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Reinterpreting Gendered Spaces of Modernity in the Portraits of a Violinist

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Reflective Essay

In continuing to research the cultural and historical intersections of music and art I have dedicated my honors thesis for the Department of the History of Art and Architecture to a lesser known series of paintings by Berthe Morisot, one of the only female Impressionist painters of the nineteenth-century. These portraits depict Morisot's only daughter, Julie Manet, playing the violin. As an active female violinist myself I have become accustomed to portrait etchings of violinists found in my copies of musical scores. My initial intention was to understand how violinists were portrayed in the context of sociohistorical nineteenth-century French painting. Beginning in Fall 2019, I utilized the UCSB Library online database to find any literature on French paintings of violinists. Peter A. Wick's article "Degas' Violinist" (*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, 1959) provided me with an intriguing start, guiding me on how I was to analyze each painting (encouraging me to use my own knowledge of violin technique) and providing me a perspective on the facets of nineteenth-century social history I needed to consider including religion, class, and race. However, after utilizing ARTstor to collect a portfolio of paintings depicting violinists from Ingres, Delacroix, Courbet, Renoir, Manet, Bouguereau, to Degas, I realized there was one set of paintings that stood out. Those were the only images of an identifiable female violinist, painted by the only female artist in my list of images -- Berthe Morisot. Narrowing down my thesis to a feminist review of the consequences of a woman artist depicting a female violinist in nineteenth-century France revealed a complex art historical narrative that had previously not been investigated.

The Impressionist oeuvre has yet to tire the imaginations of contemporary audiences or the pens of art history scholars. My research analyzes four paintings of Berthe Morisot's only daughter Julie Manet playing the violin, posing questions about gender politics and violin performance, the history of female violinists, and the blurring of spaces of modernity. Morisot's reputation as a professional female artist, bourgeois mother, and sister-in-law to Édouard Manet laid the foundation for her historical narrative to be easily contrasted with the myth of the artistic genius, a lineage that was exclusively male. Feminist scholars including Linda Nochlin and Griselda Pollock addressed this method of othering or sexual difference that both elevates and plagues female contributions to the visual arts, consequently entering Morisot into the category of feminist artists who defied bourgeois social norms. Biographers of Morisot, including the writings of Anne Higonnet, have structured their scholarship in accordance with the art historical canon that excludes women and postures the contradiction between being a mother and a working artist. Saturating Morisot's artistic output with themes of private spaces, motherhood, and domesticity has only come so far in unpacking the artistic and cultural value of her work, often reinforcing simplified binaries that distract from the intellectual and cultural complexity of Impressionist artists like Morisot. Thus, my research negotiates the conclusions of past analyses

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concerning gender, while complicating the dichotomies of private-public spaces and leisure, masculine-feminine, and amateurism-professionalism. My method of analysis involves consulting primary sources including Morisot's correspondences (found with the help of the Art & Architecture Reference Librarian, Chizu Morihara), Julie Manet's private journal (which I located in two different publications at the UCSB Library), and Pierre Baillot's *Art du Violon*, textual analysis, as well as critiques of female violinists, research on French music history, and the visual analysis of violin portraits. In concluding this project, my research indicates Morisot's portraits of her daughter playing a man's instrument are not only what could be stated as a mirroring of Morisot's own battle against the male-dominated professional world of the arts, or gender subversion, but also visual artifacts depicting a sociocultural transition with the complication of musical performance that merges private leisure and public performance.

I was fortunate enough to have started my research process before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. I heavily relied on physically searching for resources in the UCSB Davidson Library and UCSB Music Library stacks. Every week I visited the library, emptying one shelf dedicated to the biographies, scholarly publications, and museum catalogs on French Impressionism. Flipping through book after book at the library carrel desks, scanning books, and checking out private listening rooms to concentrate, I ended up with nearly seventy checked out books to ensure I had every opportunity to write a thoroughly researched senior thesis. It is with great appreciation to the UCSB Library system that I was able to not only house my own petite library but also have the liberty of extending my due dates, particularly in light of the global pandemic, without incurring late fees. Once the lockdown was implemented by the state of California I was left without access to these library resources throughout the actual writing process. I then depended on my off-campus access to JSTOR, the HathiTrust Digital Library, and ARTstor to complete my research.

The UCSB Library provided me with all the resources and understanding needed during an unprecedented year for those conducting research across any field. It is with the library's facilities and online network that I had the ability to not only produce an original piece of art historical research but also refine my skills as an aspiring art historian. With the expert guidance and support of my thesis advisors, Dr. Laurie Monahan and Dr. Ann Jensen Adams, I advanced my ability to engage with art historical theory and methodology, by accessing groundbreaking articles and academic books written by feminist pioneers held in the UCSB Library collection.

REINTERPRETING GENDERED SPACES OF MODERNITY
IN THE PORTRAITS OF A VIOLINIST

Noelle Y. Barr

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INTRODUCTION

Feminist methodology established an innovative lens with which art historians view European painting. However, this line of inquiry sets a trap for scholarship operating within the canon's limitations for female artists rather than seeking to breach its glass ceiling. Linda Nochlin wrote her groundbreaking essay *Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?* in 1971, which later altered the writing style and construction of female artist narratives from authors like Griselda Pollock and Anne Higonnet. One of the most popular painters these feminist historians address is Berthe Morisot, who captured some of the most intriguing, and nuanced, facets of modern space during the Impressionist movement. However, Morisot's striking and subversive, though potentially unconscious, oeuvre has been oversaturated by her role as a working mother. Furthermore, the era in which Morisot painted has been preserved in accordance with the sustainability of gendered binaries, including public/private spaces, man/woman, and professional/amateur pursuits. These boundaries mark Morisot as the poster child of feminist art history, for her biography blurs the traditional canon and sets a logical point of departure for understanding the significance of gender roles and their implications for becoming a painter. Yet, there lies a method of omitting the complexities of Morisot and her role in the Impressionist movement. As Pollock cautions, "To have become an artist in the manner, style and purpose that Morisot did demands an analysis attentive to the minute particularities of a cultural and historical moment mediated via a particular family and social network."¹ But while Pollock and others have focused on feminine bourgeois protocol and exclusively feminine experiences, my work unveils the slippage of gendered spaces of modernity through musical performance, specifically on the violin.

¹ Griselda Pollock. "Foreword," from Shennan, Margaret. *Berthe Morisot: The First Lady of Impressionism*. Sutton Publishing, 1996.

This thesis explores the nuances of late nineteenth-century French gender culture and artistic politics by examining four paintings spanning the years 1892 to 1894 by Morisot, of Julie Manet, the artist's only child, playing the violin. These images are unique in that they fill a void of French imagery depicting specifically female violinists during an era where entertainment and spectacle were central to the thesis of the bourgeois identity, for Degas is best known to have captured orchestral musicians when frequenting the Opéra. I traverse the sexualization of the violin as an object and its association with the female figure, as an argument prohibiting bourgeois women from training on it. The history of female violinists that I cover only scratches the surface of women's musical accomplishments and reveals how prolific this demographic of musicians truly was, leading me to pose the question "Why have there been no great women violinists, or at least images of them?" (although this question may be less relevant now with the overwhelming success of contemporary female soloists such as Midori Goto, Anne-Sophie Mutter, Hilary Hahn, Sarah Chang, and many others). In problematizing the lack of female violinist imagery, I complicate the firm divide placing women in the domestic sphere, articulate the blurring of gendered places of leisure, and institute the revelation of a music culture in transition while applying the creative life of Morisot and her daughter as a point of reference throughout my discussion.

As bourgeois women, Morisot and her daughter would have been subjected to activities intended to both edify and train them in feminine propriety and domestic life. These activities, *les arts d'agrément*, instilled etiquette and provided women a productive engagement with leisure activities, if not hobbies. Projects included embroidery, drawing, and music, also referred to as "ornamental branches" in other social institutions, for the translation of "*d'agrément*" and corresponding idioms (such as *voyage* or *jardin d'agrément*) indicate the essence of leisure and

pleasure that is inseparable from Impressionism. However, these domestic pleasures for women were not intended to be professions. Rather, their practitioners were regarded as amateurs, despite the demonstration of musical potential and skill. It was not exclusively the system of *arts d'agrément* that put public performance of the violin, particularly, outside the realm of possibility for women like Julie Manet. The instrument itself was a sexualized object for men, upon which they unleashed their passions. Nonetheless, female violinists are found throughout the historical record of European violinists, but who were they? Where did they perform? And how does the friction between professionalism and womanhood obscure our understanding and analysis of Impressionist art depicting musical engagement?

French families had the urge to host and organize music-making gatherings in the home, or *salon* as a part of *haute-bourgeois* social culture and weekly entertainment. Appearing as early as the seventeenth-century, these *salons* recommended by the French playwright Molière (b. Jean-Baptiste Poquelin) in his piece *Le bourgeois gentilhomme* where the main character “advised his music master to host a concert ever Wednesday or Thursday to be a person of quality.”² By invitation only, these evenings consisted of diplomats, the wealthy, literaries, musicians, and artists. In the nineteenth century *salon* music and familial cohesion through musical gatherings eventually eroded, manifesting in art as “a mirror of real and ambiguous bonds,” which echo, and occasionally defy, bourgeois protocol.³ The *salon*, in part due to it being a branch of the nuclear home, became the woman’s domain and their form of contributing to and engaging in music as entertainment. The work of curating and organizing music in the home remained confined to private quarters. Most women were never publicly recognized for their

² Debra Nagy. *Music from the Regency to the Revolution, 1715-1789: The Cambridge Companion to French Music*. Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 95.

³ Aberto Ausoni. *Music in Art*, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005, pp. 179. The author inserts a copy of Marcel Duchamp’s *Sonata* (1911) depicting the artist’s sisters Suzanne, Magdeleine (violin), Yvonne (piano), and his mother at a “domestic concert” - evocative of *les arts d'agrément*.

skills in consolidating music practice and participation, nor did they have the opportunity to pursue positions of power in the symphonic world or public concert life.⁴ As public concerts and music institutions became more popular and accessible, salons became an antiquated pastime.⁵ Julie Manet, writing in her journal, records this shift in music-making evenings from numerous outings and frequent attendance to public concerts.

Despite the loss of organized *salons*, intended to impress and cultivate family bonds, women preserved their training as serious forms of intellectual engagement, not merely opportunities for window-dressing. On Sunday, November 05, 1893, Julie Manet recounts a day that she, her mother, and cousin Jeannie Gobillard (who often accompanied Julie on the piano) went to the Concert Colonne. Almost fifteen-years old, Julie discusses the repertoire that included a Beethoven Symphony and goes on to evaluate the voices. She surmises that the Colonne Orchestra performed better than the Lamoureux Orchestra.⁶ Her critical assessment informs us that she was an educated, opinionated, and active listener, for her words imply that she had the cognitive acuity of distinguishing the quality and precision of an ensemble and further differentiate the vocal technique of two soloists against the orchestral accompaniment.

Morisot's portraits are visual artifacts of an era of transition in European music culture. By reviewing and introducing female violinists, their musical criticisms, and comparing their portraits to those of two male violinists, I will investigate the significance of the 1831 portrait of the violin virtuoso Niccolò Paganini by the Romantic painter Eugène Delacroix, whom Morisot

⁴ William Weber. *Music and the Middle Class*, Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1975, pp. 126.

⁵ Linda Whitesitt. "Women's Support and Encouragement of Music and Musicians," from *Women & Music*, edited by Karen Pendle, Indiana University Press, 1991, pp. 306.

⁶ Julie Manet. *Journal (1893-1899): Sa jeunesse parmi les peintres impressionnistes et les hommes de lettres*, 1979, pp. 24. "Nous sommes arrivées lorsque l'on jouait la symphonie de Beethoven qui est très belle; entendu ensuite Mlle Franck chanter le Roi des Aulnes. L'orchestre dominait sa voix. La Chevauchée des Walkyries m'a semblé mieux jouée par l'orchestre de Colonne que par celui de Lamoureux, c'est-à-dire avec plus de particularité. Ensuite on n'a joué que du Gounod, l'Hymne à Sainte Cécile ressemblant à l'Ave Maria, a été très bien joué par les violons. Je n'aime pas la voix de Mlle Pacary qui a chanté le Reine de Saba. Dans l'Ave Maria et surtout dans le troisième morceau de Gallia j'ai beaucoup aimé la voix de Mlle Krauss..."

admired.⁷ Finally, I will address Morisot's construction and manipulation of space in her portraits of Julie by comparing them to respective representations of domestic engagement and public performance, as this builds upon the previous categorization of women as elements of the private sphere, curators of domesticity, and amateurs by theorists such as Pollock.

LE VIOLON d'INGRES

Jean-Jacques Rousseau's writing had a fundamental impact on women's roles in the arts from his time and throughout the nineteenth-century. Rousseau argued women's morality must be preserved by confining them to domestic spaces and that their path in life was to be in the service of men. This concept limited the myth of the musical genius exclusively to men, who, recognized as innovators, were ostensibly inspired by the idealized woman or muse.⁸ The submissive quality associated with feminine identity extended into discourse surrounding gender and the violin as both a physical symbol of the female body and as a device to serve the artistic passions of the male genius.

Maiko Kawabata has explored the gendered history of the violin, in which the instrument has been associated with feminine mysticism and exoticism since the Middle Ages. Supporting their thesis, Kawabata explains how the violin "embodied a woman and 'spoke' in her voice," suggesting "Woman violinists battled against the perceived impropriety of publicly handling a symbolic feminine body... and of the vigorous arm movements required to play."⁹ However this myth of the artistic or musical genius erodes as we continue to explore the history of female violinists.

⁷ Anne Higonnet. *Berthe Morisot*. Harper & Row Publishers. New York. 1990, pp. 195 & 212.

⁸ Nancy B. Reich. "European Composers and Musicians, ca. 1800-1890," from *Women and Music: A History*, edited by Karin Pendle, Indiana University Press, 1991, pp. 98.

⁹ Maiko Kawabata. "Virtuoso Codes of Violin Performance: Power, Military Heroism, and Gender (1789-1830), *19th Century Music*, Vol. 28(2), 2004, pp. 104-105.

Reinforcing the gendered metaphor, Man Ray posed a nude woman (identified as Kiki, with whom the artist passed his own time), seated to accentuate her hourglass figure, facing away from the camera with two f-holes printed on her back for the photograph *Le violon d'Ingres* (1924) (figure 1). Man Ray's photograph plays on the French idiom *le violon d'Ingres*, which is a hobby or passion outside of one's profession. This phrase derives from the nineteenth-century Neoclassical painter Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres renowned for his skill as a violinist. Yet he was firm in his belief that could not be both a master painter *and* a musical performer, in spite of the fact he played second violin in the Toulouse orchestra prior to moving to Paris to pursue painting. Both Ingres and his contemporary Delacroix developed their respect and artistic rapports with music during their youth, particularly on the violin, and sustained their musical affairs throughout their lives. Delacroix, in 1822, wrote in his journal how he wished he could play the violin again and stated, a week later, that he had picked it back up. He too may not have had the time to indulge in an additional field, as his primary focus was painting.¹⁰ Finding success as artists, Ingres and Delacroix were consigned to the status of musical amateurs or *dilettantes*. However, this is where sociocultural history becomes neglected, if not suppressed, by academic narratives. For in fact, Ingres was far more gifted than to be classified as an *amateur*. The young master paid for his tuition at the School of Fine Arts in Toulouse with performances, joined the Orchestre du Capitole as a second violin as a young adolescent, and even performed Viotti's Concerto No. 22, a piece of violin repertoire that establishes fundamental soloistic technique, while also participating in Beethoven quartet chamber sessions in private.¹¹ In terms

¹⁰ G. Jean-Aubry. "A Music-Lover of the Past: Eugène Delacroix," *The Music Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Oxford University Press, 1920, pp. 479.

¹¹ Born Giovanni Battista Viotti (1755-1834), he is recognized as a leader of French violin training during the development of the Conservatoire and ultimately provided the foundation for his trio of successors, Kreutzer, Rode, and Baillot.

of gendering the instrument, Ingres' actual violin is a small violin, not full size, but rather 7/8, favorable to his small stature, and also notably termed a "lady's violin."¹²

So where does this leave the *amateur*? Like at the art academy, Ingres managed to defy and reinvent the expectations of traditional musical engagement and accomplishment. Yet, what prevented him from pursuing music was ultimately his own desire to be a painter, confining his musical aspirations to private spaces of performance. This disrupts, or rather bridges, the separation of gender in private and public affairs, indicating a narrow path to violin performance outside the home, even for a genius.

FEMALE VIOLINISTS

Intimate gatherings of music-making created an image of domesticity and the nuclear family. Once the middle class combined with the construction of private and public spaces, a foundation was built to support the social investment and cultivation of an educated unit. Music historian William Weber stated "Individualism and self-interest have emerged as guiding principles within the new corporate structure of human life" and that "Self-interest in terms of musical performance was thus expressed in two ways, the economic gain of the professional and the personal self-improvement of the amateur."¹³ But women were discouraged from working, especially for money, and had no form of publicly engaging in or demonstrating their musical expertise. However, there was encouragement for all bourgeois children to be musically trained, though particular instruments were considered especially "appropriate" for middle-class women: the harp, piano, or vocals. Woodwind instruments were out of the realm of possibility for the domestic lady as playing them was said to contort her face, and the violin encouraged too much

¹² "Ingres and Music" from the Musées Occitanie Encyclopedia, 2020, online entry, <https://musees-occitanie.fr/encyclopedia/themes/peinture-sculpture/ingres-et-la-musique/>, accessed 09 November 2020.

¹³ William Weber. *Music and the Middle Class*, 1975, pp. 115.

physical liberty and expression, threatening her sense of decorum. Under such strictures, “There was little hope of regular employment for a female violinist of rank-and-file standard within an orchestra otherwise populated by males.”¹⁴ In spite of these barriers, female violinists appear centuries prior to the development and integration of codes preventing women from performing.¹⁵

Female violinists caught the imagination of early twentieth-century audiences, as evidenced by the news column from the early 1900s entitled “Lady Violinists.” Authored by organist and editor of the *Musical Times*, Frederick George Edwards, pennamed F. G. E., presented case-studies on the earliest female violinists of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries. The first French woman introduced is Madame Louise Gautherot, who the author acknowledges is not mentioned by Fétis or Grove, two reputable French authors who contributed to music literature and discourse. Gautherot does appear in an 1827 ‘Dictionary of Musicians,’ published in London.¹⁶ This dictionary cites Gautherot as “a celebrated female violinist, [who] was considered, in 1790, among the most celebrated players on that instrument.”¹⁷ Gautherot’s first performance occurred in 1783 at a Parisian *Concert Spirituel*, which sought to guide the public’s taste in music, but also resulted in the elevation of instruments to vehicles of virtuosity and solo performance.¹⁸ A pupil of Giovanni Battista Viotti, who played in the courts of Marie Antoinette and pioneered modern classical violin pedagogy, Gautherot

¹⁴ Katharine, Ellis. *The Structures of Musical Life: The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*. Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 362.

¹⁵ Ehresmann identifies venter culture essentially as “symptomatic of women’s characteristic social position, that of an amateur... expected to remain dilettantes, never to cross over into the realm of the professional... regulated to the private confines of the home, while the realm of professionalism existed in the public sphere beyond domestic boundaries.” Ehresmann, Erin E., “Variations on a Theme: Berthe Morisot’s Reinterpretation of the, Woman at the Piano” Motif in Her Images of Girls at the Piano, 1888-1892” (MA thesis, University of Cincinnati, 2011), pp. 11

¹⁶ F. G. E. “Lady Violinists,” *The Musical Times*, Vol. 47, No. 764, 1906, pp. 668.

¹⁷ *Dictionary of Musicians from the Earliest Times to the Present: And a Summary of the History of Music, Volume 1*, London, 1827, <https://books.google.com/books>, pp. 268.

¹⁸ George Hart. *The Violin and Its Music*. London, Dulau, 1881, pp. 283 and Nagy, Debra. *Music from the Regency to the Revolution, 1715-1789: The Cambridge Companion to French Music*. Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 94.

made her debut in London in 1789 at the Hanover Square Rooms, Covent Garden Theatre, and later performed under the baton of Joseph Haydn, a forefather of the symphony, in 1791.

However, if we concur that the violin is a symbol for feminine sexuality, performance with the instrument must, therefore, be masculine.¹⁹ This created a paradox for female violinists, as noted by F. G. E. who inserts a quote by an English critic at the time:

“... while Madame Gautherot played 'a concerto on the violin with great ability, the ear was more gratified than the eye by this lady's masculine effort.' Again, referring to the same performer, he makes the anti-feminine remarks: 'It is said by fabulous writers that Minerva happening to look into the stream whilst playing her favourite instrument, the flute, perceiving the distortion of countenance it occasioned, was so much disgusted that she cast it away, and dashed it to pieces. Although I would not recommend to any lady playing on a valuable Cremona fiddle to follow the example of the goddess, yet it strikes me that if she is desirous of enrapturing her audience, she should display her talent in a situation where there is only just light enough to make 'darkness visible.'”²⁰

By marking the English critic as “anti-feminine,” F. G. E. identifies the debilitating paradox female violinists faced, where she was ultimately rejected whether she executed fine skills on her instrument or not, for the preservation of representing femininity took priority over gender inclusivity in the realm of public spectacle. The violin, an object of animation, became synonymous with women’s bodies, therefore turning the physical objectification of the feminine figure into a way of justifying a woman’s inability to assume the role of a musical participant.

¹⁹ Maiko Kawabata. “Virtuoso Codes of Violin Performance: Power, Military Heroism, and Gender (1789-1830), *19th Century Music*, Vol. 28(2), 2004, pp. 106.

²⁰ F. G. E. “Lady Violinists,” *The Musical Times*, Vol. 47, No. 764 (Oct. 1906), pp. 668.

Yet F. G. E. has managed to bring female violinists back into the light they were previously denied.

Those who were not denied positive coverage of their performances were musical prodigies, male or female. A child's instrumental affairs met a different set of criteria, for there was, and is, no justification for sexualizing a child's instrument that is not abhorrent. Here we Italian prodigies Teresa Milanollo and her younger sister Maria, also discussed by F. G. E., allow us to observe a different contract forcing female violinists into oblivion, the contract of marriage.

Teresa Milanollo's first performance was at the Theatre Mondori-Breo on 17 April 1836 at the age of nine, where, according to the anonymous editorialist, she had her first portrait painted, although records or images of this painting have been lost. The child violinist's success led the family to relocate to France, where Teresa received lessons from Charles Philippe Lafont, a leading violinist of the French school. Under Lafont's instruction, at age ten, Teresa performed at the Opéra Comique before beginning her international tour to Brussels, Amsterdam, and London.²¹ However, upon her return to Paris in 1839, Teresa performed for the French king, Louis Philippe and studied under Charles de Bériot at the Paris Conservatory, thereby contradicting the traditional claim that violinist Camilla Urso was the first female to study institutionally.²² Nonetheless, Teresa's concert performances ceased once she married and was forced into retirement, living out her final years in Paris providing the occasional charity concert.²³

Abandoning one's artistic pursuits following marriage was expected and something the Morisot women were no strangers to. Following the marriage of Morisot's sister Edma in 1869,

²¹ F. G. E. "Lady Violinists (Concluded)," *The Musical Times*, Vol. 47, No. 765 (Nov. 1906), pp. 736-38.

²² Often cited as the first woman to have been admitted to and win a prize at the Conservatoire in Paris, although she found most of her success as a soloist and teacher in America. Kagan, Susan. "Camilla Urso: A Nineteenth-Century Violinist's View," *Signs*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1977.

²³ *Grande Musica*, Musical Biographies, "Milanollo, Teresa," Accessed 07 October 2020, <http://grandemusica.net/musical-biographies-m-3/milanollo-teresa>.

who took painting lessons with Morisot, the artist responds to her sister's anxieties about moving out of the city on 23 April 1869:

“... I understand that one does not readily accustom oneself to life in the country and to domesticity... Men incline to believe that they fill all of one's life, but as for me, I think that no matter how much affection a woman has for her husband, it is not easy for her to break with a life of work. Affection is a very fine thing on condition that there is something besides with which to fill one's days. This something I see for you in motherhood.”²⁴

This is an extraordinary exchange, where Morisot, at that point an acclaimed painter in her own right, attempts to assure her sister she will find fulfillment by having a child and adjusting to her new status as a married woman and predestined maternal figure over being a painter. Yet Morisot contradicts her own advice to Edma, who, like Teresa Milanollo, settles into her marital role in private, for Morisot goes on to also marry Eugène Manet in 1874, the brother of the father of modernism Édouard Manet. But Morisot uses this social network to her artistic advantage, participating in all but one Impressionist exhibition due to the birth of Julie in 1878. Working both as a painter and mother throughout Julie's childhood, Morisot fashions portraits of her daughter with the same conviction of individualism and potential Morisot materialized in her own career, particularly in depicting Julie as a female violinist.

One female violinist contested the notion that the violin was an unsuitable instrument for women. Camilla Urso was born in Nantes, France and, like the Milanollo sisters, was a prodigy

²⁴ Berthe Morisot. *Berthe Morisot: The Correspondence with her family and friends*, edited by Denis Rouart, Moyer Bell Limited, 1987, pp. 46.

who studied at the Paris Conservatory, but moved to America at the age of ten where she found success as a soloist and teacher. Susan Kagan confirms “A consistent feature of Camilla Urso’s concert reviews were references to her femininity and the ‘feminine’ characteristics of her playing style.”²⁵ Attending the 1893 Woman’s Musical Congress in Chicago, Urso prepared an essay entitled “Women and the Violin: Women as Performers in the Orchestra” (1893), where she expresses her aim in being evidence that “as an ‘*art d’agrément*’, the violin is perfectly within the ability of women and ‘*en rapport*’ to their tastes,” stating:

“First, the lightness and grace of the violin... Secondly, it is easily handled and carried. Thirdly, no other instrument is so truly melodious... it responds to one’s emotion and mood.”²⁶

Urso reclaims the violin as an endeavor *made* for feminine attributes and uses these arguments on feminine dexterity and character to her advantage as a performer. Furthermore, portability was key to innovation in the Impressionist movement, and I argue, with respect to the violin, an indication of mobility beyond the *foyer* for those who played it, man or women, unlike a piano or harp. So far we have investigated and complicated the slippage of nineteenth-century French gender and social complexes, by discussing the implications of amateurism, child prodigies, and bourgeois traditions in both the public and private sphere. As women crossed in and out of these spaces of modernity, how were violinists expected to be represented as performers in private and public spaces?

²⁵ Susan Kagan. “Camilla Urso: A Nineteenth-Century Violinist’s View,” *Signs*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1977, pp. 730.

²⁶ Carol Neuls-Bates, *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present*, Northeastern University Press, 1996, pp. 200. From Susan Kagan’s “Camilla Urso: A Nineteenth Century Violinist’s View,” *Signs*, Vol. 2 (3), 1977, pp. 731-34.

VIOLINIST PORTRAITURE

Before introducing Morisot's paintings of her daughter Julie, it is worth reviewing some early portraits of female violinists including: the etching of Gautherot by Francesco Bartolozzi and J-A-D Ingres' portraits of Paganini and Baillot. Then I will introduce Anne Vallayer-Coster's *Portrait of a Violinist* (1773) as a precedent for Morisot's images and an amalgam of qualities appearing in the images of Gautherot, Paganini, and Baillot. Delacroix's infamous portrait of Paganini (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) is another point of painterly reference, as is Pierre-Auguste Renoir's depiction of a child violinist with her sisters as a representation of class and not performance.

While F.G.E. featured the 1791 engraving of Gautherot, claiming it to be the first portrait of a lady violinist (figure 2), published in France by Pierre N. Violet, we now know this is not true. However, this image provides a point of departure for understanding Gautherot's influence on the representation of female violinists, both visually and through critical reviews. Seated, Gautherot is depicted in three-quarter profile. She looks at the viewer with a smile. Her violin, placed in her lap, is caressed by the shoulder, as her bow, in the right hand, rests at her side. In comparison to Ingres' images of two leading violin masters, one may expect a clear distinction between genders as seen in both Manet's *Music Lesson* (1870) and Edgar Degas' (1834-1917) *Violinist and Young Woman* (c. 1871), where the woman is passively seated beside the pondering musician with a musical score, as this properly represents musical gender difference in the home (figures 3 & 4). Ingres' executes another status of difference, representing his subjects in at rest, Gautherot is, slightly juxtaposing the men's two polar-opposite affiliations with Parisian music society -- virtuosity and public spectacle *vis a vis* institutionalism and pedagogy.

Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot sat for Ingres in 1829 (figure 5). Baillot was one of the first professors at the Conservatoire de Paris and a pioneer in violin methodology and pedagogy. His most important work is *L'Art du violon*, published in 1834, which laid the foundation for modern violin teaching and methodology. This text provides insights into the ways in which women were excluded from violin training, since theory and method books included male models exclusively to visualize proper technique, with descriptions coded in masculine pronouns.²⁷ Ingres depicted both men, one an institutional leader and the other a virtuosic celebrity, in repose with the violin at rest under the right arm.²⁸ In spite of the visual similarities that Ingres suggest, they sustained almost antithetical styles, not unlike the differences between Ingres and Delacroix. Each man represents opposing stylistic approaches to their art. In fact, Ingres' admiration for Paganini's virtuosity and spectacle diminished as his reverence for the more restrained Baillot grew.²⁹ The greatest amount of detail and contrast is seen in Ingres' renderings of the respective faces. His sensitive renderings of the violinists captures personal qualities like "godlike ability to intuit a timeless image of the subject's public persona and inner psyche."³⁰ Ingres' portrait emphasizes the pedagogical reputation of Baillot and in a very similar fashion, the celebrated status of Paganini, identified at the time as a singular master of the violin (figure 6). Paganini is depicted with a regal air, rendering him stable and austere. A muted expression appears on the face of the violinist, standing before the viewer with a stiff lapel lifting his chest. Baillot's image presents itself as the more accessible musical character, seated before a music stand in the midst of a page turn. Ingres renders Baillot's facial

²⁷ Pierre Baillot. *The Art of the Violin*, Northwestern University Press, 1991, pp. 17.

²⁸ While Paganini appears to have his violin under his left arm, this is an effect of printing, which reverses the original image. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres, *Niccolò Paganini*, c. 1830, Department of Drawings and Prints, 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/337364>, accessed 10 September 2020.

²⁹ Research Center for Music Iconography, The Graduate Center, City University of New York. "Ingres: Apollo, Mozart and MusicAuthor(s): Alexandra Goulaki-Voutyra," *Music in Art*, Vol. 40, No. 1-2, 2015, pp. 231.

³⁰ Heather McPherson. *The Modern Portrait in Nineteenth-Century France*, 2001, pp. 3.

expression with greater familiarity and detail. The presence of a score before the seated violinist implies the violinist's educated understanding of the musical discipline, as though he has been interrupted during practice.³¹

If Gautherot is the emblem of the lady violinist, Paganini the master of performance, and Baillot the mark of pedagogy and education, how might these contending identities be resolved? Vallayer-Coster's *Portrait of a Violinist* depicts an aristocratic woman seated in profile flipping through a score on her left knee while holding her violin before her on her right as it mirrors her figure (figure 7). The sitter's gaze falls upon the score with deliberate attention as she studies her music with her bow placed on her lap. The composition is structured as a triangle with three points, the score, violin, and sitter's face, where the eye is encouraged to circumnavigate the relationships between femininity, musicality, and education. In conveying this sense of cognitive attention, the artist asserts the pursuit of skill and advancement in an individual field of study, rather than using the violin as a prop to establish the sitter's profession or public persona, as seen in the depictions of Teresa Milanollo. Furthermore, this portrait is set in a private space like Morisot's parlor and stands as a predecessor to Julie's violin portraits where a woman is rendered possessing the intellectual capacity and individual liberty to train on what was traditionally a "man's" instrument - even if it could be the size of a "lady's" violin.

Delacroix's painting of Paganini (1831) was produced during Paganini's visit to Paris for a series of concerts that the artist attended (figure 8). In contrast to Ingres' portrait of the musical star, Delacroix presents a full-length figure dressed in black, with long, wavy, black hair, emerging from the shadowed background, in full performance mode. Cast upon the violin's

³¹ These two men recall the human-genius trope found in musical narratives, mostly significantly to the comparison between Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791), a music prodigy and "genius who accomplishes without effort," and Ludwig van Beethoven (1779-1827) with his continuation and improvement of classical music in the form of "great human achievement requiring enormous effort." Nettl, Bruno. *Heartland Excursions: Ethnomusicological Reflections on Schools of Music*, University of Illinois Press, 1995, pp. 20.

fingerboard, which is eclipsed by the unstructured mass of his left hand, eyes sit in the sockets of his hollowed face. His low bow arm raises his arched wrist in the midst of an upward stroke. With a cocked head, Paganini bears weight on his left leg, creating a triangular foundation upon which his virtuosic spectacle commences. Delacroix's use of light evokes shades of green and raw sienna while illuminating Paganini's yellow complexion. The contrast of light and shade and the focused nature of this piece captures the uncontained energy and drama one would expect from Paganini's legendary live performances. Furthermore, Delacroix's rough surface and visible brushstrokes enhance the energy of Paganini's portrait but also act as a prelude to the central thesis of the Impressionist movement. As Higonnet eloquently states:

“The great Delacroix, for instance, was often accused of not ‘finishing’ [a painting] properly. He felt his colors and forms would be more vivid if left for the viewer's eye to resolve. In his wake, Courbet, Manet, and then the impressionists decided they could do without glazes and varnishes, and leave their brushstrokes distinct. In this way, they believed, they would catch the effect of the passing moment and transmit the experience of the instant to their audience.”³²

Traces of Delacroix's unconventional portrait appear in Morisot's paintings of Julie playing the violin, as Morisot guides her audiences into a nuanced path towards gender subversion and cultural transition in the guise of art and music.

Erin Ehresmann wrote her master's thesis on Morisot's rendition of the theme girls at a piano, where she argues that Morisot's fascination with depicting the girls in her family psychologically engaged in music-making translates “Julie as an echo of herself - independent,

³² Anne Higonnet. *Berthe Morisot*. Harper & Row Publishers. New York. 1990, pp. 96.

unconventional, and intelligent... much in the way that Morisot practiced the art of painting far beyond the extent expected of bourgeois women.”³³ Despite the validity in Ehresmann’s argument, I intend to push further with my next analysis of Morisot’s violin portraits. I argue that Morisot’s project in painting the music portraits represent a cause greater than herself or her daughter, and that her act of painting Julie as a violinist is an ode to feminist ideology in opposition to the bourgeois politics that made Morisot write, “I don’t think there has ever been a man who treated a woman as an equal, and that’s all I would have asked for — I know I am worth as much as they are.”³⁴ Again, this contradicts the advice she wrote her sister in 1869, and ultimately the path Julie takes, but it does illustrate a sense of frivolity with which Morisot handles her career.

Ehresmann guides us in looking for other points indicating a gendered music culture, including the hands and the concept of *vener culture* in French portraiture. An example of this is Renoir’s *The Daughters of Catulle Mendès, Huguette, Claudine, and Helyonne* (figure 9), painted in 1888. Renoir presents three young girls in a vertical format, with the eldest at the piano, the youngest leaning on the end of the piano looking up at her sisters, while the middle child, Claudine, stands to the left of Huguette, holding her violin in a resting position like Ingres’ portrait of Paganini. Claudine stares blankly at the viewer, her poised hands cradling the violin. She appears as a passive female violinist, lacking intellectual energy or creative exploration -- for Renoir aimed to replicate the success he found in exhibiting another bourgeois family portrait at the Salon.³⁵

³³ Erin E. Ehresmann. “Variations on a Theme: Berthe Morisot’s Reinterpretation of the, Woman at the Piano” Motif in Her Images of Girls at the Piano, 1888-1892” (MA thesis, University of Cincinnati, 2011), pp. 22.

³⁴ Sylvie Patry. “Berthe Morisot: Stimulating Ambiguities,” from *Berthe Morisot: Woman Impressionist*, The Barnes Foundation, 2018, pp. 28.

³⁵ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. “Browse the Collection.” *The Daughters of Catulle Mendès, Huguette (1871-1964), Claudine (1876-1937), and Helyonne (1879-1955)*. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/438014>, accessed 22 September 2020.

One more acclaimed French master of academic painting explored the depiction of female violinists, William-Adolphe Bouguereau, while methodically using the violin as a prop to elicit a subject's status. Although Bouguereau's style is the antithesis of the Impressionist movement, his concentration on representing the impoverished and socially displaced, due to urbanization, intersects with the subject matter of the realist painter Gustave Courbet, and even Manet. Like Manet, Bouguereau's images of violinists expose Paris' ethnic diversity and intolerance of nomadic individuals like the Roma (with the exception of angelic musicians). Like in Manet's *Old Musician* (1862), Bouguereau's paintings *The Bohemian* (1890) and *Alone in the World* (c. 1867), which the artist made a copy of adding a younger girl with her hand begging for money, centralize Roma subjects, dressed in loose clothing, clutching a violin, juxtaposed against an urban skyline. Traditionally mythologized as inherent violinists, this demographic conveyed sentiments of danger, seduction, and social othering, which are potentially exacerbated in the violinists' gender difference.³⁶

In stark contrast to this staging of bourgeois culture, and utilizing musical instruments as props to communicate social status, Morisot's portraits of Julie playing the violin take care to depict the position of her hands, face, and body, evoking the impression a real performance,³⁷ while exploring other modes of conveying artistic ephemerality. Furthermore, unlike Renoir, Morisot depicts a young woman, not a child, nor a vehicle for demonstrating bourgeois codes, but her daughter engaging in her own performance.

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³⁶ Marilyn R. Brown. "Manet's 'Old Musician': Portrait of a Gypsy and Naturalist Allegory," *Studies in the History of Art*, Vol. 8, 1978, pp. 79-83.

³⁷ Erin E. Ehresmann. "Variations on a Theme: Berthe Morisot's Reinterpretation of the, Woman at the Piano" Motif in Her Images of Girls at the Piano, 1888-1892" (MA thesis, University of Cincinnati, 2011), pp. 24.

The four variations Morisot painted of Julie playing the violin increasingly become more expressive, colorful, and innovative. *Studying the Violin* (1892-93) is the first painting Morisot does of Julie practicing the violin in her parlor. *Julie Playing the Violin* (1893) makes a shift in the way her daughter goes from *studying* to *playing* or performing on the violin. Morisot's friend Edgar Degas plays a significant role through his works of public performance in the images of Julie. Stylistic innovation in Morisot's *Julie Playing the Violin in a White Dress* (1894), painted a year before the painter's death, demonstrates how Morisot and Julie's affairs breached bourgeois tradition through the use of lighting, depicting *avant-garde* works, and the dissolution of the private space. In her final painting of Julie playing the violin, *Mozart Sonata* (1894), a number of studies of Julie and her cousin Jeannie manifest the ways in which Morisot blurred the private and public nature of performance.

Like her mother, Julie Manet was a reflective, ambitious, and expressive individual, and her journal reveals a clear understanding of her values, interests and social expectations commensurate with her bourgeois upbringing. Her mother and father provided her an education, with the occasional teacher and governess. She grew up surrounded by art and artists, and consequently, developed an appreciation and critical perspective on the arts. Julie's journal provides remarkable evidence of the inquisitive young woman's attitudes about the violin and music, revealing the degree of care and dedication she maintained while studying the instrument.³⁸ Julie was rather self-critical, like her mother, particularly when it came to playing the violin. She wrote about playing for Morisot's musically-inclined friends, intending to practice better, studying scales and playing with more *gusto*.³⁹

³⁸ The Sotheby's publication of Julie Manet's journal provides the image of a hand-written concert program, dated 11 June 1896, with Julie Manet and her cousins listed in the line-up. Julie performed Braga's *La Serenata* and Godard's *Berceuse de Jocelyn* for violin, providing insight into her level of performance. Manet, Julie. *Growing Up with the Impressionists: the Diary of Julie Manet*. Sotheby's Publications. London. 1987, pp. 96.

³⁹ Julie Manet. *Journal (1893-1899): Sa jeunesse parmi les peintres impressionnistes et les hommes de lettres*, 1979, pp. 19-22.

Studying the Violin (1892-93)

“This morning Maman worked on my portrait playing the violin and I did it for two hours.”⁴⁰

Morisot painted *Studying the Violin* (figure 10) in the same year that Julie started her personal journal. In October 1893 Julie recounted the day her mother began studying her playing the violin. This portrait centers a full-length representation of Julie standing in the parlor of Morisot’s apartment on *rue Weber*, the sixteenth arrondissement in Paris. Standing in three-quarter profile, in a navy blue dress, the violinist reaches the tip of her bow in a downward stroke, opening her chest to the viewer. With her hair half up, Julie faces a red music stand burdened by a stack of precariously balanced sheet music. Higonnet identifies the paintings behind Julie, which include a portrait of Isabelle Lemonnier, the daughter of a Parisian jeweler, by Manet and of her husband by Degas.⁴¹ These items, as well as other pieces of furniture, are repeated in Morisot’s series, as they establish the space of the bourgeois interior. Morisot balances the dark, solid triangle of Julie’s body with warm colors and loose brushstrokes defining the intimate space.

Julie Playing the Violin (1893)

⁴⁰ “Ce matin Maman a travaillé à mon portrait jouant du violon et j’en ai fait deux heures.” Julie Manet. *Journal (1893-1899): Sa jeunesse parmi les peintre impressionnistes et les hommes de lettres*, 1979, pp. 20.

⁴¹ Higonnet, Anne. *Berthe Morisot’s Images of Women*, 1992, pp. 243-44.

“Above *The Violin*, I am in a black dress with a white sash, the violin is admirably foreshortened, against the background of the slightly green white living room on Weber Street... This painting is full of grace and enveloped in a lovely light green tone.”⁴²

Morisot’s portraits and studies of Julie playing the violin indicate a level of visual accuracy in depicting the physiognomy of a violinist, as Morisot retains the physical integrity of Julie as a trained violinist in spite of her quick brushwork. In a pastel study for *Julie Playing the Violin* (figure 11) Morisot demonstrates her familiarity with the process of playing, differentiating an up-bow from a down-bow stroke with a delineated arched and extended right wrist (figure 12). Moreover, we can observe the compositional changes she made from the study in the final painting. Morisot clearly depicts a subtle but informative representation of proper violin training — Julie’s feet. Baillot’s *l’Art du violon* provides diagrams of proper violin technique and anatomical positioning, which can be compared to Morisot’s rendering of Julie playing the violin. A violinist’s posture is vital to finding success as a performer. The feet provide the foundation for the violinist to hold the violin and bow upright, an indication that Julie has been trained with methods in line with the conservatory. Having the feet slightly asymmetrical, positioned in a “V” shape, provides support for the violinist as she shifts her weight during a performance (figure 13). Morisot intentionally modifies her sketches of Julie to emulate and assert a position of serious dedication and commitment to an artistic profession.

While Morisot’s “representations of the mother-daughter relationship depended, ultimately, on imaginative and intellectual bonds,”⁴³ *Julie Playing the Violin* (figure 14) presents

⁴² “Au-dessus « Le violon », je suis en robe noire avec une ceinture blanche de face, le violon est d’un raccourci admirable, sur le fond du salon blanc un peu vert de la rue Weber... Ce tableau est plein de grâce et enveloppé par un léger ton vert ravissant.” Julie Manet. *Journal (1893-1899): Sa jeunesse parmi les peintres impressionnistes et les hommes de lettres*, 1979, pp. 90.

⁴³ Anne Higonnet. *Berthe Morisot’s Images of Women*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1992, pp. 222.

Julie directly facing the viewer while playing “an admirably foreshortened violin,” as Julie describes it. Julie wears a black dress accented with a white sash and collar. Her body is elongated in this portrait, again firmly stationed before the same living seen in *Studying the Violin*. In contrast to that portrait, Julie is performing. Without a stand or sheet music in view, Julie focuses on her left hand and fingers, as she memorized her repertoire. Morisot includes the edge of a white on Julie’s left. Extending this line from the top of the canvas to the bottom of the work, Morisot implying the viewer is seated at the threshold between Julie’s live performance and the audience. This compositional addition places Julie in the open room and conjures the platform of a stage, acting like a curtain. The wall reveals the violinist, psychologically invested in her studies, not merely as an amateur, but a musician with artistic and creative potential. Degas’ paintings of *café concerts* provide a model for Morisot’s weaving of leisure and public performance. In Degas’ depictions of live performance, such as *La Chanson du Chien* (c. 1875-78.), *Femmes à la terrasse d’un café au soir* (1877), and *Au Café Concert des Ambassadeurs* (1885), the artist consistently adds the element of gas lighting and the repetition of white pillars interrupting the compositions (figures 15, 16, & 17). Morisot mimics this latter feature with the wall and mantel columns behind Julie, while creating the perspective of an audience sitting before a performance. In fact the white panel on the left side is almost a visual “quotation” from Degas, although hers never completely obscures the view.

Julie Playing the Violin in a White Dress (1894) & Mozart Sonata (1894)

“Next to *The Violin* in an interior where you can feel the rays of the sun through the shutters closed on a hot day, a young girl (me) in a light white dress plays the violin, a red music stand in front of her.”⁴⁴

Two paintings of Julie represent a shift in Morisot’s artistic style. Her brushstrokes and colorful palette distort the once identifiable parlor, now obscuring the depth of space. In *Julie playing the Violin in a White Dress* (figure 18), Julie’s red stand is duplicated upon itself, implying atmospheric movement in the room stirred by Julie’s practice, as the shadow of her feet moves away from her body. The portrait of Isabelle Lemonnier, her arm visible through the transparent sheet music, is being swept away by the same force feathering Julie’s surrounding. In fact Julie’s bow, the only thing that should be moving, is hardly visible. Morisot draws the viewer’s focus to Julie by outlining her figure with rapid brushstrokes, while music swells under her command. The light from the other room illuminates Julie like gas lighting on a dancer, as Morisot deeply contrasts Julie’s forearm and cheek with cool shades of green and blue, similar to how Degas represents *The Singer in Green* (1884) (figure 19). Morisot’s sudden experimentation with form and color was most likely influenced by her close confidant, and inevitable guardian of Julie, Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-98). A symbolist poet, Mallarmé spoke of the superiority of music over other forms of art, where “All art must aspire to the expressiveness of music.”⁴⁵ Informed by Symbolism’s rejection of naturalism and realism, Morisot continues to truly blur public and private spaces of performance.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ “A côté « Le violon » dans un intérieur où l’on sent les rayons de soleil au travers des volets fermés par un jour de chaleur; une jeune fille (moi) en robe blanche légère joue du violon, un pupitre rouge devant elle.” Julie Manet. *Journal (1893-1899): Sa jeunesse parmi les peintre impressionnistes et les hommes de lettres*, 1979, pp. 88.

⁴⁵ Stéphane Mallarmé, quoted by Elaine Brody in *Paris: The Musical Kaleidoscope 1870-1925*. George Braziller, Inc. 1987, pp. 113.

⁴⁶ Erin E. Ehresmann, “Variations on a Theme: Berthe Morisot’s Reinterpretation of the, Woman at the Piano” Motif in Her Images of Girls at the Piano, 1888-1892” (MA thesis, University of Cincinnati, 2011), pp. 37.

Morisot takes Julie's musicianship even further with *Mozart Sonata* (figure 20); for, while falling in line with scholar of French music Katharine Ellis' assessment that "Baroque music, Haydn, Mozart... were drawn into a stereotypically feminine world of decorative and sweetly plaintive expression,"⁴⁷ Morisot's artistic process and composition imply an alternative aim that sought to methodically organize her sitters to convey images of performance, as evident by Julie's account:

"*Mozart Sonata*, in the living room of the rue Weber, against the light, Jeannie is on the piano in black and I on violin in lilac; this painting is very successful, from a distance you think you can see the features of the figures, when you get closer there is nothing. On the corner of the table, finished music; I liked it a lot as soon as Maman started it, this is the second one..."⁴⁸

Here Julie discusses another version of *Mozart Sonata*, that has either been lost or was never finished. A drawing titled *Study for La Musique* (1893) features the same pianist, Jeannie, positioned at the piano (figure 21). The "second" painting of these musicians is at the Smith College Museum of Art in Northampton, Massachusetts. Morisot painted a double portrait of Julie playing the violin behind her cousin Jeannie, who is seated at the piano. Both girls are in profile, although Julie is slightly turned towards the viewer, facing the right side of the composition. The piano is balanced by a table on the opposite side of the room, which, as Julie

⁴⁷ Katharine Ellis. "Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris". *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 50, No. 2/3. Summer - Autumn 1997, pp. 364.

⁴⁸ "« La sonate de Mozart », dans le salon de la rue Weber; à contre jour, Jeannie ai piano en noir et moi au violon, en lilas; ce tableau a beaucoup de succès, de loin on croit voir les traits de figures, en s'approchant il n'y a rien. Sur le coin de la table qui passe, de la musique très faite; j'ai aimé beaucoup de cela dès que Maman l'a commencé, celui-ci est le second..." Julie Manet. *Journal (1893-1899): Sa jeunesse parmi les peintre impressionnistes et les hommes de lettres*, 1979, pp. 91.

wrote, is cluttered with music. Julie and Jeanne are in front of a large window that emits a bright light against the room's sage walls. Julie dominates the composition, standing above her accompanist. However, this differs from Morisot's sketch. Looking at the Brooklyn Museum drawing, assuming the dating correct, placing it before the 1894 painting, Julie is not where she appears in the final painting — in fact, she is in a separate quarter.

In correspondence with the Brooklyn Museum's Assistant Curator, Joseph Shaikewitz, I received a text from the most recent exhibition featuring the drawing: *Rembrandt to Picasso: Five Centuries of European Works on Paper* (2019) which described Julie as “coming into a room where her cousin Jeannie plays the piano.”⁴⁹ This statement, however, is rather conjectural based on the visual evidence concerning Morisot's skill in rendering with great accuracy performances on the violin, and that fact there are few images of Julie in passing since her childhood to the last portrait Morisot painted. A majority of Morisot's studies and paintings of Julie are stationary, although she depicts Julie actively and psychologically engaged in her own pleasures, from sketching, embroidering, picking fruit, to playing a board game with her father. In this drawing, we see a majority of Julie's body except for her left arm, whereas her right arm is in view, awkwardly bent at the elbow while slightly jutting out from her body. Her head is also slightly cocked to the left, looking upon something. Morisot also leaves her left shoulder, where a violin would sit, without charcoal. I argue Morisot would not have drawn such a clumsy figure, leaning over, “coming into a room”, especially of her daughter whose movements she would have been exceptionally familiar with. Morisot's sketch shows that Julie is more than likely playing the violin or tuning her instrument in the other room, as her cousin warms up on the piano.

⁴⁹ Joseph Shaikewitz, 11 September 2020 (7:00 a.m.), RE: Brooklyn Museum Collection.

The Sotheby's publication of Julie's journal provides a sketch of Julie and her cousin (figure 22), whose image remains unmodified in the drawing and the final painting, that better correlates with the composition and perspective in what would become the *Mozart Sonata* now in the Smith College Museum. In the sketch Morisot moves Julie from the door frame to the front of the picture plane, standing parallel to Jeannie, slightly in front, playing her violin. The sketch shows Julie with her violin scroll pointed downward, below Jeannie's head, which evokes the impression of a violin novice due to poor posture. In the final painting Morisot replaces this figure in favor of a tall, lengthened, and expressive violinist, seen in an individual sketch of Julie from 1894 (figure 23), whose violin scroll is lifted with a higher right elbow and an arched back. Morisot's final painting features a climactic moment, Julie is in the motion of an up-bow, raising her body to provide momentum, as we await the inevitable downbeat where her scroll and arm come back down -- a far more engaging image than her initial studies. *Mozart Sonata* captures the apogee of this musical collaboration between Julie and her cousin, with the maximum output of energy emulating from the violinist before open windows, again with natural light highlighting the performers.

Developing the painting of Julie rising from a private amateur to a formidable performer, Morisot abandons feminine restrictions of physical decorum in favor of an individual, reflective musician by representing Julie's ability to intellectually and musically collaborate with her cousin. In asserting Julie's potential to strive for and overcome a life beyond the gendered limitations of bourgeois society, Morisot merges elements of public and private spaces of performance, thereby blurring expectations of gender and space.

CONCLUSION

Berthe Morisot left art historians and music historians with a rich record of the complex bourgeois music culture and practice in transition during the later nineteenth-century.

Linda Nochlin reminds us:

“... for a woman to opt for a career at all, — much less for a career in art, has required a certain amount of individuality... she must in any case have a good strong streak of rebellion in her to make her way in the world of art at all, rather than submitting to the socially approved role of wife and mother... It is only by adopting, however covertly, the ‘masculine’ attributes of single-mindedness, concentration, tenaciousness, and absorption of ideas and craftsmanship for their own sake that women have succeeded, and continue to succeed, in the world of art.”⁵⁰

Although never an outspoken feminist herself, Morisot was deeply aware of the inequities firmly placed upon her, and all women of her time.⁵¹ It is not in the fact that Morisot painted interiors, children, or private scenes that make her an artist of feminism. Rather it is the way in which Morisot subverts bourgeois tradition, reinvents private performance, and reveals and contributes to sociocultural contradictions through her individual consciousness as a mother and artist. Documenting the transition of complex and fragile gender boundaries in violin performance, Morisot’s final series obliterates the canonical binaries trapping art historical analysis.

⁵⁰ Linda Nochlin. “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” (1971). Accessed 04 April 2020.

http://www.writing.upenn.edu/library/Nochlin-Linda_Why-Have-There-Been-No-GreatWomen-Artists.pdf, pp. 19.

⁵¹ Soon after the birth of Julie, Morisot states, “I regret that Bibi is not a boy. In the first place because she looks like a boy; then, she would perpetuate a famous name, and mostly for the simple reason that each and every one of us, men and women, are in love with the male sex...” Berthe Morisot. *Berthe Morisot: The Correspondence with her family and friends*, edited by Denis Rouart, Moyer Bell Limited, 1987, pp. 115.

Concluding with a comparison of Manet's 1874 portrait of a young Morisot, before motherhood (figure 24), and one of Morisot's most adored portraits of Julie (figure 25), I return to the feminist discussion that set this thesis in motion to act as a thoughtful *coda*. In reaffirming the uncanny physical, emotional, and psychological likeness between these two women of modernity, both women fill the picture plane, dark features against a pale canvas for a face. Though *Julie Daydreaming* (1894) does not evoke the same mental state as in *Berthe Morisot in mourning*, both portraits convey the independent, internalized mind and ambitions through their triangular form and direct gaze. Moreover, these portraits conjure two opposing feminine identities, the dark lady and the lady in white.⁵² But rather than assuming they pose as opposites, I argue it reinforces the notion that they are two sides of the same coin, representing the complex, feminine experience further muddled by gender politics in classical music, the dissipation of the binary of public-private spaces, and Morisot's artistic aspirations for her daughter and herself; for, she did affirm later in her life that, "Fundamentally I am like Julie...",⁵³ since:

"... Julie Manet was a painter,
« She who abandons her games,
the violin for a canvas. »"⁵⁴

⁵² "The dark lady is one face of a cultural polarisation of femininity that sets up a domesticated, either virginal or maternal, femininity - the white lady - in opposition to a dangerous, sexually dominating or alluring figure that is always elsewhere, connected with the spaces of alterity and exoticism, and hence of unregulated sexuality." Griselda Pollock. *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories*. Routledge Classics. New York, New York. 1999, pp. 249.

⁵³ Berthe Morisot. *Berthe Morisot: The Correspondence with her family and friends*, edited by Denis Rouart, Moyer Bell Limited, 1987, pp. 166.

⁵⁴ Stéphane Mallarmé from Julie Manet's *Journal (1893-1899): Sa jeunesse parmi les peintres impressionnistes et les hommes de lettres*, 1979, pp. 7. "... Julie Manet était peintre, « Elle qui délaisse en ses jeux, Le violon pour une toile. »"

IMAGES



Figure 1. Man Ray, *Le Violon d'Ingres*, 1924. Gelatin silver print. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, CA.

(Retrieved from

<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/54733/man-ray-le-violon-d'ingres-ingres-s-violin-american-1924/>.)



MADAME GAUTHEROT.

Figure 2. Francesco Bartolozzi, *Madame Gautherot*, 1791, from “Lady Violinists”, F. G. E., *The Musical Times*, Vol. 47, No. 764 (Oct. 1906), pp. 665.



Figure 3. Édouard Manet, *Music Lesson*, 1870. Oil on canvas. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA. (Retrieved from <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/34058>.)



Figure 4. Edgar Degas, *Violinist and Young Woman*, c. 1871. Oil and crayon on canvas. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, MI. (Retrieved from <https://www.dia.org/art/collection/object/violinist-and-young-woman-42268>.)



Figure 5. J-A-D Ingres, *Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot*, 1829. Private collection. (Retrieved from <https://www.wikiart.org/en/jean-auguste-dominique-ingres/>.)



Figure 6. J-A-D Ingres, *Niccolò Paganini*, c. 1830. Counterproof or tracing strengthened with graphite and gouache on translucent paper. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY. (Retrieved from <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/337364>.)



Figure 7. Anne Vallayer-Coster, *Portrait of a Violinist*, 1773. (Retrieved from [https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/plumage/sothebys-french-17th-and-18th-century-paintings/.](https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/plumage/sothebys-french-17th-and-18th-century-paintings/))



Figure 8. Ferdinand-Victor-Eugène Delacroix, *Paganini*, 1831. Oil on cardboard on wood panel. The Phillips Collection, Washington DC. (Retrieved from <https://www.phillipscollection.org/collection/browse-the-collection?id=0487>.)



Figure 9. Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *The Daughters of Catulle Mendès*, Huguette (1871-1964), Claudine (1876-1937), and Helyonne (1879-1955), 1888. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY. (Retrieved from <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/438014>.)



Figure 10. Berthe Morisot, *Studying the Violin*, 1892-93. Private Collection. (Retrieved from <https://www.wikiart.org/en/berthe-morisot/studying-the-violin-1893>.)

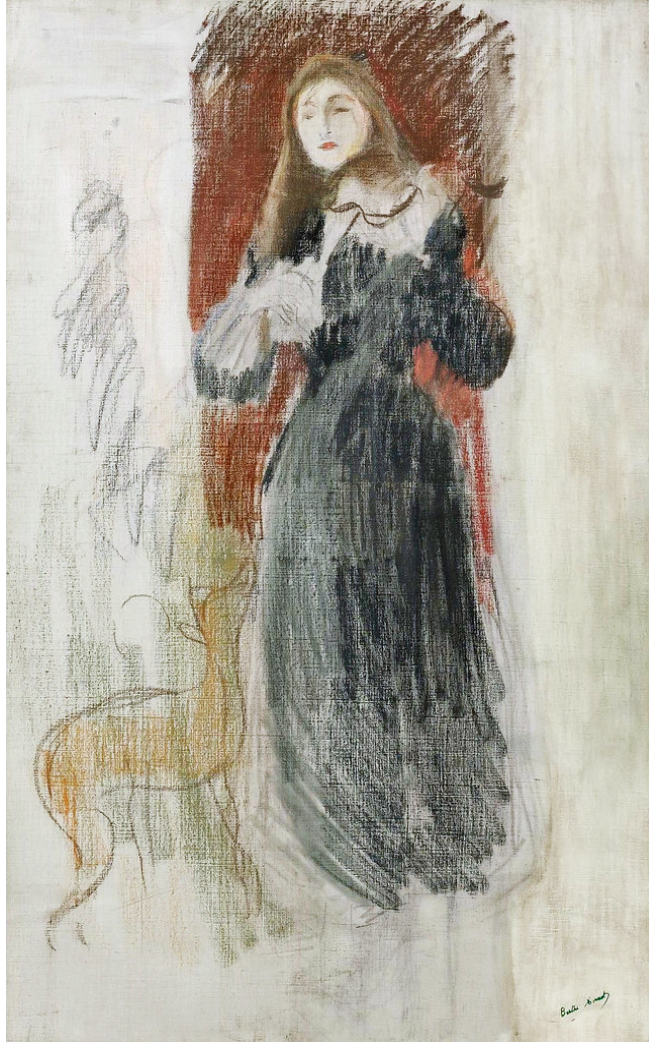


Figure 11. Berthe Morisot, *The violin*, 1893. Pastel on paper. Private collection. (Retrieved from <https://www.wikiart.org/en/berthe-morisot/the-violin>.)

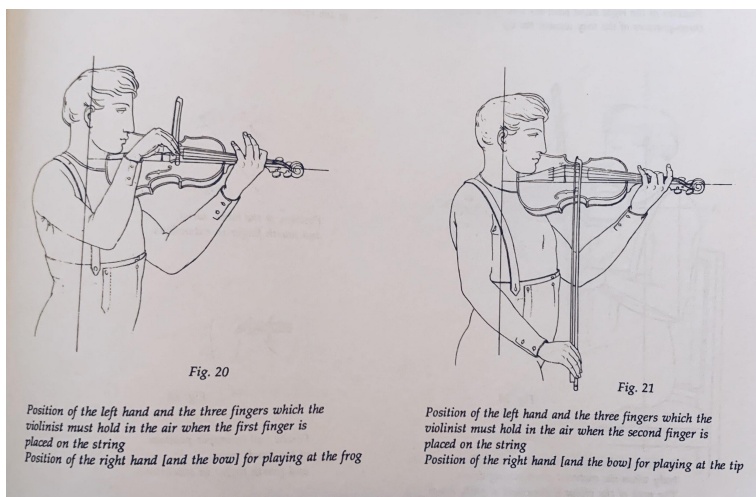


Figure 12. Two images showing the structural difference in the bow arm, one in the lower-half of the bow and the other at the tip, from *The Art of the Violin*, edited and translated by Louise Goldberg, Northwestern University Press, 1991, pp. 21.

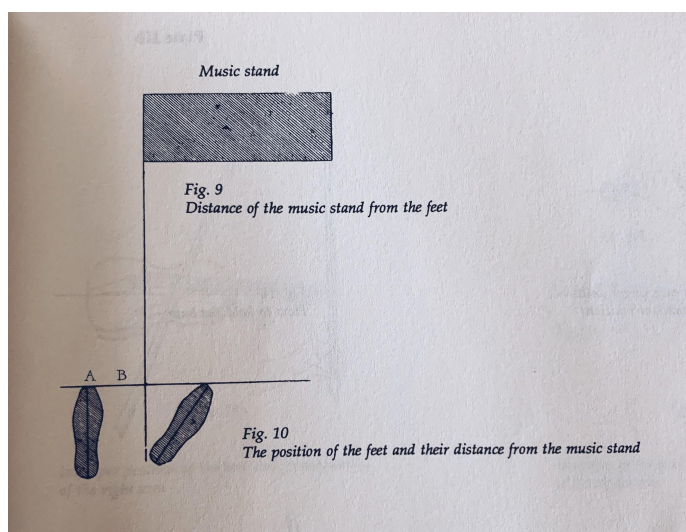


Figure 13. A plate depicting proper placement of the feet, from *The Art of the Violin*, edited and translated by Louise Goldberg, Northwestern University Press, 1991, pp. 19.



Figure 14. Berthe Morisot, *Julie Playing the violin*, 1893. Oil on canvas. Private Collection. (Retrieved from <https://www.wikiart.org/en/berthe-morisot/julie-playing-a-violin>.)



Figure 14. Berthe Morisot, *La Chanson du Chien*, c. 1875-78. Gouache, pastel, and monotype on paper. Private Collection. (Retrieved from https://www.wga.hu/html_m/d/degas/7/graphi11.html.)



Figure 16. Edgar Degas, *Femmes à la terrasse d'un café au soir*; 1877. Pastel on monotype. Le Musée d'Orsay, Paris, France. (Retrieved from <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/collections/index-of-works/resultat-collection.html>.)



Figure 17. Edgar Degas, *Au café concert des Ambassadeurs*, 1885. Pastel on monotype. Le Musée d'Orsay, Paris, France.
(Retrieved from [https://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/collections/index-of-works/resultat-collection.html?no_cache.](https://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/collections/index-of-works/resultat-collection.html?no_cache))

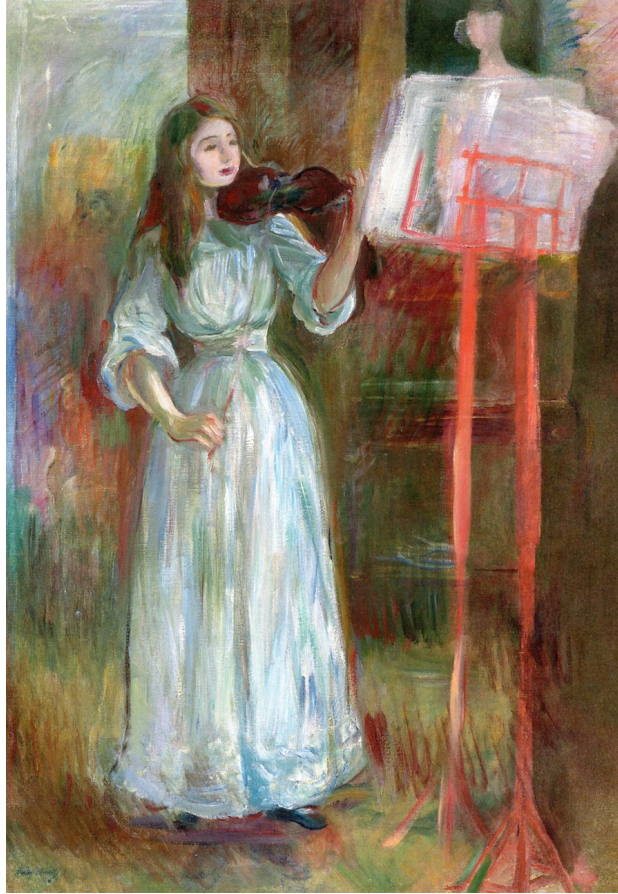


Figure 18. Berthe Morisot, *Julie Playing the Violin in a White Dress*, 1894. Oil on canvas. Private collection. (Retrieved from <http://artsviewer.com/morisot-289.html>.)



Figure 19. Edgar Degas, *The Singer in Green*, 1884. Pastel on light blue laid paper. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY. (Retrieved from <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/436159>.)



Figure 20. Berthe Morisot, *Mozart Sonata*, 1894. Oil on canvas. Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, MA. (Retrieved from <http://museums.fivecolleges.edu/detail.php?museum.>)



Figure 21. Berthe Morisot, *Study for La Musique*, 1893. Charcoal on laid paper. Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, NY. (Retrieved from <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/147067>.)



Figure 22. Berthe Morisot, *Julie and her cousin Jeannie practising*, not dated. (Retrieved from *Growing Up with the Impressionists: The Diary of Julie Manet*, Sotheby's Publications, 1987, pp. 42.)



Figure 23. Berthe Morisot, *The Violin*, 1894. Pencil on paper. Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris. (Retrieved from <https://www.pubhist.com/w40716>.)



Figure 24. Édouard Manet, *Berthe Morisot in mourning*, 1874. Oil on canvas. Private collection. (Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%C3%89douard_Manet_-_Berthe_Morisot_in_mourning.jpg.)



Figure 25. Berthe Morisot, *Julie Daydreaming*, 1894. Oil on canvas. Private collection. (Retrieved from <https://www.wikiart.org/en/berthe-morisot/julie-daydreaming>.)

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