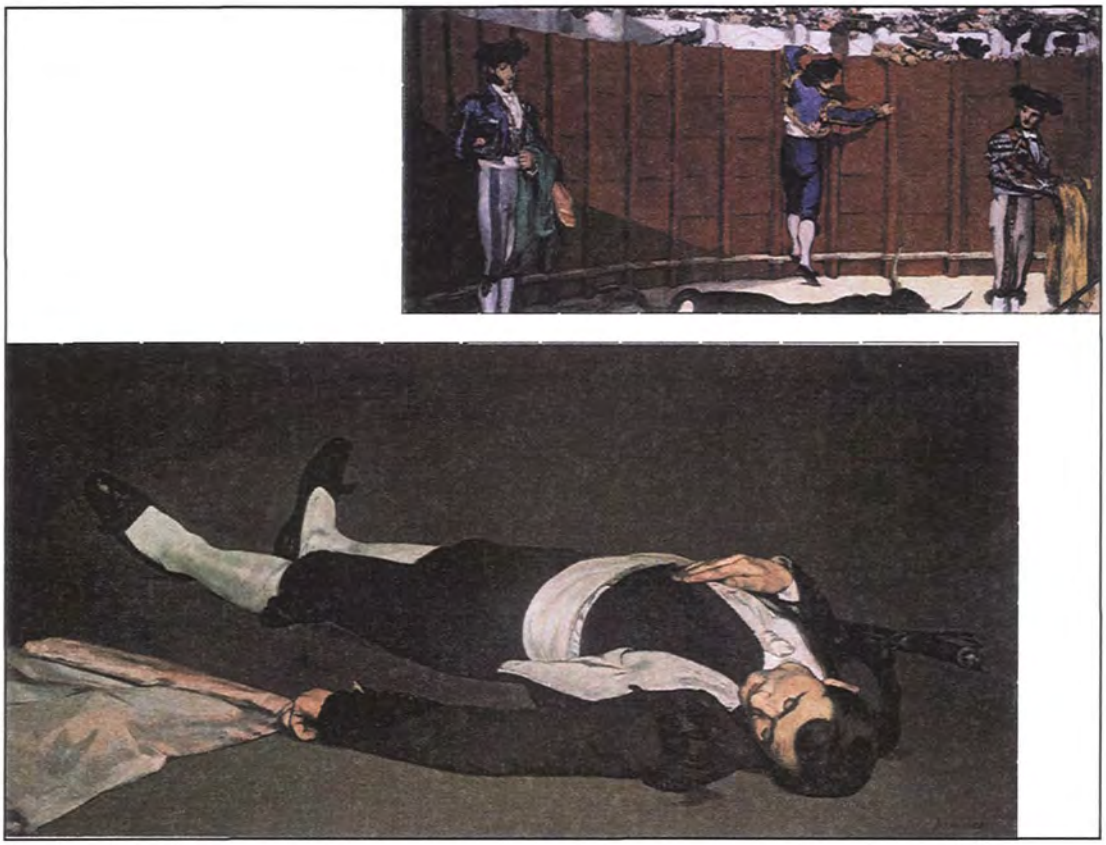


108
Charles Marville, *View of Paris skyline*, 1855, calotype.
View from Marville's studio at 25 Rue Saint Dominique

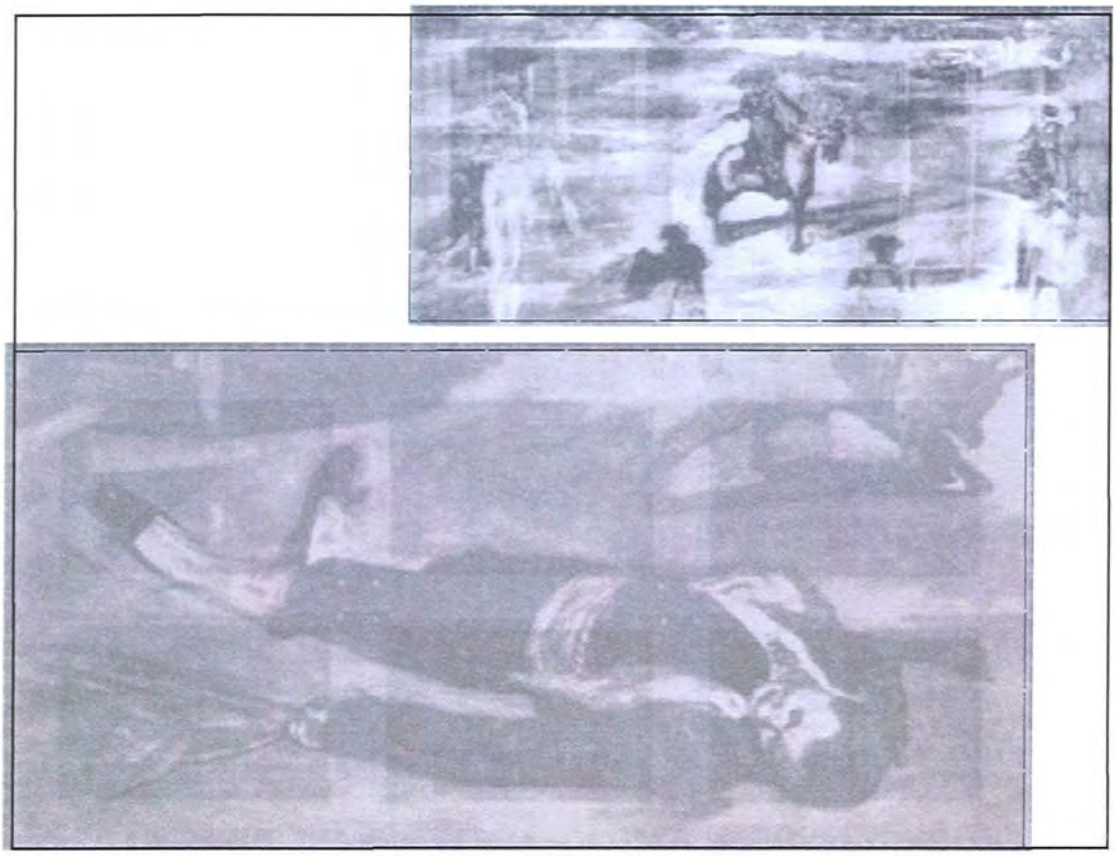
54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55 Orme de Sully
56 Val-de-Grâce
61 Observatoire

109
Félix Benoist, *Paris en 1860*, 1860, lithograph

13 Panorama National
14 Palais de l'Industrie
22 Palais des Tuileries
29 Tour Saint-Jacques
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
43 Sainte-Clotilde
46 Saint Sulpice
50 Panthéon
56 Val-de-Grâce

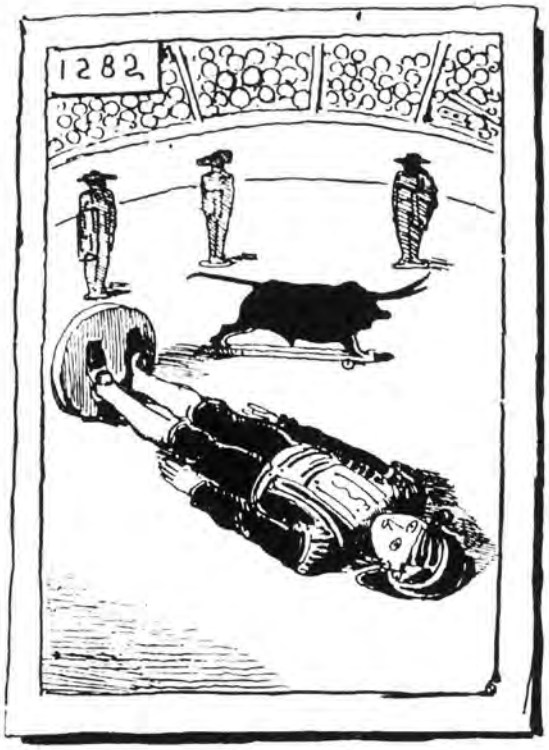


A1
Co-ordinated images:*The Bullfight* and *The Dead Toreador*

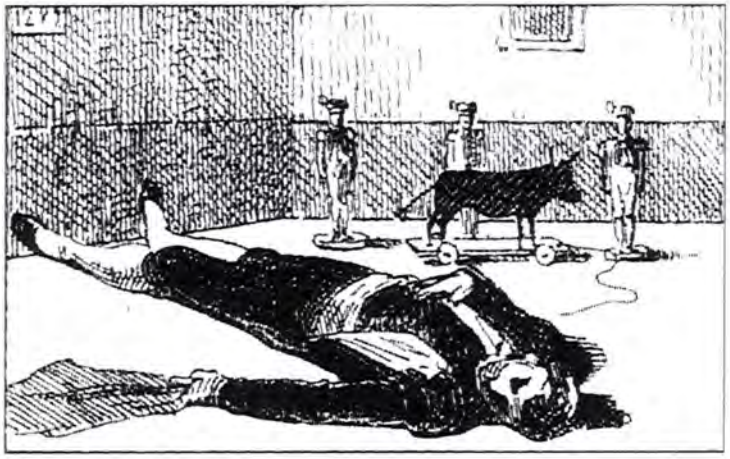


A2
Co-ordinated images: positive prints from composite X-radiographs of *The Bullfight* and *The Dead Toreador*, 1999

A3
Bertall, *"Joujoux espagnols... "*, caricature, *Le Journal amusant*, 21 May, 1864

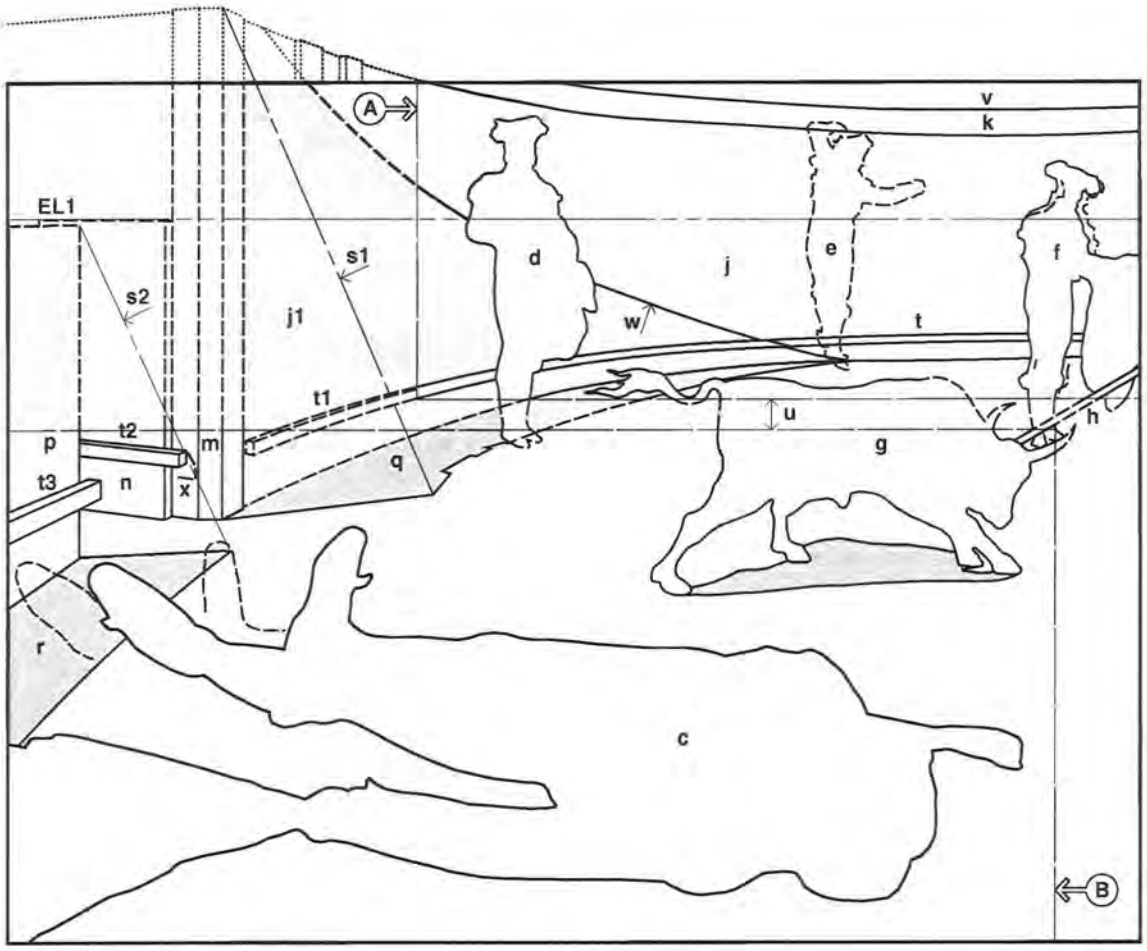


A4
Cham, *"Ayant eu à se plaindre... "*, caricature, *Le Charivari*, 22 May, 1864



A5
H. Oulevay, *"Un toréador... "*, caricature, *Le Monde illustré*, 28 May, 1864

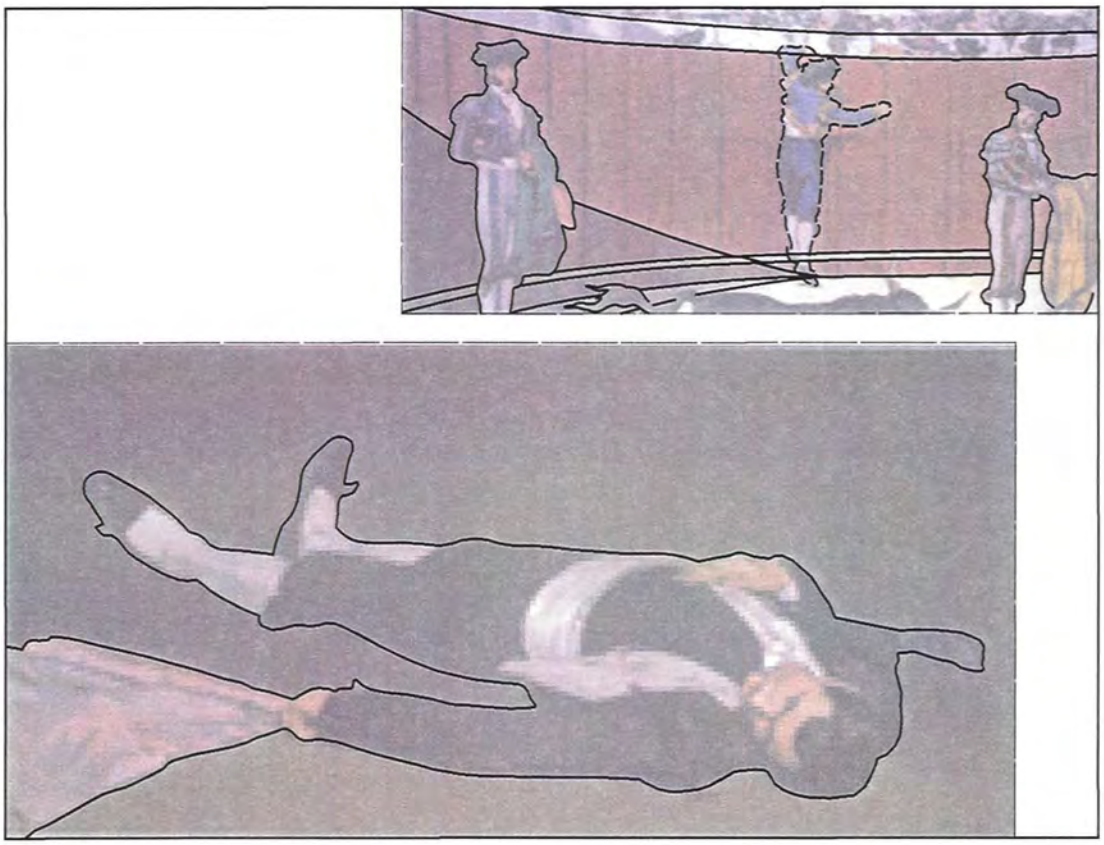
A6
Edouard Manet, *Dead Toreador*, 1868, etching and aquatint



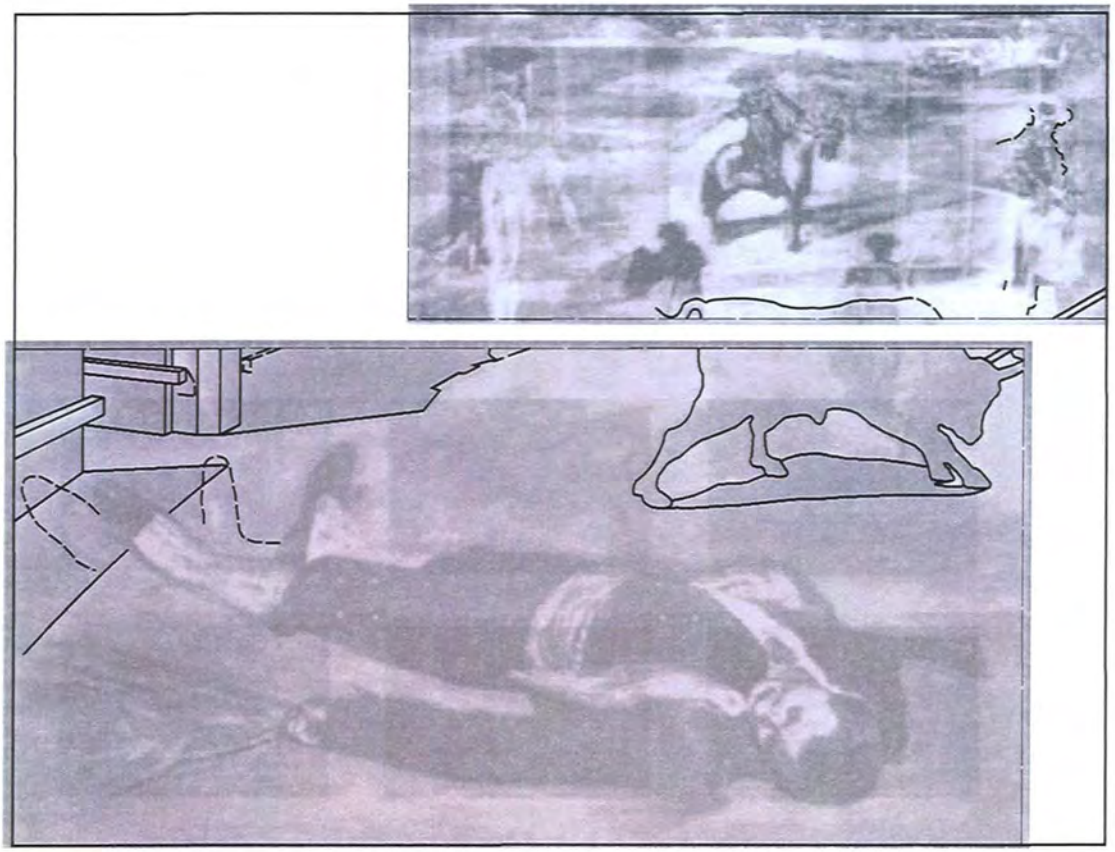
A7
Proposal by author for *Incident in a Bullfight*

A	*The Bullfight*	**p**	Gate 2
B	*The Dead Toreador*	**q**	Shadow of barrier and post
c	Matador	**r**	Shadow of gate 2
d	Torero 1	**s1**	Direction of sunlight at post
e	Torero 2	**s2**	Direction of sunlight at gate 2
f	Torero 3	**t**	Foot-rail to barrier
g	Bull	**t1**	Foot-rail to extended barrier
h	Pica	**t2**	Foot-rail to gate 1
j	Barrier	**t3**	Foot-rail to gate 2
j1	Extended barrier	**u**	Gap between canvases
k	Stand	**v**	Crowd
m	Post	**w**	Edge of shaded area, barrier
n	Gate 1	**x**	Shadow of foot-rail to gate 1
		EL1	Approximate eye level, barrier

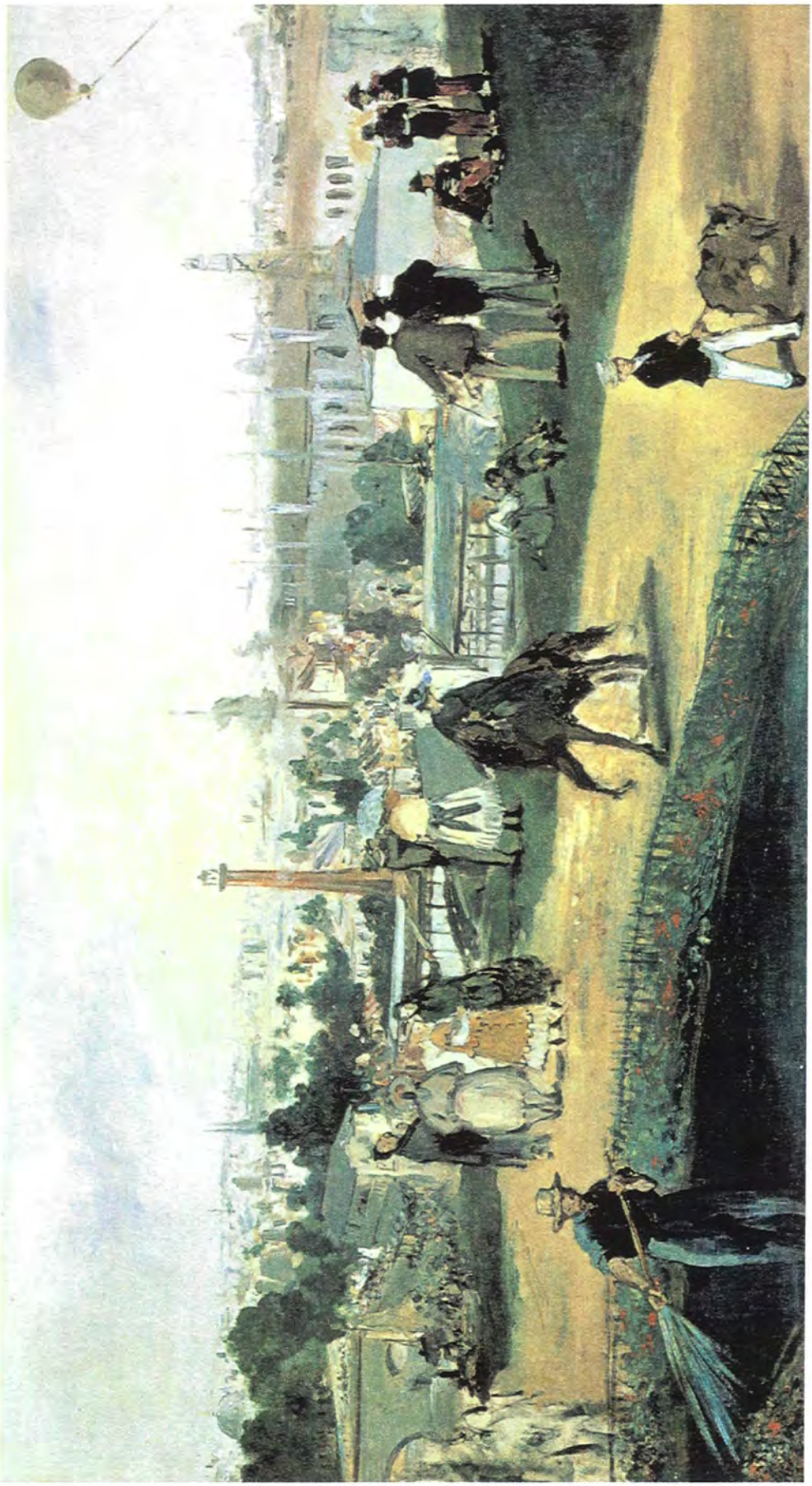
——— Proposed forms
- - - - Uncertain forms
····· Plotted forms outside original canvas



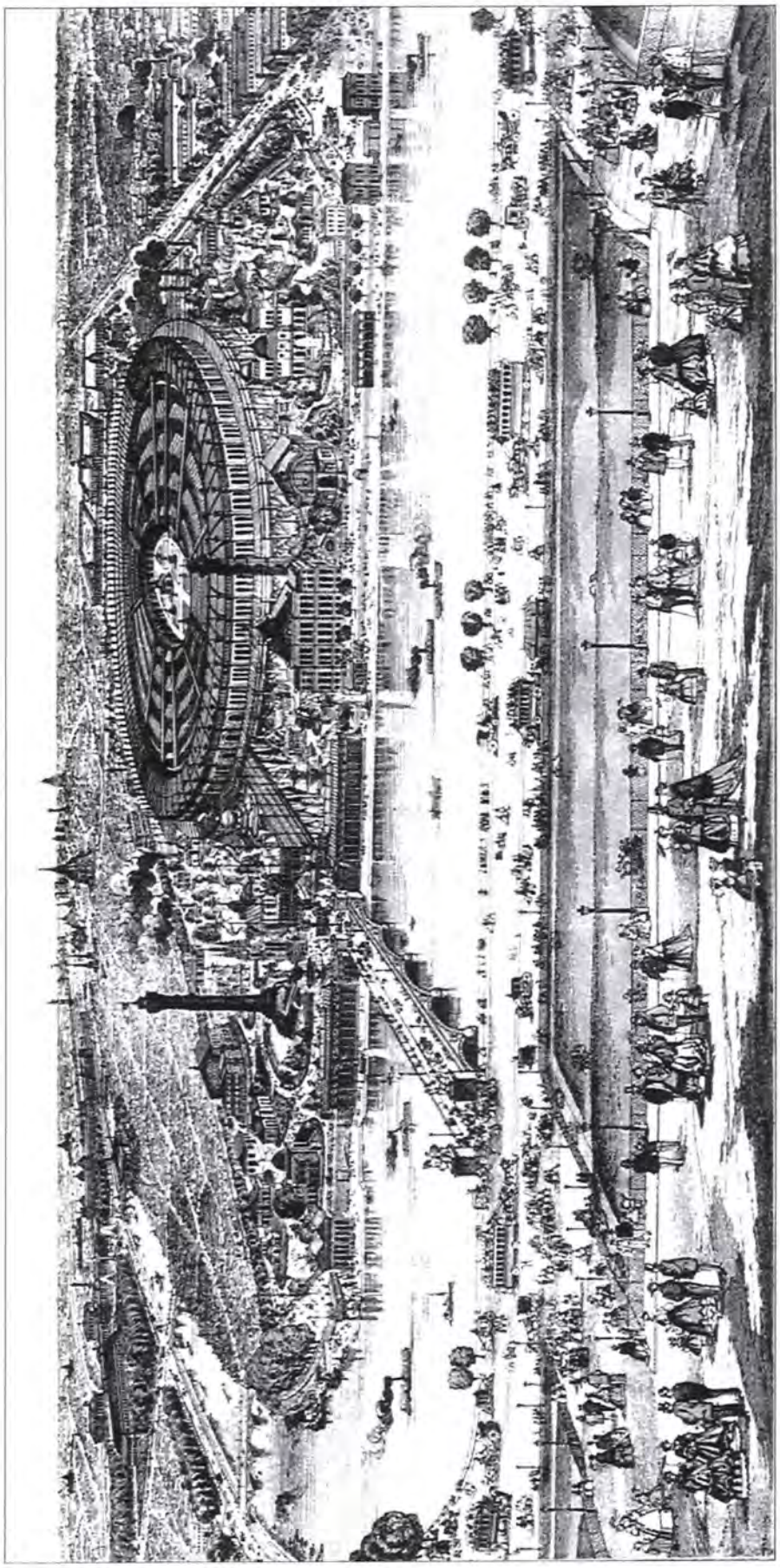
A8
Extent of proposal for *Incident in a Bullfight* established from co-ordinated images of *The Bullfight* and *The Dead Toreador*



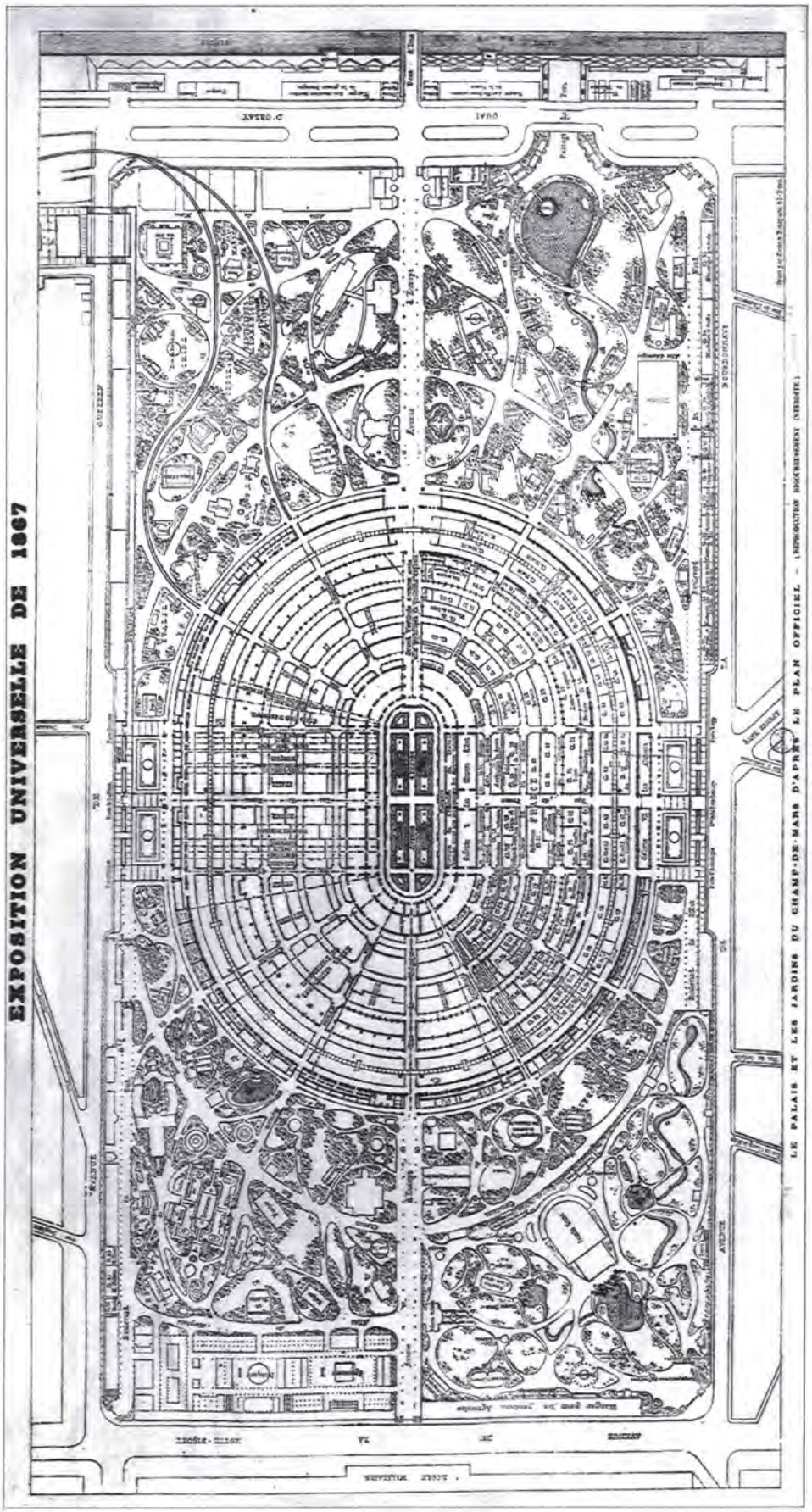
A9
Extent of proposal for *Incident in a Bullfight* established from co-ordinated X-radiographs of *The Bullfight* and *The Dead Toreador*



B1
Edouard Manet, *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867



B2
Charles François Pinot and Sagaire, *Diagrammatic view of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, Épinal print



B3
Exposition Universelle de 1867. Le Palais et les jardins du Champ-de-Mars d'après le Plan Officiel, 1867, plan.
Site of 1867 Exposition Universelle

B4
Martens, *Panoramic view of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, photograph.
View from No.14 rue Franklin

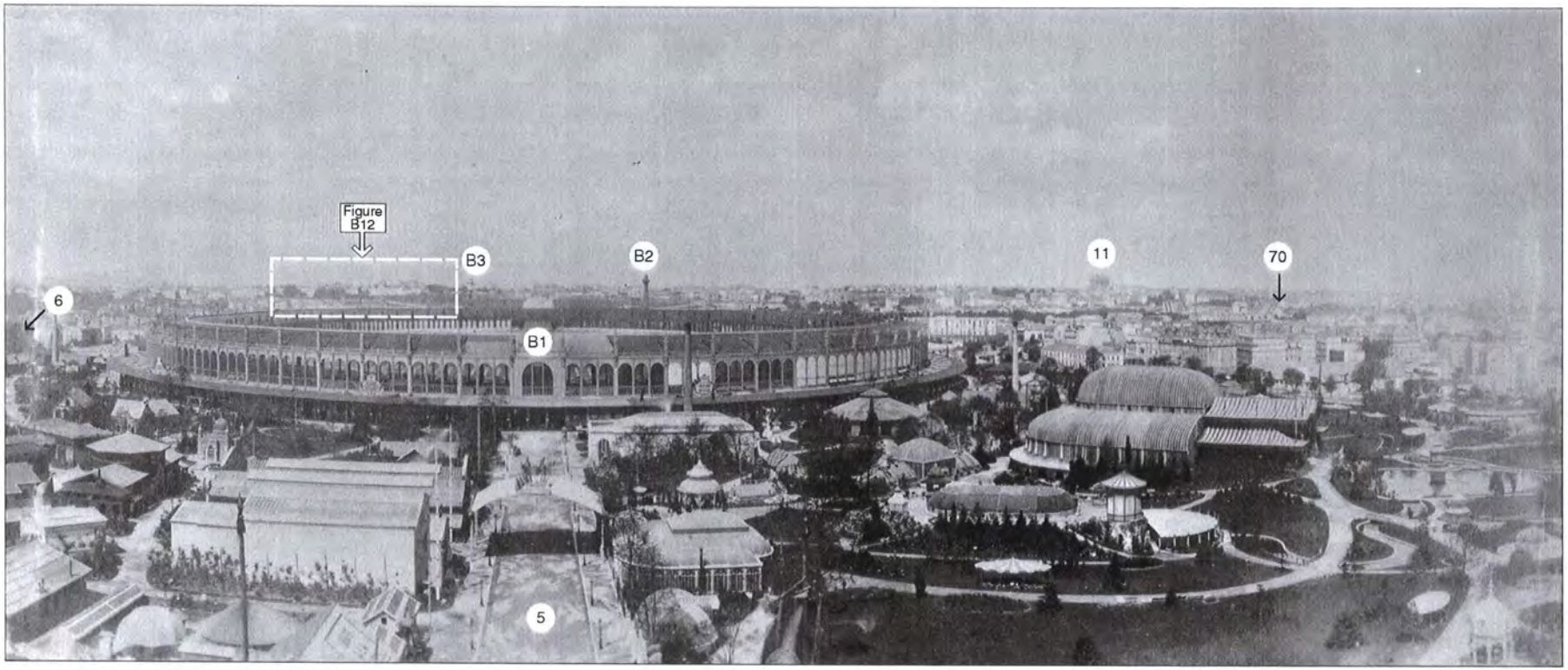
3 Pont de l'Alma
6 Ballon captif enclosure, Avenue de Suffren
7 Invalides
9 École Militaire
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
43 Sainte-Clotilde
45 Saint-Germain-des-Prés
B2 Phare des Roches-Douvers
B3 Phare Anglais

1 Seine River
7 Invalides
9 École Militaire
B1 Palais de l'Exposition
B3 Phare Anglais
B5 Cercle International
B8 Hangar des machines marines de la Bretagne

B5
Quinet *fils*, *Part view of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, photograph.
View from No.22 Rue Franklin

1 Seine River
2 Pont d'Iéna
4 Place du Roi-de-Rome, Trocadéro
7 Invalides
9 École Militaire
46 Saint-Sulpice
49 Église de la Sorbonne
50 Panthéon
54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55 Orme de Sully
56 Val-de-Grâce
61 Observatoire
B1 Palais de l'Exposition
B2 Phare des Roches-Douvers
B3 Phare Anglais
B4 Théâtre
B5 Cercle International
B7 Hangar des machines marines de la France
B8 Hangar des machines marines de la Bretagne
a Rue Franklin

B6
Dontenville, *View of the1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, photograph. View from No.35 Rue Franklin



B7
Martens, *General view of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, photograph.
View from eastern end of Exposition site

5 Champ-de-Mars
6 Ballon captif enclosure, Avenue de Suffren
11 Arc de Triomphe
70 Site of Manet's 1867 exhibition pavilion
B1 Palais de l'Exposition
B2 Phare des Roches-Douvers
B3 Phare Anglais

6 Ballon captif enclosure, Avenue de Suffren

B1 Palais de l'Exposition

B8
Anon., *Part view of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, photograph.
View to south-west from eastern end of Exposition site

B9
Jean Petit, *Part view of Exposition Universelle*, 1867, photograph.
View to north-east from Place du Roi-de-Rome, with Exposition and Pont d'Iéna in background, structures for national holiday celebrations in foreground

2 Pont d'Iéna

7 Invalides

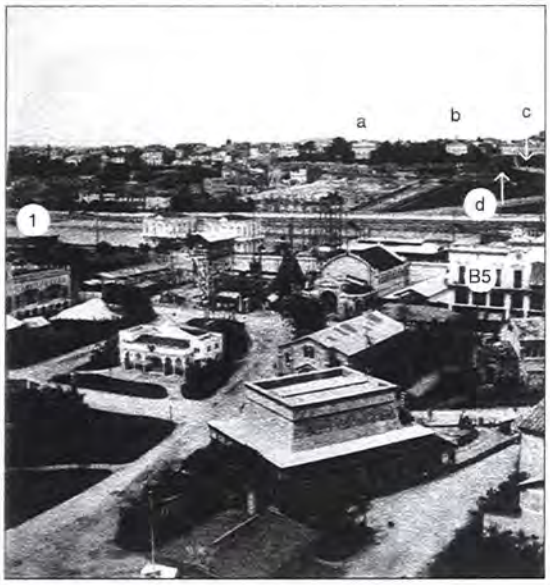
B1 Palais de l'Exposition

B2 Phare des Roches-Douvers

B4 Théâtre

B7 Hangar des machines marines de la France

B8 Hangar des machines marines de la Bretagne



B10
Anon., *Part view of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, photograph. View to west from the Phare Anglais

1 Seine River

B5 Cercle International

a No.14 Rue Franklin (SP7)

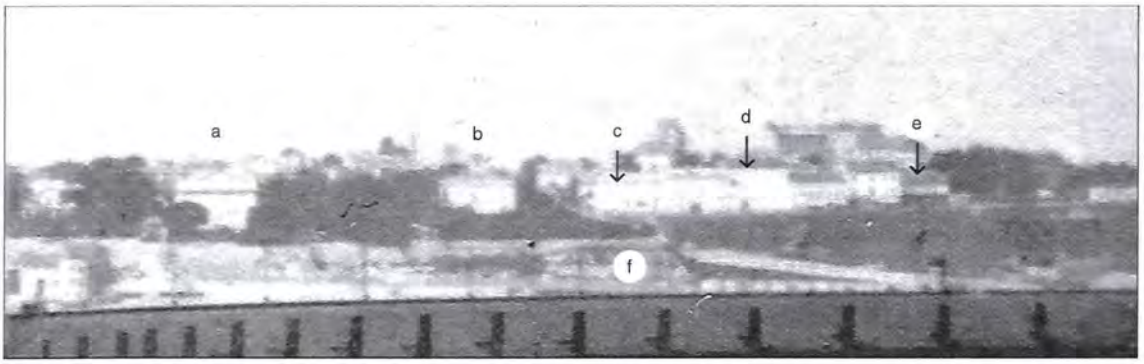
b No.22 Rue Franklin (SP8)

c Grassed bank (SP3)

d Excavated cliff face

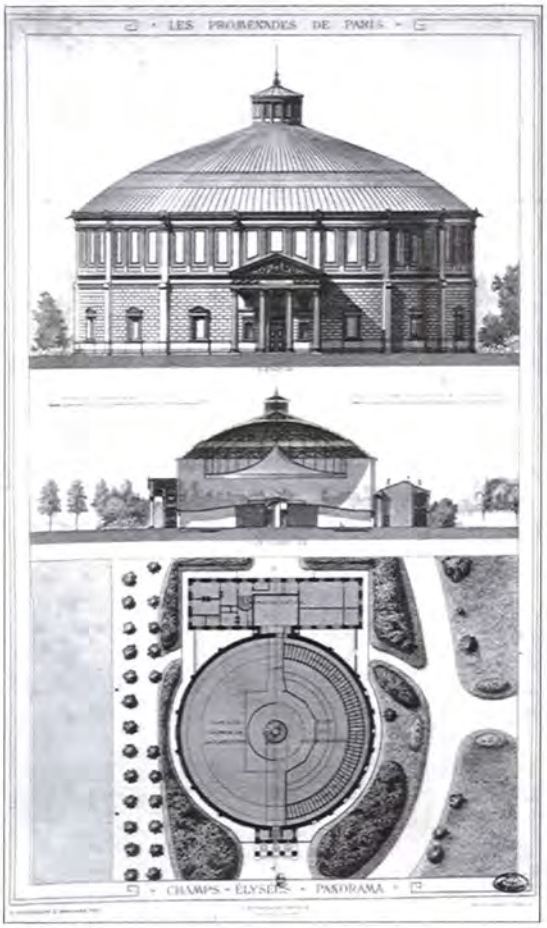
B11
Anon., *View of works at Trocadéro*, 1866, photograph.
View to south-west, Rue Franklin in background

- **a** No.14 Rue Franklin (SP7)
- **b** No.22 Rue Franklin (SP8)
- **c** No.25 Rue Franklin (SP2)
- **d** No.29 Rue Franklin (SP1)
- **e** No.35 Rue Franklin (SP9)
- **f** Excavated cliff face

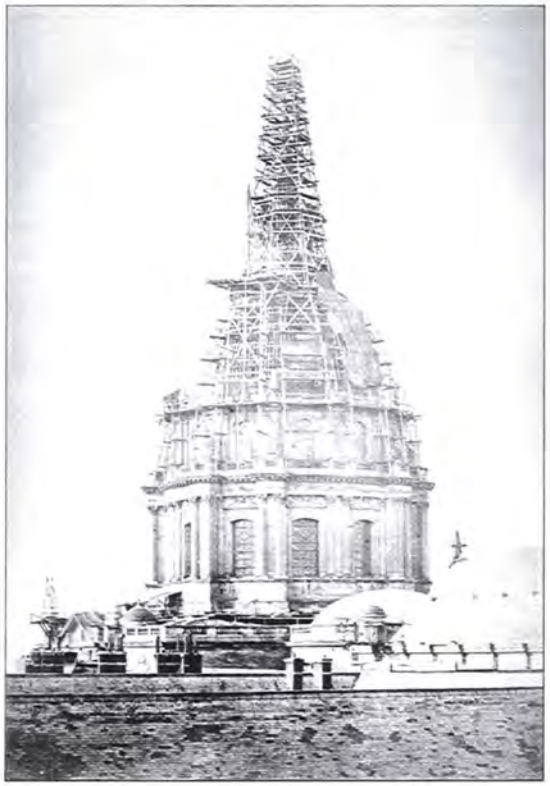


B12
Buildings on Rue Franklin, 1867, detail of photograph, Fig.B7

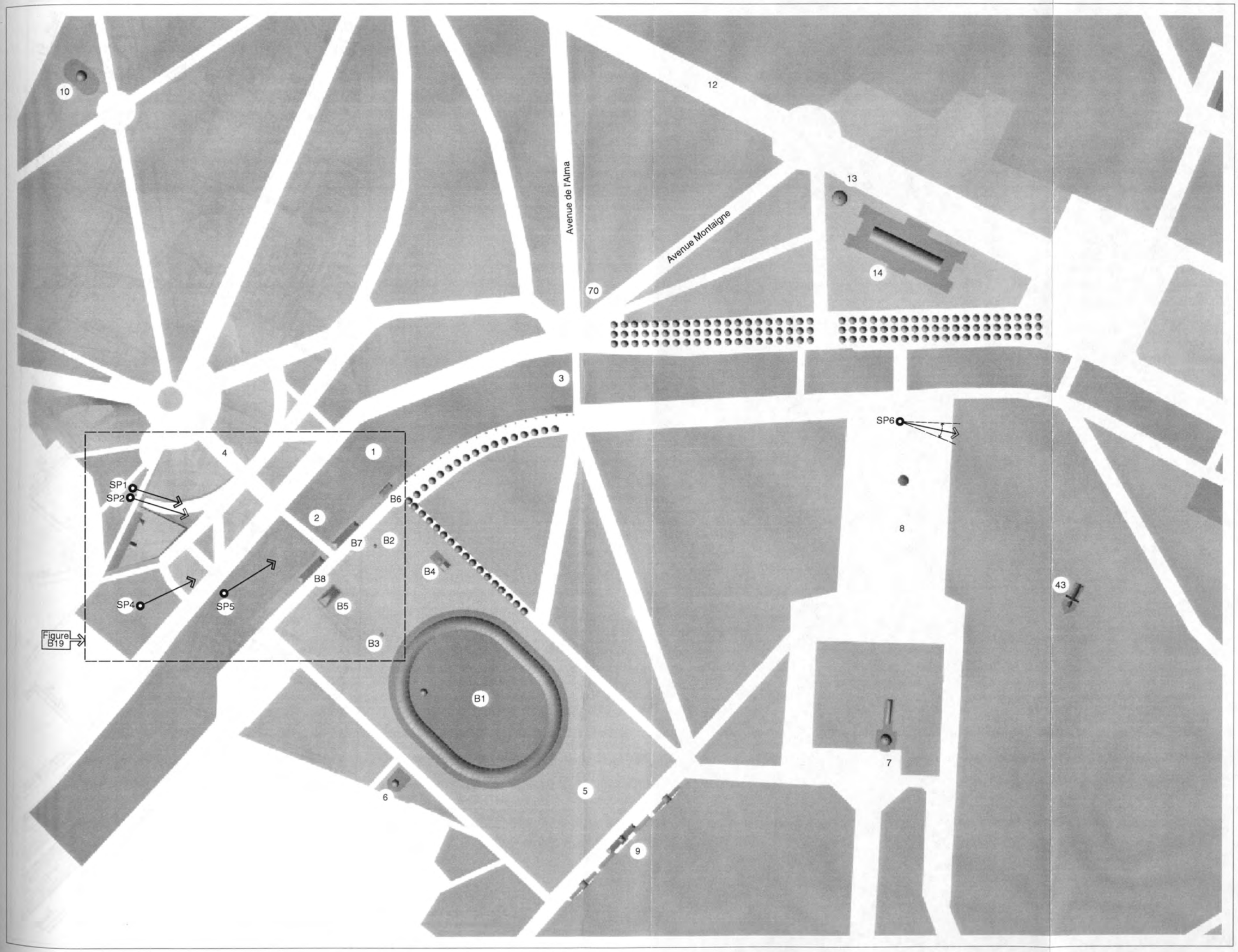
- **a** No.14 Rue Franklin (SP7)
- **b** No.22 Rue Franklin (SP8)
- **c** No.25 Rue Franklin (SP2)
- **d** No.29 Rue Franklin (SP1)
- **e** No.35 Rue Franklin (SP9)
- **f** Excavated cliff face



B13
Les Promenades de Paris: Champs Élysées: Panorama, n.d., architectural drawing of the Panorama National – plan, section, and elevation

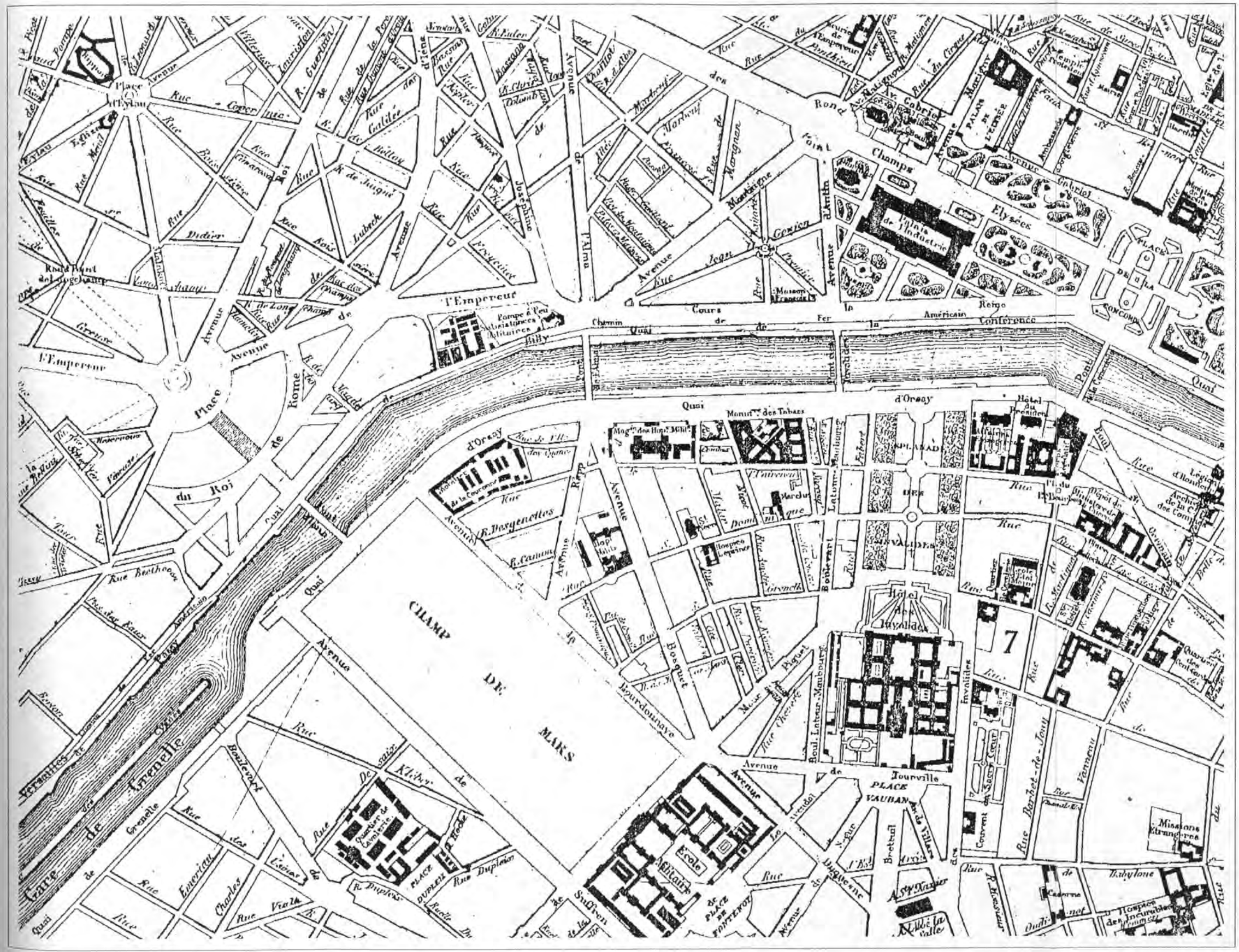


B14
Anon., *Restoration of the Invalides dome*, 1866, photograph

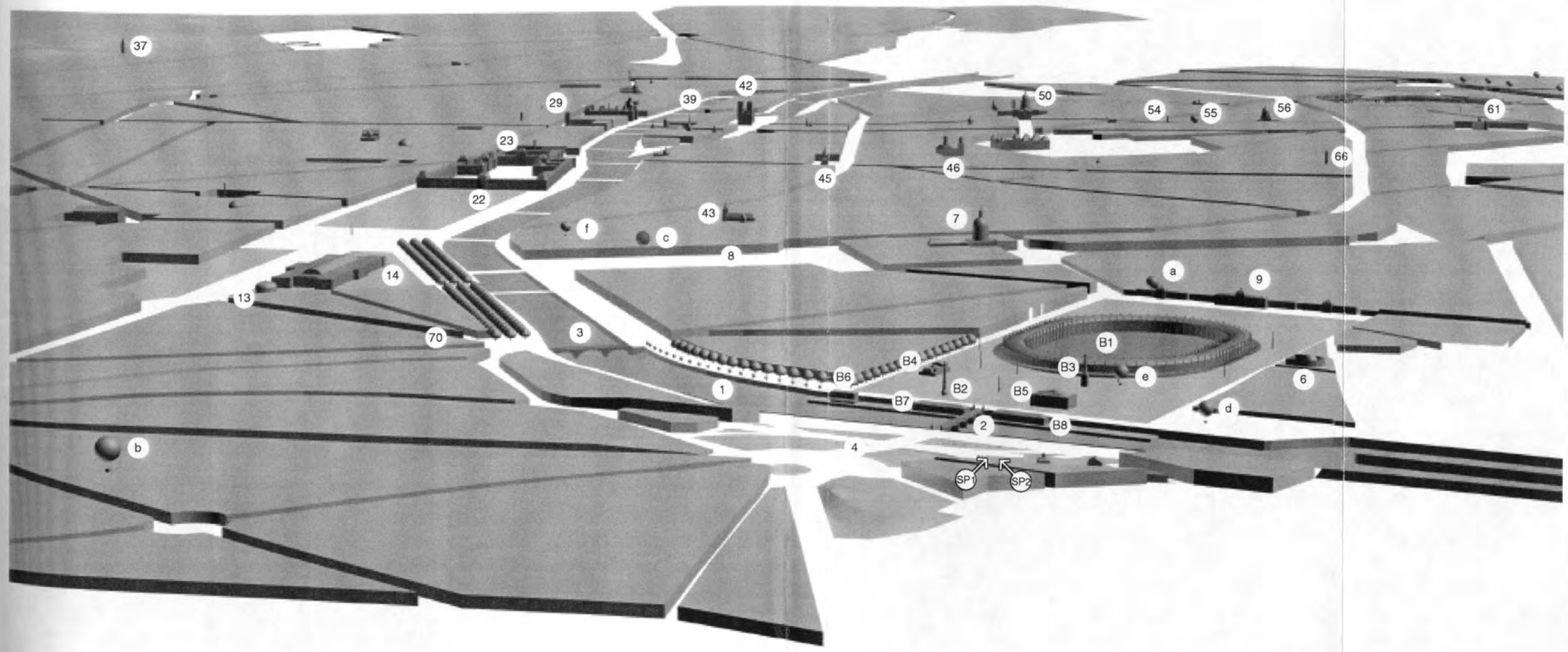


1 Seine River
2 Pont d'Iéna
3 Pont de l'Alma
4 Place du Roi-de-Rome, Trocadéro
5 Champ-de-Mars
6 Ballon captif enclosure, Avenue de Suffren
7 Invalides
8 Esplanade des Invalides
9 École Militaire
10 Hippodrome
12 Avenue des Champs-Élysées
13 Panorama National
14 Palais de l'Industrie
43 Sainte-Clotilde
70 Site of Manet's 1867 exhibition pavilion
B1 Palais de l'Exposition
B2 Phare des Roches-Douvers
B3 Phare Anglais
B4 Théâtre
B5 Cercle International
B6 Restaurant Français
B7 Hangar des machines marines de la France
B8 Hangar des machines marines de la Bretagne
SP6 viewpoint: aerial balloon, 67m above ground

B15
Painting site: location plan



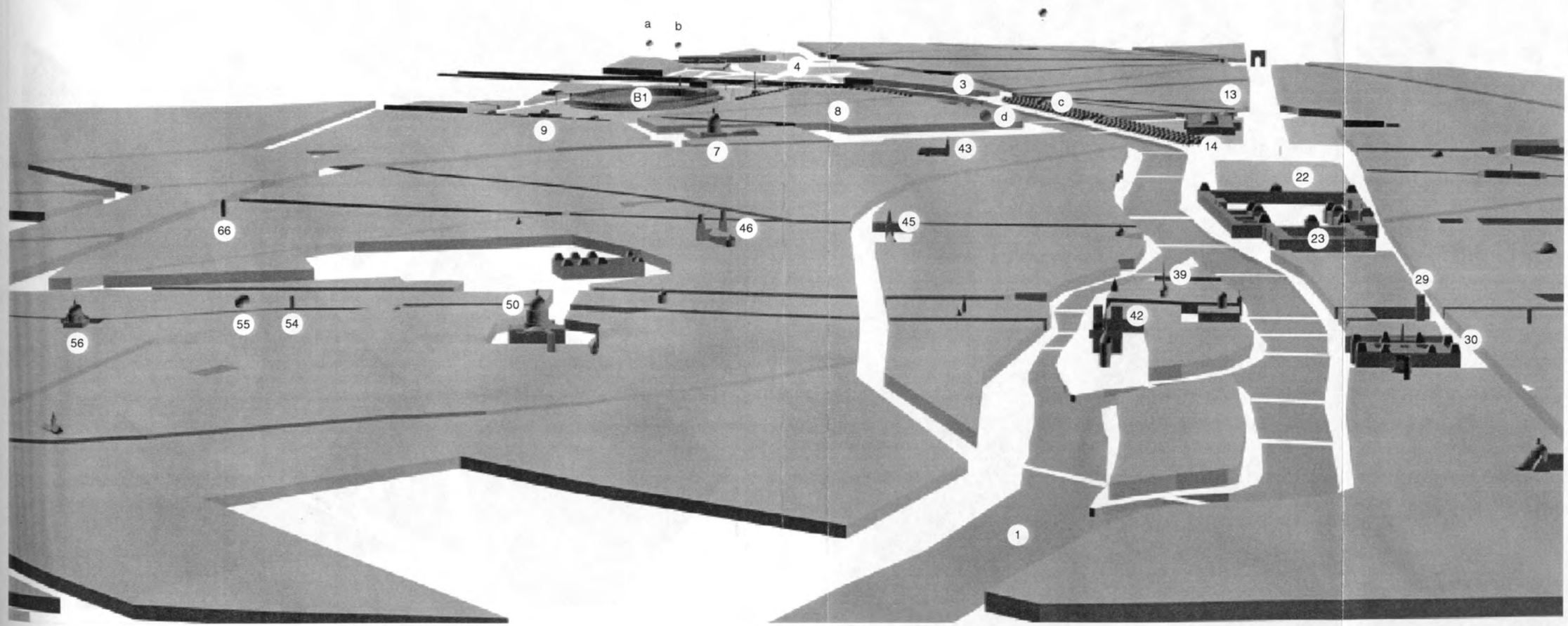
B16
A. Chaix & Cie.,
Nouveau Plan de Paris: divisé en 20 arrondissements,
1870. Map detail. Extent as for location plan, Fig.B15



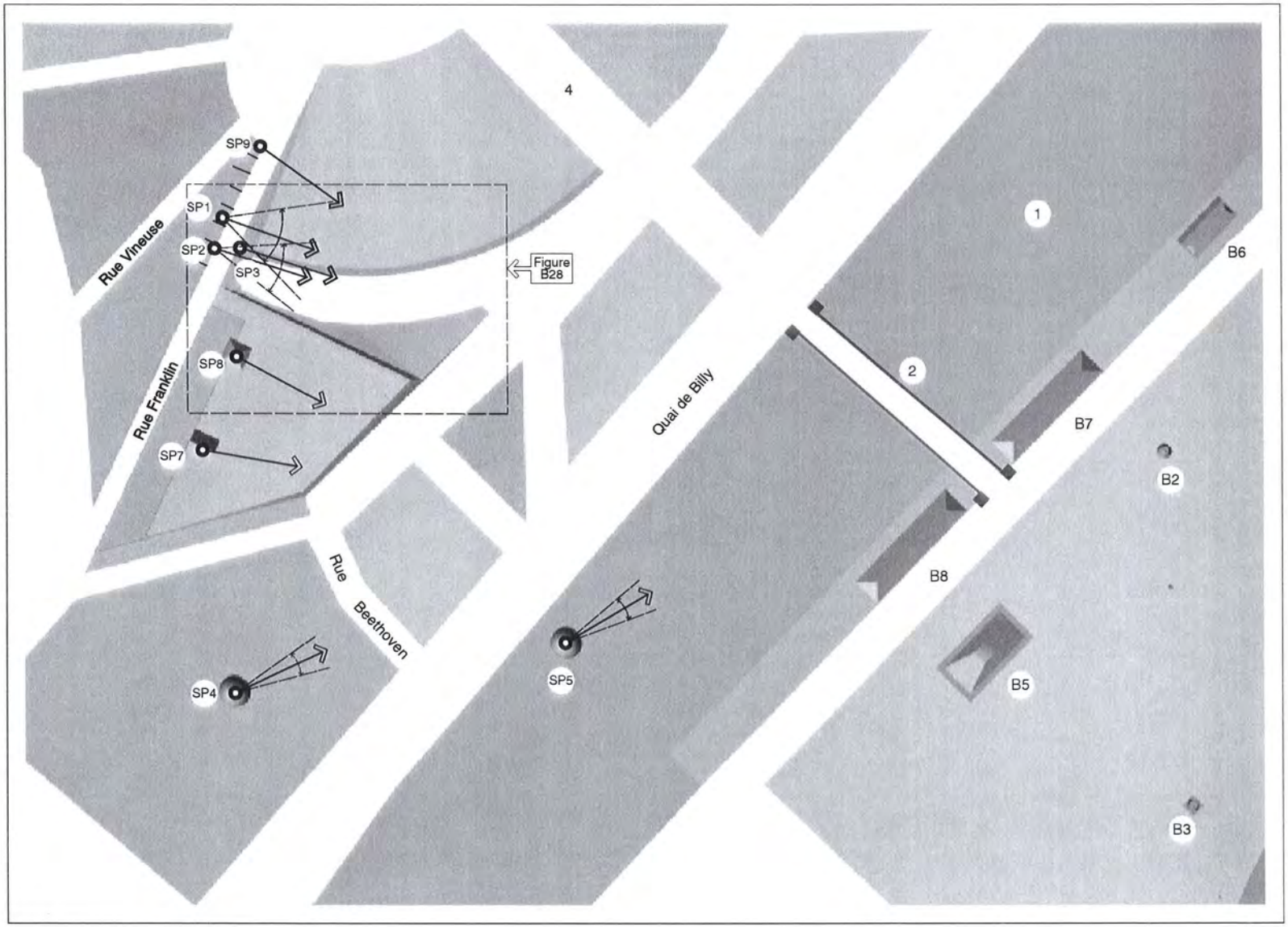
1 Seine River
2 Pont d'Iéna
3 Pont de l'Alma
4 Place du Roi-de-Rome, Trocadéro
5 Champ-de-Mars
6 Ballon captif enclosure, avenue de Suffren
7 Invalides
8 Esplanade des Invalides
9 École Militaire
13 Panorama National
14 Palais de l'Industrie
22 Palais des Tuileries
23 Palais du Louvre
29 Tour Saint-Jacques
37 Notre-Dame-de-la-Croix de Ménilmontant
39 Sainte-Chapelle
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
43 Sainte-Clotilde
45 Saint-Germain-des-Prés
46 Saint-Sulpice
50 Panthéon
54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55 Orme de Sully
56 Val-de-Grâce
61 Observatoire
66 Notre-Dame-des-Champs
70 Site of Manet's 1867 exhibition pavilion
B1 Palais de l'Exposition
B2 Phare des Roches-Douvers
B3 Phare Anglais
B4 Théâtre
B5 Cercle International
B6 Restaurant Français
B7 Hangar des machines marines de la France
B8 Hangar des machines marines de la Bretagne
a Ballon captif from Avenue de Suffren enclosure, approximate position depicted in painting
b Ballon captif above Hippodrome
c Le Géant at Esplanade des Invalides
d Balloon for viewpoint SP4
e Balloon for viewpoint SP5
f Balloon for viewpoint SP6
SP1 Viewpoint, No.29 Rue Franklin
SP2 Viewpoint, No.25 Rue Franklin

B17
Painting site: perspective, overview to east

1 Seine River
3 Pont de l'Alma
4 Place du Roi-de-Rome, Trocadéro
7 Invalides
8 Esplanade des Invalides
9 École Militaire
13 Panorama National
14 Palais de l'Industrie
22 Palais des Tuileries
23 Palais du Louvre
29 Tour Saint-Jacques
30 Hôtel de Ville
39 Sainte-Chapelle
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
43 Sainte-Clotilde
45 Saint-Germain-des-Prés
46 Saint-Sulpice
50 Panthéon
54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55 Orme de Sully
56 Val-de-Grâce
66 Notre-Dame-des-Champs
B1 Palais de l'Exposition
a Balloon for viewpoint SP4
b Balloon for viewpoint SP5
c Balloon for viewpoint SP6
d Le Géant at Esplanade des Invalides



B18
View towards painting site: perspective, overview to west

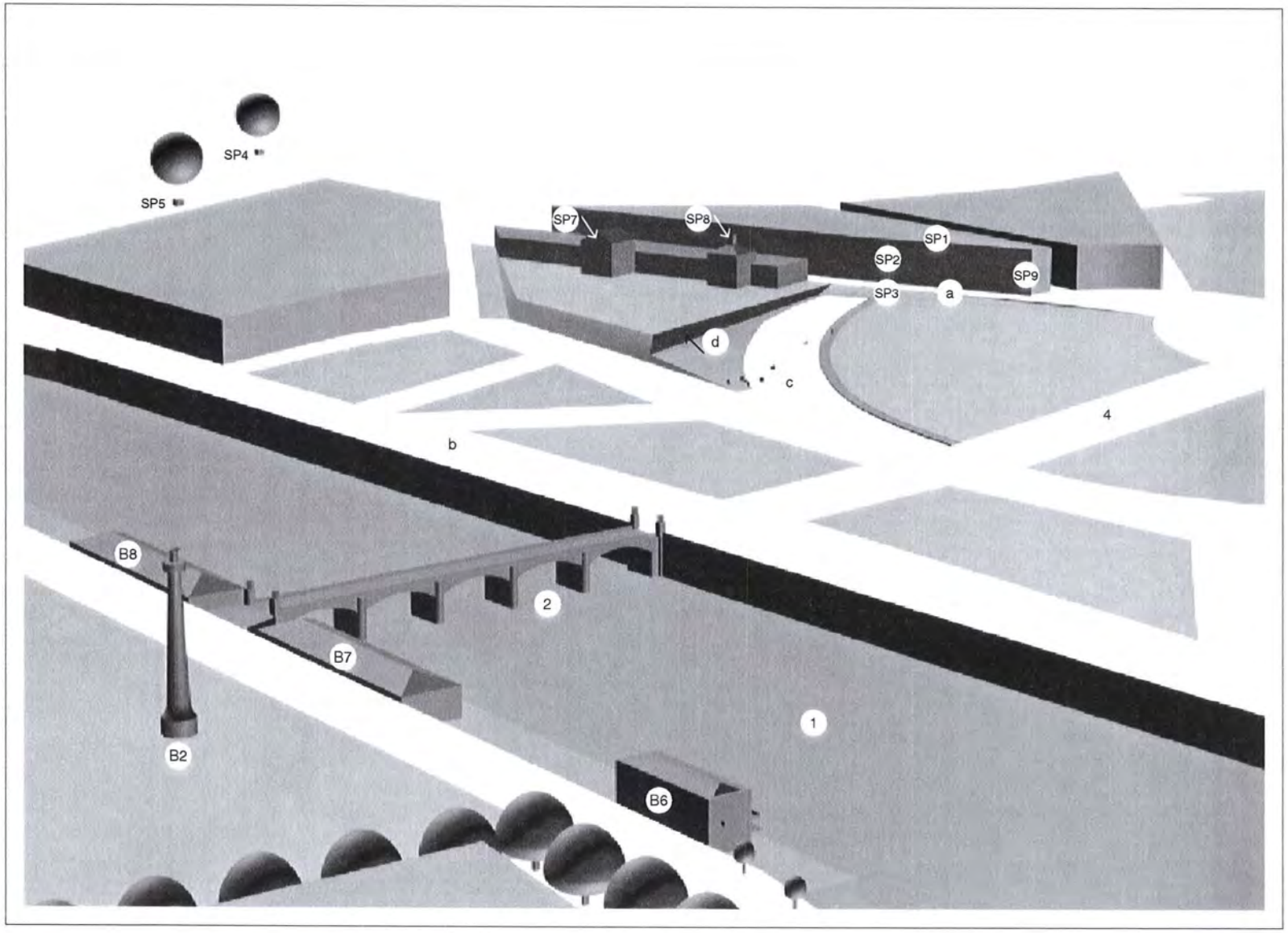


1 Seine River
2 Pont d'Iéna
4 Place du Roi-de-Rome, Trocadéro
B2 Phare des Roches-Douvers
B3 Phare Anglais
B5 Cercle International
B6 Restaurant Français
B7 Hangar des machines marines de la France
B8 Hangar des machines marines de la Bretagne
SP1 Viewpoint: No.29 Rue Franklin, 23m. above ground
SP2 Viewpoint: No.25 Rue Franklin, 10m above ground
SP3 Viewpoint: grassed bank, Place du Roi-de-Rome, 1.0m above ground
SP4 Viewpoint: aerial balloon, 70m above ground
SP5 Viewpoint: aerial balloon, 85m above ground
SP7 Viewpoint for photograph Fig.B4: No.14 Rue Franklin, 20.5m above ground
SP8 Viewpoint for photograph, Fig.B5: No.22 Rue Franklin, 19m above ground
SP9 Viewpoint for photograph, Fig.B6: No.35 Rue Franklin, 8m above ground

NORTH

0 100 m

B19
Painting site: plan, Rue Franklin – viewpoints and directions of view

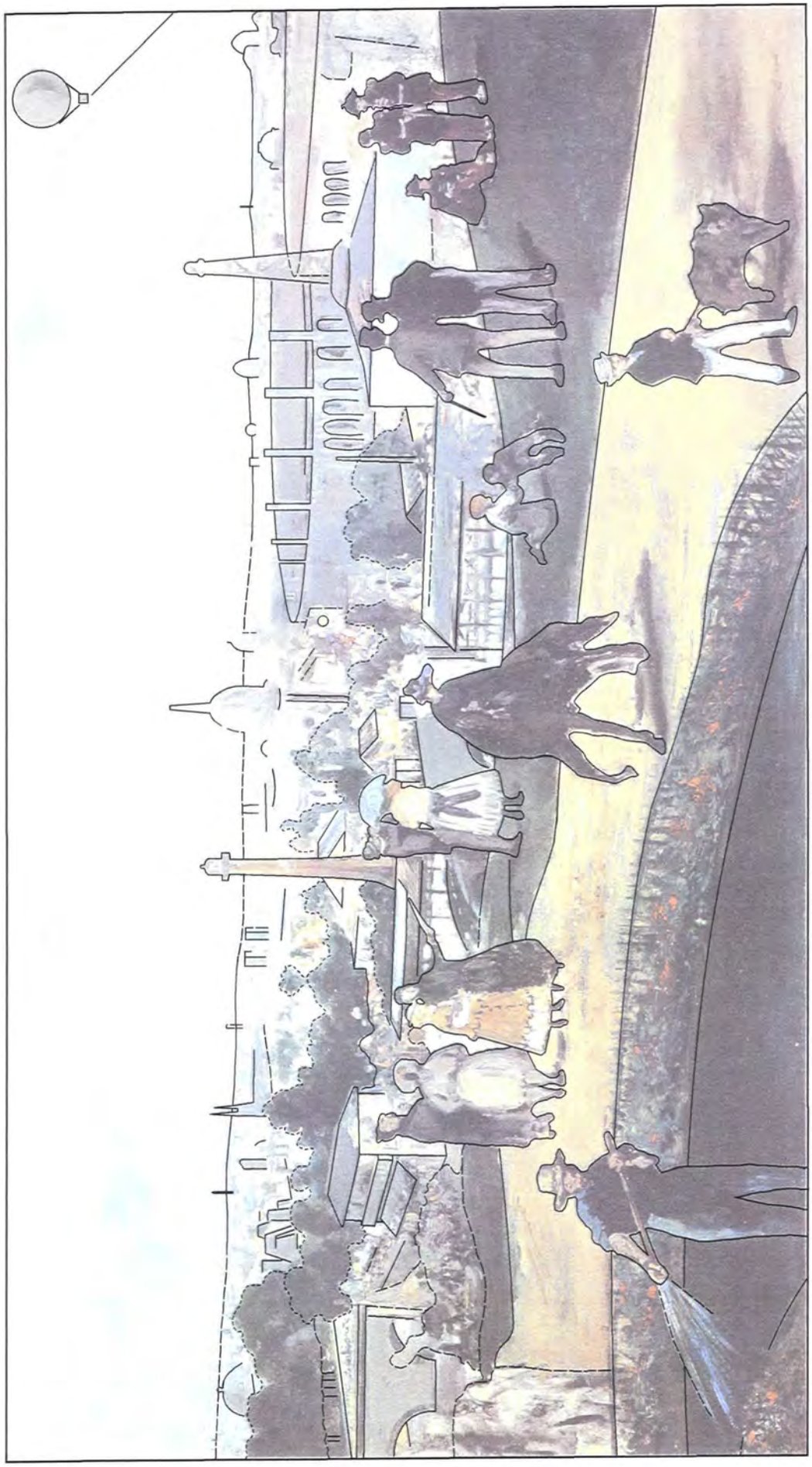


1 Seine River
2 Pont d'Iéna
4 Place du Roi-de-Rome, Trocadéro
B2 Phare des Roches-Douvers
B6 Restaurant Français
B7 Hangar des machines marines de la France
B8 Hangar des machines marines de la Bretagne
a Rue Franklin
b Quai de Billy
c Group of figures
d Excavated cliff face
SP1 Viewpoint: No.29 Rue Franklin, 23m. above ground
SP2 Viewpoint: No.25 Rue Franklin, 10m above ground
SP3 Viewpoint: grassed bank, Place du Roi-de-Rome, 1.0m above ground
SP4 Viewpoint: aerial balloon, 70m above ground
SP5 Viewpoint: aerial balloon, 85m above ground
SP7 Viewpoint for photograph Fig.B4: No.14 Rue Franklin, 20.5m above ground
SP8 Viewpoint for photograph, Fig.B5: No.22 Rue Franklin, 19m above ground
SP9 Viewpoint for photograph, Fig.B6: No.35 Rue Franklin, 8m above

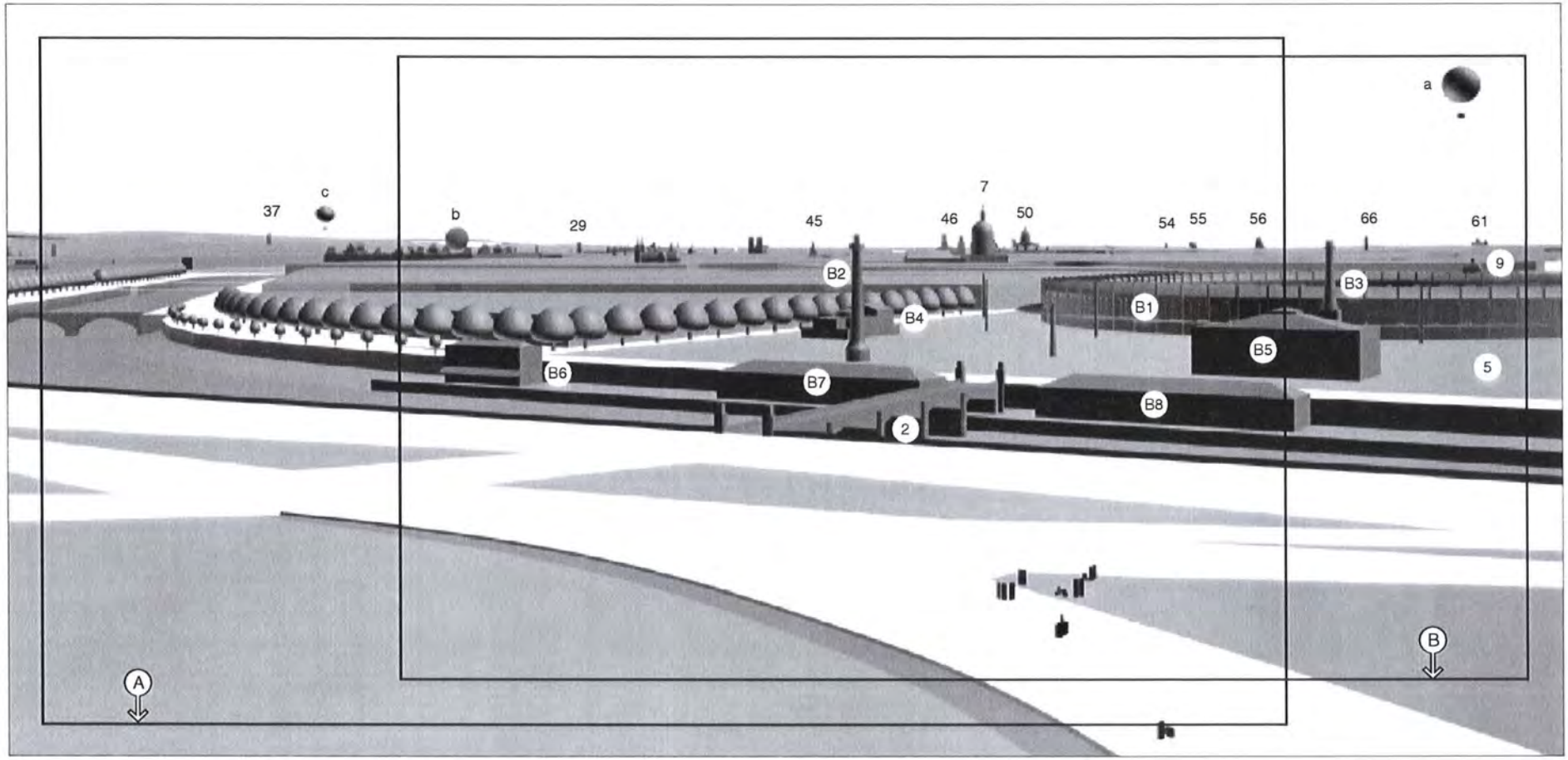
B20
Painting site: perspective – overview of viewpoints near Place du Roi-de-Rome

B21
Perspective for comparison with photograph, Fig.B4: SP7
Photograph format

1	Seine River
2	Pont d'Iéna
3	Pont de l'Alma
4	Place du Roi-de-Rome, Trocadéro
5	Champ-de-Mars
6	Ballon captif enclosure, Avenue de Suffren
7	Invalides
9	École Militaire
14	Palais de l'Industrie
22	Palais des Tuileries
42	Cathédrale Notre-Dame
43	Sainte-Clotilde
45	Saint-Germain-des-Prés
46	Saint-Sulpice
50	Panthéon
55	Orme de Sully
56	Val-de-Grâce
B1	Palais de l'Exposition
B2	Phare des Roches-Douvers
B3	Phare Anglais
B4	Théâtre
B5	Cercle International
B6	Restaurant Français
B7	Hangar des machines marines de la France
B8	Hangar des machines marines de la Bretagne

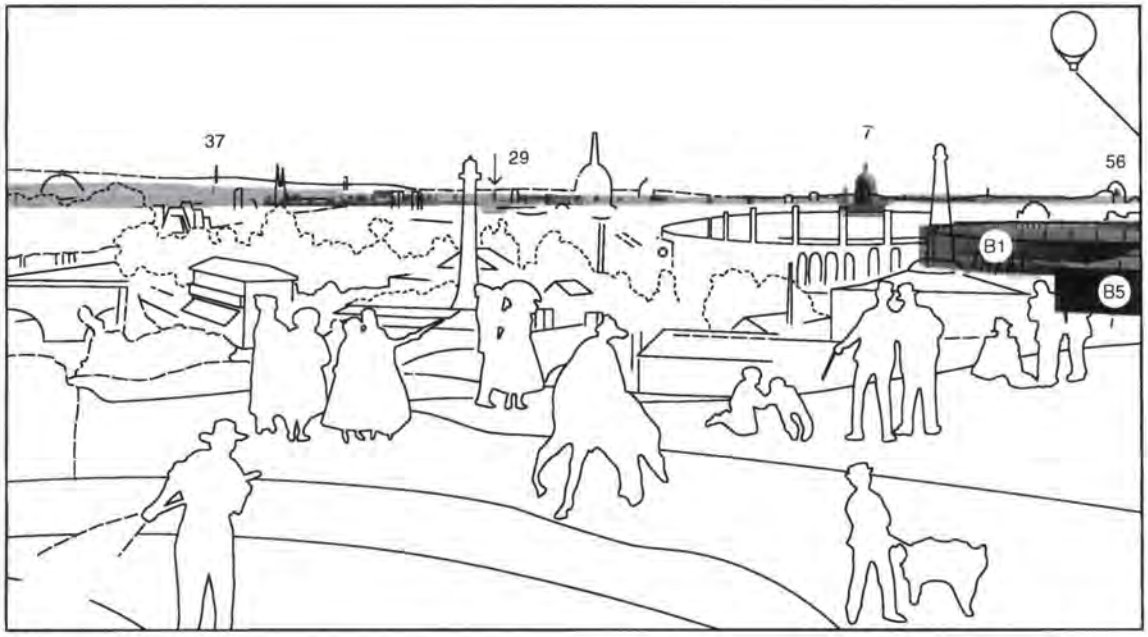


B22
Overlay line drawing from
View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle



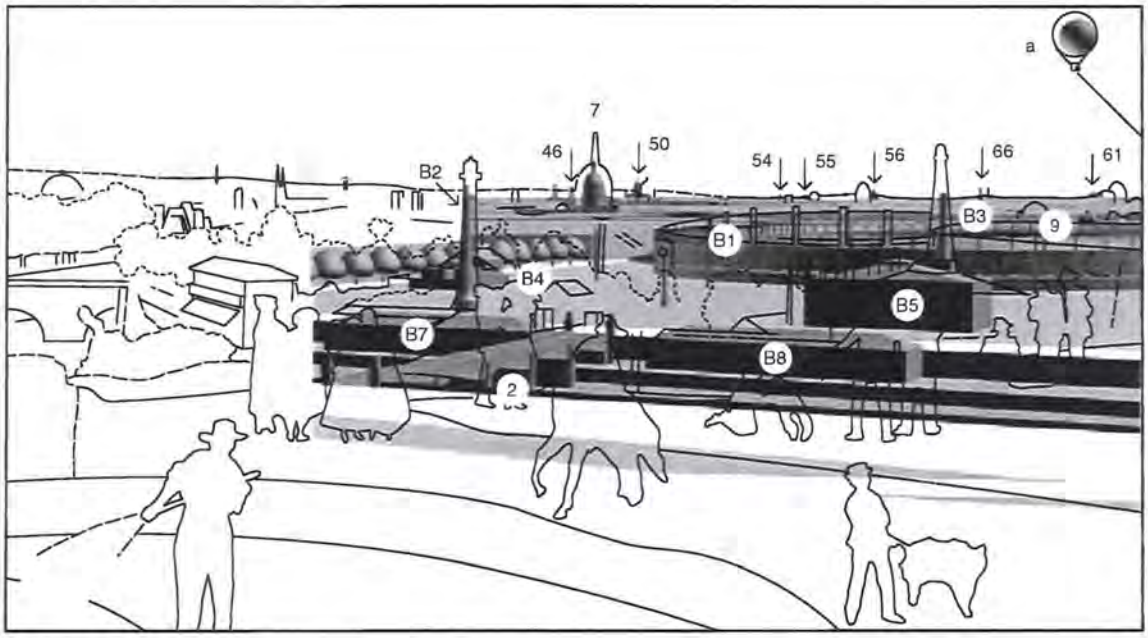
B23
Perspective: SP1
Overlay: painting formats

2 Pont d'Iéna
5 Champ-de-Mars
7 Invalides
9 École Militaire
29 Tour Saint-Jacques
37 Notre-Dame-de-la-Croix de Ménilmontant
45 Saint-Germain-des-Prés
46 Saint-Sulpice
50 Panthéon
54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55 Orme de Sully
56 Val-de-Grâce
61 Observatoire
66 Notre-Dame-des-Champs
B1 Palais de l'Exposition
B2 Phare des Roches-Douvers
B3 Phare Anglais
B4 Théâtre
B5 Cercle International
B6 Restaurant Français
B7 Hangar des machines marines de la France
B8 Hangar des machines marines de la Bretagne
a Ballon captif from Avenue de Suffren enclosure
b Le Géant at Esplanade des Invalides
c Ballon captif from Esplanade des Invalides
A Painting format, part-image 1
B Painting format, part-image 2



B24
Perspective, part-image 1: SP1
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22

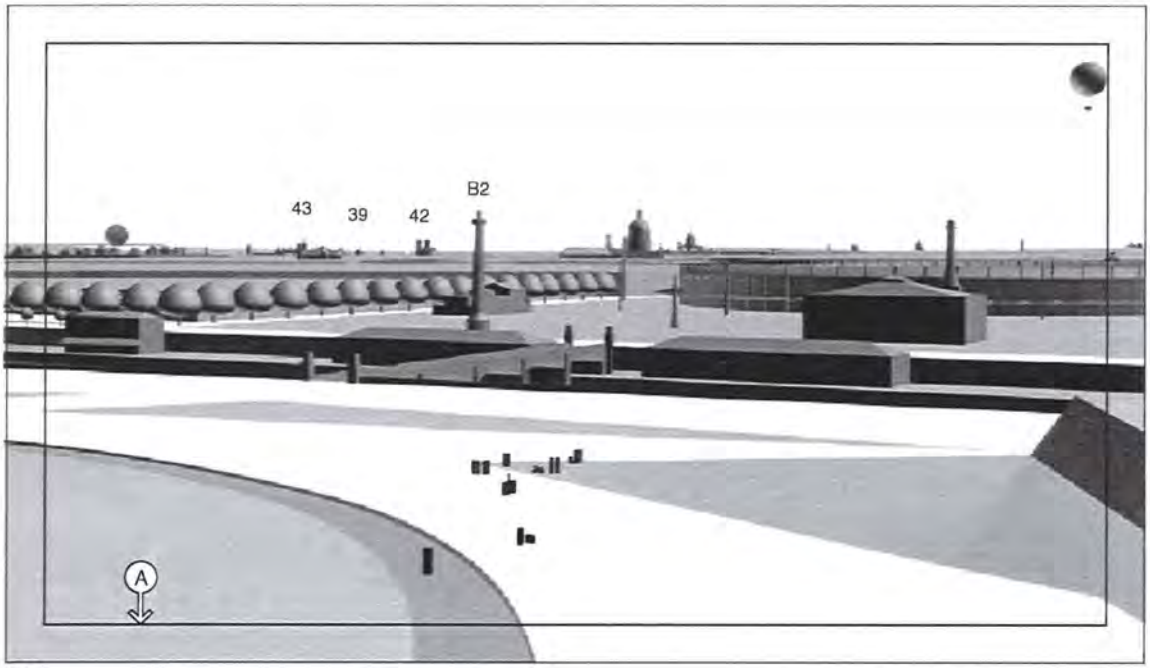
7 Invalides
29 Tour Saint-Jacques
37 Notre-Dame-de-la-Croix de Ménilmontant
56 Val-de-Grâce
B1 Palais de l'Exposition
B5 Cercle International



B25
Perspective, part-image 2: SP1
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22

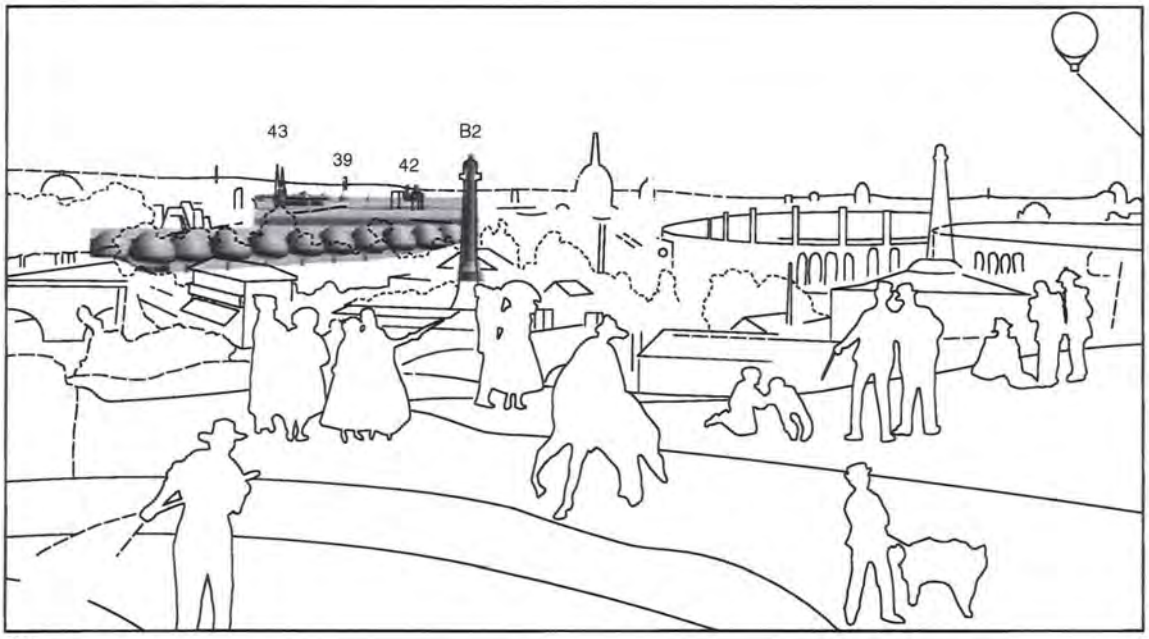
2 Pont d'Iéna
7 Invalides
9 École Militaire
46 Saint-Sulpice
50 Panthéon
54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55 Orme de Sully
56 Val-de-Grâce
61 Observatoire
66 Notre-Dame-des-Champs

B1 Palais de l'Exposition
B2 Phare des Roches-Douvers
B3 Phare Anglais
B4 Théâtre
B5 Cercle International
B7 Hangar des machines marines de la France
B8 Hangar des machines marines de la Bretagne
a Ballon captif from Avenue de Suffren enclosure



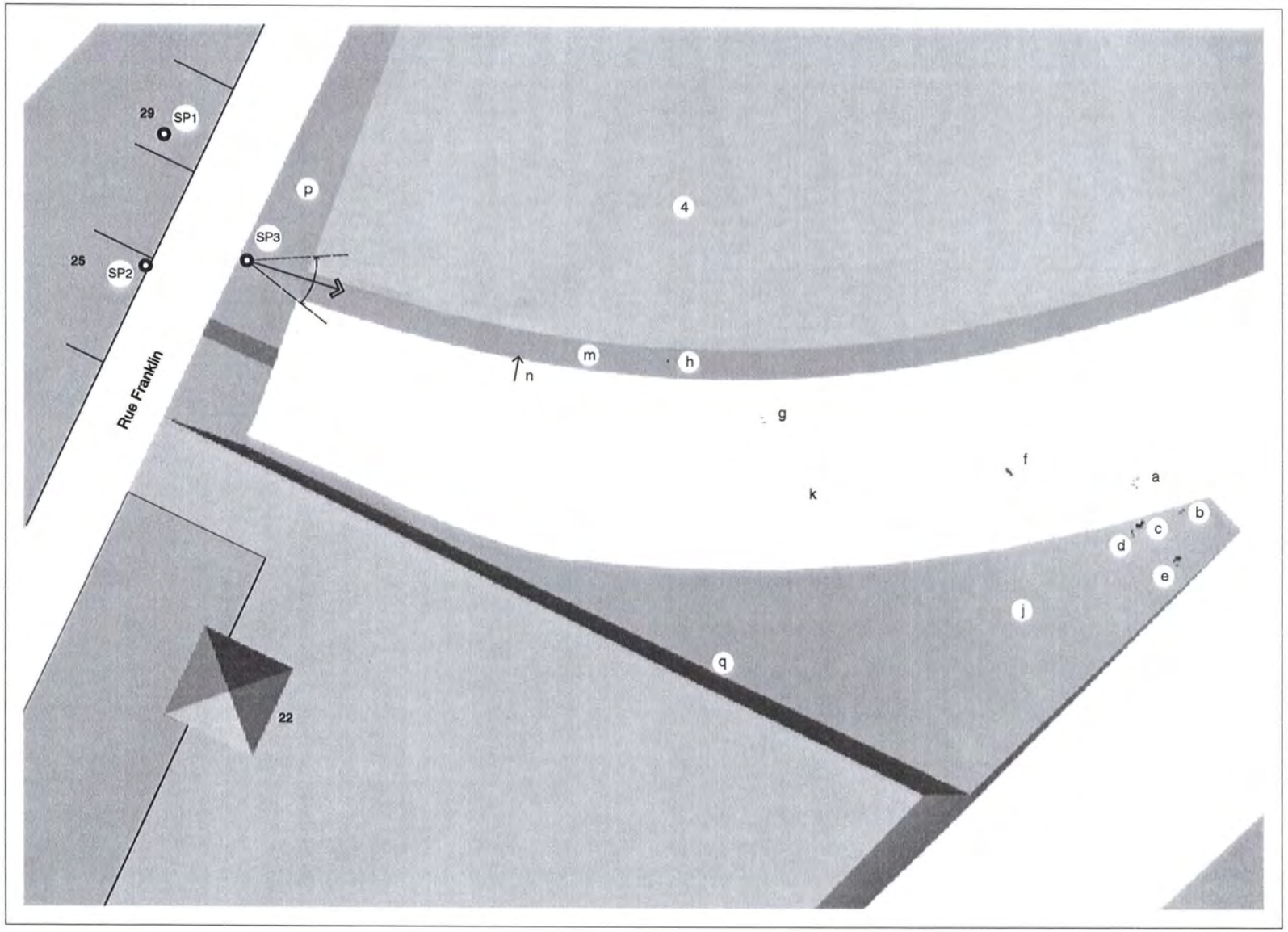
B26
Perspective: SP2
Overlay: painting format

39 Sainte-Chapelle
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
43 Sainte-Clotilde
B2 Phare des Roches-Douvers
A Painting format, part-image 3



B27
Perspective, part-image 3: SP2
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22

39 Sainte-Chapelle
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
43 Sainte-Clotilde
B2 Phare des Roches-Douvers

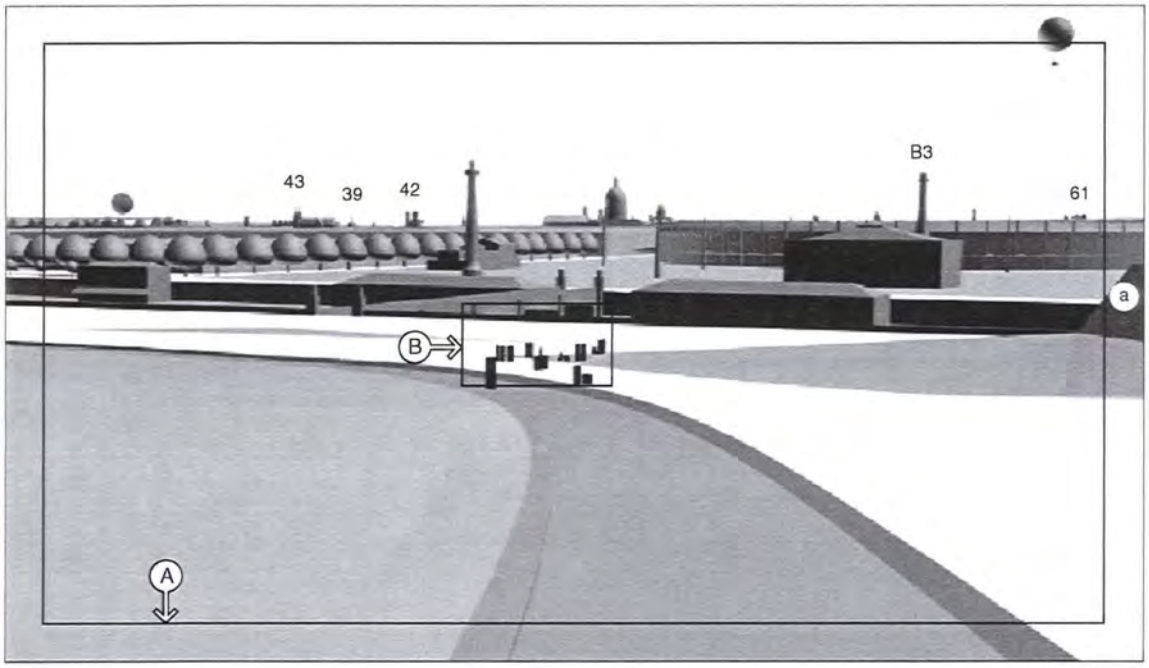


4 Place du Roi-de-Rome, Trocadéro
a Group of women
b Couple
c Two children
d Two men
e Imperial guardsmen
f Woman on horseback
g Boy with dog
h Gardener
j Grassed area
k Road
m Garden
n Lattice
p Grassed bank
q Excavated cliff face
SP3 Viewpoint: grassed bank, 1.0m above ground

NORTH

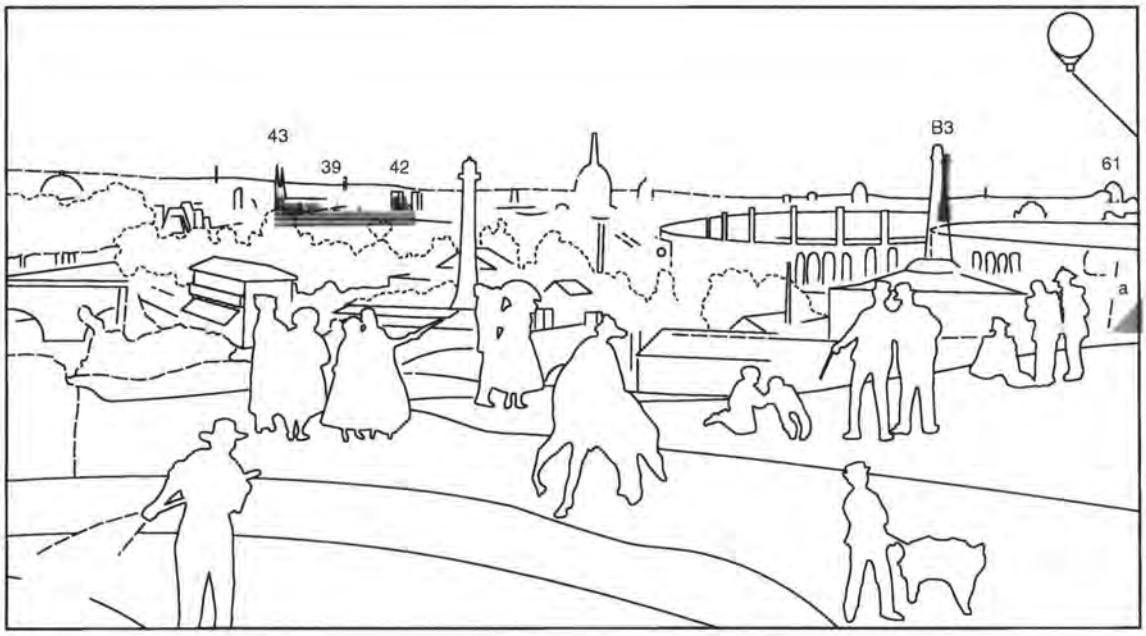
0 25 m

B28
Painting site: plan, viewpoint SP3 – for figures in foreground



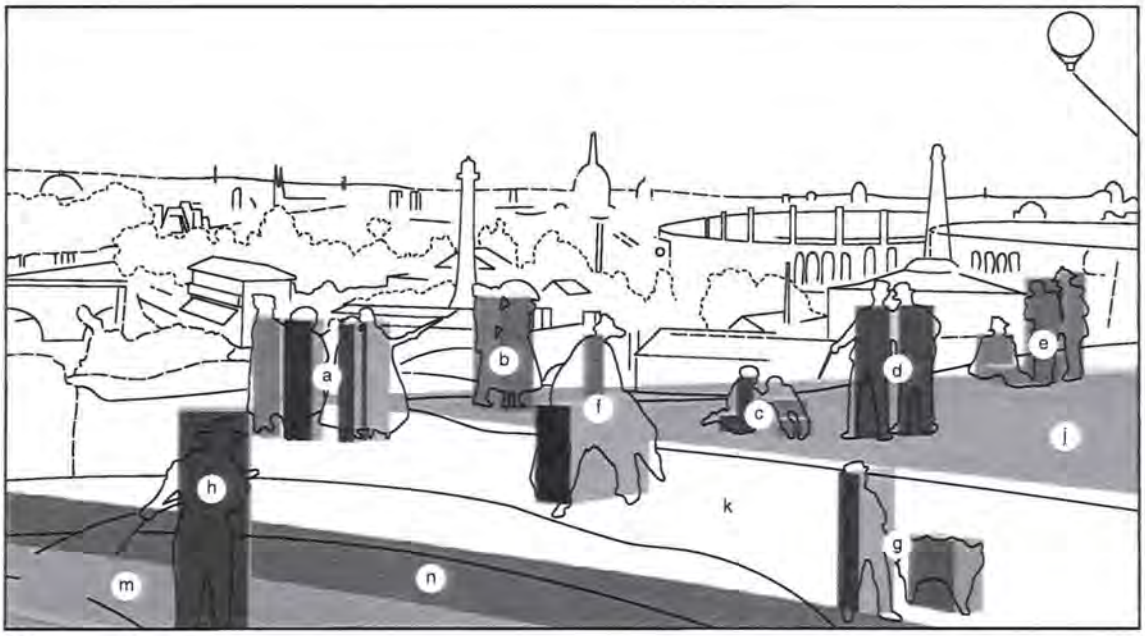
B29
Perspective: SP3
Overlay: painting formats

39 Sainte-Chapelle
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
43 Sainte-Clotilde
61 Observatoire
B3 Phare Anglais
a Excavated cliff face
A Painting format, part-image 4
B Painting format, part-image 5



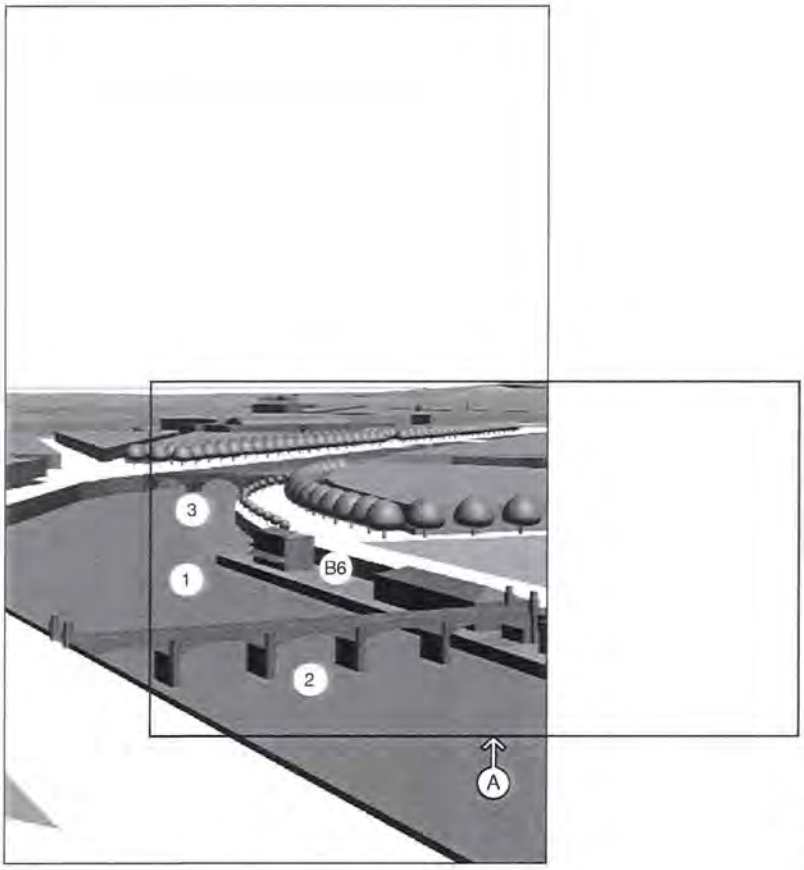
B30
Perspective, part-image 4: SP3
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22

39 Sainte-Chapelle
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
43 Sainte-Clotilde
61 Observatoire
B3 Phare Anglais
a Excavated cliff face



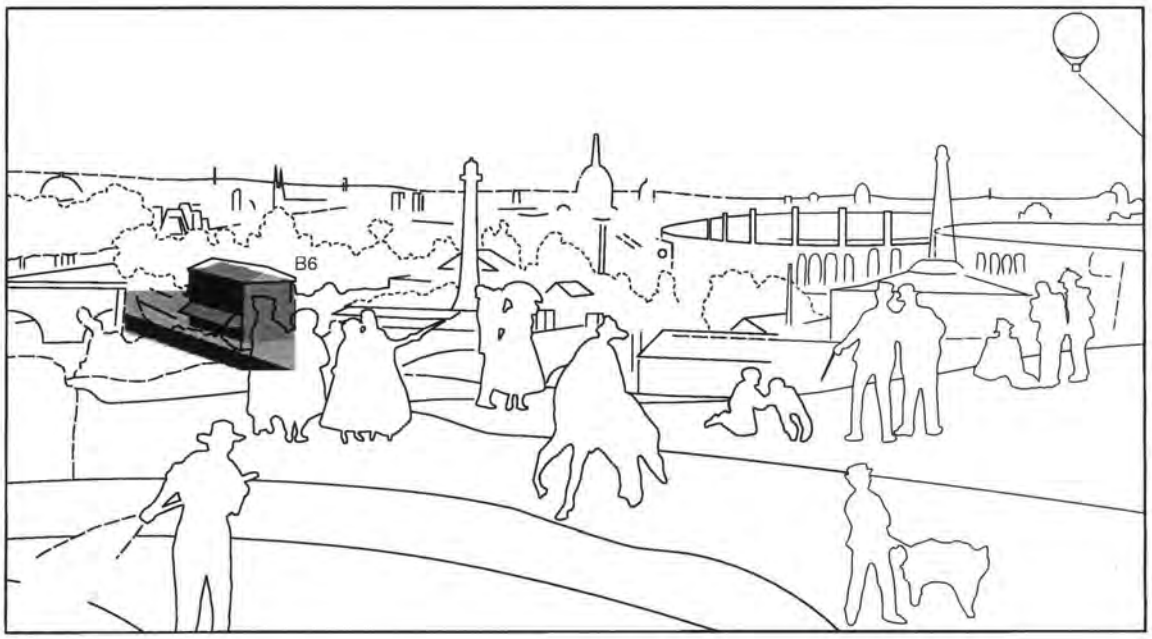
B31
Perspective, part-image 5: SP3
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22

a Group of women
b Couple
c Two children
d Two men
e Imperial guardsmen
f Woman on horseback
g Boy with dog
h Gardener
j Grassed area
k Road
m Garden
n Lattice

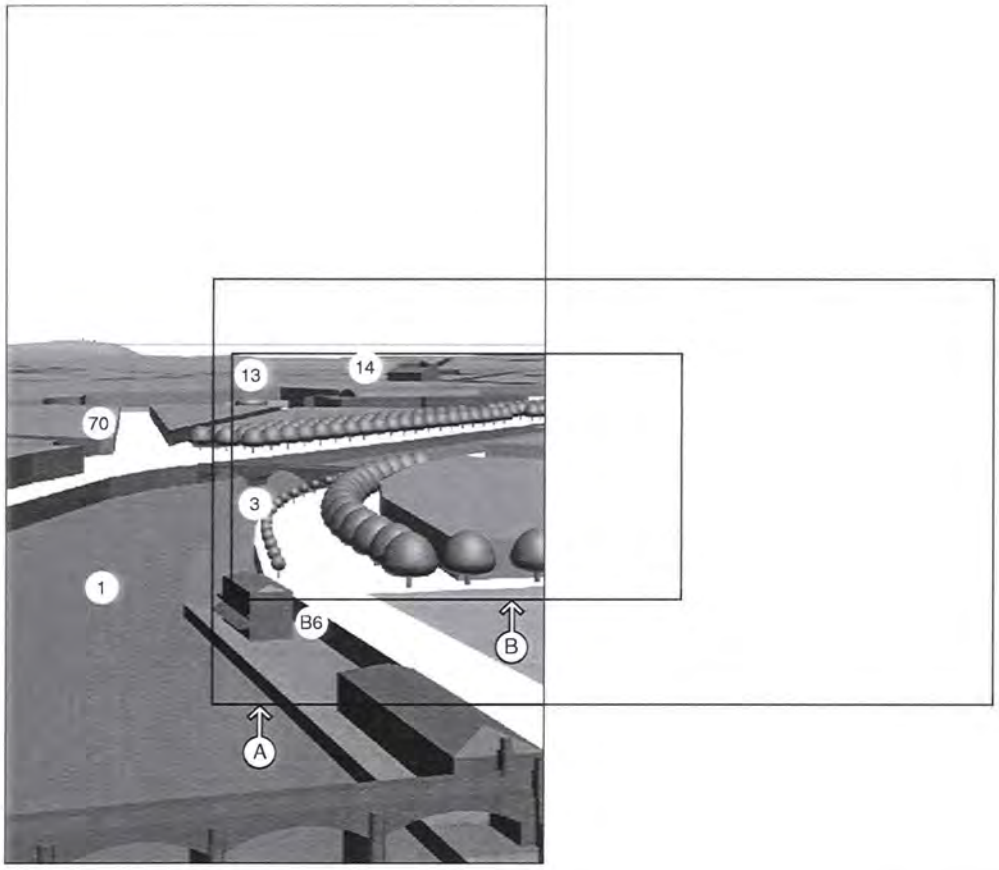


1 Seine River
2 Pont d'Iéna
3 Pont de l'Alma
B6 Restaurant Français
A Painting format, part-image 6

B32
Perspective: SP4,
carte-de-visite format
Overlay: painting format

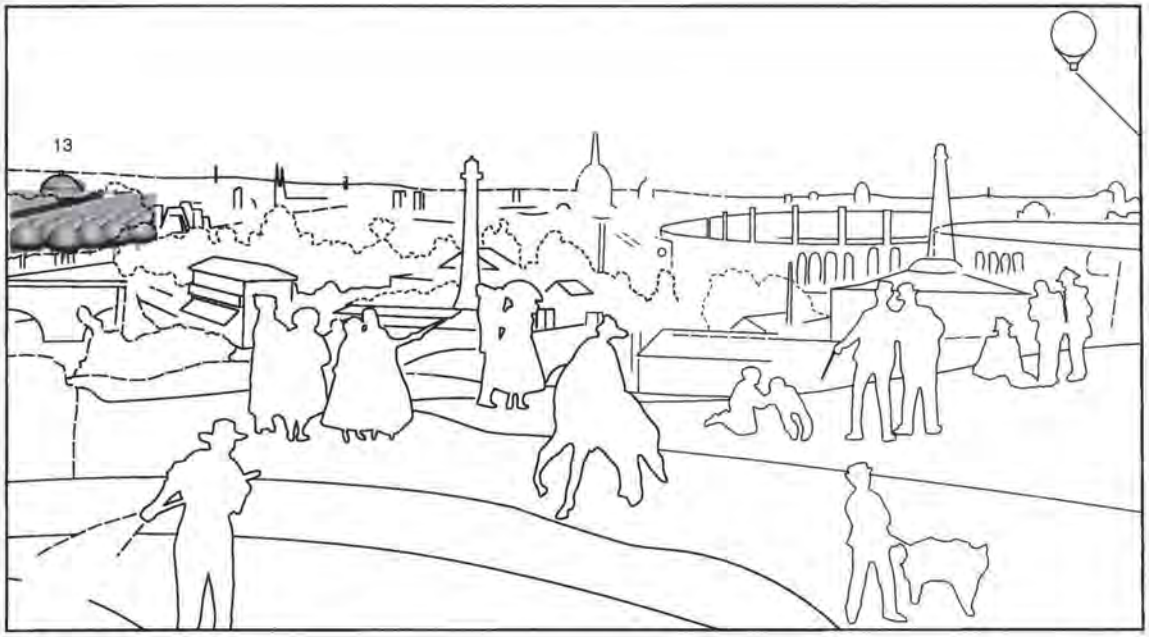


B33
Perspective, part-image 6: SP4
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22



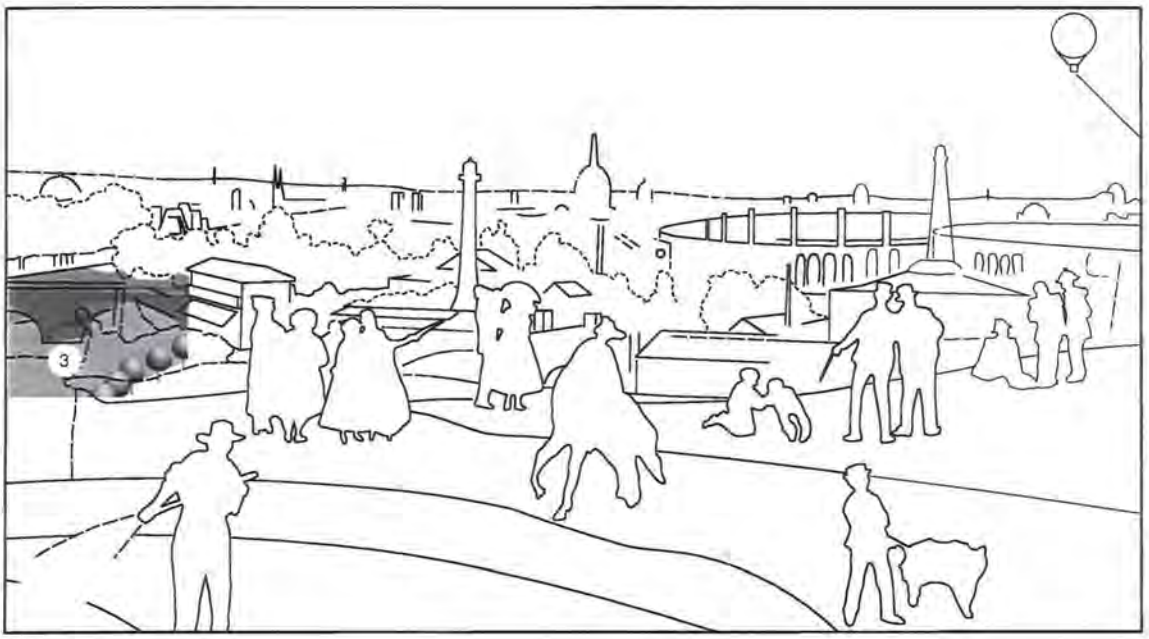
B34
Perspective: SP5, carte-de-visite format
Overlay: painting formats

1 Seine River
3 Pont de l'Alma
13 Panorama National
14 Palais de l'Industrie
70 Site of Manet's 1867 exhibition pavilion
B6 Restaurant Français
A Painting format, part-image 7
B Painting format, part-image 8



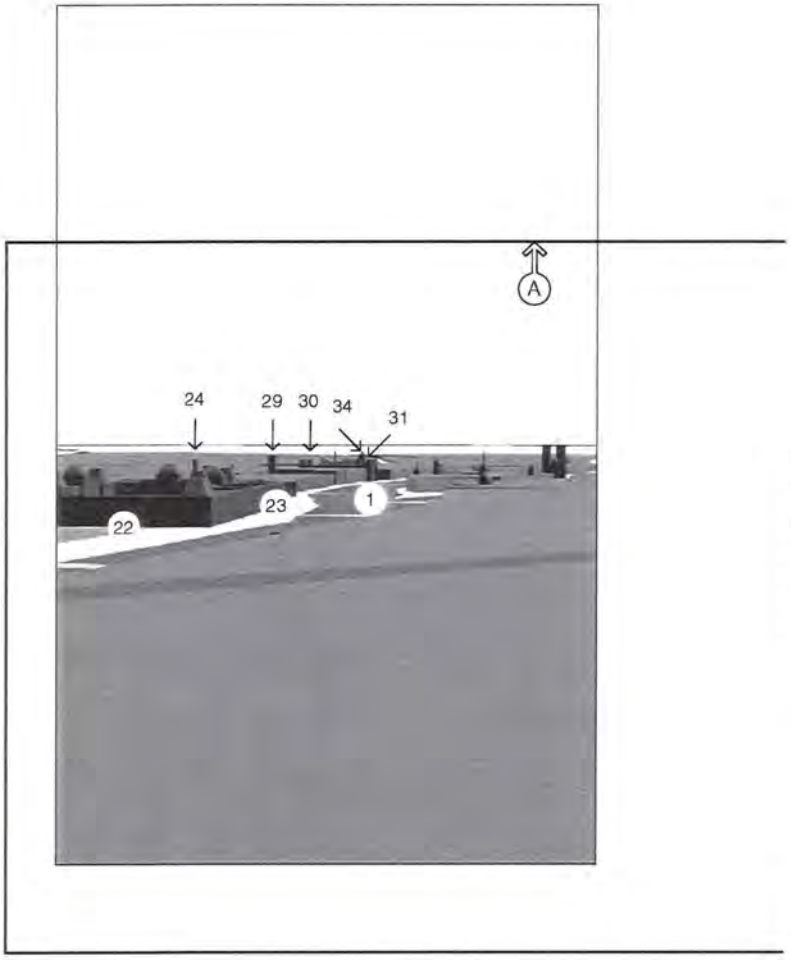
B35
Perspective, part-image 7: SP5
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22

13 Panorama National



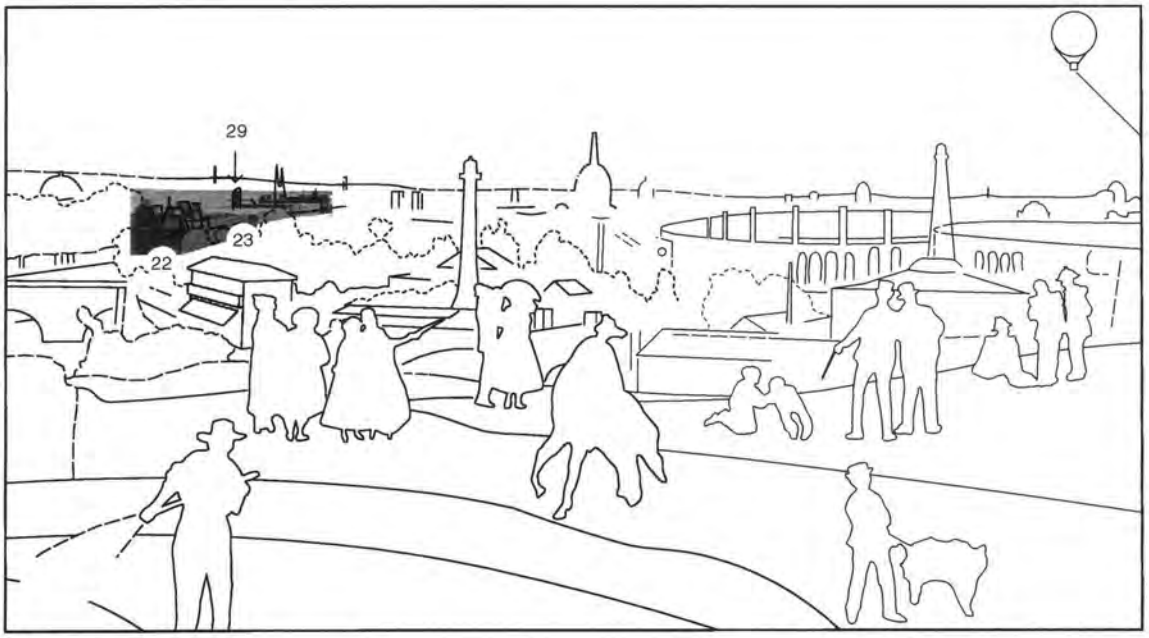
B36
Perspective, part-image 8; SP5
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22

3 Pont de l'Alma

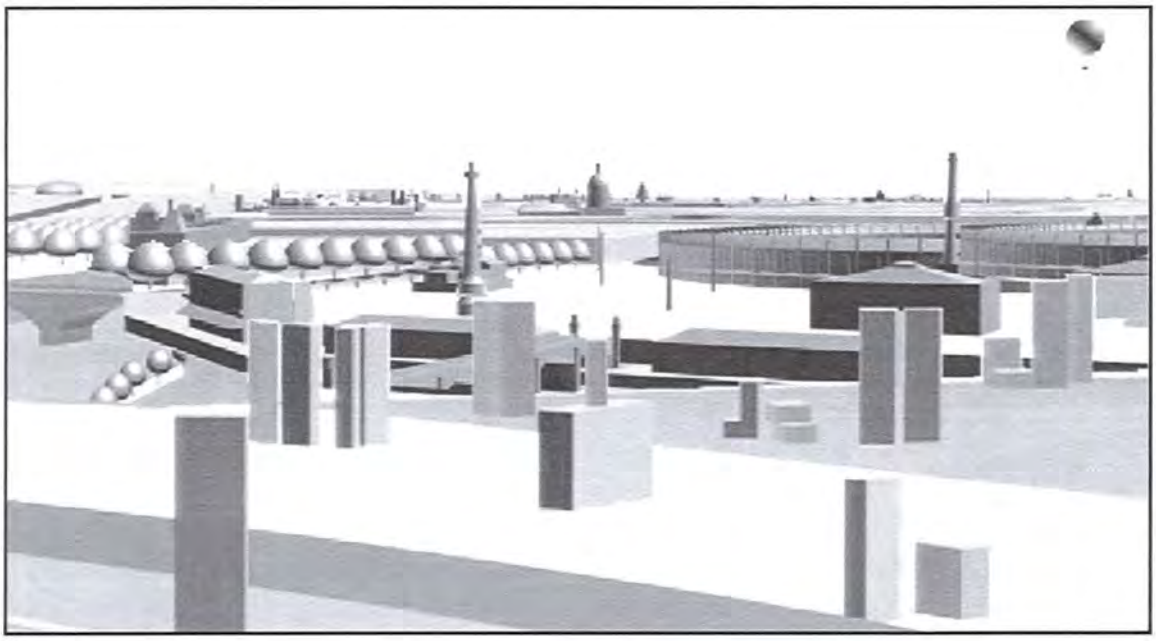


1 Seine River
22 Palais des Tuileries
23 Palais du Louvre
24 Tour, Place du Louvre
29 Tour Saint-Jacques
30 Hôtel de Ville
31 Saint-Gervais
34 Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis
A Painting format, part-image 9

B37
Perspective: SP6,
carte-de-visite format
Overlay: painting format



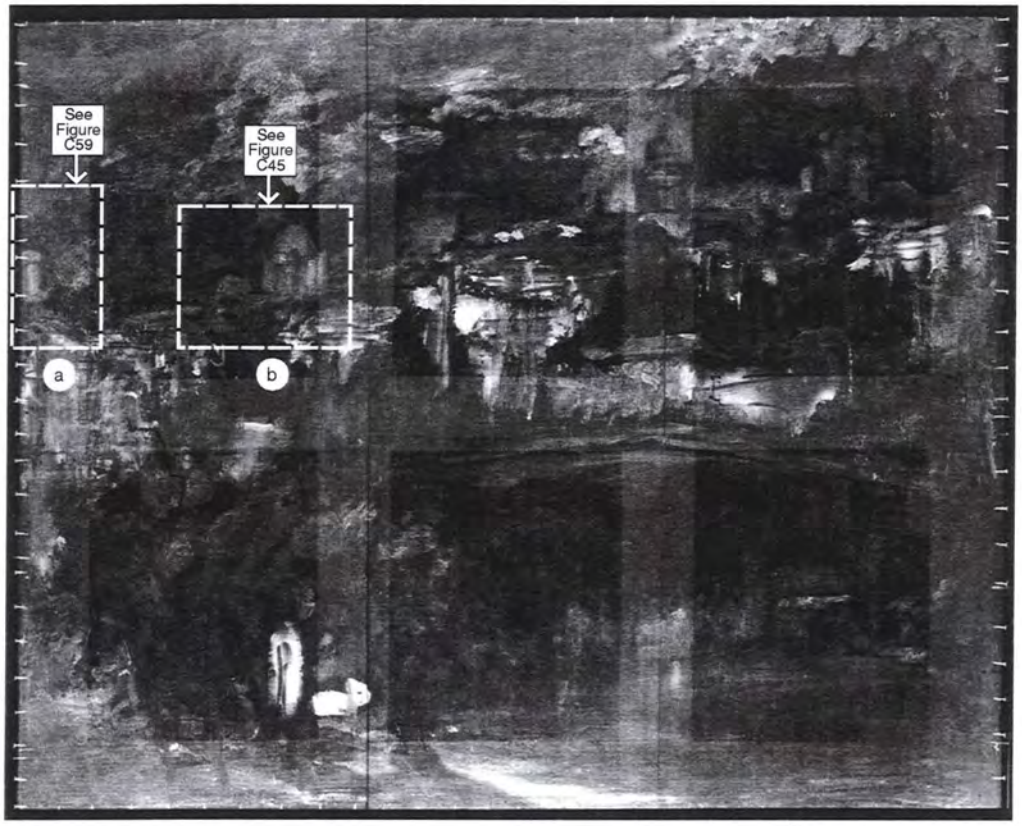
B38
Perspective, part-image 9: SP6
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22



B39
Composite, part images 1–9
Painting format

B40
Composite, Fig.B39
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.B22

C1
Edouard Manet, *The Burial*, 1867?



C2
Positive print from composite X-radiograph of *The Burial*

a Form of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas within shape of tree in painting

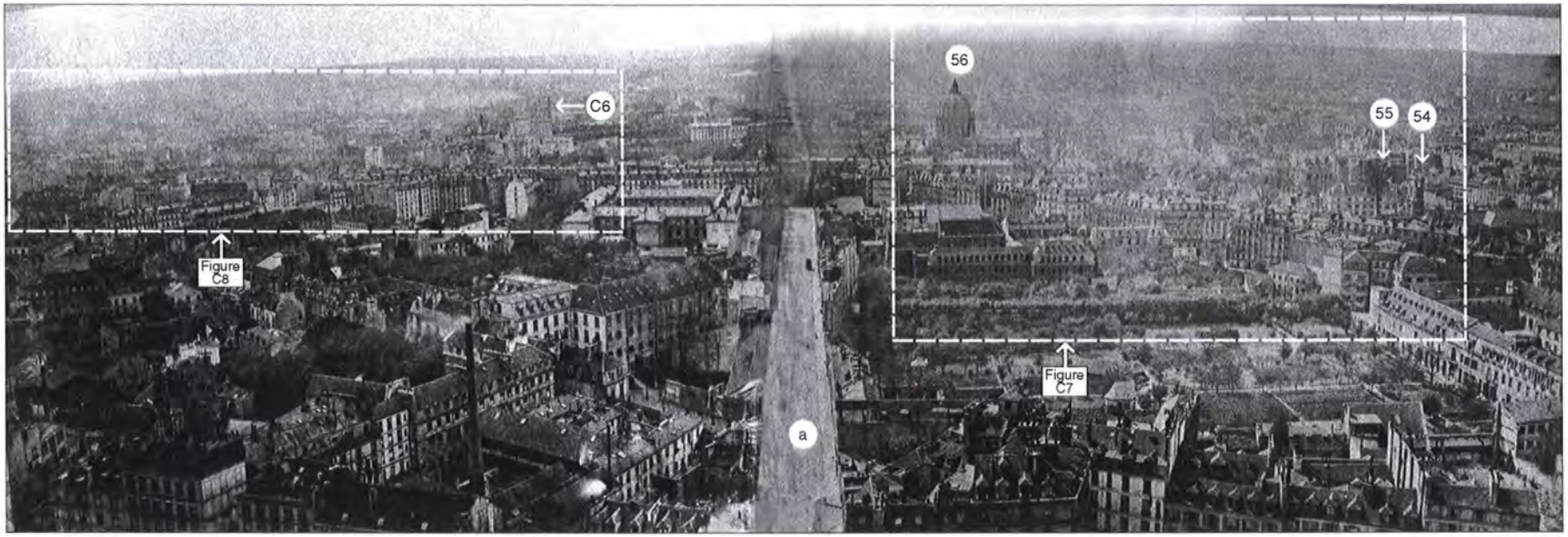
b Form of facade and roof to Val-de-Grâce beneath 'dome' of Orme de Sully

C3
Jean-Baptiste Langlacé, *Paris vu des hauters de Gentilly*, c.1815, oil on paper

C4
Sigismond Himely (1801–1872), *Paris: Vue prise de la Glacière*, n.d.

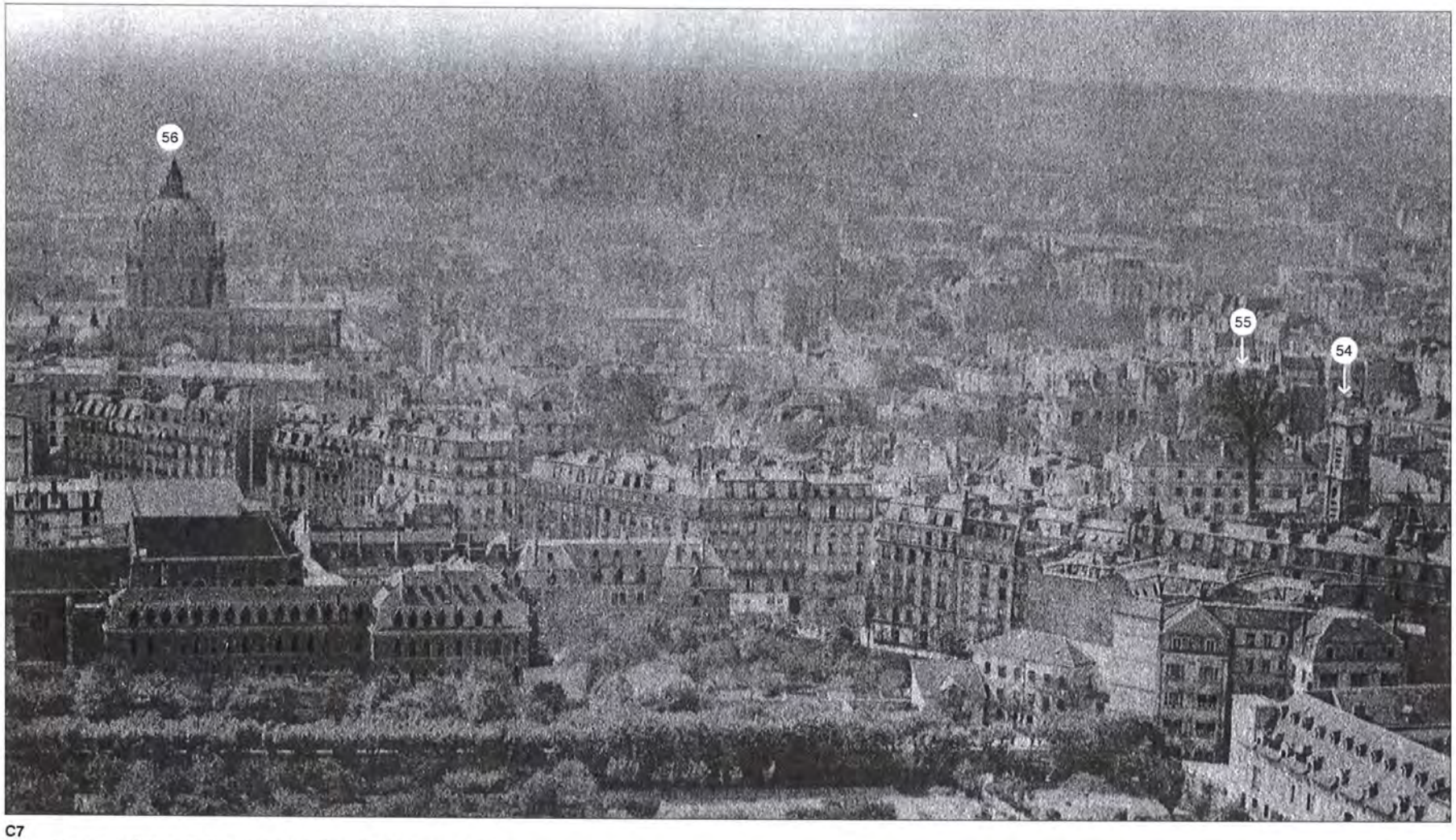
C5
Victor Navlet, *Le XIIIe vu d'une Montgolfière*, 1855, detail

1 Seine River
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
50 Panthéon
56 Val-de-Grâce
57 Manufacture des Gobelins
59 Bièvre: two arms of river
60 Butte-aux-Cailles
61 Observatoire
64 La Glacière
C1 Bièvre domain



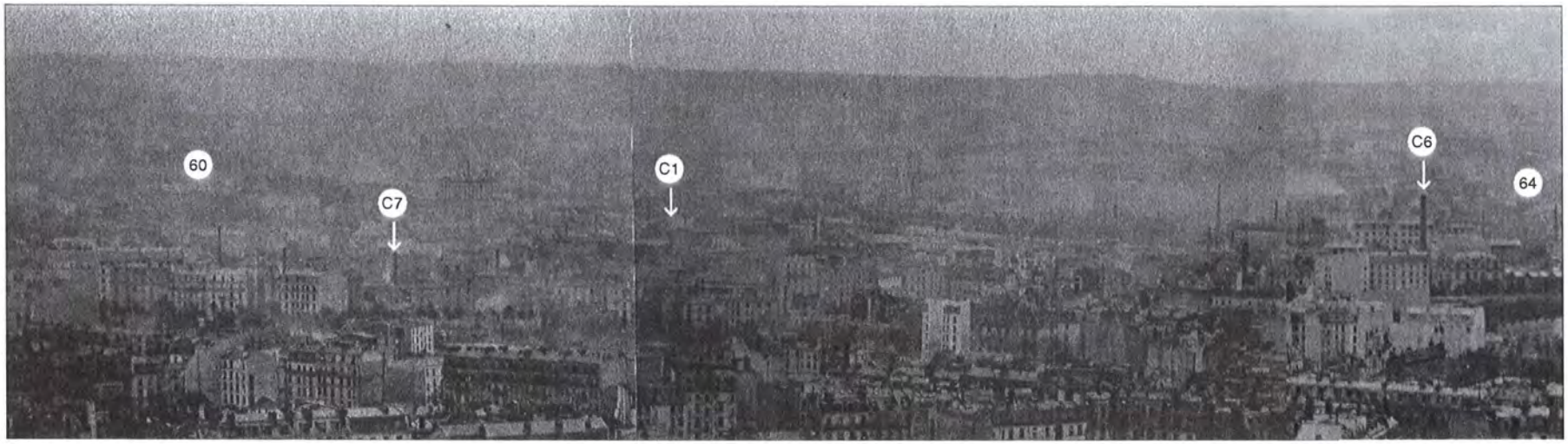
C6
Anon., *View to south from the Panthéon*, 1878, composite photograph

54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55 Orme de Sully: Institut des Sourds-muets
56 Val-de-Grâce
C6 Chimney stack 1
a Rue d'Ulm



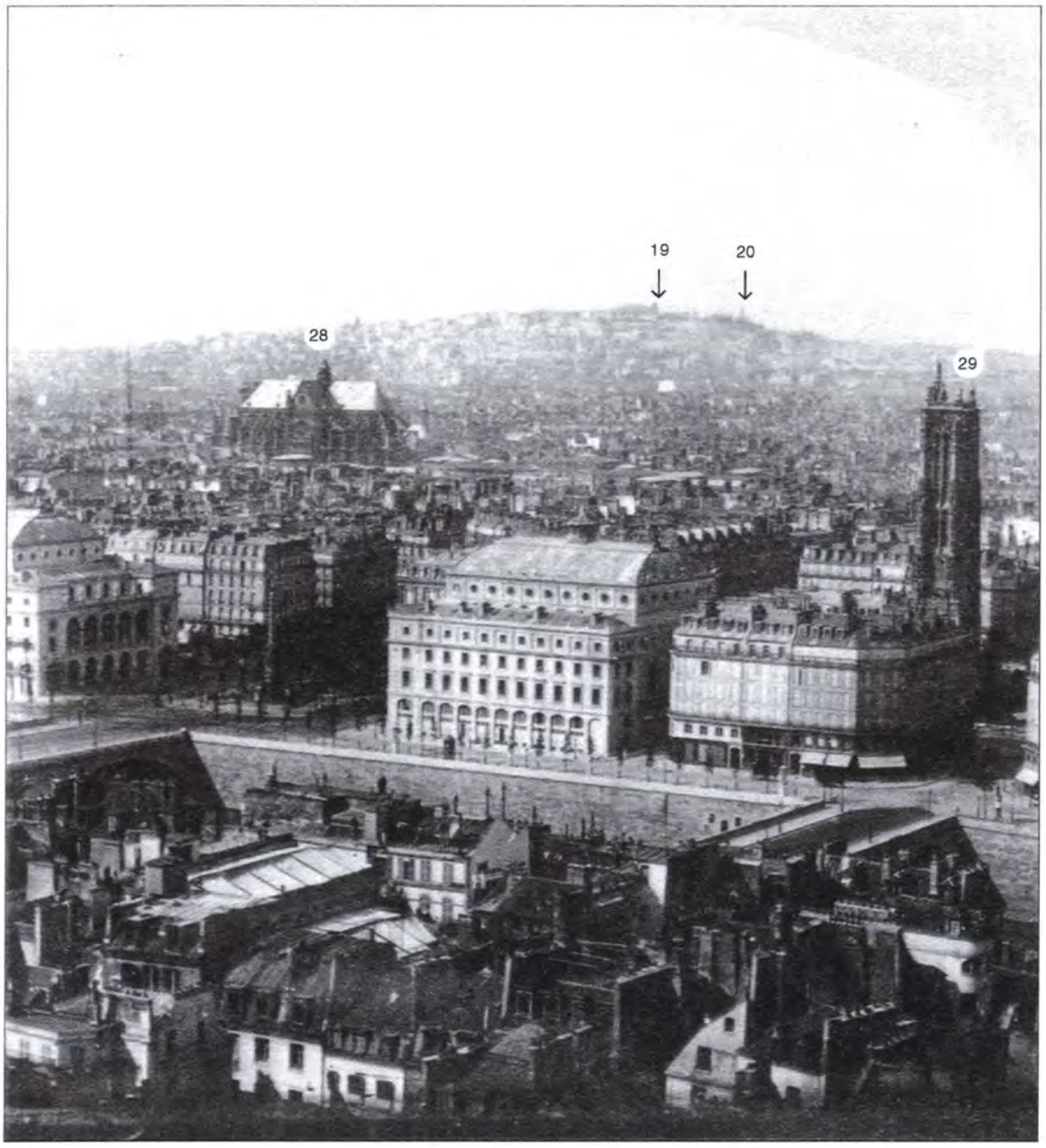
C7
Anon., *View to south from the Panthéon*, 1878, detail of photograph, Fig.C6

54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55 Orme de Sully:
Institut des Sourds-muets
56 Val-de-Grâce



C8
Anon., *View to south from the Panthéon*, 1878, detail of photograph, Fig.C6

60 Butte-aux-Cailles
64 La Glacière
C1 Bièvre domain
C6 Chimney stack 1
C7 Chimney stack 2

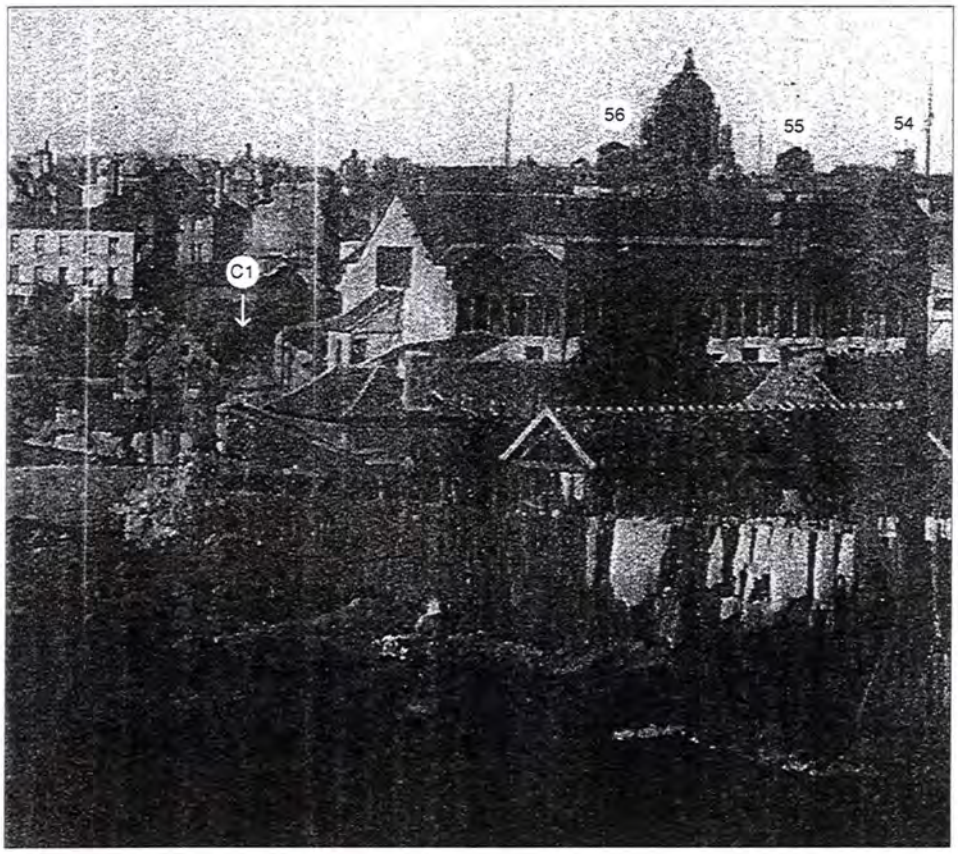


C9
Anon., *View to north from Notre-Dame*, n.d., stereoscopic photograph

19 Saint-Pierre-du-Montmartre
20 Tour Solférino
28 Saint-Eustache
29 Tour Saint-Jacques

C10
Roof of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, n.d. (c.1866), detail of photograph, Fig.106

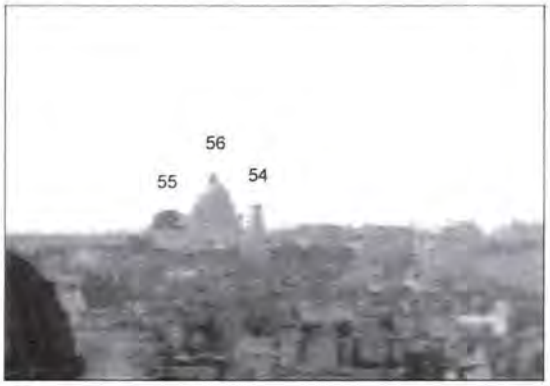
50 Panthéon
51 Saint-Étienne-du-Mont
52 Tour de Clovis
56 Val-de-Grâce



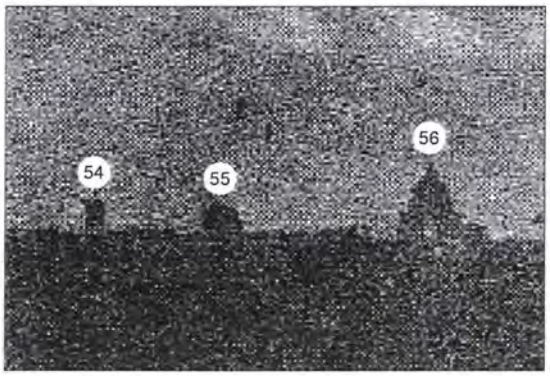
C11
Anon., *View from Rue du Champ de l'Alouette*, n.d. (c.1860?), stereoscopic photograph

54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55 Orme de Sully
56 Val-de-Grâce
C1 Bièvre domain

C12
Anon., *Orme de Sully*, n.d., wood engraving

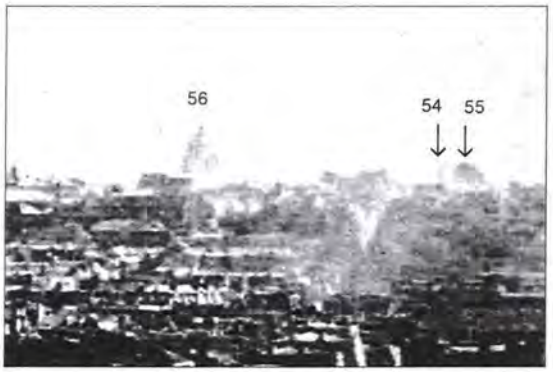


C13
Orme de Sully, 1845, detail of daguerreotype, Fig.105



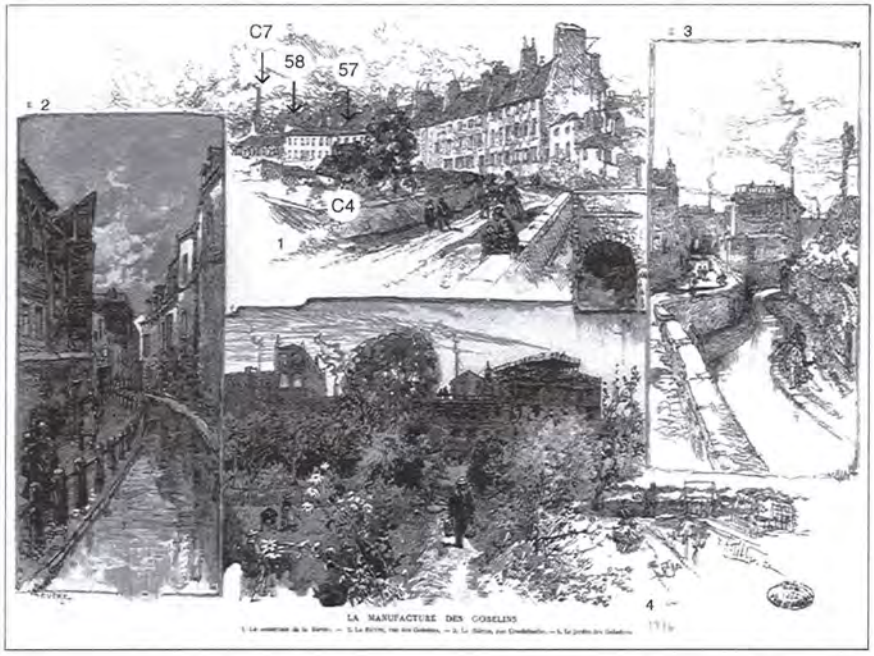
C14
Orme de Sully, 1855, detail of calotype, Fig.108

C15
Orme de Sully, 1867, detail of photograph, Fig.B6



C16
Orme de Sully, 1868?, detail of photograph, Fig.107

54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55 Orme de Sully
56 Val-de-Grâce



57 Manufacture des Gobelins
58 Hôtel de la Reine Blanche
C4 Chasse du Comte de Julienne
C7 Chimney stack 2

C17
Lepere (?),
La Manufacture des Gobelins,
n.d., (hand annotation "1886"),
wood engraving

58 Hôtel de la Reine Blanches

C18
Anon., *Vieux Paris – Panorama de l'île des Singes et du Chateau surnommé à tort de la Reine Blanche (No.548)*,
1885? (hand annotation "1905"), postcard photograph.
View from Île des Singes

57 Manufacture des Gobelins
58 Hôtel de la Reine Blanche
C4 Chasse du Comte de Julienne

C19
L. Christy, *Vieux Paris – Ruelle des Gobelins entre le pavillon de chasse de M. de Julienne et la chapelle de la manufacture des Gobelins (No.15)*, n.d. (hand annotation "1905"), postcard photograph

50 Panthéon
56 Val-de-Grâce
C6 Chimney stack S1

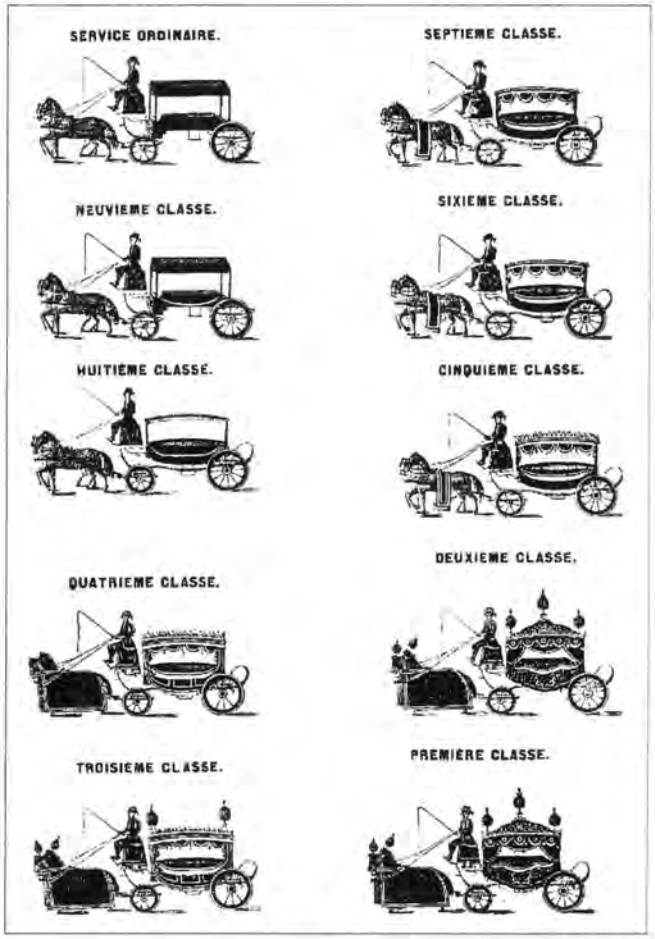
C20
H. Blancard,
La Bièvre near La Glacière,
c.1887–89, photograph.
View from area south of
Boulevard d'Italie

C1 Bièvre domain

C21
Anon., *Paris – La Bièvre – LL. (458)*, n.d. (hand annotation "1903"), postcard photograph.
View of west arm of Bièvre
River from Rue Corvisart

50 Panthéon
56 Val-de-Grâce
a Poplar trees adjacent old course of Bièvre River, west arm

C22
Anon., *La moitié nord-ouest du XIIIe. en 1983*, 1983, detail of photograph.
Aerial view with poplar trees
on old course of the Bièvre
River

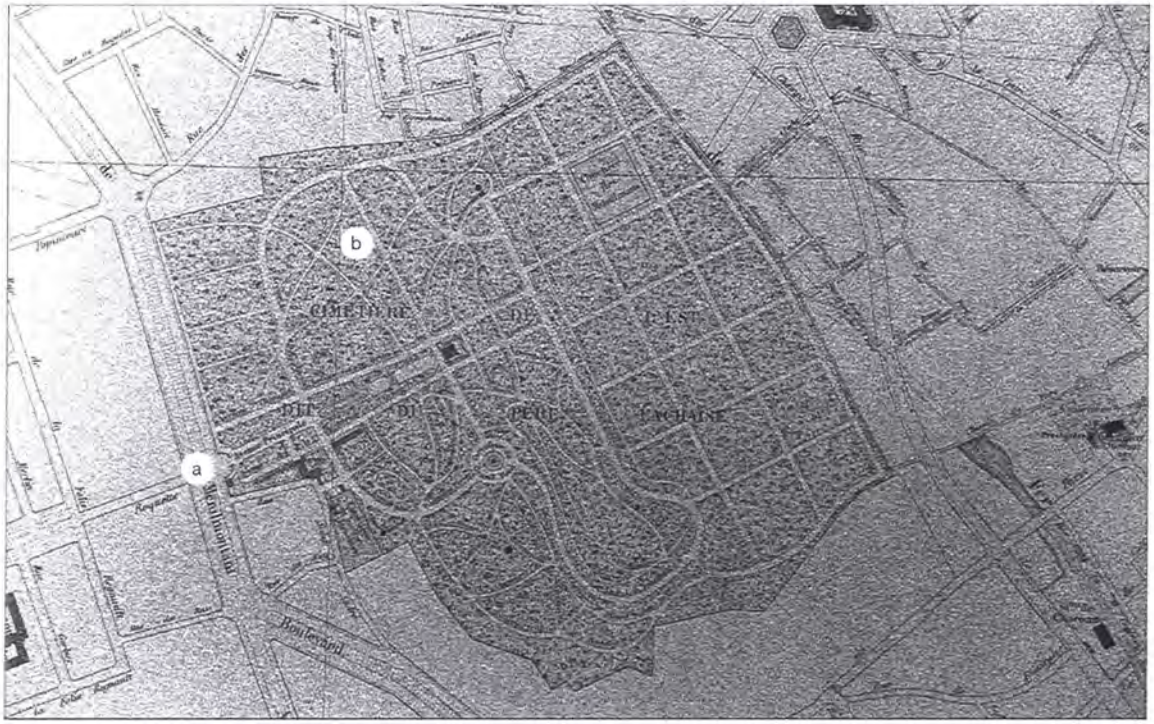


C23
Parisian hearses, mid-nineteenth century, 1856, illustration

C24
Villot, *Enterrement de la première victime du bombardement*, 1871, illustration

C25
F.T. Salomon, *Le Père-Lachaise*, 1855. Map detail

a Main entrance



C26
Avril frères (Charles and Eugène Avril), *Plan général de Paris et de ses environs. 1866*, 1866. Map detail. Plan of Cimetière du Père-Lachaise

a Main entrance
b 68th Division

NORTH

C27
Robert Cameron, *Cimetière du Père-Lachaise*, 1984, detail of photograph. Aerial view

- **a** 68th Divison
- **b** 56th Division
- **c** 57th Division
- **d** 67th Division
- **e** Avenue de la Chapelle (in 1867, Allée de la Chapelle)
- **f** Avenue des Peupliers (in 1867, Chemin Neigre)
- **g** Avenue des Ailantes (in 1867, Chemin Pozzo di Borgo)
- **h** Viewpoint SP12
- **j** Area of burial

C28
Julia McLaren, *View towards proposed site for lower part of painting, from Avenue de la Chapelle above 56th Division, Cimetière du Père-Lachaise*, 2001, photograph. Overlay: painting format

C30
Julia McLaren, *68th Division, Cimetière du Père-Lachaise*, 2001, photograph. View of proposed site for burial group depicted in painting

C29
Julia McLaren, *View of tombs in 68th Division, Avenue des Ailantes, Cimetière du Père-Lachaise*, 2001, photograph

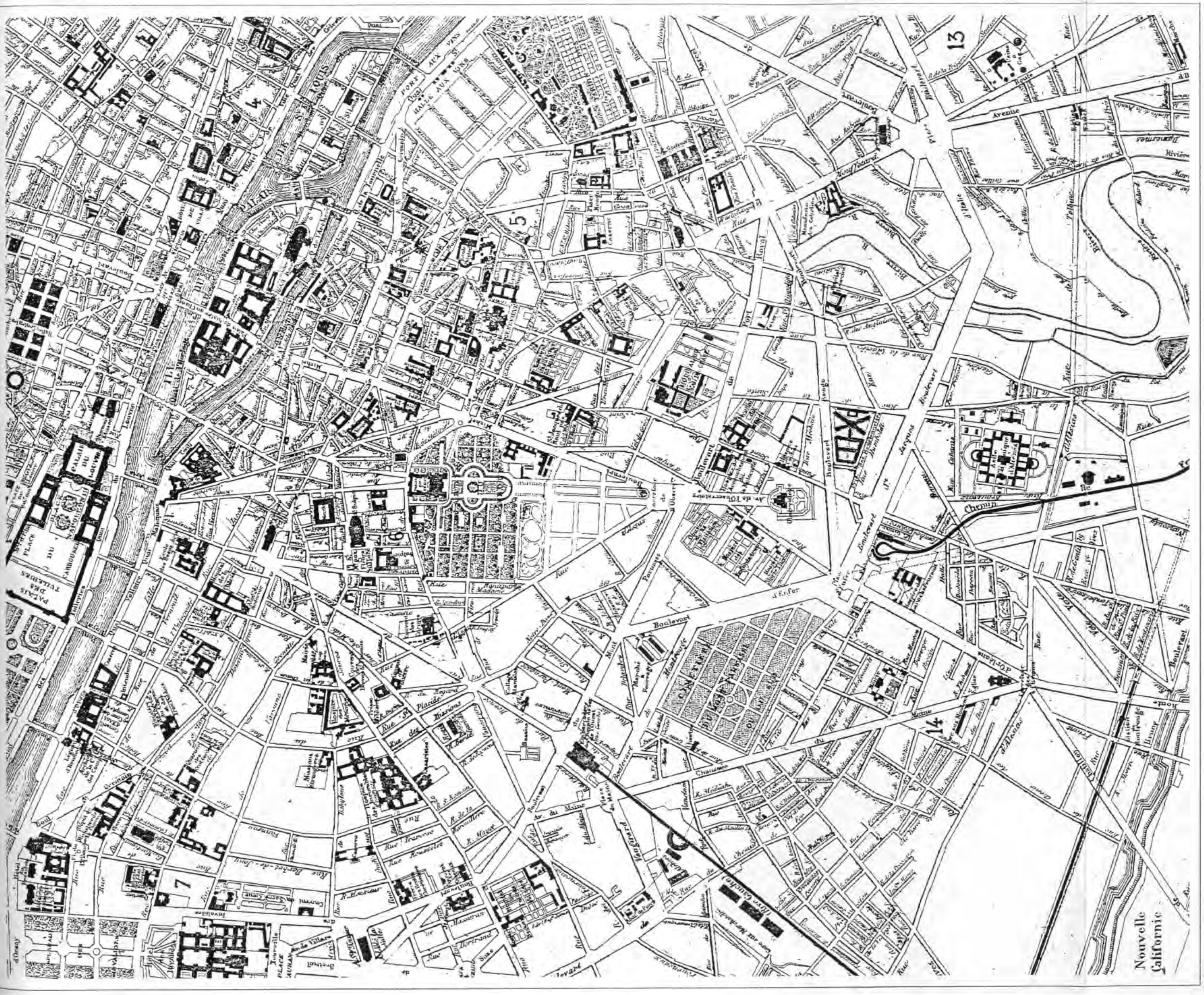
- **a** 68th Divison
- **b** 56th Division
- **c** 57th Division
- **d** Avenue des Ailantes (in 1867, Chemin Pozzo di Borgo)
- **e** Avenue des Peupliers (in 1867, Chemin Neigre)
- **f** Existing tree in position of tree 1 in 1867
- **g** Position of hearse in proposed funeral cortege
- **h** Position of group of mourners in funeral cortege
- **j** Tomb, concession 1 (Famille Meunier 1832)
- **k** Concession 2 (Famille Ailliot, 1867)
- **A** Overlay: painting format

C31
Julia McLaren, *68th Division, Cimetière du Père-Lachaise*, 2001, composite photograph. View of proposed site for burial group depicted in painting, looking towards viewpoint SP12

C32
Site for upper part of painting: location plan

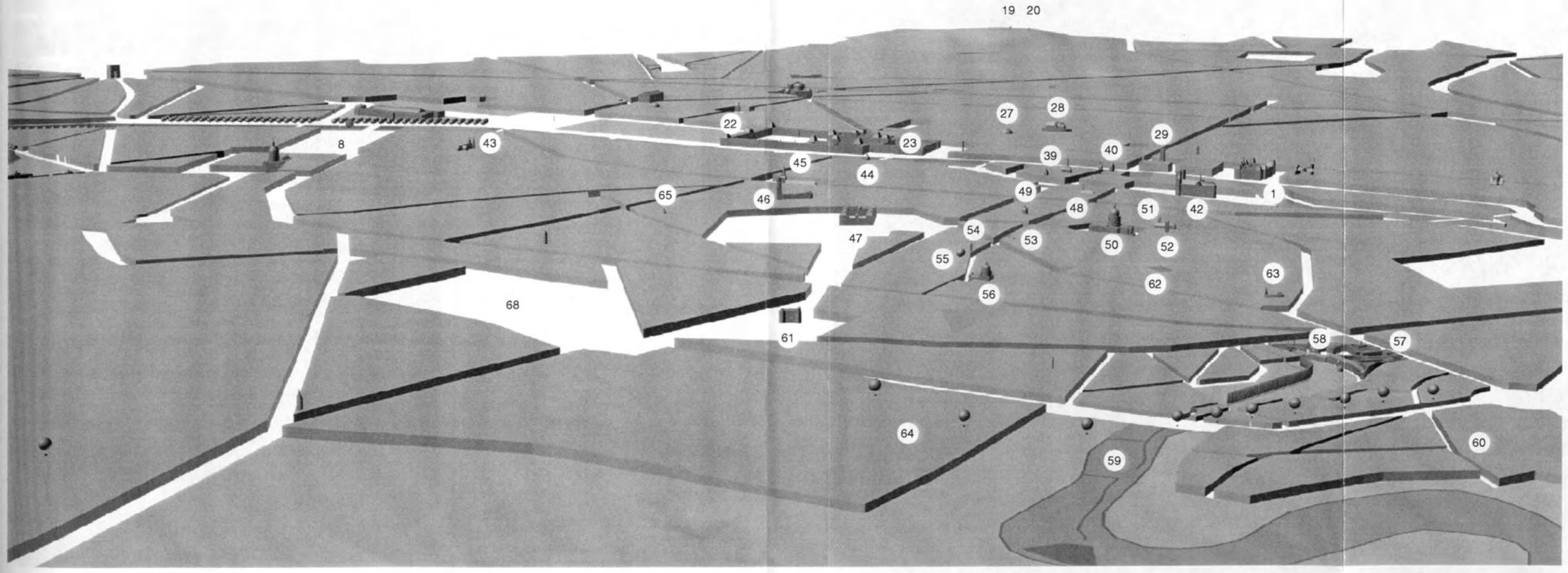
1	Seine River
29	Tour Saint-Jacques
34	Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis
40	Tribunal du Commerce
42	Cathédrale Notre-Dame
45	Saint-Germain-des-Prés
46	Saint-Sulpice
47	Palais du Luxembourg
48	Saint-Séverin
49	Église de la Sorbonne
50	Panthéon
51	Saint-Étienne-du-Mont
52	Tour de Clovis
53	Monastère Notre-Dame-de-Charité
54	Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55	Orme de Sully
56	Val-de-Grâce
57	Manufacture des Gobelins
58	Hôtel de la Reine Blanche
59	Bièvre: two arms of river
60	Butte-aux-Cailles
61	Observatoire
62	Collège Rollin
63	Saint-Médard
64	La Glacière
67	Saint-Pierre du Petit-Montrouge
68	Cimetière du Montparnasse
C1	Bièvre domain
a	Balloon flight path

NORTH
0 400 m

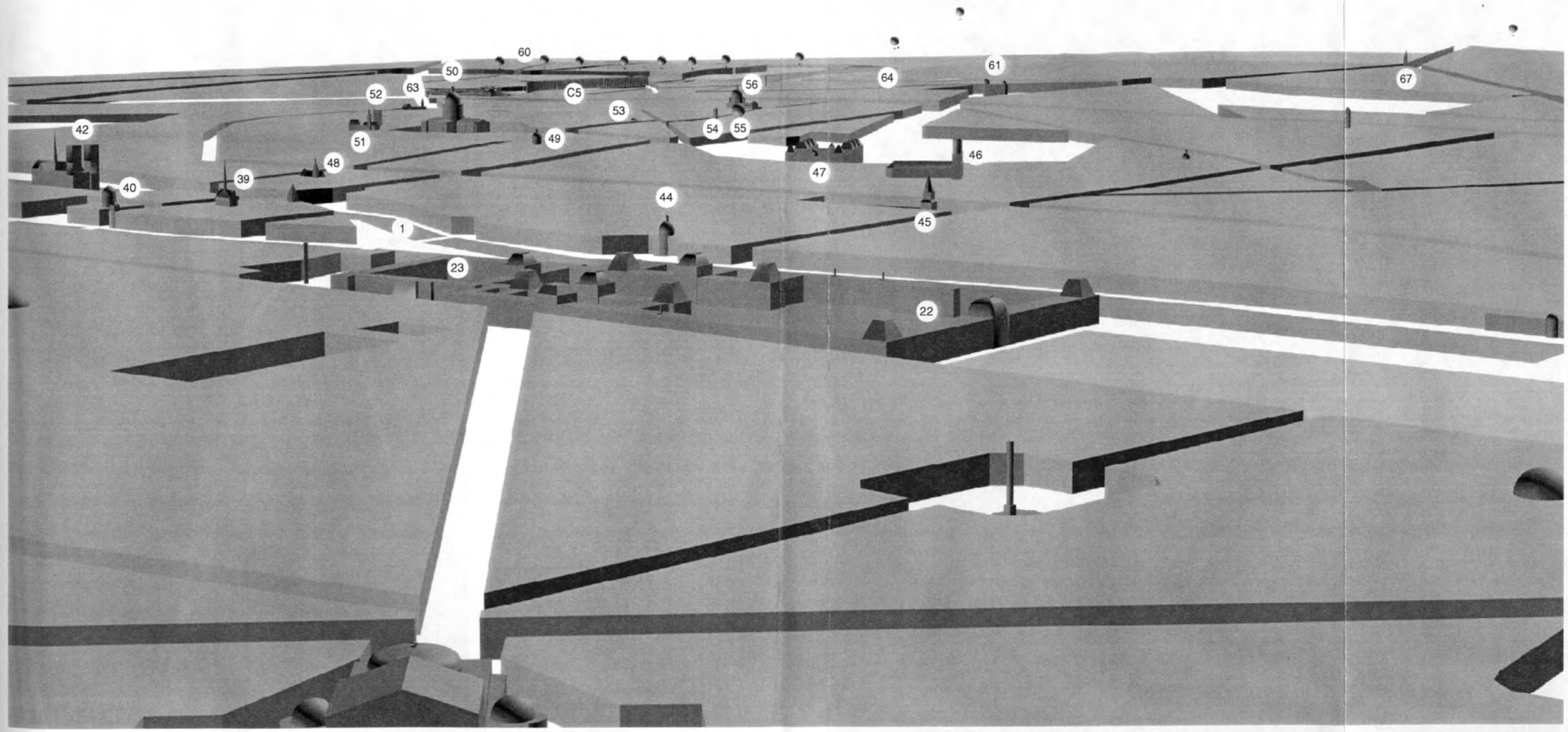


C33
A. Chaix & Cie., *Nouveau Plan de Paris: divisé en 20 arrondissements*, 1870. Map detail.
Extent as for location plan, Fig.C32

1 Seine River
8 Esplanade des Invalides
19 Saint-Pierre-du-Montmartre
20 Tour Solférino
22 Palais des Tuileries
23 Palais du Louvre
27 Halle-au-Blé
28 Saint-Eustache
29 Tour Saint-Jacques
34 Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis
39 Sainte-Chapelle
40 Tribunal du Commerce
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
43 Sainte-Clotilde
44 Institut de France
45 Saint-Germain-des-Prés
46 Saint-Sulpice
47 Palais du Luxembourg
48 Saint-Séverin
49 Église de la Sorbonne
50 Panthéon
51 Saint-Étienne-du-Mont
52 Tour de Clovis
53 Monastère Notre-Dame-de-Charité
54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55 Orme de Sully: Institut des Sourds-muets
56 Val-de-Grâce
57 Manufacture des Gobelins
58 Hôtel de la Reine Blanche
59 Bièvre: two arms of river
60 Butte-aux-Cailles
61 Observatoire
62 Collège Rollin
63 Saint-Médard
64 La Glacière
65 Saint-Joseph des Carmes
67 Saint-Pierre du Petit-Montrouge
68 Cimetière du Montparnasse

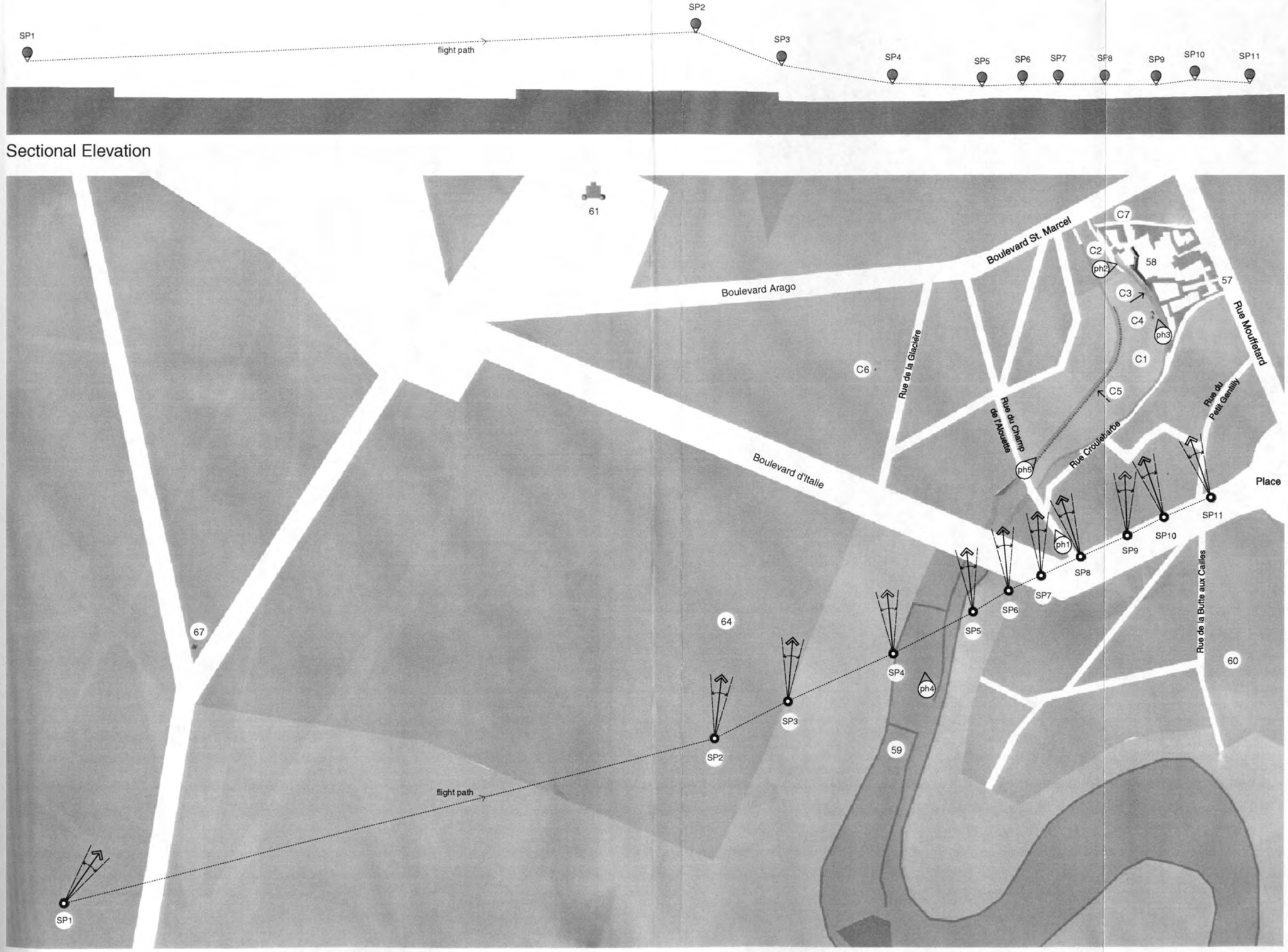


C34
Site for upper part of painting: perspective, overview to north



1 Seine River
23 Palais du Louvre
29 Tour Saint-Jacques
30 Hôtel de Ville
31 Saint-Gervais
34 Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis
39 Sainte-Chapelle
40 Tribunal du Commerce
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
44 Institut de France
45 Saint-Germain-des-Prés
46 Saint-Sulpice
47 Palais du Luxembourg
48 Saint-Séverin
49 Église de la Sorbonne
50 Panthéon
51 Saint-Étienne-du-Mont
52 Tour de Clovis
53 Monastère Notre-Dame-de-Charité
54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55 Orme de Sully: Institut des Sourds-muets
56 Val-de-Grâce
57 Manufacture des Gobelins
58 Hôtel de la Reine Blanche
60 Butte-aux-Cailles
61 Observatoire
63 Saint-Médard
64 La Glacière
67 Saint-Pierre du Petit-Montrouge
C5 Poplar trees adjacent west arm of Bièvre river

C35
Site for upper part of painting: perspective, overview to south

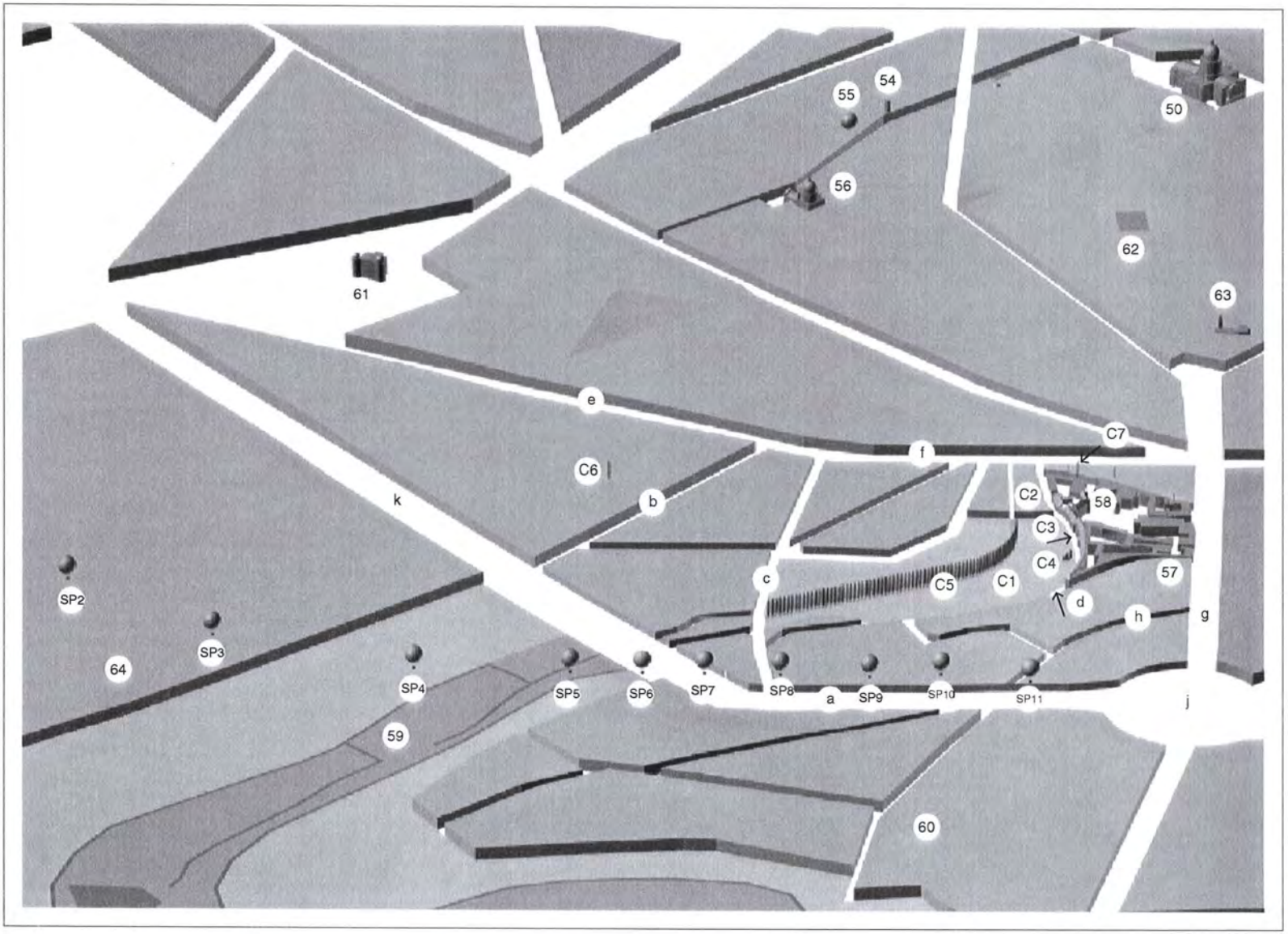


57	Manufacture des Gobelins
58	Hôtel de la Reine Blanche
59	Bièvre: two arms of river
60	Butte-aux-Cailles
64	La Glacière
67	Saint-Pierre du Petit-Montrouge
C1	Bièvre domain
C2	Île des Singes
C3	Wall adjacent east arm of Bièvre River
C4	Chasse du Comte de Julienne
C5	Poplar trees adjacent west arm of Bièvre River
C6	Chimney stack 1
C7	Chimney stack 2
SP1	Viewpoint: aerial balloon, 68m above ground
SP2	Viewpoint: aerial balloon, 131m above ground
SP3	Viewpoint: aerial balloon, 70m above ground
SP4	Viewpoint: aerial balloon, 34m above ground
SP5	Viewpoint: aerial balloon, 25m above ground
SP6	Viewpoint: aerial balloon, 24m above ground
SP7	Viewpoint: aerial balloon, 28m above ground
SP8	Viewpoint: aerial balloon, 28m above ground
SP9	Viewpoint: aerial balloon, 24m above ground
SP10	Viewpoint: aerial balloon, 32m above ground
SP11	Viewpoint: aerial balloon, 22m above ground
ph1	Photograph, Fig.C11
ph2	Photograph, Fig.C18
ph3	Photograph, Fig.C19
ph4	Photograph, Fig.C20
ph5	Photograph, Fig.C21

NORTH

0 200 m

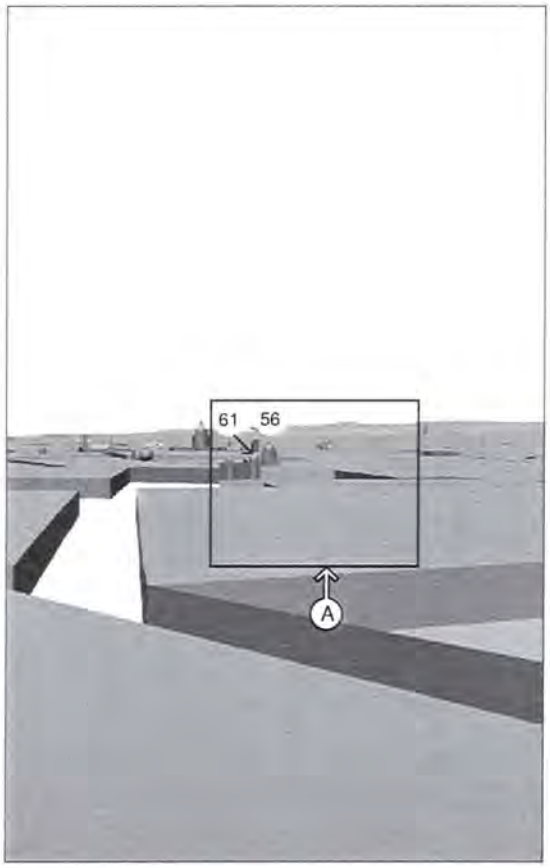
C36
Site for upper part of painting: plan and sectional elevation – viewpoints and directions of view from aerial balloon



50 Panthéon
54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55 Orme de Sully: Institut des Sourds-muets
56 Val-de-Grâce
57 Manufacture des Gobelins
58 Hôtel de la Reine Blanche
59 Bièvre: two arms of river
60 Butte-aux-Cailles
61 Observatoire
63 Saint-Médard
64 La Glacière
C1 Bièvre domain
C2 Île des Singes
C3 Wall adjacent east arm of Bièvre river
C4 Chasse du Comte de Julienne
C5 Poplar trees adjacent west arm of Bièvre river
C6 Chimney stack 1
C7 Chimney stack 2
a Boulevard d'Italie
b Rue de la Glacière
c Rue du Champ de l'Alouette
d Rue Croulebarbe
e Boulevard Arago
f Boulevard St. Marcel
g Rue Mouffetard
h Rue du Petit Gentilly
j Place d'Italie
k Boulevard d'Italie

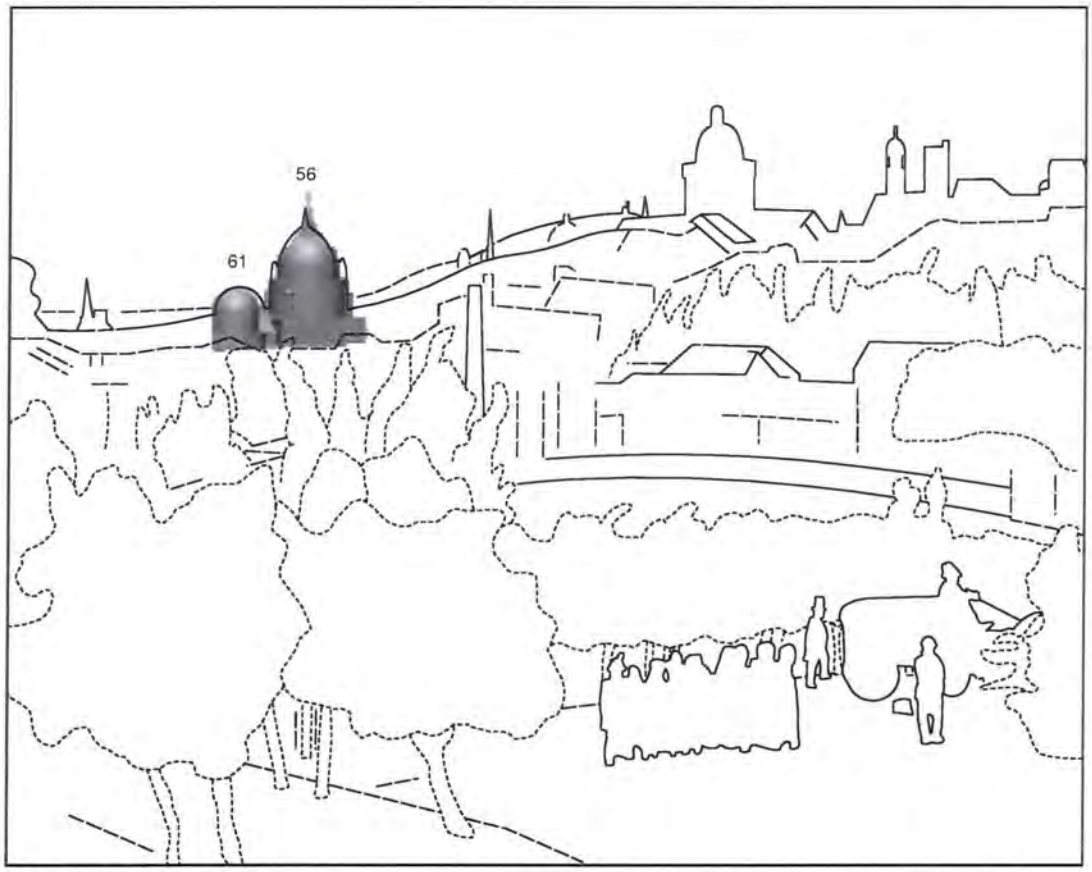
C37
Site for upper part of painting: perspective – overview of viewpoints in aerial balloon

C38
Overlay line drawing from *The Burial*

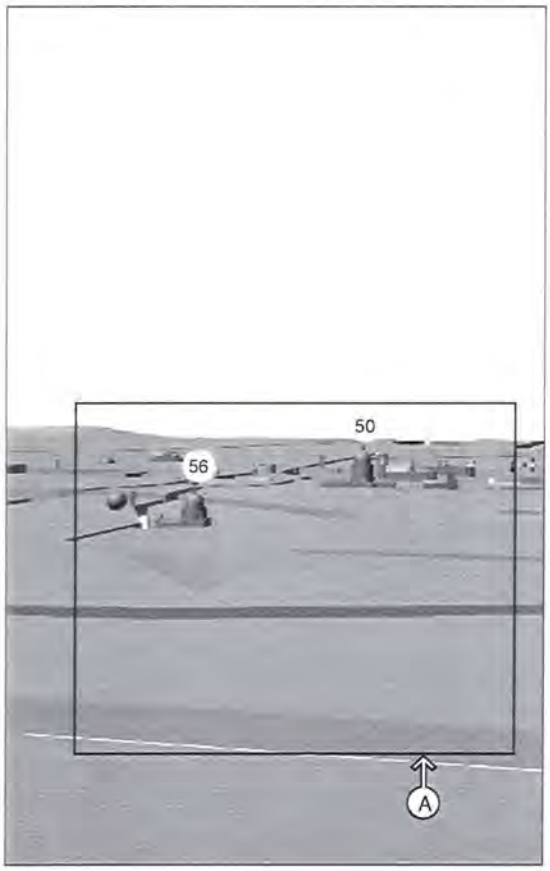


56 Val-de-Grâce
61 Observatoire
A Painting format, part-image 1

C39
Perspective: SP1, carte-de-visite format
Overlay: painting format

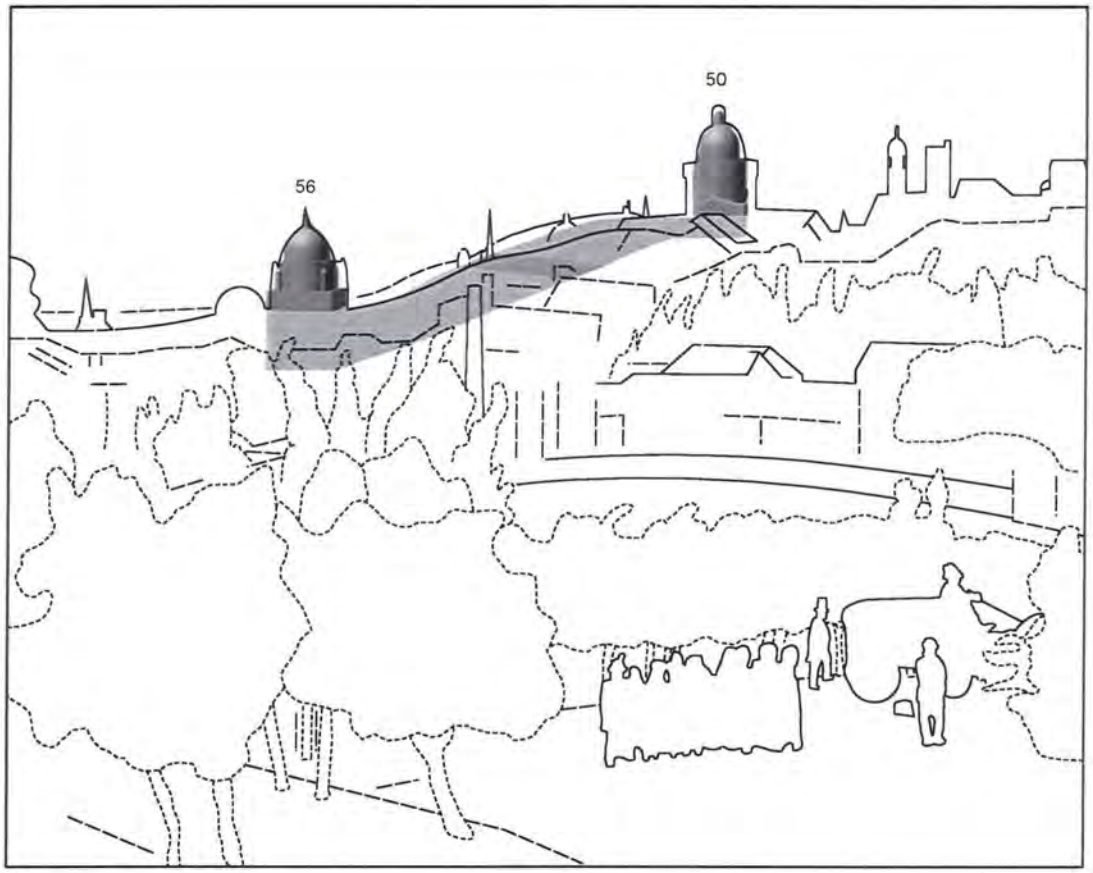


C40
Perspective, part-image 1: SP1
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38

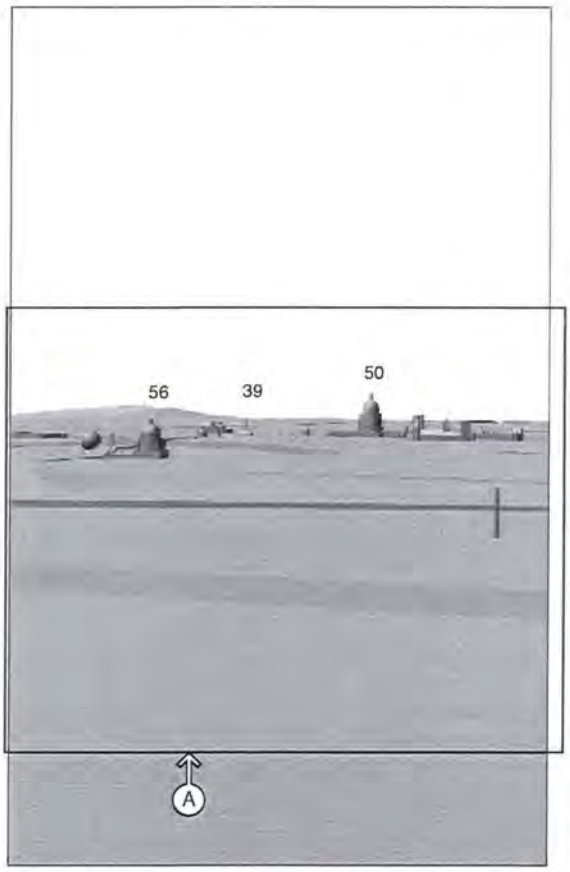


50 Panthéon
56 Val-de-Grâce
A Painting format, part-image 2

C41
Perspective: SP2, carte-de-visite format
Overlay: painting format

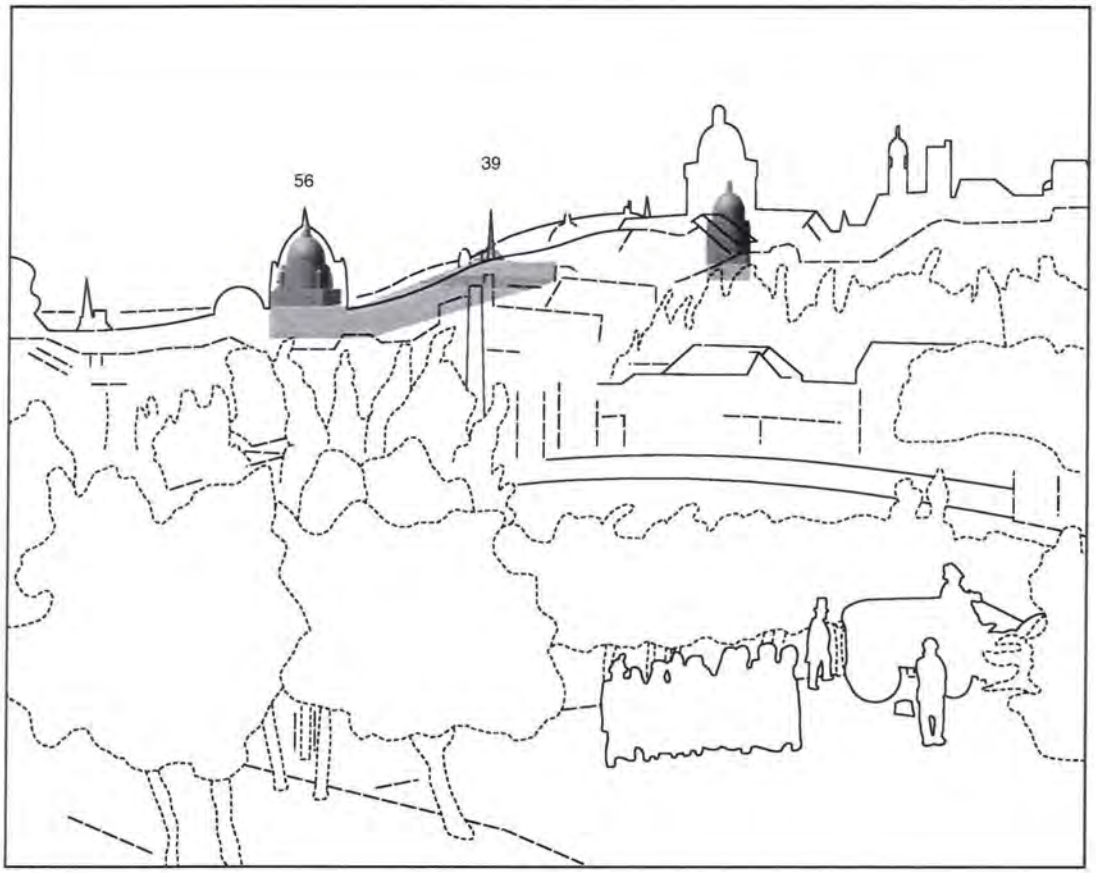


C42
Perspective, part-image 2: SP2
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38

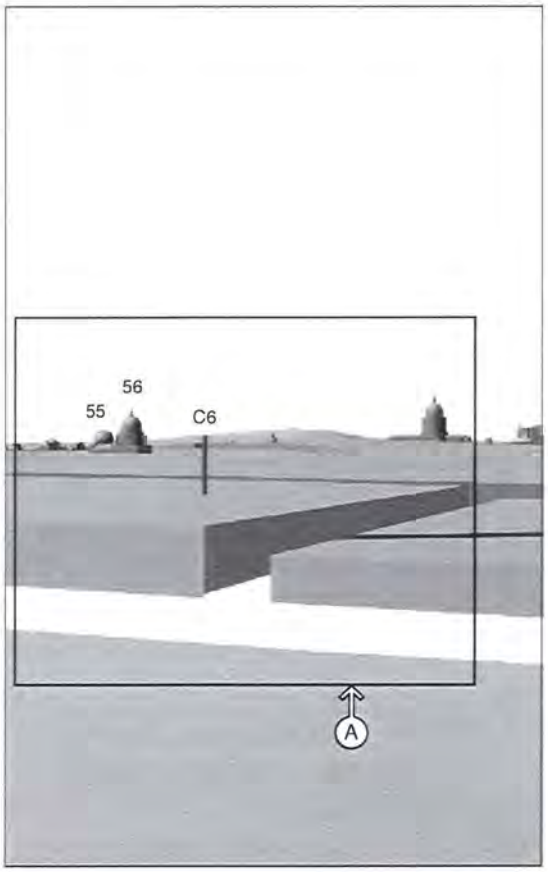


39 Sainte-Chapelle
50 Panthéon
56 Val-de-Grâce
A Painting format, part-image 3

C43
Perspective: SP3, carte-de-visite format
Overlay: painting format

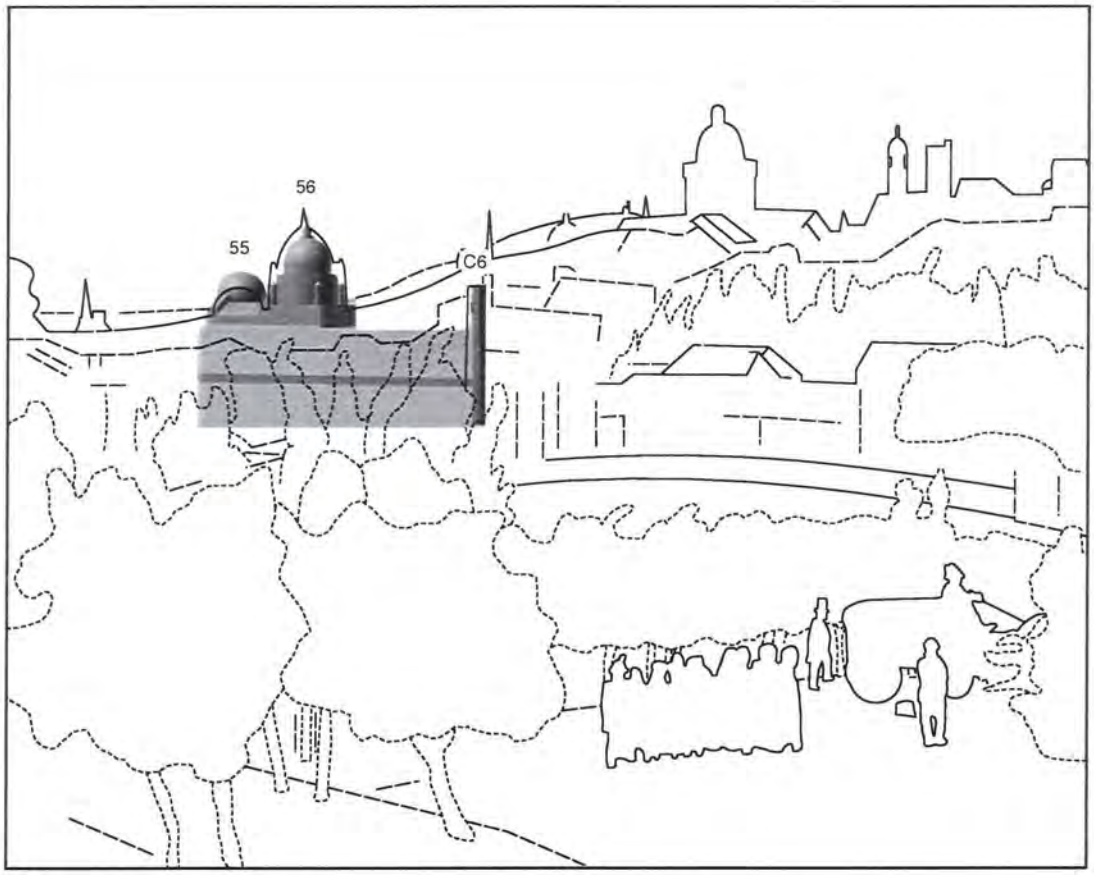


C44
Perspective, part-image 3: SP3
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38



55 Orme de Sully
56 Val-de-Grâce
C6 Chimney stack 1
A Painting format, part-image 4

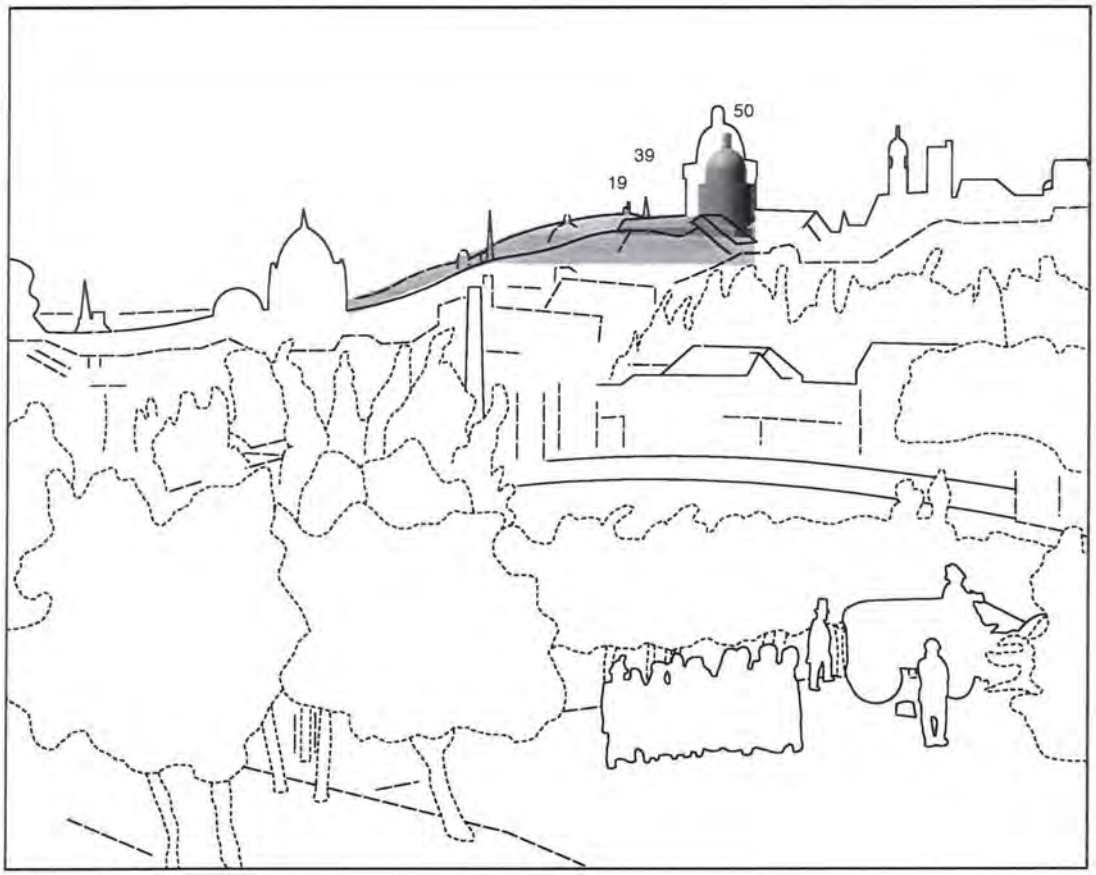
C45
Perspective: SP4, carte-de-visite format
Overlay: painting format



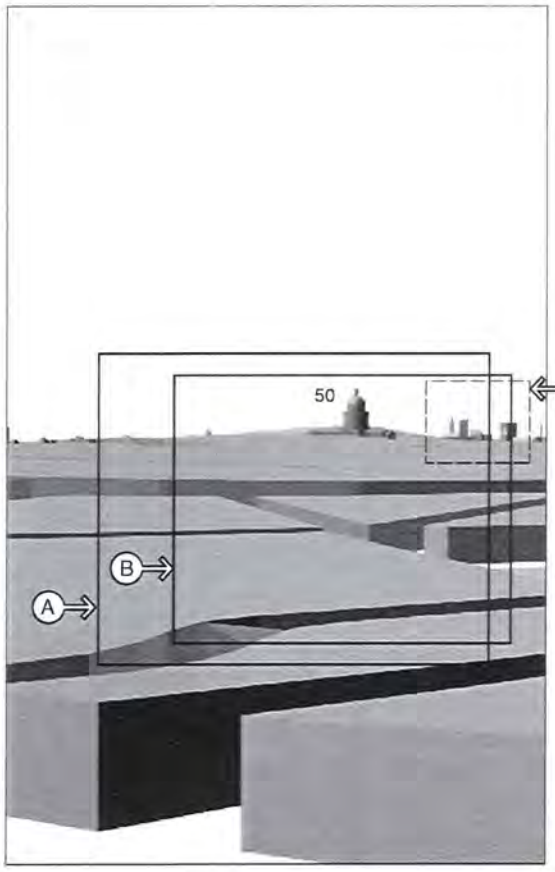
C46
Perspective, part-image 4: SP4
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38

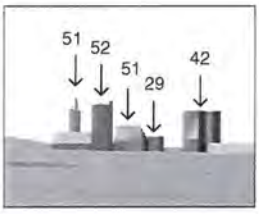
19 Saint-Pierre-du-Montmartre
39 Sainte-Chapelle
50 Panthéon
A Painting format, part-image 5

C47
Perspective: SP5, carte-de-visite format
Overlay: painting format



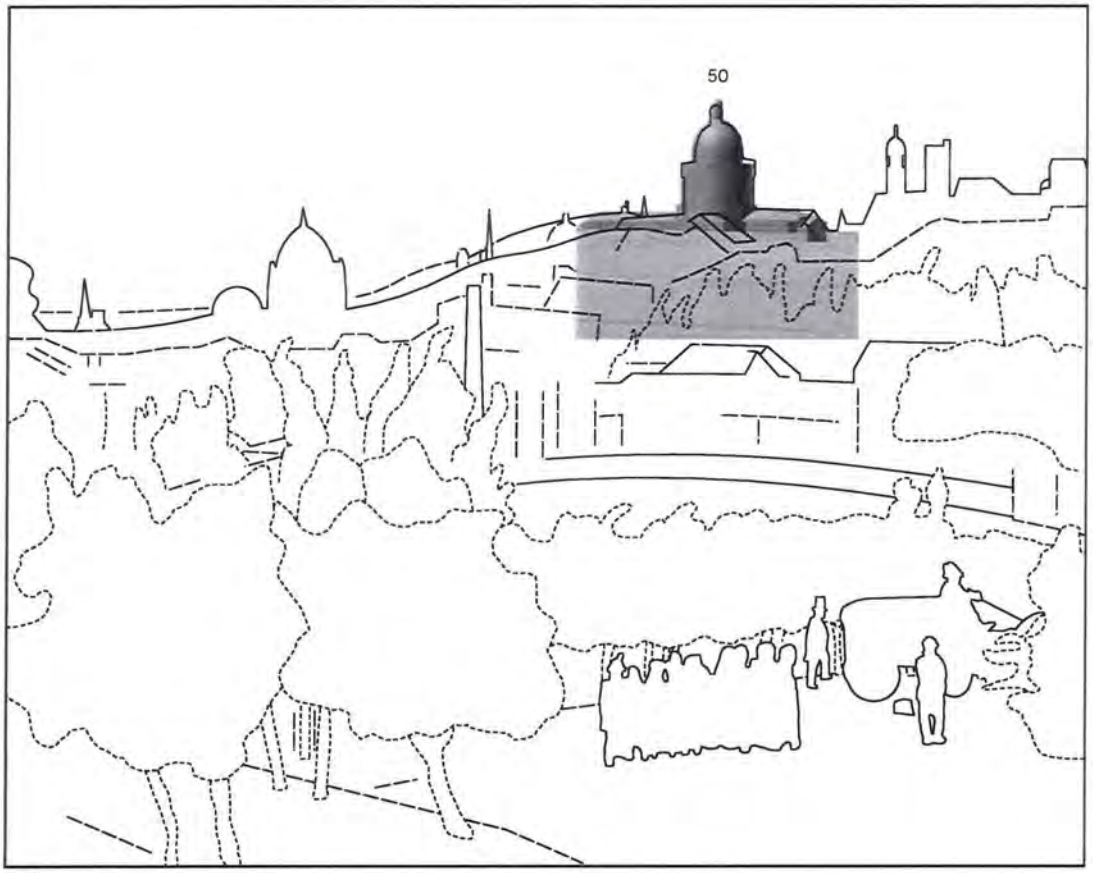
C48
Perspective, part-image 5: SP5
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38



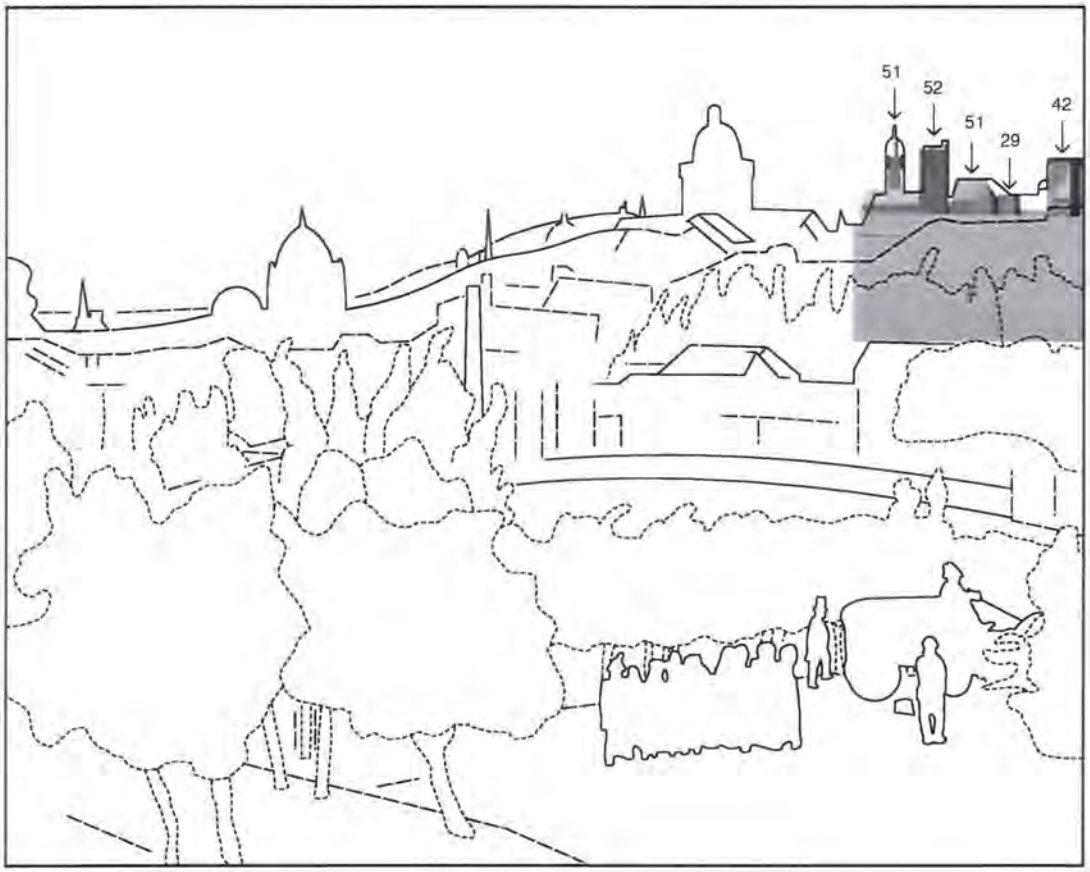


29 Tour Saint-Jacques
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
50 Panthéon
51 Saint-Étienne-du-Mont
52 Tour de Clovis
A Painting format, part-image 6
B Painting format, part-image 7

C49
Perspective: SP6, carte-de-visite format
Overlay: painting formats

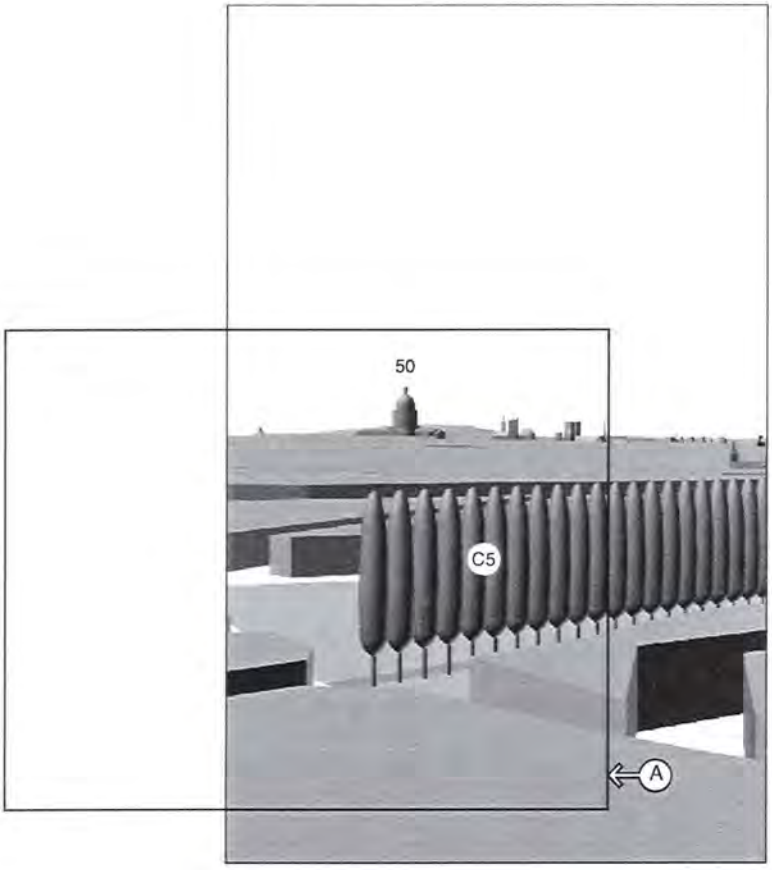


C50
Perspective, part-image 6: SP6
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38



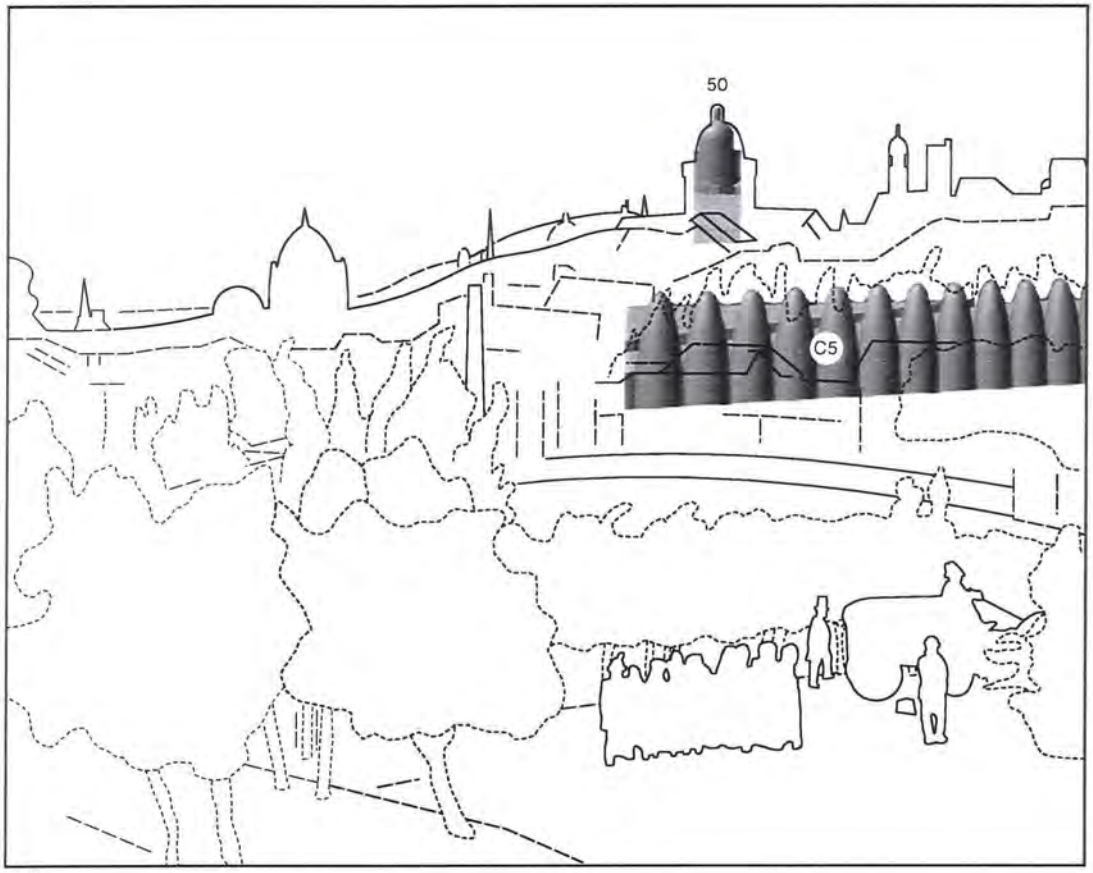
C51
Perspective, part-image 7: SP6
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38

29 Tour Saint-Jacques
42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
51 Saint-Étienne-du-Mont
52 Tour de Clovis

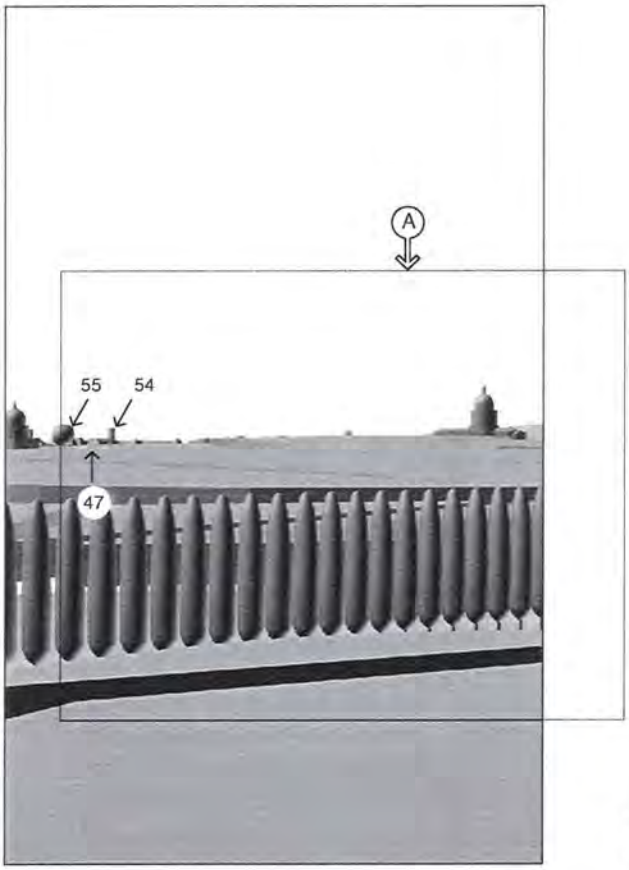


50 Panthéon
C5 Poplar trees adjacent west arm of Bièvre River
A Painting format, part-image 8

C52
Perspective: SP7, carte-de-visite format
Overlay: painting format

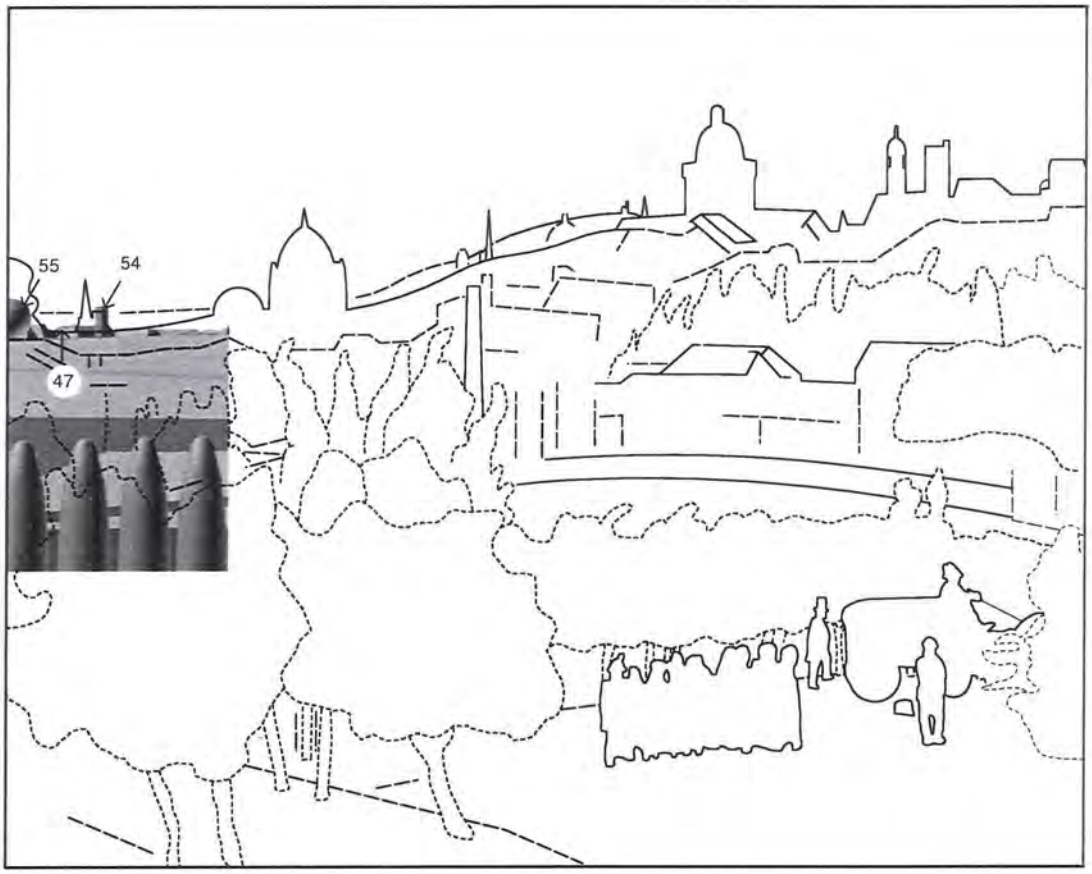


C53
Perspective, part-image 8: SP7
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38

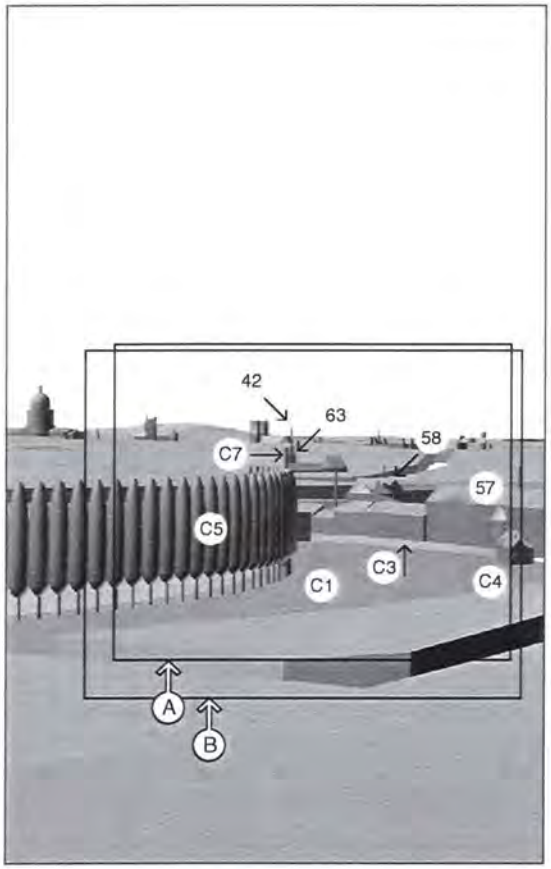


47 Palais du Luxembourg
54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55 Orme de Sully
A Painting format, part-image 9

C54
Perspective: SP8, carte-de-visite format
Overlay: painting format

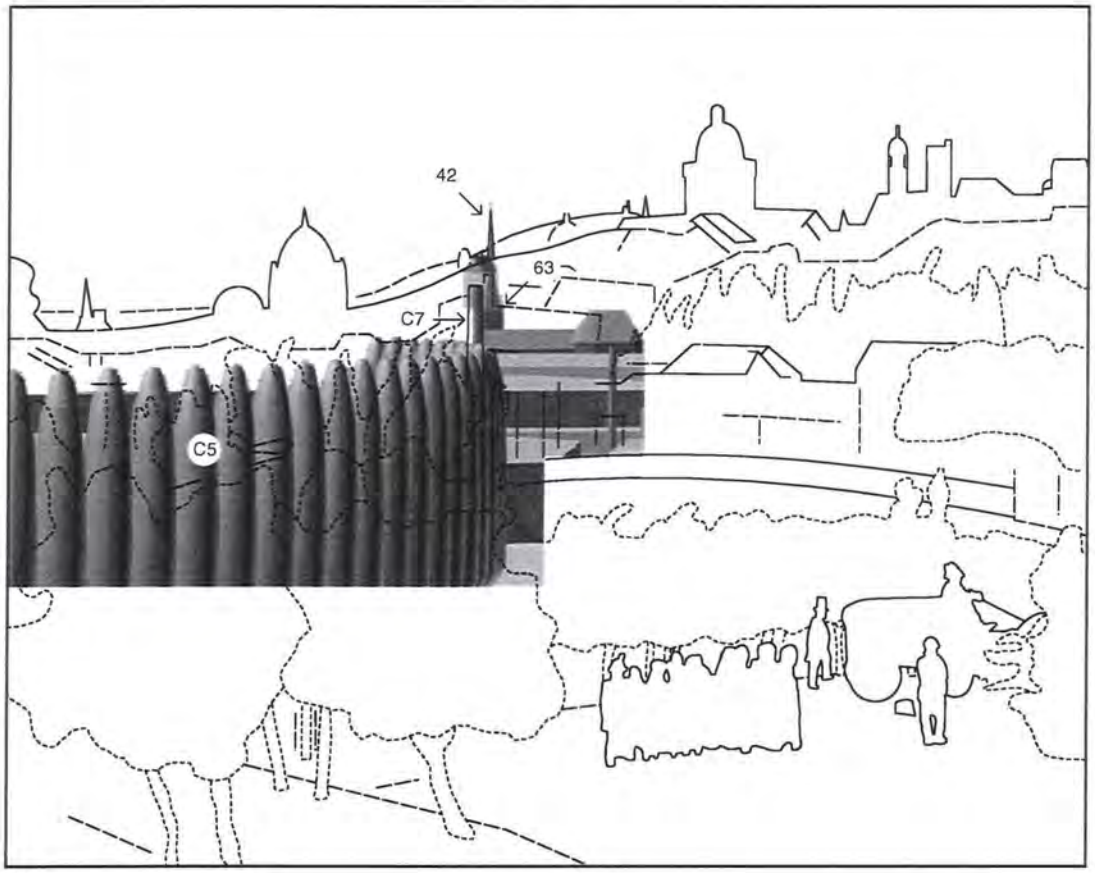


C55
Perspective, part-image 9: SP8
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38

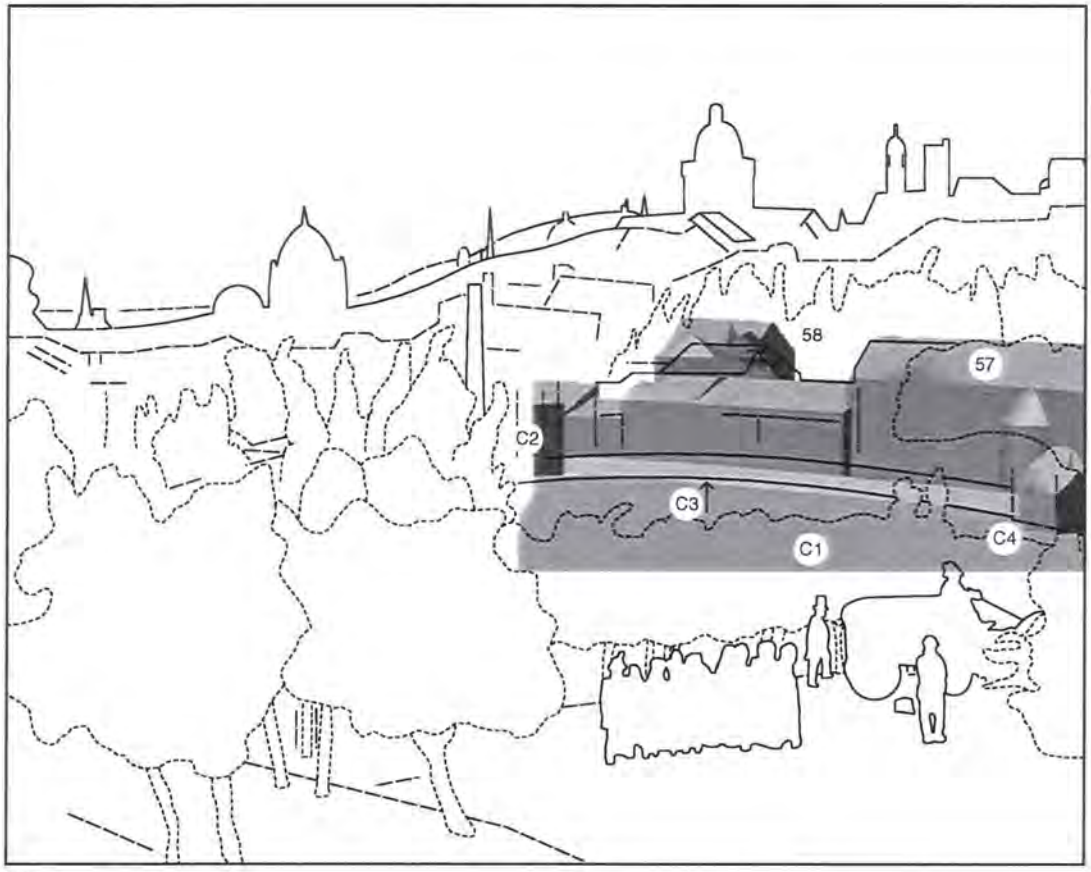


42 Cathédrale Notre-Dame
57 Manufacture des Gobelins
58 Hôtel de la Reine Blanche
63 Saint-Médard
C1 Bièvre domain
C3 Wall adjacent east arm of Bièvre River
C4 Chasse du Comte de Julienne
C5 Poplar trees adjacent west arm of Bièvre River
C7 Chimney stack 2
A Painting format, part-image 10
B Painting format, part-image 11

C56
Perspective: SP9, carte-de-visite format
Overlay: painting formats

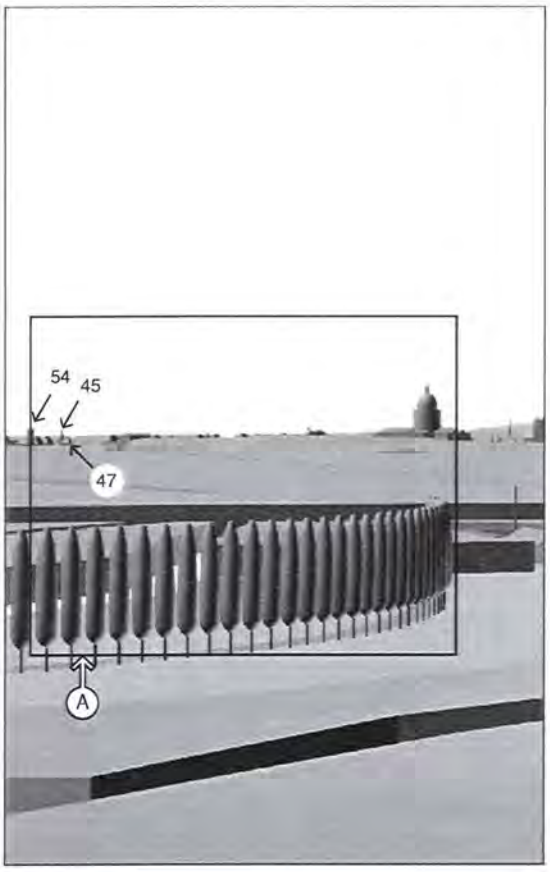


C57
Perspective, part-image 10: SP9
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38



C58
Perspective, part-image 11: SP9
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38

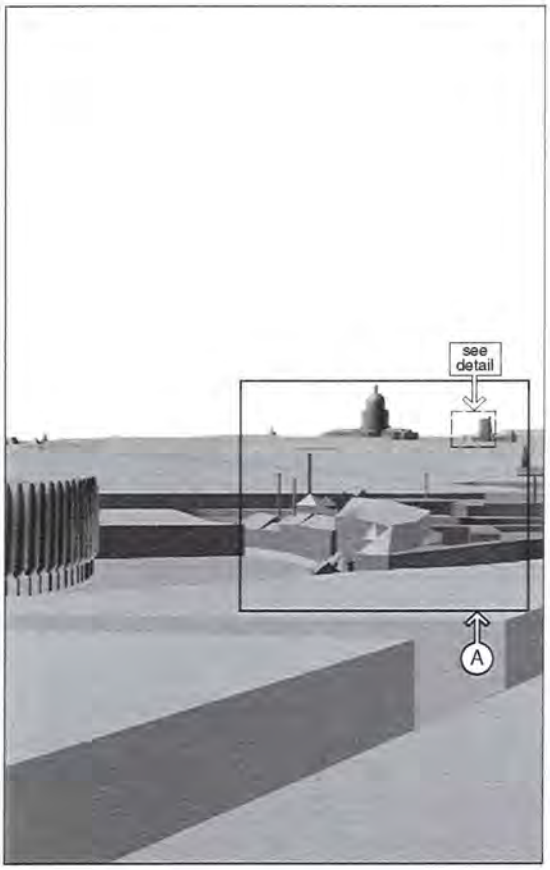
57 Manufacture des Gobelins
58 Hôtel de la Reine Blanche
C1 Bièvre domain
C2 Île des Singes
C3 Wall adjacent east arm of Bièvre River
C4 Chasse du Comte de Julienne

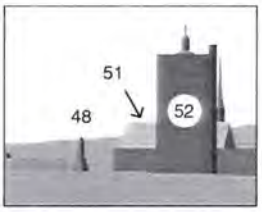


45 Saint-Germain-des-Prés
47 Palais du Luxembourg
54 Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
A Painting format, part-image 12

C59
Perspective: SP10, carte-de-visite format
Overlay: painting format

C60
Perspective, part-image 12: SP10
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38

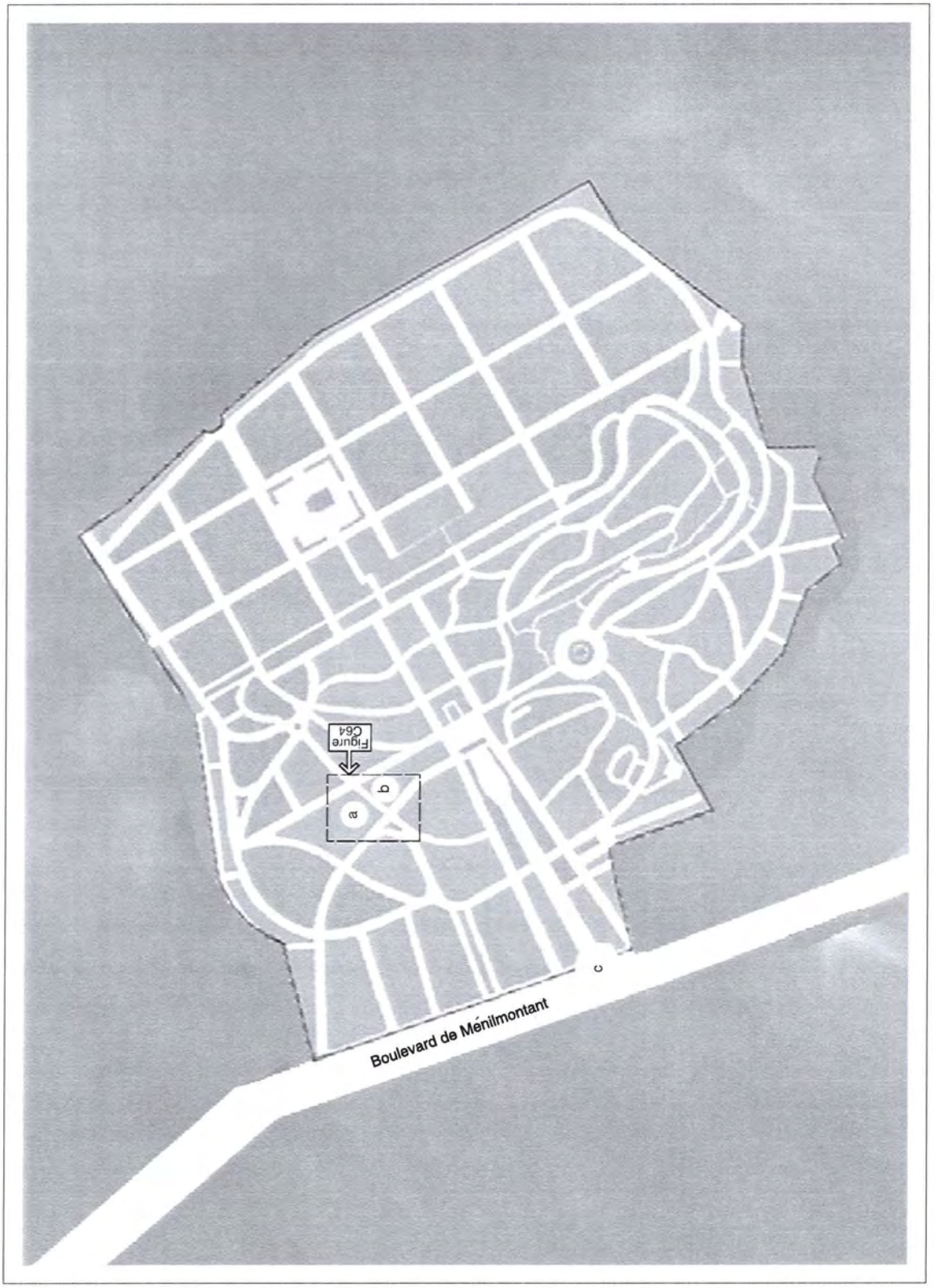




48 Saint-Séverin
51 Saint-Étienne-du-Mont
52 Tour de Clovis
A Painting format, part-image 13

C61
Perspective: SP11, carte-de-visite format
Overlay: painting format

C62
Perspective, part-image 13: SP11
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38

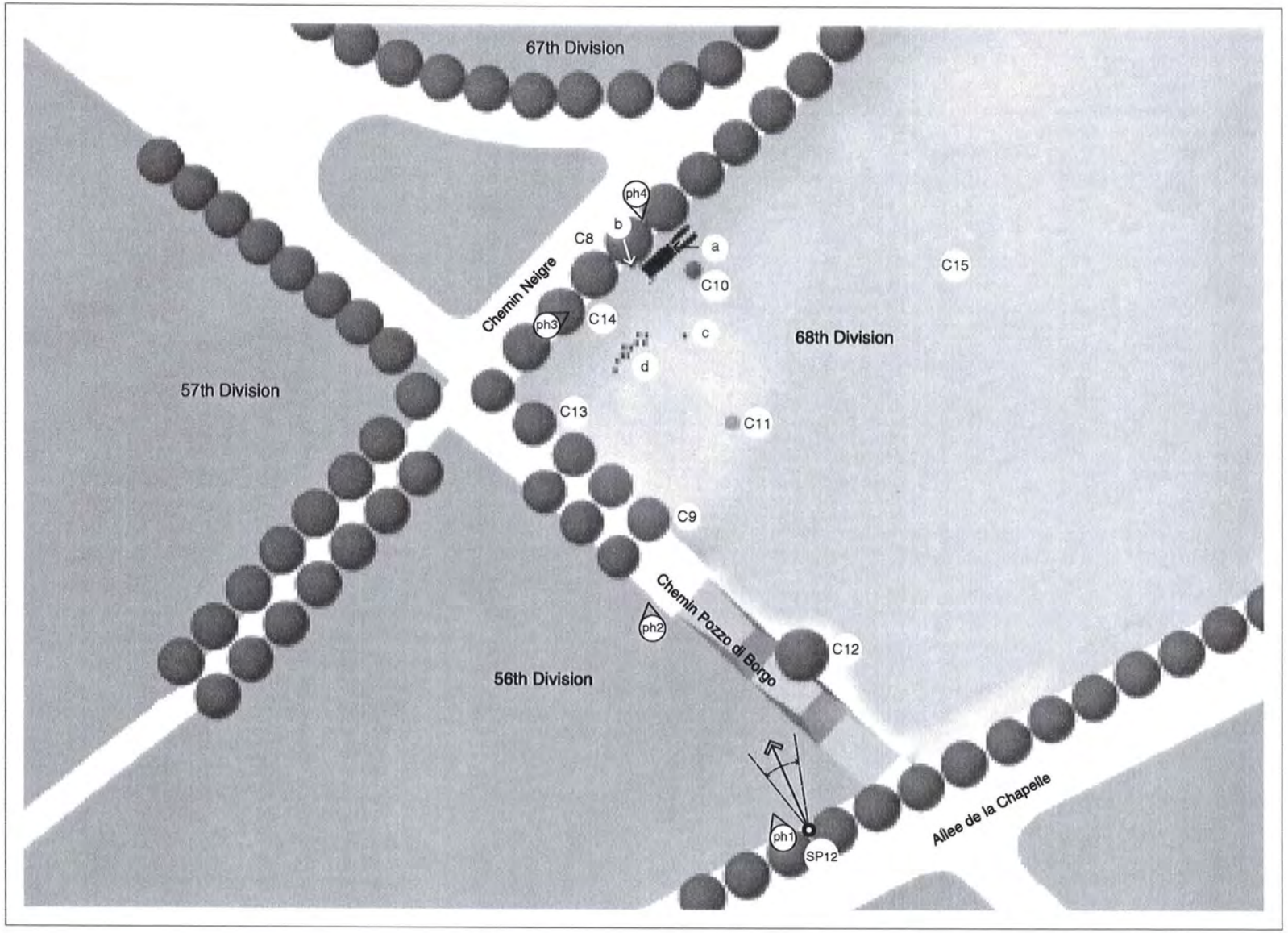


a 68th Division
b 56th Division
c Main Entrance

NORTH

0 100 m

C63
Site for lower part of painting: location plan – Cimetière du Père-Lachaise

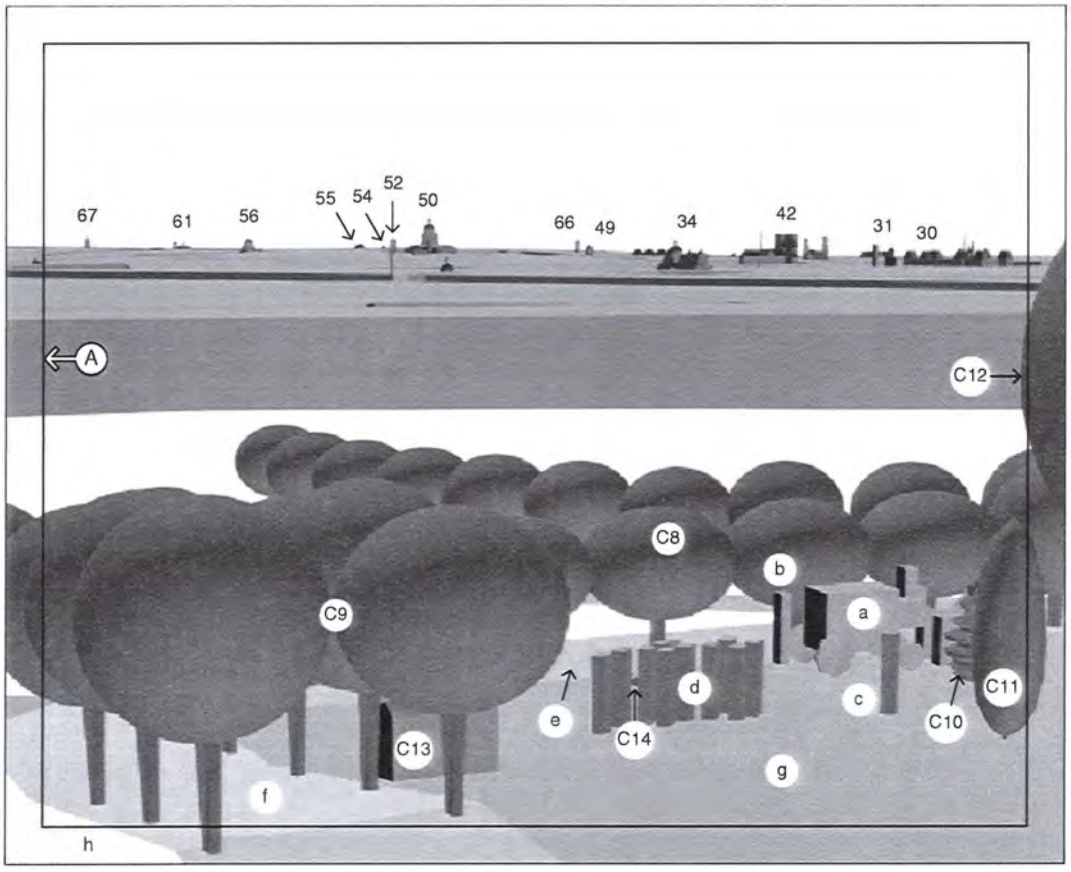


C8 Trees to Chemin Neigre
C9 Trees to Chemin Pozzo di Borgo
C10 Tree 1
C11 Tree 2
C12 Tree 3
C13 Tomb, concession 1 (Famille Meunier 1832)
C14 Concession 2 (Famille Ailliot, 1867)
C15 Fosse commune
a Hearse with coachman
b Undertaker
c Agent
d Group of mourners
ph1 Photograph, Fig.C28
ph2 Photograph, Fig.C29
ph3 Photograph, Fig.C30
ph4 Photograph, Fig.C31
SP12 Viewpoint, 1.0m above ground

NORTH

0 10 m

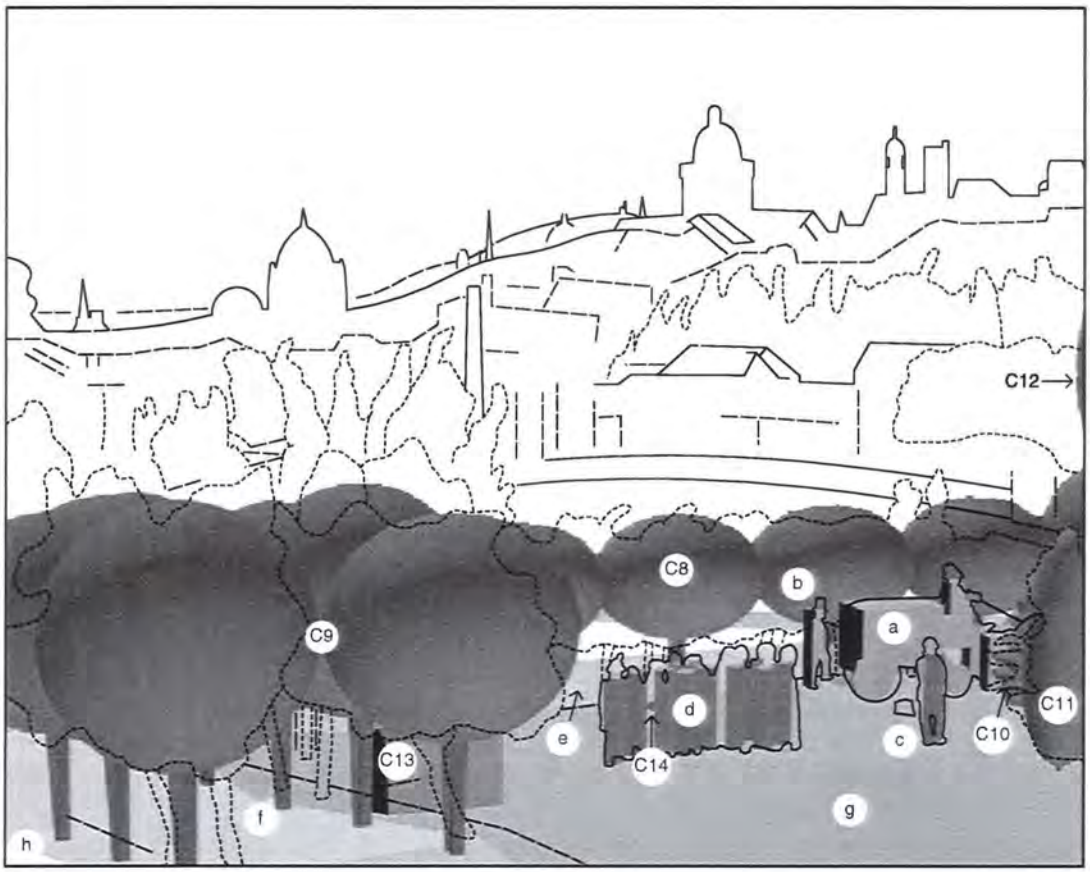
C64
Site for lower part of painting: plan – 56th and 68th Divisions, Cimetière du Père-Lachaise – viewpoint and direction of view



C65
Perspective: SP12
Overlay: painting format

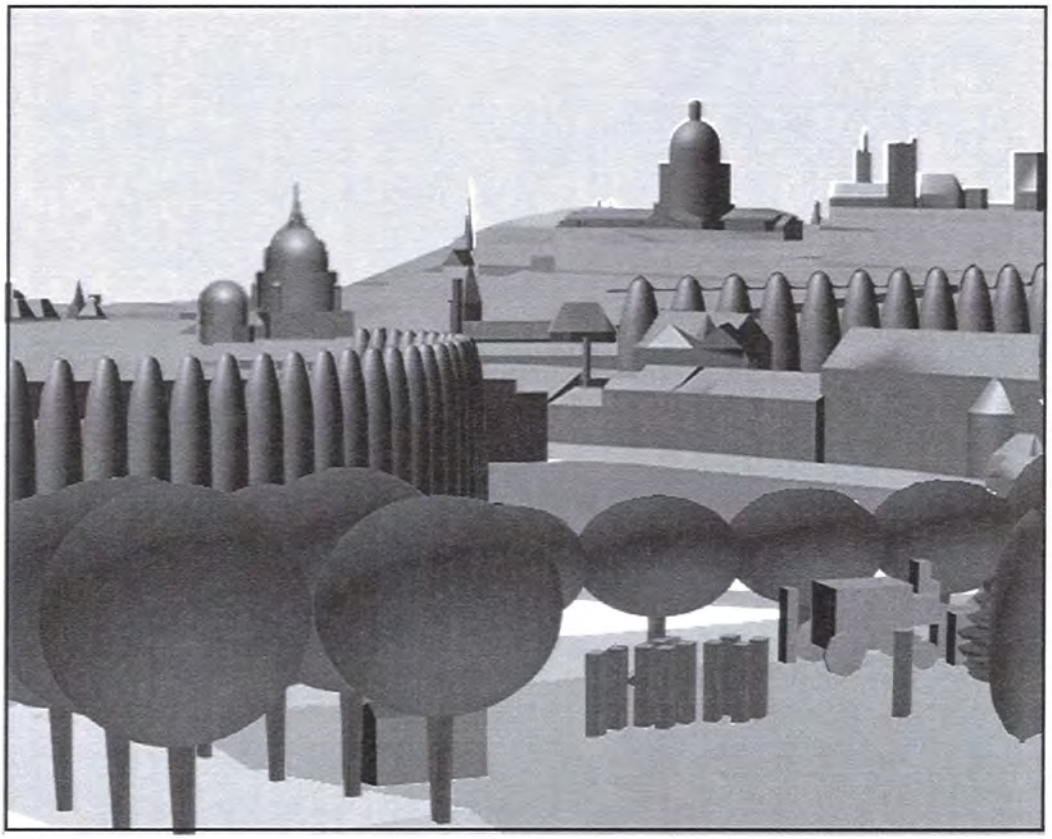
30	Hôtel de Ville
31	Saint-Gervais
34	Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis
42	Cathédrale Notre-Dame
49	Église de la Sorbonne
50	Panthéon
52	Tour de Clovis
54	Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas
55	Orme de Sully: Institut des Sourds-muets
56	Val-de-Grâce
61	Observatoire
66	Notre-Dame-des-Champs
67	Saint-Pierre du Petit-Montrouge

C8	Trees to Chemin Neigre
C9	Trees to Chemin Pozzo di Borgo
C10	Tree 1
C11	Tree 2
C12	Tree 3
C13	Tomb, concession 1 (Famille Meunier 1832)
C14	Concession 2 (Famille Ailliot, 1867)
a	Hearse with coachman
b	Undertaker
c	Agent
d	Group of mourners
e	Chemin Neigre
f	Chemin Pozzo di Borgo
g	68th Division
h	56th Division
A	Painting format, part-image 14

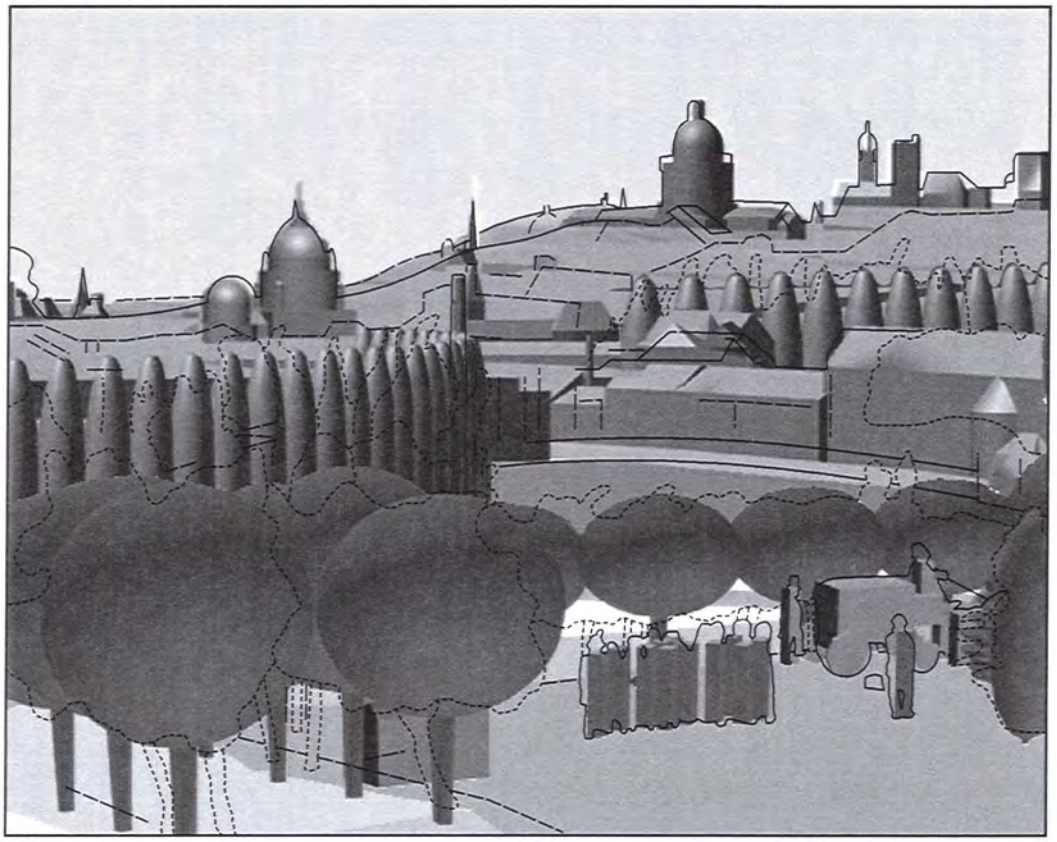


C66
Perspective, part-image 14: SP12
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38

C8 Trees to Chemin Neigre
C9 Trees to Chemin Pozzo di Borgo
C10 Tree 1
C11 Tree 2
C12 Tree 3
C13 Tomb, concession 1 (Famille Meunier 1832)
C14 Concession 2 (Famille Ailliot, 1867)
a Hearse with coachman
b Undertaker
c Agent
d Group of mourners
e Chemin Neigre
f Chemin Pozzo di Borgo
g 68th Division



C67
Composite, part-images 1-14 – Painting format



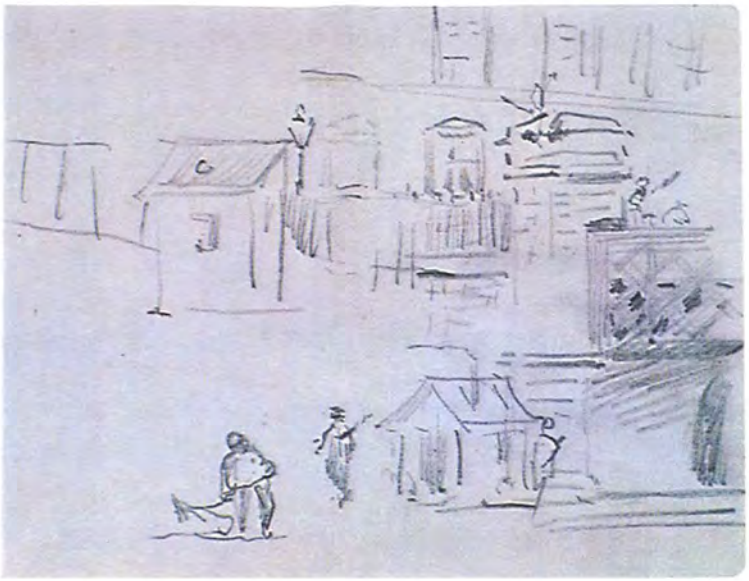
C68
Composite, Fig.C67 – Overlay: line drawing, Fig.C38

D1
Edouard Manet, *The Railway*, 1873

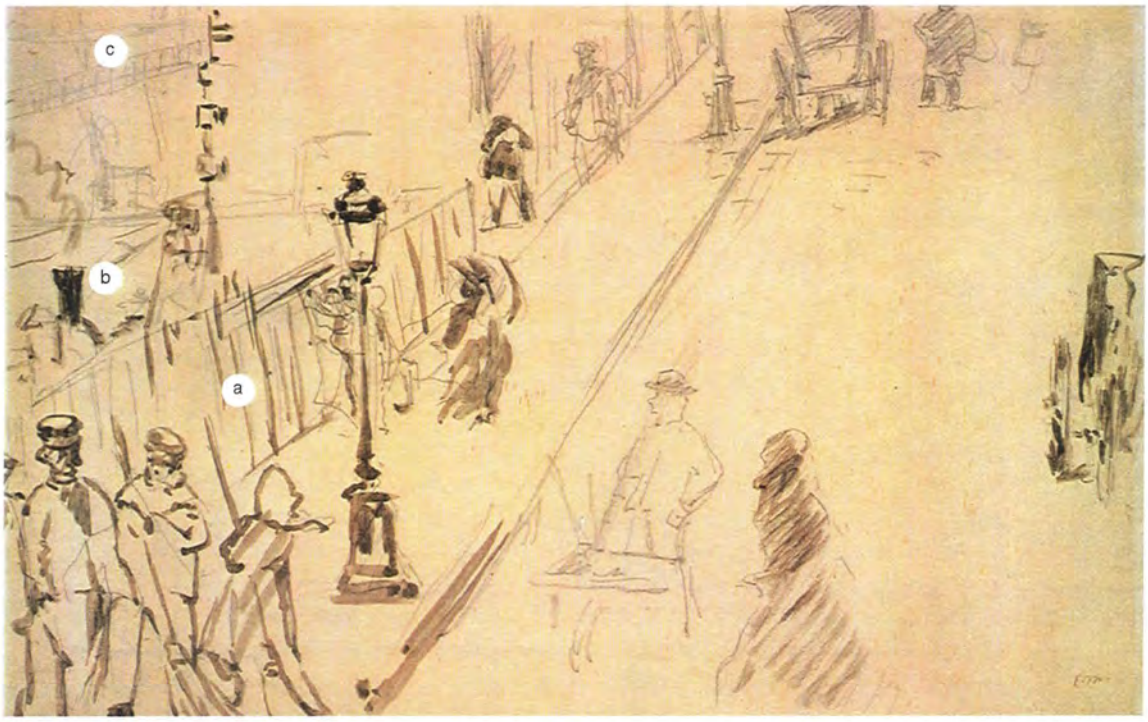
D2
Positive print from composite X-radiograph of *The Railway*,

a,b Earlier positions of two windows
c Position of window in final painting
d Position of window to lower ground floor

D3
Edouard Manet, *The Pont de l'Europe*, 1872?, graphite (verso, part Fig.D4). One of two studies from sketchbook

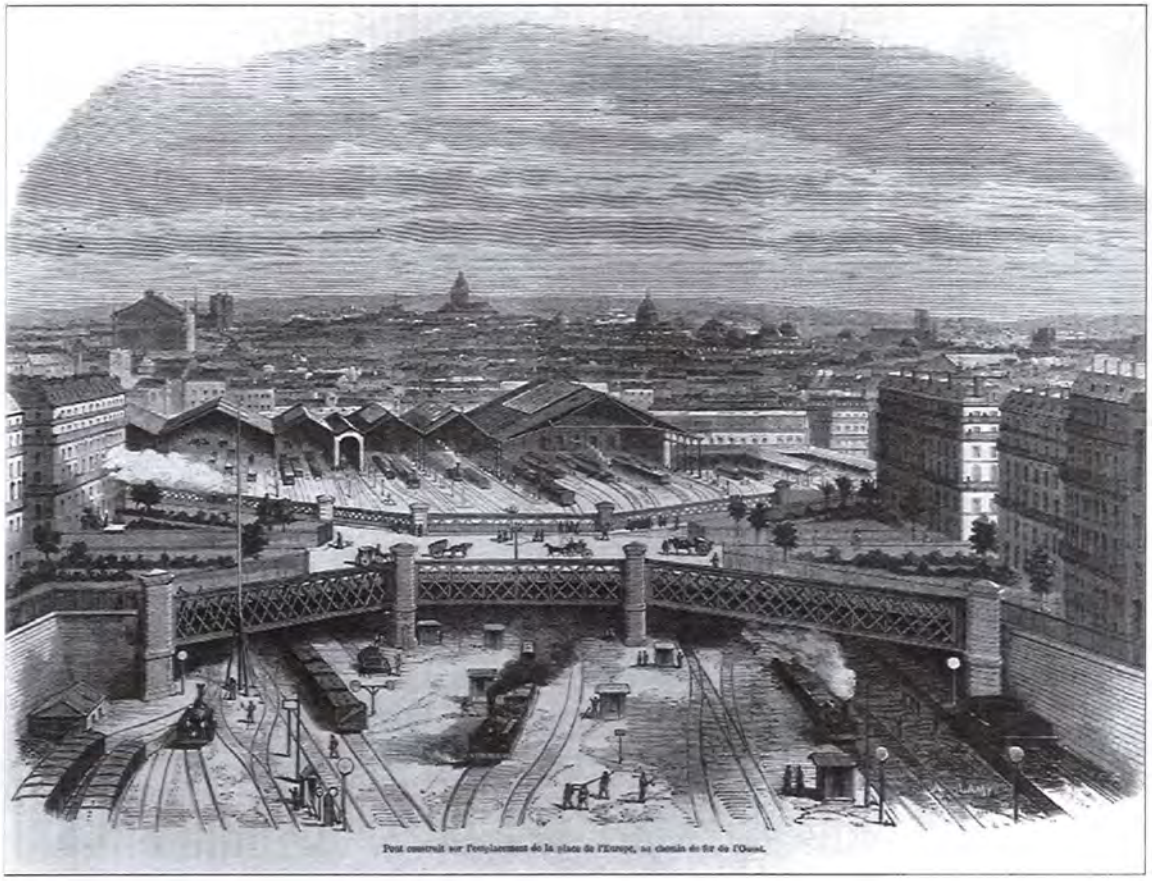


D4
Edouard Manet, *Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 1872?, graphite. One of two studies from sketckbook



D5
Edouard Manet, *Rue Mosnier with a Gaslamp*, 1878, graphite with brush and lithographic ink tusche

- **a** Fence enclosing vacant area
- **b** Railway cutting
- **c** Rear facades, buildings to Rue de Rome



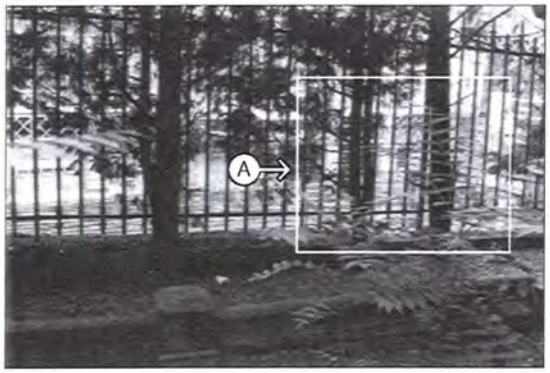
D6
Auguste Lamy, *Paris. Bridge erected on the site of the Place de l'Europe, over the Western Region Railway*, 1868, wood engraving

D7
Julia McLaren, *View from third floor, rear, No.58 Rue de Rome*, 1997, composite photograph.

- **a** Place de l'Europe
- **b** Gare Saint-Lazare
- **c** Railway cutting
- **d** Parcels Depot building
- **e** Bridge pier in *The Railway*
- **f** Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
- **g** No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, street facade
- **h** No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, facade facing Place de l'Europe

D8
Author, *Detail of grille fence, rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome*, 1998, photograph

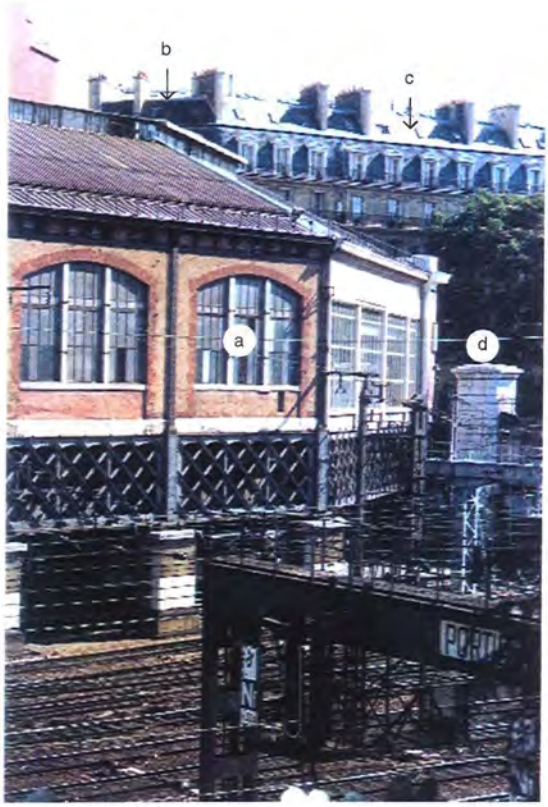
D9
Author, *Detail of grille fence with base plate intact, rear garden, No.54 Rue de Rome*, 1998, photograph



D10
Julia McLaren, *View of grille fence and wall, rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome*, 1997, photograph

A Overlay, painting format

D11
Julia McLaren, *View through grille fence from rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome*, 1997, photograph,



a Parcels Depot building
b No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, street facade
c No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, facade facing Place de l'Europe
d Bridge pier in *The Railway*

D12
Author, *View from rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome*, 1998, photograph

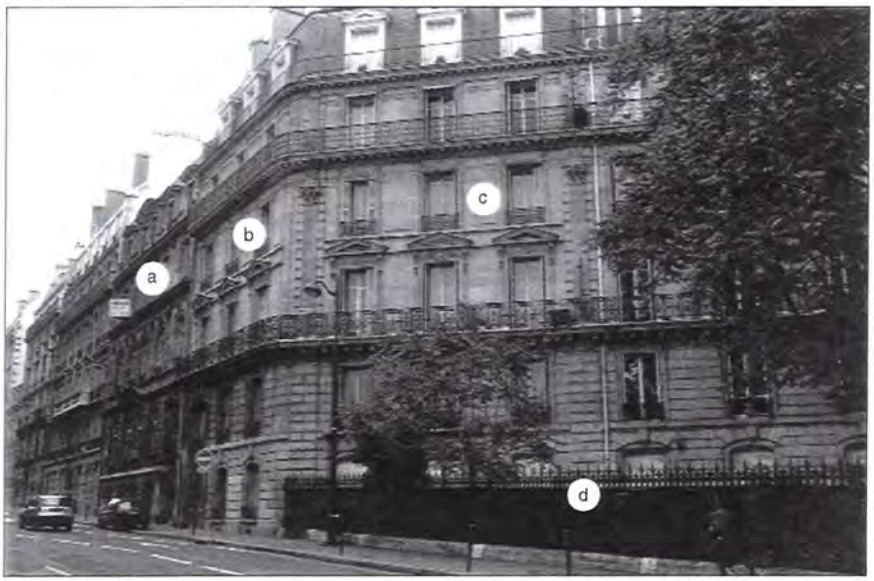
a No.58 Rue de Rome, rear facade

D13
Anon., *584. Paris – Pont de l'Europe, C.L.C.*, c. 1900–05, postcard photograph. View from Place de l'Europe of rear of buildings to Rue de Rome

a Bridge pier in *The Railway*

b No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, facade facing Place de l'Europe

D14
Anon., *423. – Paris. – Pont de l'Europe (Gare St-Lazare)*, c.1905, postcard photograph.View across Place de l'Europe towards Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg



a No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg

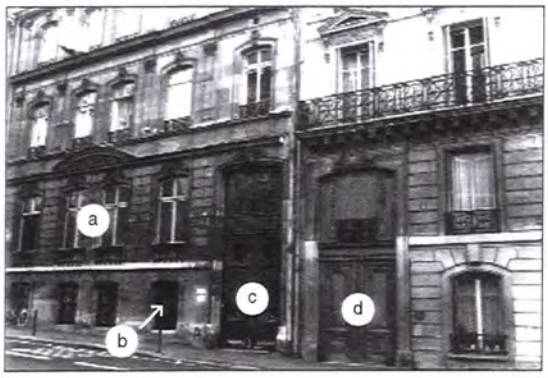
b No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, street facade

c No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, facade facing Place de l'Europe

d Spiked bars to grille fence – tops seen in graphite sketch (Fig.D4)

D15
Julia McLaren,
Angled facade of No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg, 1997, photograph

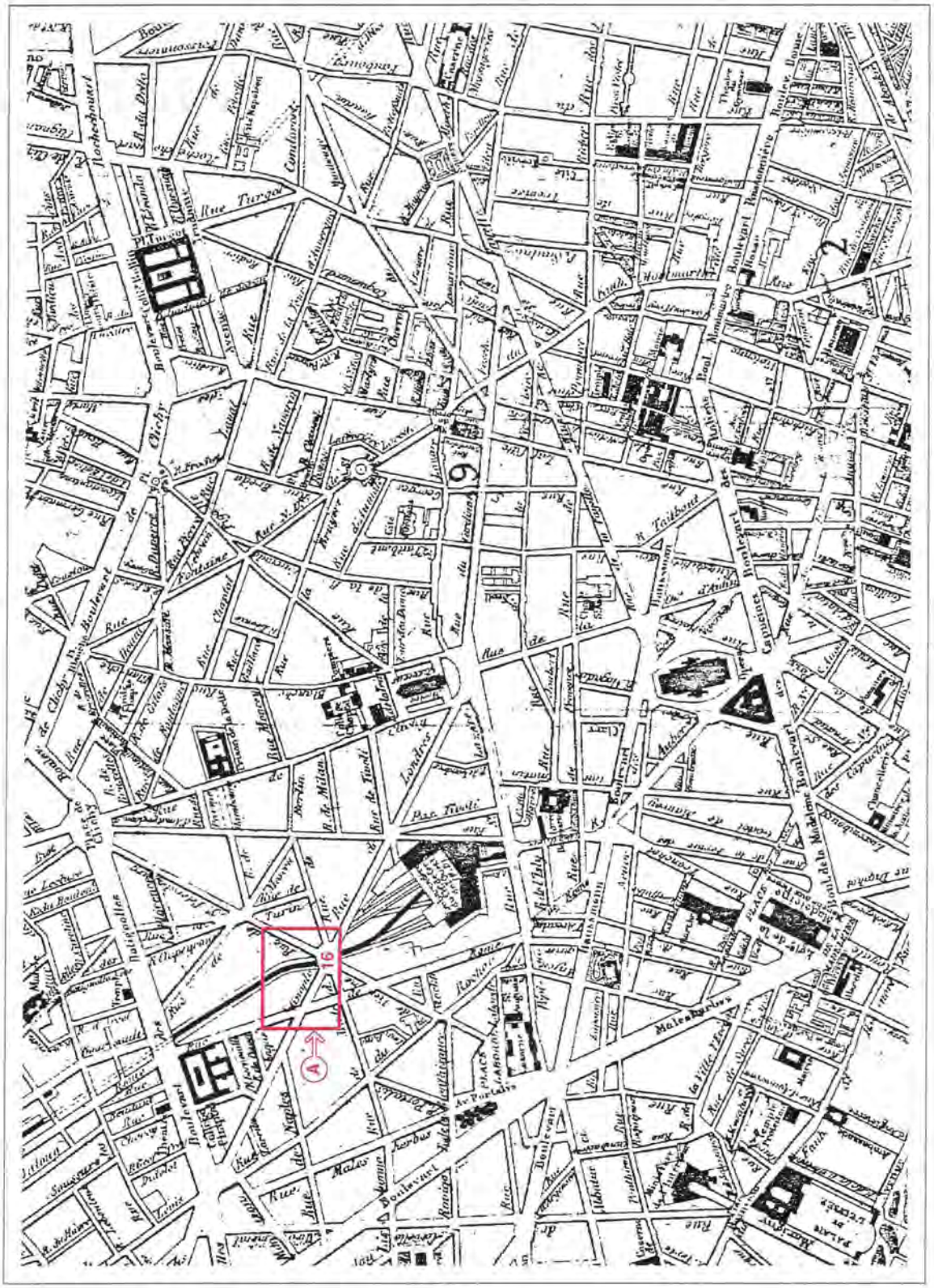
D16
Anon., *Facade of No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 1872 or later, photograph



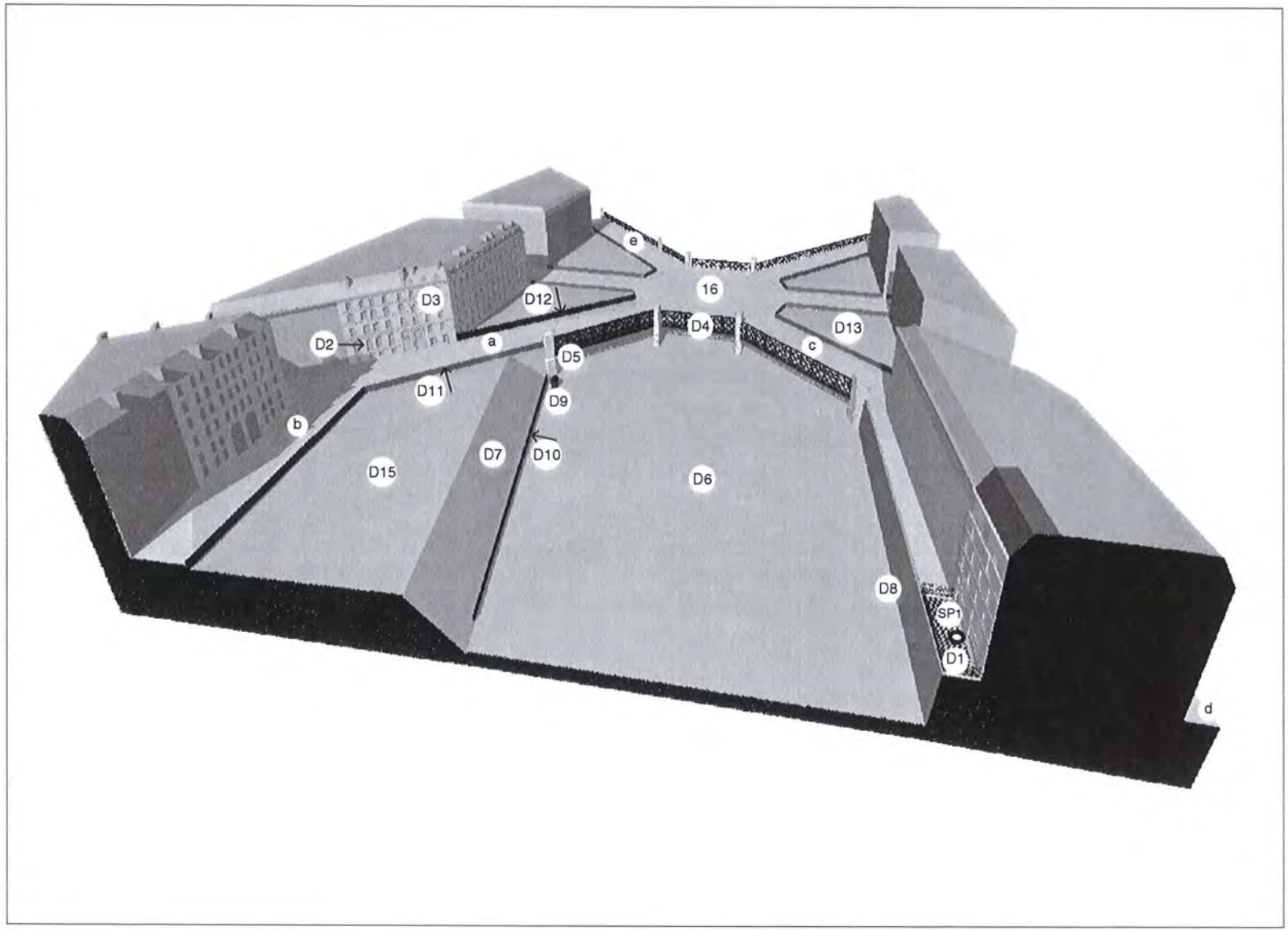
D17
Julia McLaren, *Carriage entry doors and windows, No.4 and No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 1997, photograph

- **a** Windows to Manet's studio, No.4
- **b** Window to lower ground floor (upper part seen in painting), No.4
- **c** Carriage entry door, No.4
- **d** Carriage entry door, No.2

D18
Julia McLaren, *Carriage entry doors, No.2 Rue Mosnier*, 1997, photograph

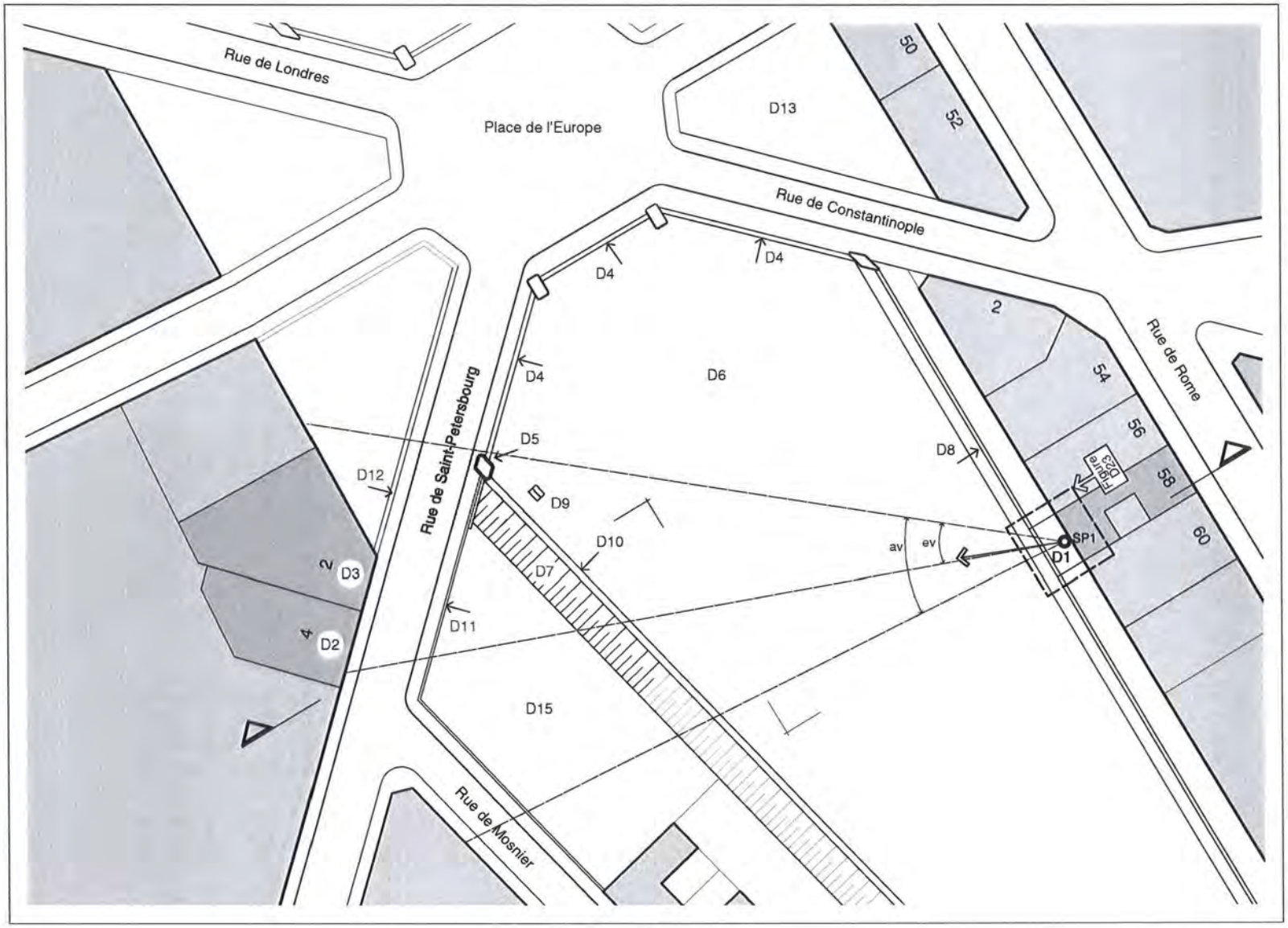


D19
Painting site: location plan
A. Chaix & Cie., *Nouveau Plan de Paris: divisé en 20 arrondissements*, 1870.
Map detail



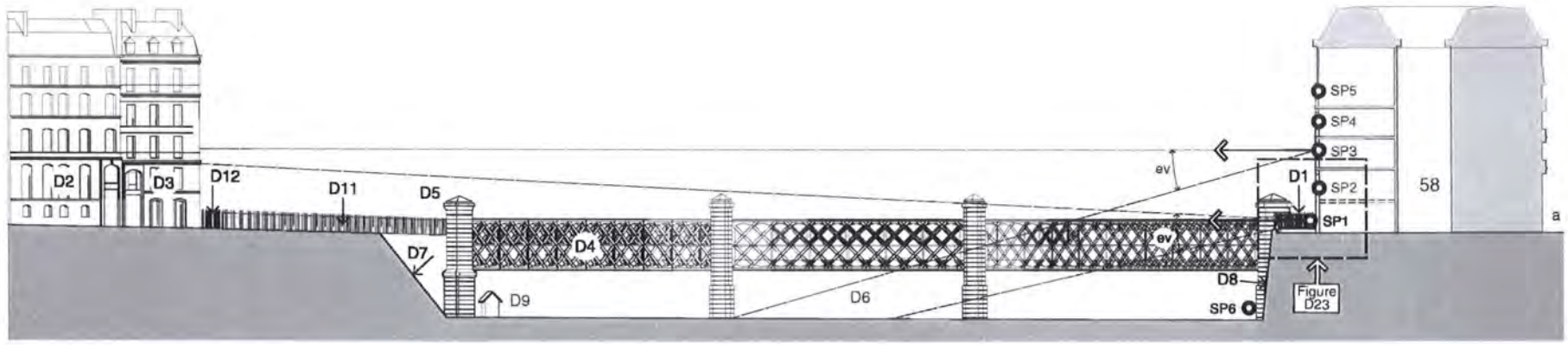
16 Place de l'Europe
D1 Rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome
D2 Manet's studio, No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D3 No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D4 Pont de l'Europe
D5 Bridge pier in *The Railway*
D6 Railway cutting
D7 Bank
D8 Retaining wall
D9 Hut
D10 Paling fence, railway cutting
D11 Paling fence, north-west side, Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D12 Grille fence, garden, No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D13 Garden, No. 50 and No.52 Rue de Rome
D15 Vacant area
SP1 Viewpoint, garden level
a Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
b Rue Mosnier
c Rue de Constantinople
d Rue de Rome
e Rue de Londres

D20
Painting site: perspective overview



D1 Rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome
D2 Manet's studio, No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D3 No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D4 Pont de l'Europe
D5 Bridge pier in *The Railway*
D6 Railway cutting
D7 Bank
D8 Retaining wall
D9 Hut
D10 Paling fence, railway cutting
D11 Paling fence, north-west side, Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D12 Grille fence, garden, No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D13 Garden, No. 50 and No.52 Rue de Rome
D15 Vacant area
SP1 Viewpoint, garden level
av Angle of vision
ev Extent of view

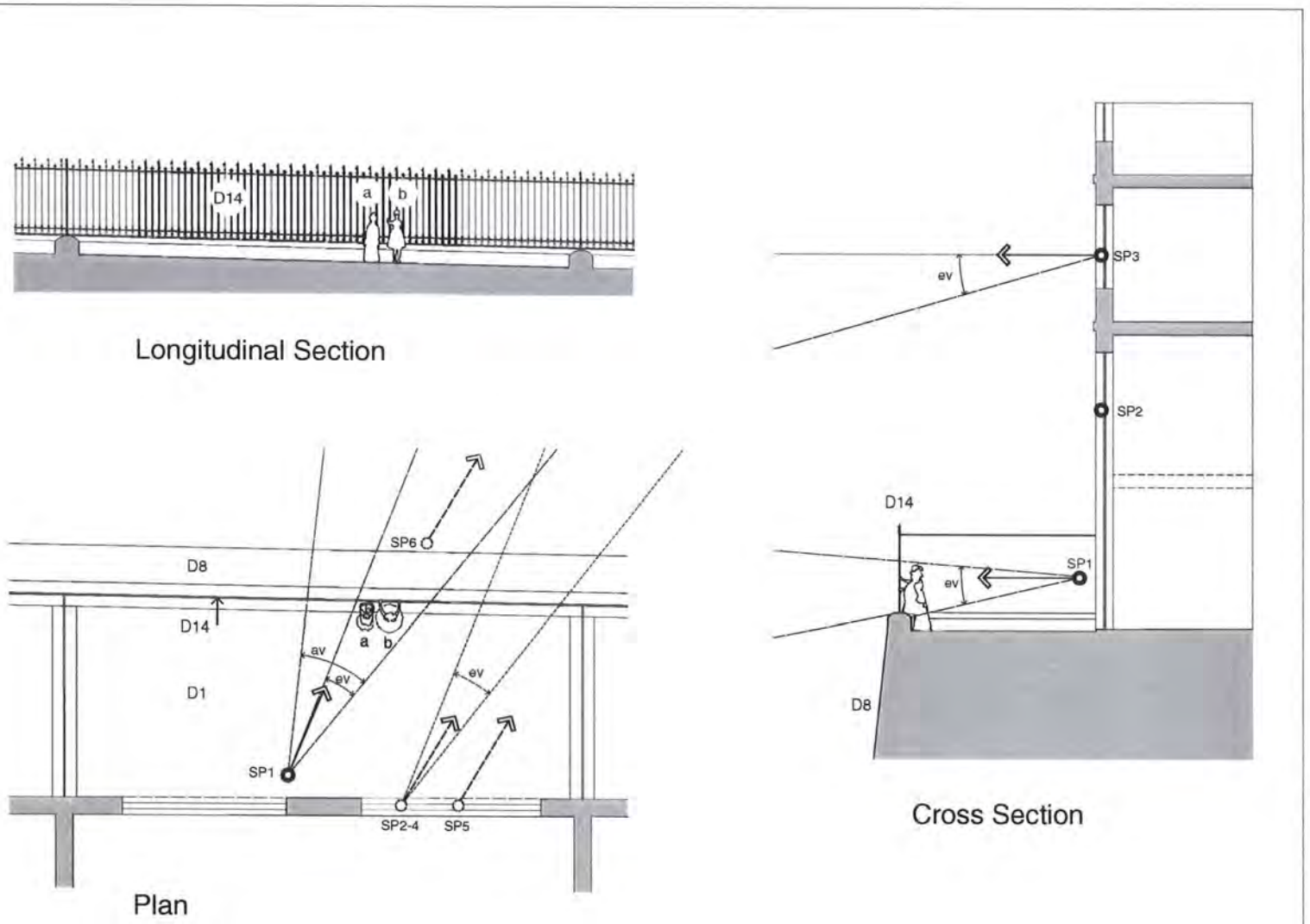
D21
Painting site: plan – viewpoints and directions of view



D22
Painting site: cross section – viewpoints and directions of view

D1 Rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome
D2 Manet's studio, No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D3 No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D4 Pont de l'Europe
D5 Bridge pier in *The Railway*
D6 Railway cutting
D7 Bank
D8 Retaining wall
D9 Hut
D11 Paling fence, north-west side, Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D12 Grille fence, garden, No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
SP1 Viewpoint, garden level
SP3 Viewpoint, second floor level
b Rue de Rome

0 20 m

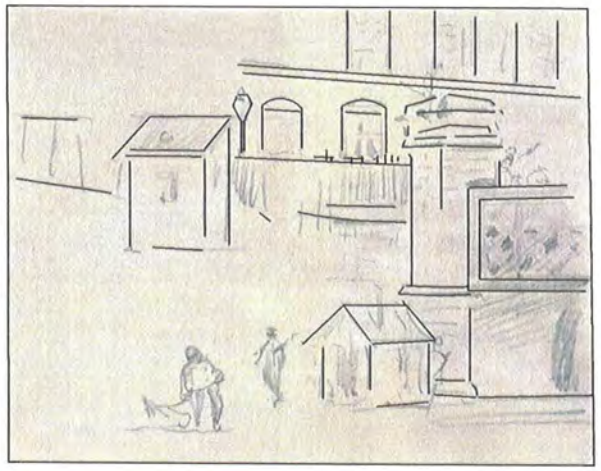


D1 Rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome
D8 Retaining wall
D14 Grille fence and wall, rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome
SP1 Viewpoint, 1.2m above garden level
SP2 Viewpoint, 1.5m above first floor level
SP3 Viewpoint, 1.5m above second floor level
SP4 Viewpoint, 1.5m above third floor level
SP5 Viewpoint, 1.5m above fourth floor level
SP6 Viewpoint, 1.5m above railway cutting level
a Seated woman
b Standing girl
av Angle of vision
ev Extent of view

0 4m

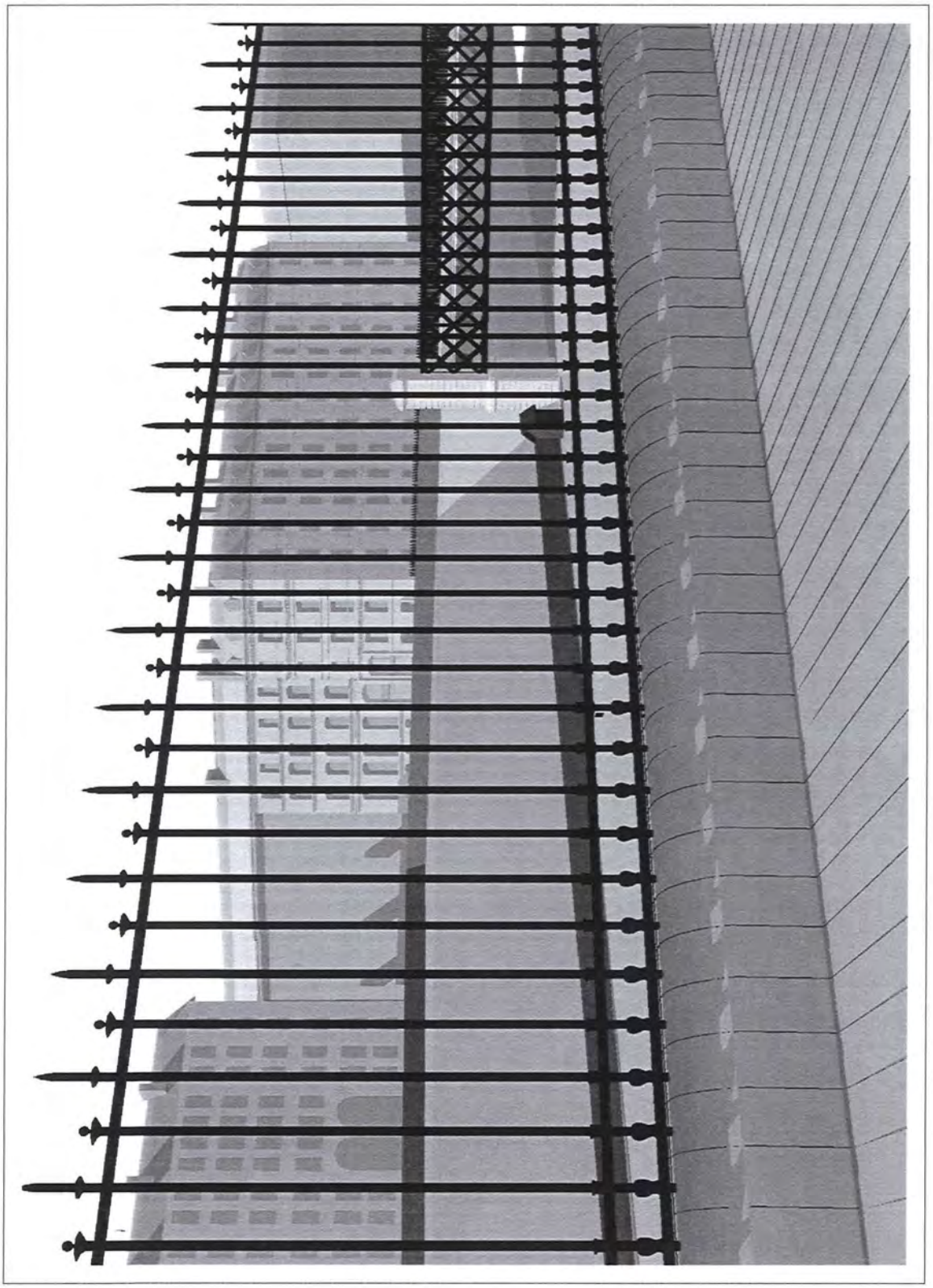
D23
Painting site: rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome – plan and sections

D24
Overlay line drawing from graphite sketch (Fig.D3)



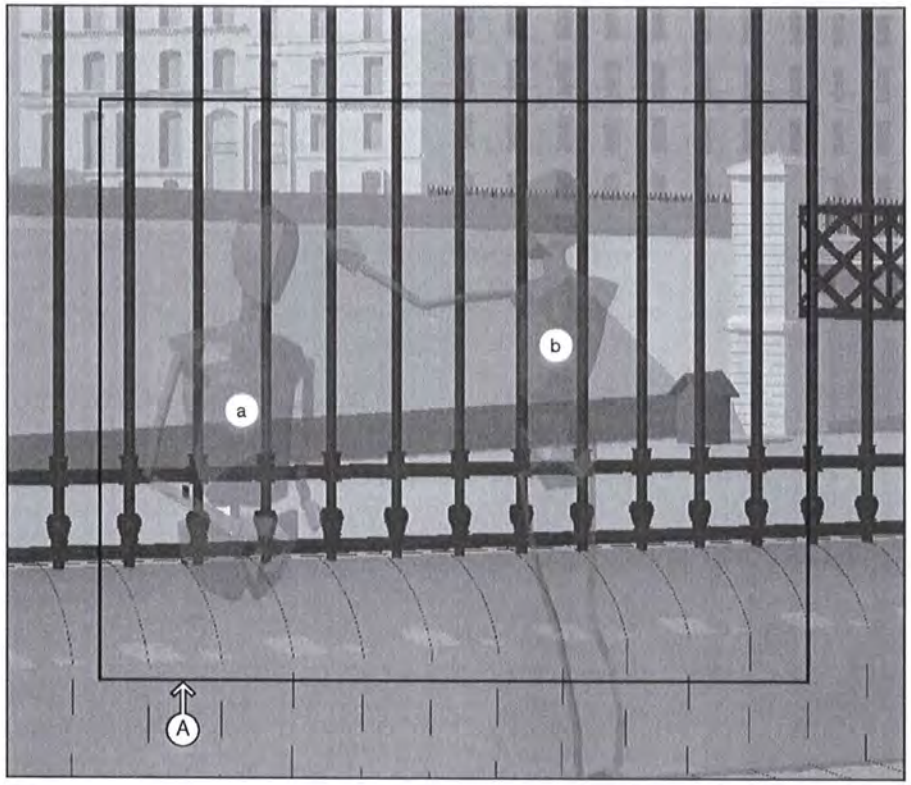
D25
Overlay line drawing from graphite sketch (Fig.D4)

D26
Overlay line drawing from *The Railway* (Fig.D1)



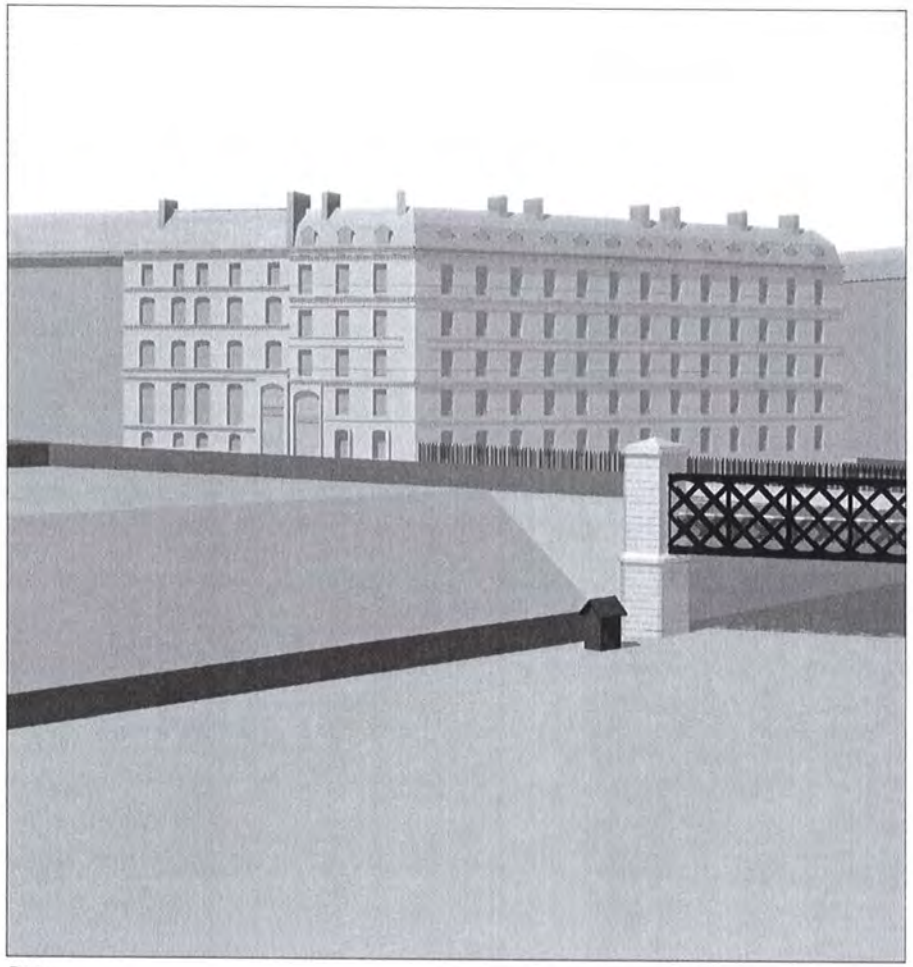
D27
Perspective: SP1, 2P-angled, wide view from rear garden

D28
Perspective: SP1, 2P-offset,
view from rear garden

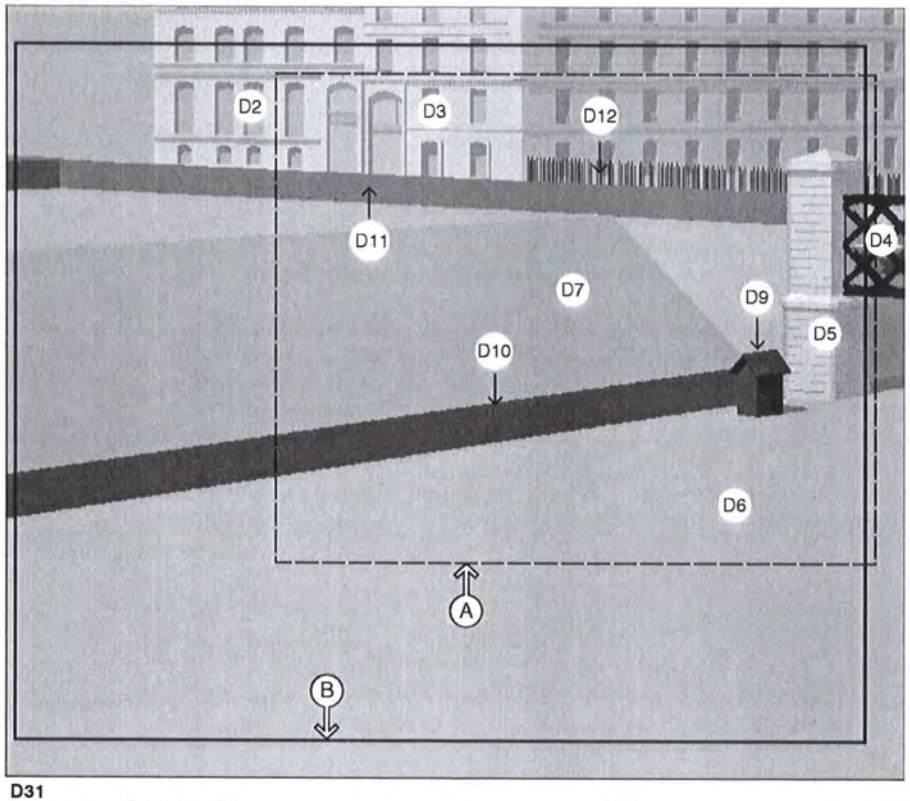


D29
Perspective: SP1, 2P-offset,
view from rear garden
Overlay: painting format

D1	Rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome
D2	Manet's studio, No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D3	No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D4	Pont de l'Europe
D5	Bridge pier in *The Railway*
D6	Railway cutting
D7	Bank
D9	Hut
D10	Paling fence, railway cutting
D11	Paling fence, north-west side, Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D12	Grille fence, garden, No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D14	Grille fence and wall, rear garden, No.58 Rue de Rome
a	Seated woman
b	Standing girl
A	Painting format, part-image 1

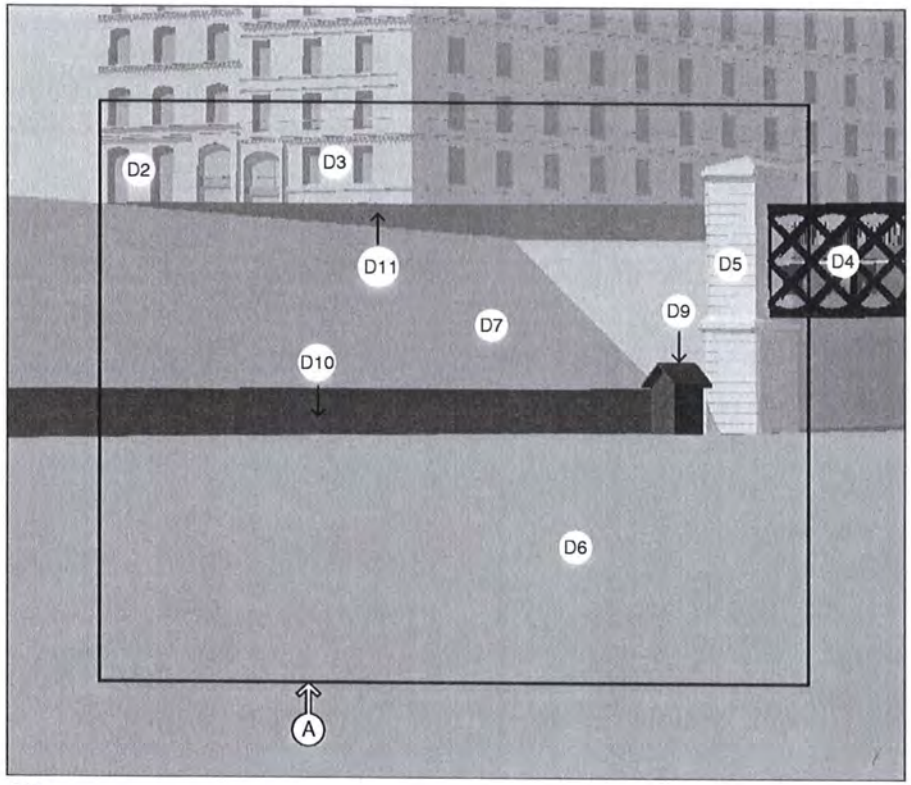


D30
Perspective: SP3, 2P-angled,
view from second floor



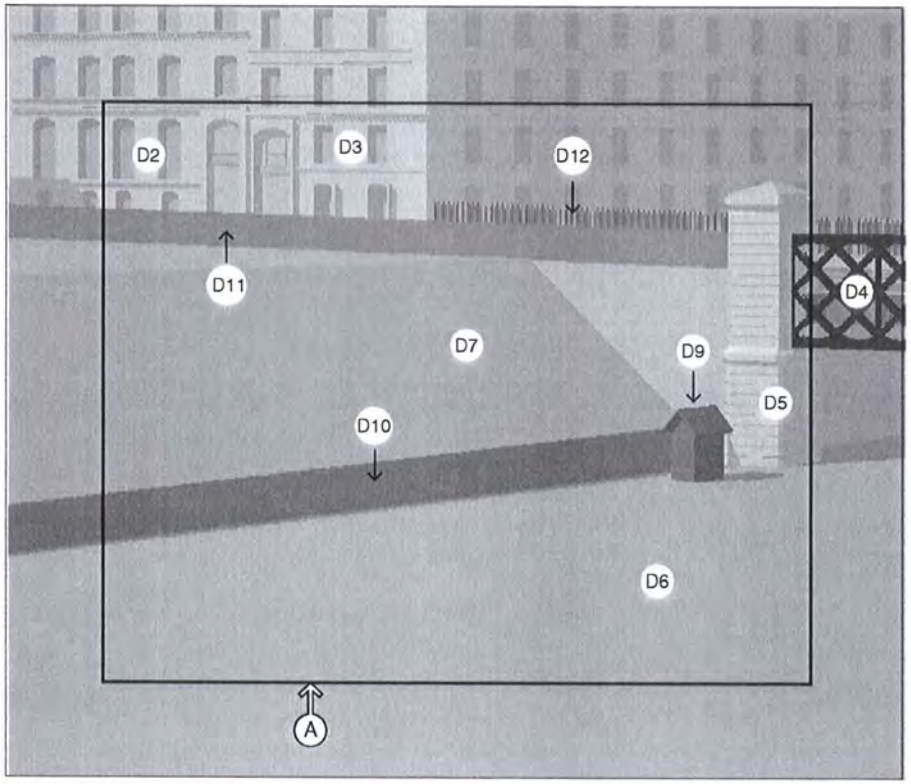
D31
Perspective: SP3, 2P-angled,
view from second floor
Overlay: painting formats

D2 Manet's studio, No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D3 No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D4 Pont de l'Europe
D5 Bridge pier in *The Railway*
D6 Railway cutting
D7 Bank
D9 Hut
D10 Paling fence, railway cutting
D11 Paling fence, north-west side, Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D12 Grille fence, garden, No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
A Painting format
B Painting format, adjusted, part-image 2



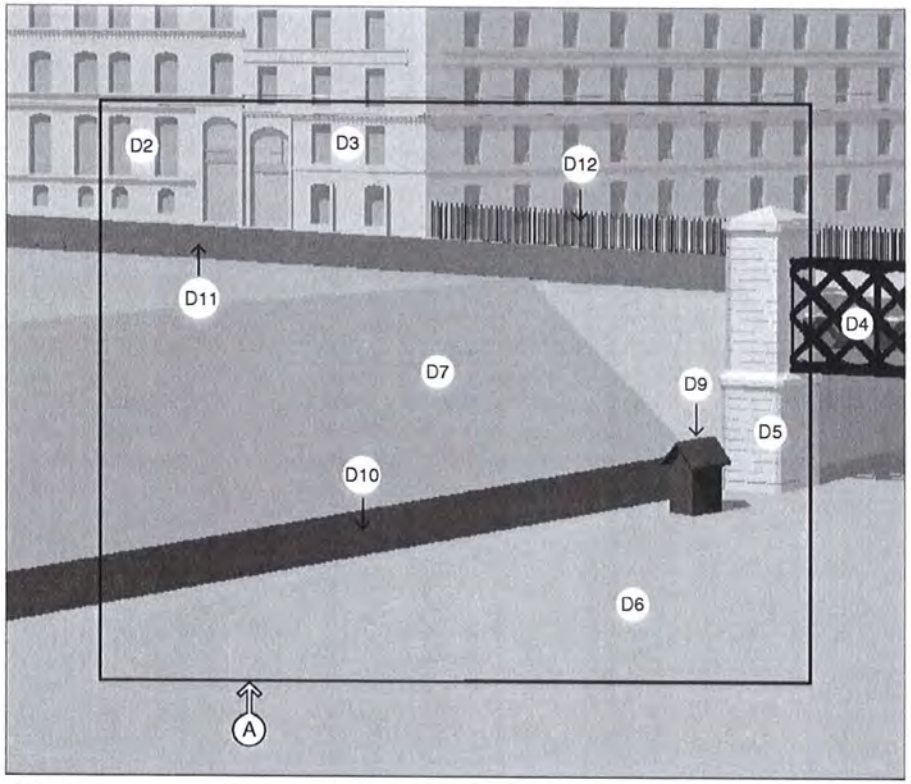
D32
Perspective: SP6, 2P-angled, view from railway cutting
Overlay: painting format

D2 Manet's studio, No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D3 No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D4 Pont de l'Europe
D5 Bridge pier in *The Railway*
D6 Railway cutting
D7 Bank
D9 Hut
D10 Paling fence, railway cutting
D11 Paling fence, north-west side, Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
A Painting format



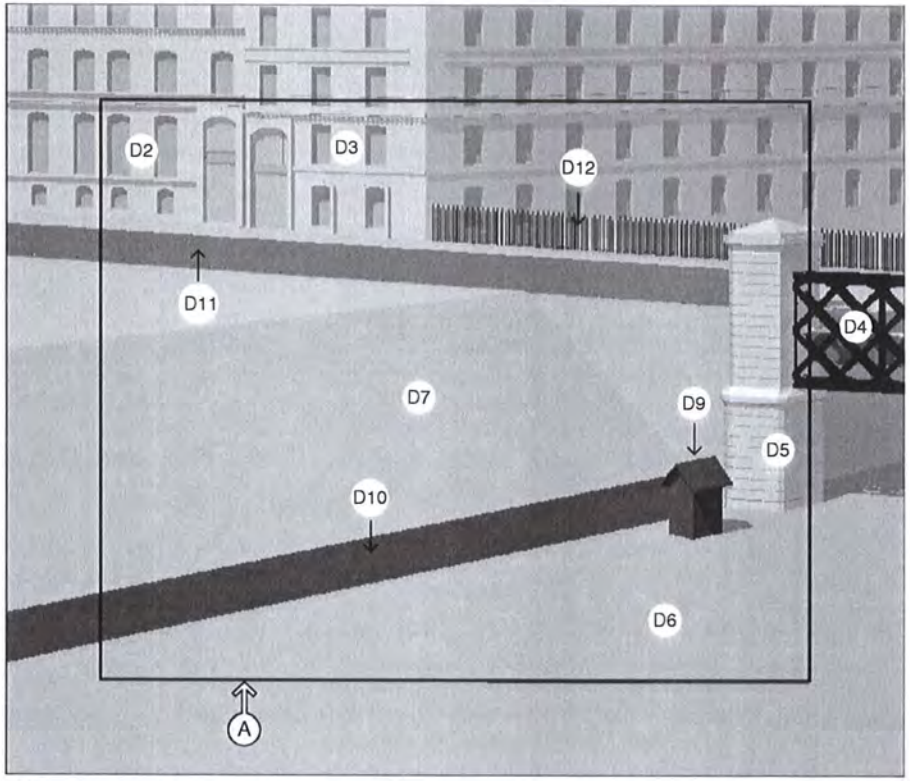
D33
Perspective: SP2, 2P-angled, view from first floor
Overlay: painting format

D2 Manet's studio, No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D3 No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D4 Pont de l'Europe
D5 Bridge pier in *The Railway*
D6 Railway cutting
D7 Bank
D9 Hut
D10 Paling fence, railway cutting
D11 Paling fence, north-west side, Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D12 Grille fence, garden, No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
A Painting format



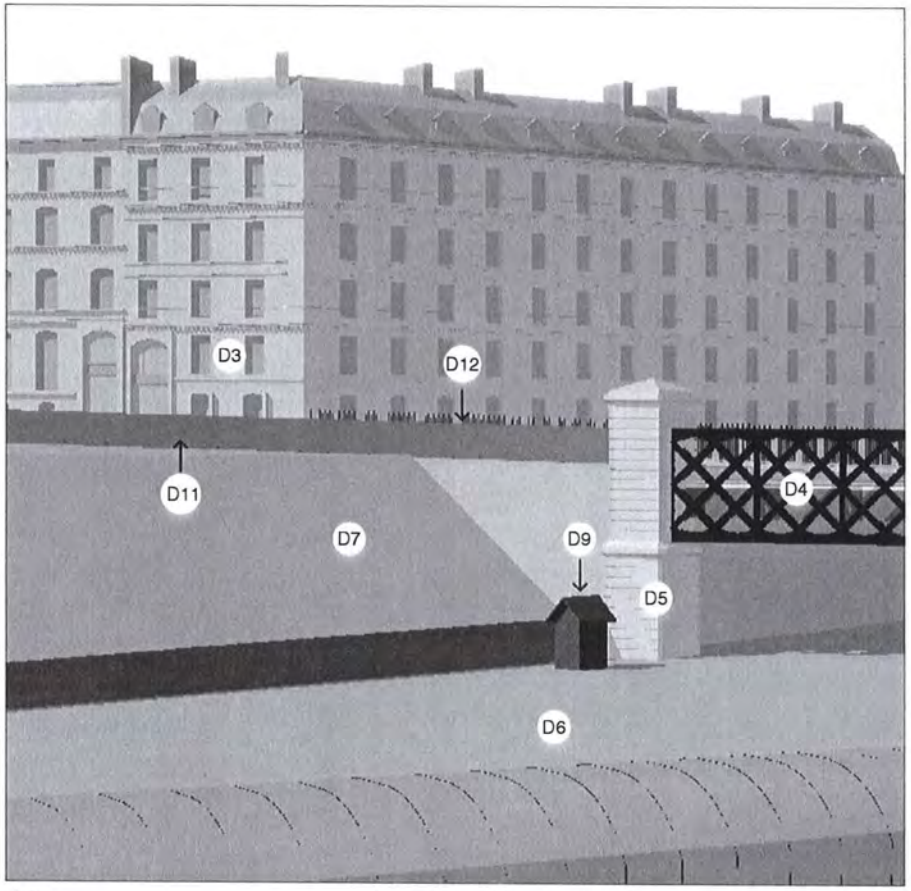
D34
Perspective: SP4, 2P-angled, view from third floor
Overlay: painting format

D2 Manet's studio, No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D3 No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D4 Pont de l'Europe
D5 Bridge pier in *The Railway*
D6 Railway cutting
D7 Bank
D9 Hut
D10 Paling fence, railway cutting
D11 Paling fence, north-west side, Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D12 Grille fence, garden, No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
A Painting format



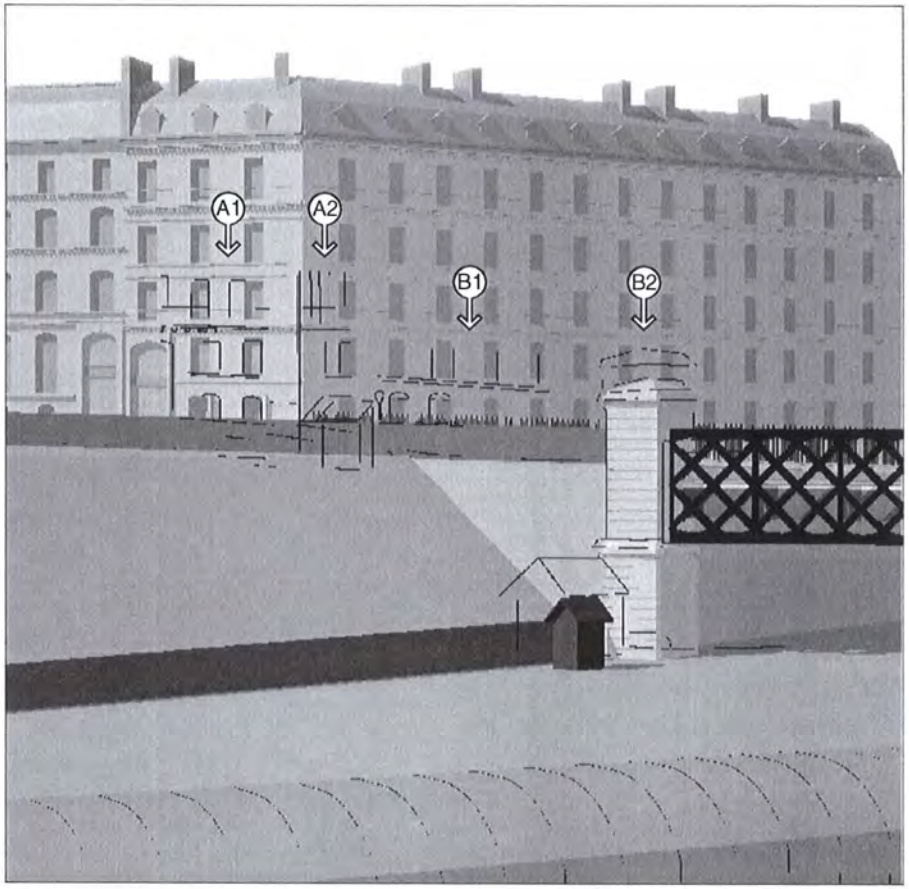
D35
Perspective: SP5, 2P-angled, view from fourth floor
Overlay: painting format

D2 Manet's studio, No.4 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D3 No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D4 Pont de l'Europe
D5 Bridge pier in *The Railway*
D6 Railway cutting
D7 Bank
D9 Hut
D10 Paling fence, railway cutting
D11 Paling fence, north-west side, Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D12 Grille fence, garden, No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
A Painting format



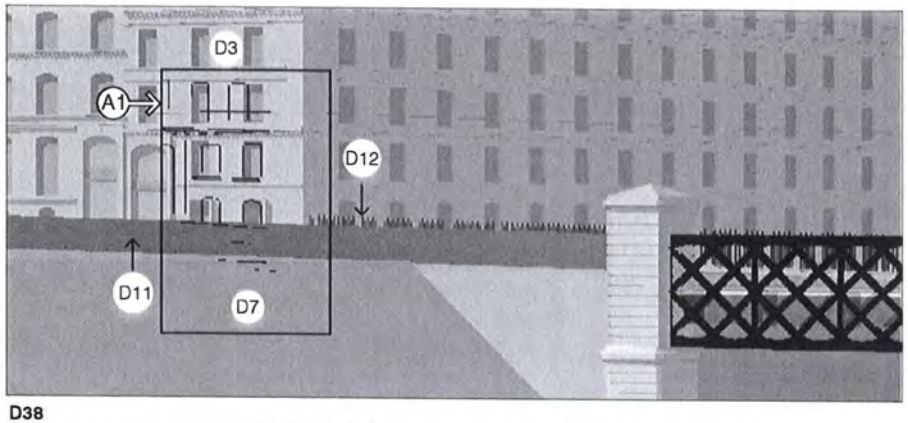
D36
Perspective: SP1, 2P-angled, view from rear garden, without grille fence

D3 No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D4 Pont de l'Europe
D5 Bridge pier in *The Railway*
D6 Railway cutting
D7 Bank
D9 Hut
D11 Paling fence, north-west side, Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D12 Grille fence, garden, No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg

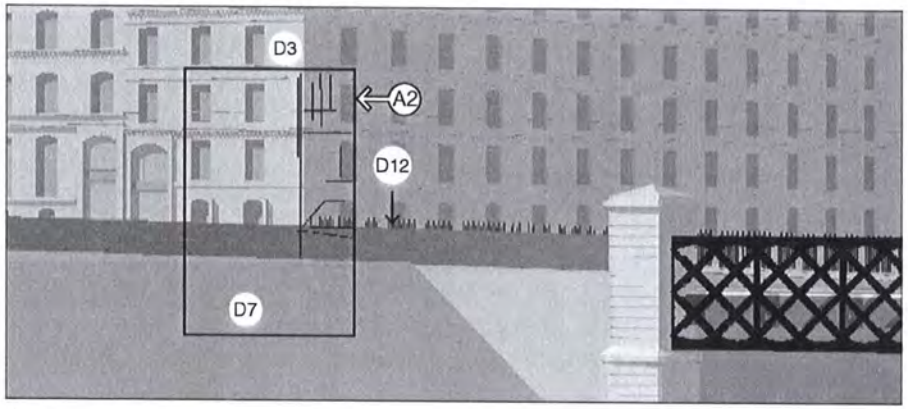


D37
Perspective, SP1, 2P-angled, view from rear garden, without grille fence
Overlay: composite, part-overlays (Figs.D38–D41)

A1 Part-image 3, Fig.D38
A2 Part-image 4, Fig.D39
B1 Part-image 5, Fig.D40
B2 Part-image 6, Fig.D41

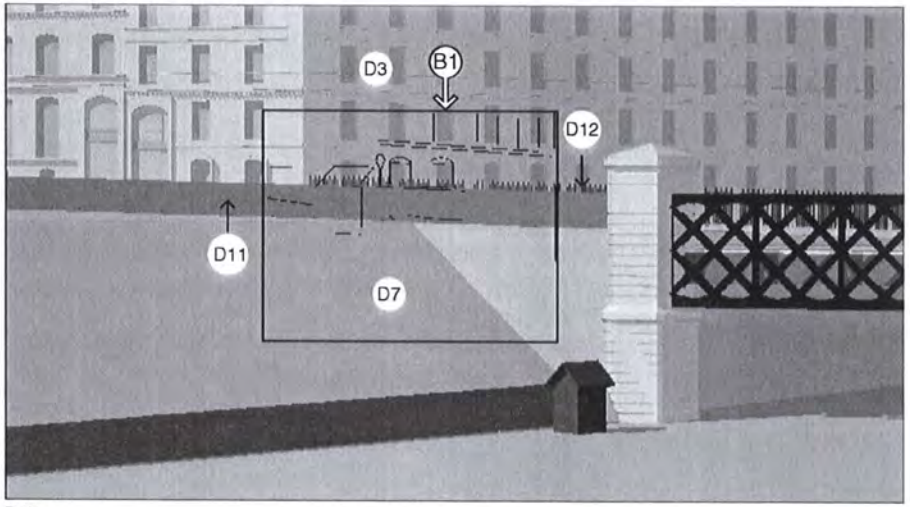


D38
Perspective, SP1, 2P-angled – Overlay: sketch format, Fig.D24, part line drawing, left side

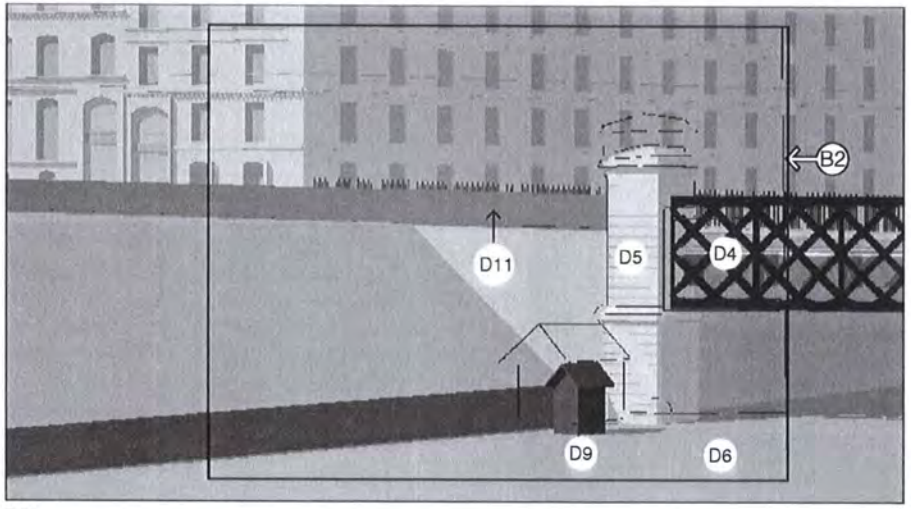


D39
Perspective, SP1.2P-angled
Overlay: sketch format, Fig.D24, part line drawing, right side

D3 No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D4 Pont de l'Europe
D5 Bridge pier in *The Railway*
D6 Railway cutting
D7 Bank
D9 Hut
D10 Paling fence, railway cutting
D11 Paling fence, north-west side, Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
D12 Grille fence, garden, No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg
A1 Part-image 3, Fig.D24, left side
A2 Part-image 4, Fig.D24, right side
B1 Part-image 5, Fig.D25, left side
B2 Part-image 6, Fig.D25, right side

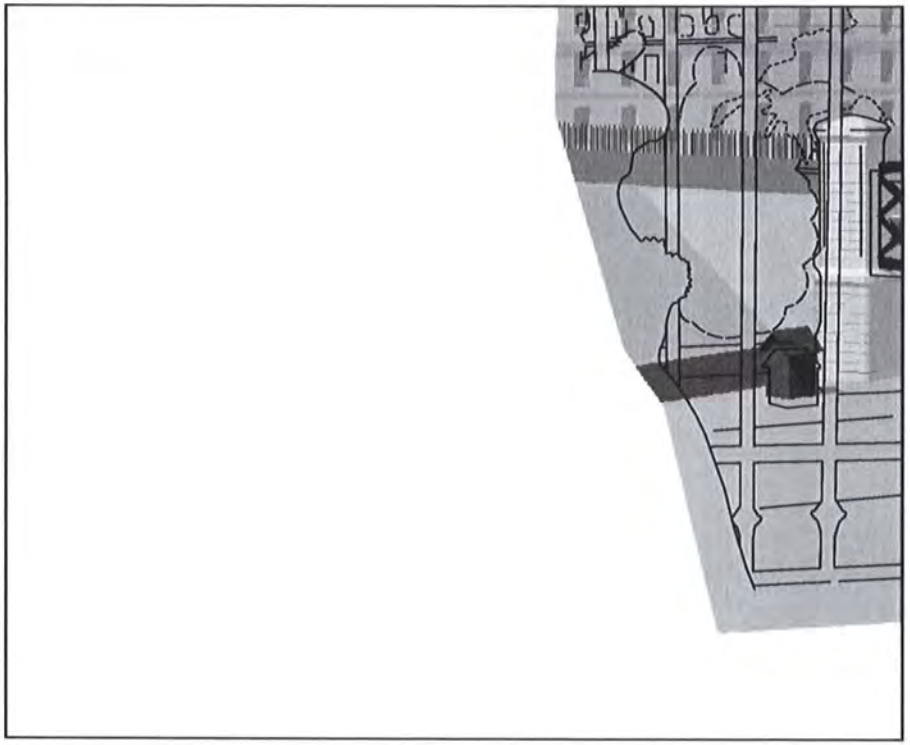


D40
Perspective, SP1, 2P-angled – Overlay: sketch format, Fig.D25, part line drawing, left side

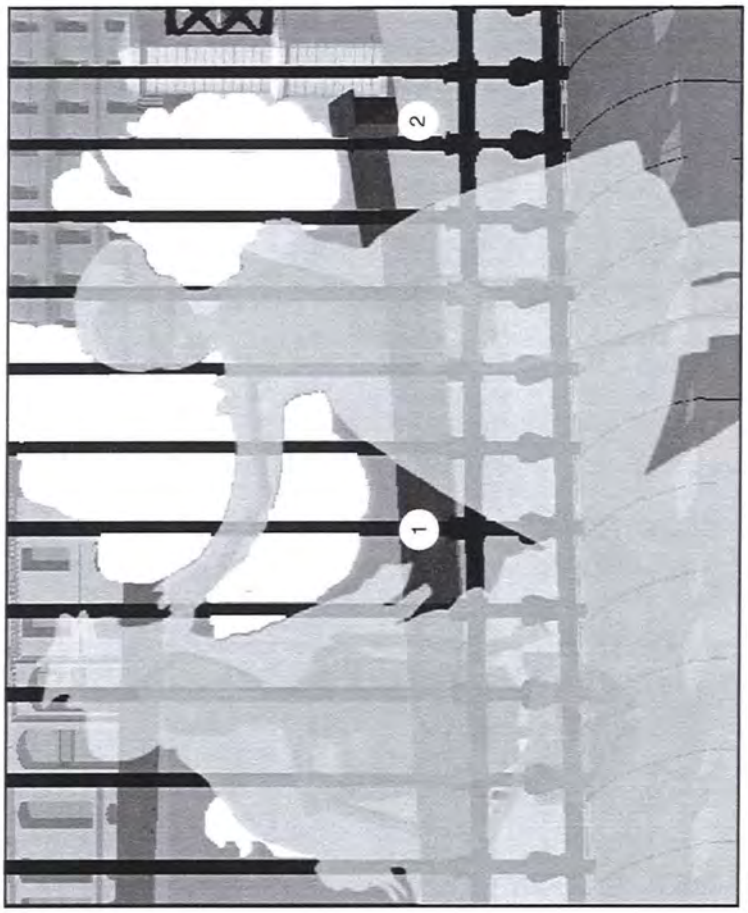


D41
Perspective, SP1, 2P-angled – Overlay: sketch format, Fig.D25, part line drawing, right side

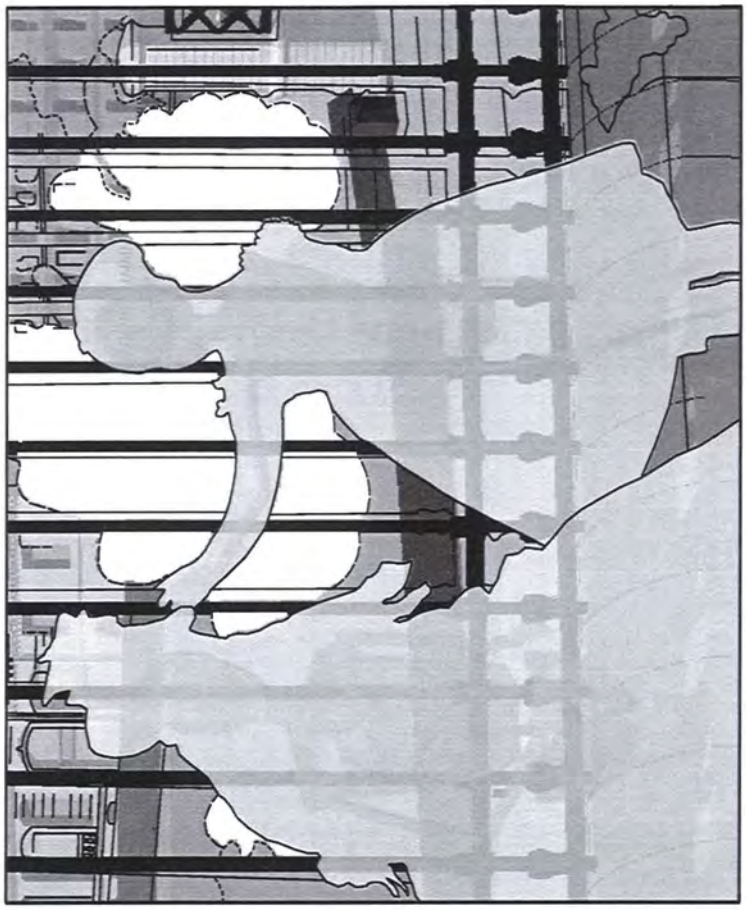
D42
Perspective, part-image 1: SP1, 2P-offset
Overlay: part line drawing, Fig.D26



D43
Perspective, part-image 2: SP3, 2P-angled
Overlay: part line drawing, Fig.D26



D44
Composite, part-images 1 and 2, with steam cloud areas removed
Painting format



D45
Composite, Fig.D44
Overlay: line drawing, Fig.D26

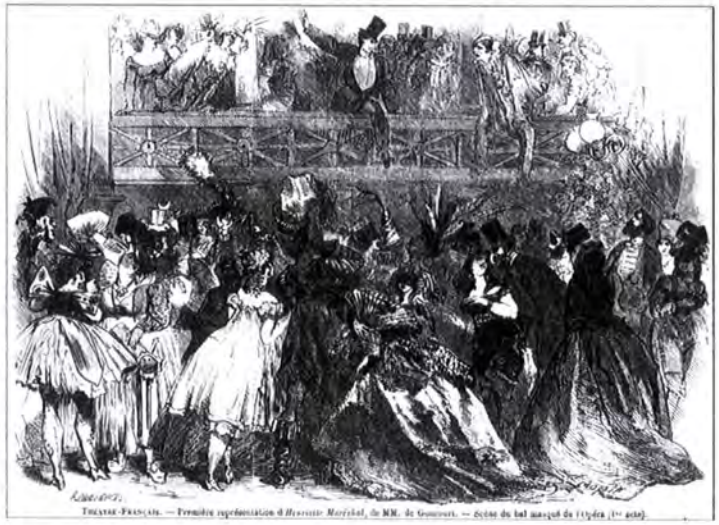
E1
Edouard Manet, *Masked Ball at the Opera*, 1873–4

E2
Edouard Manet, Oil sketch for *Masked Ball at the Opera*, 1873–4,
(Courtesy of Bridgestone Museum of Art, Ishibashi Foundation, Tokyo)

E3
Robert Bingham, *'Le Bal de l'Opéra', Peint par E. Giraud, Photographie par Bingham*, 1868?, photograph

E4
'Le bal de l'Opéra' – Tableau de M. Eugène Giraud. Dessin de M. L. Breton, d'après une photographie de M. Bingham, 1867, wood engraving

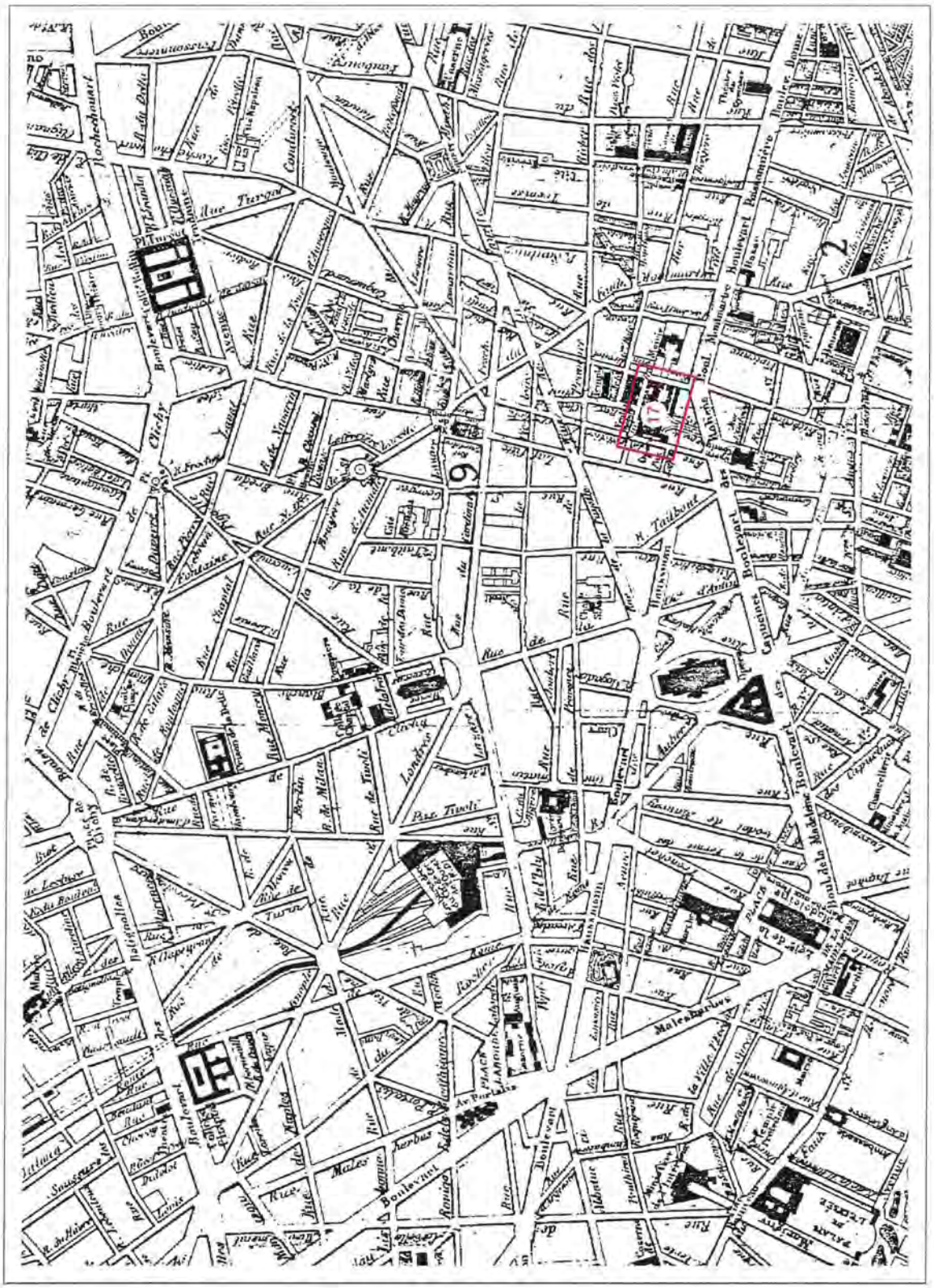
E5
Cropped image, Fig.E3: proposed extent of image used by Manet



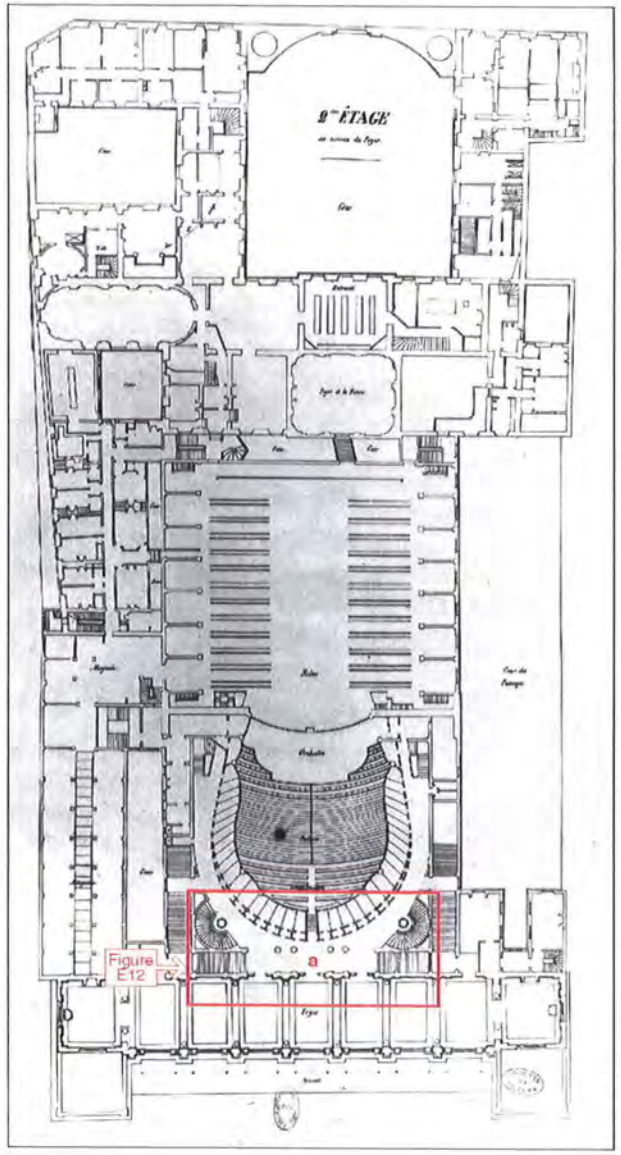
E6
Anon. (Mopin?), *Théâtre-Français. – Première représentation d' 'Henriette Maréchal', de M M. de Goncourt. – Scène du bal masqué de l'Opéra (1er acte)*, 1865, illustration

E7
Bertall, *Théâtre-Français: Henriette Maréchal, par M M. Edmond et Jules de Goncourt. – Acte 1er; Le bal masqué de l'Opéra*, 1865, wood engraving

17 Opéra de la rue le Peletier

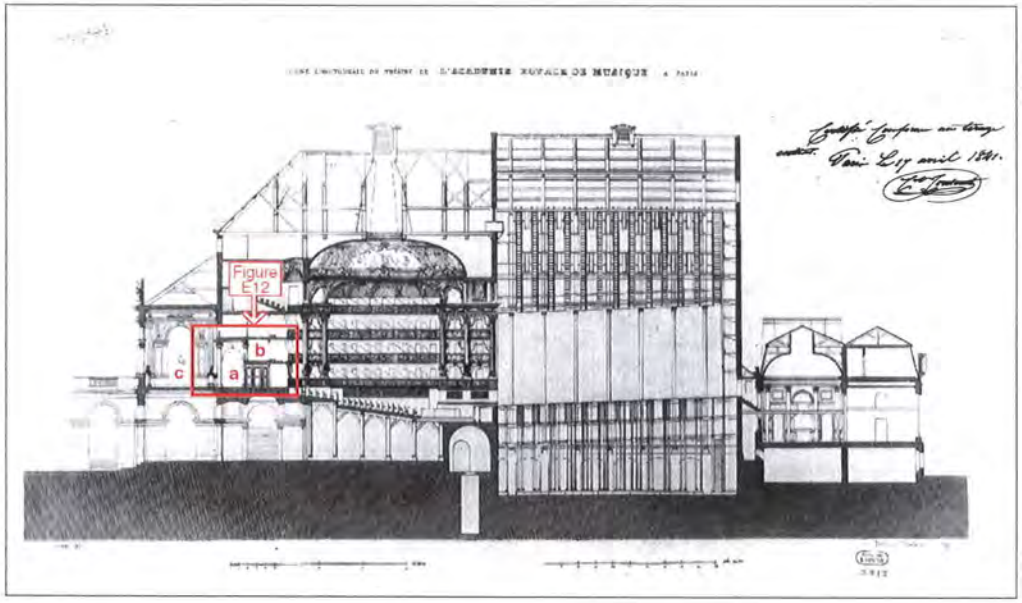


E8
Painting site: location plan.
A. Chaix & Cie.,
Nouveau Plan de Paris: divisé en 20 arrondissements, 1870.
Map detail



a Corridor

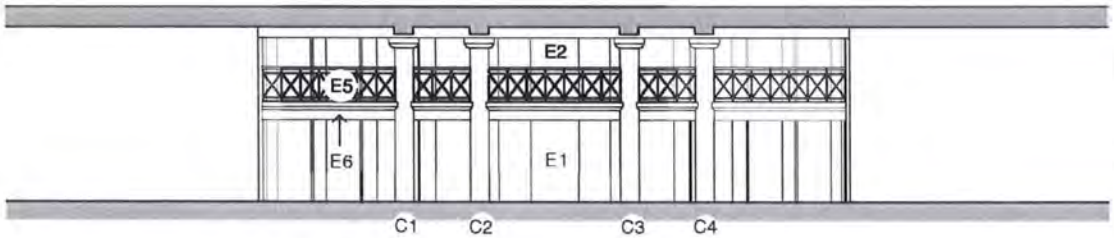
E9
Opéra rue le Peletier, 2ème Étage au niveau du Foyer, n.d., architectural drawing. Plan at foyer level



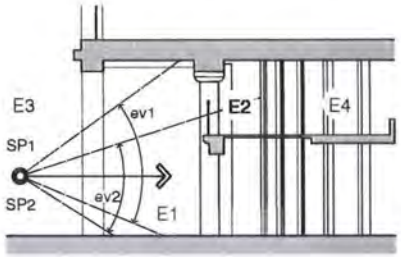
E10
Opéra rue le Peletier, Coupe longitudinale du Théâtre de L'Académie Royale de Musique à Paris, n.d. (hand annotation "1841"), architectural drawing. Longitudinal section

a Corridor
b Balcony
c Foyer

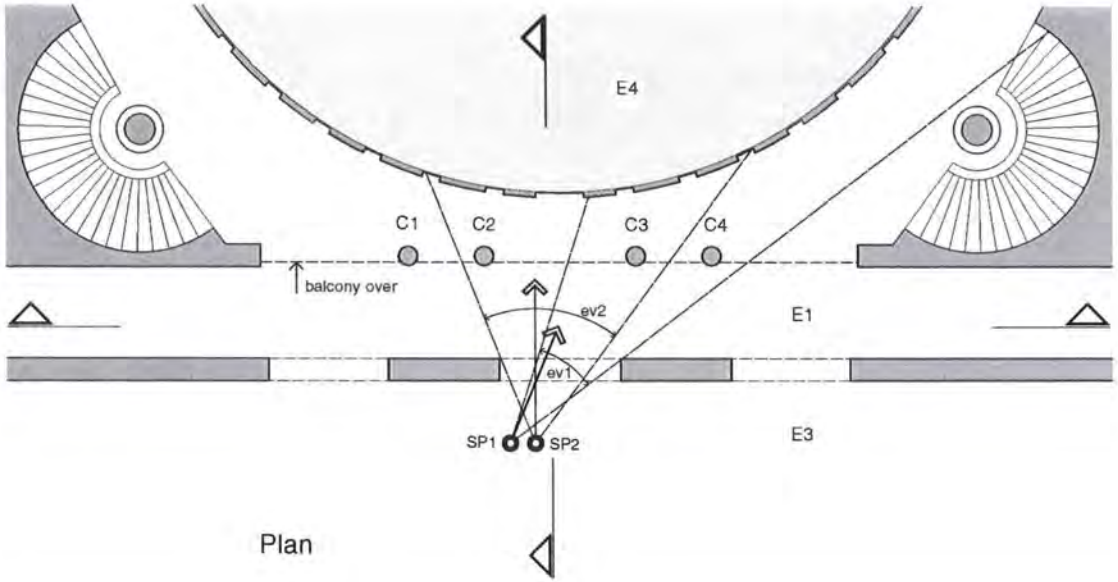
E11
Anon., *Académie Royale de Musique*, n.d., lithograph. View of entrance, Opéra rue le Peletier



Longitudinal Section



Cross Section



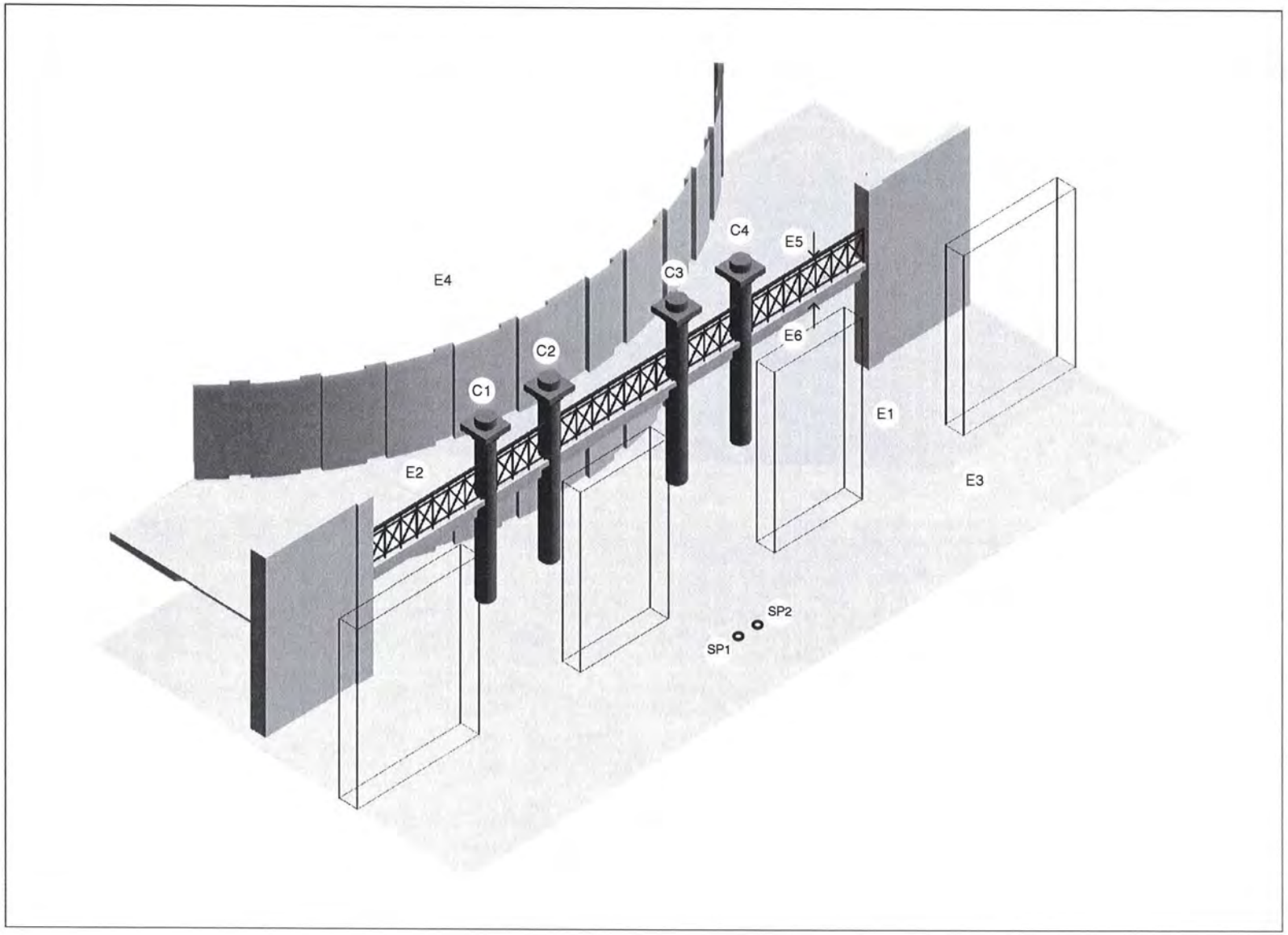
Plan

E1 Corridor
E2 Balcony
E3 Foyer
E4 Loges
E5 Balcony railing
E6 Edge beam
C Columns
SP1 Viewpoint for Giraud painting
SP2 Viewpoint for Manet painting
ev Extent of view

NORTH

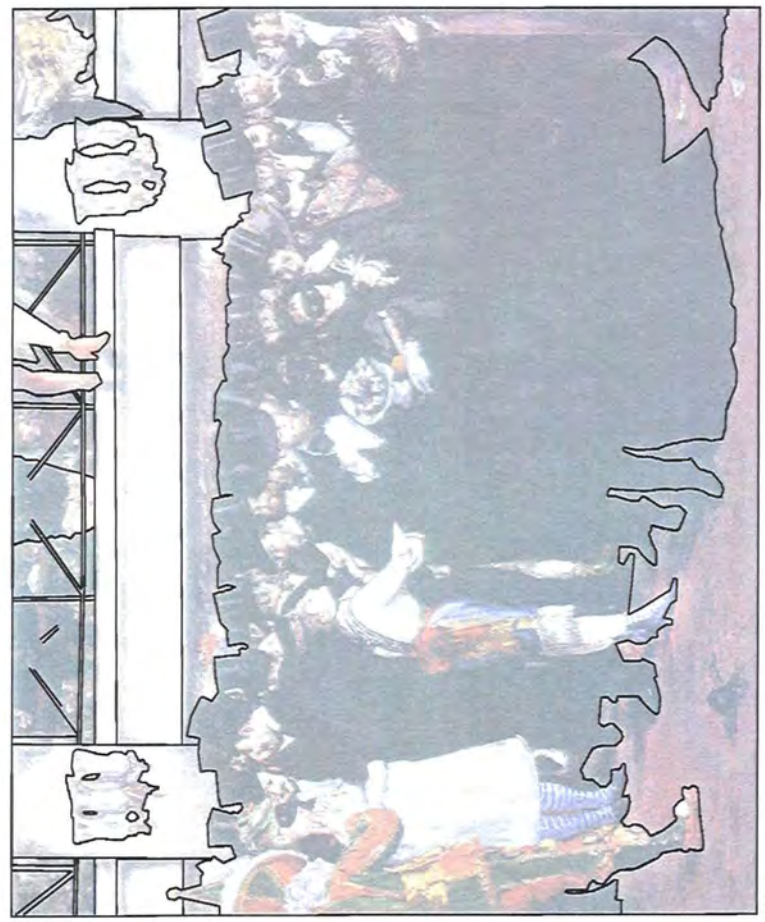
0 5 m

E12
Painting site: first floor corridor and balcony
Plan, longitudinal section and cross section

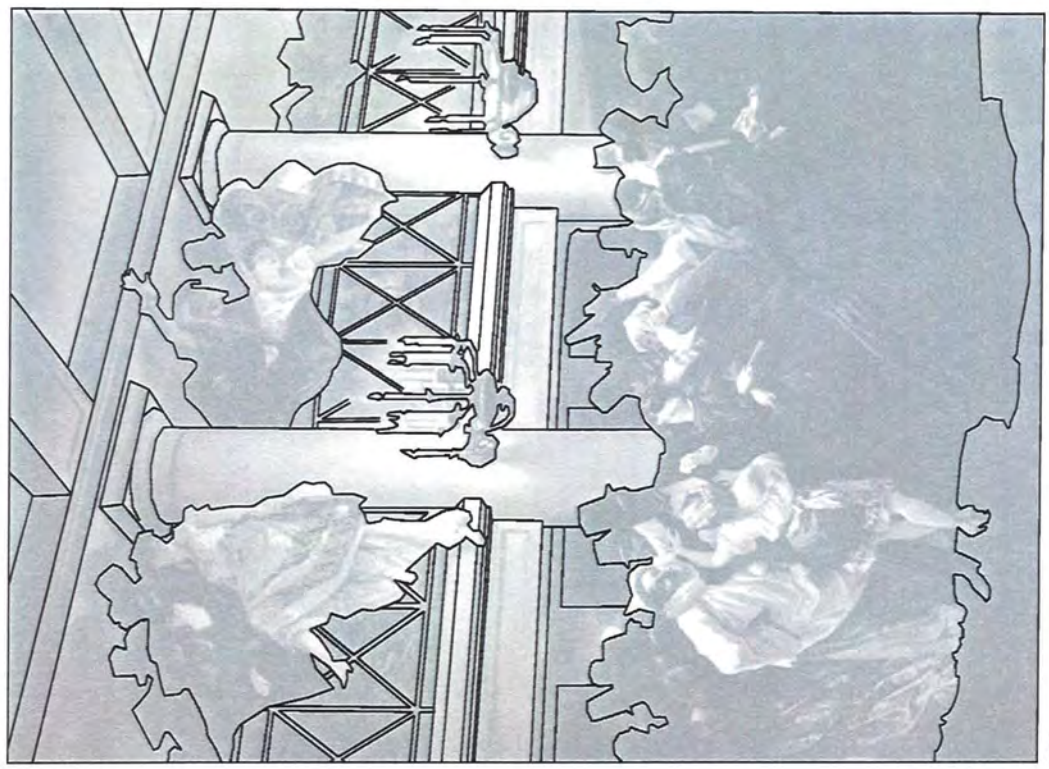


E1 Corridor
E2 Balcony
E3 Foyer
E4 Loges
E5 Balcony railing
E6 Edge beam
C Columns
SP1 Viewpoint for Giraud painting
SP2 Viewpoint for Manet painting

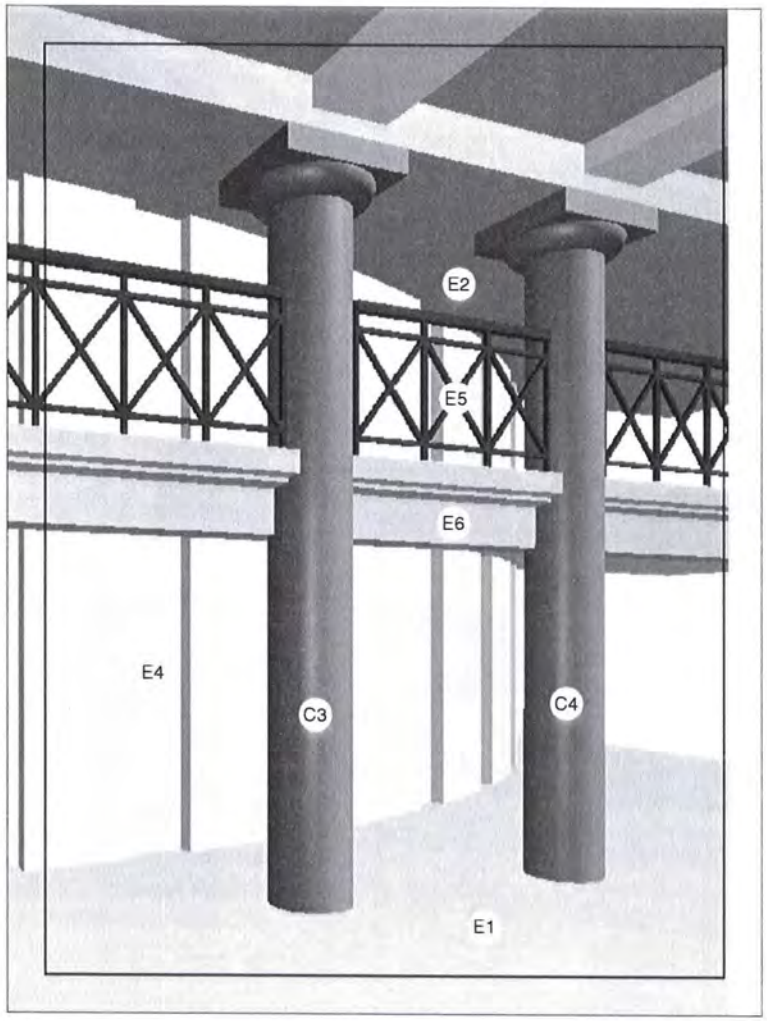
E13
Painting site: first floor corridor and balcony
Isometric view



E15
Overlay line drawing from *Masked Ball at the Opera*

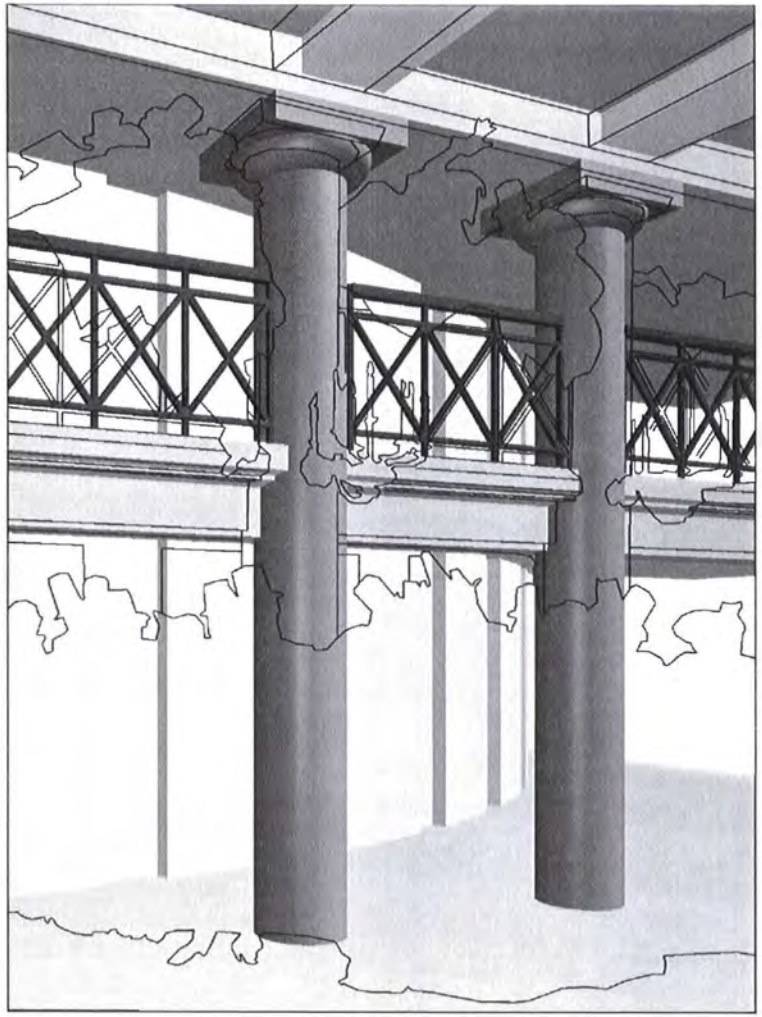


E14
Overlay line drawing from *Le Bal de l'Opéra*

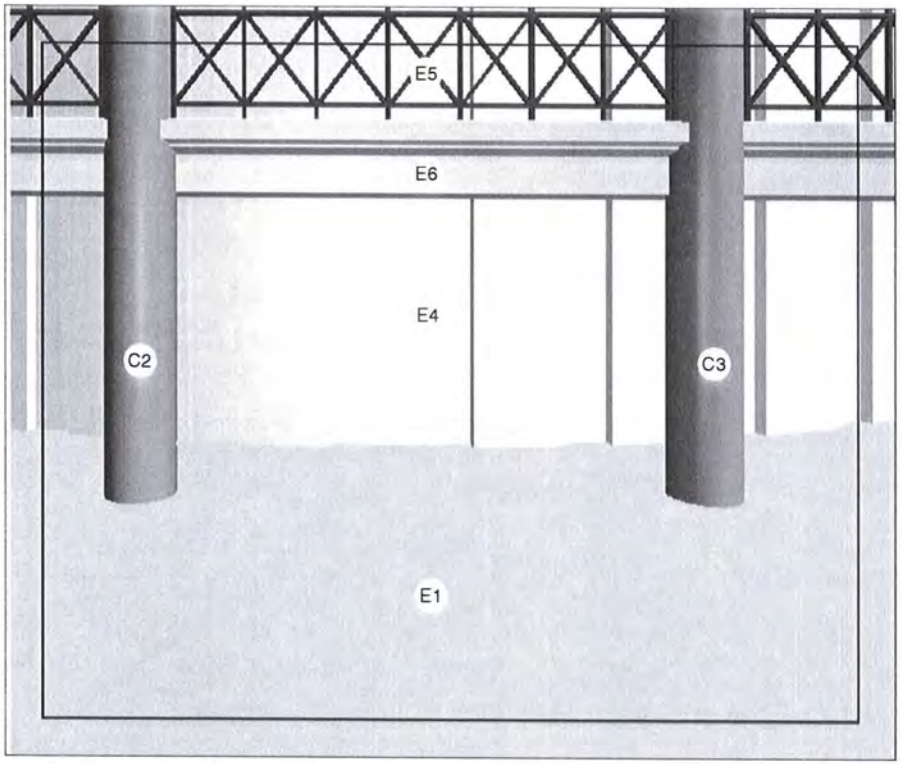


E1 Corridor
E4 Loges
E5 Balcony railing
E6 Edge beam
C Column

E16
Perspective: SP1, 2P-angled
Overlay: painting format, *Le Bal de l'Opéra*

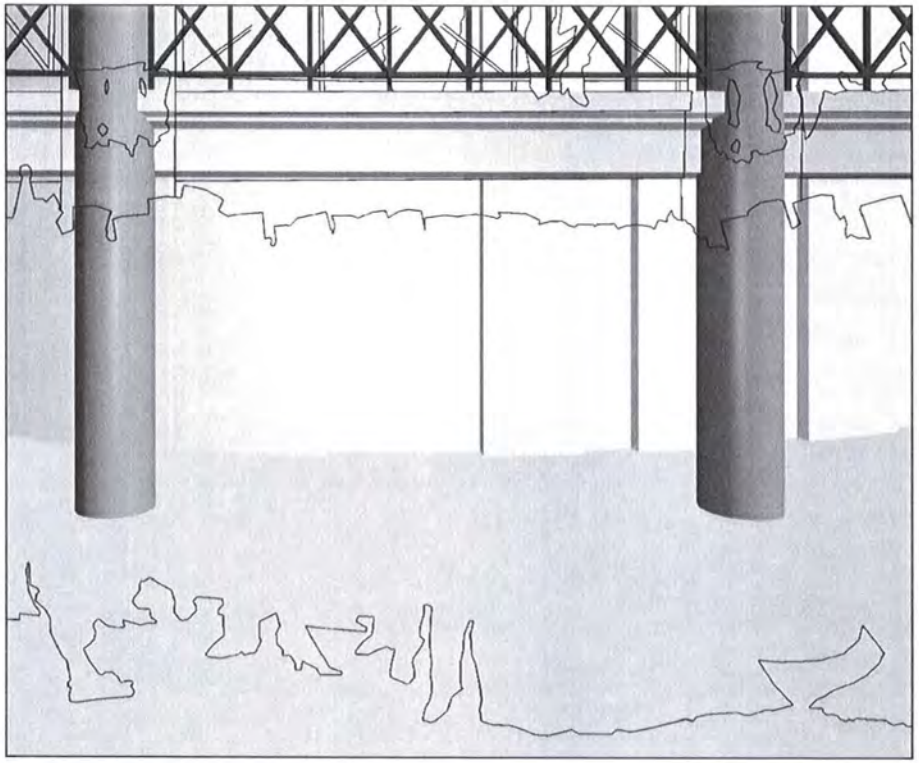


E17
Perspective: SP1, 2P-angled
Overlay: line drawing from *Le Bal de l'Opéra*, Fig.E14



E18
Perspective: SP2, 1P-frontal
Overlay: painting format, *Masked Ball at the Opera*

E1 Corridor
E4 Loges
E5 Balcony railing
E6 Edge beam
C2 Column
C3 Column

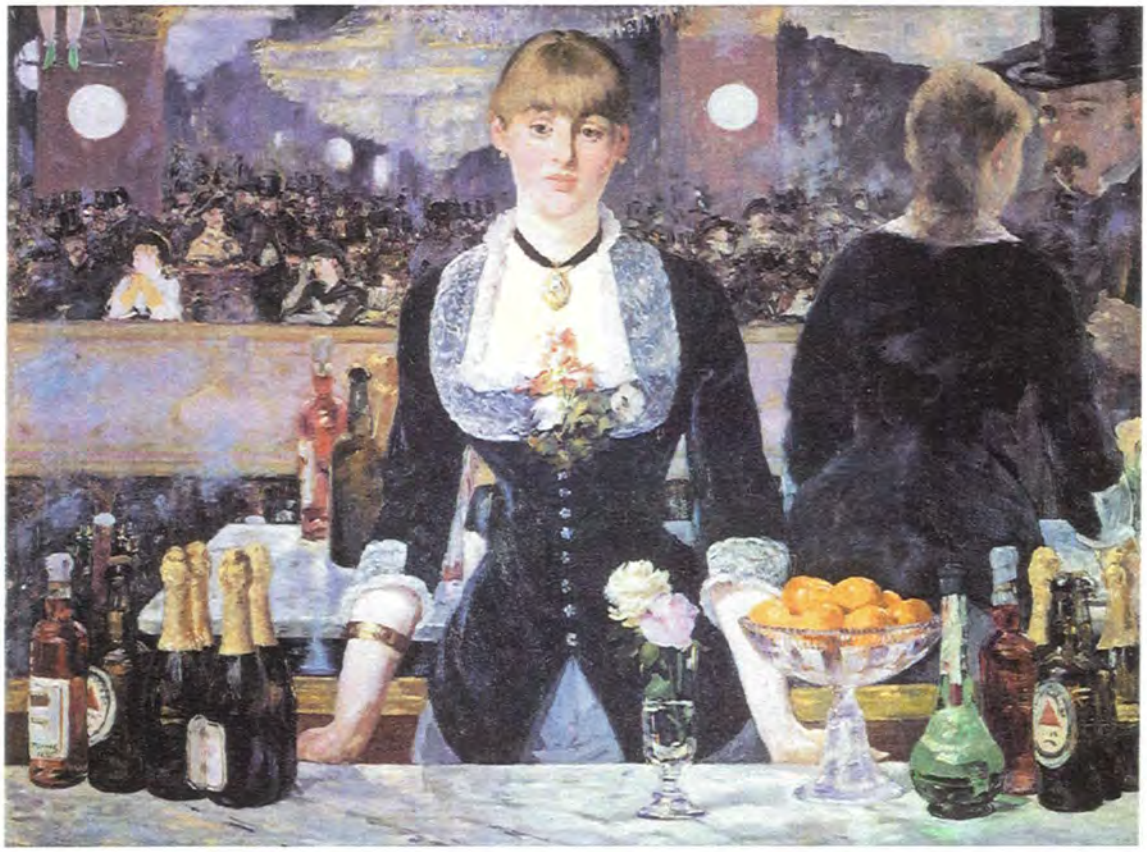


E19
Perspective: SP2, 1P-frontal
Overlay: line drawing from *Masked Ball at the Opera*, Fig.E15

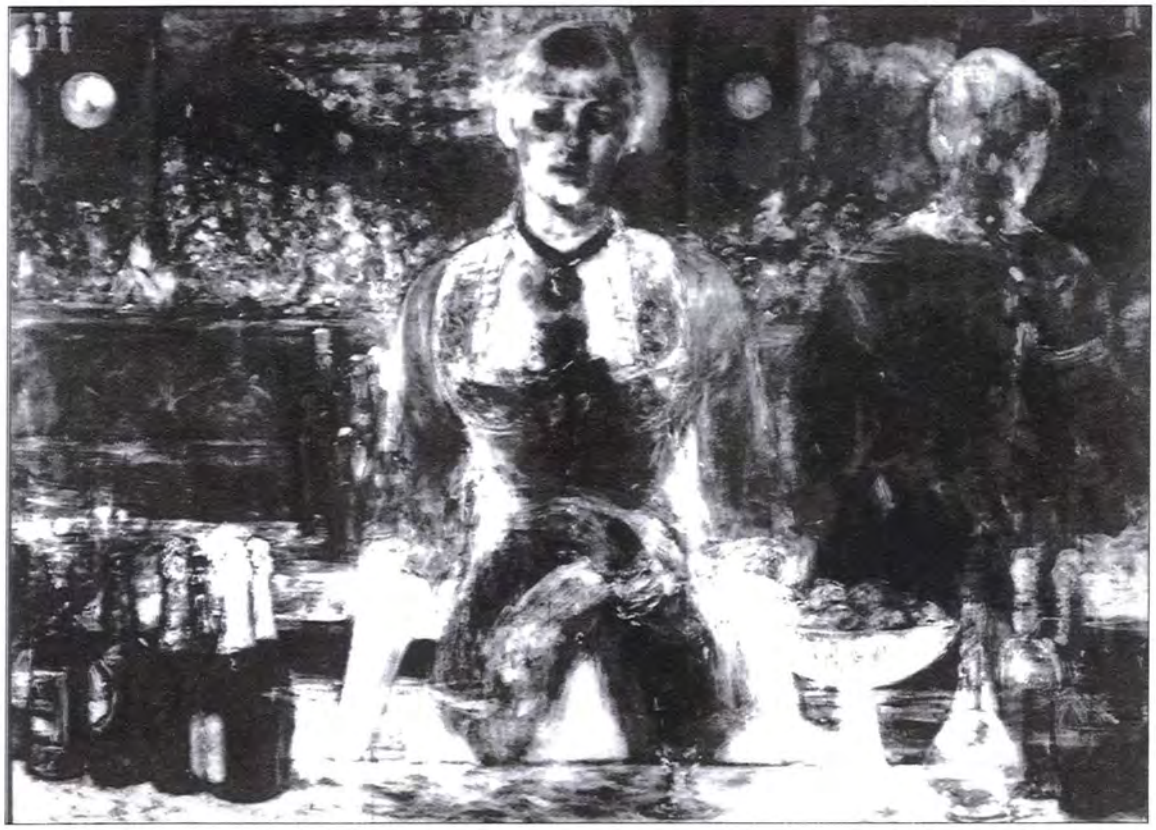
E20a
Masked Ball at the Opera,
with 1P-frontal overlay

E20b
Masked Ball at the Opera,
with 1P-offset (left) overlay

E20c
Masked Ball at the Opera,
with 1P-offset (right) overlay



F1
Edouard Manet, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, 1881–82



F2
Positive print from composite X-radiograph of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*

F3
Edouard Manet, *Oil Sketch for A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, 1881

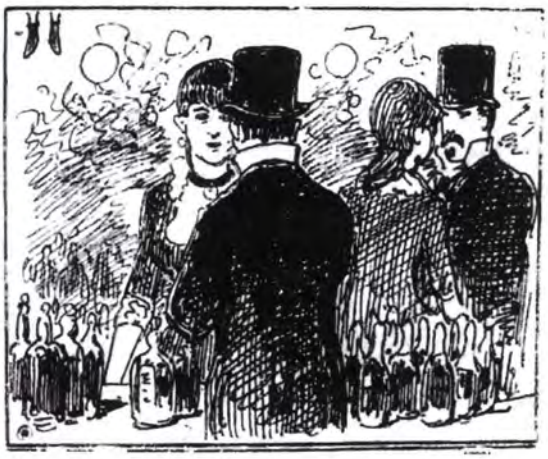
F4
Positive print from composite X-radiograph of *Oil Sketch for A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*

F5
Edouard Manet, *Study for A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, c.1881, wash drawing

F6
Edouard Manet, *Au paradis*, 1877, brush and ink transfer lithograph

F7
Edouard Manet, *Aux Folies-Bergère*, c.1878-81, brush and pen and indian ink over pencil

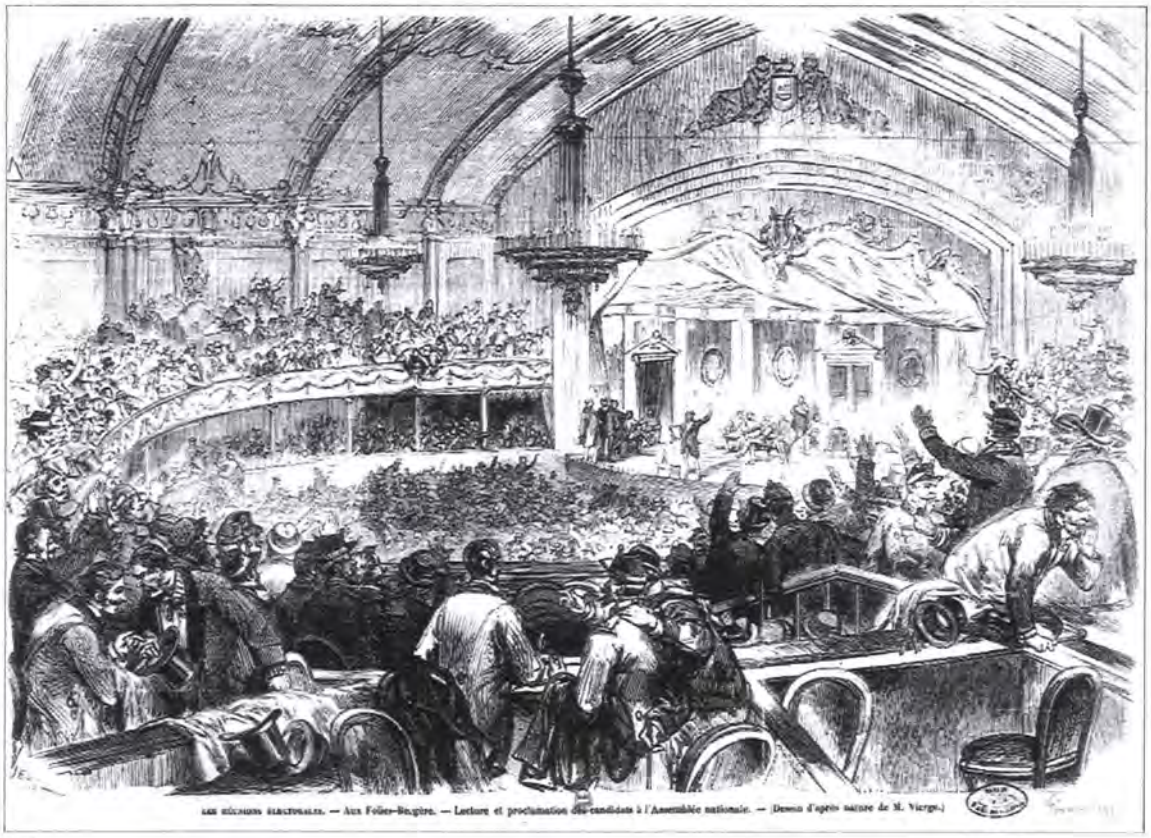
F8
Jean-Louis Forain, *Le Bar aux Folies-Bergère*, 1878?, gouache



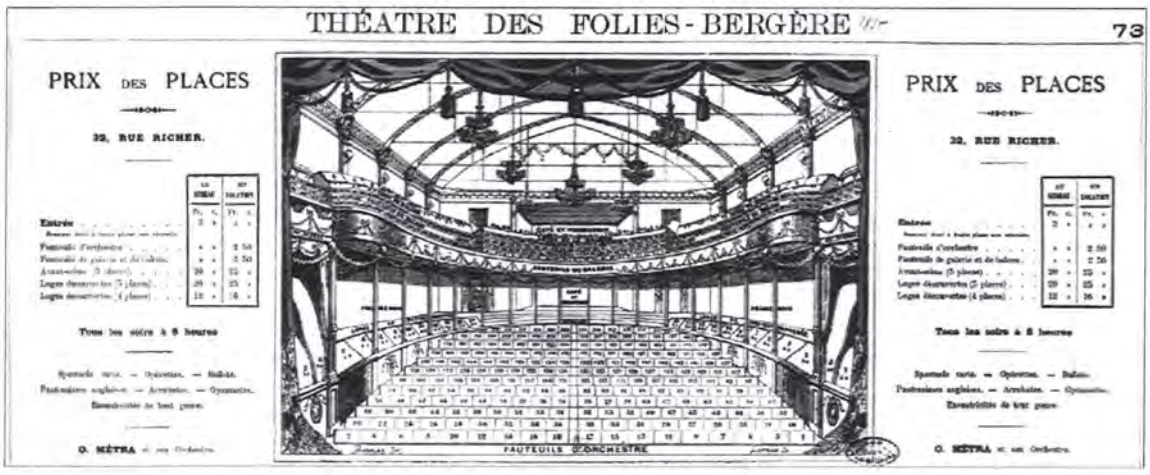
F9
Stop, *"Une Marchande de consolation aux Folies-Bergère –..."*, caricature, wood engraving, *Le Journal Amusant*, 27 May, 1882

F10
E. Lévy, *Folies-Bergère. Opérettes, Pantomimes, Gymnastes, Ballets, Clowns*, 1874, lithographic poster

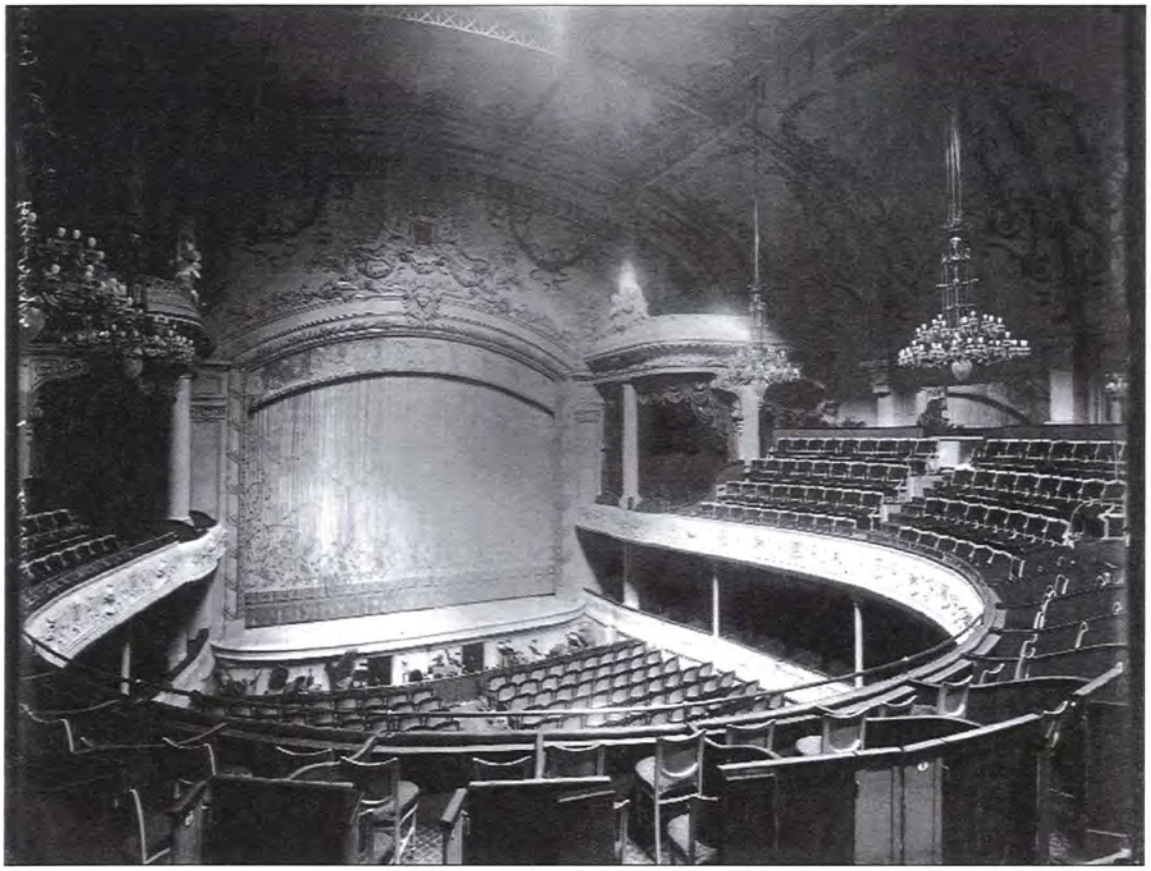
F11
Jules Chéret, *Aux Folies-Bergère*, 1875, colour lithographic poster



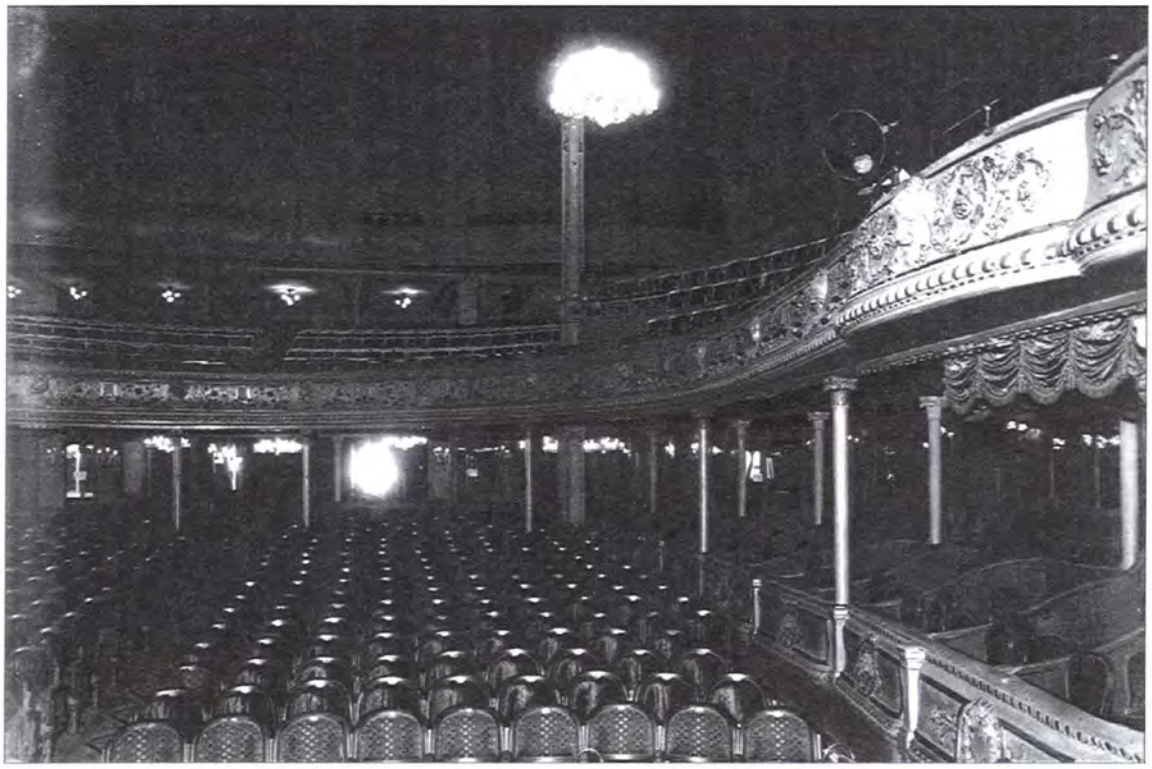
F12
Vierge, *Les Réunion Électorales.–Aux Folies-Bergère.–...*, 1871, illustration



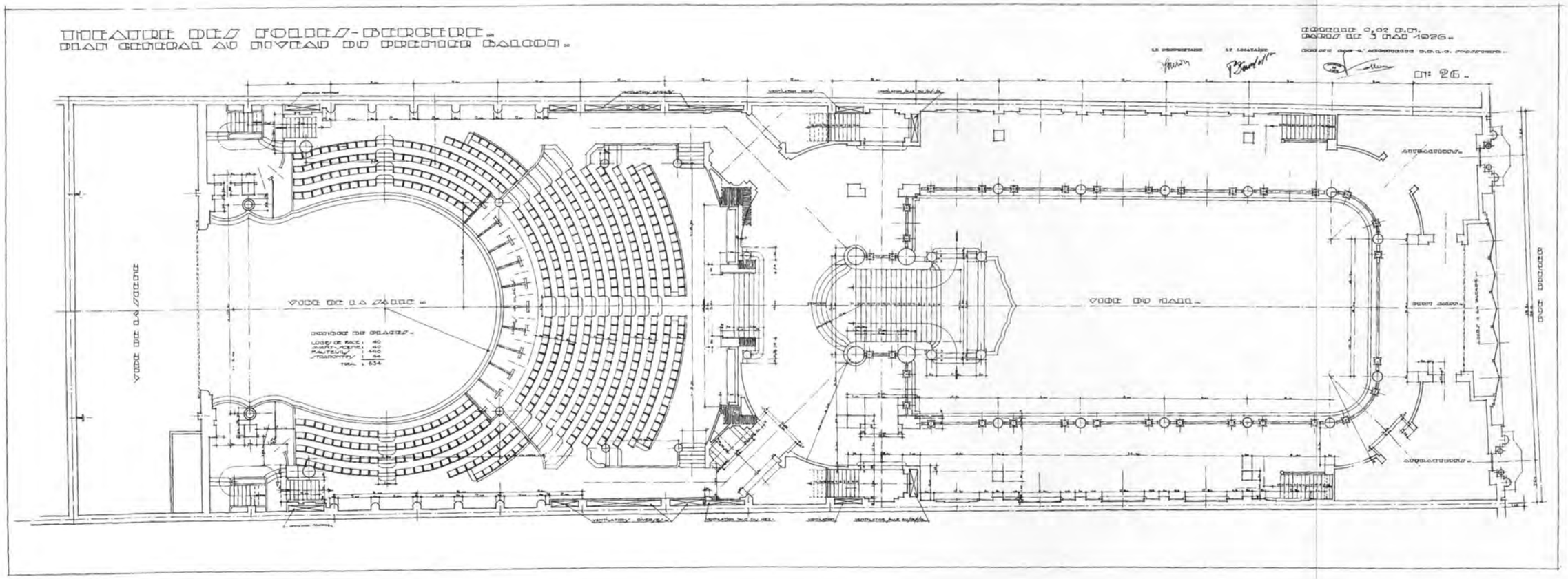
F13
Barclay, *Théâtre des Folies-Bergère*, 1875, illustrated seating plan



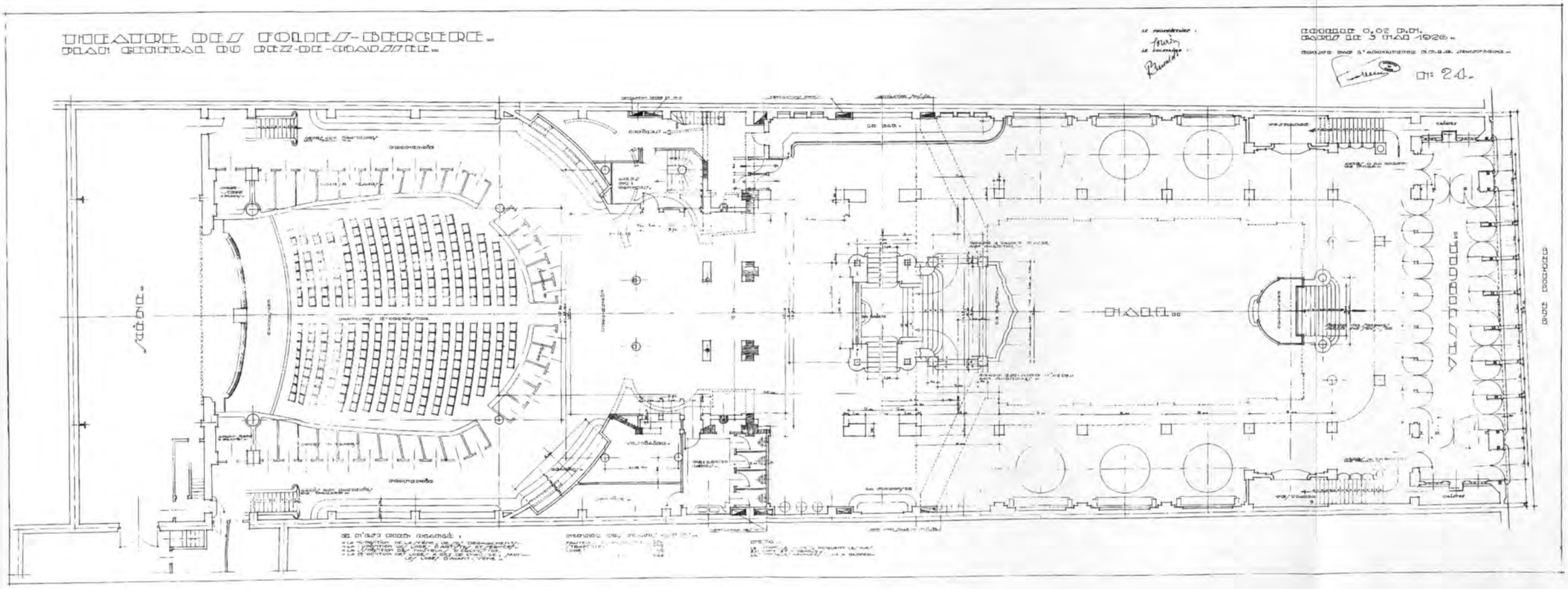
F14
Anon., *Folies-Bergère theatre, view from balcony*, n.d., photograph



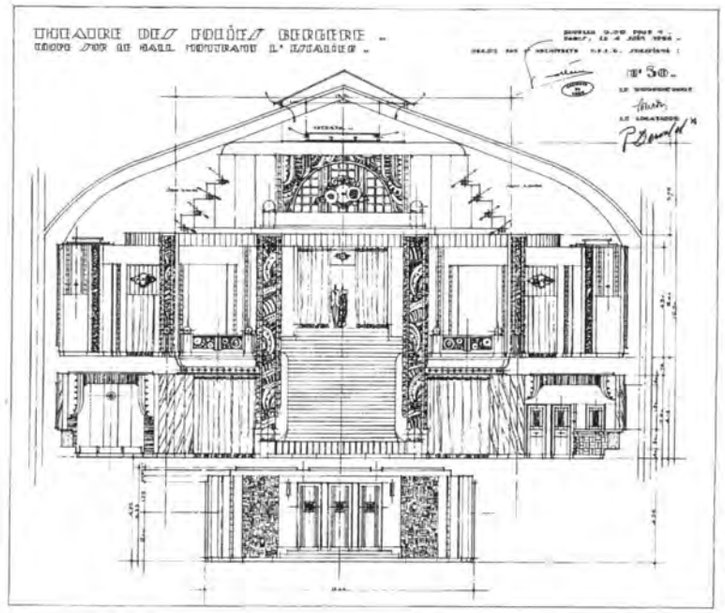
F15
Anon., *Folies-Bergère theatre, view from stage*, n.d., photograph



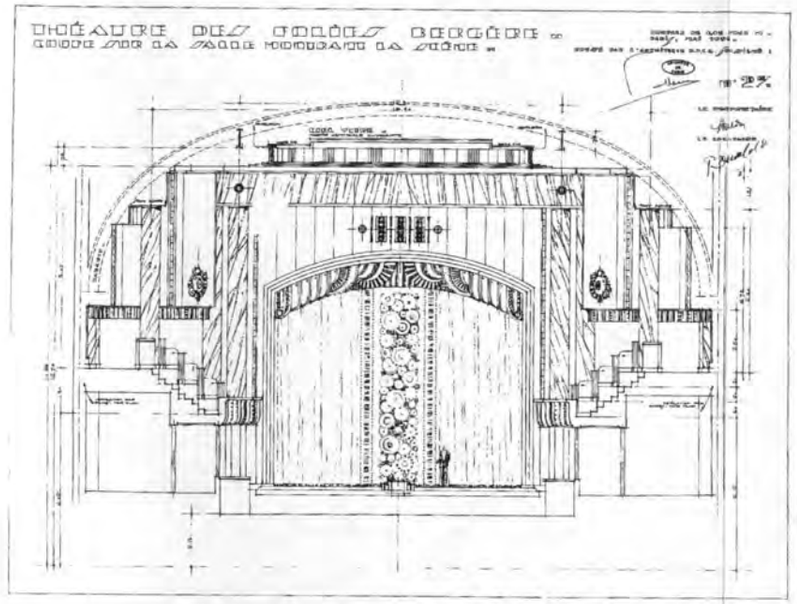
F17
Théâtre des Folies-Bergère: Plan General au Niveau du Premier Balcon – No.26, 1926, architectural drawing. Restoration of the Folies-Bergère – first floor plan



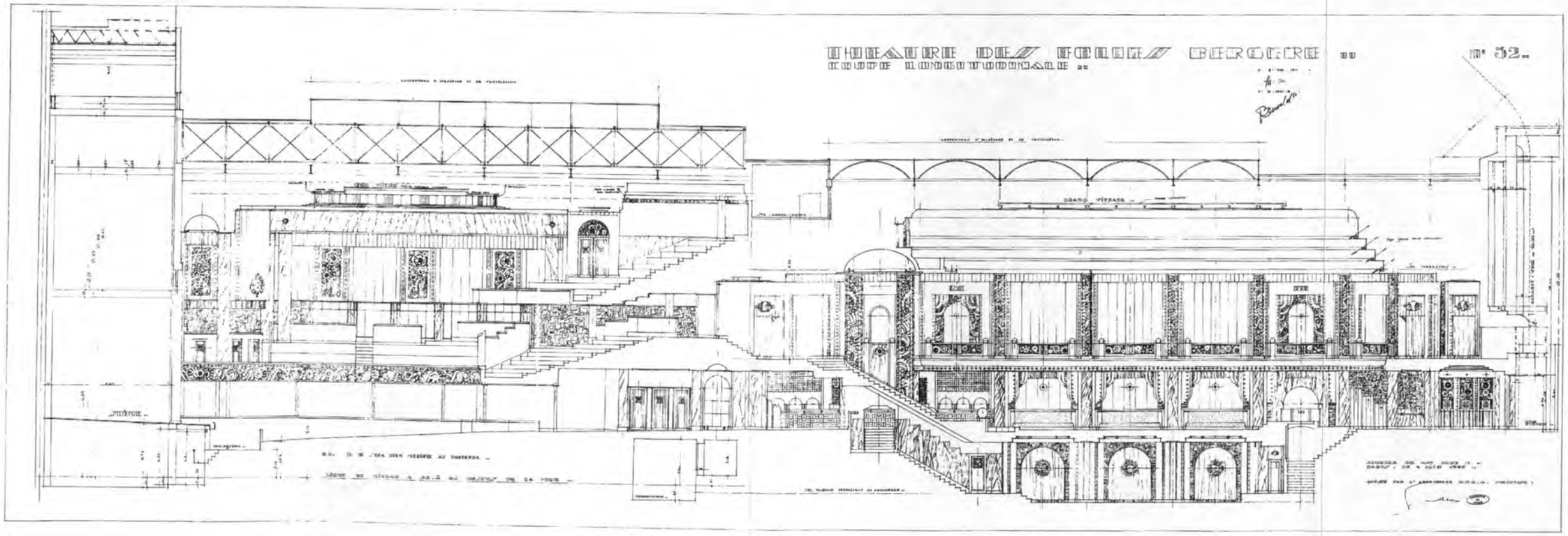
F16
Théâtre des Folies-Bergère: Plan General du Rez-de-Chaussée – No.24, 1926, architectural drawing. Restoration of the Folies-Bergère – ground floor plan



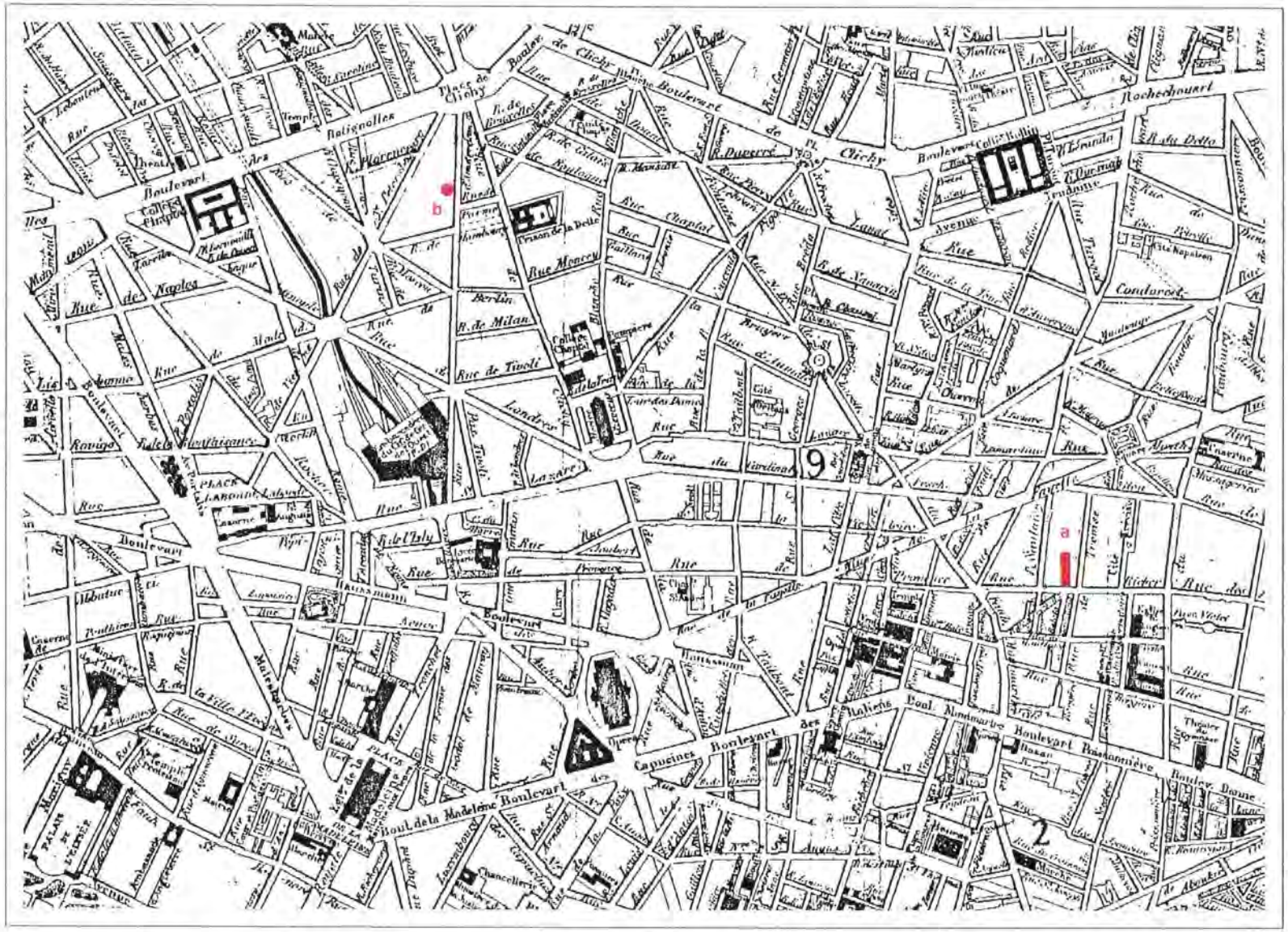
F19
Théâtre des Folies-Bergère:
Coupe sur le Hall montrant l'escalier – No.30,
1926, architectural drawing. Restoration of the Folies-Bergère – cross section, entrance hall



F18
Théâtre des Folies-Bergère:
Coupe sur la Salle montrant la scène – No.27,
1926, architectural drawing. Restoration of the Folies-Bergère – cross section, theatre



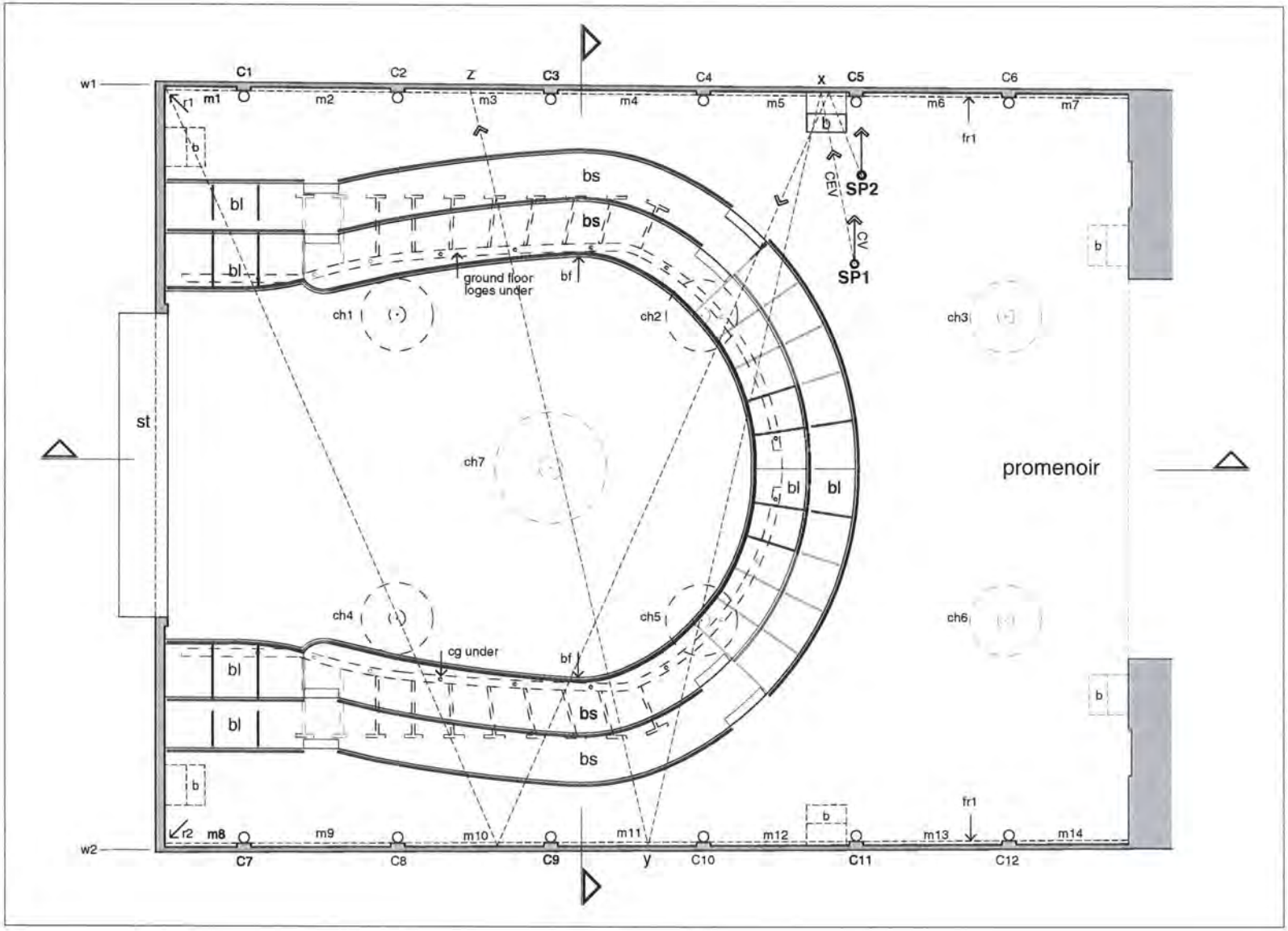
F20
Théâtre des Folies-Bergère:
Coupe Longitudinale – No.32,
1926, architectural drawing. Restoration of the Folies-Bergère – longitudinal section



a Théâtre des Folies-Bergère, No.32 Rue Richer

b Manet's studio in 1881-82, No.77 Rue d'Amsterdam

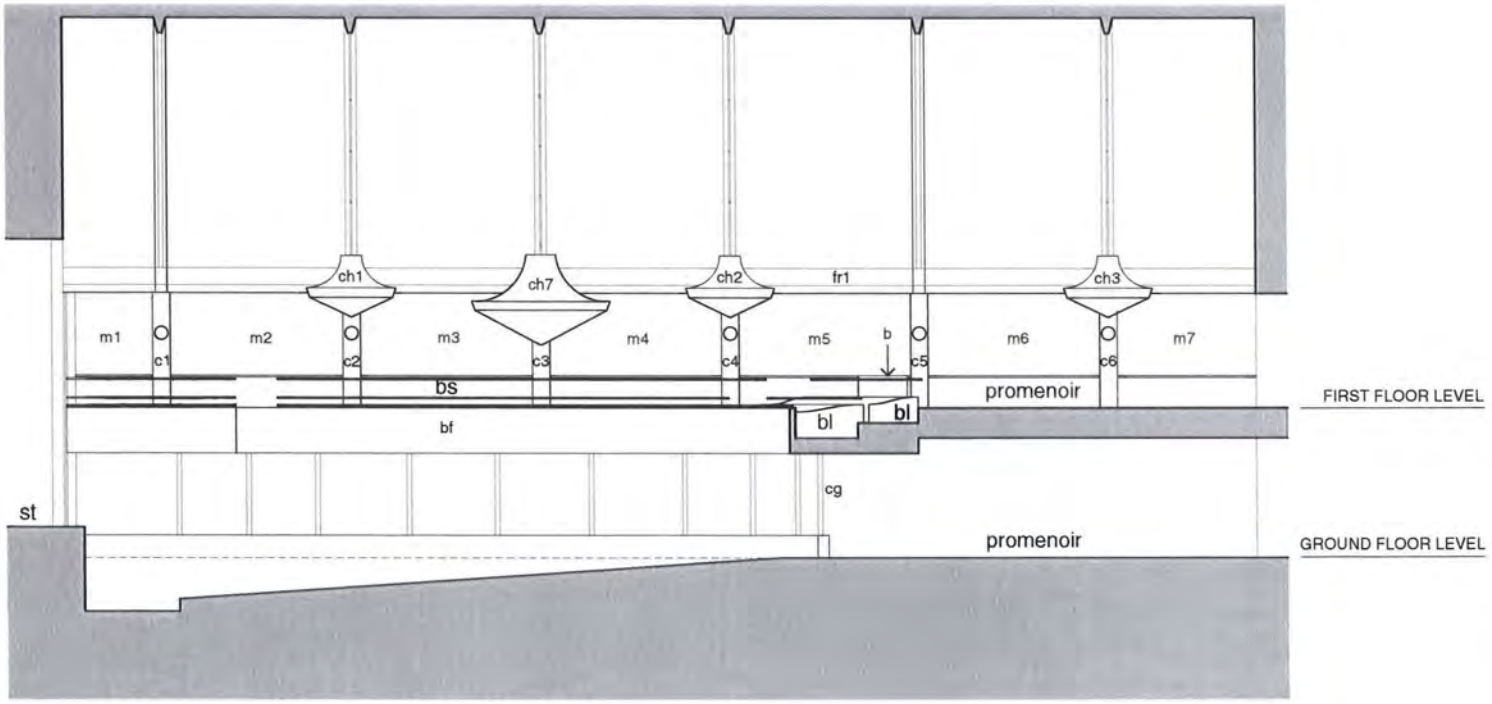
F21
Painting sites: location plan.
A. Chaix & Cie.,
Nouveau Plan de Paris: divisé en 20 arrondissements,
1870. Map detail



b	Bar
bf	Balcony front
bl	Balcony loges
bs	Balcony seating
c	Column, with attached light
cg	Columns, ground floor level
ch	Chandelier
fr	Frieze
m	Mirror
r	Corner, front and side wall
st	Stage
w	Side wall with mirrors
SP1	Viewpoint, Oil Sketch
CEV	Centre of extent of view from SP1
CV	Centre of vision from SP1
x	Position of CEV at first reflection
y	Position of CEV at second reflection
z	Position of CEV at third reflection
SP2	Viewpoint, Wash Drawing

0 5m

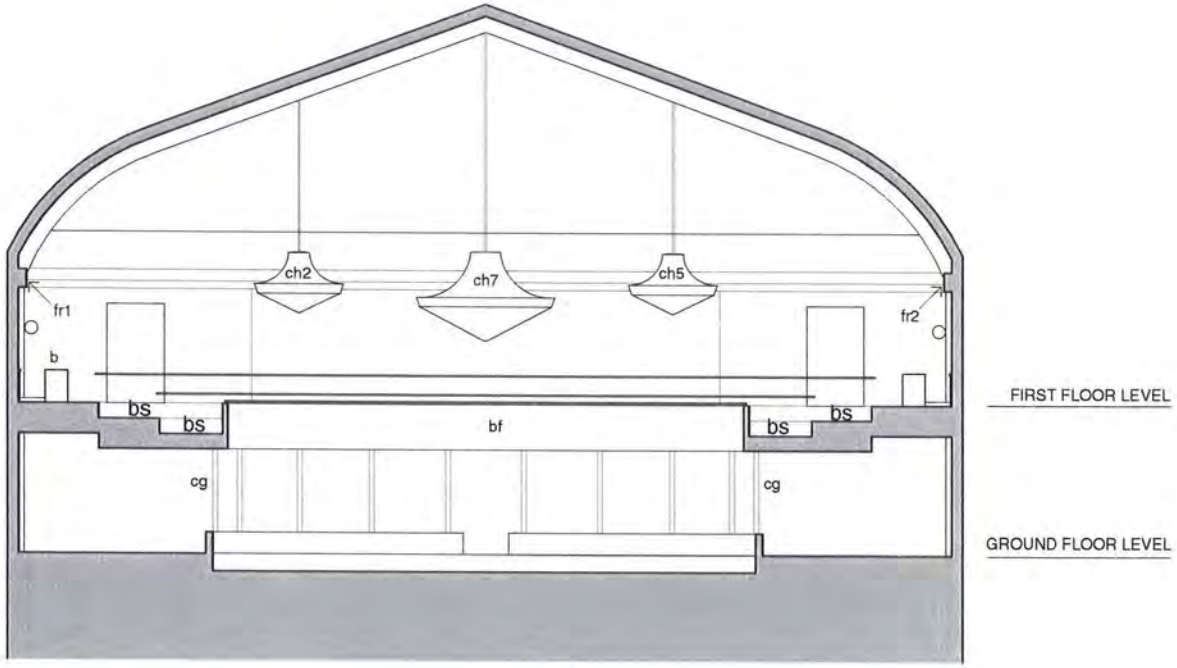
F22
Painting site:
Folies-Bergère theatre
First floor plan



b Bar
bf Balcony front
bl Balcony loges
bs Balcony seating
c Column, with attached light
cg Columns, ground floor level
ch Chandelier
fr Frieze
m Mirror
st Stage

0 5m

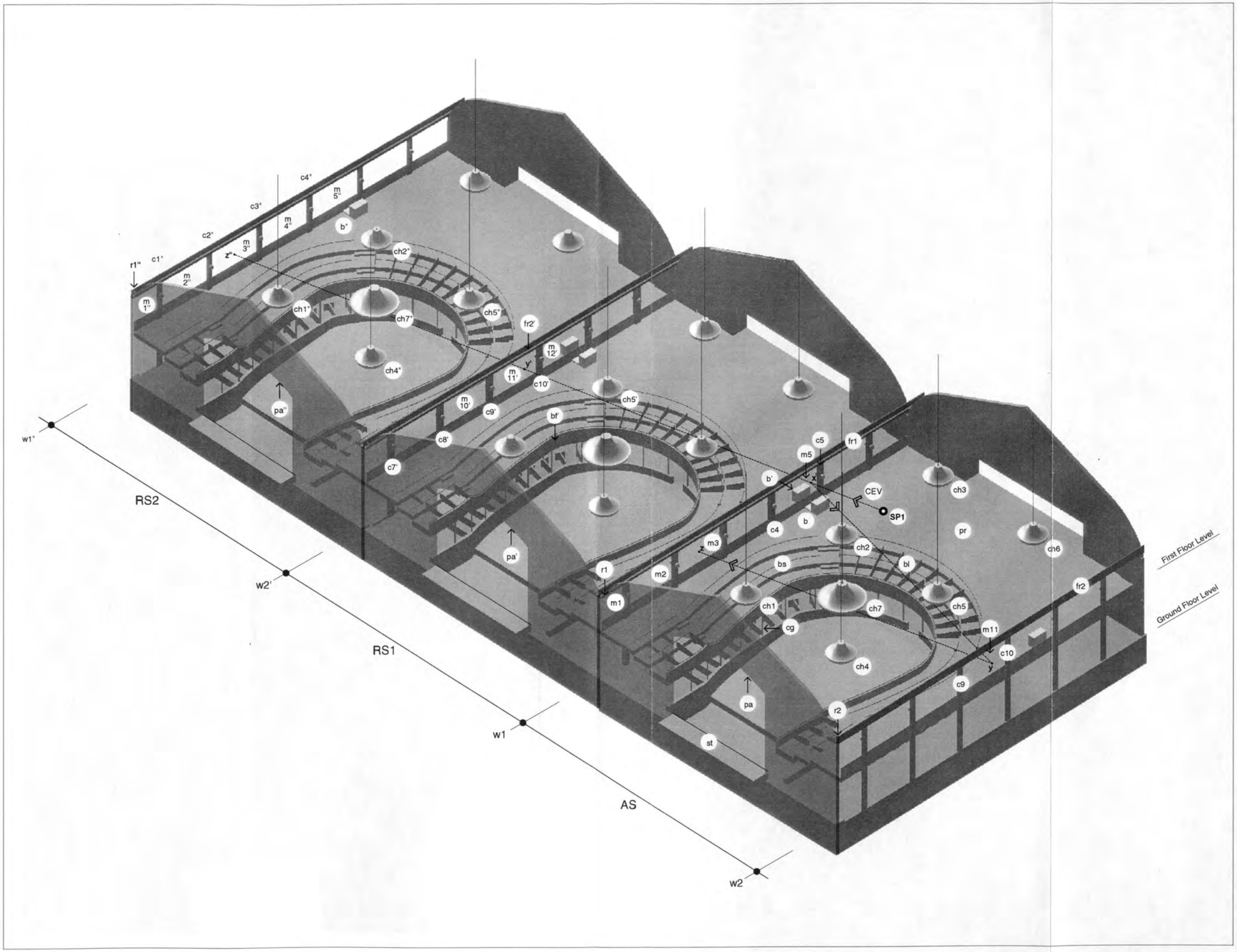
F23
Painting site:
Folies-Bergère theatre
Longitudinal section



b Bar
bf Balcony front
bs Balcony seating
cg Columns, ground floor level
ch Chandelier
fr Frieze
m Mirror

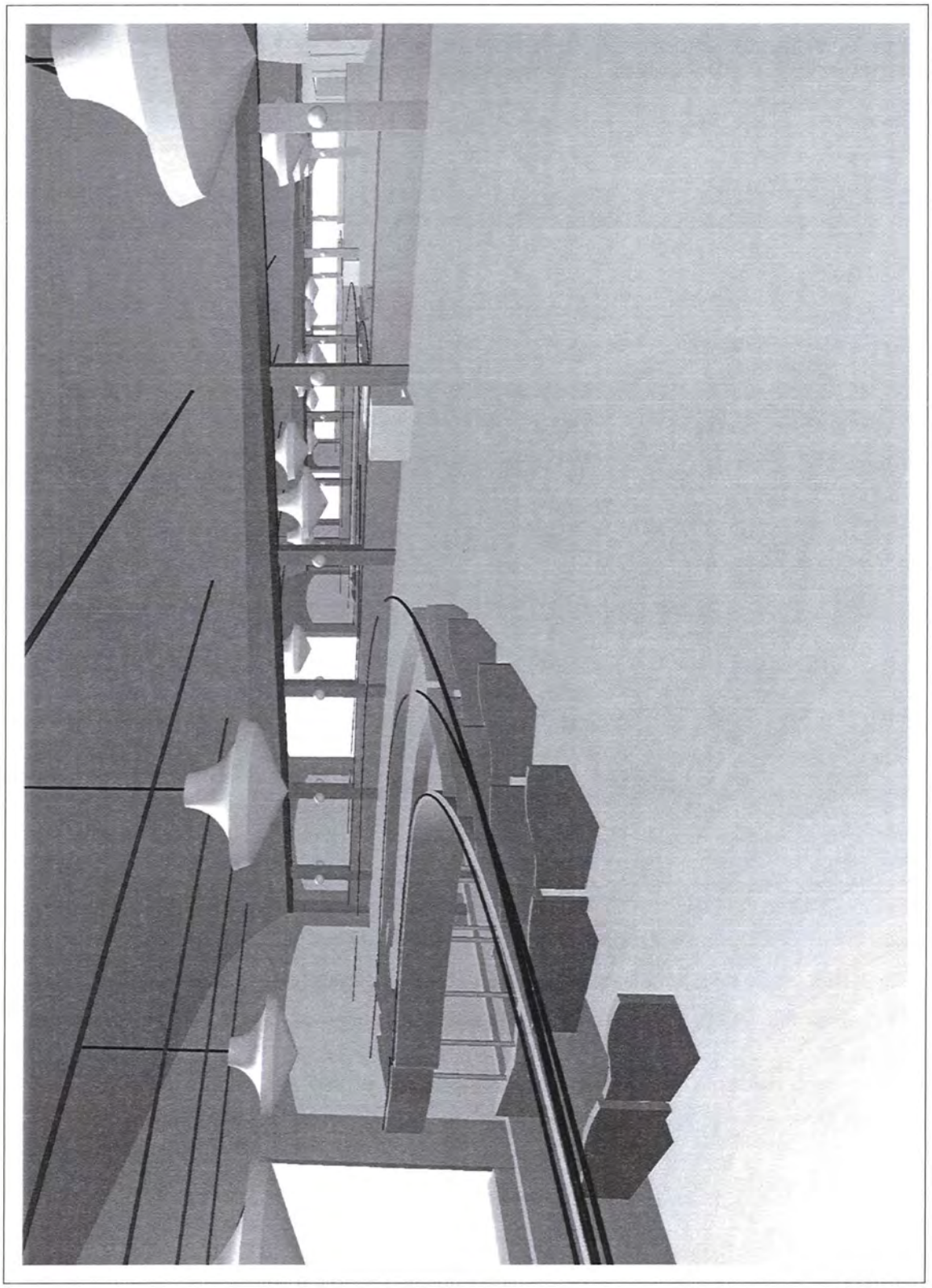
0 5m

F24
Painting site:
Folies-Bergère theatre
Cross section

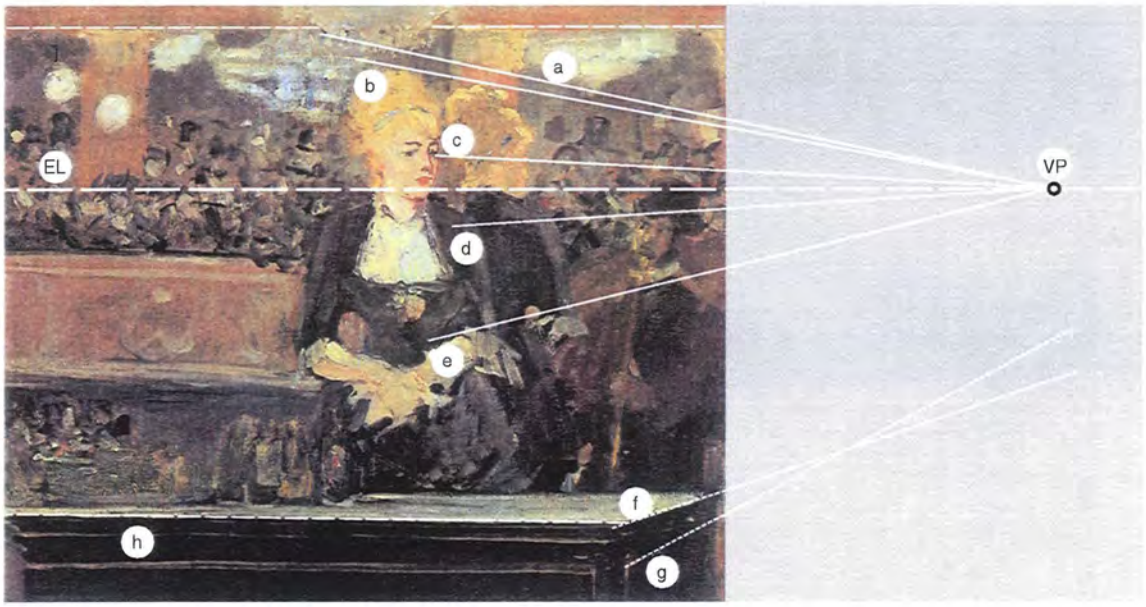


AS	Actual space
RS1	First-reflected space
RS2	Second-reflected space
SP1	Viewpoint for Oil Sketch
CEV	Centre of extent of view
x	Position of CEV at first reflection
y	Position of CEV at second reflection
z	Position of CEV at third reflection
b	Bar
bf	Balcony front
bl	Balcony loges
bs	Balcony seating
c	Column, with attached light
cg	Columns, ground floor level
ch	Chandelier
fr	Frieze
m	Mirror
pa	Proscenium arch
pr	Promenoir
r	Corner, front and side wall
st	Stage
w1	Line of mirrors m1-m7 to side wall
w2	Line of mirrors m8-m14 to side wall

F25
Painting site:
Folies-Bergère theatre
Isometric layout: actual, first-reflected, and second-reflected spaces

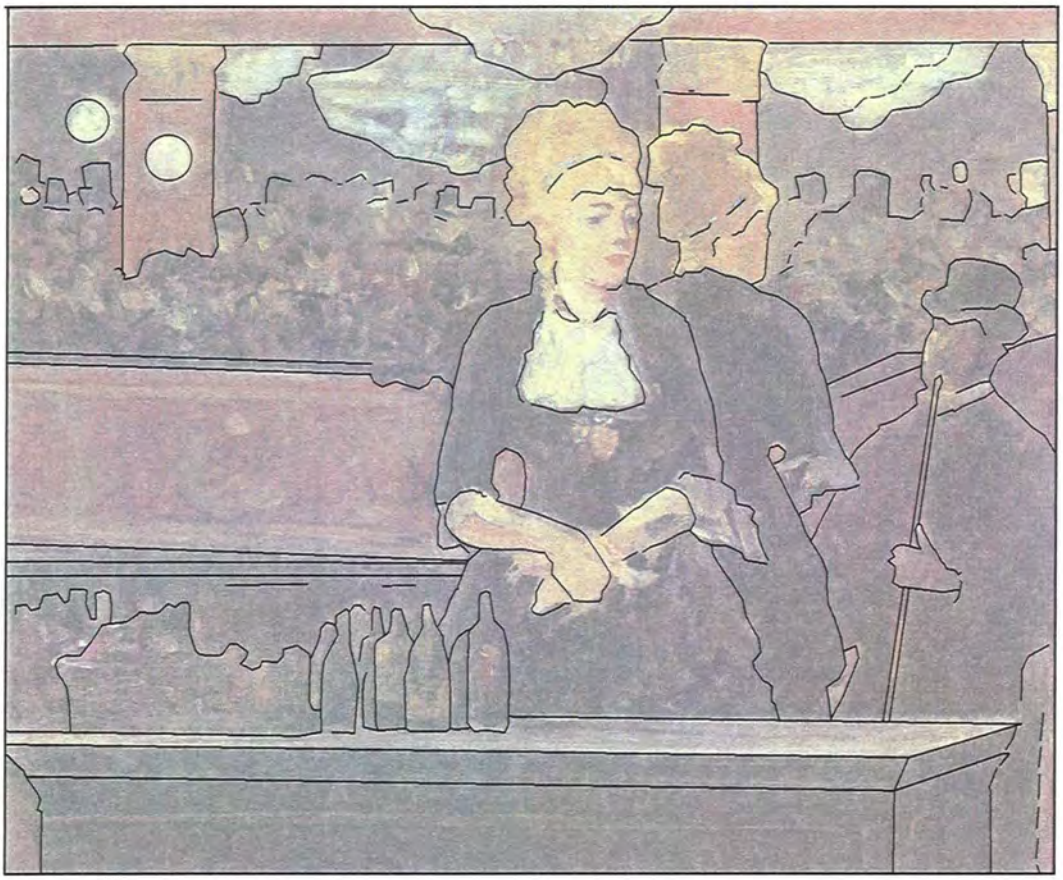


F26
Perspective: bar site in Folies-Bergère theatre

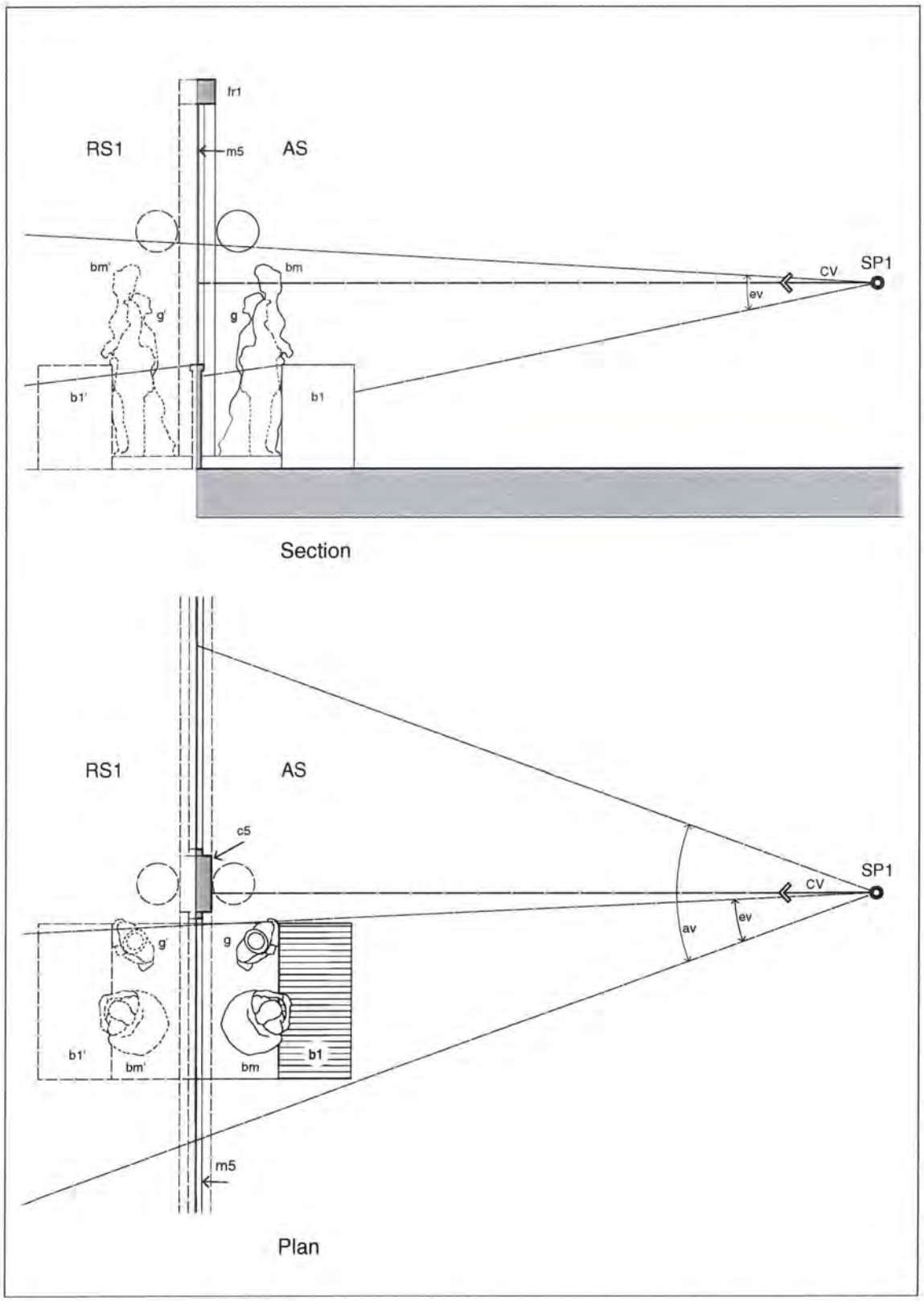


F27
Perspective analysis: *Oil Sketch for A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*

a Line in perspective – reflected chandeliers
b Line in perspective – barmaid's hair and reflected hair
c Line in perspective – barmaid's eye and reflected eye
d Line in perspective – barmaid's shoulder and reflected shoulde
e Line in perspective – barmaid's sleeve cuff and reflected cuff
f Bar top, end
g Bar, end
h Bar top, front
j Frieze
EL Eye level
VP Vanishing point



F28
Overlay line drawing from *Oil Sketch for A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*

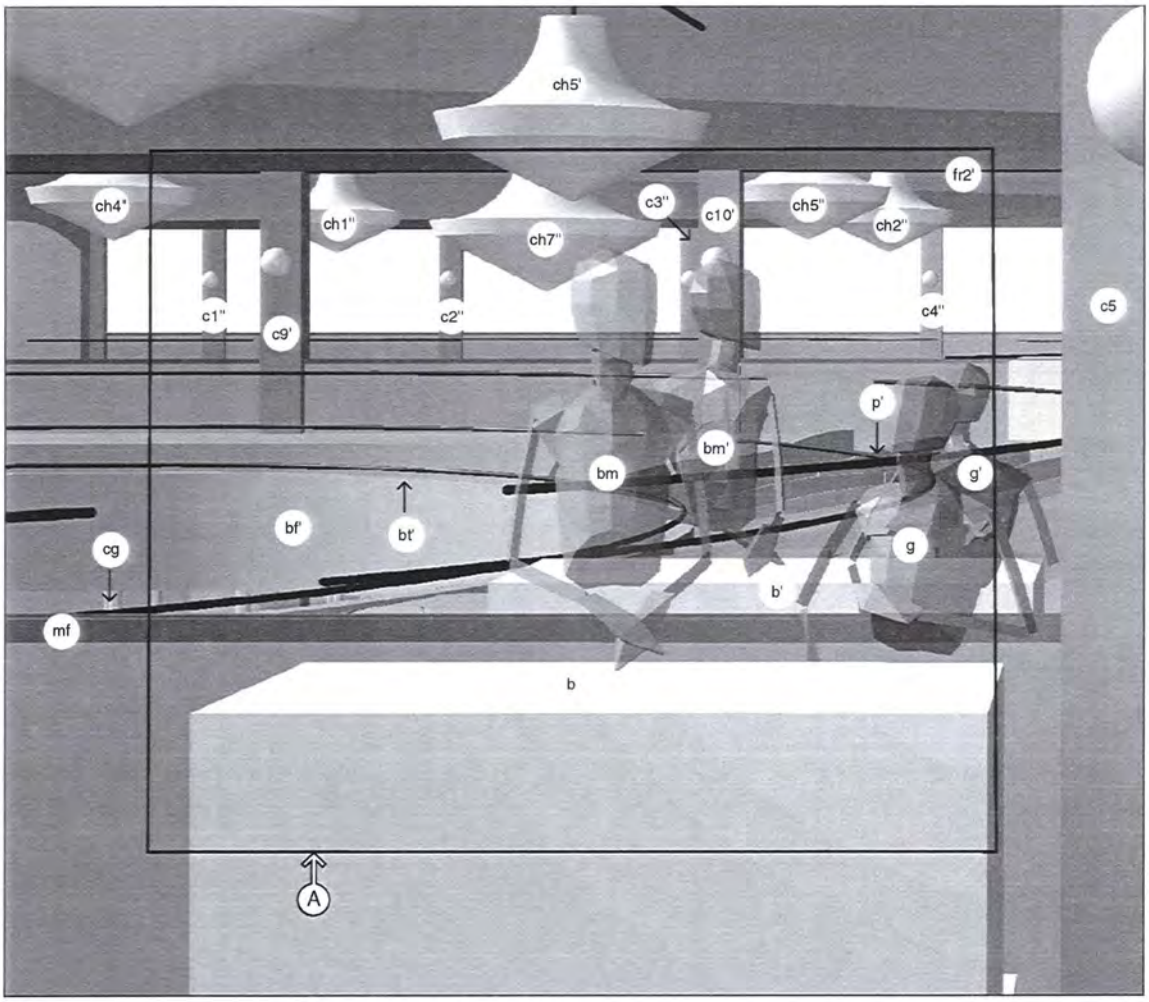


F29
Bar in Oil Sketch, Folies-Bergère theatre
Plan and section – SP1,1P-offset

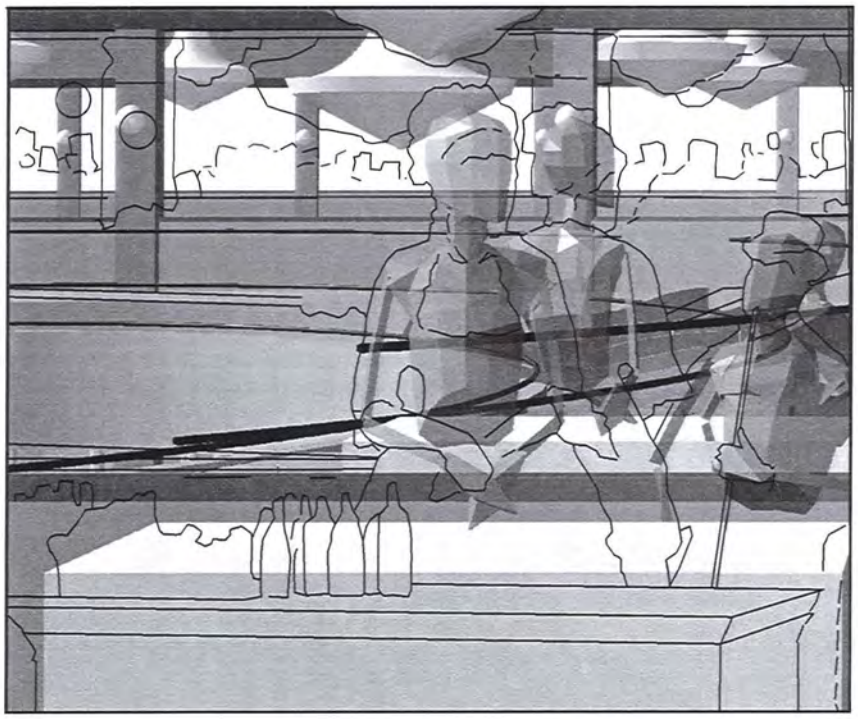
b Bar
bm Barmaid
c Column, with attached light
fr Frieze
g Gentleman
m Mirror

SP1 Viewpoint, 155cm above floor
CV Centre of vision
av Angle of vision
ev Extent of view
AS Actual space
RS1 First-reflected space

0 1m



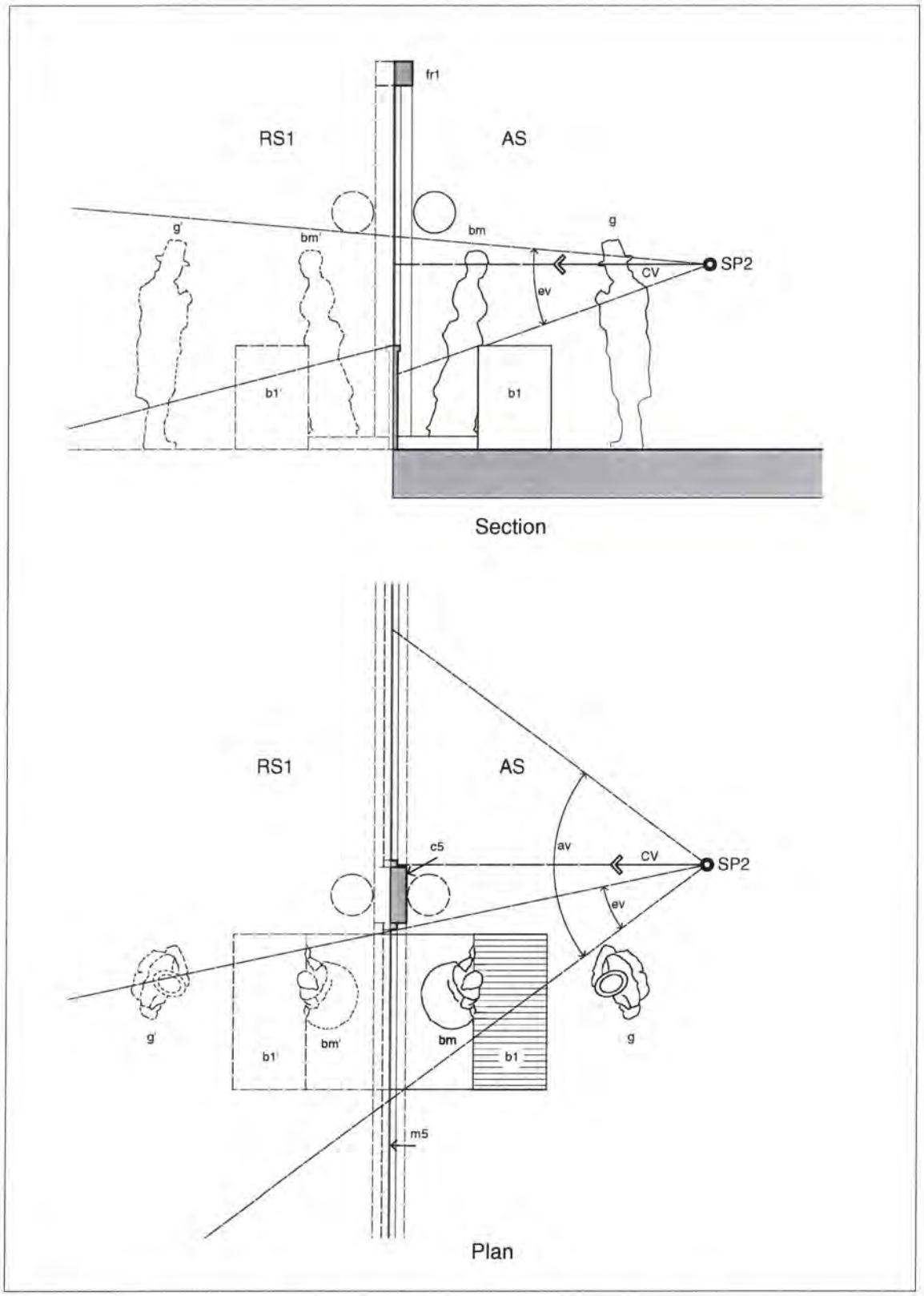
F30
Perspective: SP1,1P-offset – Overlay: Oil Sketch format



b Bar
bf Balcony front
bt Top of balcony front
bm Barmaid
c Column
cg Columns, ground floor level
ch Chandelier
fr Frieze
g Gentleman
mf Mirror frame
p Partition, loges
A Painting format

F31
Perspective: SP1,1P-offset – Overlay: line drawing from Oil Sketch, Fig.F28

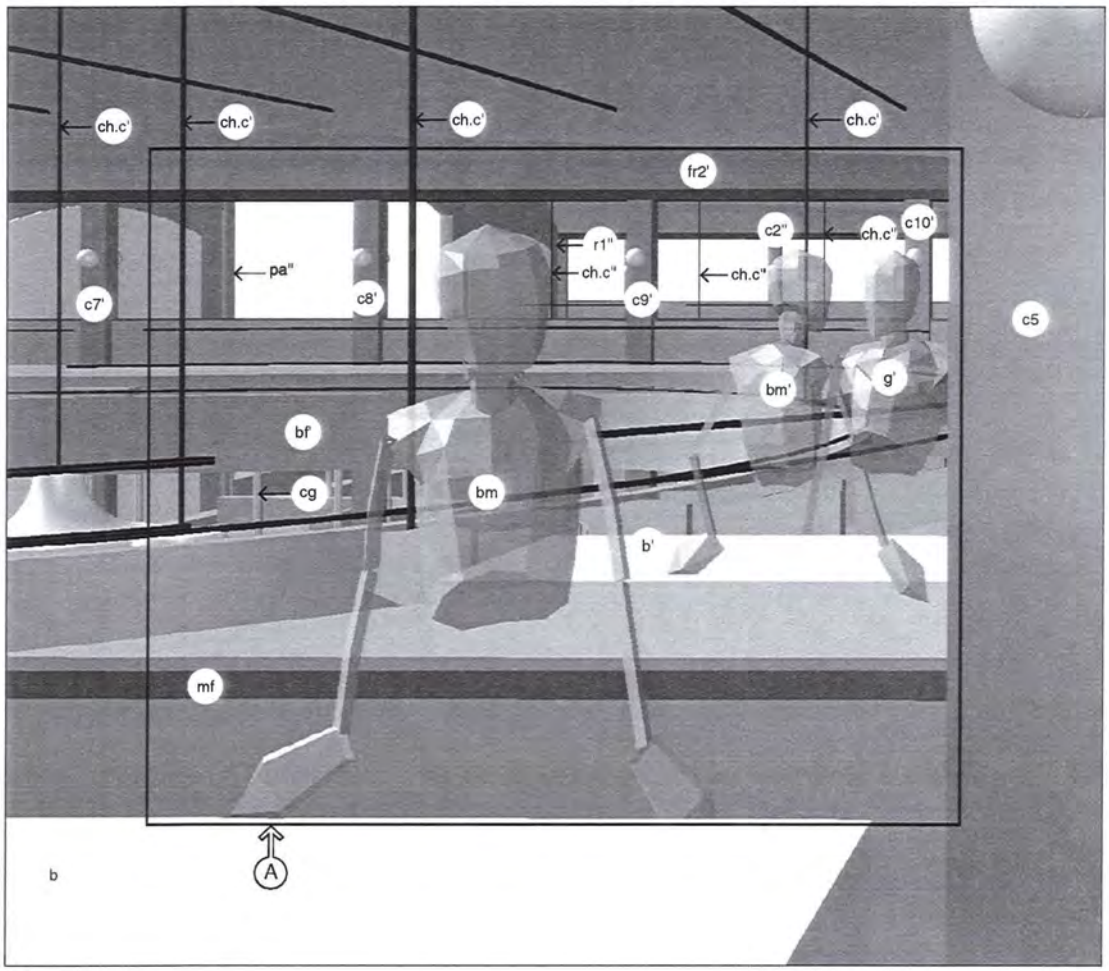
F32
Overlay line drawing from *Study for A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*



F33
Bar in Wash Drawing, Folies-Bergère theatre
Plan and section – SP2, 1P-offset

AS	Actual space	**g**	Gentleman
RS1	First-reflected space	**m**	Mirror
b	Bar	**SP2**	Viewpoint, 155cm above floor
bm	Barmaid	**CV**	Centre of vision
c	Column, with attached light	**av**	Angle of vision
fr	Frieze	**ev**	Extent of view

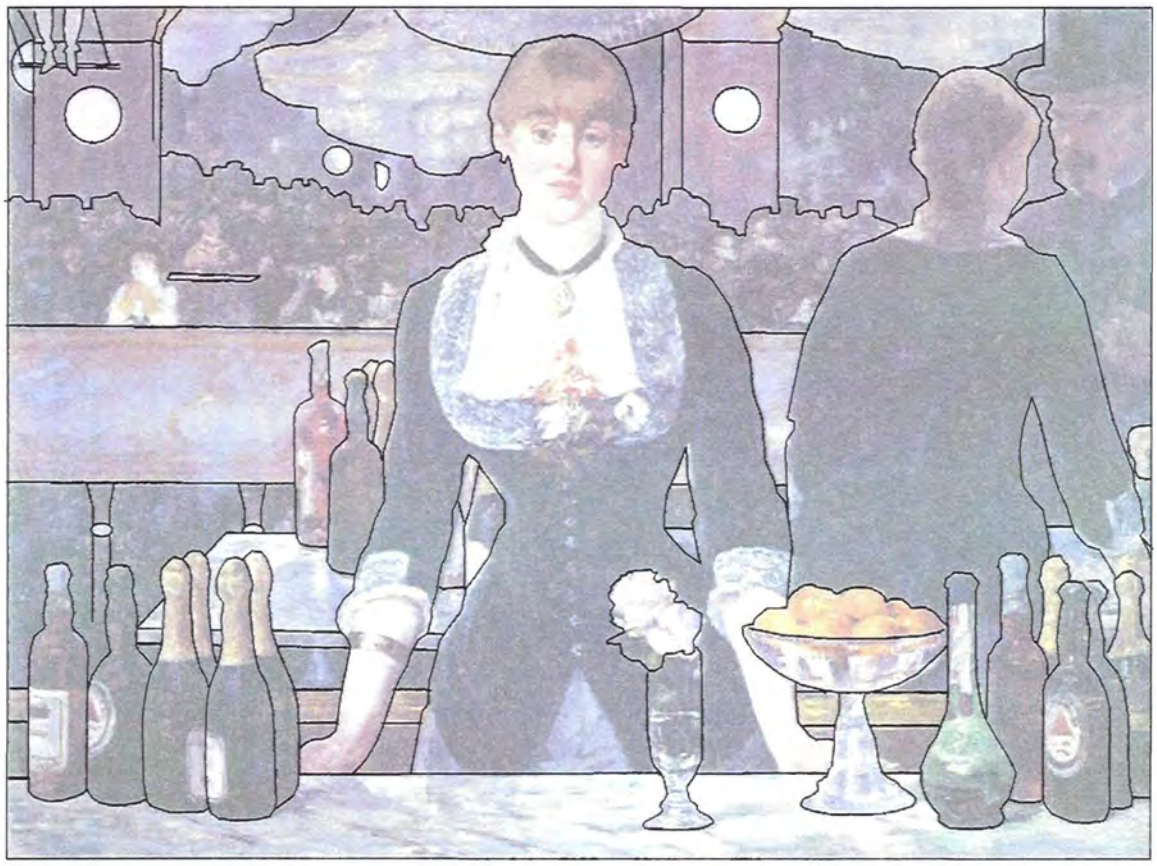
0 1m



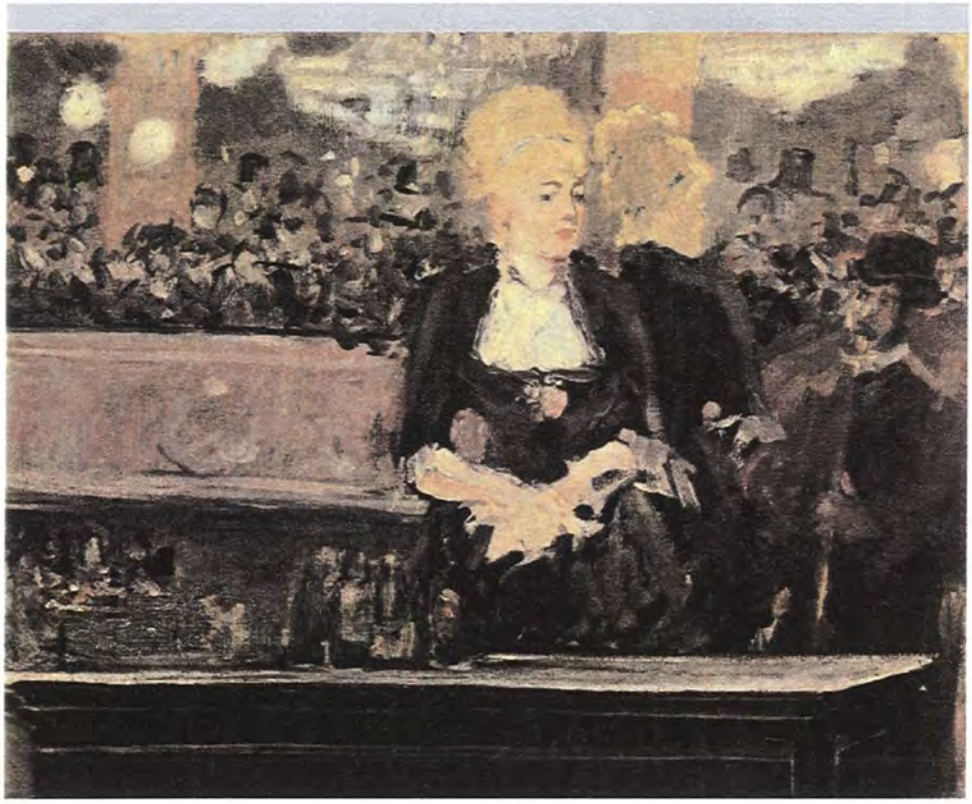
F34
Perspective: SP2, 1P-offset
Overlay: Wash Drawing format

F35
Perspective: SP2, 1P-offset
Overlay: line drawing from Wash Drawing, Fig.F32

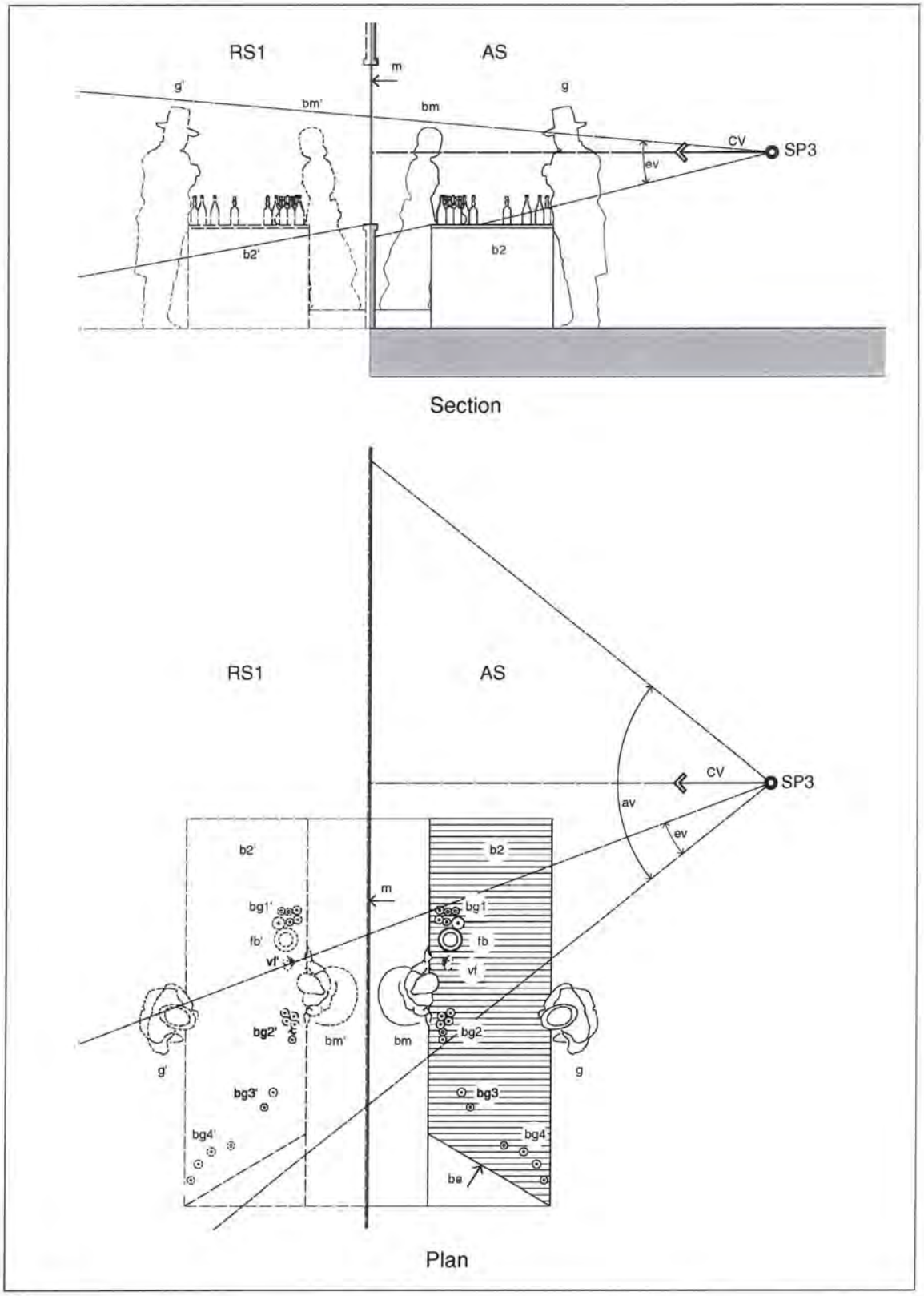
b	Bar
bf	Balcony front
bm	Barmaid
c	Column
cg	Columns, ground floor level
ch.c	Chandelier cable
fr	Frieze
g	Gentleman
mf	Mirror frame
pa	Proscenium arch
r	Corner, front and side walls



F36
Overlay line drawing from *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*



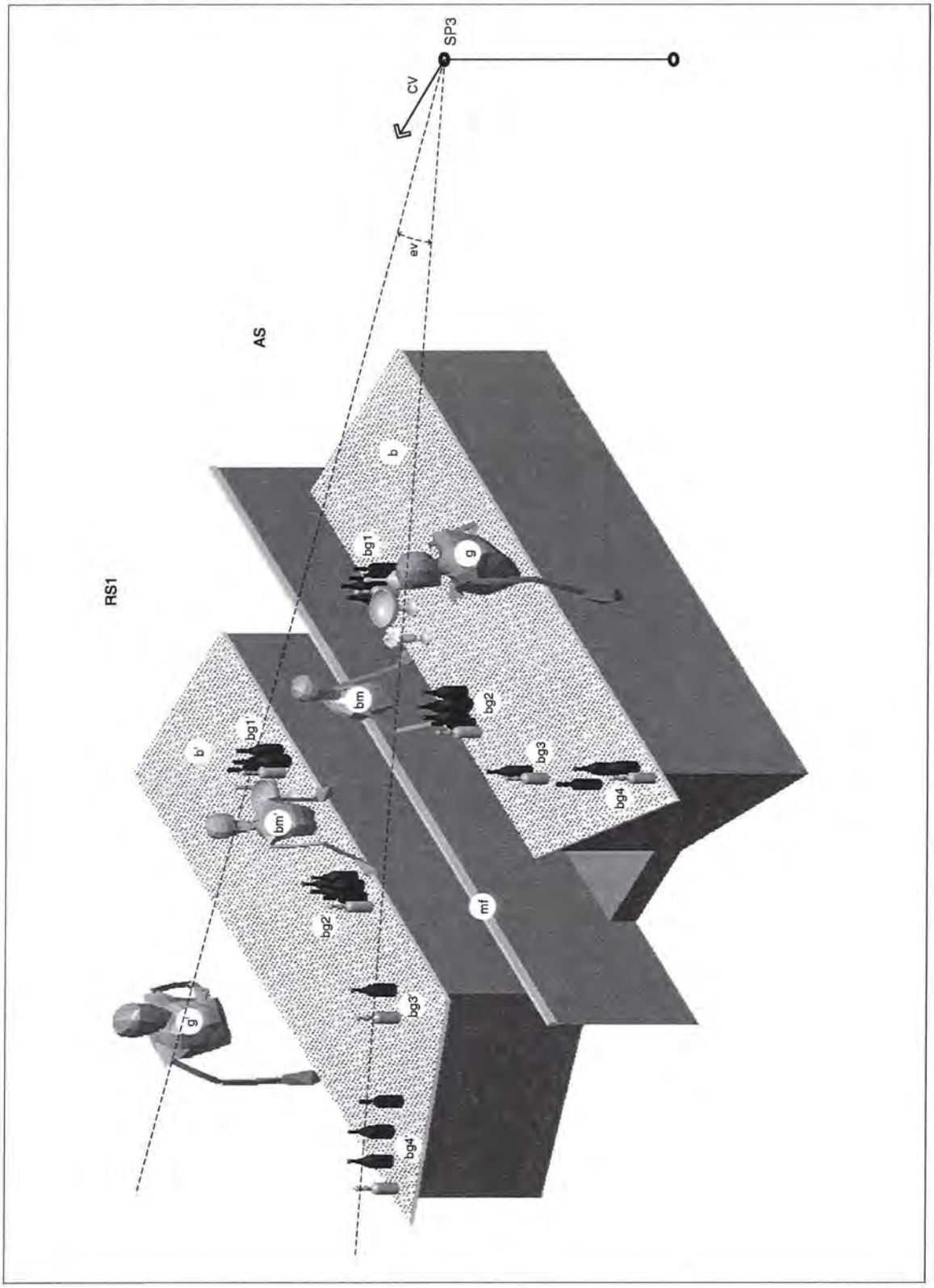
F37
Cropped image, Fig.F3, without frieze above wall mirrors



F38
Bar in Final Painting: Manet's studio
Plan and section – SP3, 1P-offset

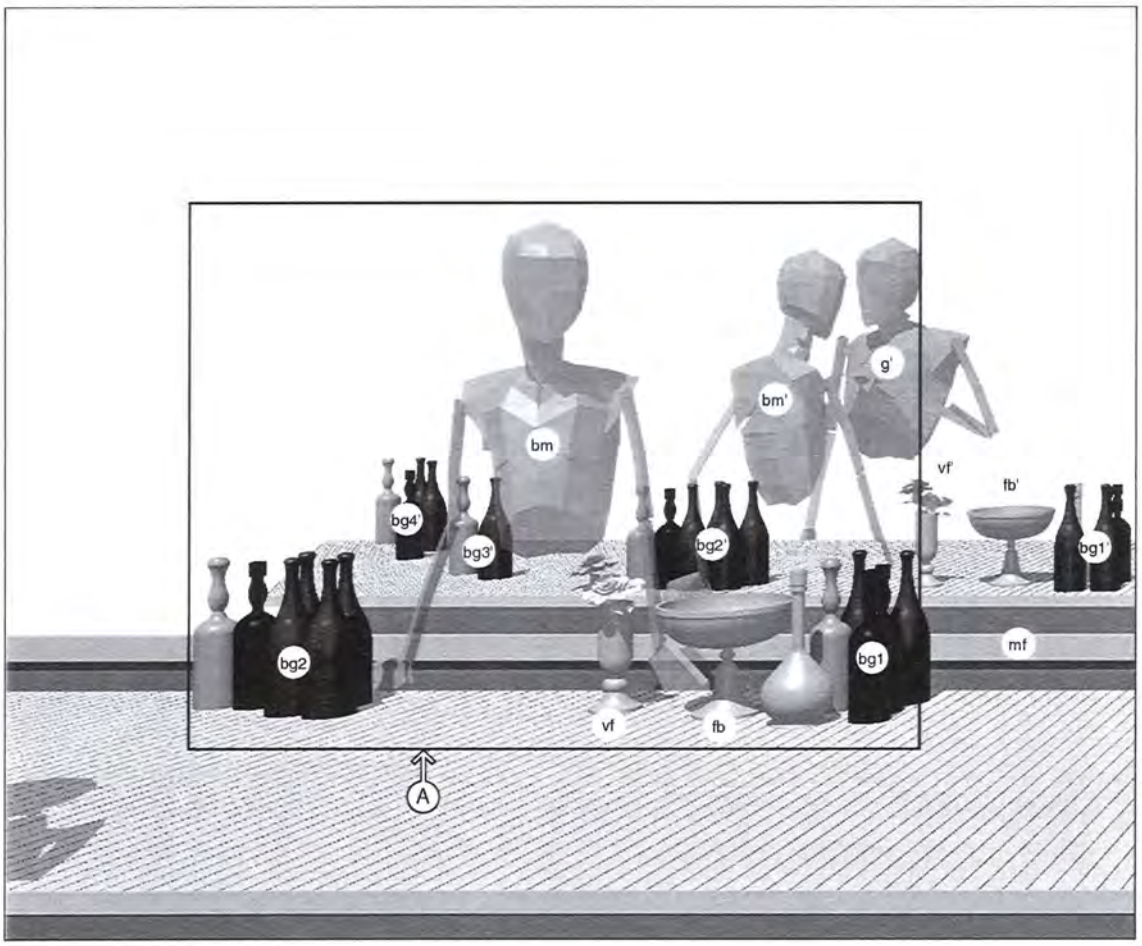
AS	Actual space
RS1	First-reflected space
b	Bar
be	Angled shape of bar end as required to match form in Final Painting
bg	Bottle group
bm	Barmaid
fb	Fruit bowl
vf	Vase of flowers
g	Gentleman
m	Mirror
SP3	Viewpoint, 155cm above floor
CV	Centre of vision
av	Angle of vision
ev	Extent of view

0 1m

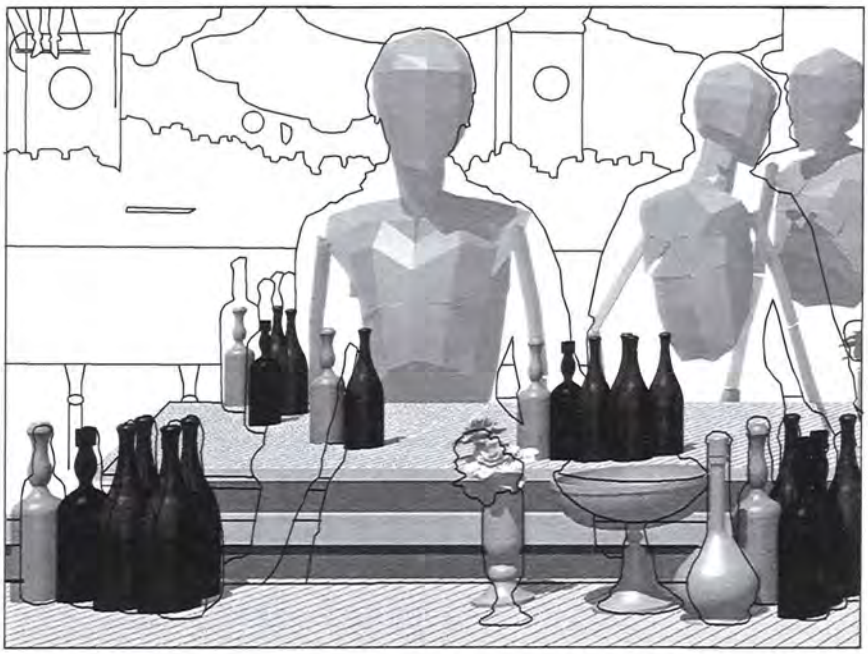


AS Actual space
RS1 First-reflected space
b Bar
bg Bottle group
bm Barmaid
g Gentleman
mf Mirror frame
SP3 Viewpoint, 155cm above floor
CV Centre of vision
ev Extent of view

F39
Bar in Final Painting: Manet's studio
Isometric view: actual and single-reflected spaces

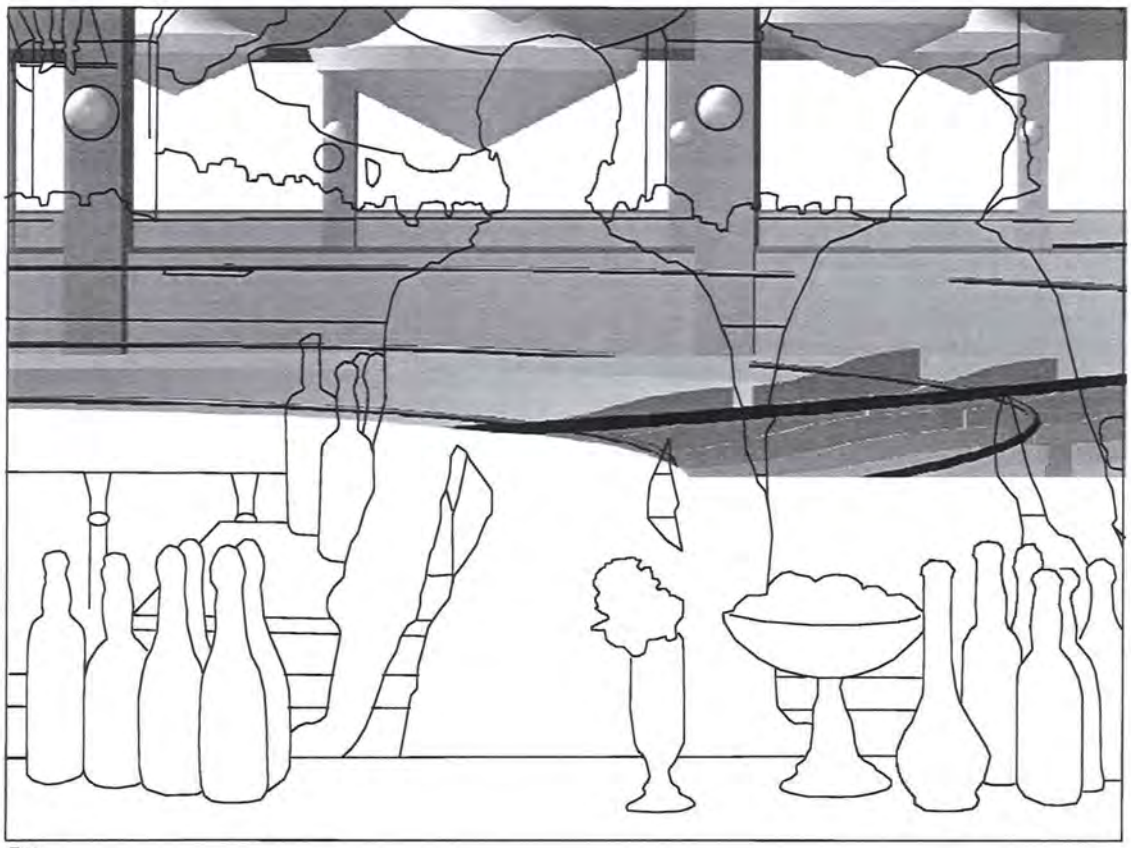


F40
Perspective: SP3, 1P-offset, with lines to bar top
Overlay: Final Painting format

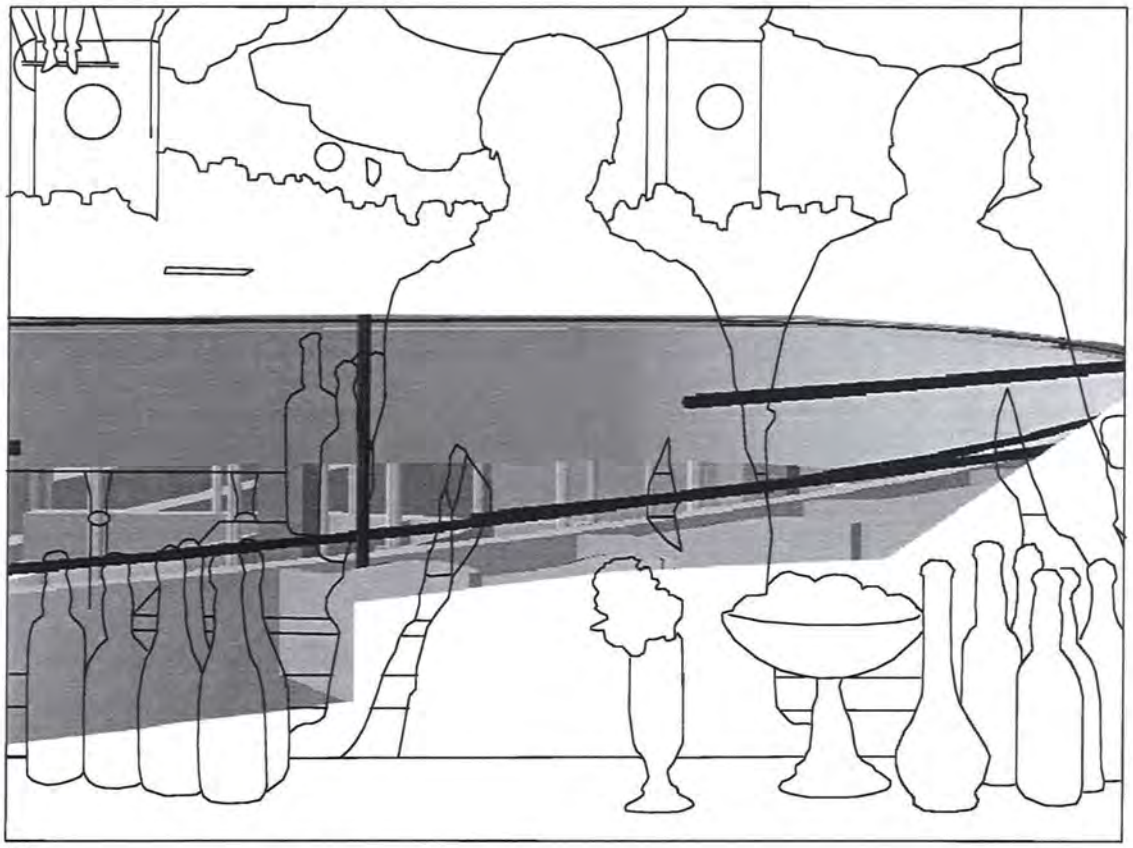


bg Bottle group
bm Barmaid
fb Fruit bowl
g Gentleman
mf Mirror frame
vf Vase of flowers

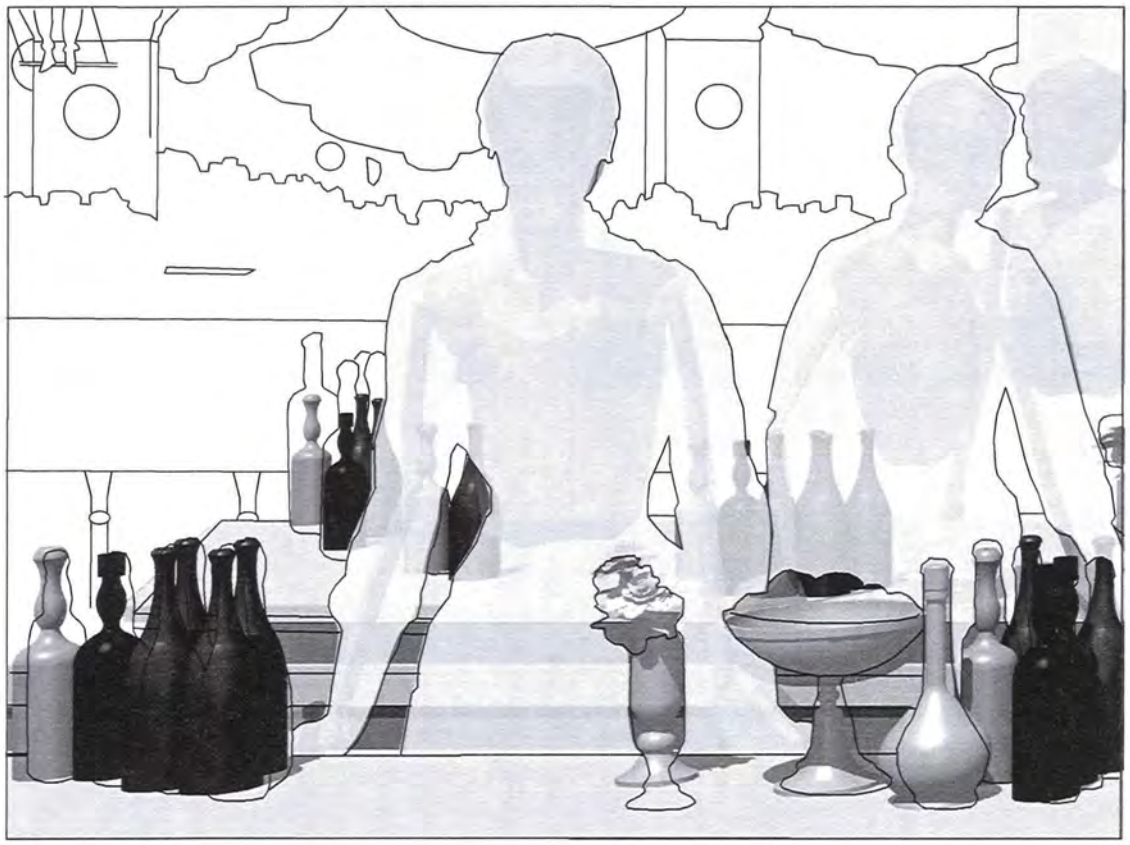
F41
Perspective: SP3, 1P-offset, with lines to bar top
Overlay: line drawing from Final Painting, Fig.F36



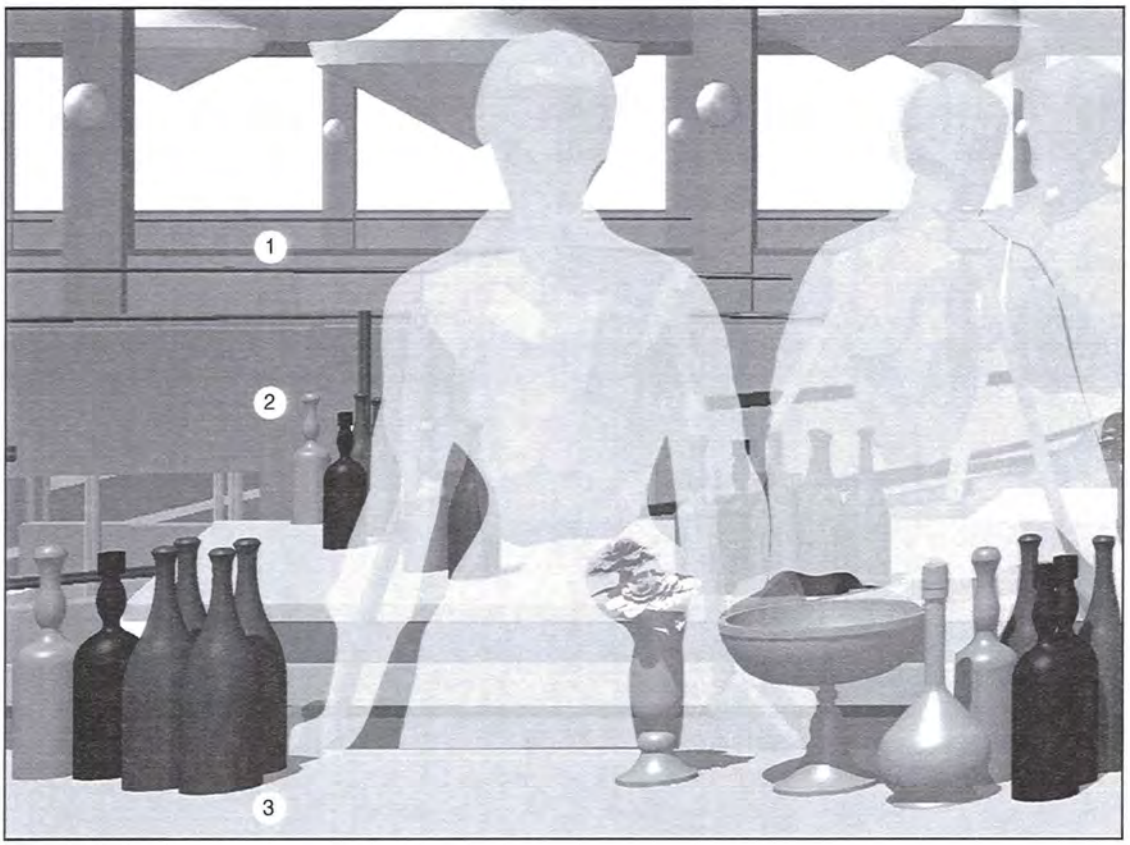
F42
Perspective, part-image 1: SP1, 1P-offset
Overlay: line drawing from Final Painting, Fig.F36



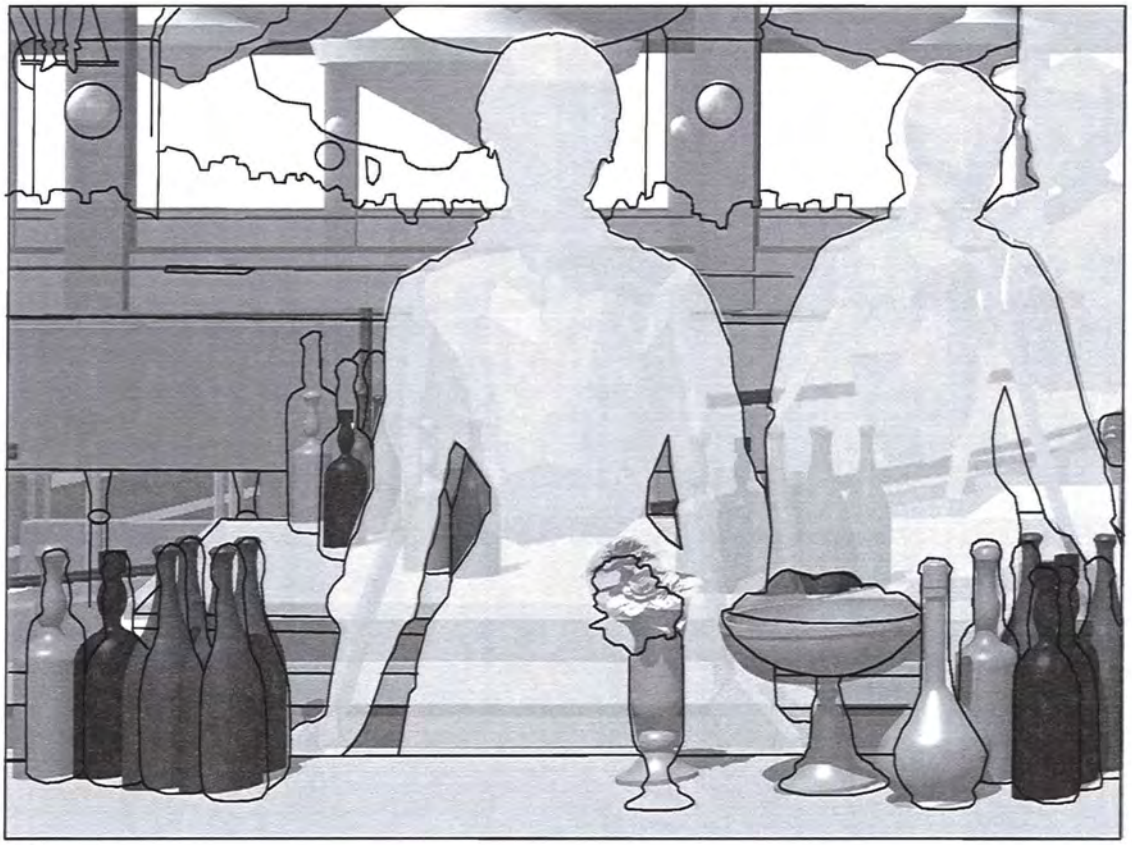
F43
Perspective, part-image 2: SP2, 1P-offset
Overlay: line drawing from Final Painting, Fig.F36



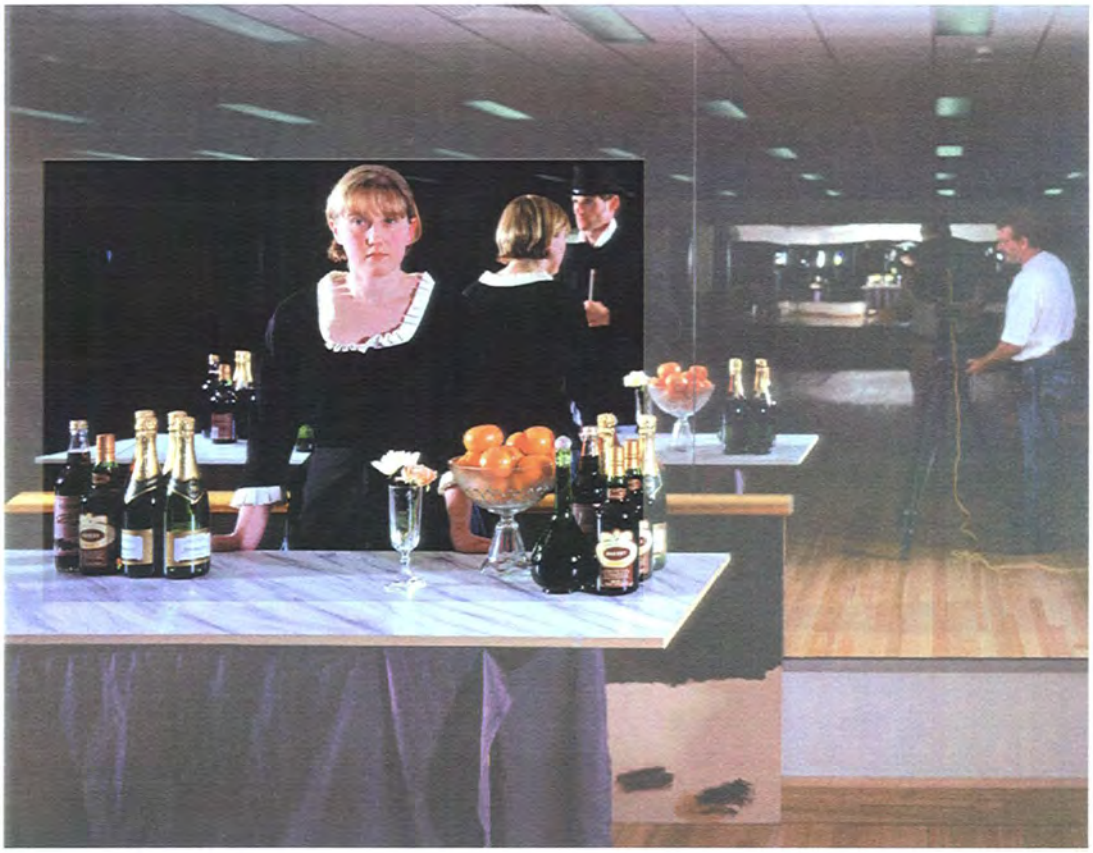
F44
Perspective, part-image 3: SP3, 1P-offset
Overlay: line drawing from Final Painting, Fig.F36



F45
Composite, part-images 1-3 – Final Painting format



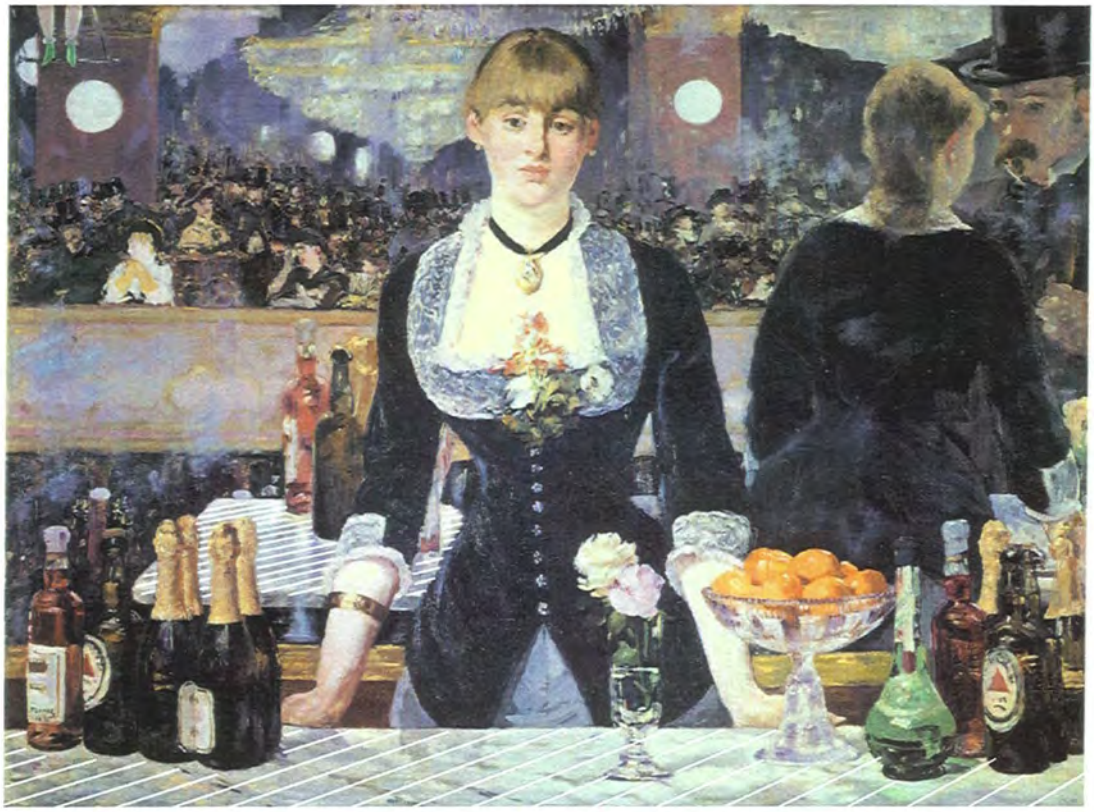
F46
Composite, Fig.F45 – Overlay: line drawing from Final Painting, Fig.F36



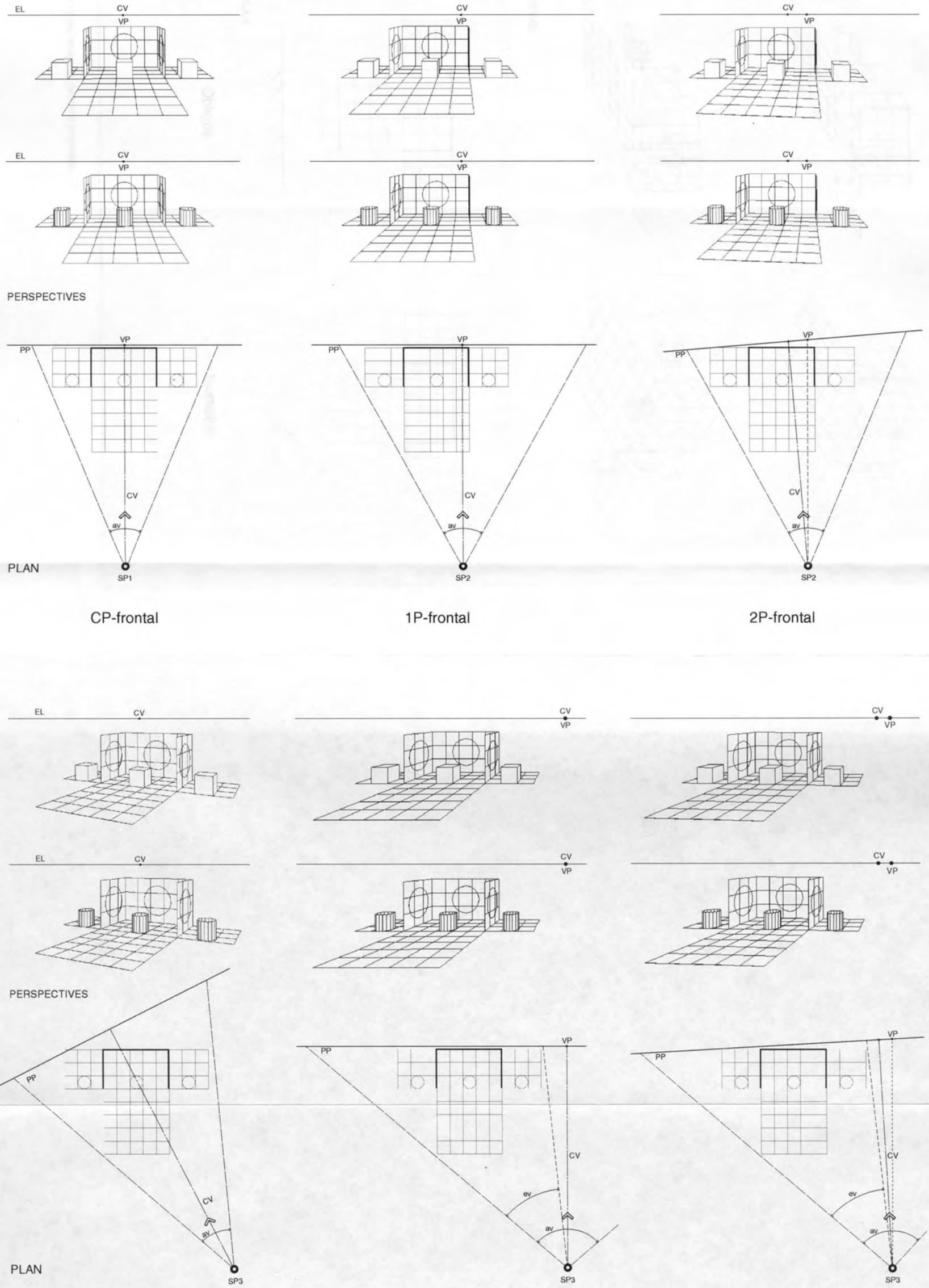
F47
Production setting: proposed bar arrangement for Final Painting – as SP3, 1P-offset, with marble figuring to bar top.
Photographed by Greg Callan, 2000

F48
Proposed bar arrangement for Final Painting – as SP3.1P-offset, with marble figuring to bar top.
Photographed by Greg Callan, 2000

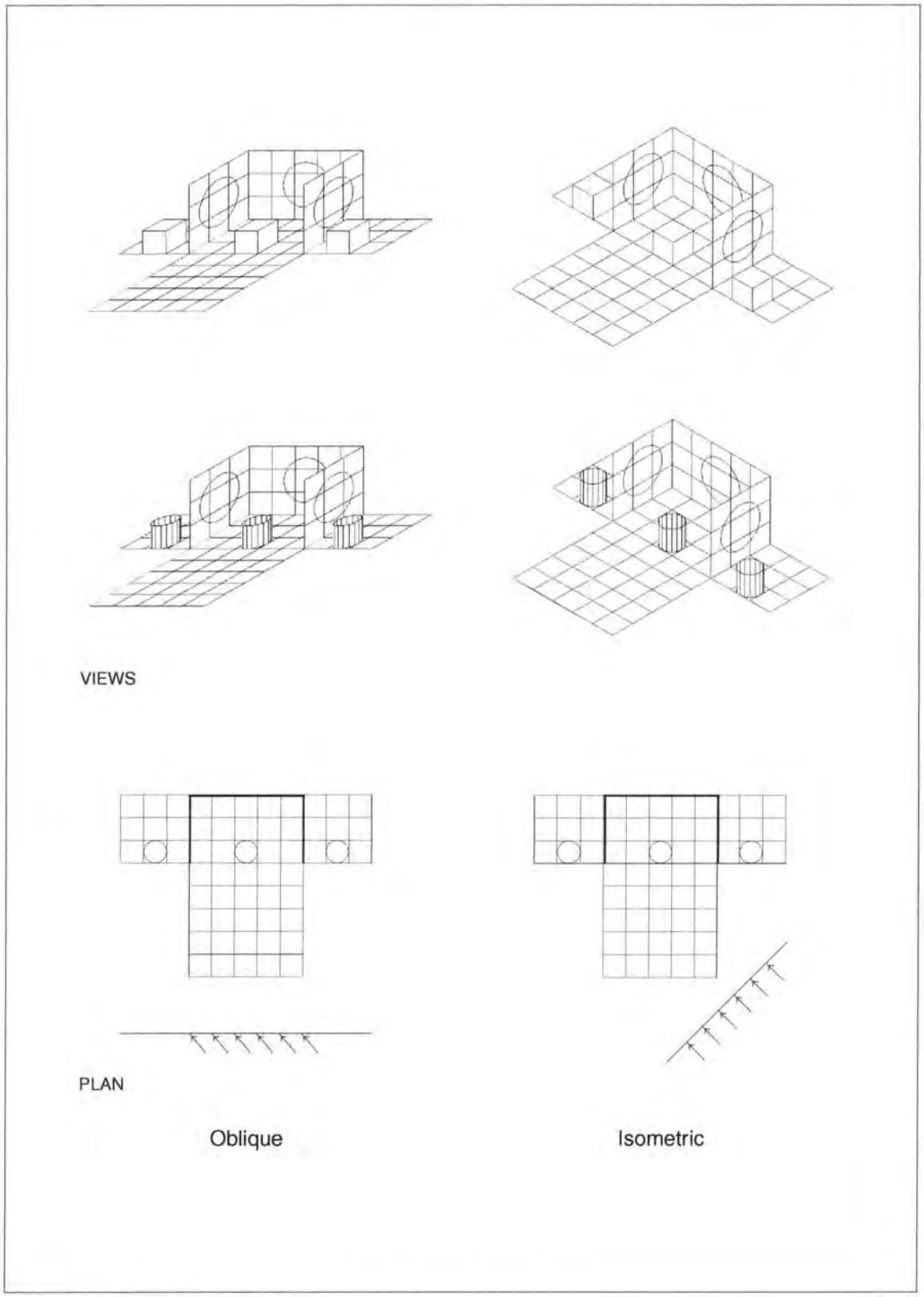
F49
Proposed bar arrangement for Final Painting – as SP3, 1P-offset, with lines in perspective to bar top.
Photographed by Greg Callan, 2000



F50
Final Painting – Overlay: lines in perspective on bar and reflected bar tops

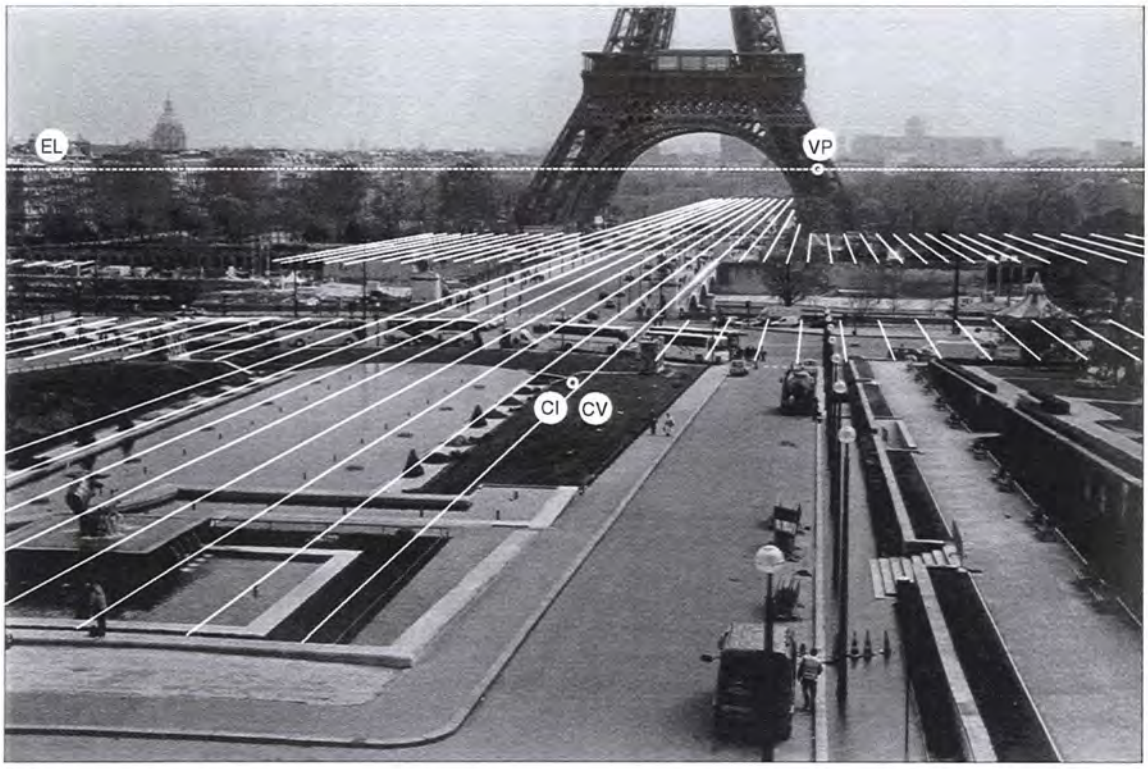


G1
Comparative spatial shaping: perspective projection



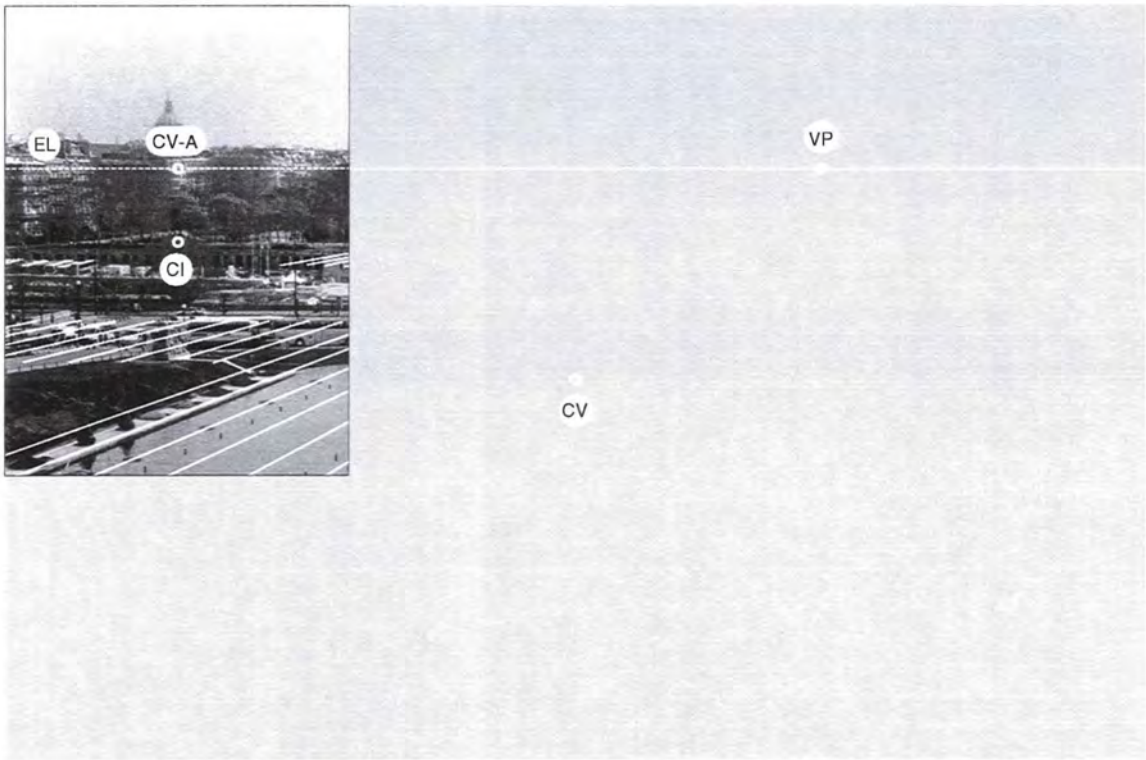
G2
Comparative spatial shaping: pictorial projection

G3
Julia McLaren, *View from Trocadéro*, 2000, photograph

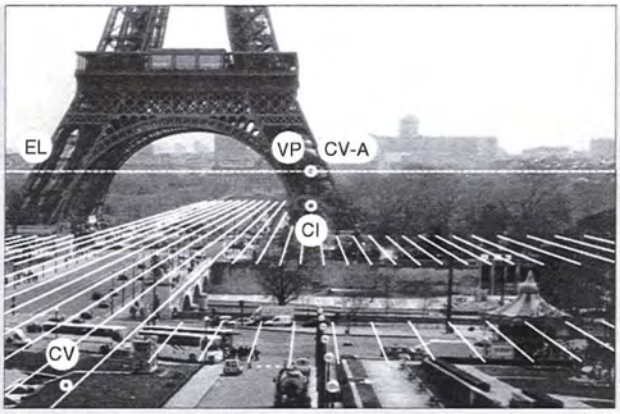


G3a
View from Trocadéro – spatial shaping, complete image

CI	Centre of image
CV	Centre of vision, complete image
EL	Eye level
VP	Vanishing point for horizontal lines parallel to Eiffel Tower axis



G3b
View from Trocadéro – spatial shaping, upper left part as fragment

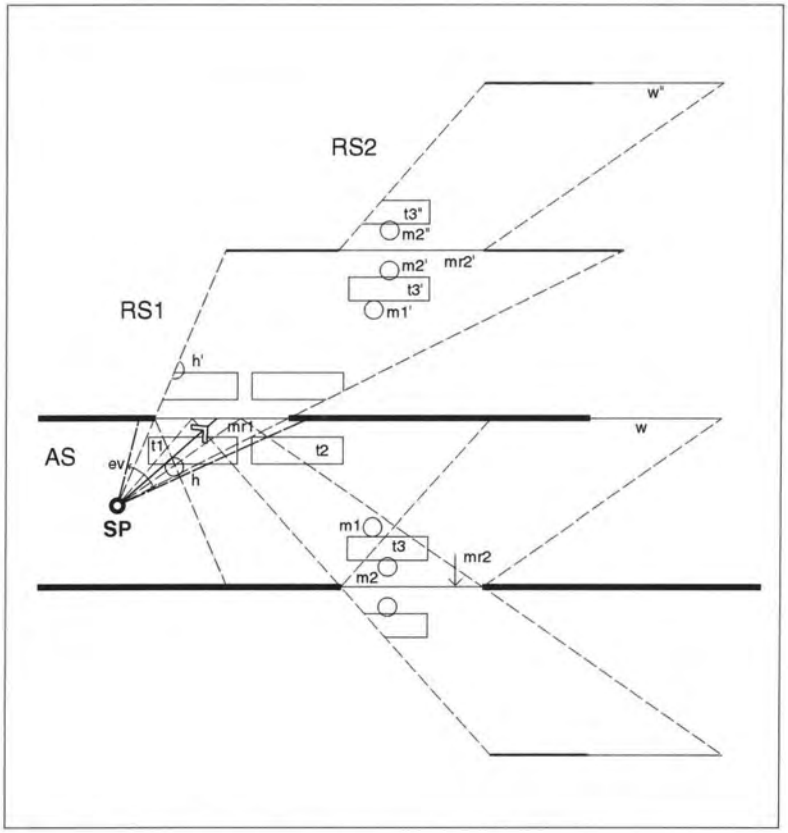


G3c
View from Trocadéro – spatial shaping, upper right part as fragment

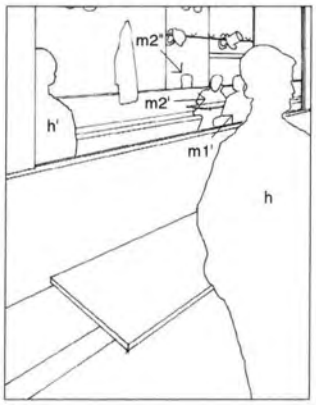
CI	Centre of image
CV	Centre of vision, complete image
CV-A	Apparent centre of vision, part image
EL	Eye level
VP	vVnishing point for horizontal lines parallel to Eiffel Tower axis

H2
Gustave Caillebotte, *Homme devant un miroir*, c.1880, graphite and charcoal drawing on paper

H1
Gustave Caillebotte, *Dans un café*, 1880

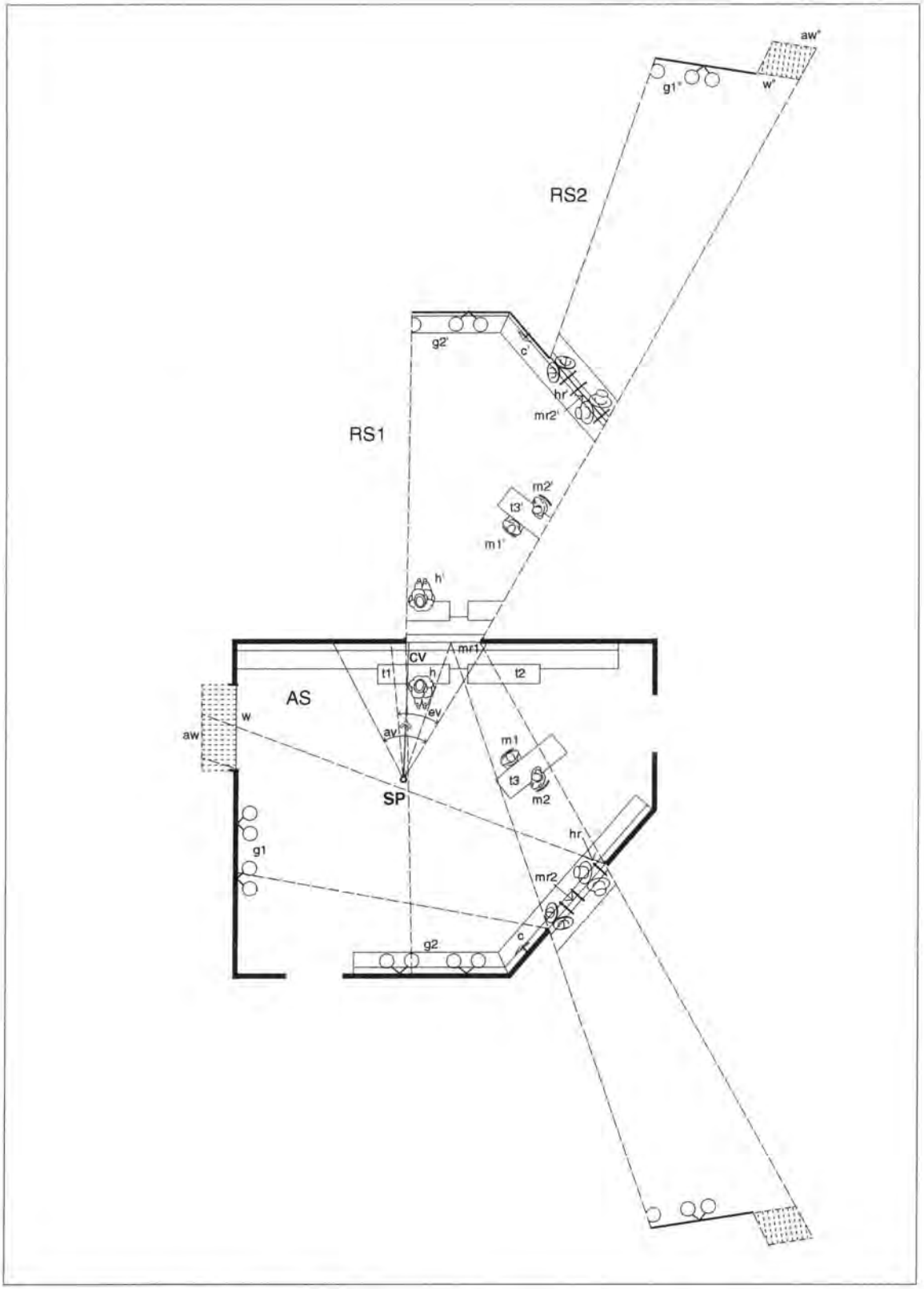


H3
Varnedoe proposal. Plan: actual, first-reflected, and second-reflected spaces



H4
Varnedoe proposal. Perspective: 2P-angled – Painting format
Drawing by author

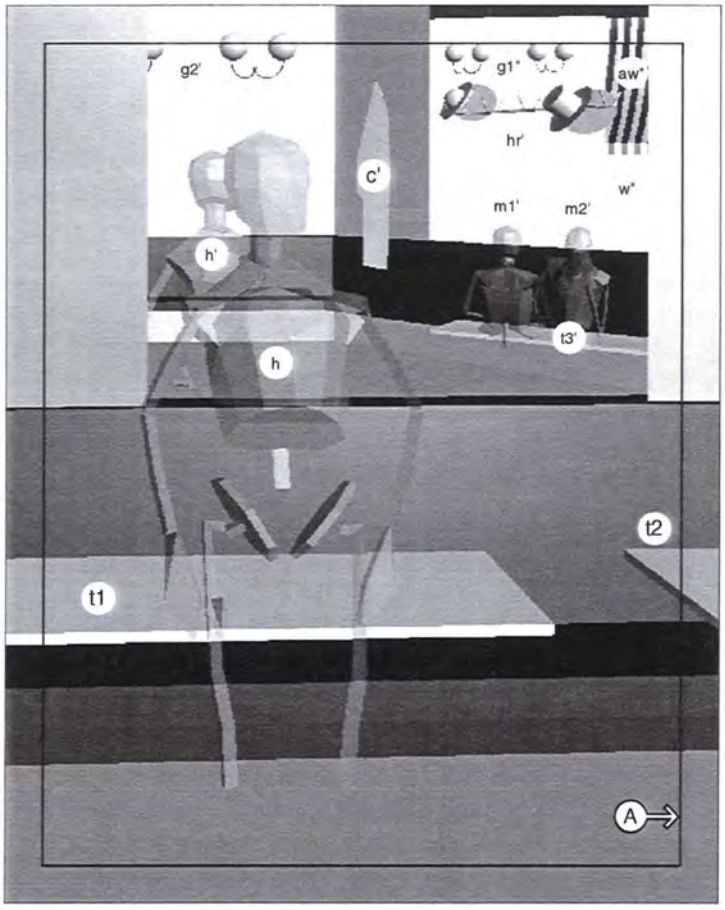
AS	Actual space
RS1	First reflected space
RS2	Second reflected space
SP	Station point
CV	Centre of vision
g	Group of lights
h	Standing habitué
hr	Hat rail
m	Seated man
mr	Mirror
t	Table
w	Window
ev	Extent of view



H5
Proposal by author. Plan: actual, first-reflected, and second-reflected spaces

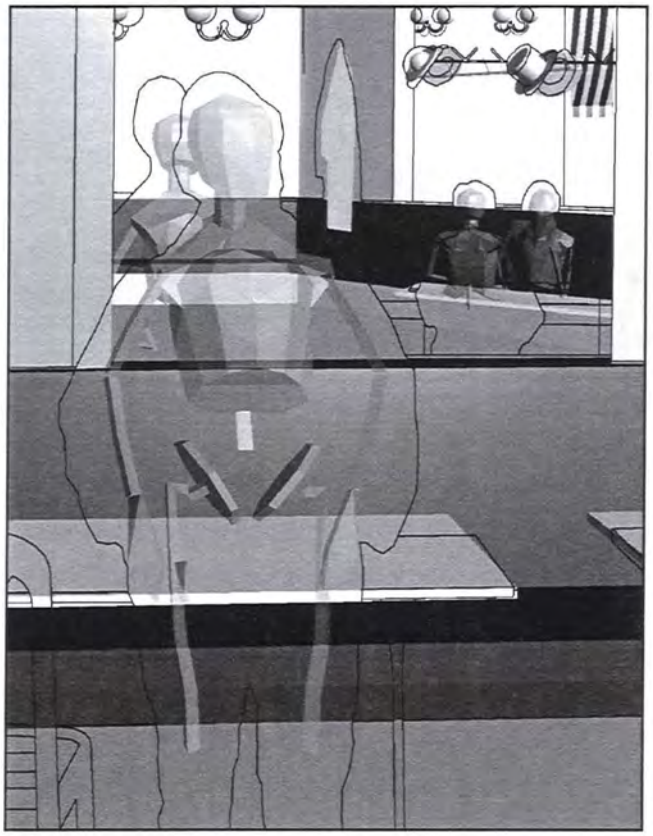
AS	Actual space	**h**	Standing habitué
RS1	First reflected space	**hr**	Hat rail
RS2	Second reflected space	**m**	Seated man
SP	Station point	**mr**	Mirror
CV	Centre of vision	**t**	Table
aw	Awning	**w**	Window
c	Coal	**av**	Angle of vision
g	Group of lights	**ev**	Extent of view

0 4m



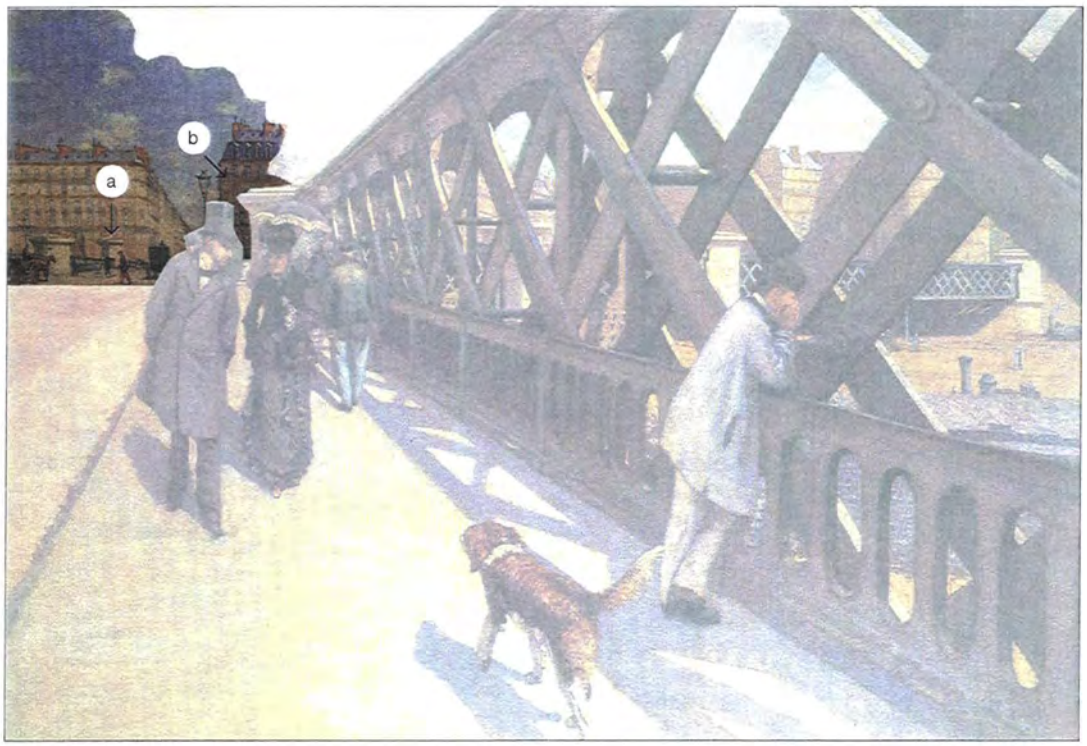
aw Awning
c Coat
g Group of lights
h Standing *habitué*
hr Hat rack
m Seated man
mr Mirror
t Table
w Window
A Painting format

H6
Proposal by author. Perspective: 2P-offset – Overlay: painting format



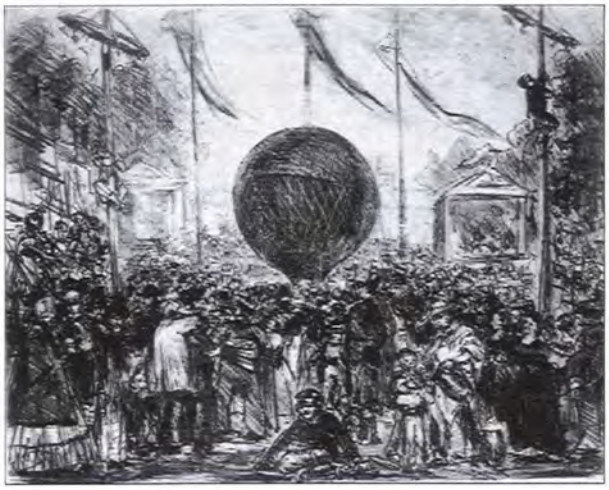
H7
Proposal by author. Perspective: 2P-offset
Overlay: line drawing from *Dans un café*

H8
Edouard Manet, *The Railway* – part of image reduced in scale

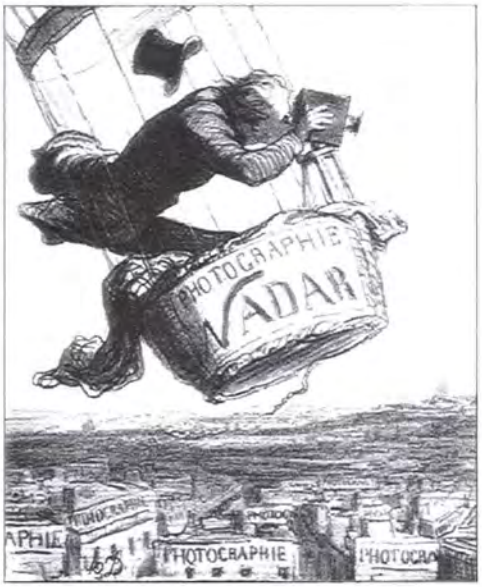


H9
Gustave Caillebotte, *Le Pont de l'Europe*, 1876 – part of image increased in scale

a Bridge pier
b No.2 Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg

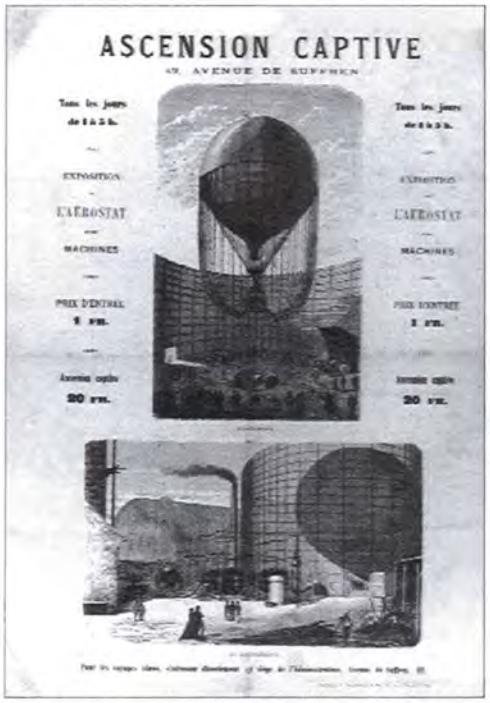


J1
Edouard Manet, *The Balloon*, 1862, lithograph

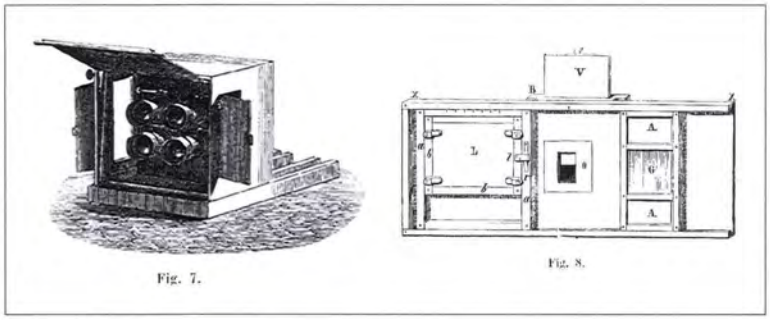


J2
Honoré Daumier, *NADAR élevant la Photographie à la hauteur de l'Art*, 1862, lithograph

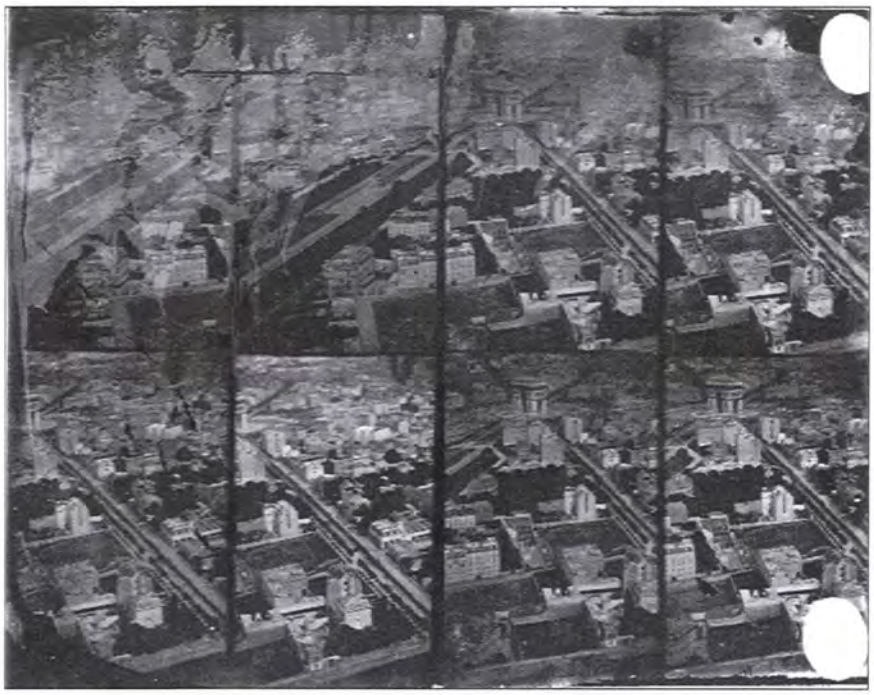
J3
E. Lamy, *Le Géant prior to ascent at Champ-de-Mars*, 18 October, 1863, 1863, photograph



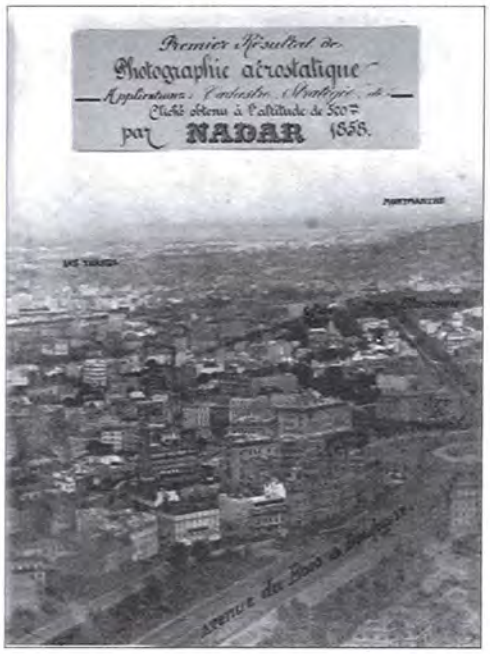
J4
Ascension captive: 42, Avenue de Suffren, L'Illustration, 1867. Advertisement for *the ballon captif*



J5
Disdéri, *Camera and frame for production of multiple images on one plate*, 1862, illustrations



J6
Nadar, *View of Paris from ballon captif above Hippodrome, Place d'Eylau*, 1868, photograph (contact print from collodion negative)



J7
Nadar, *Premier Résultat de Photographic aérostatique, par Nadar 1858*, 1868, photograph

J8
Anon., *View from balloon above Champs de Mars*, 1885, photograph