Elegant, aristocratic in demeanor, conservative, brisk, cutting at times, yet gentle, Edgar Degas is hardly the image of a revolutionary artist of the second half of the nineteenth century as some have tried to depict him. But within his conservatism, his deep respect for tradition, his reverence for the Old Masters, his careful description of his own art as realism, he was. Degas's revolution lies not in surface properties, but in the profound manner in which he transformed our way of looking at images, offering in his wide range of subject matter, from history to portraiture to all aspects of the theater, the opera, and the dance — oh, how he loved the performing arts — even to bathers and laundresses, an utterly different way of observing mankind. Degas once said of his bathers that they were drawn as if seen through a keyhole, and for us to examine one of these women crouched in a tub or combing her hair is to become a kind of dispassionate, benevolent voyeur. His statement implies something quick, something captured by the shutter of a camera. But Degas's work is not merely a frozen image. Essentially important to the understanding of this gifted realist is the knowledge that his finished paintings, drawings, prints, and sculptures are a deliberate refinement of what he had observed at the outset. That explains, in part, the serenity of his works and their universality.

No other museum, except the Louvre, could mount an exhibition comparable to *Degas in the Metropolitan*, which opens in late February. For the Degas holdings at the Metropolitan comprise an astonishing 176 works in all media. Some in this exhibition are relatively new to the collection, such as the remarkable pastel of the young girl at the bar, *The Dance Lesson*, an anonymous gift of 1971, the sketchbook, purchased in 1973, and the early drawing after Fra Angelico, purchased in the same year. Despite the fact that our Degas collection is truly monumental, owing particularly to the acumen and generosity of Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, Degas is one of the very few artists whose works we prefer to continue to acquire in order to achieve an even greater strength.

*Degas in the Metropolitan* has been marvelously created by Theodore Reff, Professor of Art History at Columbia University, who was assisted by Charles Moffett, Associate Curator of European Paintings. It has been made possible by a generous grant from The Shubert Foundation, Inc., and their interest in this master, one of the most sensitive and penetrating chroniclers of the performing arts. Complementing the exhibition, Professor Reff's essay in this *Bulletin* explores the intellectualism and originality of Degas's art, showing his fascination for ideas drawn from a great variety of artistic sources — contemporary and historical — and his ingenious adaptation of them into his own work.

Thomas Hoving
Director
What I do is the result of reflection and study of the old masters,” Degas once confessed. “Of inspiration, spontaneity, temperament I know nothing.” It was one of those startling confessions he enjoyed making without quite meaning it, one, moreover, that the realism and apparent informality of his art seemed to contradict. But just how literally he meant it, how much his realism was based on a thorough knowledge and ingenious use of other art, both recent and historical, European and Oriental, is only now becoming clear. The range of interests and sureness of taste that enabled him, in his later years, to form one of the most im-

DEGAS: A Master among Masters

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Adapted from the author’s collection of essays
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pressive collections of his time also led him, in his early and middle years, to copy and study intensively works representing almost every major style and to assimilate elements of them into his own work.

Throughout his career, but especially in its early phase, before he turned to modern urban subjects, Degas was haunted by the example of Ingres and Delacroix, whose portraits and narrative pictures he sought to equal. Around 1860, a time of romantic reaction against his neoclassical training, he turned enthusiastically to the dramatic, colorful art of Delacroix, evidently with the encouragement of Gustave Moreau, an older colleague. Among the numerous pictures by Delacroix that Degas copied in museums, galleries, and churches all over Paris was the monumental Entry of the Crusaders into Constantinople [3], painted twenty years earlier. In reproducing it on a greatly reduced scale [1], he sacrificed much of its carefully rendered historical and narrative detail, but he enhanced its vibrant color harmony, intensifying the touches of red, yellow, and blue, and transforming the ominous sky into a bright, sunny one. In doing so, Degas may have remembered the small, freely executed color sketches that Delacroix himself had painted, but he undoubtedly also had in mind the ambitious picture in which he would apply the lessons learned from Delacroix. This is The Daughter of Jephthah [2], an image of military triumph and civilian pathos like the Entry of the Crusaders, though here the victim is the returning hero’s daughter. The striking effect of the banners fluttering against the sky, which Degas exaggerated in his copy, is one he exploited at the left side of his own composition; and the warm color harmony of his picture, its glowing tones of reddish brown and golden yellow, and its sea green that reminded him of Delacroix were already anticipated in the coloring of his copy.
Having been trained by pupils of Ingres, Degas learned from the beginning to admire and copy the master's imposing religious and historical compositions, but he seems to have been more deeply influenced by his portraits. In the late 1850s Degas's style as a portraitist, although also affected by the Renaissance and baroque works he had studied in France and Italy, was based primarily on that of Ingres. His influence is especially apparent in the largest and most impressive of Degas's early portraits, The Bellelli Family [4], which depends on the type of domestic portrait, intimate yet clearly posed, that Ingres had perfected forty years earlier in such drawings as The Stamaty Family [6]. There is in both images the same emphasis on the subjects' dignity and prosperity, an effect enhanced in Degas's picture by the sober black and white costumes that his aunt Laure Bellelli and her daughters wear in mourning for a recently deceased relative. There is, moreover, in both works the same insistence on a precise, linear definition of form — the product, at least in Degas's painting, of countless preparatory studies, like the finely shaded drawing of his uncle Gennaro [5]. Yet the unconventional position in which his uncle is shown, seated with his back to the viewer and sharply separated from his wife and daughters, is one that does not occur in Ingres's more complacent pictures of domestic harmony, and it reveals a psychological acuity that distinguishes Degas from that master. Having lived with the Bellellis for several months, Degas perceived the emotional distance between husband and wife that his composition makes visible. To heighten this effect, he placed the somber, upright figure of his aunt against a flat wall broken only by a narrow doorway and rectangular picture frame, and set the lighter, more recessive figure of his uncle against a mantle surmounted by colorful objects and a mirror reflecting a chandelier and paintings.
aught,” as Paul Valéry would later put it, “between the commandments of ‘Monsieur’ Ingres and the exotic charms of Delacroix,” Degas sought in the early 1860s to create his own style by combining features of theirs. He was hardly alone in seeking such a synthesis; among others who had done so earlier were Gustave Moreau, who had initially led him from the one master to the other, and Théodore Chassériau, who in turn had led Moreau. But there was a special poignancy in Degas’s attempt, since it revealed, for perhaps the first time, the ambition to reconcile opposed yet equally attractive modes of vision that would continue to motivate him throughout his career. This ambition is already apparent in one of his earliest masterpieces, A Woman with Chrysanthemums (10), which was begun in 1858 and reworked in 1865, and which employs the two modes in the treatment of the figure and the still life. If the figure, and especially the preparatory study for it (7), is reminiscent in its linear definition and subtle modeling of Ingres’s late female portraits, such as the one of Mme Ingres drawn a decade earlier (8), the bouquet is just as clearly indebted in its brighter coloring and freer execution to Delacroix’s floral still lifes, some of which figured in a Paris sale in 1864 [see No. 9]. Yet there are differences between Degas’s work and those of his adopted masters, differences that define his own artistic personality. His flowers are painted in cooler, more delicate tones than Delacroix’s, with blue and white prevalent rather than red and pink, and his picture as a whole is more evenly illuminated, lacking the other’s dramatic contrasts. Similarly, Degas’s figure is drawn in a more subtle, complex style than Ingres’s, swifter and more strongly accented, responsive to nuances of color and feeling, and her gesture and glance are no longer conventional and flattering, but expressive of a tense, intelligent personality in a moment of distraction.
Besides providing stylistic or thematic models for his own pictures, copying for Degas, even in his maturity, continued to be a means of investigating the pictorial structure or technique of works he admired. This is particularly evident in the many copies he made in the 1860s after paintings by Renaissance and baroque masters. No longer content to reproduce a single figure or group in a precisely modeled drawing, as he had generally done a decade earlier, he tended now to duplicate a whole composition or a significant portion, working in oils and on a larger scale. Yet he was still attracted, as he had been in admiring Ingres and Delacroix, to styles of both a linear and a coloristic tendency. The classical side of his taste is seen in his copies after the seventeenth-century French masters Poussin and Le Sueur, whose Saint Paul Preaching at Ephesus [12], then in the Louvre, Degas reproduced in an impressive oil sketch [11]. In its sobriety and breadth of execution, its bold simplification of detail and clear articulation of planar structure, Degas’s copy seems more profoundly classical than its somewhat dryly literal model. In the same years, however, the romantic side of his taste manifested itself in several studies after the sixteenth-century Venetian artists Veronese, Tintoretto, and Giorgione; he reproduced a Holy Family then attributed to Giorgione [13] three times in whole or in part. His study of the poignant figure of Saint Catherine [14], framed on three sides by oddly cut fragments of the infant Christ, the donor, and Saint Sebastian, is at once expressive of a mood and prophetic of a type of design Degas would employ in his own compositions. But its primary purpose was to enable him to examine closely, on the same scale as the original, the famed Venetian technique of underpainting and glazing, a technique he imitated later in brilliant pastels in which superimposed layers of warm and cool chalk create similar effects of glowing color.
ow responsive to the most varied styles Degas had become by the late 1860s is shown in his portrait of James Tissot [15], a friend and fellow artist. The five pictures facing us in the background constitute a statement of Degas’s artistic interests during what is now recognized as a critical period of transition, not only for himself, but for others of his generation, among them Tissot. Yet only someone of Degas’s complexity could have painted images so different in subject and style or have juxtaposed them so deliberately. The handsomely framed portrait hanging near Tissot’s head, its features cleverly compared with his own, is a copy after a picture of Frederick the Wise by the German Renaissance master Cranach [18]. The horizontal scene of Japanese women in a garden imitates, in a shadowed, atmospheric European style, a color woodcut by one of the followers of Utamaro, such as Eishi’s Evening under the Murmuring Pines [16]. The unfinished canvas on the easel shows figures in contemporary dress seated outdoors in the manner of realist picnic scenes; one of them, a Luncheon on the Grass painted by Tissot around 1865 [19], may be the picture Degas had in mind. Recent realist art is also evoked by the canvas on the table behind Tissot; it, too, represents people in contemporary costume, here seated among tall trees or running between them. The larger picture behind the easel, a Finding of Moses, is based on the treatment of that subject in baroque art, such as the version by La Fosse then in the Louvre [17]. In bringing together these remarkably varied works, Degas asserted his belief in the relevance for his own art of distinctly different tendencies: the artificiality of Japanese prints and the naturalism of European paintings; the immediacy of contemporary genre scenes and the formality of traditional portraits; the sober, linear style of the Renaissance and the dramatic, colorful style of the baroque.
Among Degas’s contemporaries, it was the American expatriate Whistler, and not a French artist, who was the closest to him in his fiercely independent temperament and lofty conception of art. Their belief in the superiority of art to mere nature, whose "foolish sunsets" Whistler derided, runs like a leitmotif through their recorded statements. Thus, Whistler defining a Nocturne as "an arrangement of line, form, and color first," and Degas explaining that a picture is "an original combination of lines and tones which make themselves felt," were expressing a conviction that distinguished them from most of their Impressionist and Victorian colleagues. Their rejection of the crudeness of contemporary realism and cultivation of a more refined, consciously contrived art, often with musical subjects or analogies, and their admiration for the formal aspects of classical and Japanese art were additional links between them in the late 1860s. Hence it was a time when either might have influenced the other, and this is evidently what happened when Degas based the design of Mlle Fiocre in the Ballet from "La Source" [23] on Whistler’s recently completed Symphony in White, No. 3 [20], a picture whose exotic and musical qualities made it an appropriate source of inspiration. From the Symphony Degas seems to have derived not only the passive, meditative mood of the principal figures, one seated on a rock at the upper left, the other on the ground at the lower right, but the strong diagonal that both links and isolates them. Early in 1867 he made a notebook copy of the Symphony [21], which he may have seen in Paris at the home of Whistler’s brother; and the changes he introduced in copying it, apparently from memory, make it resemble his own composition — for which there is an early study in the same notebook [22] — still more closely, as if he already had Mlle Fiocre in mind.
In the circle of artists around Manet in the late 1860s, a group soon to exhibit as the Impressionists, only Manet himself was like Degas in his cultivated background and sophisticated form of realism. How close they were artistically is evident in the elegance and subtle refinement of their styles and in their shared interest in certain subjects: the race track, the café and café concert, the female bather, and the worldly portrait. Given these similarities, it was inevitable that they would at times influence each other. Thus, Degas’s Collector of Prints [26], painted in 1866, seems to have inspired the design as well as the conception of Manet’s portrait of Emile Zola [24] two years later. Surrounded by objects more vividly rendered than their own features and more revealing of their true interests, the subjects in both pictures sit beside tables covered with papers and books; and in both there is at the left a vertical form, a cabinet or a Japanese screen, and at the upper right a frame into which a variety of paper and fabric objects have been inserted. In Manet’s work, the photograph of his Olympia, the copy after Velázquez’s Drinkers, and the Japanese woodcut make a clear statement of his artistic interests and achievements. In Degas’s, the more numerous objects in the frame — envelopes, calling cards, portrait photographs, fragments of Japanese fabric — can be identified only as types, attesting to the collector’s fascination with even such trivial scraps of paper and cloth. The most conspicuous objects are the Japanese woven silks, which were originally used as pocketbook covers and were now admired in France for their workmanship and rare color harmonies. In designing his own arrangement of flat, piquantly silhouetted and colored shapes, Degas apparently imitated a pattern often found on those silks, one representing the scattered cards used in a popular Japanese game [25].
Degas's Violinist and Young Woman [28], a small, subtly painted picture of the early seventies, probably owes a double debt to Manet. It must have been at one of Mme Manet's musical soirées, which Degas and others in their circle attended, that he conceived of the subject, and in one of Manet's recent works, The Music Lesson [27], exhibited at the Salon of 1870, that he found inspiration for the composition, which likewise shows, side by side, a man playing a musical instrument and a woman holding a music album. But where the figures in The Music Lesson are, as Jean Boggs observes, "summarily rendered, frontally placed, and obvi-
ously posed with contrived gestures," those in the Violinist and Young Woman are cleverly contrasted: one is "fair, lightly dressed, slim, and sits tensely on the edge of her chair," while the other is "dark, heavy and at ease, and quietly tunes his violin." The borrowed grouping thus becomes, as so often in Degas's art, an occasion for subtle psychological analysis. In the two artists' café interiors, however, the influence may have gone the other way, for Degas's famous Absinthe [30] of 1876 predates Manet's At the Café [29], his earliest treatment of such a subject, by two years. Both capture a familiar urban mood of alienation, but the loneliness and sadness are more acutely felt in Degas's work. His figures, posed by two friends, the actress Ellen Andrée and the artist Marcellin Desboutin, are isolated in a corner of the café, rather than immersed in its boisterous activity, and absorbed in their private, absinthe-induced reveries, as Ellen Andrée's wistful expression [detail] makes so clear; behind them, their shadows loom as dark shapes against the café's luminous mirror, heightening the gloom in which they seem to be shrouded.
With Manet, Renoir, and other artists in their circle, with the Goncourt brothers, authors of the pioneering *Art of the Eighteenth Century*, Degas participated in the revival of interest in the rococo, which, although begun earlier in the century, reached its climax between 1850 and 1870. His father, a cultivated banker of the old bourgeoisie, was acquainted with outstanding collectors of eighteenth-century art and had in his own collection several of La Tour’s pastels, which Degas inherited. Degas, too, admired the psychological penetration and technical accomplishment of La Tour, as is evident from the memoirs of his friends and relatives and above all from his pastel portraits. That of his cousin Estelle Musson [34] is reminiscent of La Tour’s brilliantly executed portraits [see No. 33], which Degas had studied in the museum at Saint Quentin, in its frank, engaging expression and its light, almost transparent tones. Applied swiftly, with broad diagonal strokes that allow the tan paper to show through, the delicate shades of reddish brown, beige, and yellow create in both an effect of great freshness and charm. Equally reminiscent of a familiar rococo idiom, here Watteau’s masterful use of red and black heightened with white, is Degas’s sketch of Mme Lisle [31], whom he met in Manet’s home in the late 1860s. Compared with Watteau’s study for Mezzetin [32], Degas’s drawing is more cautious and linear in style, the colors more smoothly blended and the outlines more firmly incised; yet in its reliance on a few major tones, one of them the beige of the untouched paper, and its subtle combination of these to create an impression of fullness of color, it clearly speaks the same pictorial language.
Study nocturnal effects a great deal, lamps, candles, etc. This area of art can become very important today,” Degas wrote in a notebook about 1869. Nowhere was he as successful in depicting artificial light as in the picture of domestic drama, once called The Rape and now innocently entitled Interior [35], that he painted at that time. The effect of the faintly glowing fire and vividly incandescent lamp is striking in its unexpected reversals. Placed near the center of the room, the lamp casts a brilliant light on the woman’s back and head, yet leaves her features mysteriously shaded; projects deep, disturbing shadows around the man, yet picks out the whites of his collar and cuff; and by a similar visual paradox thrusts the banal sewing box and bed into prominence. By the late 1860s, however, such effects were not unusual in contemporary art. Monet’s picture of the dining room of his house in Normandy, with his family and friends at dinner [36], shows a remarkably similar treatment of artificial light. Here, too, the feeble glow of a fire is overpowered by a lamp placed near the center of the room, and its concentrated light illuminates certain forms, while casting others into deep shadow. At this time Degas was also in contact with a current in recent English art concerned with the kind of tense, ambiguously erotic theme he treated in Interior; and its influence on him is unmistakable. Particularly relevant is Augustus Egg’s triptych Past and Present, the first panel of which [37] depicts the confrontation between a despairing wife, who has been unfaithful, and an embittered husband, who foresees the tragic consequences (shown in the other panels). The design of Egg’s picture is altogether different from Degas’s, but the subtle portrayal of the figures’ feelings in their faces and postures, the realistic description of the setting, and the banal details that only heighten the mood of tragedy are all respects in which they are alike.
One of the most intriguing examples of Degas's interest in Victorian art around 1870 is a small picture generally called Sulkimg and occasionally The Banker [39], which seems to waver between the kind of narrative episode implied by the first title and the kind of modern genre scene implied by the second. The two figures' postures and expressions, their relation to each other, even their commercial setting, are both suggestive and ambiguous, very much as in contemporary pictures by Millais, Egg, and other English artists. This ambiguity extends to the steeplechase picture behind them, which appears to offer a clue to the meaning of their brooding attitudes, as it would in a Victorian narrative painting, but which is probably no more than an appropriate element in the decoration of a banker's office. It, too, reveals an interest in English art, for it is copied from a color engraving of 1847, entitled Steeple Chase Cracks [40], by J. F. Herring, the most famous master of this genre. Degas's version is simplified and atmospheric and lacks the clear, bright colors of the original, but its derivation is unmistakable. The racing print may well have belonged to him, since he also used the galloping horse and jockey in the lower right corner as a model for the one in the foreground of The False Start [41], a work contemporary with Sulkimg; and here the bright red, yellow, and blue accents of the print do recur. Degas's conception of Sulkimg as an image of an exceptional moment, charged with anticipation and tension, looks back not only to Victorian pictures, but to Rembrandt's Syndics of the Cloth Guild [38], which also represents a business meeting that we seem to have interrupted, one figure turning in virtually the same way to challenge us, and also has another picture in the background.
characteristically, Degas seems to have begun his investigation of race horses around 1859 not at Longchamp, but in the Luxembourg Museum, where he copied all the equestrian pictures by Géricault then on view, and in the Bibliothèque Royale, where he sketched details of horses, jockeys, and carriages from lithographs by Alfred De Dreux. Later he continued to draw on similar sources, using horses he had taken from a battle scene by Meissonier, a specialist in the representation of such subjects, in a race-track picture. On several occasions between 1864 and 1872, he drew from Meissonier’s recently completed Napoleon III at the Battle of Solferino some of the mounted officers observing the engagement, shown in the detail at the right. One of these drawings, of a group at the left edge of the composition, reflects Degas’s taste for incomplete, marginal forms; the others are of larger, more conspicuous horsemen in the center foreground. All are rendered in exceptional detail, as if Degas wished to rival the extreme surface realism that was Meissonier’s hallmark, and one drawing does equal its model in this respect. It was this figure, one he had copied repeatedly, that Degas used around 1872 as a source for the horse and jockey at the far left in Race Horses before the Reviewing Stands, where he reproduced its silhouette and markings closely, though in reverse. He also used his drawing of the officer on a white horse as a basis for the mounted jockey at the far right. And both here and in other works of the same period, Meissonier’s influence is apparent in the small scale of the figures outlined against a low horizon, their placement in side and back views, and the fine definition of their forms.
More responsive than his Impressionist colleagues to forms of realism other than their own, Degas admired and learned from not only the fashionable Salon artists Meissonier and Tissot and the Victorian masters Herring and Millais, but also the leading German painter of urban life, Adolf Menzel. Personally acquainted with Menzel, who visited Paris for three of its World’s Fairs, where his works were exhibited, Degas was impressed by his forceful treatment of modern industry and society. In The Ballet from “Robert le Diable” [46], Degas adopted the same detached and essentially pictorial view of the theater that Menzel had chosen in his Memories of the Théâtre Gymnase [47 and detail], painted in 1856, almost twenty years earlier. Degas’s coolly understated study of the orchestra and audience, and of the actors transfigured by artificial illumination, is indeed far closer to Menzel’s than it is to the more romantic theater scenes of Daumier, which dwell on the stage action’s dramatic import or the spectators’ passionate involvement. Therefore it is not surprising that when an important recent work by Menzel was shown in Paris in 1879, Degas was so struck by it that he painted a copy from memory. In the German artist’s Supper at the Ball [49], an ambitious chronicle of contemporary Berlin social life, Degas is reported by Pissarro to have admired the “careful studies of particular types,” but this admiration is hardly evident in his broadly executed copy [48]. Ignoring the meticulous realism of the original, the patient attention to details of costume and setting, he seized on the painting’s pictorial structure and simplified it further, dividing the surface horizontally into two distinct zones, the upper of them into evenly spaced arches. In coloring, too, his version is simpler and more robust, its vivid patches of green, red, yellow and blue replacing the pale or faded tones of the Menzel.
The close interaction that characterized Degas’s relation to Manet around 1870 recurred, at least in sculpture, in Degas’s relation to Gauguin a decade later. At the Impressionist exhibition of 1879, Degas showed Project for Portraits in a Frieze[50], in which he adroitly juxtaposed three women in modern dress in contrasting poses, as if they were seen waiting in line for a bus. He also depicted Ellen Andrée, the woman at the right, in an etching that showed her alone, facing in the opposite direction. Meanwhile Gauguin, who was at this time virtually Degas’s protégé, drew inspiration from the Project. His carved wood statuette The Little Parisian[51], exhibited with the Impressionists in 1881, combined features of Ellen Andrée and the unidentified woman at the left, whose action of leaning on her umbrella evidently inspired the unusual positions of the Little Parisian’s arms. The sight of Gauguin’s statuette, whose urban genre subject was rare in contemporary sculpture and earned the critic J.-K. Huysmans’s praise, probably stimulated Degas to model one of his own the following year, using his earlier image of Ellen Andrée as a point of departure. His Schoolgirl[52], looking up from under her hat with the same assertive tilt of her head, and holding a bookbag just as Ellen Andrée holds a package, is so similar that the derivation seems unmistakable. Yet in this transformation from one medium to another, the example of Gauguin’s sculpture was undoubtedly of equal importance. Nor was it the only instance of their interaction: Degas copied Gauguin’s Bust of Clovis in the Impressionist show of 1882 and recalled it in modeling a bust of Hortense Valpinçon two years later, and Gauguin reproduced several dancers from one of Degas’s ballet rehearsal pictures in his Box with Carved Reliefs of 1884.
Less well known than Degas’s admiration for Ingres and Delacroix is the importance he attached to Daumier, about whom he wrote and said little. Yet on one occasion he was quite explicit in ranking Daumier with the other two, defiantly informing the academic painter Gérôme that “there have been three great draftsmen in the nineteenth century: Ingres, Delacroix, and Daumier!” Daumier’s influence on Degas is apparent in the many scenes of urban labor and pleasure that both artists treated, particularly those including laundresses, musicians, café singers, and collectors. Probably inspired by the Laundress shown at the Daumier retrospective exhibition in 1878 [54] is one that Degas painted some four years later [56]. Although an image of skilled labor rather than human hardship, it is similar in design: here, too, the woman is depicted as a dark, curved form silhouetted against light, generally rectangular shapes, and she bends far to the left, her face an anonymous, shadowy profile. Similarly, Degas found in Daumier’s interpretation of the café concert, a distinctly popular form of entertainment, inspiration for the somewhat satirical content as well as the striking pictorial form seen in his own compositions. The faces of the lower-class audience and musicians in The Café Concert at Les Ambassadeurs [55] reveal a coarseness reminiscent of the beer-drinking workers and clerks in Daumier’s print At the Champs Elysées [55], just as the bold division of the surface into two zones, one dominated by heavy, somber shapes, the other by light, delicate ones, is similar to it in composition. There are also obvious affinities between Daumier’s lithographs of singers making their debuts at the Opera (their mothers waiting nervously in the wings) and Degas’s monotypes of similar subjects.
Long after Degas had abandoned historical subjects for modern ones, he continued to follow Ingres's example in portraiture, the least dated aspect of his oeuvre. Thus, to take two well-known drawings in the Metropolitan Museum, Degas's study for his portrait of the writer Edmond Duranty [60], dated 1879, although more natural and informal in conception than Ingres's study for his imposing portrait of the publisher Louis-François Bertin [61] of 1832, is remarkably similar in its penetrating analysis of gesture and expression and its combination of delicate modeling and swift, incisive lines. But if the mature Degas could still find the personal and realistic aspects of Ingres's art, as seen in the drawings and portraits, relevant to his own, he could only parody the public and stiffly formal aspects seen in the religious and mythological compositions. This he did in an amusing photograph he arranged and had taken in front of a summer house at Dieppe in 1885 [57], showing himself as the solemn protagonist of Ingres's masterpiece of 1827, The Apotheosis of Homer [59], and some young friends as muses and reverent choirboys. Twenty-five years earlier, however, he had taken that work seriously enough to copy several of its figures, among them the nobly poised Apelles in the group of painters and poets at the left side [58], reproducing its classical drapery in strongly contrasted light and dark. Even now, Ingres's conception of form remained so deeply ingrained in him that he judged his parody in terms of it, regretting the looseness of design and loss of definition: “My three muses and my two choir children ought to have been grouped against a white or light background,” he wrote in sending a friend the photograph. “The forms of the women in particular are lost. The figures ought also to have been compressed more.”
Unlike Ingres’s influence, which continued to be felt in Degas’s work, at least in portraiture, that of Delacroix seems to have declined in the late sixties and seventies, probably because Degas’s style was then at its most soberly realistic and subtly refined. But when, toward the end of this period, it began to become bolder in execution, brighter and more complex in coloring, Delacroix’s art once again seemed relevant. His importance for Degas was evident at once to the critic Huysmans, who, in reviewing the Impressionist exhibition of 1880, asserted that “no other painter, after Delacroix, whom he has studied closely and who is his true master, has understood as M. Degas has the marriage and adultery of colors.” One of the studies Huysmans may have had in mind is the copy [62] that Degas made in that year of Delacroix’s oil sketch for The Battle of Poitiers [63], painted fifty years earlier. Working from memory, after seeing the sketch at a dealer’s gallery, he carried the process of simplification already apparent in it still further, reducing the representational elements so drastically that they create an almost abstract pattern of large, blurred spots of red, reddish brown, and greenish brown. If the same degree of freedom is not found in Degas’s own works in these years, they do exhibit the same tendency in color and touch and even the same kind of composition at times, especially in scenes, like Delacroix’s, of horsemen in an open landscape. The most striking example is Gentlemen’s Race: Before the Start [64], which Degas painted in 1862 but largely reworked about 1880, evidently with Delacroix’s Battle of Poitiers sketch in mind. For Gentlemen’s Race bears a close resemblance to that sketch, not only in its placement of the horsemen below the horizon, but in its summary treatment of the distant forms and its color harmony dominated by vivid spots of red and yellow against a green and brown ground.
After having drawn for twenty years on the conventional image of the horse in English sporting prints, Géricault's equestrian pictures, and Meissonier's battle scenes, Degas must have been amazed to discover, as Meissonier himself was, that in many respects that image was wrong. The publication of Muybridge's instantaneous photographs of horses in rapid movement — first in periodicals such as *La Nature*, which Degas noted in a sketchbook, then more comprehensively in the multi-volume *Animal Locomotion* in 1887 — revealed for the first time what such movements actually looked like. Almost at once Degas began to copy some of the plates in Muybridge [66], even including the grids in their backgrounds [65]. But he also altered them slightly, simplifying the silhouette, adjusting the intervals between forms, transforming the image into a more comprehensible, even a more convincing statement. This process he carried still further in paintings and pastels, and above all in sculptures, in which he incorporated types taken directly from *Animal Locomotion*. His Horse Trotting [67], although based on the copy after Muybridge illustrated here, expresses a greater sense of alertness and tension, through the raised position of the head and neck. Similarly, his statuette Horse Galloping [69] appears, when compared to the corresponding plate in *Animal Locomotion* [68, upper right], a more dynamic representation of movement, in which the tail is raised, the head and neck thrust forward, and the entire body extended horizontally. As Valéry, the first to discuss Degas's use of photographs, later observed, he tried "to combine the snapshot with the endless labor of the studio... the instantaneous given enduring quality by the patience of intense meditation."
Like many French artists of his day, Degas admired and collected Japanese prints and learned much from their novel designs and fresh color harmonies. In his portrait of Tissot [15], painted about 1867, he was one of the first to reproduce or imitate a type of print that was just beginning to appear in Paris. Later he avoided such direct imitation and sought instead to see his Parisian subjects through the eyes of a Japanese artist, alert to the expressive possibilities of the unfamiliar point of view or the oddly framed or intercepted form. How much visual wit Degas could discover in this manner is shown by the two pictures of the early 1880s illustrated here. In his pastel At the Milliner’s [70], as in Utamaro’s The Artist Kitao Masanobu Relaxing at a Party [72], the tall, vertical frame juts sharply into space, overlapping the figures seen behind it in such a way that they appear sliced in two — and in the case of Degas’s salesgirl, amusingly disconnected from the hat she is holding. In his painting Dancers in the Rehearsal Room [71], as in Hiroshige’s Changing Horses and Porters at Fujieda [73], the awkward, straining figures, cleverly juxtaposed to inanimate objects — a double bass in one, packing cases in the other — are seen from a viewpoint so high that they create against the steeply rising ground a pattern of overlapping shapes, which the spectator at first finds difficult to read. In their coloring, however, these works have little in common: it was not from Hiroshige, who employed clear, shadowless tones throughout, but rather from seventeenth-century masters such as Velázquez, that Degas learned to combine somber greens and browns with luminous whites in representing an interior so dramatically illuminated. On the other hand, he may have learned from Utamaro how to silhouette his figures against large, unbroken areas of bright color, as he does so effectively in At the Milliner’s.
This apparently simple scene of visitors in the Louvre’s Etruscan gallery [74], an etching with aquatint that Degas made around 1880, is in fact a sophisticated portrait of his friend and pupil Mary Cassatt and her sister Lydia. Its effectiveness in evoking their personalities depends not so much on their expressions, which are hidden or ambiguous, as on the expressiveness of their postures and the silhouettes that these produce against the floor and the glass cases. Although probably inspired by the piquant flattening of shapes in Japanese prints — and the figure from Hokusai’s Manga illustrated here [76] is so strikingly similar that it may be considered a direct source — the shrewdly contrasted silhouettes of the two women are fundamentally European in their revelation of personality. As Frederick Sweet has noted, Mary Cassatt’s “slender, erect figure, neatly tailored, and her crisply furled umbrella all convey to us something of [her] tense, energetic character.” But the background, too, plays its part: the husband and wife reclining on the Etruscan sarcophagus, still displayed today [75] as it was then, appear to turn toward, and the husband to beckon toward, the seated Lydia Cassatt, who seems to look up from her guidebook to meet their glances, while Mary faces them directly. In effect, Degas’s image is a witty modern equivalent of the older one, popular in late medieval art, in which three living persons come upon three dead ones at a crossroads. His choice of the sarcophagus is also interesting, for it reveals a taste for Etruscan art, and archaic art generally, which was advanced for the time. The first modern study of Etruscan civilization had appeared only three years earlier, and as late as 1892 this sarcophagus was described in a popular guidebook as “a strange work, at once refined and barbarous.”
Unlike his Impressionist colleagues, Degas considered landscape an inferior genre, one that encouraged the shallow, merely naturalistic art he deplored. "A young man is set in the middle of a field and told, 'Paint.' And he paints a sincere farm. It’s idiotic." Yet he was too much a man of the nineteenth century not to be affected by its cult of nature, and more often than is generally thought he, too, found in it a source of inspiration. Far from being faithful descriptions of particular places and times in the spirit of Impressionism, however, his landscapes are generalized images, recreated from memory and pervaded by a lonely, wistful, often melancholy mood. In this way they are closer to northern romanticism and especially to Turner, whose works of the 1830s and 40s, which were known and admired in Paris, often convey a similar mood. Thus Turner’s Norham Castle, Sunrise [78], done from memory like the monotypes Degas printed and reworked in pastel after a trip through Burgundy in 1892 [see No. 77], evokes the same vast space and stillness, the same misty blurring of distant forms, though his opalescent colors and delicate execution lack the strength and directness of Degas’s. An affinity with modern English art, in this case Whistler’s, is also evident in the pastel seascapes Degas drew along the Channel coast in the late 1860s. Small in scale, subtle and filmy in color and touch, poetic in mood, the one illustrated here [79] is remarkably like contemporary seascapes by Whistler such as the Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville [80]. In both, moreover, the division of the surface into two or three luminous zones, elemental in their simplicity, reflects a fundamentally intellectual conception of art, as something independent of nature and ultimately superior to it, that forms still another link between them.
If Rembrandt had known about lithography,” Degas liked to say, “Heaven alone knows what he might have made of it.” He was alluding, no doubt, to the older artist’s masterful use of light and shade to create effects of drama, mystery, or intimacy, effects that Degas himself captured repeatedly in his etchings and lithographs and, above all, in his monotypes (unique impressions pulled from designs made with printer’s ink on glass or metal plates). Some of his monotypes seem to have been inspired by Rembrandt’s late etchings. In The Reader [85], one of a series of the 1880s showing nude women in awkward, erotically suggestive positions, as if, as Degas once said, they were “seen through a keyhole,” he achieved much the same mysterious mood, the same pervasive darkness relieved by brief flashes of light as in Rembrandt’s Negress Lying Down [84]. From the beginning of his career, Degas admired the technical skill and psychological penetration of Rembrandt’s portraits, evidently having been introduced to them by Joseph Tourny, an older colleague who was trained as an engraver. Degas seems to have acknowledged this influence, as well as his admiration for Rembrandt, by basing his etched portrait of Tourny [81] of 1857 on Rembrandt’s Young Man in a Velvet Cap [82], an etching he also copied at the time. The two images are so similar in conception and design, and even in costume, that some such allusion must have been intended. Later, though how much later is not known, Degas reworked the same plate and inked it more heavily and irregularly before pulling a few trial proofs [see No. 83], thus producing a somber, introspective effect that is more profoundly reminiscent of Rembrandt. Interestingly, this technique also resembles that of the monotypes with which he began experimenting around 1875, and may be seen as an approach to them.
The so-called secrets of the Venetians, the methods of underpainting and glazing whereby they achieved subtle, glowing colors, preoccupied Degas toward the end of his life. In seeking to obtain similar effects, based on the interaction of warm and cool tones at different levels of the color structure, he sometimes applied a nearly monochromatic blue or green and brushed loosely over it an orange or yellow, as in the skirts of the Four Dancers Waiting in the Wings [89]. In the mistaken belief that the Paduan artist Mantegna, too, had used this method, he had Ernest Rouart, a pupil of his around 1897, copy Mantegna’s Virtues Victorious over the Vices in the Louvre [88] by underpainting in earth green and, when this did not seem bright enough, in apple green, and then glazing in red and orange. The results were, of course, disastrous, for as the young Rouart himself realized, “he had some novel ideas about how the old masters worked, and wanted me to make the copy according to a technique he had thought up, which was much closer to that of the Venetians than to that of Mantegna.” Ironically, Degas’s own copy of the Virtues Victorious [87], which he began at the same time, working in his studio from a photograph, was drawn directly on a tan canvas in charcoal and brown chalk heightened with white. Yet the influence of the Mantegna is evident in the coloring of the Four Dancers, which is likewise based on a harmony of green, tan, yellow, and orange with accents of red and blue, and also dates from around 1897. It is instructive to compare Degas’s copy of the Virtues Victorious with one he drew in pencil some forty years earlier [86], in which he concentrated on the sculptural definition of a single figure rather than the pictorial structure of the whole. Such a comparison sums up concisely the profound changes that had occurred in his own art and in his attitude toward the art of the past.
When, toward the end of his life, Degas’s financial success enabled him at least partly to satisfy his desire to own works by the artists he had long admired and studied, he formed a collection of remarkable quality and diversity. Responsive to many genres and styles, and guided only by his infallible taste, he delighted equally in Manet’s earthy Still Life with Ham [90] and El Greco’s visionary Saint Ildefonso [91], Kiyonaga’s delicately erotic Bath House Scene [92] and Gauguin’s brilliantly exotic Day of the God [93], Ingres’s and Perronneau’s stiff, aristocratic portraits [94, 96] and Delacroix’s informal, realistic interior [95].