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Les rues des tableaux: The Geography of the Parisian Art Market 1815-1955

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Abstract

Building upon a preliminary socioeconomic analysis of the art dealers in Paris between 1815 and 1955 (*ARTL@S Bulletin 2*, n°2), this paper presents the findings of a spatial study of the Parisian art market in this period. Using serial geographical data drawn from a single, consistent source – the Bottin du commerce – we mapped the spatial evolution of art dealers over 140 years, using a geocoding system with composite locators. The article explores the different spatial dynamics of this market, and seeks to shed light on the links between the evolution of the Parisian economy as a whole and the individual trajectories of its art dealers.

Résumé

Prolongement d'une première analyse socio-économique des « marchands de tableaux » à Paris entre 1815 et 1955 (*ARTL@S Bulletin 2*, no. 2), cet article présente les résultats d'une étude spatiale du marché de l'art parisien pour cette période. À partir d'une série de données géographiques fournies par une source homogène, le Bottin du commerce, nous avons cartographié 140 ans d'évolution spatiale des « marchands de tableaux », en utilisant un système de géocodage composite. L'article expose les dynamiques spatiales de ce marché et les étudie grâce à une approche multi-scalaire, faisant le lien entre l'évolution globale de l'économie parisienne et les trajectoires individuelles des marchands de tableaux.

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Received wisdom sums up the geography of the Parisian art market in three broad stages: the grouping of galleries around the rue Laffitte in the 1870s, the movement towards the well-heeled 8th arrondissement, and the emergence of the left bank as a hotspot in the 1920s. While this is by no means inaccurate, until now no study has seriously sought to verify and expand upon these initial details. Following an article on the socio-economic evolution of the Parisian art market,¹ the present study will extend this analysis through a geographical approach. In order to carry out this research, we first extracted data from the ‘*marchands de tableaux*’ (‘art dealers’) listings section of the *Bottin du commerce*. Using the addresses given in the *Bottin*, it is possible to carry out a precise, diachronic analysis of the shifting geographical distribution of Parisian art dealers.² This consistent data set drawn from a single publication ensures the most comprehensive and exhaustive possible of the long-term spatial evolution of the ‘gallery-spaces’ set-up by art dealers, and therefore of the Parisian art market itself.

Both cartographic and art historical researches have been carried out on 19th century London,³ on Brussels since 1833,⁴ and on Amsterdam between 1550 and 1750.⁵ Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel,⁶ Malcolm Gee⁷ and Julie Verlaine⁸ have meanwhile applied this approach to Paris. These researchers have provided the first geographical analyses of the art market. Where they have tended to focus on shorter periods, this present study will consider a longer timescale that corresponds to the lifespan

of the *Bottin*, which was printed from 1815 to 1955. In addition to examining a broader period, we will also look to apply an innovative methodology that will enable us to plot a century and a half of geographical data and identify the key turning points in this long spatial history. Finally, we propose to adopt a multi-scale approach that accounts for the wider and longer-term dynamics of the Parisian art markets as well as the individual trajectories of art dealers.

To the previously established artistic geography, we can therefore now add a precise and referenced cartography of the movements of art dealers in Paris in line with the geographic and socio-economic context of the city. This present study also addresses several geographical blind spots, in particular those surrounding the emergence of the market in the first half of the 19th century. The comprehensive data provided by our source has further revealed that some dealers established themselves in artistic neighbourhoods that have largely been excluded from historiography until now; such was the case for the area around the place de la République between 1860 and 1890, and for more peripheral arrondissements from the 1890s onwards.

Far from being a static world, the artistic scene was constantly changing in a two-fold movement: on the one hand, it followed broad changes to Parisian life in the period (a shifting balance between left bank/right bank and a move towards the north-west) as the city was gradually reorganized and neighbourhoods fell in and out of favour; at the same time, the spatial evolution of the art market exerted an influence on these latter changes, with the presence of galleries contributing to an area’s appeal.⁹

¹ Félicie de Maupeou and Léa Saint-Raymond, “Les “marchands de tableaux” dans le *Bottin du commerce*: une approche globale du marché de l’art à Paris entre 1815 et 1955,” *Art@S Bulletin* 2, 2 (Fall 2013).

² This commercial directory, created in 1797, was published as the *Almanach Bottin de la ville de Paris* in 1818. It was purchased by Firmin-Didot Frères in 1857 and became the *Annuaire du commerce Didot-Bottin* in 1909. It ceased publication in 1955.

³ Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, “Local/Global: Mapping Nineteenth-Century London’s Art Market,” *Nineteenth century Art Worldwide*, Volume 11, Issue 3 (Autumn 2012).

⁴ Tatiana Debroux, *Des artistes en ville. Géographie retrospective des plasticiens à Bruxelles (1833-2008)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Université Libre de Bruxelles, December 2012.

⁵ <http://matthewlincoln.net/2015/02/15/mapping-artistic-attention-in-amsterdam.html> accessed April 7, 2016

⁶ Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, ‘Nul n’est prophète en son pays ?’ *L’internationalisation de la peinture des avant-gardes parisiennes 1855-1914*, (Paris: Musée d’Orsay/ Nicolas Chaudun, 2009).

⁷ Malcolm Gee, *Dealers, Critics, and Collectors of Modern Painting: Aspects of the Parisian Art Market between 1910 and 1930* (New York: Garland Pub., 1981).

⁸ Julie Verlaine, *Les galeries d’art contemporain à Paris. Une histoire culturelle du marché de l’art, 1944-1970* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2012).

⁹ The movements of galleries parallel those of painters and actresses in the same period, see Manuel Charpy, “Quartiers à la mode et attraction des marges. Législateurs du goût et conquêtes urbaines après 1860,” in *Agrandir Paris 1860-1970*, ed. Florence Bourillon and Annie Fourcaut (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne / Comité d’histoire de la Ville de Paris, 2012), 185 – 202.

“It’s quite something!”¹⁰

Methods for Mapping Art Dealers

Until now, the Parisian art market has never been mapped over such a long period. Given the city’s constantly changing streetscape over the century and half that we propose to study, particularly sophisticated analytical tools are needed for such an undertaking: the 1860 incorporation of peripheral areas that lay inside the enceinte de Thiers¹¹ more than doubled the city’s size; its street address system transformed over time¹²; most famously, Haussmann’s works radically altered the city. A detailed reconstruction of Paris’ historical cartography was therefore a necessary initial step towards a visualisation of the movements of art dealers. In order to achieve this, we created a composite address geocoding system that drew on three different cartographic sources from different eras: the Vasserot map,¹³ published between 1827 and 1836, the Jacoubet map, which shows the street layout around 1840,¹⁴ and an up-to-date map provided by the IGN. The geocoding of art dealers’ addresses is thus able to accurately pinpoint art dealers according to the address given in the original source with an extremely high rate of success: we were able to plot and verify 99% of the 2819 entries that we gathered.

The cartography of the geographic information from this 140 year-long period [map 1] reveals a number of phenomena that will be familiar to art historians: “on the one hand, the asymmetry between the right and left banks, and on the other, the expansion of the city towards the north-

west.”¹⁵ Bernard Marchand’s characterization of Paris under the July Monarchy could be extended to describe the city over the 19th century as a whole, and indeed up until the beginning of the 1930s. These changes parallel those of the artistic scene, which in the same period transitioned from one governed by all-powerful institutions to one that was defined by a more liberal market system in which gallerists played a key role. However, a number of more subtle dynamics were at work within these more general movements.

In order to better present and analyse our historical maps of the Parisian art market between 1815 and 1955, we introduced two levels of distinction. In spatial terms, we divided up the city according to its 80 administrative districts, the smallest area defined by the authorities and a perfectly valid level of analysis for the 19th and 20th century alike [map 2].¹⁶ In chronological terms, we considered the average date of the opening of the galleries in a given area alongside the date of the opening of the eleventh gallery. As such, only more relevant areas – those with ten or more art dealers – were taken into account on our maps. The inclusion of areas with just a few galleries alongside major artistic centres would have biased our findings by constituting a form of background interference. Similarly, we chose to disregard mean opening dates that resulted from particularly large intervals between gallery openings – in other words, a particularly high standard deviation¹⁷ – as in this case the resulting opening year was of little real meaning.¹⁸ Finally, the date of the eleventh gallery opening was included as a measure of the statistical relevance of an area. A summary of this information is given in [map 3] and in the following graph [figure 1]. The map reflects both the expansion of the city and the spatio-temporal evolutions of its art

¹⁰ “À Paris, tout reprend son cours : expositions, ouvertures de nouvelles galeries, dont le nombre augmente chaque jour : ce qu’il y en a, c’est effarant !,” Berthe Weill, *Pan ! ... Dans l’œil ! ou trente ans dans les coulisses de la peinture contemporaine*, (Dijon: Échelle de Jacob, 2009), 164.

¹¹ The *mur des Fermiers généraux* was a wall erected in 1790 shortly before the Revolution to facilitate tax collection. It marked the limits of Paris until the *loi du 16 juin 1859* decreed the extension of the city’s limits to include the area that lay inside the *enceinte de Thiers*, a fortification constructed between 1841 and 1844.

¹² The current system for numbering buildings, i.e. a single numerical system for each street with even numbers on the right and odd ones on the left, with orientation established in relation to the Seine, was established on 4th February 1805. A programme to apply this system was decreed on 28th June 1847 and completed in 1851. Jeanne Pronteau, *Les numérotages des maisons de Paris du X^e siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Ville de Paris, *commission des travaux historiques, Sous-commission des recherches d’histoire municipale contemporaine*, 1966).

¹³ Digitized as part of the ALPAGE programme (Analyse diachronique de l’espace urbain Parisien : approche Géomatique, programme ANR 2006-2010. <http://alpage.huma-num.fr/fr/>) which extracted a number of data sets including address data (‘Vasserot Adresses (1810-1836) © ALPAGE : A.-L. Bethé, 2010’).

¹⁴ Here we could like to thank Anne Varet Vitu - UMR 8558 CNRS (CRH-LaDéHis) - who provided us with this data.

¹⁵ Bernard Marchand, *Paris: histoire d’une ville* (Paris: Seuil, 1993), 52.

¹⁶ Established by the *loi du 16 juin 1859*, these districts correspond to the 48 revolutionary sectors created in 1790 – now referred to as *quartiers* – along with the 32 additional *quartiers* that were added to the city with its extension. Today they are still used by Paris’ police force.

¹⁷ This threshold of relevance refers to the median standard deviation. We also chose to disregard average dates of establishment whose standard deviation was greater than 30 years.

¹⁸ For example, the establishment of gallery spaces in Saint-Germain-des-Prés occurred over two distinct periods and the neighbourhood’s average establishment date – 1897 – has little meaning as it does not reflect this historical reality.

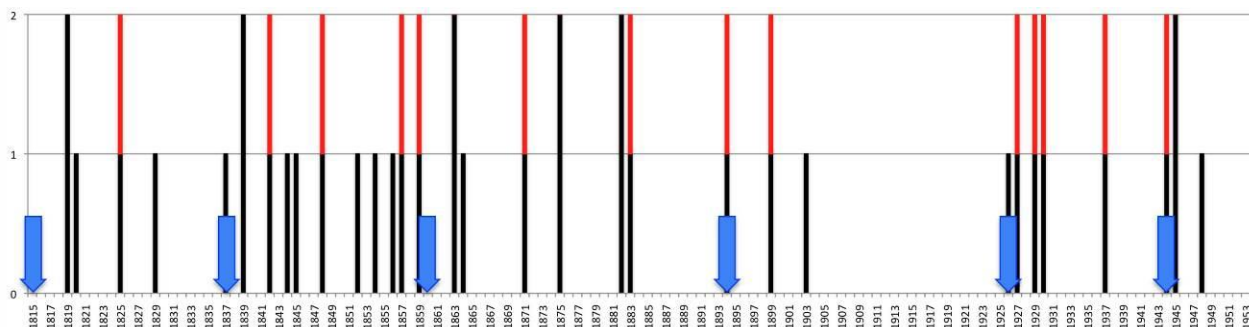


Figure 1
Definition of the pivotal periods in the geography of the art market, from the annual number of districts where the eleventh gallery appeared (in black) and from the significant average dates of the opening of the eleventh gallery (in red)

dealers. The graph meanwhile shows the pivotal moments when the stable population of galleries suddenly increased, and allows us to define the key periods of spatio-temporal evolution [figure 1]. 1860 is the only date that we manually inserted to this graph, in light of the importance of this year in Paris' history: it was in this year that the city took on its present form consisting of twenty arrondissements. In this way, we established six periods: 1815-1836, 1837-1859, 1860-1893, 1894-1925, 1926-1943 and, 1944-1954.

Using this periodization, we created two types of cartographic representations: 'stock maps,' which show the number of galleries operating between two given dates, and 'flow maps,' which show the net change of an area in terms of the number of galleries gained or lost. An automatic data processing model enabled us quickly generate our results and verify the relevance of the periods we had proposed.¹⁹ The same model was used to treat smaller, local data sets for the rue de Seine, rue Laffitte and rue La Boétie.

The choice of these streets and the corresponding change of scale was not arbitrary: in existing literature on art dealers, these areas are identified as the main *rues des tableaux*, an observation confirmed by our spatial analysis of gallery 'hotspots'. This method identifies statistically significant spaces and organizes them into squares measuring 100m² each. The result is a map that shows the zones with a spatially significant concentration of art dealers. While the map of

hotspots across the entire period [map 4] presents a largely familiar set of locations, more complex dynamics can emerge when our periodization is applied [map 23].

Art Dealers and their Spaces (1815-1860)

1815-1836: Between the Institut and the Palais-Royal

An early cluster of art dealers formed on the left bank around the collège des Quatre-Nations [map 5]. Since 1805, Louis Le Vau's domed building had housed the Institut de France. Founded in 1795 following the revolution, the Institut brought together five existing academies, including the Académie des Beaux-arts that was created in 1816 to replace the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture. That same year, the École des Beaux-arts was established and housed in the former Petits-Augustins convent that was then occupied by the Musée des Monuments Français. The northern end of rue du Seine that opens onto the river, quickly became a favourite area for art dealers. The importance of this street and in particular its northern section is clear on [map 7]. Between 1815 and 1836, it was home to five art dealers: Berthon, Jacquinet, Saint Martin, Mennier and Madame Girard. In these early years of the 19th century, the Parisian artistic scene was still dominated by powerful official institutions. Though art dealers would eventually make their presence felt, at this early stage they were still

¹⁹ Model based on the chronological selections and spatial statistics of the ArcGIS Model Builder.

largely dependent on the institutional system and so tended to stay close to its centres.

In this period, with a significant art market yet to take form, gallerists were overwhelmingly located on right bank: almost 80% operated there. Across the river from the rue du Seine, a second cluster of art dealers could be found around the Louvre, the Palais-Royal and the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. Between 1815 and 1836, the districts of Palais-Royal, Mail, and Vivienne saw a marked development, with 55 gallery openings against 45 closures [map 6]. The concentration of gallerists can be explained by the economic and social appeal of the Palais-Royal, “the most famous, most central, and most lively area of Paris for half a century between 1786 and 1830.”²⁰ Though it was home to finance, fashion, and luxury traders, the area’s main economic activity focused around the book trade: the presence of the literary scene proved to be a draw and galleries clustered around the Palais. The neighbourhood’s association with the arts went beyond economic concerns: the galerie du Palais-Royal had been home to the Salon until it moved to the Louvre in 1699. In 1815, the first year of our analysis, an art dealer by the name of M. Chaise was already in business at 61 galerie de Pierre inside the Palais-Royal, and was soon followed in 1817 by Monfort in the galerie de Bois and in 1820 by Allain in the galerie Vitrée.

The neighbourhood immediately surrounding the Palais was also populated by art dealers. The most prestigious of them was Alphonse Giroux, whose address is listed in the *Bottin du commerce* as 7 rue Coq Saint-Honoré from 1816 to 1849.²¹ This painter and dealer, who had worked on the restoration of Notre-Dame, played a central role in the development of the trade in modern painting between 1820 and 1830.²² J. Vigny, meanwhile, operated out of the passage Delorme until 1820. Established in 1808, this luxurious arcade opened

onto the pavillon de Marsan and was also home to fashion and curiosity boutiques until it became less frequented around 1828.²³

The end of the 1820s and the establishment of the July Monarchy saw a first move towards the northwest, one which continued progressively with the modifications of the capital. It was the construction of covered arcades that spurred this first shift. Between 1823 and 1828, no less than twenty new arcades were built, including some of the city’s most prestigious: Grand Cerf, Choiseul, Colbert, along with the galleries Véro-Dodat and Vivienne.²⁴ While Walter Benjamin considered that “the first condition for their emergence is the boom in the textile trade”²⁵ the arcades were also an important location for the burgeoning art trade. From the end of the 1820s, art dealers were drawn to this new economic centre to the north of the Palais-Royal. Its focal point was the rue Vivienne, the historic centre of banking and money changing activities.²⁶ The passage Choiseul clearly demonstrates the area’s appeal: opened in 1827, five art dealers opened their doors there in the space of five years. H. Gaugain opened in the galerie Colbert, in 1830, three years after the arcade’s inauguration. The economic shift towards the northwest was decisively accelerated in 1836 with the imposition of a ban on gambling: “From then on, the decline [of the Palais-Royal] was rapid. Dandies, strollers, pleasure seekers and girls emigrated several hundred meters away, towards the Boulevard and the new enchanted promenade.”²⁷

1837-1859: Conquering the Boulevard

As [map 8] shows, the following period was characterized by two parallel phenomena. On the one hand, the number of art dealers grew significantly, with 391 new galleries opening over the period, and eleven districts reached or passed

²⁰ Bertrand Lemoine, *Les passages couverts en France* (Paris: Délégation à l'Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris, 1990), 71.

²¹ Currently the rue de Marengo, running between the Louvre and the Palais-Royal, perpendicular to the rue de Rivoli.

²² Linda Whiteley, “Art et commerce d’art en France avant l’époque impressionniste,” *Romantisme* 13, no. 40 (1983), 66.

²³ Lemoine, *Les passages couverts en France*, 105.

²⁴ Lemoine, *Les passages couverts en France*, 26.

²⁵ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 3.

²⁶ Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Le tableau de Paris*, (Paris: La Découverte, 2008), 86.

²⁷ Eric Hazan, *L’invention de Paris. Il n’y a pas de pas perdus*, (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2008), 46.

the eleventh gallery milestone. These figures, higher than any other period, reflect the pivotal nature of this period. At the same time, the cluster of galleries to the northwest of the Palais-Royal became more dense with the popularity of the arcades and the Boulevard. Indeed the Boulevard was home to a new artistic area around the Opera – then at 12 rue Le Peletier –, the boulevard des Italiens and the boulevard des Capucines. ‘The Boulevard’ at this time referred specifically to the boulevard des Italiens, whose reputation for elegance dated from the time of the *Directoire* and which saw it become synonymous with “a style of sociability in which men of the world participated.”²⁸ Under the July Monarchy, these military structures – a boulevard originally designated the parade ground beneath a rampart – became models for major thoroughfares, elegant roads planted with trees and home to numerous businesses, cafés, and luxury boutiques.²⁹ The centre of fashionable life moved further north-westwards, to the section of the boulevard des Italiens known as ‘boulevard de Gand’; it was in the town of Gand that Louis XVIII had spent the *Cent-jours*, and the boulevard’s moniker was a reference to the émigrés who flocked there after the king’s Restoration.³⁰ The boulevard de Gand referred specifically to the northern section of the boulevard des Italiens between the Madeleine and the rue Taitbout.³¹ On the corners where the rue Taitbout met the boulevard, Le Café Tortoni, founded in 1804, faced off with the Café de Paris, which opened its doors in 1822. Another important address in the area’s social life was La Maison Dorée, a restaurant that opened in 1840 at 20 boulevard des Italiens. The gentlemen of the boulevard de Gand also rubbed shoulders at circles such as the Union, the Jockey Club and the Cercle agricole. The appeal of the Boulevard was

further bolstered with the completion of the Église de la Madeleine in 1842.³²

Offering all the commercial and leisure activities that made Paris a modern capital, this new neighbourhood formed around the Faubourg Montmartre and the Chaussée-d’Antin was frequented by the kind of bourgeois flâneur who was likely to purchase works of art.

Art dealers recognized the appeal of the area and soon moved in [map 9]. The Faubourg Montmartre district passed the eleven gallery threshold in 1842, with the Chaussée-d’Antin following shortly after in 1848 [map 3]. Amongst the neighbourhood’s new arrivals was Adolphe Beugniet, who set up his restoration business in 1842 at 10 rue Lafitte, before opening his gallery at number 18 in 1848. Beugniet thus became the first art dealer on the rue Lafitte, which saw 13 openings and 8 closings over this period [map 10]. The trajectory of Jean-Marie-Fortuné Durand-Ruel, the father of the famous art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel, also attests to this geographic shift. He first went into business with a stationery shop on rue Saint-Jacques in the left bank’s Latin Quarter, “a part of the city inhabited for the most part by students [but] largely unfavourable to luxury businesses due to its distance from Paris’ wealthy neighbourhoods.”³³ As his business flourished, Durand-Ruel senior decided to join the art trade. In order to do so, he had to “move towards the neighbourhoods inhabited by his customers and the city’s wealthier inhabitants, who might be interested in his acquisitions.”³⁴ It was in 1837 that he opened a branch on the right bank at 103 rue Neuve des Petits Champs, the street bordering the Palais-Royal to the north. In 1843, increases to his rent led him to relocate to number 83 on the same street. Though apparently a fairly inconsequential move, Durand-Ruel’s finances suffered in the new and less visible location, despite its increased size and more reasonable

²⁸ Anne Martin-Fugier, *La vie élégante ou La formation du Tout-Paris : 1815-1848*, (Paris: Perrin, 2011), 430.

²⁹ Anne-Marie Châtelet, « Formation et transformation des grands boulevards », *La modernité avant Haussmann : formes de l’espace urbain à Paris 1801-1853*, ed. Karen Bowie (Paris, Éditions Recherches, 2001).

³⁰ Marchand, *Paris: histoire d’une ville*, 46.

³¹ Martin-Fugier, *La vie élégante ou La formation du Tout-Paris : 1815-1848*, 430.

³² “[...] many traders left the historic centre and opened their businesses around the Madeleine [...]”, Marchand, *Paris: histoire d’une ville*, 53.

³³ Paul Durand-Ruel, “Mémoires de Paul Durand-Ruel” in *Les archives de l’impressionnisme*, ed. Lionello Venturi (Paris and New York: Durand-Ruel, 1939), 2: 151.

³⁴ Durand-Ruel, “Mémoires de Paul Durand-Ruel,” 151.

rent.³⁵ This episode provides a minor but telling example of the importance of geographic location for economic success. As his business ebbed away, in 1847 Durand-Ruel chose to take a gamble and rented a second space in “the busiest spot in the Paris, thronging with stockbrokers and foreigners”³⁶: boulevard des Italiens. Yet the rent on the Boulevard soon proved to be too expensive, and the gallery closed after just two years with Durand-Ruel maintaining his boutique on rue Neuve des Petits Champs. Despite this failure, Durand-Ruel’s trajectory pointed towards a general trend from the Palais-Royal to the Boulevard.

However, this spatial shift set in with a slight delay: it was not until 1852, some ten years after the completion of the Église de la Madeleine, that the Madeleine district passed the eleven gallery threshold. Indeed this lag may be observed across the whole period, and puts the importance of the art market into perspective, showing that despite a booming trade, dealers tended to follow economic shifts rather than drive them. It was only in the second half of the 20th century that the art market became a decisive force in the development of a district. This was the case in the 1970s, for example, when a series of influential galleries – Daniel Templon, Alain Blondel, François Palluel and the Galerie Beaubourg – set up in the Beaubourg neighbourhood, anticipating the opening of the Centre Georges Pompidou in 1977.³⁷

While the draw of the Boulevard between 1837 and 1859 was undeniable, more subtle dynamics were also at work. The appeal of the Boulevard spread to surrounding areas, including Vendôme and especially Madeleine. The art market’s growth on the right bank was paralleled by a similar development of the left bank, though the asymmetry between the two was not yet quite so marked as it would be in years to come. The École

des Beaux-arts and the Institut continued to ensure the popularity of the Saint-Germain-des-Prés district, where 35 openings offset 30 closings [map 9]. Amongst the most influential of the left bank dealers was Eude *dit* Michel jeune, who operated a gallery at 12 rue de Seine between 1839 and 1850 before opening another at 2 rue des Beaux-Arts from 1843 until 1845. However, where the growing popularity of the Chaussée d’Antin benefited surrounding neighbourhoods on the right bank, on the left bank galleries rarely strayed beyond a more or less fixed perimeter. To give just one example Malinet was listed in the *Bottin du commerce* as an art dealer operating at 9 quai Voltaire between 1846 and 1848, and later at number 25 between 1854 and 1887. He also appeared under in the *marchand de curiosités* category during the same period; it was for this latter activity, and in particular his trade in *chinoiseries* and *japoneries*, that Malinet was best known.³⁸

The Formation of Hotspots (1860-1923)

1860-1893: “One simply must go to rue Laffitte”³⁹

Following a frenetic development that saw the number of galleries in Paris double, the 1860s ushered in a period of gradual stabilisation. 1860 is a key date for the study of Paris’ history, as it was in this year that the city grew from twelve to twenty arrondissements with the annexation of peripheral urban areas. The 400,000 new inhabitants represented not only a major population increase but also a boon to the city’s finances.⁴⁰ This dramatic change was accompanied by the major works carried out by Baron Haussmann, who had been named prefect of the Seine on 23rd June 1853 and had wasted little time

³⁵ In 1843, my father [...] made the grave error of leaving behind his boutique where business was prospering for another location, almost directly opposite at n° 83. Though larger and quite affordable, this boutique was much less visible.” Durand-Ruel, “Mémoires de Paul Durand-Ruel,” 153.

³⁶ Durand-Ruel, “Mémoires de Paul Durand-Ruel,” 154.

³⁷ Félicie de Maupeou and Léa Saint-Raymond, “Cartographie des lieux d’exposition à Paris, de 1850 à nos jours,” *Artl@s Bulletin 1*, no. 1 (Fall 2012), 6.

³⁸ Manuella Moscatiello, “A craze for auctions. Japanese art on sale in 19th century Paris”, *Andon*, 90 (2011), 22-45. Léa Saint-Raymond, “Les collectionneurs d’art asiatique à Paris (1858-1939): une analyse socio-économique”, in *Orient-Extrême: regards croisés sur les collections modernes et contemporaines*, ed. Véronique Alexandre Journeau (Paris: L’Harmattan, to be published).

³⁹ “Il est bon d’aller rue Laffitte”, Ambroise Vollard, *Souvenirs d’un marchand de tableaux* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2007), 83.

⁴⁰ Nathalie Montel, “L’agrandissement de Paris en 1860 : un projet controversé,” in *Agrandir Paris 1860-1970*, ed. Florence Bourillon and Annie Fourcaut (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne / Comité d’histoire de la Ville de Paris, 2012), 99-111.

in acting upon the “plan colorié” drawn up by Napoleon III.⁴¹ A decree signed into law on 26th March 1852 allowed for the expropriation of land that ran alongside streets that were to be extended; Haussmann was thus able to extend roadways straight through the urban fabric, rather than widening existing streets. The city, “hacked apart as if by a sabre, its veins wide open”⁴² was forever changed by Haussmann’s programme.

The most intense period of haussmannization ran from 1853 to 1859 and is reflected in Figure 2, which shows the number of new streets and sections of boulevard created annually.

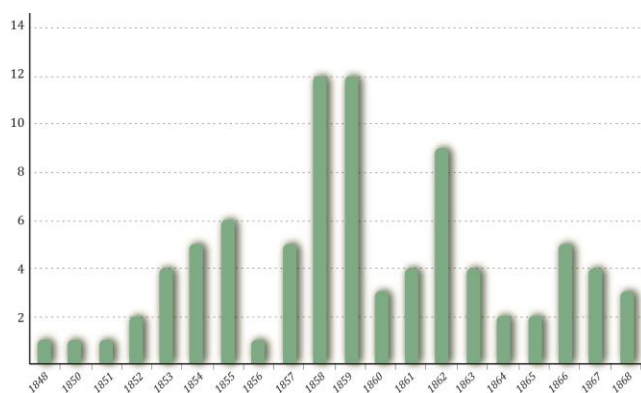


Figure 2. Number of new streets and sections of boulevard decreed annually⁴³

By 1860, the most significant decisions as to the city’s layout had been taken, though the works would continue for many years, making their presence felt as late as the turn of the 20th century.⁴⁴ The dramatic changes brought about by haussmannization increased the appeal of western Paris. The first concessions were located in the peripheral western areas that tended to be less built-up and therefore less expensive, as well as being more attractive to a wealthy clientele.⁴⁵ This shift towards the west was further encouraged by the new site of the new Opera, which was declared in 1860 and lay west of the existing opera house

⁴¹ This map was unfortunately lost when the Hôtel de Ville was burned down in 1871 in the last days of the Paris commune.

⁴² Emile Zola, *La Curée* (Paris: Gallimard, 2013), 114

⁴³ Graph created using data drawn from Pierre Pinon, *Atlas du Paris haussmannien. La ville en héritage du Second Empire à nos jours* (Paris: Parigramme, 2003), 200-201.

⁴⁴ “Haussmann’s works were still being completed: the rue Réaumur, decreed in 1864, was opened in 1895, to allow for the construction of the metro. The boulevard Haussmann, which was to link Opéra to the Drouot junction, was only completed in 1926. After 1889 came the southern ringroad of the rue de la Convention, towards Alésia and Tolbiac. The boulevard Raspail was completed in 1911. Haussmann’s legacy seemed to be never ending.” Marchand, *Paris: histoire d’une ville*, 171.

⁴⁵ Pinon, *Atlas du Paris haussmannien. La ville en héritage du Second Empire à nos jours*, 62.

on rue Le Peletier in the triangle formed by rue Caumartin, the boulevard des Italiens and the boulevard Montmartre.⁴⁶ Finally, the enlargement of the gare Saint-Lazare further shifted the city’s centre of gravity towards the 8th arrondissement. The station was created in 1837 with the opening of the railway line between Paris and Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Its development continued apace until 1867, when a final extension was carried out to accommodate the crowds arriving in the city for the World Fair. With the city rapidly expanding towards the north-west, galleries struggled to keep up, as shown on the maps 11 and 12. While the Chaussée-d’Antin district dominates these maps, Europe and Saint-Georges continue to gain ground in a movement that would reach its peak in the 20th century.

The growing importance of the 9th arrondissement was noted by guides to the city:

Visiting the various districts of the arrondissement, one can easily notice the distinguishing characteristics of each; our comments above apply in particular to the Chaussée-d’Antin district; to complete the picture of the arrondissement, we need only mention the numerous displays that line the boulevard Haussmann and rue Lafitte, rue Taitbout and rue Châteaudun. Paintings, gouaches, watercolours, drawings, medals, autographs, bronzes, faiences, rifles, antique furniture abound in the shop windows of these streets, transforming them into a sort of museum of curiosities.⁴⁷

The emblematic history of the galerie Durand-Ruel can help us to better understand the draw of the 9th arrondissement. In 1858, Jean-Marie-Honoré Durand-Ruel left the rue des Petits-Champs to open a new gallery further to the west, on the prestigious rue de la Paix. When Paul Durand-Ruel took over the family business from his father, he began to look for a larger space that could accommodate exhibitions of work by the painters he was championing. He considered taking over Martinet’s former galleries on the boulevard des Italiens, only to decide upon a site between rue

⁴⁶ Marchand, *Paris: histoire d’une ville*, 83.

⁴⁷ Alexis Martin, *Paris. Promenades dans les vingt arrondissements* (Paris: A. Hennuyer, 1890), 168-169.

Laffitte and rue Le Peletier.⁴⁸ This choice proved to be an unfortunate one, by the gallerist's own admission:

Leaving behind my wonderful boutique on the rue de la Paix was a major error that I would pay for with twenty-five years of terrible suffering. To this day I cannot understand why I made such a mistake, since I ought to have seen that the magnificently placed rue de la Paix had immediately led our business to thrive and prosper. Indeed it had proved to be my parents' salvation following the precarious years of their disastrously located gallery on the rue des Petits-Champs.⁴⁹

Durand-Ruel suggested that his new location was disappointing in large part due to its distance from the boulevard des Italiens, which was very much the centre of business and the place to see and be seen.

However, Durand-Ruel's complaint seems to run entirely contrary to our own analysis. The rue Laffitte, where art dealers had begun to move in the previous period, became a major centre from 1860 onwards, as our enlargement [map 13] shows. It also benefitted from the immediate proximity of the auction house on the rue Drouot, which opened on 1852. The ground floor of almost every even-numbered building on the street was occupied by an art dealer: Antoine Baer at n°2, Simon Cahen at n°20 then n°6, Berneim Jeune at n°8, Beugniet at n°10, Gérard at n°12, Durand-Ruel at n°16, Hector Brame at n°22 from 1892 to 1894, Frédéric Reitlinger at n°22 bis for a short spell in 1879, Tamplère at n°28 and Wildenstein at n°56 between 1885 and 1892. On the other side of the street, Détrimont ran a gallery at n°33 between 1856 and 1871 before moving to n°27 between 1873 and 1888. N°15 proved particularly popular, playing host to five different art dealers between

1860 and 1893: Weil, Duval, Suret, Cornu and Tinardon.



Figure 3. The rue Laffitte around 1900, with an enlargement showing an art dealer's sign. (Collection: L. Saint-Raymond)

There was a general consensus that, during the halcyon days of Impressionism between 1870 and 1880, the rue Laffitte was an epicentre of artistic life⁵⁰, thanks to its position between the Chaussée d'Antin and Faubourg Montmartre districts. Art dealer Ambroise Vollard would later recall the street's golden age:

At the time, rue Laffitte was la rue des tableaux. If one heard someone say "I shall take a turn around rue Laffitte", one could be sure that the person in question was an amateur of painting. In the same way, when Manet said "one simply must go to rue Laffitte", or when Claude Monet asked "Why go to rue Laffitte?", this meant that the painter felt it was either necessary or of little interest to stay up to date with the work of his peers.⁵¹

Furthermore, the success that Durand-Ruel would ultimately enjoy seems to dispel the sombre image

⁴⁸ Durand-Ruel is listed in the *Bottin du commerce* at 16, rue Laffitte and at 11, rue Le Peletier, between 1871 and 1877, then again between 1888 and 1925. Between 1880 and 1887, his address reverts to 1, rue de la Paix. In 1882, Durand-Ruel had sublet his premises on the rue Le Peletier to the Banque Nationale. When he resumed his tenancy on rue Le Peletier in 1887, he let out rue de la Paix. Paul Durand-Ruel, *le pari de l'impressionnisme*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Sylvie Patry, (Paris: Musée du Luxembourg / RMN, 2014), 200 - 204.

⁴⁹ "It was a great error on my part to have abandoned my attempts to rent a galerie on the boulevards des Italiens, frequented by foreigners and all of Paris' wealthy citizens, and instead to have rented a premises far from the boulevard whose two entrances opened onto quiet streets." Durand-Ruel, "Mémoires de Paul Durand-Ruel," 173-174.

⁵⁰ Véronique Chagnon-Burke, "Rue Laffitte: Looking at and Buying Contemporary Art in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Paris," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 11, no. 2 (Summer 2012), accessed January 13, 2016, <http://www.19th-century-artworldwide.org/summer12/veronique-chagnon-burke-looking-at-and-buying-contemporary-art-in-mid-nineteenth-century-paris>

⁵¹ Vollard, *Souvenirs d'un marchand de tableaux*, 83.

he gave in his account of the rue Laffitte. It seems far more likely that his business tribulations in the 1870s were the result of his artistic choices and broader economic hardship rather than geographic location. Durand-Ruel invested heavily in Impressionist paintings at a time when their revolutionary style had yet to find favour with most buyers, while in 1882 the collapse of the Union générale bank and subsequent stock market crash pushed him close to bankruptcy. Beginning that same year, he also faced serious competition from Georges Petit, who opened a new gallery on rue de Sèze. Petit benefited from a more desirable location closer to the Madeleine and furthermore distinguished by “the luxury of the gallery which is rather beautiful and impresses the crowds.”⁵² Durand-Ruel considered a return to rue de la Paix, but abandoned this location definitively in 1888 in favour of his space between rue Laffitte and rue Le Peletier, where he would stay until 1924. The longevity of this gallery suggests that despite his exasperation, Paul Durand-Ruel’s choice was a fortuitous one, and that the neighbourhood proved to be a favourable commercial environment.

Not all art dealers would follow the westward movement over the years of change brought about by haussmannization. The city’s eastern areas had taken advantage of a window of opportunity at the turn of the century, albeit one that was short-lived and did not last into the next period [map 11]. Thirty or so art dealers went into business in the districts surrounding the place de la République between 1860 and 1893. This new cohort is particularly visible in map 3: the Archives and Porte Saint-Martin districts passed the eleven gallery mark in 1863, followed by Arts et Métiers in 1871, Enfants-Rouges in 1882 and Folie-Méricourt in 1883. There the most attractive streets were the rue du faubourg Saint-Denis,

⁵² Letter from Claude Monet to Durand-Ruel [Poissy, 23 December 1882] samedi matin. Letter reprinted in Daniel Wildenstein, *Monet: catalogue raisonné* (Köln Lausanne: Taschen Wildenstein Institute, 1996), 5, letter 305. The painter’s account is corroborated by that of Alexis Martin in Alexis Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 208 “At 8 rue de Sèze can be found the elegant peristyle of Georges Petit’s gallery, topped with a golden cupola [...] Without a doubt, this gallery is the city’s finest exhibition hall. A bright corridor with high ceilings and walls that are often lined with drawings or engravings leads to a wide staircase up to the gallery. This vast room measures 25 meters one way and 15 the other; it is carpeted with red rep, furnished with sofas and armchairs, decorated with planters; the light enters from above, and is softened by an immense piece of vellum.”

home to eight galleries, followed by the rue du Château d’Eau and the boulevard Beaumarchais with five each. Though the presence of these eastern galleries provides some nuance to the overall picture, they did not challenge the dominance of the Parisian west. Art dealers located in the east tended to stay in business for shorter periods of time than their counterparts on the rue Laffitte, and the ‘star’ galleries were all located in the 9th arrondissement. What’s more, galleries were far less numerous in these districts in the following period [map 23]. These eastern districts and thus cannot therefore be considered as a durable presence within the Parisian art market.

A comparison of the maps showing the locations of galleries and the openings and closings also reveals a number of aspects of the market on the left bank in this period. The first [map 11] points to the durability of the Saint-Germain-des-Prés district. Yet the overall turnover in this period resulted in a net loss, with 46 openings against 49 closings [map 12]. A close look at the capital’s three major streets confirms this trend [map 13]. The overall number of galleries drops and they seem to become concentrated in smaller areas, moving as close as possible to the Institute and the École des Beaux-arts despite the flagging status of these academic institutions.

1894 – 1925: Towards Rue La Boétie

The collapse of the left bank was confirmed between 1894 and 1925 as the asymmetry with the right bank became ever more marked [map 14]. Activity in the Saint-Thomas-d’Aquin district had been dwindling since the previous period, and now stabilized at a relatively low level: we identified nine art dealers in this area over the period, with seven openings and eight closings. Saint-Germain-des-Prés meanwhile managed to make a net gain, albeit a modest one: nineteen galleries opened while fourteen closed [map 15]. After a tentative outward expansion, the galleries quickly returned to the rue de Seine and the

streets which immediately surrounded it. The turn of the 20th century marked the definitive collapse of the institutional system, and with it the local art market; the net growth can be explained by the opening of the boulevard Raspail in 1911 which lent a new dynamism to the Notre-Dame-des-Champs district.⁵³ However, this change was not to make itself fully felt until the following period.

The right bank was marked by a number of simultaneous phenomena. The historical centre of the Chaussée d'Antin further cemented its dominance [map 15]. As Vollard would later recall, the rue Laffitte retained its appeal even for a new generation of younger artists at the turn of the century: "[it] was for all these young painters, a place of pilgrimage. How many times could one spot Derain, Matisse, Picasso, Rouault, Vlaminck and others on the rue Laffitte?"⁵⁴ The close-up on these streets shows that the massive growth on the rue Laffitte dominates the art market [map 16]. However, a closer look at the data reveals a somewhat more complex picture. Though the street undeniably reached its peak during this period, with 49 openings and 53 closings, these years also marked the beginning of its decline. The district's fall from grace would be swift and brutal in the following period [map 19]. Vollard, a keen observer of his times, noticed the beginning of this decline and the rise of a new centre in the 8th arrondissement: art dealers were flocking to the rue La Boétie, which stretches from the avenue des Champs-Élysées to the place Saint-Augustin, where the boulevard Malesherbes and the boulevard Haussmann meet.

The rue des tableaux is no longer rue Laffitte. M. Jos [Joseph] Hesssel, a dealer in modern paintings, had looked to set up business there only to find no spaces available for rent. So he began to look elsewhere, and settled on rue La Boétie. His business prospered, and he was gradually joined by his fellow

art dealers until the rue La Boétie became what the rue Laffitte once had been: a veritable market of painting... As one went to rue Laffitte to see the exhibitions of Durand-Ruel, so today one goes to rue La Boétie to see those of Paul Rosenberg.⁵⁵

On the enlarged view given on [map 16], the emergence of rue La Boétie is clearly visible, with 32 openings and 15 closings. The most popular stretch lies between the rue du faubourg Saint-Honoré – the Saint-Philippe du Roule crossroads – and the boulevard Malesherbes. If in terms of stock the rue La Boétie seems rather modest compared to the rue Laffitte, the flow shows that the former gained galleries in this period while the latter saw its numbers dwindle. The gradual transition of art dealers towards the rue La Boétie from the rue Laffitte was seen as a reflection of their increasingly elite social status, as gallerists Berthe Weil would later recall:

Lepoutre, an art dealer from the rue Laffitte, is on the up: he is opening a boutique on rue La Boétie, and his remarkable inaugural exhibition is to feature paintings by Utrillo... Oh, oh, but his prices have been raised! Scandal! But such success... the moral of this story: this charming painter has found his feet, and the big art dealers are on the move!⁵⁶

Moving to the rue de la Boétie was thus seen as a sign of both economic and social success.

This pattern of concentration was paralleled by one of expansion, as more and more galleries proved willing to go into business beyond the established frontiers of the market. The explosion in the number of galleries partly explains this phenomenon, as it led to a degree of overcrowding in the historic centres of the art trade. This phenomenon gave rise at first to a ring of galleries around traditional areas, with art dealers settling in the Faubourg du Roule further west and Saint-Georges and Rochechouart to the north of the Chaussée d'Antin and Faubourg-Montmartre districts. This concentric expansion was an early sign of a maturing market. Elsewhere, the

⁵³ "In 1911, the inauguration of the boulevard Raspail, one of Haussmann's projects yet only completed 50 years after it was announced, linked the boulevard Montparnasse and the rue de Vaugirard, and changed the character of the area by giving a new importance to the Vavin crossroads. At the same time, painters began to leave Montmartre, a neighbourhood that had become a victim of its own success and was being changed by a wave of tourism." Marchand, *Paris: histoire d'une ville*, 223.

⁵⁴ Vollard, *Souvenirs d'un marchand de tableaux*, 85.

⁵⁵ Vollard, *Souvenirs d'un marchand de tableaux*, 95.

⁵⁶ Weill, *Pan !... Dans l'œil !*, 143.

expansion was less regular; this was particularly true of eastern Paris, where galleries dotted districts as far away from the centre as Père Lachaise, with a dealer named A. Joly opening a boutique at 55 rue des Amandiers. In the north, some gallerists ventured as far as Clignancourt and the former quarries around Montmartre. The same pattern could be seen on the left bank, where galleries setting up in the peripheral districts of Javel, Plaisance and Petit-Montrouge.

“Rue La Boétie... Rue de Seine ; The Two Hubs of Modern Painting”⁵⁷ (1926-1955)

1926 – 1943: Left Bank vs. Right Bank

The differences between map 14 and map 17 are particularly striking: the rue Laffitte seems to all but vanish. In 1926, a new chapter in the history of the art market began, one that would be characterized by a concentration of art dealers on the left bank.

The location of galleries becomes undeniably polarized between 1926 and 1943, structured around rue La Boétie on the right bank and rue de Seine on the left bank [map 18]. 20% of Paris’ art dealers operated to the south of the Seine until 1894, a figure that dropped to just 15% between 1894 and 1925 only to climb again to 28% between 1926 and 1943. While the right bank maintained its quantitative advantage, in this later period it nonetheless faced a serious competitor in the left bank. The rue La Boétie and the rue de Seine are highly visible on map 17, and become even more so on map 19. The median opening year on rue La Boétie was 1928, and it counted a total of 50 galleries between 1926 and 1943. The rue de Seine, at the heart of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, counted 79 over the same period. The dominance of the rue Laffitte seems to well and truly be a thing of the past, as only seven galleries remained

in this period, and the seven of closings largely outweigh the two new galleries. After 1926, those looking to buy art or stay up to date with the latest trends in painting “did’ the rue de Seine, or the rue La Boétie.”⁵⁸

This grouping around two centres marked a further move westwards, as the 8th arrondissement replaced the 9th as the centre of the art market. On the right bank, the art market became an ever more elite affair, leaving behind the commercial areas of the Chaussée d’Antin for the wealthy districts around the Saint-Augustin church. The Champs-Élysées gained its eleventh gallery in 1926 [map 3], the same year as the Europe district around the gare Saint-Lazare, while the Faubourg du Roule saw its eleventh gallery open in 1929. The streets around the rue de Seine were somewhat less chic than those surrounding the rue La Boétie. Since the Restoration, the left bank had lain on the margins of the capital’s economic activity, and was further isolated from the city’s wealth as haussmannization shifted the commercial centre of gravity to the northwest. Following the First World War, Saint-Germain-des-Prés was home to numerous bookshops and “low-level civil servants working in the ministries of the faubourg Saint-Germain, or retirees returning to live by the Seine after forty years of exile in Montmartre.”⁵⁹ The socioeconomic disparity between the 8th and the 6th arrondissements led to a corresponding difference in the prestige of the art dealers doing business in each:

There is a world, he tells me, between the rue La Boétie and the rue de Seine. Both streets are home to the same metier. But while the socialites gather around Saint-Augustin, here [on the left bank] the bohemian airs have remained. Those who you met on rue La Boétie are no different from those you will meet here: more or less polite, somewhat given to boasting yet sure of themselves all the same.⁶⁰

Contemporary observers saw in this socio-geographic disparity two different yet

⁵⁷ André Fage, *Le collectionneur des peintres modernes. Comment acheter, comment vendre* (Paris: Les Éditions pittoresques, 1930), 118.

⁵⁸ Maurice Sachs, *Chronique joyeuse et scandaleuse*, (Paris: Libella, 2012), 74.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 63-64.

complementary ways of valorising artists.⁶¹ The galleries on the left bank spotted talented artists, while those on the right bank made their reputations. In this system, the rue de Seine became a sort of waiting room for the rue La Boétie:

The rue de Seine, gloomy and tortured like the life of the bohemian, was dubbed by M. Joseph Prudhomme “the antechamber of Glory”: doubtless this is why it is so close to the Institut... All of today’s fêted painters – with the exception of those who started out on the rue Laffitte in the small boutique of the doyenne and guardian angel of young painters, Berthe Weil – cut their teeth on the rue de Seine. [...] The rue La Boétie and faubourg Saint-Honoré are where reputations are made and unmade. Once they anoint a painter, he is definitively on the up.⁶²

The major dealers indeed operated between the Arc de Triomphe and the Madeleine, across the wealthy districts of the 8th arrondissement. From 1925, the galerie Durand-Ruel moved to n°37 avenue de Friedland, the artery that links boulevard Haussmann with the place de l’Étoile to the west. Rue La Boétie was home to a number of famous gallerists: Paul Rosenberg opened his business at n°21 from 1914, while Jos Hessel operated at n°26 from 1915 to 1941,⁶³ and Paul Guillaume at n°59 from 1922. Georges Bernheim meanwhile opened his gallery n°28 before moving to 109 rue du faubourg Saint-Honoré in 1929. Amongst the dealers of the rue de Seine, famous for having ‘discovered’ young painters were the gallery Carmine at n°51 from 1929, galerie Van Laer at n°41 between 1927 and 1936, and the galerie Zborowski at n°26 from 1928 to 1941.⁶⁴ The galerie Pierre, directed by Pierre Loeb, opened at the corner of the rue de Seine and the rue des Beaux-Arts in 1928. Despite being less well-heeled, the Saint-Germain-des-Prés district outflanked the 8th arrondissement in terms of the

social density of artists and dealers. The right bank had no cafés or restaurants where the different members and strata of the artistic community could rub shoulders; by way of contrast, La Palette, a café opened in the 1930s at 43 rue de Seine, provided just this kind of social space – something attested to by the numerous paintings and palettes given as gifts by artists to the manager which can still be seen today.⁶⁵

However, the art market over this period cannot be reduced to the gravitation of galleries around these two main streets. Between 1926 and 1943, art dealers became far more dispersed than they had been previously, readily opening on the peripheral areas of artistic centres. In 1930, the Chaillot district in the 16th arrondissement gained its eleventh gallery. The western section of the 18th arrondissement also saw a sharp increase in the number of art dealers; it was in this area around the Butte Montmartre that numerous bohemian artists had gathered between 1900 and 1910, the time of the Bateau-Lavoir. Three gallerists opened on the place du Tertre at the heart of Montmartre in 1925, 1931, and 1932, but remained in business no longer than a year in each case. Gallerists found more success on the rue des Martyrs: Mathot occupied n° 91 from 1924 to 1950, C. Péruse, at n°82, from 1927 to 1949. The rue Lepic, the rue d’Orsel, and the boulevard de Clichy were favoured by gallerists, but with less than three on each street, this area posed no challenge to the art market’s main epicentres.

Despite the increase in the popularity of Montmartre, it was in fact Montparnasse that would become the city’s artistic and cosmopolitan heart in the interwar period.⁶⁶ Dealers and gallerists joined the artists in Montparnasse, with a particularly marked rise from 1929 [map 3]. The majority of art dealers who settled in Montparnasse in this period chose the boulevard Raspail and the boulevard du Montparnasse [map 17]. These two boulevards intersect at the Vavin

⁶¹ “This geographical distribution corresponded to a certain pattern of dealing”. Gee, *Dealers, Critics, and Collectors of Modern Painting: Aspects of the Parisian Art Market between 1910 and 1930*, 38.

⁶² Fage, *Le collectionneur des peintres modernes*, 118-124.

⁶³ From 1935 to 1938, the art dealer and expert Jos Hessel occupied another premises at 33 rue de Naples, a street behind the Église Saint-Augustin and running parallel to the boulevard Malesherbes.

⁶⁴ These examples are borrowed from Fage, *Le collectionneur des peintres modernes*, 118-162.

⁶⁵ Mérimée database (“immeubles protégés au titre des Monuments historiques”), reference no. PA00088495.

⁶⁶ *L’École de Paris, 1904-1929 : la part de l’autre*, ed. Suzanne Pagé, exh. cat. (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2000).

crossroads, whose bars and restaurants were an important social hub for the district's residents.

The Montparnasse art market proved to be a particularly original one, thanks to both its artists but also its galleries. André Fage, a contemporary commentator, observed that the Montparnasse galleries stood out as particularly avant-garde, not only in terms of their artists but also their décor:

We are on the road to Montparnasse, there is no denying it. The journey will be less long than before, since, in what is surely a temporary paradox, this district, now the centre of gravity, the crossroads of modern painting the world over, is also the one with the fewest galleries and art dealers. However, the galleries here are far more spacious, more modern too, and comfortably installed and decorated in the most agreeable and straightforward style. It is only right that Montparnasse, today at the avant-garde of the artistic and literary movement, should offer the best galleries.⁶⁷

An invitation sent by the *Galerie d'art contemporain*, installed at 135 boulevard Raspail between 1927 and 1931, illustrates particularly well this state of affairs. The modern typography of the acronym complements the emphasis proudly placed on the gallery's left bank location by the arrows crossing the Seine, as if leaving the right bank behind for the new home of the avant-garde.

Amongst the avant-garde art dealers was Jeanne Bucher, whose business was located at 3 rue du Cherche-Midi from 1928 to 1936, as well as Marcelle Berr de Turique, whose gallery *Le Portique* was located at 99 boulevard Raspail between 1930 and 1933. The Montparnasse galleries were considered as 'launchpads' for avant-garde artists, and with good reason: to give just one example, the painter Jean Souverbie exhibited for the first time in 1926 at the Galerie Vavin Raspail, which was located at 28 rue Vavin from 1926 until 1934; six years later, Souverbie was exhibiting his work on the right bank at Bernheim-Jeune and Georges Petit.⁶⁸

Artists would also begin their careers by showing paintings in the cafés of Montparnasse, as evidenced by the appearance of La Rotonde – a café – in the "art dealers" section of the *Bottin du commerce* between 1926 and 1927. Like La Palette, the walls of this bar were "decked with paintings, watercolours and drawings."⁶⁹ These cafés and others doubled, without a doubt, as informal exhibition spaces, but as a source the *Bottin* does not account for them.

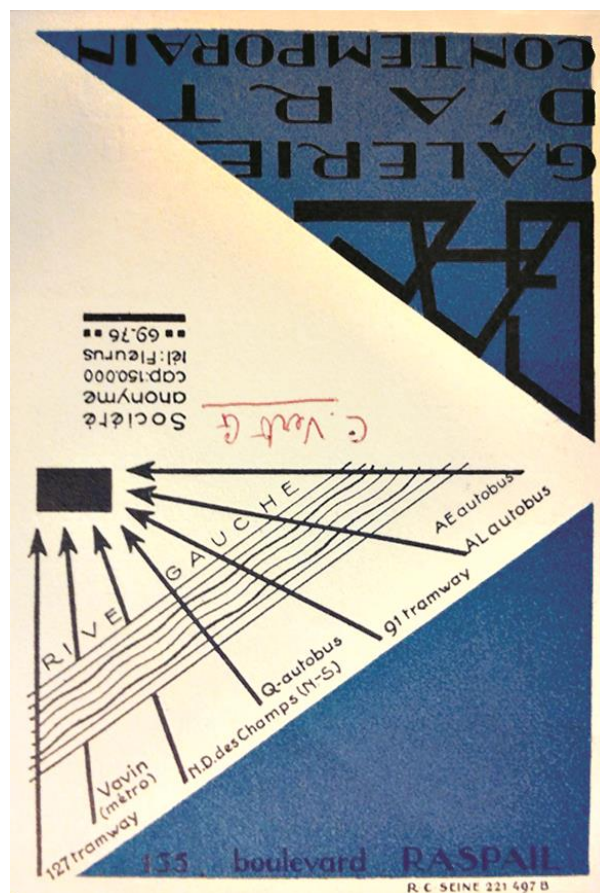


Figure 4. Invitation card from the Galerie d'art contemporain, 135, boulevard Raspail. Between 1927 and 1931. (Bibliothèque de l'INHA, « cartons verts galeries », photograph: Léa Saint-Raymond)

1944 – 1955: Ongoing Duality

The distribution and nature of art dealers remained relatively static in the period between the liberation of Paris and 1955 [maps 21 and 22].

⁶⁷ Fage, *Le collectionneur des peintres modernes*, 122.

⁶⁸ Source: data extraction from the 'cartons verts galeries' between 1919 and 1939, archives of the INHA. Léa Saint-Raymond, "Bas les masques! Pour une relecture

socio-économique du Montparnasse des années 1920," *Artl@s Bulletin* 4, 2 (Fall 2015).

⁶⁹ Charles Oulmont, *Paris. Ce qu'on y voit, ce qu'on y entend* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1931), 45.

The interwar geography of the art market, structured around the rue de Seine and rue La Boétie, was further consolidated over this ten year stretch [map 22]. The left bank gained some ground, and over the period was home to 31% of the city's art dealers. In this, our findings differ slightly from those of Julie Verlaine, who observes "the two districts reaching a gradual equilibrium, in which each was of equal importance."⁷⁰ However, it is largely due to the source which we used for the present study that we do not observe the same evening out of the number of galleries on each bank: the *Bottin du commerce* lists all of the city's art dealers, whereas Julie Verlaine refers in her work to "contemporary" art galleries, those exhibiting recent work by living artists.⁷¹ It is also important to note that our data from the *Bottin* fails to account for the profusion of bookshop-galleries that opened in Saint-Germain-des-Prés in the 1950s: though artwork was regularly displayed there, these spaces were listed in the 'bookshops' category of the *Bottin* rather than appearing under the 'art dealers' heading.

While our findings diverge from those of Julie Verlaine on this purely quantitative level, they confirm her observations as to the concentration of galleries around the two major poles of rue de Seine and rue La Boétie. Abstract and figurative art was distributed fairly evenly across both sites, although left bank galleries nonetheless continued to be associated to a certain degree with the avant-garde by virtue of their geographic proximity to its artistic centre.⁷² Galleries displaying figurative art could indeed be found along the rue de Seine and in neighbouring streets over this period: the galerie Chardin at 36 rue de Seine from 1946, and the galerie Bernier at 10 rue Jacques Collot, for example. On the right bank, meanwhile, Denise René opened her avant-garde gallery in 1950 at 124 rue La Boétie. Without proposing an analysis of what was going on within the walls of Parisian

galleries – those interested should refer to Julie Verlaine's thesis – we will nonetheless offer a summary of the spatial shifts in their distribution between 1944 and 1955.

Two phenomena stand out during this ten year period. Firstly, the emergence of the boulevard Raspail as an artistic thoroughfare [map 20]: between 1944 and 1955, nineteen art dealers operated there, all of them along the stretch that lay inside of the 6th arrondissement. Secondly, the movement of galleries towards the periphery that could be seen at the start of the century continues and accelerates after the liberation of Paris [map 3]. The upscale districts of Gros Caillou in the western 7th arrondissement and the Plaine Monceau in the 17th arrondissement gained their eleventh art dealers in 1948 and 1944 respectively. Two other districts also attracted a number of galleries, despite being less well-heeled: Batignolles, also in the 17th, and formerly home to a large contingent of artists in the 19th century, and Saint-Vincent de Paul in the 10th arrondissement. Rue Legendre and rue de Maubeuge proved to be the respective centres for art dealers in each arrondissement.

The appeal of Montmartre, first visible in the 1920s, continued apace, with the rue Norvins becoming the district's centre for the art trade: seven galleries opened there between 1944 and 1955. However, even Montmartre could only slightly offset the market's two major poles, and in fact lost more dealer-gallerists than it gained over this period [map 21]. Furthermore, judging by the names of galleries alone, the Montmartre art market seems to have become increasingly specialized in *chromos* over this period. The rue Lepic alone counted three boutiques specializing in older, more folkloric work rather than more avant-garde painting: Au Vieux Montmartre opened in 1945 and n° 91, while Montmartre de jadis à aujourd'hui, operating at n° 102 from 1951, was joined in 1954 by Galerie Vieux Montmartre at n°102 ter.

⁷⁰ Verlaine, *Les galeries d'art contemporain à Paris*, 225.

⁷¹ 'Liste des galeries' section from the weekly publication, *Arts*, from 1952 to 1965; Francis Spar, *Annuaire du collectionneur : répertoire des prix des tableaux, peintures, livres, objets d'art, Paris Diffusion artistique et Documentaire*, 1948, 1949, 1950 & 1951; Max Fourny, "Les galeries, leurs peintres, sculpteurs et graveurs. Annuaire 1961 des galeries," *Art et Industrie*, 1962.

⁷² Verlaine, *Les galeries d'art contemporain à Paris*, 238-239.

Conclusion

One hundred and forty years after it first began to take shape, the Parisian art market had undergone a profound transformation. From its historic base around the Palais Royal, it had gradually shifted northwest on the right bank to settle around the 8th arrondissement. On the left bank, meanwhile, the artistic centre that had come into being around the Institut de France waned along with institutional power from the 1860s, only to return in force from 1925.

Different analyses of artistic hotspots [map 23] demonstrate the trends we have discussed above and clearly show the art market's evolution from a single, concentrated centre, one that moves progressively northwest before splitting into two distinct poles. Our cartographic analysis thus confirms the consensus amongst art historians as to the distribution of galleries, yet offers a high level of detail and draws on a large corpus. By taking into account not only the 'star' galleries but all of the art dealers listed in the *Bottin du commerce*, we have been able to shed light on some of the lesser known periods of the history of the Parisian art market: its early development from 1815 around the Palais Royal, its brief incursion into the districts around place de la République, the changes that it underwent during haussmannization, and its installation in Montmartre from the 1920s onwards. Our study has also revealed the movement of galleries towards the peripheries as early as 1894. In line with existing historiography, we were able to confirm and evidence the continued growth of the art market over the entire period; at the same time we demonstrated that this market followed rather than drove spatio-economic tendencies, a trend that would be reversed in the 20th century.

The results discussed in this article, which focuses on the 'gallery-spaces' of art dealers, would benefit from a further study that would take into account 'gallery-companies' operating simultaneously across multiple sites, a model that was far from rare. Such a study would retrace and analyse the

various dynamics at play – changes of address, choice of further locations – and analyse the consequences of geographical situation for the longevity of these gallery-companies.

Translated from French by James Horton.

Les rues des tableaux:
The Geography of the Parisian Art Market 1815-1955

MAPPING ANNEX

Map 1 : Location of art dealers, 1815 – 1955

Map 2 : Paris administrative districts

Map 3 : Years of 11th gallery opening by district

Map 4 : Spatial analysis of art dealers, 1815 - 1955

Map 5 : Location of art dealers, 1815 – 1836

Map 6 : The dynamics of art dealers in the district, 1815 – 1836

Map 7 : Art dealers located at rues de Seine, Laffitte et La Boétie, 1815 – 1836

Map 8 : Location of art dealers, 1837 – 1859

Map 9 : Dynamics of art dealers in the district, 1837 – 1859

Map 10 : Art dealers located at rue de Seine, rue Laffitte and rue La Boétie, 1837 – 1859

Map 11 : Location of art dealers, 1860 – 1893

Map 12 : Dynamics of art dealers in the district, 1860 – 1893

Map 13 : Art dealers located at rue de Seine, rue Laffitte and rue La Boétie, 1860 – 1893

Map 14 : Location of art dealers, 1894 – 1925

Map 15 : Dynamics of art dealers in the district, 1894 – 1925

Map 16 : Art dealers located at rue de Seine, rue Laffitte and rue La Boétie, 1894 – 1925

Map 17 : Location of art dealers, 1926 – 1943

Map 18 : Dynamics of art dealers in the district, 1926 – 1943

Map 19 : Art dealers located at rue de Seine, rue Laffitte and rue La Boétie, 1926 – 1943

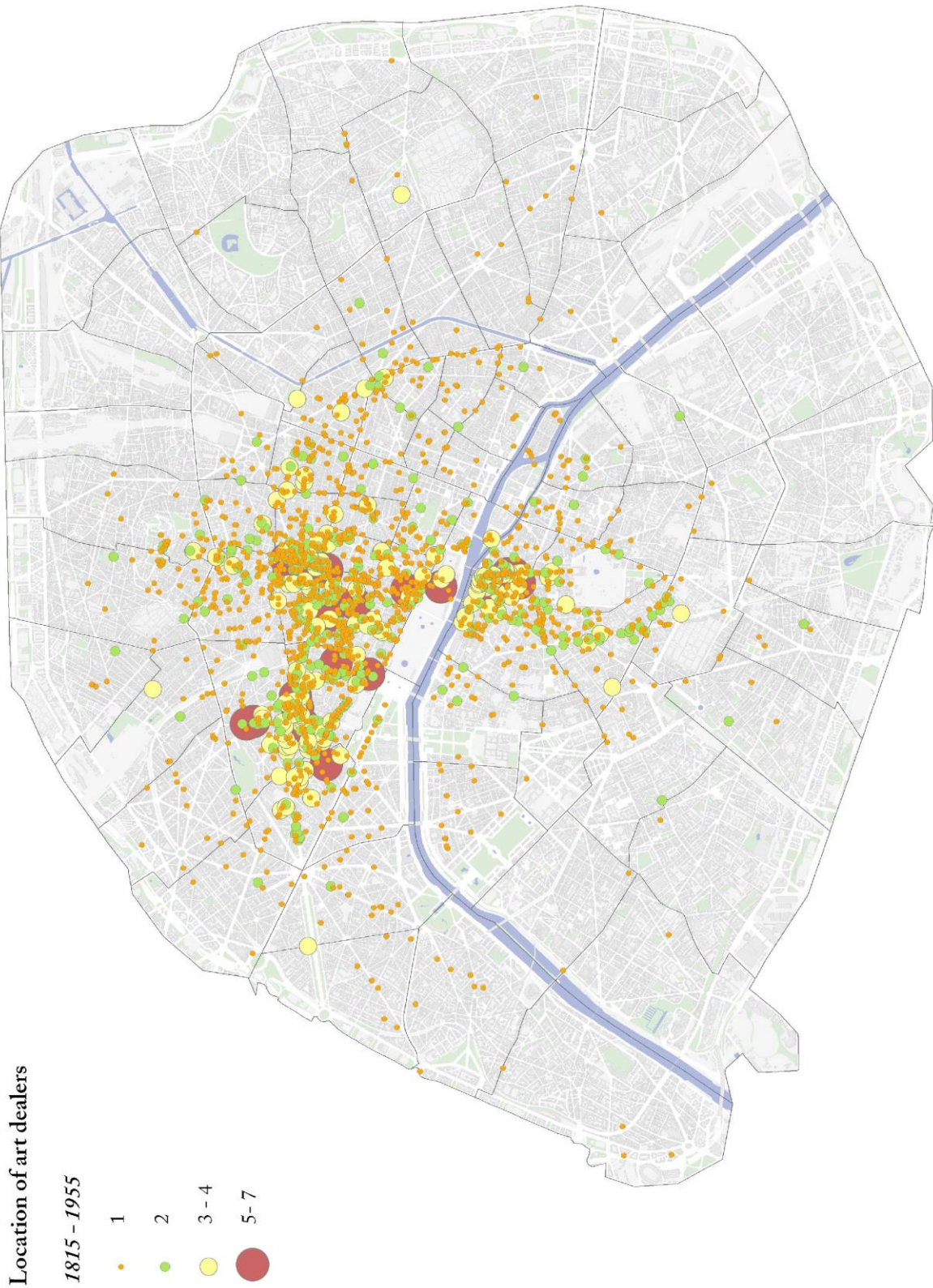
Map 20 : Location of art dealers, 1944 – 1955

Map 21 : Dynamics of art dealers in the district, 1944 – 1955

Map 22 : Art dealers located at rue de Seine, rue Laffitte and rue La Boétie, 1944 – 1955

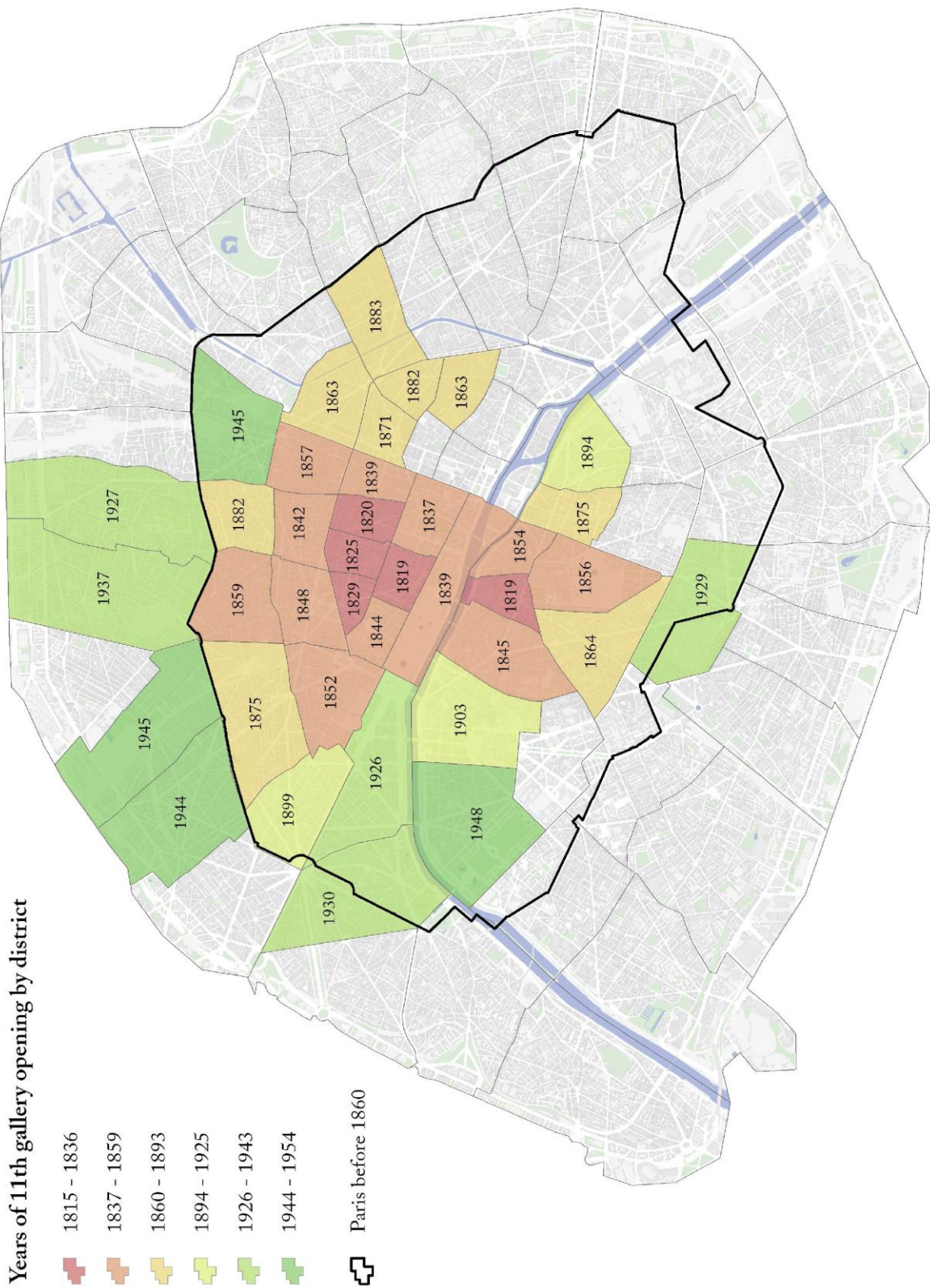
Map 23 : Spatial evolution of the Parisian art from 1815 through 1955

Map 1 : Location of art dealers, 1815 – 1955



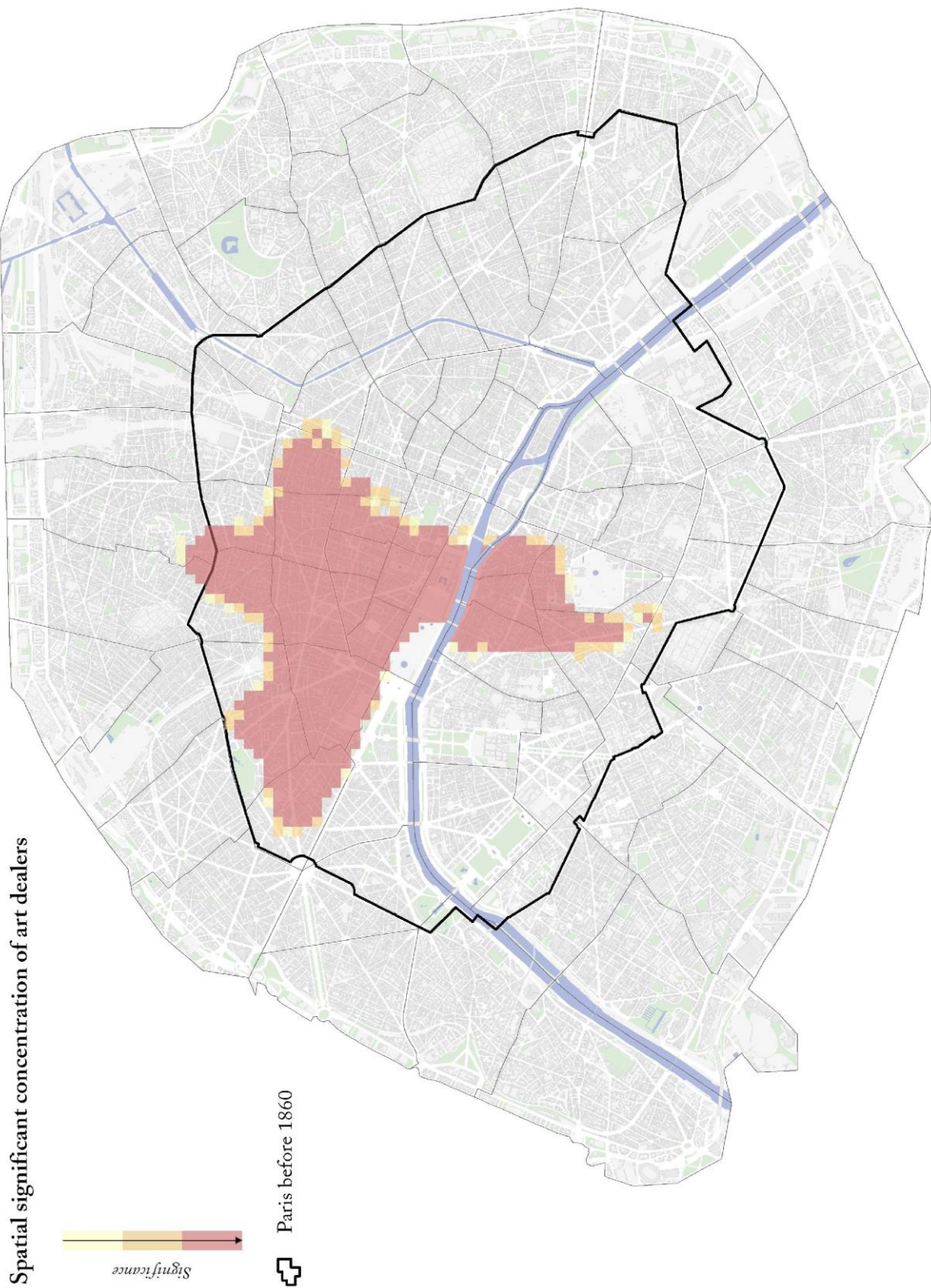
Maup J. Cavoio, 2016 (ANR-10-LABX-099, ANR-10-IDEX-0001-02 PSL)
Dumas F., de Maupeou et L. St-Raymond (dir.), 2014, Sources APUR, 2014, Open Data Paris, 2014

Map 3 : Years of 11th gallery opening by district



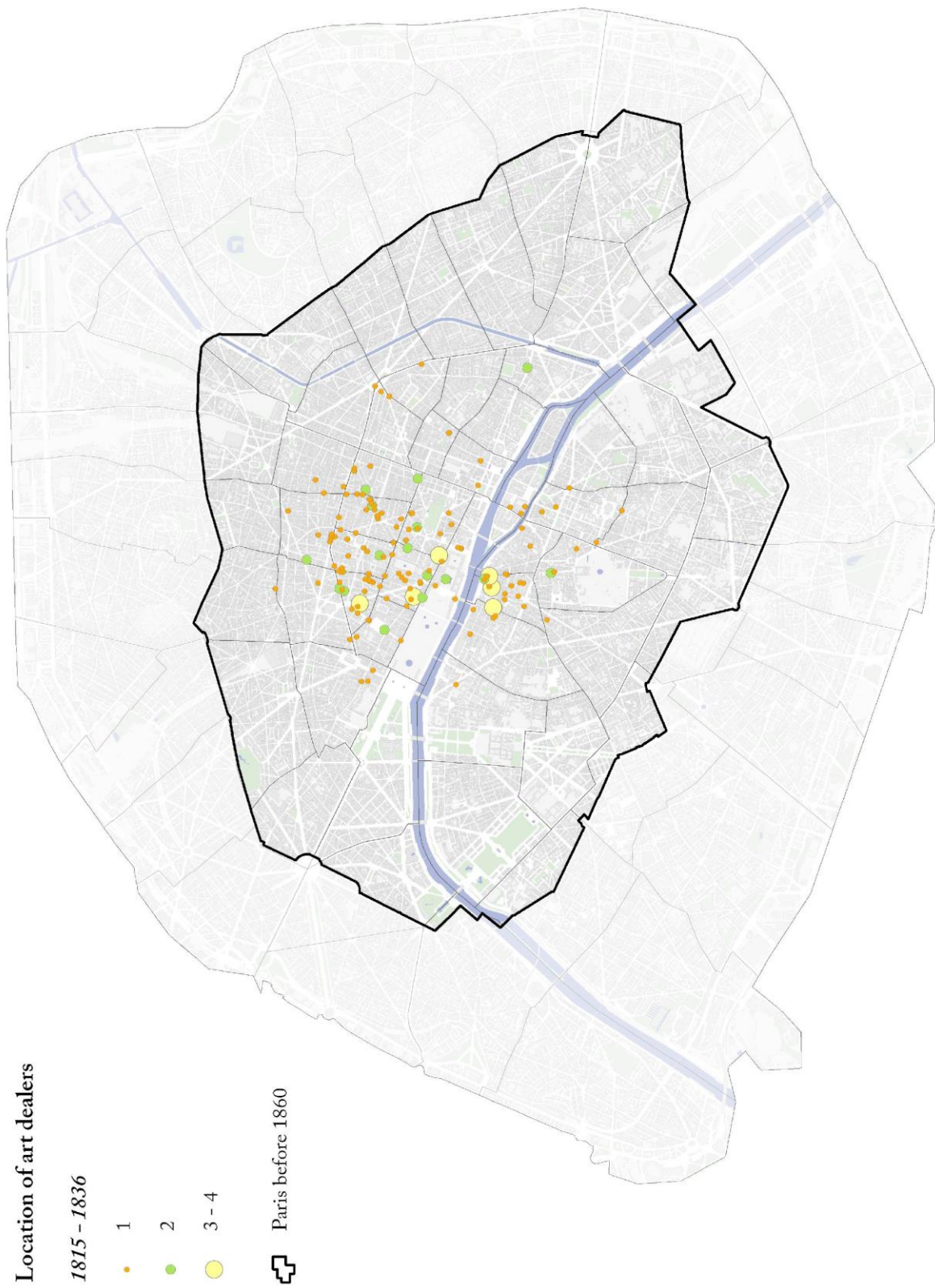
Maps: J. Caveno, 2016 (ANR-16-IDEX-0001-02 PM7)
 Datas: E. de Maupeou et L. St-Raymond (dir.), 2014, Sources APUR, 2014, Open Data Paris, 2014

Map 4 : Spatial analysis of art dealers, 1815 - 1955



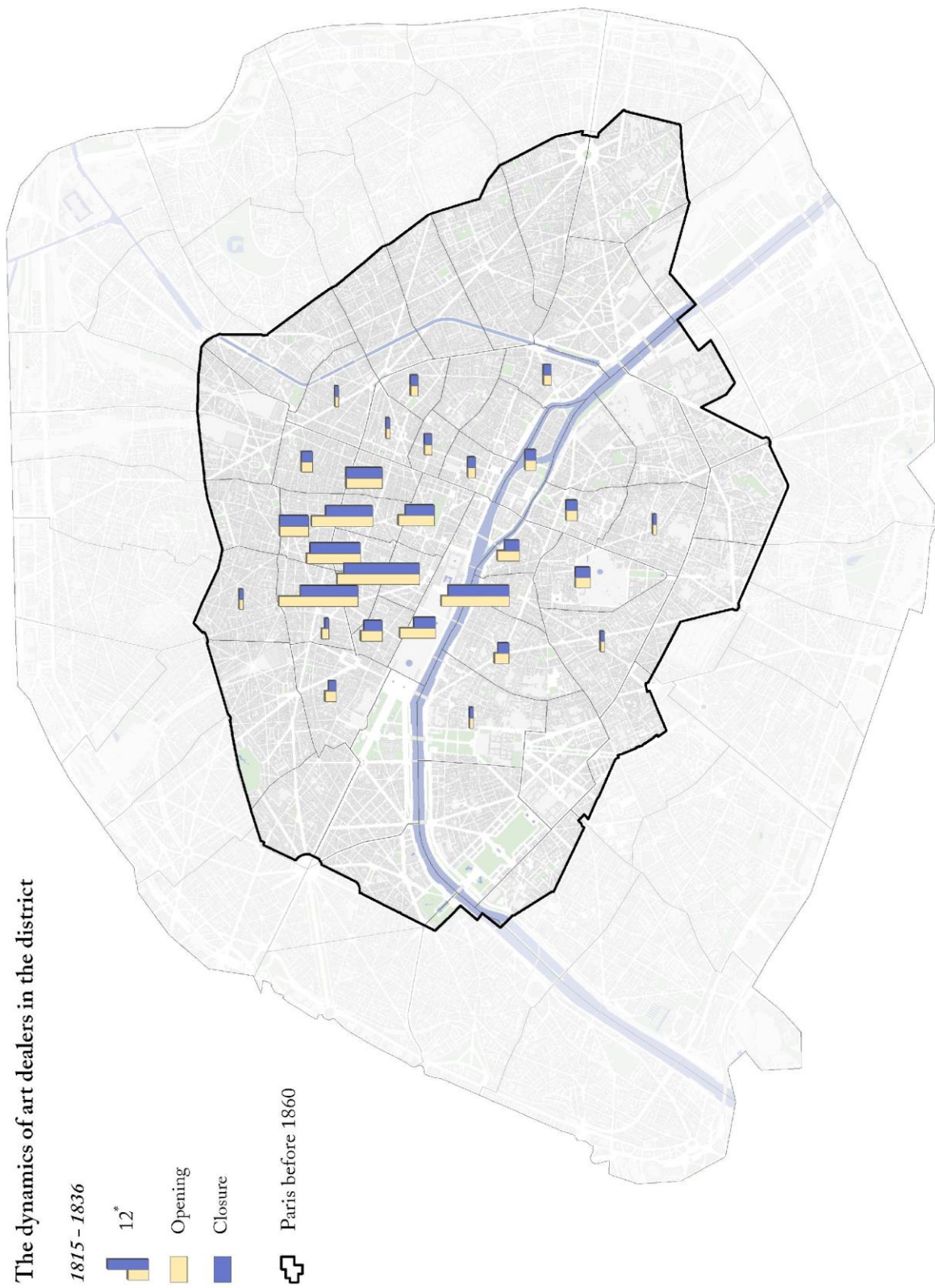
Map: J. Cavero, 2016 (*INR-16L-ARX-099*, *INR-16-IDEX-0001-02* PM7)
Data: F. de Maupeou et L. St-Raymond (*Artois*, 2014); *Sources: APUR*, 2014; *Open Data Paris*, 2014

Map 5 : Location of art dealers, 1815 – 1836



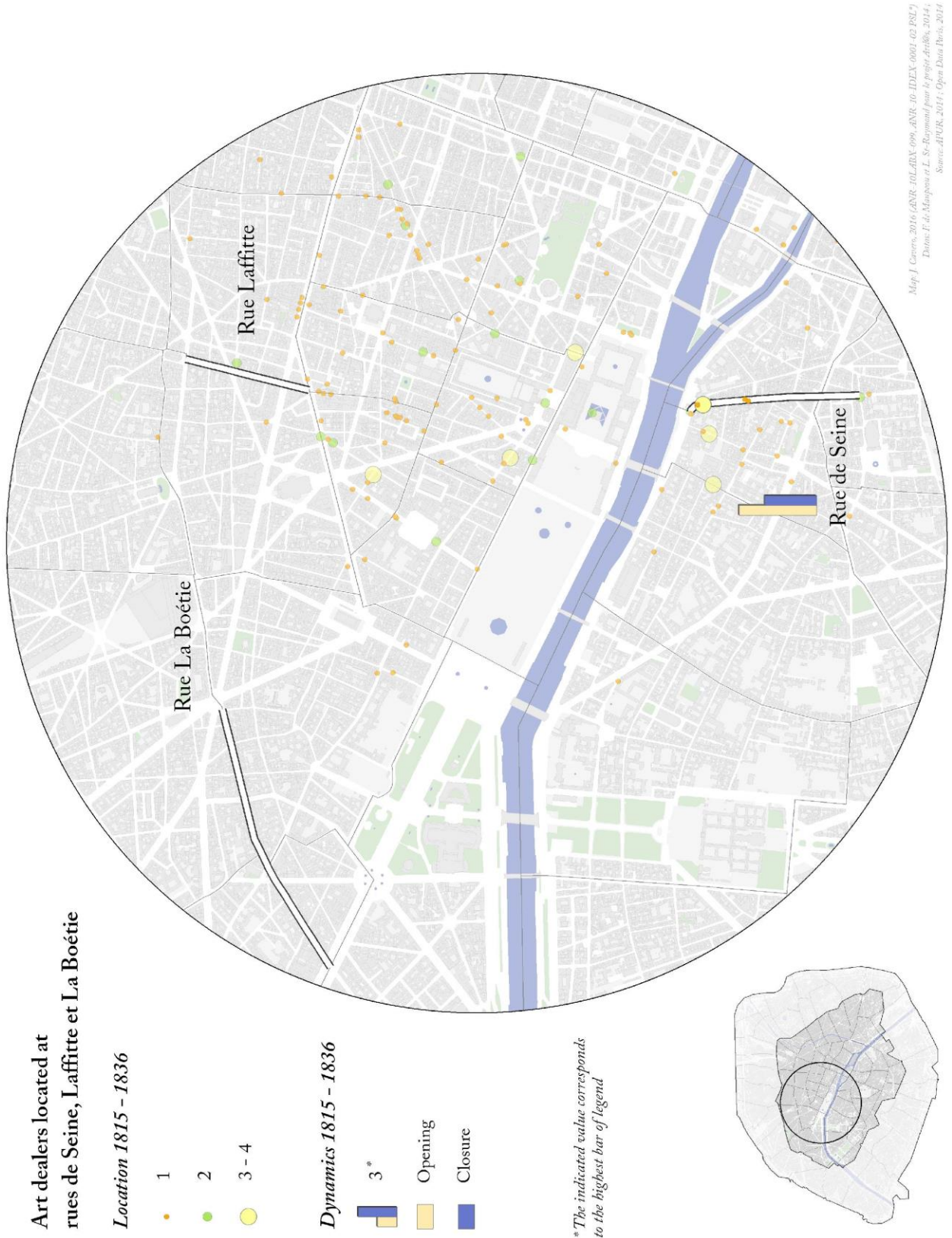
Mape J. Caverio, 2016 ([PNR-10-ARX-099](#), [PNR-10-IDEX-0001-02 PM7](#))
Datus E. de Maupeou et L. St-Raymond ([datus88](#)), 2014 ; Sources [datus](#), 2014 ; Open Data Paris, 2014

Map 6 : The dynamics of art dealers in the district, 1815 – 1836

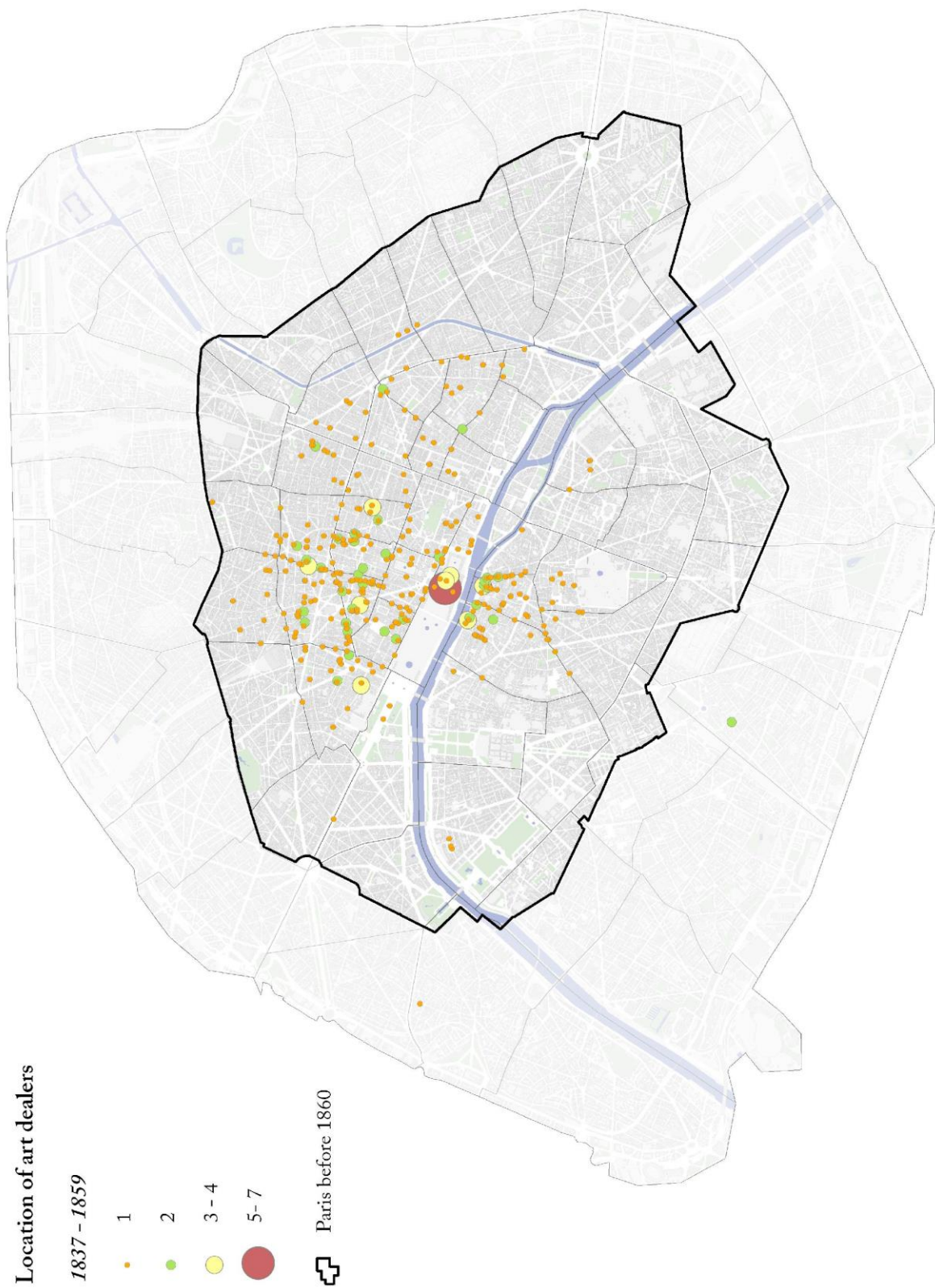


Maupé J. Cavero, 2016 (ANR-16-LABX-099, ANR-16-IDEX-0001-02 PM7)
Dumas F., de Maupeou et L. St-Raymond (dir.), 2014, Sources d'APUR, 2014, Open Data Paris, 2014

Map 7 : Art dealers located at rues de Seine, Laffitte et La Boétie, 1815 – 1836

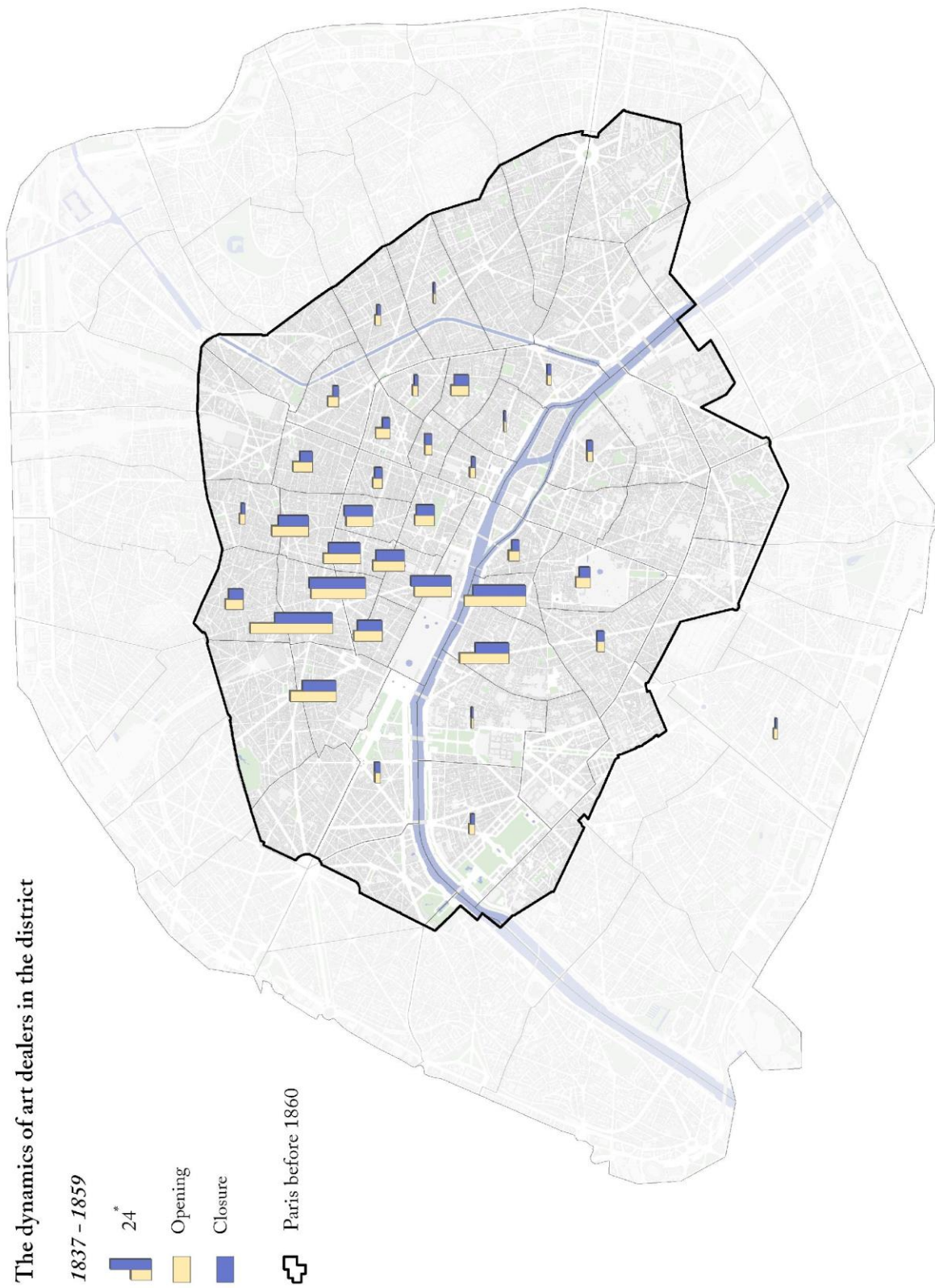


Map 8 : Location of art dealers, 1837 – 1859



Mape J. Caverio, 2016 (*PNR-101-ABX-099*, *PNR-10-IDEX-0001-02 PM7*)
Datus E. de Maupeou et L. St-Raymond (*dir*), 2014 ; Sources *ADP*, 2014 ; *Open Data Paris*, 2014

Map 9 : Dynamics of art dealers in the district, 1837 – 1859

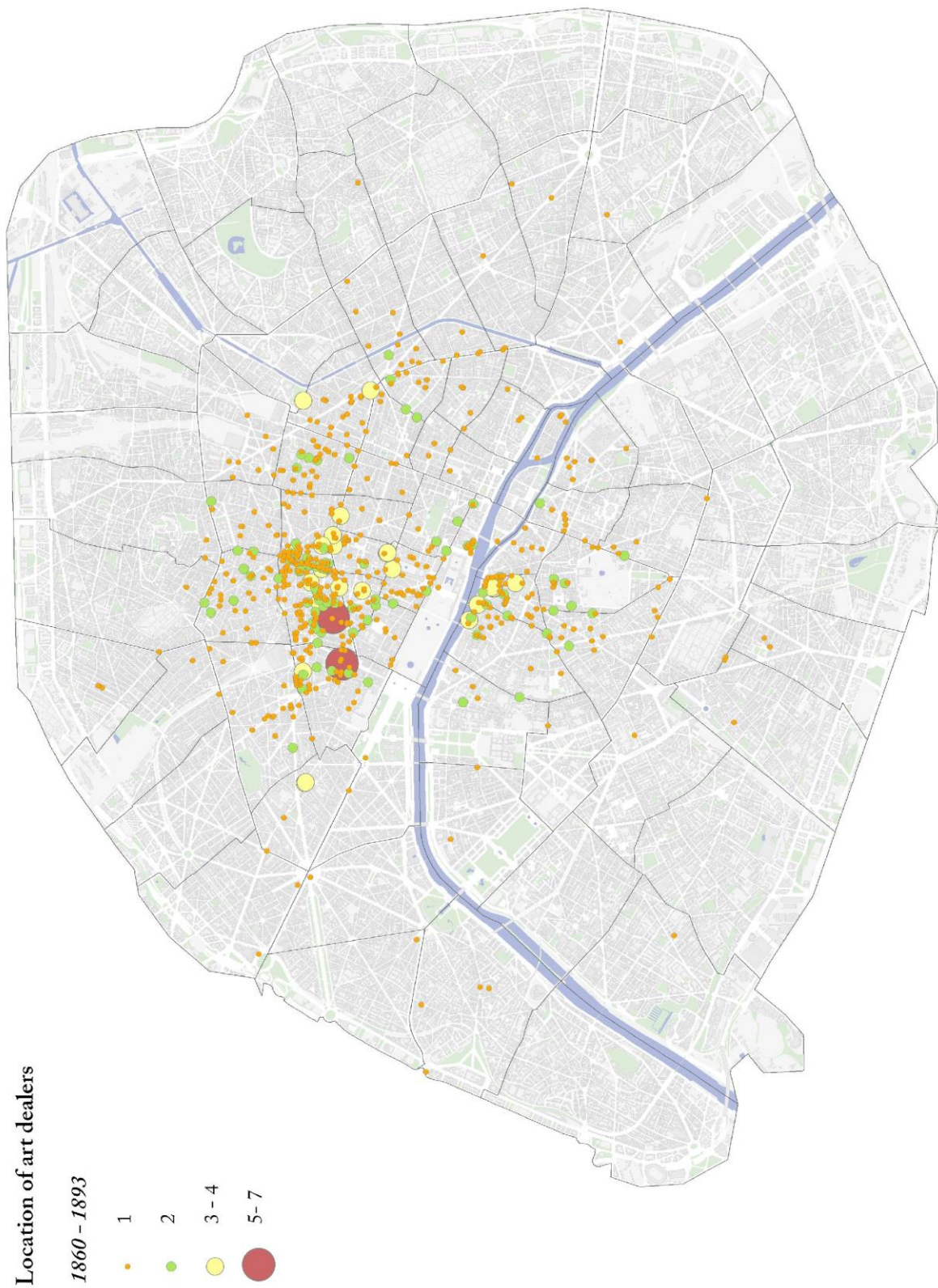


Maupé, J., Caverio, 2016, (ANR-16-ABX-009, ANR-16-IDEX-0001-02 PM7)
Dumas, F., de Maupeou et L. St-Raymond (dir.), 2014, Sources APUR, 2014, Open Data Paris, 2014

Map 10 : Art dealers located at rue de Seine, rue Laffitte and rue La Boétie, 1837 – 1859

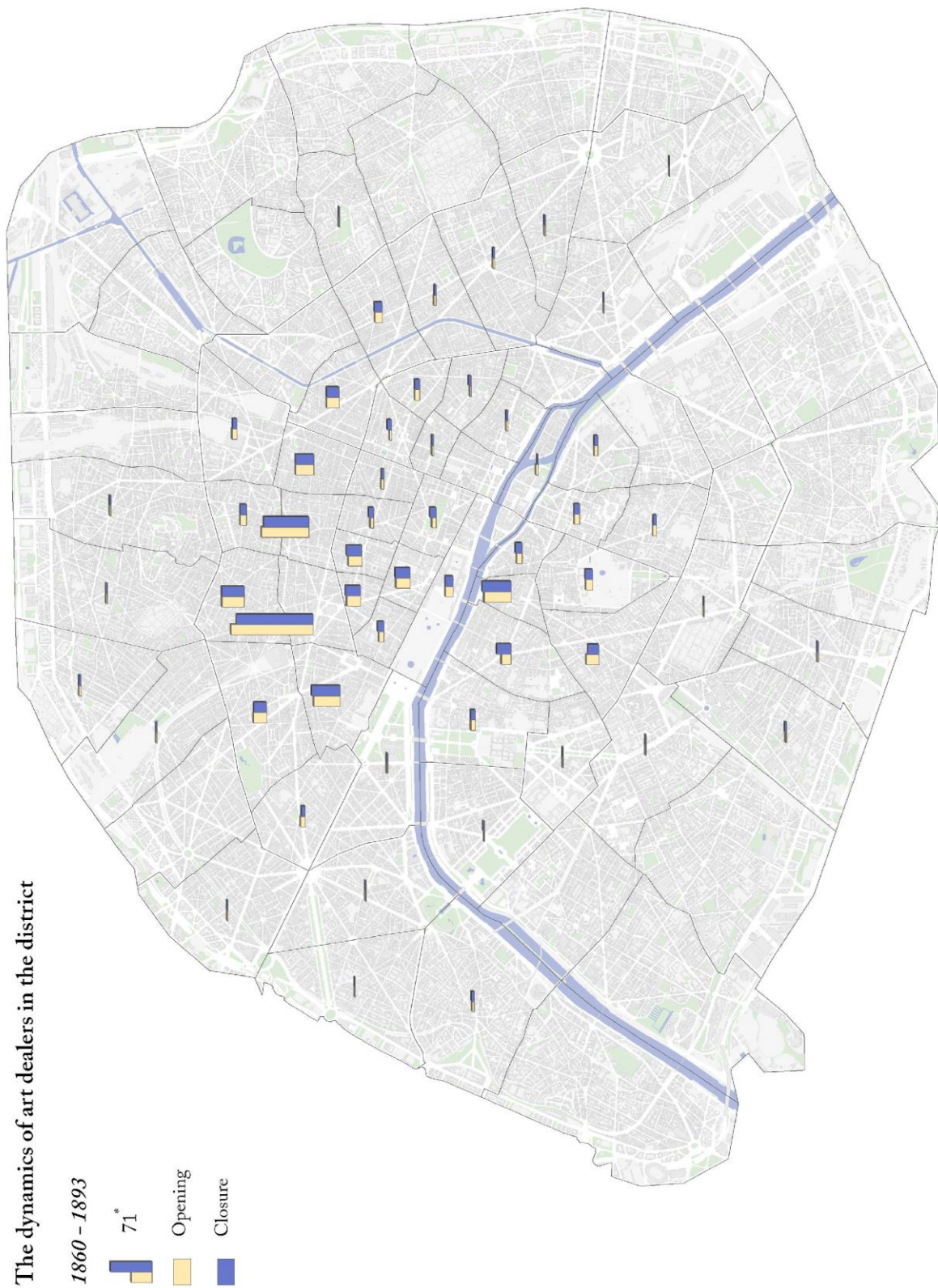


Map 11 : Location of art dealers, 1860 – 1893



Maupé J. Caverio, 2016 (ANR-10-LABX-099, ANR-10-IDEX-0001-02 PSL*)
Darius F. de Maupeou et L. St-Raymond (dir.), 2014, Sources APUR, 2014, Open Data Paris, 2014

Map 12 : Dynamics of art dealers in the district, 1860 – 1893

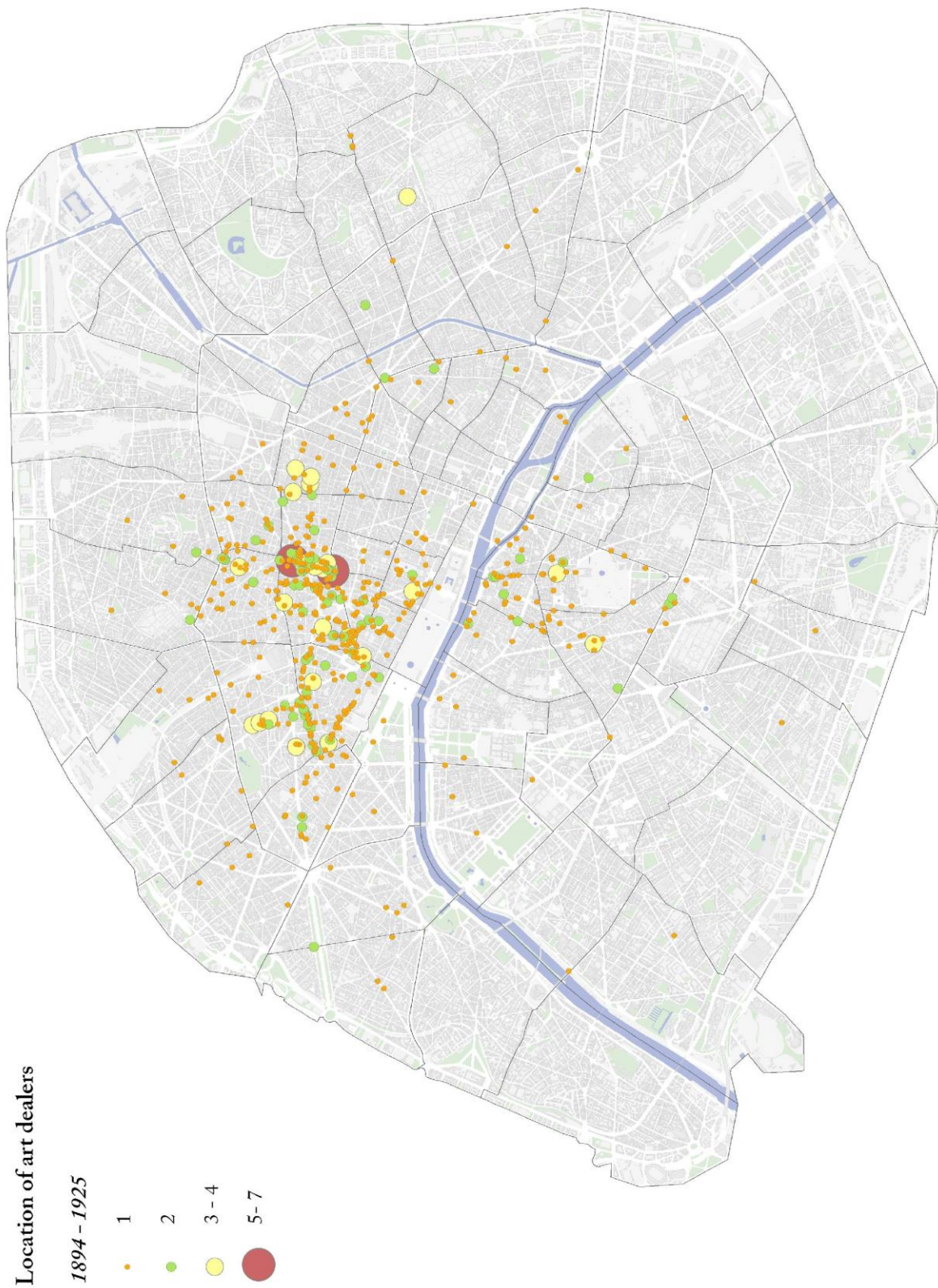


Map: J. Caverio, 2016 (ANR-16-LABX-099, ANR-16-IDEX-0001-02 PM7)
Data: F. de Maupeou et L. St-Raymond (dir.), 2014, Sources APUR, 2014, Open Data Paris, 2014

Map 13 : Art dealers located at rue de Seine, rue Laffitte and rue La Boétie, 1860 – 1893

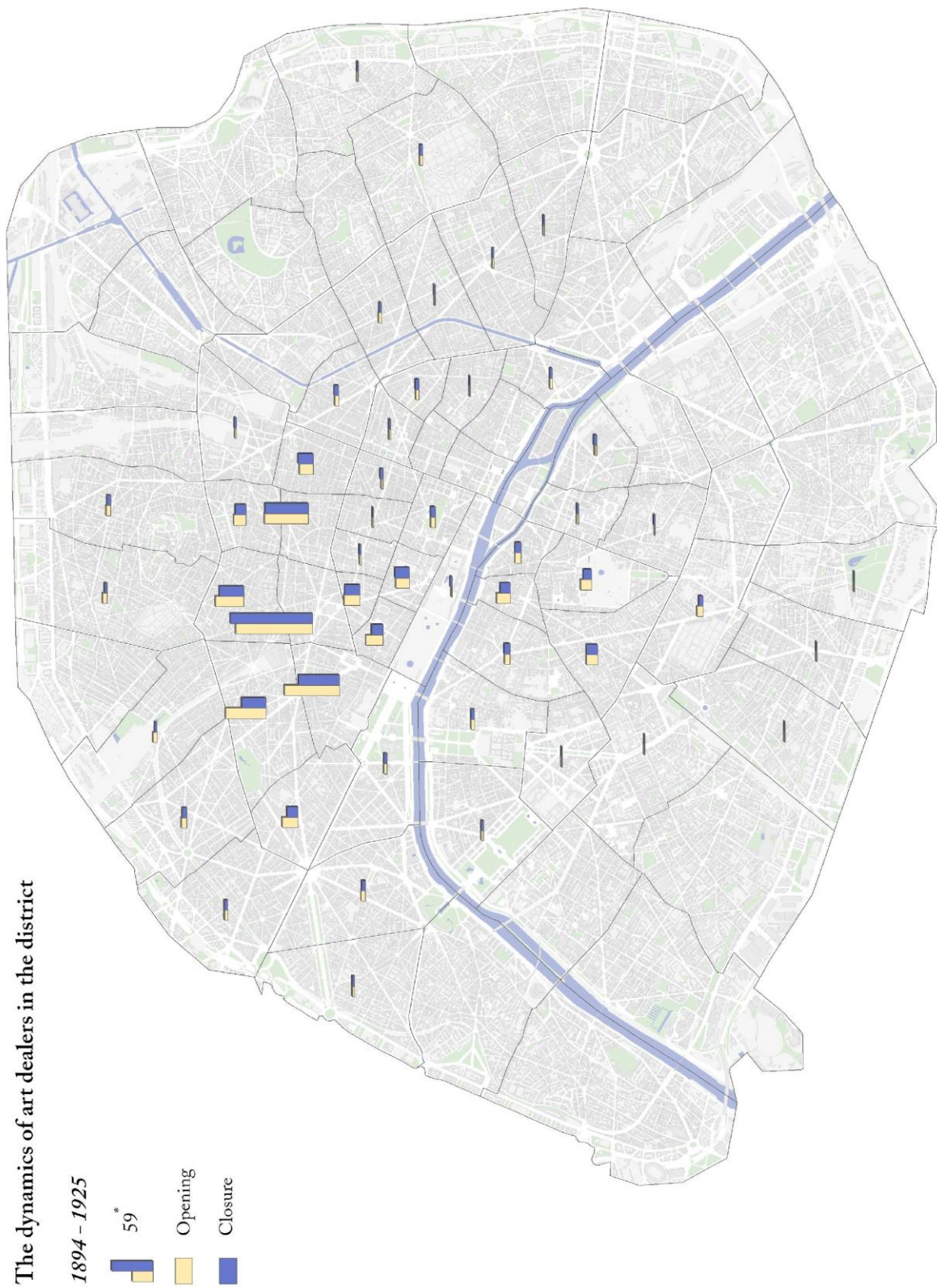


Map 14 : Location of art dealers, 1894 – 1925



Maupé, J., Caverio, 2016, (ANR-16-ABX-009, ANR-16-IDEX-0001-02 PM7)
Darius, F., de Maupeou et L., St-Raymond (drt86), 2014 ; Sources, AFUR, 2014 ; Open Data Paris, 2014

Map 15 : Dynamics of art dealers in the district, 1894 – 1925



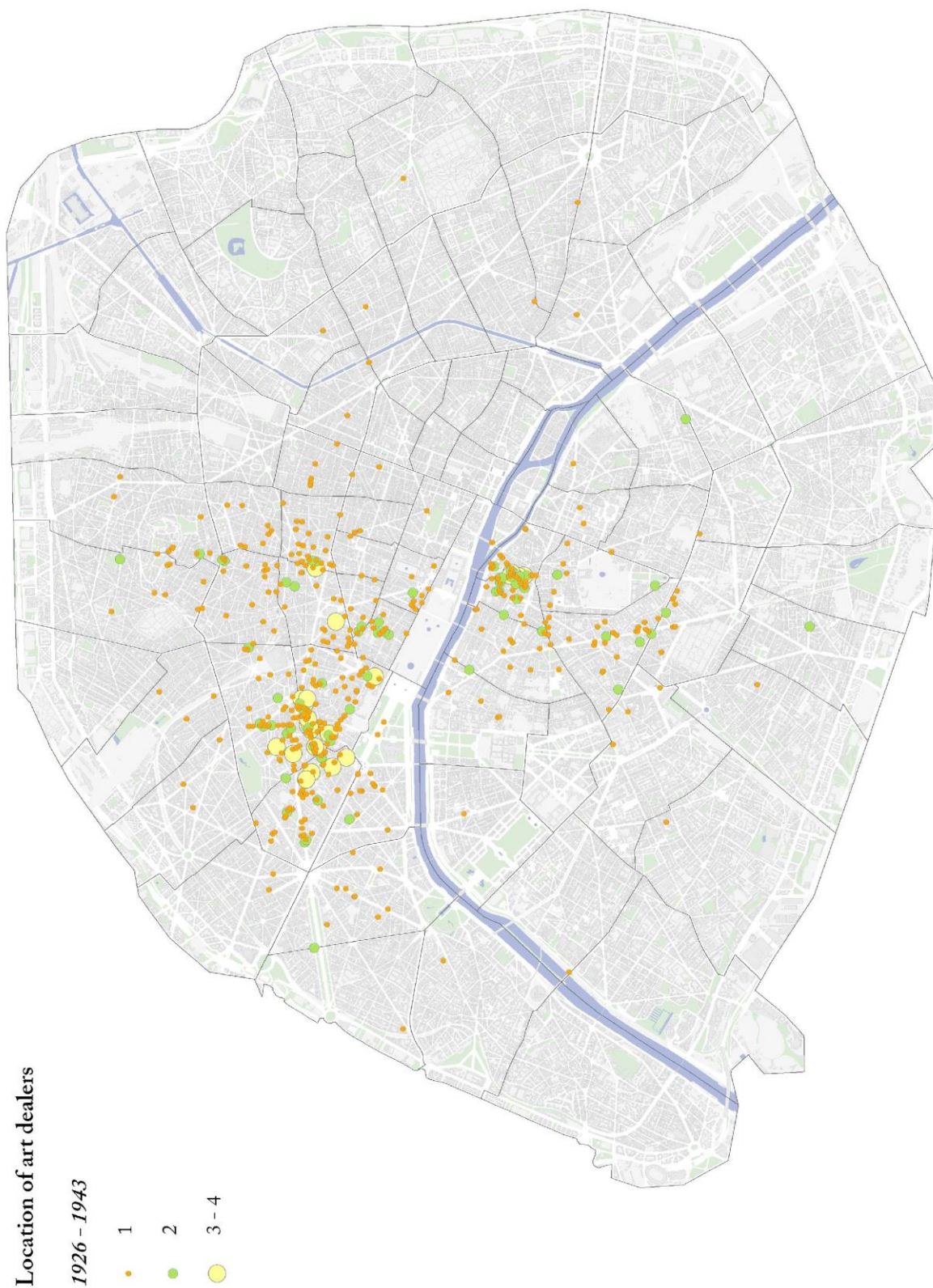
Muñoz J. Caverio, 2016 (ANR-10-LABX-099, ANR-10-IDEX-0001-02 PNF)
Darius F. de Maupou et L. St-Raymond (dir.), 2014, Sources APUR, 2014, Open Data Paris, 2014

* The indicated value corresponds to the highest bar of legend

Map 16 : Art dealers located at rue de Seine, rue Laffitte and rue La Boétie, 1894 – 1925

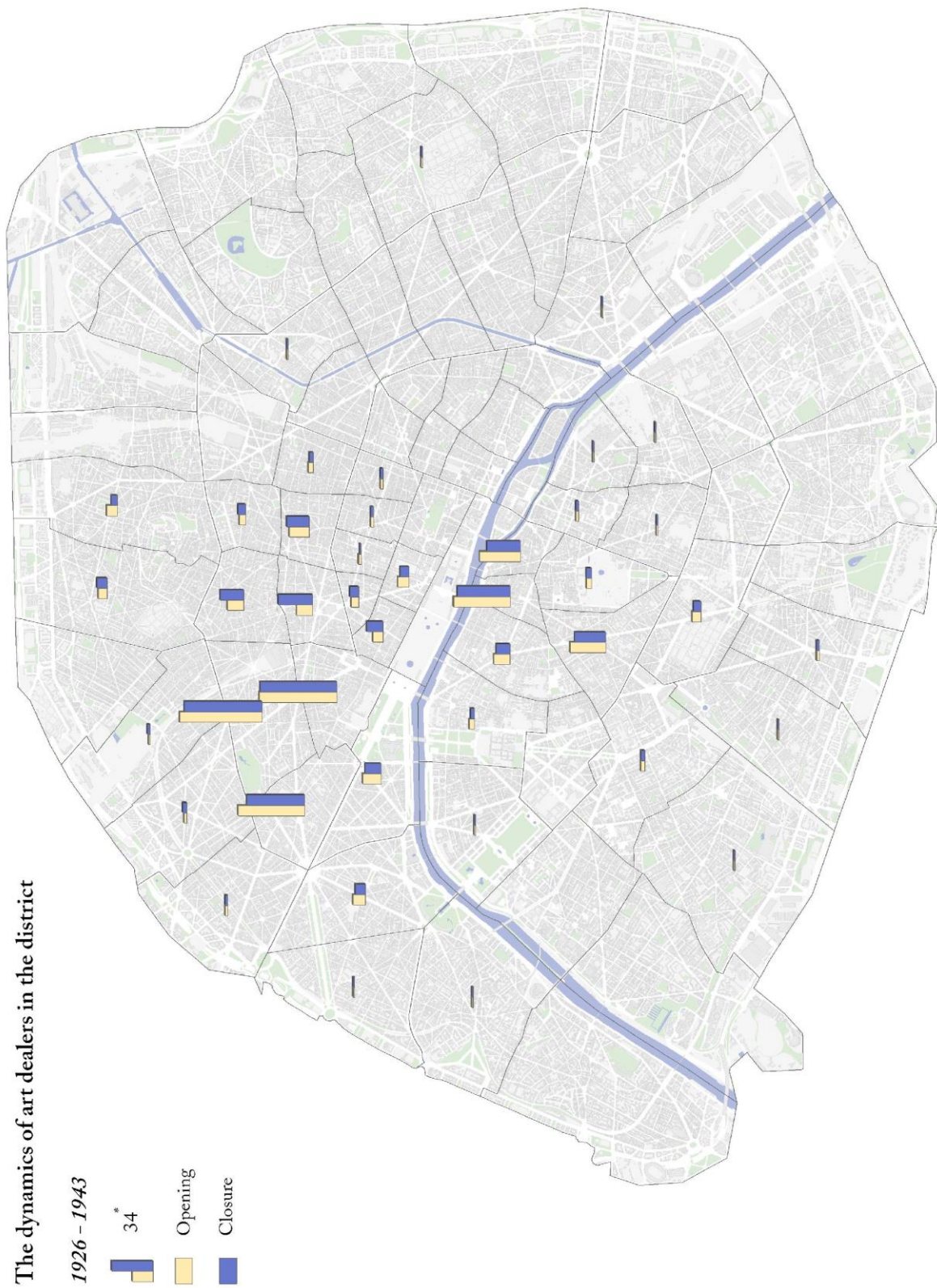


Map 17 : Location of art dealers, 1926 – 1943



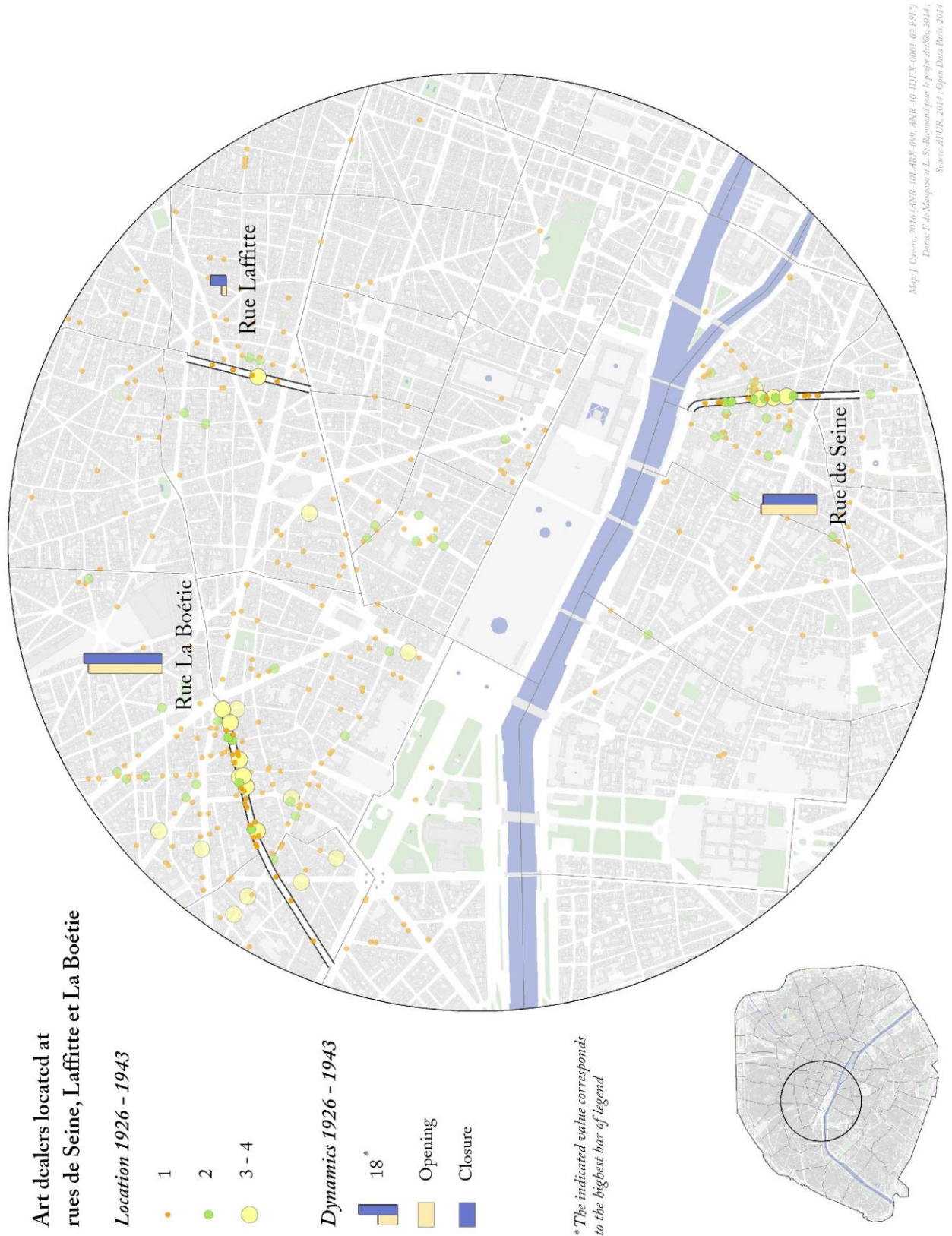
Map: J. Caverio, 2016 (ANR-16-LABX-099, ANR-16-IDEX-0001-02 PM7)
Data: F. de Maupéou et L. St-Raymond (dir.), 2014, *Sources APUR*, 2014, Open Data Paris, 2014

Map 18 : Dynamics of art dealers in the district, 1926 – 1943

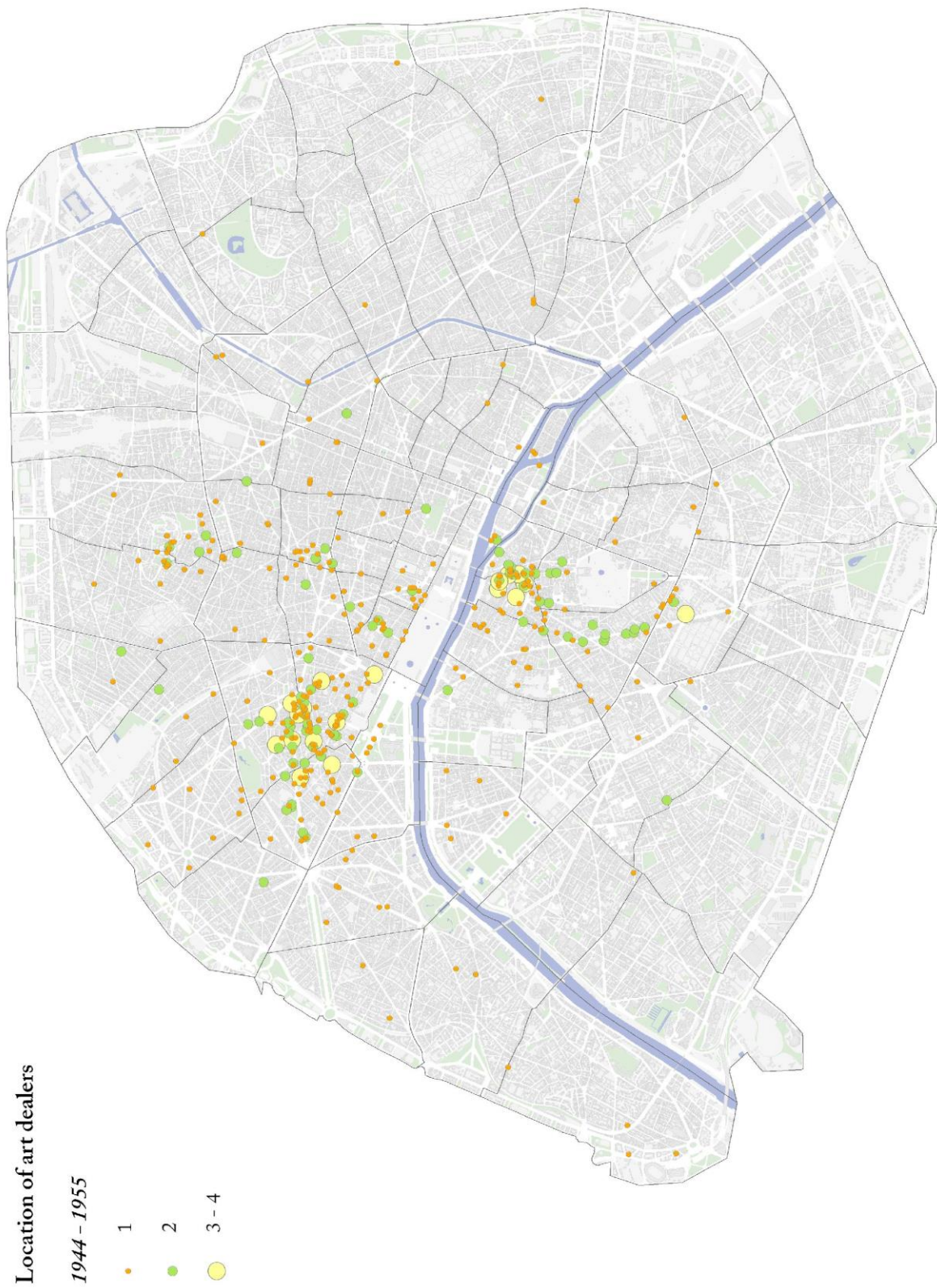


Maupéou, J. Caverø, 2016. (NRF-10-ARX-099, NRF-10-IDEX-0001-02 PM7)
Darius, F., de Maupéou, J. L., St-Raymond (dir.), 2014. Sources, JFUR, 2014. Open Data Paris, 2014

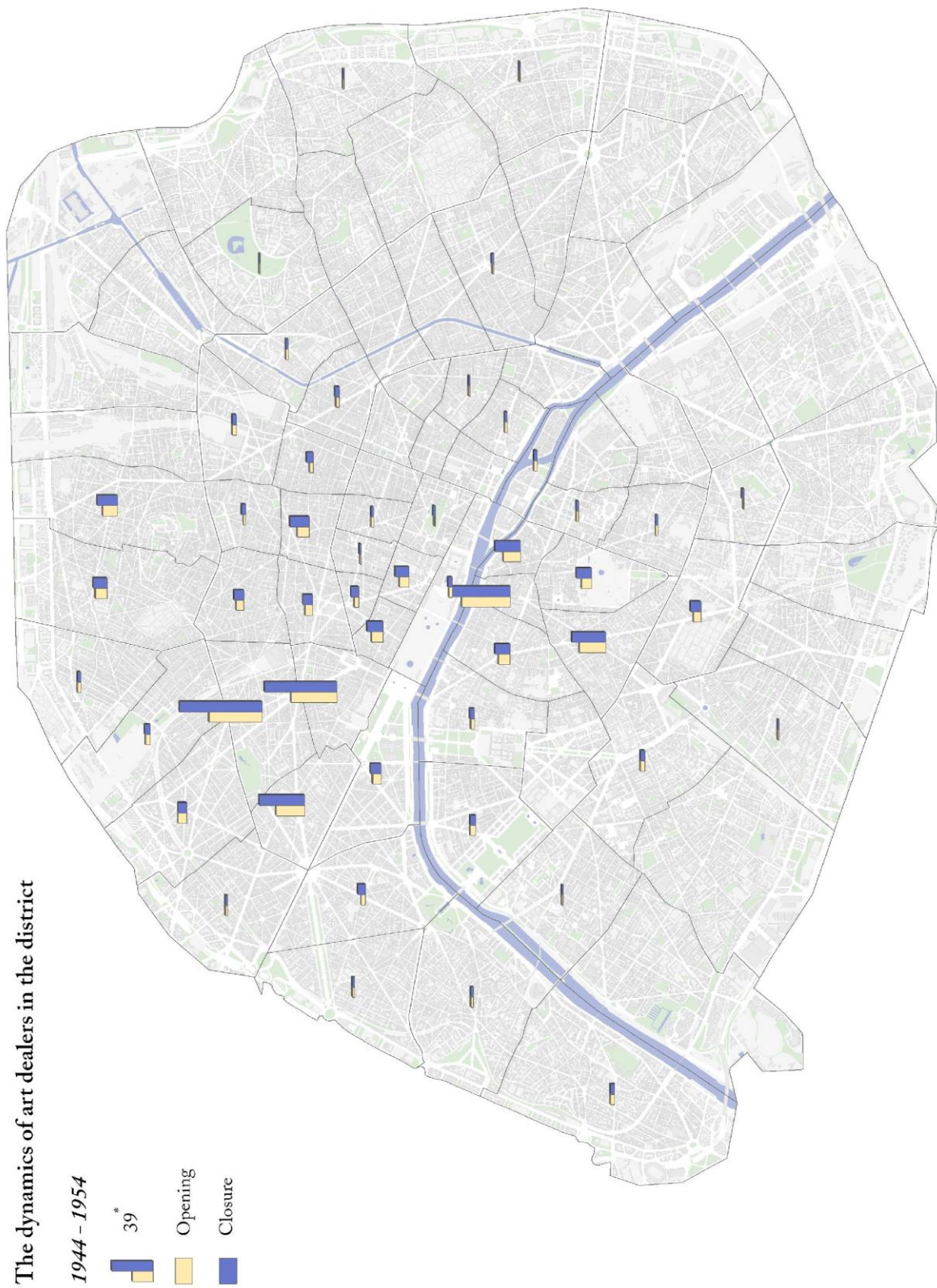
Map 19 : Art dealers located at rue de Seine, rue Laffitte and rue La Boétie, 1926 – 1943



Map 20 : Location of art dealers, 1944 – 1955

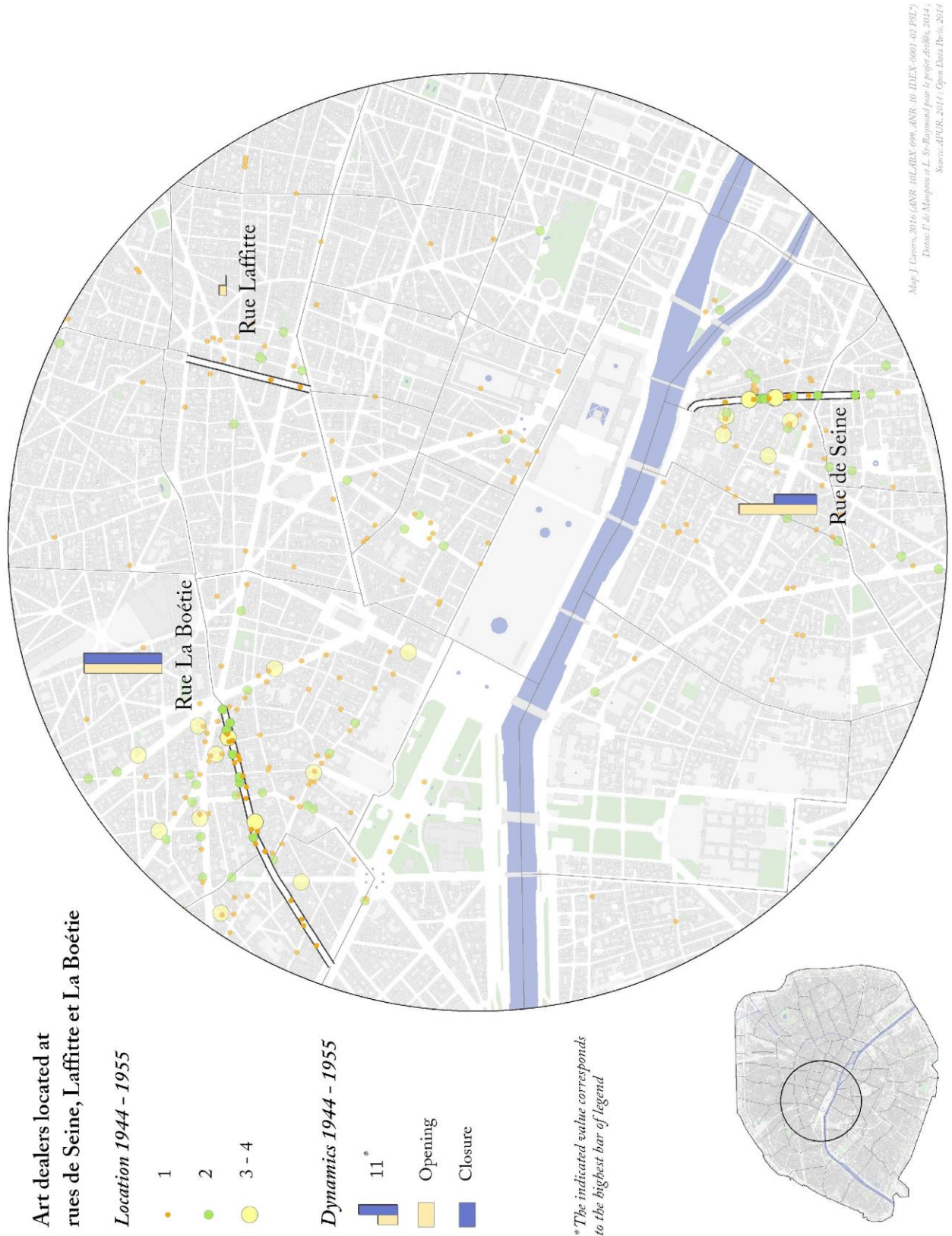


Map 21 : Dynamics of art dealers in the district, 1944 – 1955

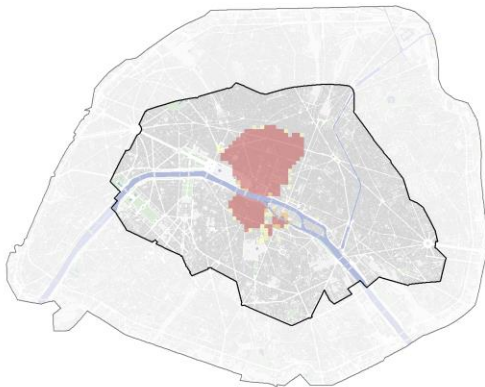


Muñoz J. Caverio, 2016 (ANR-16-LABX-099, ANR-16-IDEX-0001-02 PNF)
Darius F. de Maupeou et L. St-Raymond (dir.), 2014, Sources APUR, 2014, Open Data Paris, 2014

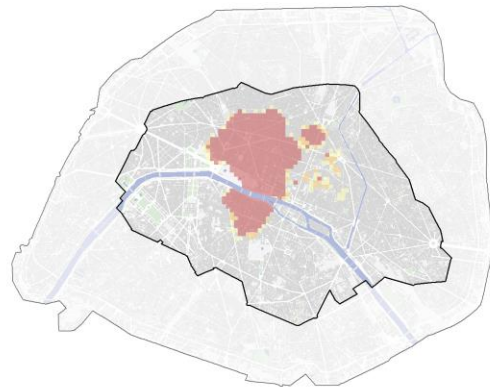
Map 22 : Art dealers located at rue de Seine, rue Laffitte and rue La Boétie, 1944 – 1955



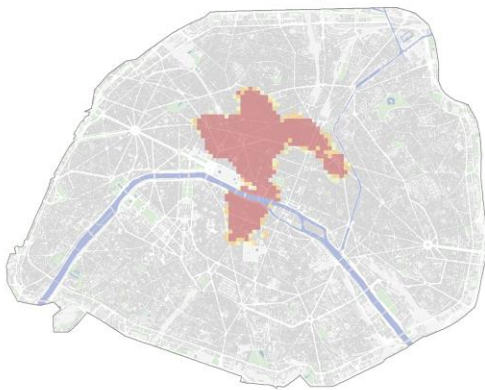
Map 23 : Spatial evolution of the Parisian art from 1815 through 1955



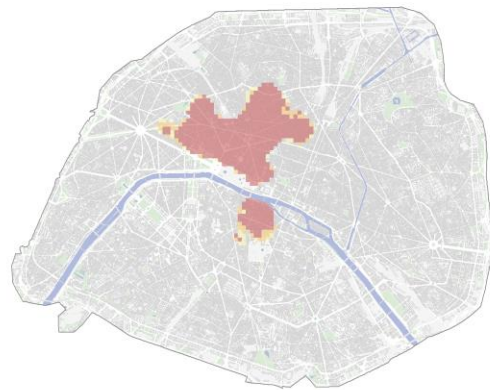
1815 - 1836 : between the Institut and the Palais-Royal



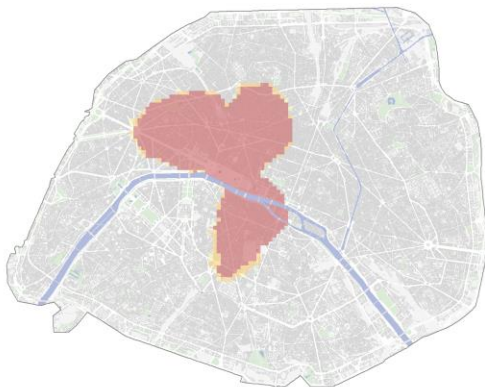
1837 - 1859 : conquering the Boulevard



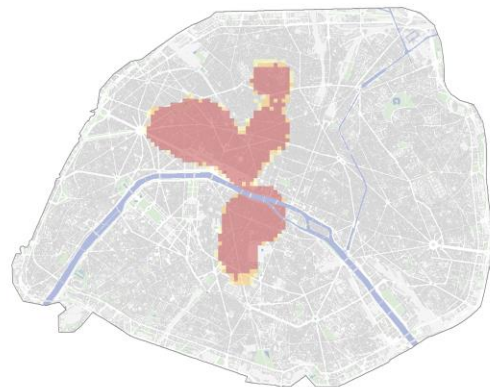
1860 - 1893 : “One simply must go to rue Laffitte”



1894 - 1925 : towards rue La Boétie

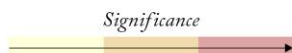


1926 - 1943 : left bank vs right bank



1944 - 1955 : ongoing duality

Spatial significant concentration of art dealers



Map: J. Caverio, 2016 (ANR-10LABX-099, ANR-10-IDEX-0001-02 PSL)
 Data: F. de Maupeou et L. St-Raymond (Art100s), 2014 ; Sources: APUR, 2014 ; Open Data Paris, 2014*