

Impressionism as Shared Heritage

North American Art Museums in a Time of Pandemic



Leslie Barry

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This edition represents a summary for publication in English of a supervised academic research project (*Travail dirigé*) submitted by the author to the Université de Montréal in 2021 towards the degree of *Maîtrise ès arts (M.A.) Muséologie* (M.A. in Museum Studies). The study as submitted to the university is archived within the *Muséologie* department.

Wishing to share this research with any who may find it useful and of interest, and in consideration of that which is shared as an overarching theme of the project, the author has developed the present English and corresponding French editions for publication.

These editions are substantively representative of the French language academic paper submitted to the university in 2021. It has been further edited for clarity and precision, and abridged through the removal of annexes and images. References and notes associated with the removed images are retained. Removed annexes include an English version of portions of the main text that formed the basis for this more comprehensive English edition, and documents relating to the university ethics approval and the interview process.

The 2021 academic paper received the grade of A+ by both members of a two-person jury composed of professors from the Art History (*Histoire de l'art*) and Museum Studies (*Muséologie*) Departments of the Université de Montréal. The academic paper was accepted by the Université de Montréal towards meeting degree requirements and the author earned a *Maîtrise ès arts (M.A.) Muséologie* in 2021.

Front cover image:

Gustave Caillebotte. *Paris Street; Rainy Day*, 1877. The Art Institute of Chicago.

<https://www.artic.edu/artworks/20684/paris-street-rainy-day>. CC0 Désignation domaine public.

Back cover image:

Photographic self-portrait by the author Leslie Barry. © Leslie Barry, 2021

Impressionism as Shared Heritage

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by

Leslie Barry

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Abstract

The year 2020 was marked by the convergence of a pandemic and profound postcolonial questioning of the persistence of certain inequitable social and heritage structures. In these circumstances, many people entered real or virtual museum spaces featuring exhibitions relating to impressionism, presented by North American museums. For some, this may have been a comforting experience, but not necessarily for all, or in the same way. Drawing on exhibitions relating to impressionism presented by North American art museums in 2020, a question arises as to how a concept called "shared heritage" can contribute to art history and museum studies, and prove relevant to current museum practice. Following discussion of theoretical foundations leading to a concept of shared heritage and an assessment of trends in current impressionism studies, six exhibitions were studied. The results of this research demonstrate various ways in which the shared heritage of impressionism develops, persists, and reverberates locally and internationally, through collections, collaborations, and historical and contemporary appropriation, critique, and reimaginings.

Keywords: impressionism, heritage, shared, art museum, North American

Résumé

L'année 2020 a été marquée par la convergence d'une pandémie et d'une profonde remise en question postcoloniale de la persistance de certaines structures sociales et patrimoniales inévitables. Dans ces circonstances, de nombreuses personnes ont franchi les portes réelles ou virtuelles de musées où avaient lieu des expositions liées à l'impressionnisme présentées par des musées nord-américains. Pour certains, cela aurait pu s'agir d'une expérience réconfortante, mais pas nécessairement pour tous ou de la même manière. En puisant dans le cas des expositions liées à l'impressionnisme et présentées par des musées d'art nord-américains en 2020, une question se décline comme suit : comment un concept nommé « patrimoine partagé » peut-il contribuer aux études en muséologie et en histoire de l'art, en s'avérant pertinent à la pratique muséologique actuelle ? Suite à la discussion d'une recherche documentaire qui interroge des fondements théoriques menant à un concept de patrimoine partagé et de l'état des études actuelles portant sur l'impressionnisme, six expositions ont été étudiées. Les résultats de cette recherche démontrent différentes façons dont le patrimoine partagé de l'impressionnisme se développe, persiste et se répercute aux niveaux local et international par le biais de collections et de collaborations, et à travers l'appropriation, la critique et les réimaginings historiques et contemporaines.

Mots clés : impressionnisme, patrimoine, partagé, musée d'art, nord-américain

With a professional dedication to

Odile Billoret-Bourdy

and

Joanne Côté

For their significant contributions to the museum field

and for having reinforced my belief in

dreams
possibilities
and
purpose

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I would also like to extend my warmest gratitude to my parents, family members, and others close to my heart, as well as former educators and advisors in other fields who have helped me along the way.

So many others have been generous in their academic or professional interactions leading to the completion of this project. Their involvement, encouragement, and support are deeply appreciated. Although there are undoubtedly more than those mentioned here, I would like to sincerely thank the individuals listed on the following page.

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Preface

*I heard from a friend a few weeks ago that what she has missed so much during this long shutdown is wandering the galleries of the Art Institute of Chicago. The luxury of devoting an afternoon to a stroll through a world-class museum is something many Chicagoans probably took for granted. [...] The Art Institute reopened on July 30, and it will be operating at 25% capacity to ensure physical distancing requirements can be met.*¹ (Fig.1)

As a Canadian-American student living in the prairies of the Midwest of the United States, my first introduction to the concept of formal study of art history was on a high school class trip to visit the collection of French impressionist works at the Art Institute of Chicago. The particular setting was that of an elegant North American urban art museum of late nineteenth century neoclassical design, where I was introduced to an appreciation and celebration of works that had been largely acquired a century earlier from across an ocean by wealthy North American industrialists. On that day, it was Gustave Caillebotte's monumental *Paris Street; Rainy Day*^{2,3}(Fig. 2), dating from 1877 that made the most lasting "impression" on me.

To this day, I can't be sure if our guide to the impressionist galleries that day was a volunteer docent or a paid museum staff member; I don't think I could have discerned such distinctions at the time. In any case, whether this docent had a PhD in art history or was simply an art history buff, it was on this day that I learned how Caillebotte had cut the composition off at the edge of the painting, positioned the couple off-center, and depicted the Parisian "*vie moderne*". I also learned that these choices had been considered revolutionary at the time of the painting's creation. Equipped with a new knowledge of the study of art history, this painting since became part of my imagination with its shimmering Parisian cobblestones, the couple's elegant and reserved intimacy, and the boulevard Hausseman disappearing into the distance. Created in France, the work has come to instruct and to "belong" to Chicago, and to all those who visit its largest art museum.

During a visit to Paris a few years later, I wondered if a French high school student visiting a French museum might have a similar experience contemplating, for example, James Abbot McNeill Whistler's *Arrangement in Grey and Black No. 1*, also known as *Portrait of the Artist's Mother*,⁴ (Fig. 2) now conserved at the Musée d'Orsay. A contemporary of the impressionists with whom he shared much contact and exchange of ideas, the artist was born in the United States and the work was executed in London in 1871. In a recent online post, the Musée d'Orsay noted that the portrait sublimates reality and escapes national assignments, and that there are three nations

that vie for the artist's fame; the United States where he was born, the United Kingdom where he died, and France where he was educated, formed his most valued friendships, and was first recognized.⁵ How might this work, bearing heritage traits shared by several countries and conserved by French museums, instruct the imagination and understanding of students⁶ in France, and elsewhere?

What does "belonging" mean? What art objects guide and instruct our understanding of cultural value? Who decides this? When an object conserved in an art museum's collection is removed from its place of origin and gradually comes to hold meaning for more than one culture, community, or country, what becomes of questions of materiality? What is the legacy of this significance if the object were then to be moved and preserved elsewhere, or if the societal context surrounding the object changes with the accumulation of time and knowledge? We share works, objects, land, ideas and values sometimes by accident, sometimes by force, but also sometimes because we wish to, or because we seek to do so better and with deeper, more thoughtful intention. We share and at the same time we continue to better understand what sharing involves, what it means, where it leads us and how we are connected by it. These questions have led me to reflect upon what meaning the same museum objects convey today, and how do museums frame, or rather reframe, the presentation of works in consideration of changing complexities and rigorous examination of contemporary 21st century society. What role do these curated objects play in the context of current museological thought and practice?

During my museology program, I found myself drawn back to my humble beginnings in art history. This journey led me to complete an internship at the Musée d'Orsay in Paris in late 2019 as part of my degree program. As my own introduction to art history does not seem to have been a unique experience, I decided to critically examine and interrogate the premises behind this introduction within the context of this research project. My academic and professional background has involved other areas of museology and art history as well, yet I still love and appreciate the works of French impressionism. I wish to better understand this love and contribute to its continued relevance and vitality, as I would with any other long-term relationship.

After 2 weeks of multiple health screens and asking everyone to quarantine, I surprised my closest inner circle with a trip to a private island where we could pretend things were normal just for a brief moment in time.⁷ (Fig. 4)

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Source:

Colby Smith, “Art Institute Of Chicago Is Reopening And Has Extended ‘Monet & Chicago Through Summer,” *Secret Chicago*, January 27, 2021, <https://secretchicago.com/the-art-institute-reopening/>.

Smith attributes the photograph as : “Featured Image from Instagram / @artinstitutechi.”

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Source:

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Source:

Photograph taken by the author of Plate 27 in the following exhibition catalogue chapter. Katerina Atanassova, ed., *Le Canada et l'impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons (1880-1930)* (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 2019).

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Source:

Steve Johnson, "Union League Club Votes to Sell Its Prized Monet Painting to Cover Pandemic Losses," *Chicago Tribune*, December 2020, <https://www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/museums/ct-ent-union-league-club-monet-painting-20201204-huubxty4znekbmazxf3se6k45i-story.html>. The author attributes the photograph to "Brian Cassella / Chicago Tribune."

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Source:

Steve Johnson, "Union League Club Votes to Sell Its Prized Monet Painting to Cover Pandemic Losses," *Chicago Tribune*, December 2020,

<https://www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/museums/ct-ent-union-league-club-monet-painting-20201204-huubxty4zneckbmazxf3se6k45i-story.html>.

The author attributes the photograph to: “Charles Osgood / Chicago Tribune.”

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Source:

Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, “*Paris dans le temps du postimpressionnisme : Signac et les Indépendants*,” accessed August 25, 2021, <https://www.mbam.qc.ca/fr/expositions/paris-au-temps-du-postimpressionnisme-signac/>.

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Source:

National Gallery of Art, “National Gallery of Art Celebrates Degas’s Love of the Paris Opéra in Exhibition on View March 1 through October 12, 2020,” press release, October 11, 2019, last updated 13 juillet 2020, <https://www.nga.gov/press/exh/5133.html>.

Figure 23 | Screenshot of curator Kimberly Jones giving a conference on *Degas at the Opéra* on March 8, 2020, before the exhibition closed due to the pandemic. The NGA published the conference online shortly thereafter, when the museum was obliged to close.

Source:

National Gallery of Art, “Introduction to the Exhibition—Degas at the Opéra,” Youtube, May 31, 2020, accessed August 26, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DL1rW7HzYoo>.

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Source:

Phillips Collection, “*Riffs and Relations: Explore 3D Space*,” accessed August 26, 2021, <https://www.phillipscollection.org/event/2020-02-28-riffs-and-relations-african-american-artists-and-european-modernist-tradition>.

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Right: Robert Colescott, *Sunday Afternoon with Joaquin Murietta*, Acrylic on canvas, 1980, (Collection of Arlene and Harold Schnitzer).

Source:

Phillips Collection, “*Riffs and Relations : Explore 3D Space*,” Accessed August 26, 2021, <https://www.phillipscollection.org/event/2020-02-28-riffs-and-relations-african-american-artists-and-european-modernist-tradition>.

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Source:

Phillips Collection, “*Riffs and Relations: Explore 3D Space*,” accessed August 26, 2021, <https://www.phillipscollection.org/event/2020-02-28-riffs-and-relations-african-american-artists-and-european-modernist-tradition>.

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Source:

Phillips Collection, “*Riffs and Relations : Explore 3D Space*,” accessed August 26, 2021, <https://www.phillipscollection.org/event/2020-02-28-riffs-and-relations-african-american-artists-and-european-modernist-tradition>.

Figure 32 | Robert Pilot, *En attendant le bac*, 1927, Oil on canvas, (Private collection).

Source:

Photograph taken by the author of the plate appearing in the exhibition catalogue. Katerina Atanassova, ed., *Le Canada et l'impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons (1880-1930)* (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 2019).

Figure 33 | Franklin Brownell, *En attendant les bateaux de Nevis*, Oil on canvas, 1916, (Private collection).

Source:

Photograph taken by the author of the plate appearing in the exhibition catalogue.

Katerina Atanassova, ed., *Le Canada et l'impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons (1880-1930)* (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 2019).

Figure 34 | Frances Jones, *Le jardin d'hiver*, Oil on canvas, 1883, (Nova Scotia Archives Documentary and Fine Art Collection).

Source:

Photograph taken by the author of the plate appearing in the exhibition catalogue.

Katerina Atanassova, ed., *Le Canada et l'impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons (1880-1930)* (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 2019).

Figure 35 | H. Mabel May, *Les tricoteuses*, Oil on canvas, 1915, (Collection of Pierre Lassonde).

Source:

Photograph taken by the author of the plate appearing in the exhibition catalogue.

Katerina Atanassova, ed., *Le Canada et l'impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons (1880-1930)* (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 2019).

Figure 36 | Clarence Gagnon, *Le train en hiver*, Oil on canvas, c. 1913-1914, (Collection of Donald R. Sobey).

Source:

Photograph taken by the author of the plate appearing in the exhibition catalogue.

Katerina Atanassova, ed., *Le Canada et l'impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons (1880-1930)* (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 2019).

Figure 37 | Screenshot with inscription by the author “Save the date!”

Source:

Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, « À l’affiche : Le Canada et l’impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons, » accessed March 6, 2021, <https://www.beaux-arts.ca/a-laffiche/expositions-et-salles/le-canada-et-limpressionnisme-nouveaux-horizons>.

List of Abbreviations

AAM	Art Association of Montreal
AIC	Art Institute of Chicago
CERAH	Comité d'éthique de la recherche en arts et humanités
CPIA	Cultural Property Implementation Act
EPMO	Établissement public des musées d'Orsay et de l'Orangerie - Valéry Giscard d'Estaing
IDEA	Inclusion, Diversity, Equity, and Accessibility (sometimes DEIA)
MFAB	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MMFA	Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MBAM – Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal)
NGA	National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC)
NGC	National Gallery of Canada (MBAC – Musée des beaux-arts du Canada)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture)

List of Terms and Concepts

English / anglais

(“long”) nineteenth century
appropriation
art catalogue
art dealer
art gallery
art market
art movement
art production
arts patronage - patron
collecting—collectors
contact zone
cosmopolitanism
critical museology
cultural relativism
dealer critic system
economy of goods
economy of knowledge
European art market
exhibition
foreign trade
global discourse
globalize
globalization
hegemonic
hybridity
impressionism—impressionist
inclusion, diversity, equity, and accessibility (IDEA)
international art market
international history
mobility
modern life
modernism
national art
national art market
national art schools

français /French

dix-neuvième siècle (« long »), le
appropriation, le
catalogue d’art, le
marchand de l’art, le
galerie d’art, la
commerce de l’art, le
mouvement d’art, le
production artistique, la
mécénat, le — mécène des arts, le
collection, la — collectionner
zone de contact, la
cosmopolitisme, le
nouvelle muséologie, la
relativisme culturel, le
système marchand-critique, le
économie des marchandises ou des biens, l’ (f)
économie du savoir ou des connaissances, l’ (f)
marché de l’art européen, le
exposition, l’ (f)
commerce extérieur, le
discours global, le
mondialiser
globalisation, la
hégémonique
hybridité, la
impressionnisme, le — impressionniste
inclusion, diversité, équité et accessibilité (IDEA)
marché de l’art international, le
histoire internationale, l’ (f)
mobilité, la
vie moderne, la
modernisme, le
art national, l’ (m)
marché de l’art national, le
école de l’art nationale, l’ (m)

English / anglais

national identity

nationalism

tension field

transcoding

universalism—universalist

Western art

français /French

identité nationale, l' (f)

nationalisme, le

champ de tension, le

transcodage, le

universalité, l' (f) — universaliste

art occidental, l' (m)

Section 1 Presentation of the Research

Introduction

During the pandemic beginning in 2020, the vast majority of museums closed their doors for a period of time, and for some, it would be forever. When museums began to reopen, partially or in full, anxious but dedicated staff greeted masked visitors with hand gel, timed entry, protective Plexiglas signs, and arrowed floor markers to visit rescheduled, reorganized, or reconsidered exhibits. (Figs. 5, 6 and 7) In these circumstances, many people entered real or virtual museum spaces featuring exhibitions relating to impressionism that were presented by North American art museums. It was as if these great canons of art history, depicting pastoral landscapes, images of domestic respite, or even scenes of late nineteenth-century urban and industrial life, were waiting to welcome into their quiet museum galleries a world emerging from quarantine.

In his review of the exhibition *Paris in the Days of Post-Impressionism: Signac and the Indépendants*, presented at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA), journalist Ian McGillis observes that while the museum team could not have known how appropriate the choice of exhibition was for a traumatized society gradually emerging from its isolation, the profound optimism and idealism of Signac's vision and work shine through at a strangely opportune moment. He writes that with its period-appropriate music and fluid exhibition flow, a better antidote to the gloom of quarantine could not have been imagined.⁸ Appearing in the *Montreal Gazette* in July 2020, McGillis's assessment strikes a chord that seems to have been echoed by the press and public alike in response to this exhibition, and to others presented during the year 2020 featuring works related to impressionism.⁹ In discussing this article, MMFA curator Mary-Dailey Desmarais reflects that she and her team hoped for the exhibition to resonate with people and to offer them a type of escape. She states that she was happy that the public was able to enjoy the exhibition while it was open.¹⁰ Steven Legari, an art therapist permanently on staff at the MMFA, indicated in a 2020 *New York Times* article that during the pandemic he was drawn to images depicting nature for sessions he organized at the museum, favoring works such as those by impressionist artists over more contemporary works. He added that in quarantine, one looks at the same things every day at home and the repetition reduces the ability to concentrate, whereas museums are places of

wonder, beauty and fascination.¹¹ Similarly, when discussing the 2020 reception in Europe of the exhibition she organized *Canada and Impressionism: A Journey of Rediscovery*, National Gallery of Canada (NGC) curator Katerina Atanassova notes that today, impressionist works are viewed as relatively easy on the eye and depicting pleasant subject matter, and are less associated with social issues and violence. She notes that during the pandemic, this is something that attracts the public, and that when people come to the museum, they want to be able to relax.¹²

Prior to the pandemic, a growing focus was already being placed on the role of art museums in public health and well-being, with the MMFA leading the way in particular, having integrated wellness programs into the fabric of the institution with extensive programming and multiple community partnerships with leaders in health and wellness.¹³ During the pandemic, museums across North America began investigating more intently what their roles could be in contributing to public health and wellbeing, often turning to and citing the Montreal museum.¹⁴ During the first months of the pandemic, the director of the MMFA made a public case for why museums should be considered an essential service during a deconfinement plan.¹⁵ Prior to such contemporary investigations and actions linking art museums with community health and wellbeing, the idea of an uplifting or transcendental effect of museums on their visitors goes back to their early foundings within a post-Enlightenment context, including discussions surrounding their role as “forum or temple”.¹⁶

Indeed, part of what a visiting public may find comforting in being able to resume visits to their favorite art museums may not only have to do with the particular works presented, but also the entire experience of visiting the museum: the opportunity to once again enter into a familiar and ritualistic suspension of reality, or as Kenneth Clark writes, quoted by Carol Duncan in her 1995 *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, “the only reason for bringing together works of art in a public space is that [...] they produce in us a kind of exalted happiness. For a moment there is a clearing in the jungle; we pass on refreshed, with our capacity for life increased and with some memory of the sky.”¹⁷ One might ask, when could re-enacting such a ritualistic experience be more enticing and instill a greater sense of comfort than during a pandemic, coinciding with a historic moment of heightened social unrest.

In addition to general effects imparted by the "museum experience" and a sense of calm that may be instilled through the contemplation of impressionist works depicting nature and domestic scenes with peaceful color palettes, another element may come into play with respect to

public reception of impressionist works; this element is one having to do with a notion of shared heritage. Since the very beginning of the art movement, involvement of international artists, exchange of knowledge in relation to impressionism, and the ubiquity of impressionist works preserved and exhibited in international art museums, particularly in North America, have informed collective imagination and contributed to the development of a visual and intellectual language that is shared. In turn, a sense of belonging and heritage relating to impressionism and impressionist works of art is now shared by many cultures, communities and countries around the world. Questions present today as to how such a sense of affinity and shared cultural heritage may develop in relation to a work, or body of works of art that originated from a very different place and time; how does this sense of shared heritage develop, how is it perpetuated, and how does it evolve?

Nonetheless, a visit to an art museum is not necessarily experienced by all in the same way, nor is the contemplation of a particular body of work such as impressionism. Just as 2020 embodied a public search for wellness and comfort, it also involved a deep questioning of persisting social structures founded on colonialism. In more ways than one, 2020 presented a moment of crisis for the survival of many museums.¹⁸ Facing lockdowns, closures, cessation of revenue streams and budget and staff cuts, museums also bore witness to raw confrontations surrounding still-deeply rooted racial injustice and class struggle in North America and elsewhere. Museums were often objects of postcolonial and anti-racist critique, and indeed, many engaged in deep self-examinations that went to the roots of their very existence.¹⁹

In the Western art museum world, these events took place in what was already a context of increased questioning, both internally and externally, about the nature and presentation of their international collections.²⁰ Recent years have witnessed a great deal of museological and public attention given to postcolonial issues surrounding the re-examination of international artworks, sometimes leading to the repatriation or restitution of works to their countries, nations and communities of origin. For certain categories of museum art objects, such as those expatriated as a result of war-related looting or other aftermaths of colonial rule, associated critical reflections are often viewed as urgent issues of human cultural law.²¹

For other categories of museum art objects, whose provenance and presence outside of their cultures and places of origin fits within a framework that is recognized internationally as legitimate and ethical, a re-examination of circumstances and influences surrounding

contemporary museological issues may also be undertaken from a more nuanced perspective. These works may be critically examined with regards to the circumstances in which they have traveled the world, their role in affirming and promoting certain cultural, heritage or hegemonic structures, and their spheres of influence. Similarly, in some cases, a previously recognized legitimacy may later transform into object of contestation with new revelations surrounding provenance. Regarding the significant export of French art to the United Kingdom and North America during impressionism's most prolific period of the late 19th century, Janet Brooke notes that the consequences of this situation were particularly sensitive in France. Observing this exodus of artworks, the French press often bitterly denounced it as representing a danger to the survival of national culture, or as one writer of the time described, a form of legal pillage.²²

These questions are often addressed within a postcolonial and binary framework: Does an object legitimately belong legitimately here, or there? Is the object more important to one culture, or to another? According to Anthony Shelton of the University of British Columbia: "Crucial to critical museology is the proposition that in defining any aspect of the society or regional civilization of which that society is part, we implicitly define or reproduce its opposite."²³ Taking into account complex and shifting questions surrounding the relationship of art objects to more than one culture, community or nation, the notion of heritage would thus seem fundamentally unstable. New analytical frameworks continue to be developed to address and advance these evolving perspectives.

In considering these reflections and recognizing that an art object or body of work can relate to the heritage landscape of more than one culture, community or nation, the present study develops a concept of "shared heritage" (*patrimoine partagé*). With this concept, the study will consider exhibitions related to impressionist art presented by North American museums during the year 2020. The exhibitions studied here include: *Monet and Chicago* at the Art Institute of Chicago; *Monet and Boston: Lasting Impression* at the Museum of Fine Arts Boston; *Paris in the Days of Post-Impressionism: Signac and the Indépendants* at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts; *Degas at the Opéra* at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC; *Riffs and Relations: African American Artists and the European Modernist Tradition* at the Phillips Collection in Washington, DC; and *Canada and Impressionism: New Horizons*, a multi-site exhibition presented in 2020 by the National Gallery of Canada in 2020.

A salient aspect that emerges from the application of a concept of shared heritage within a theoretical framework of critical museology is the recognition that, as the history of art objects and their ties to heritage accumulate through time and space, narratives accompanying these objects evolve and take on new dimensions, leading to other spheres and levels of understanding. In the wake of the year 2020, marked by the convergence of a pandemic and resurging racial and political tensions, this query also proves to be particularly timely.

Statement of the Problem: Research Question and Objectives

Interrogating the placement of impressionism in North American imagination, the research question for this study arose from a reflection that is as relevant to art history as to current museology and social events. The question formulates as follows: drawing on the particular case of exhibitions relating to impressionism that were presented by North American art museums during the first year of pandemic in 2020, how may a concept called "shared heritage" contribute to the advancement of scholarly thought in museology and art history, and prove relevant to current museological practice?

Current Relevance of the Subject

One need not look far to note the continued ubiquity of impressionist and related works in North American institutional and private collections. Likewise, perusing recent exhibition programs of several prominent North American art museums may suffice to appreciate the ongoing predominance of impressionism in North American museum landscapes. French impressionism, in particular, is still considered canonical in the study and presentation of art history in North America and internationally. As discussed in the research review that follows, enduring public interest in impressionism has recently led scholars to renew their critical evaluation of the movement. Indeed, according to Atanassova, impressionism is perennially popular in Canada. She observes that today's Canadian public continues to show great interest in the movement and suspects that this interest will only continue to grow. She also notes that it is an art movement that is cited for public attendance over the past thirty years, and one of the top three types of exhibitions toward which museums continue to turn to attract the public.²⁴

The breadth of existing studies on impressionism is far from indicative of complete knowledge. To the contrary, its historiography and the enduring public interest in impressionism require, even demands, that scholarly study of the movement not stagnate. Ongoing study is crucial to ensure that the body of research evolves, is relevant, and responds critically to current social and scholarly development. Desmarais echoes that when considering historical works such as those of the nineteenth century, it is easy to presume that everything there is to be known about the subject is already known; yet, there is always more to be discovered.²⁵

Within the current context of museums, with staff and the public increasingly engaged in questions related to institutional critique and the foundations of international museum collections, all aspects of collections are subject to examination. These questions can become even more complex when involving works of art and other museum objects that are associated with a multiplicity of heritages, often developed over a long period of time. Interrogating these issues in the wake of the year 2020, marked by a pandemic, resurgence of racial and political tensions, and a multitude of practical and existential questions about the importance of museums to today's society is a most timely inquiry.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Through this study, a notion of "shared heritage" is proposed within the theoretical framework of critical museology. To further the contribution of critical museology and apply this concept more specifically to impressionism and works of art that are predominantly exchanged on the legitimate art market, the study's research question has evolved along two lines of thought: 1. Many current scholars of impressionism are asserting the relevance of taking a renewed look at the movement and its repercussions, such as with regards to globalization, issues of inclusion, and the role of the nineteenth-century art market in the development of impressionism. At the same time, exhibitions and other activities related to impressionism are continuing at a regular and uninterrupted frequency in North American art museums. These circumstances indicate that the development and application of a new conceptual framework is timely. 2. A brief critical assessment is undertaken of critical museology concepts relating to heritage and postcolonialism, and of their application to works of art, other museum objects, and bodies of work that are conserved in international museum collections. This exercise aims to identify current gaps leading

to the development of a concept of shared heritage to respond to some of the important interconnected debates in today's international museum field.

Definitions and Parameters: Concepts or Specialized Terms Used in this Research

"heritage"

Discussion of heritage in this study most specifically refers to cultural heritage. Although some other aspects of current heritage studies will be discussed further in the documentary research section of this paper, the definition offered for cultural heritage by UNESCO²⁶ may generally be considered one of the most widely recognized across the world. According to UNESCO, the term cultural heritage encompasses: 1. Tangible cultural heritage, including movable cultural heritage (paintings, sculptures, coins, manuscripts); immovable cultural heritage (monuments, archaeological sites, et cetera); and underwater cultural heritage (shipwrecks, underwater ruins and cities) and 2. Intangible cultural heritage, including oral traditions, performing arts, and rituals.²⁷ It is mainly tangible cultural heritage that is in question throughout this study. More specifically, references to heritage refer to moveable tangible cultural heritage in the form of art objects that are conserved in museum collections, or otherwise exhibited and studied within a museum context.

« impressionism » (and « impressionist »)²⁸

One definition of impressionism, often characterized as that found on the website of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, refers to predominantly French artists who exhibited together between 1874 and 1886. As will be elaborated further in Section II of this study, the terms "impressionism" and "impressionist" are used here in a broader sense to avoid an implicit conflation with French impressionism. Furthermore, given the mutual influence between movements relating to this period and condensation of some of these movements in their development and expression outside of France, the term impressionism is also used in a broad sense for the purposes of this study. As such, it encompasses some other closely related movements of the period in France and internationally, such as post-impressionism, Fauvism, and the Nabis. Indeed, Clark and Fowle write that "impressionism" came to be understood and used as a metonym for modernity.

One definition of impressionism, often characterized as that found on the website of the Museum of Modern Art in New York,²⁹ refers to predominantly French artists who exhibited together between 1874 and 1886. As will be elaborated further in Section II of this study, the terms "impressionism" and "impressionist" are used here in a broader sense to avoid implicit conflation with French impressionism. Furthermore, given the mutual influence between movements of this period, and condensation of some of these movements in their development and expression outside of France, the term impressionism is also used in a broad sense in this study. As such, it encompasses some other closely related movements of the period in France and internationally, such as post-impressionism, Fauvism, and the Nabis. Indeed, Clark and Fowle write that "impressionism" came to be understood and used as a metonym for modernity.³⁰

"long nineteenth century" and dates relating to Impressionism

The period referred to as the "long nineteenth century" is often characterized as beginning roughly in 1750 and ending in 1914 with the onset of World War I.³¹ However, scholars such as Atanassova³² and Ana Maria Tavares Cavalcanti³³ have articulated that for the purposes of studying international impressionism, the end date should be extended by one or two decades further into the twentieth century to more accurately capture the extended international impressionist movement as experienced in many other parts of the world. Reflecting this direction of recent scholarship, the term "long nineteenth century" is referred to here in a broader sense, covering the period of the second half of the nineteenth century through the first decades of the twentieth century.

"North America" and "North American"

Due to the principle geographic collecting trends during the impressionist era, the terms "North America" and "North American" refer here to Canada and the United States in particular. Nonetheless, a cursory online search was conducted to assess for noteworthy exhibitions relating to impressionism that may have taken place in other North American countries during 2020, such as in Mexico or a Caribbean nation. In early 2020, the Museo Octavio Ocampo in Celaya, Mexico (established in 2018) was in discussion with the Museo Somaya in Mexico City to receive sixty impressionist works in the same year,³⁴ but no further traces were found with regard to these plans. Only one other indication of an exhibition relating to impressionism during 2020 in Mexico was identified. This was a digital exhibition organized by a financial institution in Mexico City, but there does not seem to have been museum involvement in this project.³⁵

Methodology Adopted: Data Collection and Analysis Methods

Following an initial literature review and consideration of the results, this study aims to introduce and advance the concept of shared heritage by examining exhibitions related to impressionism presented by North American art museums during the first year of pandemic in 2020. In order to delineate and address this objective, a two-part methodology has been adopted: 1) the development and evaluation of documentary research, including a literature review and other pertinent documentation, and 2) a case study.

State of the Question: Literature Review and other Documentary Research

To evaluate the current state of research, identify gaps in the scholarly literature (if any), and advance a delineation of the research question, theoretical research for this study has primarily focused on two themes: 1) current reflections of the research community on the study of impressionism, and 2) an examination of postcolonial theoretical underpinnings relating to the study of works of art, other museum objects, and bodies of work that are associated with the heritage of more than one culture, community, or nation.

As relevant to the chosen topic, these theoretical research areas are further complemented by documentary findings of a more empirical nature, including 1) a historical look at the development of impressionism in North America and 2) the role of the Musée d'Orsay in the shared heritage of impressionism. In keeping with the limited parameters of this study, it should be noted that these areas of documentary research and corresponding analysis are of limited scope and might inspire further research.

Case Study

As set forth in the introduction to this study and in concordance with its parameters, a concept of shared heritage is articulated around a selection of six exhibitions relating to impressionism that were presented by North American art museums during the first year of pandemic in 2020. The study being in part one of comparison, the case study allows for a more in-depth development of the concept of shared heritage, a demonstration of the manifestation of this concept, and a consideration of related museological interventions, particularly with regards to curatorial practice. At the same time, the exercise offers the opportunity to participate in and contribute to current scholarly discourse on impressionism in art history.

The possibility was also created to conduct interviews with key curatorial museum staff for each of the six exhibitions treated in the case study. When possible, the purpose of interviews was to bring the topics discussed in the study more to life and further ground them in current museum practice. A limitation to conducting interviews was that for a multitude of reasons (such as small sample size, scheduling, institutional barriers, difficulties presented by the ongoing pandemic, and unavailability due to sick leave or vacation, to name a few), it was not possible to know in advance if recruitment to participate in the study would be successful. For this reason, the inclusion of interviews was conceived as an activity that might complement the study, but not as a necessary element for the completion of the project.

The study underwent a university ethics review with the Université de Montréal's *Comité d'éthique de la recherche en arts et humanités (CERAH)* prior to initiating contact with potential participants. A curatorial staff member for each of the six exhibitions considered was contacted in early 2021 to probe their interest to participate in the study. Most of those contacted were gracious to reply; however only two of those contacted were available to complete participation in the study. Both participants are curators working in Canadian museums. For this reason, it is possible that the final study results may at times more intimately reflect a Canadian perspective, although the overall subject of the study remains North American in scope. The ethics review underlined the importance of ensuring that participants felt entirely comfortable with their level of participation, including that a participant could withdraw partially or entirely from the study at any time before final submission of the project to the university. This aspect was duly emphasized to potential participants. Each transcribed interview was evaluated for elements most pertinent to the project, and these elements have been included in the text of the study presented here.

Special Mention Regarding Conducting Research During a Pandemic

Even while eventually serving as inspiration for one aspect of the scope of the case study, the pandemic also imposed limitations to research. As the onset of this study coincided with the beginning of the pandemic in the spring of 2020, library services were reduced and it was necessary to conduct documentary research nearly entirely online. Likewise, possibilities to conduct interviews and other types of field work in-person were fundamentally limited. When exceptions existed (for example documentation consulted or visits conducted prior to the onset of the pandemic, or during brief periods of deconfinement), those research results are included here. Exhibitions were studied through other available resources, such as exhibition catalogues ordered

online through libraries or via purchase, conferences, articles and reviews published online, museum websites, and social media posts. It was necessary to remain flexible throughout the research process and to adapt work processes according to the evolving public health environment.

Section II State of the Question: Literature Review, Other Documentary Research, and Discussion

As indicated in the Methodology section above, documentary research conducted for this study begins with two theoretical areas to better delimit and position the research question: current reflections of the research community on the study of impressionism, followed by an examination of postcolonial theoretical foundations relating to the study of works of art, other museum objects, and bodies of work that are associated with the heritage of more than one culture, community, or nation. Based on these research results, other research of a more empirical nature was conducted to contextualize and ground certain theoretical concepts discussed, and to enrich the knowledge base related to the case study to follow. This additional research involved taking a historical look at the development of impressionism in North America, and a consideration of the role of the Musée d'Orsay in shared heritage of impressionism.

Current Reflections of the Research Community on the Study of Impressionism

During the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, the creation, trade, and collection of works of international impressionism created a vast and complex diasporic cultural network, marked by intercontinental travel and exchanges by artists, collectors, dealers, institutional representatives, and an upwardly mobile public. Collection culture has been very much intertwined with occidental constructs, the accumulation of material and financial wealth, and colonial narratives. In as recently as the last five years, momentum has increased in impressionism scholarship regarding postcolonial theory and further advancement on other critical social approaches of art history.

[Perspectives of nineteenth century art market specialists: searching for new frameworks](#)

As guest curator at the Bowes Museum in the UK for the 2019 exhibition *SOLD! The Great British Antiques Story*, Mark Westgarth of the University of Leeds was motivated by a perceived disconnect between museum studies and the art market (the “dichotomy of the sacred space of the museum and the profane space of the market”). Noting, however, that the art market has played a fundamental role in the history of museums and recognizing a potential to disrupt established narratives by critically probing this disconnect, Westgarth approached the Bowes with an exhibition proposal that would place the art dealer at the center of a history of antique dealing in Britain.³⁶ Similarly, in considering impressionism through the lens of shared heritage, the nineteenth art market is an important factor to take into account. The international trade of works was a key vector for exposure to the art movement outside of France, leading to early formation of private and institutional collections that would eventually contribute to the development of significant museum holdings of impressionist art outside of France. This was particularly the case in the United States.

In their 2019 publication *Art Crossing Borders: The Internationalisation of the Art Market in the Age of Nation States, 1750-1914*, co-editors and authors Jan Dirk Baetens and Lyna Dries cite Harrison C. White and Cynthia A. White's sometimes-criticized concept of the critic-market system as the closest to a metanarrative of nineteenth-century modern art market history to date.³⁷ With *Art Crossing Borders*, Baetens and Dries seek to add new dimensions to the narration of this history. They posit that during the integrating European art market of the long nineteenth century, an economy of knowledge based on national identities (or in art terms “national schools”) constituted an essential precondition to an international economy of goods. Various actors involved in the art market responded and contributed to this economy of knowledge, which in turn served to both construct and counter ideas surrounding national identity. The authors note a paradox in that knowledge based on national categories, or schools, drove an increased internationalization of the art market, which in turn created tensions that would require new cosmopolitan, global discourse.³⁸

Contrary to a framework of specific nationalism that they insist still prevails in the study of the nineteenth century art market, Baetens and Dries imagine new models of research that are less anchored in nation-state constructs and case studies. They characterize *Art Crossing Borders* as a modest first step toward an international history of the nineteenth century art trade, indicating that more work remains to be done and that innovative frameworks are needed for a renewed

approach to the study of this multifaceted subject.³⁹ In response, the present study introduces the flexible, non-binary notion of shared heritage that may either include or override fixed nation-state constructs to encompass many complexities of contemporary art historical thought and museum practice.

Globalized Impressionism

Even while recognizing France as the location of impressionism's genesis, an international community of contemporary scholars suggests that there has been a conflation of global impressionism with French impressionism, and is moving to decenter the discourse. Alexis Clark and Frances Fowle, editors of the anthology of papers assembled in *Globalizing Impressionism: Reception, Translation, and Transnationalism*, discuss this recent shift in scholarly treatment of impressionism. The authors explain that initial plans for the 2017 Courtauld Institute of Art conference *Writing Impressionism Into and Out of Art History, 1874 to Today*, were sketched out in July 2016 when Alexis Clark, in partnership with David Peters Corbett at the Centre for American Art at the Courtauld, proposed to assess the current state of impressionism studies, which had seemed to decline in academic, although not public interest. The conference focused on globalizing impressionism and served as inspiration for the anthology.⁴⁰

According to Fowle and Clark, the Centre for American Art urged for the conference to approach impressionism from a transnational standpoint. The 2017 Courtland conference was followed in 2019 by the panel "A World in Light: Impressionism in a Global Context, 1860–1920" at the 2019 *College Art Association Conference* and the 2019 edition of the annual Anne d'Harnoncourt Symposium at the University of Pennsylvania entitled *Impressionism Around the World: Art and Globalization at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*. Papers were presented at this symposium on impressionism in France, the United States, Canada, Australia, French Indochina (present-day Vietnam), Turkey, and Argentina.⁴¹ Adding to this list in 2020 was the virtual symposium "Collecting Impressionism" ("*Collectionner l'impressionnisme*"), organized by five French research institutions. Localized international iterations of impressionism were also addressed in this conference, such as those that occurred in Wales, Japan, China, Canada, and the United States.

Discussing the many local expressions of impressionism around the globe would be beyond the scope of this paper, but some examples could be Samuel Raybone's analysis of how

impressionism was embraced by cultural institutions in Wales, perceiving that doing so would be key for Wales to “catch up with modernity.”⁴² Cavalcanti carefully traces Brazil’s relationship with impressionism, including debate among Brazilian scholars over how to define the movement and if they consider Brazilian artists to have been impressionists or not. Her work also illustrates how a sense of heritage may develop with an international body of art through knowledge acquisition and the attachment of value from a distance (such as through readings and reproductions), even when there had been little to no direct contact with the works.⁴³

In discussing the exhibition *Canada and Impressionism: New Horizons* and the Canadian impressionist movement, Katerina Atanassova notes that influence does not mean copying, but rather evolution. She adds that Canadians adopted impressionist technique, philosophy and aesthetics, but over time, they developed their own, uniquely Canadian style. According to Atanassova, if as a result of the exhibition, Canadians are convinced and can convince the world that two words rarely associated with one another, "Canada" and "impressionism”, must be brought together, that they carry a new meaning, and that they write a new chapter in the history of global impressionism, then the exhibition's mission is accomplished.⁴⁴

The perspectives of these scholars reinforce and demonstrate how, despite the locus of its inception being in France, impressionism developed into a global movement with the development of unique relationships and local iterations in different places around the world.

[Inclusion, Diversity, Equity, Accessibility: Global Questions, Institutional Initiatives](#)

Invoking the twenty-first century rise in nationalism, xenophobia and open discrimination based on racial, cultural and other differences, Fowle and Clarke write that “there is an urgency in telling stories of art in which elevated voices and perspectives allow us to more fully and committedly argue for a shared past and, with it, a shared present.”⁴⁵ In today's postcolonial, postindustrial and postmodern era, a critical reevaluation, marked by multiple and changing perspectives, is often required of established cultural and artistic practices. Addressing current issues of inclusion, diversity, equity, and accessibility (IDEA) is an imperative that is often shared across cultures, communities and nations.

As is notably the case for the six North American institutions covered in the case study to follow, a recent trend in North American museums is the creation of management positions, often at very high levels, and of working committees to foster reflection and action on IDEA issues within institutions.⁴⁶ More and more, this trend is informing North American museum initiatives

at every level, including exhibition planning and the presentation of works of art. As a result, IDEA issues are also often addressed by scholars and curators within museums holding significant collections of impressionist works.

As a French counterpart of these North American institutions and under the recent presidency of Laurence des Cars,⁴⁷ the Musée d'Orsay is developing programming that increasingly reflects a multiplicity of perspectives and corresponding research in order to attract and respond to a diverse audience. In 2019, the Musée d'Orsay enthusiastically welcomed the exhibition *Le Modèle noir de Géricault à Matisse (Posing Modernity: The Black Model from Manet and Matisse to Today* in the United States). Organized in collaboration with the Wallach Art Gallery of Columbia University à New York and the Mémorial ACTe in Pointe-à-Pitre, the genesis for this exhibition lay in the initiatives and pioneering research of the American curator Denise Murrell. Interrogating the role of the representation of black models in the development of modern art and related race issues, the exhibition was received in Paris with great success, attracting 500,000 visitors⁴⁸ and requiring expanded exhibition spaces.⁴⁹ According to des Cars, the presentation of the exhibition at the Musée d'Orsay was the result of an international scientific committee with attention given to contextualization. She emphasizes that museums are not to judge or dispel, but that putting things into context is one of the fundamental roles of museums, along with questioning, informing, and nurturing perspectives.⁵⁰

Le Modèle noir provides a recent example of international collaboration and shared intellectual capital in the fields of museologic and impressionism scholarship surrounding principles of IDEA. Addressing social issues may take on different meanings and result in varying levels of applicability for the lived realities of different cultures, communities, and nations. Areas of tension may sometimes be encountered in addressing art objects and bodies of work that are associated with shared heritage when cultural norms and approaches to scholarship diverge, or when they advance at different paces on different issues. Just as heritage related to works of impressionism can become shared, so can the diverse and evolving dialogue of academic communities surrounding contemporary global approaches to the movement's scholarship, conservation and interpretation.

Theoretical Foundations Leading to a Concept of Shared Heritage

To assess limitations indicating a need for the development of a concept of shared heritage and better respond to today's cultural complexities, theoretical foundations relating to postcolonial study of museum objects associated with the heritage of more than one culture, community, or nation are assessed in this section. To this end, meaning of heritage beyond the definition put forward by UNESCO is examined in greater depth, followed by a discussion of concepts of universality versus cultural relativism, hybridity, and contact zones. These investigations and other aspects discussed in previous sections are summarized in a synthesis delineating the concept of shared heritage.

What is Heritage?

The UNESCO definition cited earlier in this text does not in itself address how an object becomes part of a cultural heritage, or whose heritage. Yet, within these constructions lie important questions surrounding authority, agency, relevance, ideas of universalism versus cultural relativism, and postcolonial, class, wealth, and other power structures. William Logan underlines the process of selection as being key to a distinction between heritage and history : “heritage is the result of a selection process. It is not everything from our history.”⁵¹ Helaine Silverman and D. Fairchild Ruggles emphasize the performative nature of heritage “to have meaning and potency, the heritage must be active, dynamic, used, and performed, rather than existing inert and static.”⁵² Recent updates to the website of the Musée d’Orsay would seem to also reflect this perspective, affirming that as a collection is never fixed, the museum’s collections are living and ever-evolving, and resonate with preoccupations of the times. As such, approaches to collections are constantly renewed and their presentation updated to reflect changes in collective views.⁵³

On the question of materiality, neither does the UNESCO definition of heritage address if, or how, the physical place of conservation of an object of moveable cultural heritage relates to the development of one culture’s sense of heritage connection to the object, that of another culture, or that of multiple cultures. As documented elsewhere in this study, the process of an art object becoming inscribed into the cultural heritage of a society may begin even if it has not been physically present in that society, such a through sharing of knowledge, exposure to reproductions, other immaterial associations with the object, or contact made through travels. As such, shared tangible cultural heritage can develop directly and in proximity, or indirectly and remotely. Some of these aspects may become further evident in the case study that follows.

Although the word "heritage" often has positive associations, literature reviewed for this study demonstrates that heritage could be approached with more plasticity and adaptability to respond to cases where an aspect of heritage, once considered positive, becomes more complex or even takes on negative associations, viewed from a critical standpoint. These associations can vary with time, circumstances, or populations involved. As Silverman and Ruggles note, heritage can have positive and/or negative connotations and can serve to unify or divide peoples.⁵⁴

How might a culture, community, or nation contend with this reality? This presents a challenge to broaden the concept of heritage to accept those negative aspects of history that are also worth remembering, even if in order, with the hope, to not repeat them; allowing the transformation from a (previously) positive connotation to one that is not positive, or simply more nuanced, while taking into account a multiplicity of cultural perspectives. As Logan observes, "these are things about which we are usually proud; but sometimes they may be important and worthy of conservation because they are reminders of how societies can go wrong; they provide salutary lessons for present and future generations."⁵⁵ It follows that instead of ignoring, obscuring, or erasing difficult aspects of history and their connection to heritage, a deeper reflection can be initiated. Strategies can be considered to integrate less (or non-) positive aspects of heritage into an evolved cultural narrative, even transforming some of these associations into positive traits if adaptability and reconciliation also become part of the heritage.

Universality Versus Cultural Relativism

Universalism implies that the relationship with a heritage object or body of work is important and similar for different cultures of the world. There is a flattening of the culture field or a homogenization, so to speak, and this seems to be one of the most contentious points from whence many postcolonial disputes and critiques arise. Furthermore, the notion of universality has been heatedly contested as more often reflecting values and aesthetics as those that are Western in origin. Over time, Western art history and museologic practices have tended to present the Western canon of art as universal, and other art and visual culture as separate and "other". This has increasingly come under scrutiny.

Logan observes that the tension between universalism and cultural relativism can be observed as contradictions within UNESCO itself as a "modernist organization with globalizing impacts, and [...] as a supporter, from the outset, of cultural diversity."⁵⁶ Logan also discusses different types of conflict in which interrelationships between cultural heritage and human rights

issues are implicated, addressing cases where cultural heritage is used as a tool to assert mainstream and universalist cultural values in ways that may manipulate minorities, to the detriment of human rights.⁵⁷ Silverman and Ruggles echo such cautionary statements, observing that heritage may at times be used as a tool for oppression.⁵⁸

According to Shelton, critical museology cannot serve as an operational tool or a strategic mission of museums, yet it “needs to encourage institutions to adopt more experimental practices, champion openness and transparency, and support critical community engagement.”⁵⁹ Perhaps rather than eliminating the extant (Western art) canon, the imperative is rather to add to it while also nurturing alternate and parallel (non-Western) narratives and canons. A work or genre that has been conserved and exhibited across time can serve as a trope by which to attach, measure or advance divergent discourses that are relevant to contemporary societies, expanding the language and vocabulary with a greater multitude of representation, transparency, and perspective. Similar to Silverman and Ruggles’s insistence that heritage must be active and performed to be relevant, discourse of the art history canon can be more meaningful when it is performative.

There are many specific ways that casting a critical regard upon museologic practices relating to histories told from a perspective of universalism may translate to changes in current and future strategies. For example, for a wing or gallery described as containing “nineteenth-century art”, such a reconsideration could involve ensuring that the exhibition space contains as extensive a cross-section of nineteenth century world art as possible, or if there are separate galleries for art from different cultures or geographic regions of the nineteenth century, to rename the gallery containing European art (or Western, or “in a European tradition”, etc.) as such, thereby avoiding a suggestion that this type of art is “universal” and that art done in other traditions is “other”. During the 2020 conference “*Collectionner l’impressionnisme*,” organized by French universities and cultural institutions, Professor Anne Higonnet of the Barnard College of Columbia University put forward a suggestion that nineteenth-century works from around the world in the collection of the Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac in Paris be moved up the Seine to the Musée d’Orsay, to expand encounters of period works from around the globe.⁶⁰

In comparing the introduction to the Musée d’Orsay’s collection as presented on the museum’s website in 2020 and 2021, it seems that a reflection may already be underway within the institution to clarify that works held in the museum’s collection represent art from specific areas of the globe, and do not reflect what may otherwise be regarded as a universal representation

of art. In 2020, the site stated simply that the museum presents art of the decades between 1848 and 1914.⁶¹ More recently, in 2021, the updated website states that the museum's works of art illustrate the vitality of artistic creation in France, but also in Europe and North America.⁶² Ultimately, what French museums decide to do with their international art collections along the Seine and how these decisions are presented to the public is up to those institutions, as each society determines the most relevant and meaningful ways to proceed forward on complex issues relating to shared heritage of international art objects. However, it is an active conversation, and one that is also shared.

In Canada, a decision rendered on April 16, 2019, by the Federal Court of Canada affirmed the importance of works of international art to Canadian heritage.⁶³ However, it is important to consider why certain international works of art may be important to Canadian heritage, and if they are adopted into Canadian heritage that it be done with care and through a critical lens. A Canadian relationship and interpretation with particular international works of art may not be the same as that of another nation or culture. That is to say, it may not be of interest due to factors or qualities that are necessarily universal. Not being the same as what may be called a common or universal heritage, a concept of shared heritage acknowledges when more than one culture (or society, country, etc.) has a heritage connection to the heritage object. The concept does not infer a qualitative nor valuative relationship per se between the object and the cultures in question. These connections could be similar, or could also vary vastly, depending on circumstances and evolving narratives that may develop around the connections. Therein lies the possibility for a broader, critical, and more nuanced consideration of all aspects of a heritage connection between an object and more than one culture, community or nation that may develop in a manner that is unique, and with associations that are positive, negative, or both.

Hybridity and Contact Zones: Contemporary Perspectives

Hybridity appears often in post-colonial literature as a concept that is both readily invoked but also debated.⁶⁴ It is relevant to a discussion of a proposed framework of shared heritage in that it is also a concept addressing objects that are related to more than one culture. More specifically, it refers to cultural "mixing,"⁶⁵ or hybridization. At a more abstract level it can also imply two-way interactions and understanding of ideas,⁶⁶ and it has also been discussed with regard to identity formation in late modernity.⁶⁷ A concept of shared heritage departs from hybridity in that, although it indicates that there are aspects of an object relating to the heritage or two or more cultures, it

does not depend on or insist upon a ‘blending,’ or hybridization of those cultures, or any particular degree of contact or exchange between them. These events may also occur, and could possibly even be instigated by aspects of shared heritage, but they are not themselves the preoccupation of the concept of shared heritage.

“Contact zones” is another concept used with relation to objects that relate to more than one culture. It was originally used by Mary Louise Pratt in 1992 who described the contact zone as a “space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations.”⁶⁸ The concept as used by Pratt is a highly politicized idea that usually implies conditions of coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict.⁶⁹ Emma Poulter evolved the concept away from such a politically charged one to “suggest a new way of working with objects that concentrates explicitly on the power of the materiality of objects, past and present, to bring together, instigate dialogue, and embody new understandings.”⁷⁰ Poulter also characterized both contact zones and hybridity as being embodied in the physical aspect of the object and inseparable from its materiality.⁷¹

As discussed at different points of this study, shared heritage of an art object or body of work by more than one culture may develop materially and directly, or immaterially and remotely. Even if the concept of shared heritage refers to an art object, the concept moves beyond questions grounded primarily in materiality and relates at least as much to the impact of the object on culture and the object’s links to that culture’s heritage. Noting that the highly digitized world of the twenty-first century has destabilized spaces of interaction that were previously more easily definable and geographically circumscribed, Shelton also seems interested to move beyond issues of materiality that were perhaps more predominant at the time when concepts of hybridity and contact zones were first put forth than they are today.⁷² As such, the increased prevalence of original digital art and reproductions further complicates and moves beyond concepts and assumptions centered on materiality.

The concepts discussed in this section are undeniably closely linked, similar to how Poulter has emphasized the close relationship of hybridity and contact zones. Shared heritage adds an additional layer to the postcolonial discourse on objects or bodies of work that relate to more than one culture. Future study could be undertaken to further unpack such distinctions, advance the discourse at a theoretical level, and interrogate the possibility for broader application of the concept than is developed here. Doing so could prove to be a useful endeavor by which to more precisely

locate and evaluate the nature of shared heritage within theoretical landscapes of postcolonial thought and critical museology.

Synthesis: Delimiting a Concept of Shared Heritage

Shared heritage is a concept that allows for a broad and non-binary framework by which to acknowledge the impact and significance of an art object or body of work to the heritage of more than one culture, community or nation. The concept is not the same as what may be called a common or universal heritage and is related to but distinct from previous concepts put forward in postcolonial studies for objects relating to more than one culture, such as hybridity and contact zones. The concept may include areas of connections, contact zones, and hybridization, but does not insist upon or require such. It may rather be considered a continuation of these other discourses within contemporary critical museology. Development of the concept has potential to create expanded theoretical space to take into account multiple perspectives, fostering creative and collaborative ways forward on complex contemporary issues involving art museum collections, interpretation, and exhibitions. In this study, particular consideration is given to the collection and exhibition of works of impressionism within the context of international art museums, but potential may exist for broader application of the concept to other categories of art and museum objects.

It must be addressed that the concept of shared heritage does not engage with contention over ownership, location of conservation, legitimacy, ethics, or other potentially power-imbued, operational issues. This is not to deny those issues, but to trace out a broader context for theoretical consideration and a corresponding vocabulary for when it may be appropriate, useful, and constructive to do so. While it is conceivable that one could attempt to evoke the concept of shared heritage in such operational discussions, as one of several factors to be considered (such as economic, legal, political, theoretical, temporal, logistical, conservation, or even security considerations), an attempt to use it in the interest of reinforcing a colonialist discourse under the guise of internationalism would be a misappropriation, especially if undertaken without a great sense of critical reflection, consultation, negotiation, and transparency.

Going a step further, attempting to operationalize the concept of shared heritage to further unethical or illegitimate claims to ownership rights or place of conservation would most likely be untenable. In acknowledging that an object may have ties to the heritage of more than one culture, community, or nation, invoking the concept involves a close examination of its provenance record, which in turn would involve a consideration of all aspects of its history, both positive and negative.

The exercise could then in fact have an opposite than intended effect if it were to reveal a provenance history contrary to the claim being made. In this case, attempting to operationalize the concept to justify such a potentially unethical or illegitimate decision would be unlikely to support such a premise. It could very likely, in fact, unveil grounds for the refutation of such a claim.

A Historical Look at Impressionism and North America

In nineteenth-century North America, industrialization contributed to the ascendance of a new upper class and collecting art was one form of cultural currency in which this class traded. Moving from New York City across the industrial corridor (the “Rust Belt”) of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes, private and institutional collections of impressionism flourished, often rivaling their counterparts in Europe. This legacy extended to the national capitals of Ottawa and Washington, DC, and beyond. Yet, as current trends in impressionism study highlight non-homogenous art histories and localized iterations of impressionism, it is important to note that the development of heritage connections to impressionism occurred differently above and below the forty-ninth parallel. A closer and comparative examination of the historic development of ties to impressionism in North America affirms this scholarship and provides additional contextualization to ground the case study that will follow.

The United States

Through a close read of art catalogues that were available in nineteenth-century New York, Leanne Zalewski demonstrates how the catalogues contributed to produce social and cultural capital for (American) collectors who could present themselves as cosmopolitan and sophisticated because of their knowledge of high European culture.⁷³ Zalewski⁷⁴ and Gerdtz⁷⁵ note the importance of the American Civil War (also referred to as the War Between the States⁷⁶) in marking a turning point in American collecting habits. As postbellum affluence reached levels never experienced before and mobility of the wealthy increased, collecting patterns evolved from domestic works of art to the international market. Zalewski coins this period the “Postbellum Picture Boom” and addresses how, with its well-defined schools, institutions, and reward system, European art, and French art in particular, was considered to be more sophisticated by upwardly mobile American collectors of the period than American art. The division of art production into separate national schools in the nineteenth century was reflected in popular art historical literature, art criticism, universal exhibitions, and various art catalogues. According to Baetens and Dries,

European artists often capitalized on overseas interest in their national schools by seeking out and nurturing patronage abroad. Major art dealers imported paintings to North America from abroad, presenting them as typical examples of a national school.⁷⁷

Such messages from art dealers in the United States, coupled with knowledge of European schools cultivated largely at a distance, may have contributed to a relative non-discrimination among American collectors with respect to the status of "accepted" or "rejected" art in the European art school and salon system. Yet, if American collectors were able to grasp the nonconformist and revolutionary nature of impressionist works at the time, it is also possible that these works would have been appreciated by a society also marked by a historical and cultural taste for independence. A confluence of savvy marketing campaigns on the part of key art dealers with a foreign market uniquely positioned to confer accrued cultural and economic value to the French impressionist movement proved an indelible contributor to its lasting and widespread legacy, and indeed to the early foundations of modern art.

According to Katerina Atanassova, the United States' early contact with French impressionist works explains the particularly important role that the country played in the valuation, development, and promotion of French impressionism. The art dealer Durand-Ruel was a key figure in the early dissemination of French impressionist works in the United States, and this early involvement resulted in a more progressive evolution of the artistic movement than in Canada. Regarding the concept of shared heritage as developed here, Atanassova affirms that she is of the opinion that there was a complete shared heritage of these French impressionist works in the United States, stretching from New York to California, and involving local art schools and artists from wealthy families who traveled to Paris. She also notes that Americans were particularly fascinated by Monet. As indicated by Atanassova, and beyond the influence of their own art production while participating in the impressionist movement, American artists active in France such as Mary Cassatt were also key influencers in the trend for American collectors to acquire French impressionist works.⁷⁸ In addition to works of American impressionism produced at home or abroad, works of French impressionism made their way from private to museum collections across the United States, or were acquired directly and early on by American museums. This body of work served as an instrumental vector for the development of a sense of shared heritage with impressionism, experienced by many Americans.

Canada

In her introductory chapter to a volume published in 1989 by the MMFA on Montreal collectors active between the years 1880 and 1920, art historian Janet Brooke relied on archives of the Art Association of Montreal (AAM) and others to reconstruct a glimpse of art collections of that era.⁷⁹ This was necessary because, although some of those private collections eventually made their way into Canadian museums, many were dispersed long ago, leaving behind few traces. In addition to contributing a more robust Canadian dimension to the study of North American collection of French impressionism, Brooke's article also expands a body of knowledge allowing scholars to query more intently how works of art acquired and displayed by museums are intricately connected to, and even dependent upon, the collecting habits of its citizens, as well as the significant role of art dealers in influencing those habits. Inversely, a lack of such collections or access to them can have a dampening impact on related museum collections and exhibition programs for generations to come. A fuller understanding of this history can be important in considering when and how certain works of art may, or may not, subsequently enter museum collections and come to influence the cultural heritage landscape of local and international societies.

With regards to the Montreal art collecting milieu around the time that the AAM inaugurated its museum of the same name in 1912 (later becoming the MMFA), Brooke highlights the preponderance of collectors of European art in the prosperous Montreal scene. These collectors were particularly active in acquiring works by Old Masters, especially those of Dutch, English, and Spanish seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nevertheless, according to Brooke, despite the wealth of the period, Canadian collectors could not rival the spending power of collectors in the United States. Canadian collectors were later criticized by some art historians – through a possible conflation of wealth and spending power with aesthetic taste, and reflecting the taste of each writer – as representing the “back yard” (*arrière-cour*) of North American collecting. Those writers noted the relative lack of works by French impressionist artists in Canadian collections. Brooke discusses the decline of Canadian collecting with the arrival of World War I, noting that Canada was more severely affected by the war period than the United States. Collecting in Canada nearly ground to a halt and previously wealthy families were forced to sell many works from their collections. There being no tax advantages at the time to donate works to museums (and the museums being mostly private institutions at the time, anyway), many of the collections were dispersed through auction

in Europe. Already numbering fewer than those in the United States, Canadian collections including works of French impressionism, such as that of Sir George A. Drummond, would have been significantly reduced during this period.⁸⁰

Atanassova confirms that there was not a great appetite among Canadian collectors for impressionism in the late-nineteenth century, and goes on to explain how over time, this also impacted institutional collection of works of Canadian impressionism. (Figs. 8 and 9) According to her, there was no cohesive movement or group of artists or group exhibitions related to impressionism in Canada. If Canadians saw impressionist work at all, it was primarily abroad. Canadian artists who had been abroad and were working in an impressionist tradition in Canada did so as individual artists, exhibiting only a few works. At the time, impressionism did not occupy a place in the mind of Canadians, nor was it reflected in the European collections of the country's museums. William Brymner in particular tried to champion impressionism and open Canadians' eyes to it, but the only exhibition of French impressionist works at the time was one that was organized by Durand-Ruel in Montreal. "Otherwise, there was no momentum and no machine behind it."⁸¹

Atanassova also discusses that in 1880, the National Gallery of Canada was the repository for works of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. Initially, there was a balance between French and English artists represented, but French-Canadian artists returning from Europe were not on the radar of the museum's administrative staff for collecting, nor was the subject matter of their work done abroad. Canadian scenes (such as winter) were more collected at that time. This limited the collection of impressionist works initially, as collection of softer, gentler landscapes was not considered attractive. Only one or two works by various Canadian artists working in the impressionist tradition were collected at the time.⁸²

In considering these different perspectives, it is not entirely clear if what could be called the "taste" of the Canadian public and collectors could account for the poor reception and lack of collection of impressionism at the time, or, vice versa, if the relative lack of means to collect works by French impressionist artists and lack of sponsorship by the dealers of those artists within a Canadian context informed those "tastes". In either case, a result was that few works of impressionism entered Canadian museum collections during the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, a period that would prove to be crucial for the establishment of significant collections of the movement.

To this day, Canadian institutions bemoan their purchasing power for significant works of international art and the lack of these works in the collections of potential donors. Reflecting upon the MBAM's collection, Mary-Dailey Desmarais notes that the collection includes representative works by great male impressionist artists, but not as many by female impressionist artists. For example, there are no works in the collection by artists Berthe Morisot, Mary Cassatt and Eva Gonzalez. Desmarais says she wishes this was not the case, and that it is something she thinks about when considering holes in the collection. She notes, however, that these works are unfortunately very difficult to come by and that what might have been acquired in 1890 is no longer the case.⁸³

Beyond these reflections by Canadian museum staff, assessing the collections of the NGC and that of the MMFA would seem to support their assessments. An abbreviated survey of these collections was undertaken to assess a sample of the holdings and acquisition history of works by French impressionist artists. Selected for having consistently worked in an impressionist style and being closely associated with the movement over time, the artists sampled are Claude Monet, Alfred Sisley, Berthe Morisot and Camille Pissarro.

The collection of the NGC was searched on the museum's website which includes both accession numbers and acquisition information⁸⁴ and further verified on the Government of Canada's online database *Artefacts Canada*.⁸⁵ The collection includes four paintings by Monet; two paintings by Sisley; two works by Morisot; and twenty-four by Pissarro, which are mostly prints purchased in the 1960s to 1980s.⁸⁶ The MMFA does not present a detailed, searchable catalogue of works in its permanent collection on the museum's website.⁸⁷ Rather, it refers visitors to the Government of Canada's page *Artefacts Canada*.⁸⁸ According to *Artefacts Canada*, the MMFA's collection holds one painting by Monet, four works by Sisley, no works by Morisot, and five works by Pissarro.⁸⁹

Relative to the comparatively larger collections of works by these French impressionist artists in collections in the United States, corresponding holdings in these Canadian museum collections does appear modest. Paintings usually having a higher monetary value than works on paper, it is also interesting to assess the dates of acquisition by these institutions according to medium. It appears there has likely been only one acquisition by the two museums of a painting by one of these four artists since the year 2000 (a painting by Monet that was acquired by gift to the NGC in 2009). The source of acquisition of two paintings by two of these artists (Sisley and

Pissarro) by the MMFA in the 1980s is not clear from the present research. However, it appears that otherwise, the last purchase of a painting by any of these four artists by the two institutions studied was made by the NGC in 1953, a work by Sisley.

As works of French impressionism have grown exponentially in monetary value over the years, Canadian art museums have lacked the purchasing power to acquire them, and gifts from collectors appear to have been infrequent, at best. Relatively fewer early acquisitions by Canadian museums (as “contemporary” art during the long nineteenth century) do seem to have had a long-lasting impact on the presence (or relative lack) of works of impressionism in Canadian art museum collections, as compared to their counterparts in the United States.

Fewer opportunities for direct contact with original works of art by impressionist artists having been available to a museum-going public in Canada as compared to in the United States, public knowledge relating to impressionism developed differently in Canada and at a different pace, as would Canadian heritage connections with impressionism. The role of Canadian artists studying and working abroad, and the public’s increasing exposure over time to scholarship, media coverage, reproductions, and loaned works of international impressionist art would play greater roles in forging Canadian familiarity with the movement and the eventual development of uniquely Canadian heritage connections to impressionism. Referring back to the article by Brooke, an important takeaway for this study is to note that what has not been historically acquired and collected privately and institutionally, and why, can be just as pertinent as noting what was.

The Musée d’Orsay: A Unique Role in Shared Heritage of Impressionism

Commercial success abroad had been essential in the impressionists’ rise to fame. As Durand-Ruel himself observed in his memoirs, it was only after he had been able to secure a firm footing for impressionist art abroad—especially in the United States—that it became a subject of appreciation in France. Such a dynamic of foreign success as a catalyst (or even a precondition) for success in the home market is by no means unique. However, the need for and the beneficial effects of such a detour are striking for a type of painting that was quick to be considered quintessentially French and marketed as a very “national” kind of art.⁹⁰

The Musée d’Orsay⁹¹ was inaugurated in December 1986 in a renovated train station on the banks of the Seine, conceived to house works by artists of French and international schools of art relating to the period 1848 to 1914. Although the museum is home to many other works of art

of the period that predate or have little other relationship to impressionism, the timeframe covered by the museum's mandate has contributed to it holding a particularly important collection of impressionist and post-impressionist art. The *Établissement public des musées d'Orsay et de l'Orangerie - Valéry Giscard d'Estaing* (EPMO) frequently highlights this aspect of the museum's collection as being of great interest to the visiting public. The EPMO's website indicates that collections of the Musée d'Orsay present artistic creation from a short but extremely fertile period from the second half of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, a period that saw the birth of the impressionist and post-impressionist movements.⁹² Many travel publications echo this emphasis on impressionism as being of particular interest to visitors of the Musée d'Orsay.⁹³

Drawing from the collections of the Louvre, the Jeu de Paume and the Musée National des Arts et Métiers, the Musée d'Orsay opened to great success and its appreciation among the French public and international visitors has only grown since its inception. In 2019, the Musée d'Orsay logged a historic visitation record of more than 3.5 million visitors (or more than 4.5 million including visitors of the Musée de l'Orangerie),⁹⁴ while the Louvre and Centre Pompidou recorded an attendance reduction during the same period.⁹⁵ After the Louvre and Versailles, the Musée d'Orsay is the third most visited museum in France.⁹⁶ Impressionism and related movements being an important draw for its visiting public, the success and appreciation of the museum is in many ways emblematic of the central place that impressionism has come to occupy as a French national treasure, shared with the world.

A survey of the exhibitions treated in this paper's case study brings a focus to the Musée d'Orsay as a common hub or point of intersection of planning activity for exhibitions relating to impressionism. This is a logical finding, in that the mandate of the Musée d'Orsay is to serve as the French government's official point of conservation and center of expertise in art relating to the period that impressionism flourished in France.⁹⁷ *Degas at the Opéra* was the result of a collaboration between the National Gallery of Art and the Musée d'Orsay. Of note, two other large exhibitions presented at the Musée d'Orsay in 2019 were also in collaboration with North American museums: *Le Modèle noir* with the Wallach Art Gallery of Columbia University in New York, and *Berthe Morisot* with the Musée des beaux-arts du Québec, the Dallas Museum of Art, and the Barnes Foundation in Philadelphia. Looking at the other exhibitions included in this

paper's case study, *Riffs and Relations* includes several works inspired by Édouard Manet's *Luncheon on the Grass*, conserved at the Musée d'Orsay.

Katerina Atanassova herself brought up the work *Quai des Grands-Augustins* that was loaned from the Musée d'Orsay for the exhibition *Canada and Impressionism: New Horizons*. The work by James Wilson Morrice was exhibited at the *Salon d'automne* in Paris and purchased by the French state.⁹⁸ (Fig. 10) It is one of two works by Morrice in the collection of the Musée d'Orsay, the other being *Le Bras gauche de la Seine devant la place Dauphine*. (Fig. 11) Atanassova also notes that the French salon and exhibition system did not discriminate between French and foreign submissions. Canadian painters were therefore free to exhibit in the salons and to make themselves known and appreciated by the Parisian art world. To this point, Maurice Cullen was elected to the Société nationale des beaux-arts in 1895, and his Canadian peer James Wilson Morrice served on the jury of the Salon d'automne in 1908.⁹⁹ Participation of international artists in the Paris-centered impressionist movement also meant that their work was acquired by the French state and entered into the French national collection, conserved now at the Musée d'Orsay. Returning to Morrice, Atanassova remarks that after James McNeill Whistler's death, the French art critic Louis Vauxcelles declared Morrice to be the preeminent North American painter in Paris. She notes that the purchase of Morrice's work by the French state and the positive critique of his work speak to the imprint that Canadian impressionists made on Paris and the international art world of the time.¹⁰⁰

From an international legal standpoint, it can be predicted that the role of the Musée d'Orsay in the international shared heritage of impressionism will only increase. The museum's collections and curatorial staff is tasked by the *Ministère de la Culture* to lend expert opinion bearing upon export decisions relating to works covered by the dates of the museum. In addition to stringent export laws, French laws regarding non-deaccession (*l'inaliénabilité*) of national museum collections dictate that once a work of art has entered the collection of the Musée d'Orsay (as is also the case for any other French *musée d'état*), it can never be deaccessioned from the French museum system.¹⁰¹ At the same time, the Musée d'Orsay affirms its active policy for lending works of art on its website.¹⁰²

In contrast, museum deaccessioning in the United States and Canada is largely treated more as an ethical issue than a legal one. Most notably, regulating forces that bear upon deaccession practices in North America include following ethics guidelines set forth by various museum

accrediting bodies and professional member associations, such as the Canadian Museum Association, the American Association of Museums, and the Association of Museum Directors (based in the United States, but whose membership also includes many large Canadian museums). Institutional collections policies put in place by the museums themselves also exert influence on decisions relating to deaccession. Consequences of unethical deaccessioning practices within North America may include, among others: facing sanctions by museum accrediting bodies, negative press review, loss of streams of funding revenue, and loss of public faith.¹⁰³

Other than objects covered by UNESCO, as ratified in 1970 by the United States and other countries, and the subsequent domestic US Cultural Property Implementation Act (CPIA) relating to looted cultural property, the “United States unlike most nations, has almost no restrictions on the export of cultural property, and imposes no duty on cultural property imports.”¹⁰⁴ In Canada, although the law does not explicitly prohibit deaccession of museum objects from national or private museums, there is a legal framework for approving the export of works of outstanding significance to Canadian heritage under the Cultural Property Export and Import Act, which came into force in 1985.¹⁰⁵ While not directly addressing the issue of museum object deaccession, if review by an expert examiner determines that a museum object may not be exported for reasons of national significance, the law can result in a dampening effect on deaccessioning practice.

Regarding works of impressionism, Canadian collections contain relatively fewer works that could be of national heritage interest to the French state, and Canadian export laws exert a further restraining force on the possibility of the export of any such works that do exist. The picture is entirely different in the United States. Significant private collections of works of impressionism do exist, and the export of these works (or, indeed, of any works that may be deaccessioned by American museums if such an event were to occur), are not restricted by the United States government. This is illustrated by the recent case of the largest collection of art to be donated to France from abroad since World War II, by American collectors Marlene and Spencer Hays. The collection of more than six hundred works, mostly French and particularly strong in post-impressionist Nabis, was donated by the couple to the Musée d’Orsay.¹⁰⁶

The case of this donation to the Musée d’Orsay illustrates important cultural and philanthropic ties that persist between the United States and France, in particular regarding the shared heritage of works relating to the period of impressionism. Many of the works donated by the Hays will be exhibited in a new museum gallery space being created through the project “*Orsay*

grand ouvert,” funded largely through a twenty million euro donation made by an anonymous American donor through the American Friends of the Musée d’Orsay philanthropic organization.¹⁰⁷ Housed in a historic mansion on New York City’s 5th Avenue, the mission of the EP MO in the United States, according to the EP MO website, is to develop relations with North American partners, supporters and patrons and renew its commitment to bonds of friendship and intercultural dialogue between France and the United States as part of France’s cultural diplomacy policy.»¹⁰⁸

Already, in 1926, cultural diplomacy was alluded to with regard to the significant acquisitions of French art by American collectors, Louis Réau writing “should we deplore this evasion of masterpieces and try to stop it? ... we should not forget that these works of art exported to America are perhaps our best ambassadors; they contribute to increase our prestige and that France is admired, then loved.”¹⁰⁹ In this case, French works in the Hays collection have returned to their original (and now forever) home of France after a long tour of “diplomacy” abroad. Nonetheless, the collection will remain significant in other ways to American heritage, and indeed shared heritage, as part of an international body of work relating to impressionism and through its relationship to histories of private collecting, arts patronage, philanthropy, and cultural diplomacy.

As noted earlier by Logan, heritage results from a selection process. The repatriation of works of French art in the Hays collection to France results from a selection process undertaken by private American collectors and a French national museum. It is an important donation, not only in terms of the size and significance of the collection, but in the collectors’ choice to gift it to a French museum rather than a museum in the United States. Unlike donations of works of French impressionism made by other American private collectors in the past that still anchor significant American museum collections of impressionism today, for the Hays collection, the unique aspect of heritage resulting from a work being integrated within a museum collection will develop from France, rather than North America. Although there were likely institutions in the United States that were interested and willing to integrate this group of works to their own collections, in the end, the choice of the Musée d’Orsay must have been a compelling one for the donors.

The donation of works by the Hays to the Musée d’Orsay is also significant in that, as current conditions stand, donated works such as these may only ever leave France again to enter the United States or any other country through loan agreement. Following the 2018 report on restitution of African artifacts held in French museums by Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy that

was commissioned by the French government, there is mounting pressure to allow certain exceptions to French law regarding the inalienability of museum collections.¹¹⁰ Yet, for the foreseeable future, the vast majority of objects held in French national museum collections will remain in these collections, creating what is essentially a one-way flow for transfer of ownership. Future access to these works by residents of other countries will involve either travel to France, digital, print or video-film reproductions mediated by the Réunion des musées nationaux, or visiting exhibitions including inter-institutional loans from the Musée d'Orsay. In a sense, this may only serve to increase institutional, and indeed international competition for donations of historic works by private collectors.

However, international inter-institutional loans of museum objects may contribute to the prestige of an institution, fit within a program of cultural diplomacy, and at times generate financial revenue. Due to its active exhibitions lending policy, the EPMO affirms the influence within France and throughout the world of works conserved at the Musée d'Orsay.¹¹¹ Both the ongoing public appreciation of impressionism and related art movements, and gradual integration of more works of art into the collections of France's national museums, would suggest a likely continuation and possible future increase in the Musée d'Orsay's loan program and its participation in international touring exhibitions. Meanwhile, as a leader in collection research and documentation, and in the development of an open access catalog of works, the Musée d'Orsay is actively contributing to scholarship in its field and the development of innovative programming for an international audience. In this manner, the Musée d'Orsay continues to contribute to sharing of its collection and to heritage relating to impressionism in France and internationally.

Section III Case study: Exhibitions Relating to Impressionism Presented by North American Museums in 2020

As a case study, the following section will examine how aspects of shared heritage manifested in the presentation of works of impressionism by North American art museums during a year in which the world was both shared and divided, arguably quite unlike any other time in history. The six exhibitions studied have been organized in pairs to illustrate how collections and collecting operate as vectors for shared heritage, how international collaboration plays an important role in shared heritage, and how local iterations of shared heritage raise questions and

expand dialogue. Rather than being restrictive, these divisions are fluid, in recognition that exhibitions may relate to more than one of the themes discussed.

Foundations of Sharing: Collecting as a Vector of Shared Heritage

Monet and Chicago at the Art Institute of Chicago

Monet and Boston: Lasting Impression at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Rather incredibly – or fortuitously – both the Art Institute of Chicago (AIC) and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFAB) had planned to open their vaults of works by Claude Monet to present their collections of his works to the public in their entirety during the year 2020. The AIC’s exhibition *Monet and Chicago* was originally scheduled to run from September 2020 to January 2021, but due to the pandemic dates were pushed back to open in February 2021 and run through June 2021.¹¹² The AIC holds a total of 46 works by Monet in its collection: 33 paintings and 13 works on paper. The exhibition also includes one painting that is a promised gift to the museum. According to Director James Rondeau’s introduction to the catalogue, the collection now surpasses that of any other institution in the United States.¹¹³ Indeed, although it is not possible in the scope of this study to survey every art museum collection in the world, Rondeau’s statement may suggest that the AIC’s collection of works by Monet surpasses not only that of any other institution in the United States, but that of any other in the Americas, and quite possibly in the world, outside of France.

Organized by Monet’s dealer Paul Durand-Ruel in 1895, the AIC held the first solo exhibition of Monet outside of a gallery and was the first American museum to purchase a painting by Monet. The collection of works by Monet and other impressionists was significantly enhanced in the 1920s and 1930s, at the time that Chicago-area patrons and collectors of French impressionism passed on the legacy of their collecting history by making significant bequests to the museum. The AIC’s connections to Monet are deep and long: Chicago-area art patrons formed a relationship with the artist during his lifetime, some even meeting him during travels in Europe. It was a relationship that would provide the artist with significant financial and promotional support, contribute to the establishment of his legacy internationally, and lead to scholarship of his oeuvre. The museum’s digital catalogue, *Monet Paintings and Drawings at the Art Institute of Chicago*, includes art historical research and technical findings undertaken by the museum that are available to the public.¹¹⁴

Monet and Chicago situates the artist's legacy squarely on not only the museum but the entire city. The forty-six works of Monet held in the museum collection represent just over half of the eighty-two works in the exhibition, the others drawn deeply from other Chicago-based institutional and private collections. Of note, Monet's 1872 canvas *Apple Trees in Blossom, Pommiers en fleurs*¹¹⁵ was loaned from the Union League Club of Chicago. (Figs. 12 and 13) The painting had been among those exhibited in the 1895 Monet exhibition at the AIC, and the Union League Club purchased the work that same year for \$500. 125 years after its acquisition, the painting is now the most valued work of art in the Union League Club of Chicago's collection. The Chicago Tribune reported in December 2020, however, that the private club was preparing to sell the painting to cover losses related to the pandemic.¹¹⁶

In the exhibition catalogue, AIC Curator Gloria Groom describes Monet as “an artist whose excellence is intrinsic to the Art Institute of Chicago's reputation.”¹¹⁷ This suggests an interesting transfer of identity, of sorts, from the artist and his work to the institution. As museum objects, it also indicates an embedding of the works into the heritage of the museum community. The AIC being a major cultural institution in Chicago that is a regular stopping off point for visitors from around the world, the museum's reputation is in many ways fused with the reputation of the city. In city promotional material and imagery, the museum is invariably represented, as are some of the most iconic works in its collection.¹¹⁸ (Fig. 14) As such, Monet's work and that of other French impressionists are also fused with symbols of heritage and the reputation of the city of Chicago. This is a phenomenon that can be seen to play out not only in Chicago, but also in Boston (Fig. 15) and in other cities with regards to works of international art being integrated to local heritage, even to the extent of being symbolic of local identity.

To celebrate the MFAB's 150th anniversary and the institution's long history collecting works by Monet,¹¹⁹ with *Monet and Boston: Lasting Impression*, the museum opened up gallery space to all thirty-five of his works in their collection, accompanied by a few works on loan. Due to the pandemic, the initial exhibition dates of April to August 2020¹²⁰ for *Monet and Boston* were pushed back, to November 2020 to February 2021.¹²¹ Whereas the Monet exhibition in Chicago featured works drawn from collections citywide, *Monet and Boston* focused primarily on works by Monet held in the museum's collection. At other times, the museum maintains a gallery that is permanently dedicated to a rotating display of works by Monet.¹²² It is a noteworthy decision for a museum in the United States to feature works by a French artist in marking such an important

institutional anniversary. Director Matthew Teitelbaum draws attention to the MFAB having hosted Monet's second solo exhibition in the United States and the "enduring commitment of the city and the institution to one of the most important and endearing artists of the nineteenth century."¹²³ Much as was also the case in the discussion of *Monet and Chicago* at the AIC, this choice by the MFAB reflects the reaffirmation of an intimate institutional identification with the artist and his work, and the place they continue to hold in the museum community's heritage.

Highlighting the early implication of Boston private collectors and the MFAB in collecting and promoting works by the artist, curator Katie Hanson notes that over twenty of the museum's works by Monet were collected by the museum during the artist's lifetime. According to her, it was due to the generosity of Bostonian collectors of the era that the museum was able to acquire most of those works.¹²⁴ Monet received visitors to his home in Giverny who had strong connections to Boston, such as Lilla Cabot Perry and John Singer Sargent. Visits to Monet by Bostonians interested in acquiring his works are also referenced in personal correspondence between Sargent and Monet.¹²⁵

Perhaps ironically, the planning of these exhibitions of works by Monet began prior to the onset of the pandemic, yet they seem to respond poignantly to the inward focus, or "gaze" of 2020, a year marked globally by lack of mobility and an appreciation for what is available locally. What might have at other times appeared as a competitive bid between the AIC and the MFAB seemed instead transformed into an embrace extended by the artist Monet across the former industrial corridor of North America. Alternatively, it might also appear an attempt to reunite the two sections of the bridge at Giverny that are featured in each of the two exhibitions. (Figs. 16 and 17) As could be the case for many Americans at other times as well, those who might have otherwise enjoyed travel to France in 2020 could instead opt to visit images of France in some of their country's largest art museums.

These exhibitions articulate close ties formed between American collectors and French impressionist artists nearly right from the beginning, when impressionism was still a contemporary art form.¹²⁶ Claude Monet lived from 1840 to 1926¹²⁷ and the MFAB and the AIC were founded during a productive period of his career, in 1870¹²⁸ and 1879,¹²⁹ respectively. As a result of these early ties and institutional collections that formed as a result, to this day the museums boast some of the most significant collections in the world of not only works by Monet, but of other French impressionists. These collections often rival those of French national museums. Both Monet

exhibitions, in Boston and Chicago, affirm the importance of a French impressionist artist to the legacy of the organizing museum institutions, and to the heritage of their respective communities. Teitelbaum notes in his foreword to the exhibition catalogue that Monet never visited the United States.¹³⁰ These exhibitions of international art, created in France by an artist who never set foot in the United States, are intensely site-specific and, as the organizers seem very intent to affirm, could have been organized in no other place by no other institutions. They express that Monet is “intrinsicly” theirs.

Active Sharing: International Collaboration in the Twenty-First Century

Paris in the Days of Post-Impressionism: Signac and the Indépendants at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts

Degas at the Opéra at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC

The two exhibitions studied in this section speak to many aspects of shared heritage, but they have been grouped together as examples of active sharing of collections involving a high degree of international coordination and logistically significant displacements of large numbers of works. Despite the complexities involved in this type of international collaboration, it has become rather common in contemporary museum practice, especially among large- and some medium-size institutions. Significant institutional variation still exists regarding the degree to which museum collections are “discoverable” (made publicly available online) and the question of if, when, and how museum digital initiatives may provide alternate experiences to in-person experiences of works of art. Yet still, in an era where digital options for sharing of museum content and programming increasingly abound, one may question why active in-person sharing of works of art, including at great distance, expense, and logistical challenge, is still relevant in museum practice today.

Ross Parry explores the complex history and current issues surrounding the relationship between museums and computing, characterizing it as often representing incompatibility or disconnect.¹³¹ He notes the historically slow-paced adoption of computing and digitization initiatives since the 1960s that has partly been due to pragmatic factors (such as lack of resources), and partly to conceptual ones. Some of the latter include the historic focus of museums on the material object, museologic ideas surrounding “real” versus “virtual”, the creative and plastic nature of curatorial work as compared to the numerical quality of new media and binary code, and

the singular physical space of museum edifices versus fragmented virtual spaces. Parry also discusses the process of transcoding, whereby computers are historically and culturally contingent and shaped by society, but in turn also shape, or “code” society.¹³² In very recent years pre-pandemic, digital initiatives were gaining speed at a faster pace than had been seen in previous decades, but the pandemic sent these into overdrive. In a logical and widespread response to obligatory pandemic shutdowns, the museums studied here all pivoted to offer enhanced options for online exhibition experiences when their physical structures were forced to close to the public. Amounting to something of a grand digital experiment, these initiatives took many forms, including online tours, conferences, and artist talks, among others.

Paris in the Days of Post-Impressionism: Signac and the Indépendants was organized around the stunning loan of over five hundred historic works from one private, anonymous collection abroad. The Swiss-based¹³³ collection was supplemented by only two other works from the archives of Paul Signac’s descendants¹³⁴ to round out the exhibition that is accompanied by a substantial catalogue featuring nineteen scholarly articles.¹³⁵ The exhibition was originally scheduled to open at the MBAM in March 2020 and run until November 2020. Due to the pandemic, the opening was delayed to July 2020, at which time the exhibition opened to the public who were allowed to attend in limited numbers. The museum and exhibition were forced to close again in the fall, under new public health restrictions that took effect in October 2020.¹³⁶ Perhaps reflecting the complexities of exhibition date adjustments during the pandemic, at the time of this writing the MMFA website includes exhibition dates on links to its other past exhibitions, but for *Signac et les Indépendants* there is simply a link to a virtual tour, with no dates mentioned.¹³⁷ In October 2020 the museum also published a virtual curatorial talk by Mary-Dailey Desmarais that was filmed in the space of the exhibition, and this video is still viewable online.¹³⁸

En plus de clarifier la question des dates d’ouverture, Desmarais a donné un aperçu des types de considérations qui ont été demandées au personnel du musée dans le contexte de la pandémie. Toutes les œuvres prévues pour l’exposition étaient déjà arrivées à Montréal lorsque la pandémie a été déclarée en mars 2020. Afin de donner à l’exposition sa pleine réalisation et de ne pas être obligé de réduire le nombre d’œuvres exposées, d’autres stratégies ont été employées pour assurer la circulation du public en temps opportun dans l’espace d’exposition, comme le retrait des panneaux descriptifs et le déplacement des textes en ligne.¹³⁹

In addition to clarification on the issue of opening dates, MBAM curator Mary-Dailey Desmarais provided insight into the types of considerations that were demanded of the museum staff within the context of the pandemic. All of the works planned for the exhibition had already arrived in Montreal by the time the pandemic was declared in March 2020. In order to give the exhibition its fullest realization and not be forced to reduce the number of works displayed, other strategies were employed to ensure timely flow of the public through the exhibition space, such as the removal of enriched wall labels and moving text online.¹⁴⁰ (Fig. 18)

In an anti-authoritarian spirit, the *Salon des artistes indépendants* was formed in 1884 by Paul Signac and his friends to experiment with neo-impressionist artistic technique such as optics and pointillism, and to operate with “neither jury nor award.”¹⁴¹ As such, it was a very aesthetic, but also a very populist project. (Figs. 19 and 20) In 2020, both these aspects seemed to come to a collective forefront as people sought sources of comfort during a global health crisis while societal issues gained greater urgency. With regards to how these types of themes in the exhibition seem to have anticipated the moment of 2020 in many ways, Desmarais reflects that many populist movements were taking place in Paris during the Belle Époque and there was a sense of disbelief in the government at the time. She states that on a conceptual level, even pre-pandemic, the project had a kind of resonance with contemporary lived history and she was interested to see that it took on even greater dimension and urgency during the time of the pandemic.¹⁴²

With regards to current and future directions in museologic and art historical treatment of impressionism, including issues surrounding IDEA, Desmarais echoes the observation that museums are asking serious questions today about underrepresentation. Referencing, for example, questions about underrepresented artists in collections and diversity of museum staff in terms of gender and ethnicity, she emphasizes that events over the summer of 2020 have in particular demanded prioritization of these issues. In terms of the study of impressionism, Demarais states that it is certainly the case that this kind of discourse is increasingly influencing studies of the art movement, including exhibitions and installations. For her part, this is a discourse that is very much on her mind when she thinks about future projects. She reiterates that this kind of thinking is very important and needs to be included more and more in studies of nineteenth century art, and in historical Western art studies more broadly.¹⁴³

Returning to *Signac and the Indépendants*, Desmarais reflected that the project was based on a collection that had a particular story to tell. With her team, they had been tasked with creating

a coherent narrative from a very broad range of works, and they endeavored to make the exhibition as relevant as possible to current times. Considering the exhibition through the lens of shared heritage, Desmarais adds that any exhibition contributes to not only the history of a particular institution and city, but also to the history of a work. Thus, in her view, every exhibition and every collection has a shared history and is part of a shared heritage. She observes that although *Signac and the Indépendants* was a fleeting event, the works exhibited are now part of the history not only of the MMFA, but also of the city of Montreal and its culture.¹⁴⁴

Representing an example that may be considered classic of a large international traveling exhibition resulting from inter-institutional collaboration, *Degas at the Opéra* was organized by the EPMO in collaboration with the National Gallery of Art (NGA) in Washington, DC, to mark the 350th anniversary of the founding of the Paris Opéra. The exhibition presented approximately 100 of the artist's best-known works inspired by the Opéra, including the significant body of work created over four decades pertaining to ballet dancers and their integral role within the world of the Opéra.¹⁴⁵ Presented in the fall of 2019 at the Musée d'Orsay in Paris (as *Degas à l'Opéra*),¹⁴⁶ the exhibition then traveled to Washington, DC, in early 2020, with exhibition dates scheduled for March through July 2020. The exhibition had only been open in Washington, DC, for two weeks before it was forced to close due to the pandemic. In Paris, the exhibition was accompanied by a robust array of public programming, such as in situ activations that brought the former train station to life one evening during the event *Degas Danse*. (Fig. 21) In contrast, for most of the regular programs planned for the Washington, DC iteration of the exhibition, it was necessary to either canceled the events or to move them to online formats. (Fig. 22) When possible, the NGA pivoted to offer a selection of exhibition programming opportunities for the public to experience at home, including virtual video and audio tours and the online publication of exhibition wall texts.¹⁴⁷ (Figs. 23 and 24)

In their preface to the catalogue, Orsay's president Laurence des Cars and NGA's director Kaywin Feldman underline that the two institutions "share between them the world's finest Degas collection; so it is a great joy for us to join forces in this wonderful partnership."¹⁴⁸ An analysis of the exhibited works, as presented in the catalogue, indicates that they were sourced from institutions located in twelve different countries, along with seven works from private and anonymous collectors. Among them, twelve works are indicated to have come from French institutions, twenty-seven from institutions in the United States, and one from Canada.¹⁴⁹

In her online conference introducing the exhibition and echoed by references made by different authors throughout the exhibition catalogue, NGA curator Kimberly Jones discusses how Degas diverged from traditional depictions of the Opéra by turning his gaze to the world behind the scenes. As such, Degas's choice of subject was new and daring at the time because, as Jones notes, the finished opera and ballet performances were not Degas's subject; rather, his subject was the social milieu of the Opéra, including intense preparation of the dancers as artist-athletes and the realities they experienced behind the scenes. As is also reflected in other interpretive materials developed to accompany the exhibition, Jones addresses representations of the social circumstance of the *petits rats* ("little rats" - a term used to refer to young female dancers at the Opéra) and the *abonnés* ("subscribers" - gentlemen with paid subscriptions to the Opéra, granting them broad access to backstage areas – and to the young dancers). (Fig. 25) Yet, according to Jones, Degas transmitted what he observed, neither condoning nor condemning what he saw.¹⁵⁰

Such observations relating to class structure and the precarious condition of women in late nineteenth-century Paris are referenced periodically in the exhibition catalogue articles for *Degas at the Opéra*, rather than treated as a principal subject or main critical objective of the exhibition. In contrast, for example, to the degree of social reframing undertaken for *Le Modèle noir* that preceded *Degas at the Opéra* the same year at the Orsay, the scholarship presented in association with *Degas at the Opéra* appears more focused on historical topics and classic art historical approaches of formal analysis and monographic connoisseurship.

Up to the moment of the pandemic, the options for experiencing works of art in-person that are normally conserved at geographically distant sites involved either the movement of the works, the movement of people, or a combination of both. These options can all inform considerations relating to heritage, and all faced significant barriers during the pandemic, as demonstrated by the exhibitions studies here. As mentioned earlier, Parry indicated that through transcoding, computers are shaped by society, but also, in turn, shape society. With the significant pivot to digital platforms that occurred to transmit museum collections, exhibitions, and programming to a public in lockdown during the pandemic, it will be interesting to observe if long-term effects result post-pandemic in the balance between digital museum initiatives and the organization of large-scale, in-person international exhibitions, and in the public's reception of both.

It is not possible for either a person or an object to be in two places at the same time. Both persons and objects being fundamentally restricted by their physical or material aspects, it almost

goes without saying that digital museum initiatives are key methods of sharing for objects that are associated with the heritage of more than one culture or community. For these circumstances, digital technology offers some solutions or, at least, tools. Likewise, museum digitization projects can be particularly useful for researchers around the world, for circumstances when museum objects are no longer available in their physical state (for example, in the case of degradation, loss, or theft). For those who are very interested in museum collections and programming but face any number of accessibility barriers to experience museum objects and activities in person (for example, due to geographic, financial, disability, or public health reasons), these initiatives can also open up many possibilities. Museum digital projects also operate to transmit semaphoric, immaterial aspects of museum objects, the importance of which has been affirmed by many scholars in the museum field, including Krzysztof Pomian.¹⁵¹

Nonetheless, decisions relating to the extent that museums initiate and rely upon digitization initiatives can also extend beyond concerns of pragmatism, efficiency, convenience and economics. In fact, the complexities and long-term planning involved to arrange such exhibitions as these (often extending over three to four years, or more) also result in significant time and opportunity for fertile and collaborative curatorial reflection. Beyond the uniquely tangible experience that in-person visits to exhibitions can provide to the public, the intellectual capital invested into the project over time provides additional benefit that perhaps may not always be as deeply rich in virtual projects if they are arranged within a more expedient timeframe. Recalling earlier discussion relating to the “museum experience”, the essential role that art museums play in community health and wellbeing, and complex, evolving effects of shared heritage, there may still be no substitute quite as relevant as the unique in-person experience of contemplating works of art within physical museum spaces, infused with such a degree of deeply collaborative curatorial capital. The future direction of the balance between society and computers remains to be revealed in a post-pandemic transcoded world.

Expanded sharing: Shared heritage and its Effects on Local Art and Culture, Raising Questions and Expanding Dialogue

Riffs and Relations: African American Artists and the European Modernist Tradition at the Phillips Collection, Washington, DC

Le Canada et l'impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons of the Musée des beaux-arts du Canada

The shared heritage of impressionism has taken shape in different ways, with local communities adopting, interrogating, transforming, critiquing, and indeed riffing on¹⁵² the movement in ways befitting their unique realities. This section begins by looking at *Riffs and Relations: African American Artists and the European Modernist Tradition* that was organized and presented by the Phillips Collection in Washington, DC, during 2020, under the directorship of Dorothy Kosinski with guest curator Dr. Adrienne L. Childs. The exhibition opened to the public in February 2020 and was originally scheduled to close in May 2020. The pandemic forced the museum to close just two weeks later, so the closing date was extended to January 2021 to allow for the possibility of more public attendance once the museum could reopen.¹⁵³

Conceived and planned well before 2020, the exhibition confronts post-colonial issues that also came more acutely to the public forefront during 2020. Challenging the premises and meaning of works of international modernism by appropriating and invading spaces of the narrative of art history,¹⁵⁴ the exhibition addresses the long period of modernism, beginning its treatment of modern art with impressionism. This curatorial decision brings the exhibition directly into dialogue with the other exhibitions treated in the present case study. Of the seventy-plus original works exhibited in the exhibition, two are historic nineteenth century French paintings (Vincent van Gogh's *The Road Menders*, 1889, from the Phillips Collection,¹⁵⁵ and Claude Monet's *Woman with a Parasol – Madame Monet and Her Son*, 1875, on loan from the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC¹⁵⁶), and representations of others are also presented where it furthers the exhibition narrative.

The term “Riff” or “riffing” originates in musical jazz culture, meaning to “take something, switch it up a little bit and make it your own.”¹⁵⁷ More broadly, such as in the visual arts, it can mean assuming or appropriating a recognizable work by an artist through critique, homage, humor, or irony, and turning it into your own. This can be done for many reasons and, for example, could be directed at the artist or art at large. Childs notes that African American¹⁵⁸ fine art practice emerged as a contemporary of the European modernist movement, and “grew up” with it.¹⁵⁹ In something of a bending of narratives, impressionism was an art movement conceived in France that rejected authoritarian and elitist European art traditions, but was embraced elsewhere as a

signifier of wealth and Eurocentric elitism by a wealthy collector base in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly in the United States. The legacy of this paradox is at the crux of the complex relationship between subaltern and marginalized populations of color in the United States and elsewhere with impressionism and other modern art movements.

In *Riffs and Relations*, living and contemporary African American artists “invade the hallowed spaces of the history of art”¹⁶⁰ through their own works by riffing on the European modernist canon. Likewise, recognizing that Manet’s infamous 1863 work *Luncheon on the Grass* (Fig. 25) was itself a provocative riff of another work of art,¹⁶¹ several of these artists also engage provocatively with Manet’s work, riffing on a riff.¹⁶² (Figs. 26, 27 and 28) The exhibition also includes a 1962 work by Picasso, *Le déjeuner sur l’herbe after Manet*, that represents an earlier riff on Manet’s *Déjeuner*. (Fig. 29) According to Childs, she does not believe that the riffing artists were attempting to destroy the source (historic European works), but rather to decenter it and to challenge ways of thinking. For this reason, she felt it was important to try to have as many of those historic works displayed and sharing space in the same exhibition rooms as the contemporary riffs as possible.¹⁶³

In *Pushing Back the Light*, Titus Kaphar samples Monet’s *Woman with a Parasol – Madame Monet and Her Son* (Fig. 30) in a dramatic rethinking of the light, color and culture of French impressionism. According to Childs, “while Impressionism revolutionized techniques of painting, on the one hand, it unequivocally upheld the centrality of whiteness on the other. [...] Kaphar questions the unspoken resonances of Eurocentric elitism that Impressionist art continues to reflect.”¹⁶⁴ (Fig. 31) While other members the public and journalists have commented on the welcome “comfort” of viewing exhibitions of impressionism during the pandemic, with works such as these, *Riffs and Relations* calls into question and deconstructs the sources of such (un)comfortable familiarity, also opening up a dialogue with some who may not have historically experienced the same emotions or identified as closely with the canon of impressionism.

In this and other ways, the Phillips Collection is an institution that seems poignantly à propos with regards to this study. Phillips conceived of the museum in his urban family home in the wake of the 1918 influenza pandemic as a memorial to the loss of two family members, one of whom who was lost to that pandemic, and its original name was the Phillips Memorial Art Gallery.¹⁶⁵ In his 1926 book *A Collection in the Making*, Phillips writes that overcome with grief, he turned to his love of painting to find the will to live. He explains that art offers two great gifts

of emotion that take one beyond the boundaries of the self: the emotion of recognition and the emotion of escape.¹⁶⁶

Discussing the history and foundation of the Phillips Collection in her forward to the exhibition catalogue of *Riffs and Relations*, Director Dorothy Kosinski notes that upon opening in 1921, it was the first museum of modern art in the United States and that Phillips nurtured a philosophy of inclusion that he viewed as central to the museum's identity. The museum proved vital to the education of many artists, including African American artists. Phillips also developed vital relationships with other thinkers and institutions in Washington, crossing racial lines in a segregated city.¹⁶⁷ He made key acquisitions of art by African American artists, such as the thirty odd-numbered panels from Jacob Lawrence's *Migration Series* that Phillips purchased in 1942, the year after they were painted.¹⁶⁸ *Riffs and Relations* demonstrates ways that the museum seeks to provide the "emotion of recognition and the emotion of escape" to a large and broad representation of its community today, at a time that it may be needed even more than at others. One hundred years after its inception and during another pandemic, values of unification and inclusiveness would seem to be as much a hallmark of Phillips's legacy as his love for art and belief in its power of healing.

Whereas *Riffs and Relations* critically interrogates impressionism and the effects of its shared heritage through the lens of postcolonialism and contemporary art practice today, *Canada and Impressionism: New Horizons* looks further back in history, examining how Canadian artists in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century absorbed impressionism and made it uniquely their own. The traveling exhibition, organized by the National Gallery of Canada, marks a significant moment in the sharing not only of impressionism within Canada, but of sharing Canadian impressionism abroad. The exhibition covers the period 1880 to 1930 and includes over one hundred works from more than thirty artists.¹⁶⁹ The works were drawn mostly from Canadian museum and corporate collections, along with some from American museum collections, anonymous private collections, and one work on loan from the Musée d'Orsay.¹⁷⁰

Much as was the fate of Canadian nationals who found themselves suddenly stranded abroad when the 2020 pandemic gripped the world, the exhibition tour was confronted with multiple logistical challenges, and was stalled in Europe for an extended period. Nonetheless, it did not seem an entirely unfitting fate for works of a historic Canadian art movement that developed largely as a result of Canadian artists having once made great efforts to travel to

Europe, absorbing new ways of painting and artmaking. This exhibition returned the work of many of these artists to the source of much of their inspiration and training. Under conditions imposed by the pandemic, it turned into quite a long séjour.

According to curator Katerina Atanassova, the pandemic caused multiple scheduling changes and delays, abrupt closures, and difficulty with transport and border issues that affected the exhibition in Switzerland, France, and Canada. The tour of the exhibition began in Munich pre-pandemic, where it completed its scheduled dates, running from July to November 2019. Following Munich, the next stop was scheduled to be the Fondation de l'Hermitage in Lausanne from January to May 2020. This leg of the tour was then cut short due to the pandemic, forced to close early in late February instead of May. According to Atanassova, the works in the exhibition were then unable to leave Switzerland when the border between Switzerland and France closed, and could not arrive to Montpellier for the next scheduled leg of the tour that was originally to take place from June to September 2020 at the Musée Fabre. "The trucks couldn't go through. In May, the works were put into storage in Zurich and stayed there until September when France was able to receive them."¹⁷¹ This resulted in a much shorter edition of the exhibition in Montpellier than originally planned, running from September 19 to October 29, 2020.¹⁷² The final iteration of the exhibition was originally scheduled to take place back in Canada from October 2020 to January 2021; however, Ottawa dates have been pushed back twice. The first was when the border between Switzerland and France closed, causing a delay to open the exhibition in France. The Canada dates were then pushed from January to May 2021. Then, the second pandemic lockdown in Canada in December 2020 caused the Ottawa exhibition dates to be pushed again. The works had returned from France to Ottawa in January 2021, but the pandemic created other barriers to being able to open the exhibition, such as restrictions imposed upon the physical presence of technical and curatorial museum staff on-site. Exhibition construction wasn't possible. Currently, the revised exhibition dates for Canada are January to June 2022.¹⁷³

Atanassova recounts that the impetus for the exhibition originally derived from a larger vision to place Canadian art on the global stage following the exhibition *Painting Canada: Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven* that she co-curated in her previous role as Chief Curator at the McMichael Canadian Art Collection. That exhibition enjoyed a successful European tour from 2011 to 2013 before finishing in Canada at the McMichael. Atanassova explains that upon its return to Canada, she expanded and re-organized the exhibition thematically, and one of the most

interesting points of discovery for audiences in Canada was the influence of painters associated with Canadian impressionism (such as Morrice, Cullen and Suzor-Coté) on future members of the Group of Seven. Atanassova explained that when Canadian artists were active in creating work relating to impressionism, the Canadian art world was more reticent to claim an international art movement as its own than, for example, their counterparts in the United States. She attributes this as being one of the reasons that there had previously been a jump in Canadian art historical scholarship from realism to the Group of Seven.¹⁷⁴

With regards to approaching a rediscovery of a key period in the development of modern art in Canada, Atanassova describes the process of sourcing works for the exhibition and the development of an accompanying scholarly presentation for the body of work. She notes that the historically limited institutional collecting of Canadian impressionism posed significant difficulty to locate works for the exhibition. The works sourced from museum collections were often located in unopened boxes and crates in storage. Many of the works required restoration and framing and were not immediately ready to travel. The same was the case for works sourced from private collections, accounting for at least half of the works in the exhibition. According to Atanassova, after years of greater emphasis given in twentieth-century Canadian art scholarship to artists such as the Group of Seven, the Autonomists and the Plasticiens, Canada is “catching up on 40 years of scholarship. There was this body of work sitting in the vaults.”¹⁷⁵

The choice of dates that the exhibition would cover (1880-1930), and the inclusion of artistic movements closely related to impressionism (such as Post-Impressionism, Fauvism, and the Nabis, etc.) were determined with intent. The dates follow the transmission of impressionism beyond France, and specifically to Canada. The period extends from the first contact of some Canadian artists with impressionism while studying in France in the late nineteenth century to the early 1930s, when Canadian artists were continuing to paint in an impressionist manner. Atanassova recalls a symposium she attended in which T.J. Clark discussed his decision to stop using the term "French impressionism" after 1900. Yet, according to Atanassova, this is not the case for Canadian impressionism. She explains that in Canada, it is difficult to apply the same divisions as in Europe, since in Canada there is no clear definition of the different movements. They arrived later to Canada, all within a decade. By the time Canadian impressionism arrived on the world scene, it was already the post-impressionist movement in France. Atanassova indicates

that she prefers to speak of a "milieu" rather than treating each movement separately in Canadian impressionism.¹⁷⁶

There are other aspects of Canadian impressionism that are unique to the Canadian context. Aware that impressionism was already out of fashion in France when they adopted its principles, Canadian artists often developed their own approach or used newer styles at the same time, such as neo- or post-impressionism. They adapted to the challenge of painting in conditions imposed by long northern winters, working quickly in severe weather conditions to capture an ephemeral "impression". (Fig. 32) Atanassova notes that Canadian impressionist portraits tended to be reserved for more formal occasions, as few people could afford portrait commissions. For artists, resources were also limited to find, dress, and pay models. She also comments that, although there was no room in the exhibition to make a larger section for this type of work, Canadian impressionism includes a body of work executed in the Caribbean. (Fig. 33) Like other artists from around the world, both English and French-speaking Canadian artists were attracted to Paris as a center of artistic learning. Once in Paris, the Canadian artists tended to stay in social communities with others who spoke the same language.¹⁷⁷

Frances Jones is considered the « first » Canadian impressionist artist ;¹⁷⁸ (Fig. 34) a fitting distinction as another characteristic of Canadian impressionism is that women figured prominently in the movement. According to Atanassova, the NGC's collection of Canadian impressionism includes works by both male and female artists, and there is equal representation of both genders in all ten sections of the exhibition. She acknowledges that attention accorded to a balanced representation of artist gender in this exhibition is one way that a critical museology perspective has been adopted into her work. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, both male and female Canadian artists traveled abroad to study at renowned art schools. Though women were not formally admitted to the French *École des beaux-arts* until 1896, they did study alongside their male counterparts at private academies in Paris. The women's art often reflects lived experiences, such as women and children at work or leisure in the private spaces of home or garden. In many ways impressionism served to validate traditional domestic themes and allowed women artists to actively contribute to the development of a new modernist aesthetic.¹⁷⁹ (Fig. 35)

Although women artists did not move as freely in society as did men, it seems that in other ways Canadian impressionists engaged in something of a gender-bending selection of subject matter as compared to other international artists. For example, Canadian women were just as likely

as men to depict French landscapes, and Canadian male artists tackled tender subjects such as children's portraits, traditionally attributed more often to female artists. Many of Canada's female artists found success abroad and returned home to continue their artistic practice. According to Atanassova, giving attention to gender issues in this exhibition demonstrates one way that critical museological perspectives inform her curatorial practice.¹⁸⁰

In discussing the reflection undertaken to imagine *Canada and Impressionism* for presentation abroad, Atanassova communicates that the exhibition was designed to go abroad from the beginning. "The goal of the exhibition is to open a chapter, to say to the world, 'here we are.' We've seen a lot of American and Australian impressionism. Here is Canadian impressionism."¹⁸¹ Approaching a European audience that was largely unfamiliar with Canadian art history, landscape, and cultural characteristics, a curatorial approach was chosen that organized the exhibition along a simple division of Canadians abroad and Canadians at home, while also striving to avoid clichés. A selection of relatable and expressive works was decided upon, and straightforward language was used in the exhibition text to favor a readily understandable visitor experience, visually and intellectually. It was decided that works on paper, sculpture, and larger-scale works in the museum's collection would not be included in the traveling exhibition, as they present increased difficulty to transport.¹⁸²

According to Atanassova, the curatorial team worked with each venue abroad to respond to their particular interests and make the exhibition their own. The museum in Munich was interested in links between Canadian impressionism and the Group of Seven. The curators in Lausanne were very interested in themes relating to trains and transportation (Fig. 35), but also expressed fascination with the aspect of the exhibition relating to Canadian women impressionists, as there had been few to no women impressionist artists practicing in Switzerland at the time. In Montpellier, there was much interest in Canadian impressionist artists going to French regions of the Mediterranean, and related works were borrowed from the Musée des Arts Décoratifs and the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon to incorporate into the exhibition.

The exhibition that will be presented in Ottawa next year will have yet another character and these plans will be finalized between now and the opening of the exhibition.¹⁸³ Although careful to emphasize that decisions regarding the upcoming Canadian edition of the exhibition will be determined in collaboration with museum management, Atanassova offered that one possible direction for the final leg of the exhibition at the NGC in Ottawa in 2022 could be to incorporate

works on paper that had not been suitable for travel due to conservation concerns. She explained that in Canadian impressionism, Indigenous and African Canadian subject matter and models are represented more in ephemeral supports such as works on paper, and that this might be an interesting avenue to explore with the exhibition in Canada.¹⁸⁴

By all accounts, and despite the many challenges that befell much of the tour due to the pandemic, the exhibition was a rousing success in Europe. About a thousand people attended the opening at Kunsthalle München in July,¹⁸⁵ with visitors reportedly waiting in a line that stretched down the street and around the block.¹⁸⁶ Roger Diederer, the director of the Kunsthalle, said he received inquisitive looks when his gallery announced it was going to host an exhibit of Canadian art this summer. ““What? Canadian impressionism? Does that exist?””¹⁸⁷ he was asked, explaining that even the Group of Seven is not well known in Europe. Diederer reported that initial surprise turned to interest, and then delight, when visitors were able to experience the exhibition that offered a new perspective on the worldwide phenomenon of impressionism.¹⁸⁸

According to Atanassova, the numbers she received indicate that the exhibition in Munich was attended by 100,000 visitors from July to November 2019, representing an attendance record for the German museum. She also reports that sixty to eighty journalists attended European press conferences in connection with the exhibition, generating the first reviews on Canadian art ever in some countries and established art publications. Despite the challenges and significantly reduced runs in Switzerland and France, 15,000 visitors visited the exhibition in Lausanne during the four weeks that it was open, and it was viewed by 25,000 visitors during the six weeks it was open in Montpellier. The upcoming reception in Canada remains to be seen.¹⁸⁹

As discussed in interview, Atanassova states that she believes the presence of impressionist works such as these in the collection of the NGC indicates a need for more exhibitions, and more need to learn. When asked what she feels will be the legacy of the exhibition, Atanassova responds that she would like every Canadian to feel very proud of Canadian artists who had something important to offer to the discourse around the spread of impressionism in the world. She also hopes that after seeing this exhibition, and every time they visit an exhibition devoted to impressionism, Canadians can affirm assuredly that Canada showed not only its active role and interest in emerging cosmopolitanism of the period, but also a confident nationalism that is celebrated in the works of Canadian artists who returned home. According to Atanassova, the exhibition pays tribute to the art and achievements of these Canadian impressionist artists.¹⁹⁰

Atanassova envisages that works of Canadian impressionism may also develop a shared heritage.¹⁹¹ As discussed earlier in this study, the provenance history of works of art is marked by their exhibition history, and the selection of exhibitions by museums and other institutions contributes to the formation of heritage ties to exhibited bodies of work. In the case of *Canada and Impressionism*, curatorial collaborations undertaken to adapt and customize each iteration of the exhibition to interests of host institutions may further contribute to the development of aspects of shared heritage with Canadian impressionism elsewhere.

The exhibition's extended stay abroad at such a sensitive moment as the year 2020, a year that will reverberate in history, may only serve to amplify new (and renewed) heritage ties with works created so long ago that have been rediscovered by Canadians, and shared with enthusiastic audiences far from home. Upon the exhibition's eventual presentation to a public in Canada – made up of Canadians, Canadian residents, and perhaps even travelers from abroad by early 2022 (Fig. 36) – it will be to a world, a country and an institution indelibly transformed by events of 2020; a world that through, and despite, its physical distancing, found itself more connected in other ways, and sharing more than it might have anticipated.

Section IV Conclusion

As scholarship surrounding impressionism is moving more towards considering it as a globally shared art movement, several North American art museums organized and presented exhibitions featuring works of impressionism during the monumental year of 2020, a year marked globally by pandemic and postcolonial reckoning. The exhibitions studied here demonstrate different ways that shared heritage of impressionism develops, persists and reverberates locally and internationally, through collections, collaboration, and historic and contemporary appropriation, critique and re-imaginings.

The application of a concept of shared heritage to works of art in international museum collections can provide not only an interesting theoretical basis for cultural study and discussion in general, but can also prove to be a useful concept through which to imagine and ground practical and relevant museologic interventions. Shelton tells us that “critical museology is never exhausted by the act of deconstruction.”¹⁹² Within a context of changing perspectives on history, art history, heritage, and collections, the concept of shared heritage may facilitate museums to engage with

their local and international communities with greater agility, as they address and respond to complex societal questions, interests, and issues.

The present study coinciding with a new era in the study of global impressionism and international art objects held in museums, some avenues for future research may be suggested. This could include building further upon the theoretical foundations for a concept of shared heritage to develop a more robust analysis that may move the global discourse surrounding nineteenth-century international art and impressionism even further beyond the case study model and tendencies toward nation-state binarism. A more comprehensive literature review could be developed than that presented within the limited scope of this research project. Recognizing the potential relevance of a concept of shared heritage for cultural objects collected in museums (and elsewhere) that relate to art and visual culture genres, periods, and geographies other than those studied here, an expanded analysis of the concept might explore these other areas. Additionally, an expanded comparative study of how international legal issues surrounding accessioning and deaccessioning, and import and export of works of art and museum objects impact and respond to shared heritage could be quite informative and useful. Shared heritage could be studied as relates to certain theoretical frameworks, such as feminism, or applied to specific works of art, including elements of formal analysis. The relationship between shared heritage and cultural philanthropy is also an area that could be further investigated. These are but some of the directions that future research could take.

Even if a pandemic could not have been anticipated at the time that the seeds for this study were first sowed, what better time to discuss issues of connectedness and sharing than during a pandemic (from the Greek, meaning “people everywhere”). It would be a stretch to say that impressionism is shared by people everywhere in the world, but the results of this study indicate that it is shared by many. The world has been brought closer together by technology and shared crisis, even as borders have closed. Closer to home, people have had to distance themselves from those right next to them, yet also depend on one another more than ever. Collectively, people around the world have sought comfort even as they have asked complex, deep and sometimes painful questions. The six exhibitions studied here demonstrate how shared heritage of impressionism engaged and connected people on different levels and in lasting ways, as embodied in the year 2020.

Notes

¹ Ginny Van Alyea, “The Art Institute Reopens July 30, and It’s Free for One Week for Locals,” *Chicago Gallery News*, July 16, 2020, <https://www.chicagogallerynews.com/news/2020/7/the-art-institute-reopens-july-30-and-it-s-free-for-one-week-for-locals>. Work of art appearing in image in Van Alyea’s article: Art Institute of Chicago, “*Art Institute of Chicago II, Chicago*,” work by Thomas Struth, 1990, chromogenic print mounted to acrylic, edition 3/10, accessed August 26, 2021, <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/117271/art-institute-of-chicago-ii-chicago>.

² Art Institute of Chicago, “*Paris Street; Rainy Day*,” work by Gustave Caillebotte, 1877, oil on canvas, accessed August 25, 2021, <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/20684/paris-street-rainy-day>.

³ Titles cited in this study are presented as they appear in the cited source. If the cited source provides a title in the language that is also used in the current presentation of this research study, this title is retained. Titles are otherwise cited in the language(s) in which they appear in the cited source.

⁴ The title translated to English, *Arrangement in Grey and Black No. 1*, is also called *Portrait of the Artist's Mother*, <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/oeuvres/arrangement-en-gris-et-noir-ndeg1-974>, also commonly referred to as “Whistler’s Mother.” Musée d’Orsay, “*Arrangement En Gris et Noir N°1*,” work by James Abbott McNeill Whistler, 1871, oil on canvas, accessed August 25, 2021, <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/oeuvres/arrangement-en-gris-et-noir-ndeg1-974>.

⁵ Pierre Singaravélou, “Les Mondes Numériques d’Orsay,” Facebook - le Musée d’Orsay, April 2021, <https://www.facebook.com/museedorsay/posts/4358778274132490>.

⁶ To simplify the readability of this document and without discrimination, the masculine form was used in the French version of this publication to refer to persons identifying with any gender or no gender. At times, this may also be the case in the English version.

⁷ Phillips Collection, “After 2 Weeks of Multiple Health Screens,” Facebook, October 28, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/phillipscollection/photos/10158937687947369>.

⁸ McGillis, Ian, “Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Emerges out of Lockdown and into Post-Impressionism Paris,” *Montreal Gazette*, July 3, 2020, <https://montrealgazette.com/entertainment/local-arts/montreal-museum-of-fine-arts-emerges-out-of-lockdown-and-into-post-impressionism-paris>.

⁹ Murray Whyte, “MFA’s Monet Show Is the Escape Everyone Needs Right Now,” *Boston Globe*, November 12, 2020, <https://www.bostonglobe.com/2020/11/12/arts/mfas-monet-show-is-escape-everyone-needs-right-now/>.

¹⁰ Mary-Dailey Desmarais, interview by Leslie Barry, March 12, 2021.

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- ¹¹ Zachary Small, “Museums Embrace Art Therapy Techniques for Unsettled Times,” *New York Times*, June 15, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/15/arts/design/art-therapy-museums-virus.html>.
- ¹² Katerina Atanassova, interview by Leslie Barry, April 29, 2021.
- ¹³ Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, “Art Therapy and Health,” accessed June 13, 2021, <https://www.mbam.qc.ca/en/education-wellness/art-therapy-and-health/>.
- ¹⁴ Small, “Museums Embrace Art Therapy Techniques for Unsettled Times.”
- ¹⁵ Nathalie Bondil, “Les musées, un service essentiel pour le déconfinement,” interview by Stéphan Bureau, Radio-Canada; *Bien entendu*, April 2020, <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/ohdio/premiere/emissions/bien-entendu/segments/entrevue/166455/nathalie-bondil-musee-beaux-arts-montreal-covid-19>.
- ¹⁶ Cameron Duncan, “Le Musée : Un Temple Ou Un Forum (1971),” in *Vagues. Une Anthologie de La Nouvelle Muséologie*, ed. André Desvallées, vol. 1 (Maçon, France: Éditions W, 1992), 77–98.
- ¹⁷ Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 13.
- ¹⁸ Nancy Kenney, “‘Many Museums Will Be Lost’: US Association Appeals to Congress to Support Funding for Institutions,” *Art Newspaper*, February 23, 2021, https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/many-museums-will-be-lost-us-association-appeals-to-congress-to-support-funding-for-institutions?utm_source=The+Art+Newspaper+Newsletters&utm_campaign=1c749e6cc3-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2021_02_22_02_15&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_c459f924d0-1c749e6cc3-60904033.
- ¹⁹ Dana Kopel, “Is It Time to Abolish Museums?,” May 25, 2021, <https://www.thenation.com/article/culture/culture-strike-laura-raicovich/>; Laura Raicovich, *Culture Shock : Art and Museums in an Age of Protest* (Verso, 2021), <https://www.versobooks.com/books/3777-culture-strike>; Alex Greenberger and Tessa Solomon, “Major U.S. Museums Criticized for Responses to Ongoing George Floyd Protests,” *Artnews*, June 2, 2020, <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/news/museums-controversy-george-floyd-protests-1202689494/>; Kelli Morgan, “To Bear Witness: Real Talk about White Supremacy in Art Museums Today,” *Burnaway*, June 24, 2020, <https://burnaway.org/magazine/to-bear-witness/>.
- ²⁰ Danielle Aimée Miles, “Still Questioning the Ideal: Possibilities for the Critical Curation of Classical Antiquities at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.” (Masters, Montréal, Concordia, 2019), https://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/985828/1/Miles_MA_F2019.pdf; Mark Westgarth, “The Untold Story of Museums and the Art Market,” *Apollo Magazine*, January 28, 2019, <https://www.apollo-magazine.com/author/mark-westgarth/>; Murrell, Denise, ed., *Posing Modernity: The Black Model from Manet and Matisse to Today* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018); Andrew Hunter, “Why I Quit the Art Gallery of Ontario: Former Canadian-Art Curator Andrew Hunter Explains,” *Toronto Star*, October 3, 2017, sec. Visual Arts, <https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/visualarts/2017/10/03/andrew-hunter-why-i-quit-the-art-gallery-of-ontario.html>.
- ²¹ Piotr Bienkowski, “A Critique of Museum Restitution and Repatriation Practices,” in *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies: Museum Practice*, ed. Conal McCarthy, 1st ed. (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2015).

²² Janet Brooke, "Introduction. La Peinture Du Dix-Neuvième Siècle Dans Les Collections Montréalaises : Le Goût d'une Époque," in *Le Goût de l'art : Les Collectionneurs Montréalais, 1880-1920*, Montréal, Musée Des Beaux-Arts de Montréal (Montréal: Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, 1989), 13. Brooke cites E. Durand-Gréville, "La peinture aux États-Unis : les galeries privées," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. XXXVI, 1887, p. 68.

²³ Anthony Shelton, "Critical Museology: A Manifesto," in *Museum Worlds: Advances in Research*, ed. Sandra Dudley and Kylie Message, vol. 1 (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013), 7–23, <https://doi.org/10.3167/armw.2013.010102>.

²⁴ Atanassova, interview by Leslie Barry.

²⁵ Desmarais, interview by Leslie Barry.

²⁶ UNESCO is the abbreviation for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Although UNESCO designates itself as the *Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture* in the French language, it continues to use the abbreviation "UNESCO" in its French-language communiqués. The abbreviation UNESCO has thus been used in both English and French versions of this publication. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "L'UNESCO En Bref - Mission et Mandat," September 30, 2012, <https://fr.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unescoU>.

²⁷ Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture, "Définition du patrimoine culturel," consulted August 20, 2021, <http://www.unesco.org/new/fr/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/unesco-database-of-national-cultural-heritage-laws/frequently-asked-questions/definition-of-the-cultural-heritage/>.

²⁸ See Alexis Clark and Frances Fowle regarding non-capitalization of the initial "i" in "impressionism" in English. In accordance with the case made by Clarke and Fowle, the first 'i' in impressionism is used in lower case here (with exceptions including direct quotes from other texts, original titles of bibliographic references, or when following other established orthographic standards, such as capitalization at the beginning of a sentence). The use of capitalization to designate other art movements that have traditionally been capitalized in English has otherwise been retained in this study when referring to these other art movements. It may be noted, however, that questioning the use of capitalization in English for the designation of all art movements presents a potential line of investigation for future study. Alexis Clark and Frances Fowle, "Introduction: 'What Is Impressionism?,'" in *Globalizing Impressionism: Reception, Translation, and Transnationalism*, ed. Alexis Clark and Frances Fowle (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), <https://www.aaeportal.com/?id=-19999>.

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¹³⁶ Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, “Paris au temps du postimpressionnisme: Signac et les Indépendants,” accessed October 3, 2020, <https://www.mbam.qc.ca/fr/expositions/paris-au-temps-du-postimpressionnisme-signac/>. The newsletter sent by the museum to its members on September 30, 2020 was also consulted.

¹³⁷ Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, “Signac et les Indépendants.”

¹³⁸ The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, *Webinaire - Focus Sur Les Artistes Femmes Dans l'exposition Paris Au Temps Du Postimpressionnisme*, accessed February 11, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r3ODVtqOuu0&t=423s>.

¹³⁹ Desmarais, interview by Leslie Barry.

¹⁴⁰ Desmarais.

¹⁴¹ Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, “Paris au temps du postimpressionnisme: Signac et les Indépendants,” consulted October 3, 2020, <https://www.mbam.qc.ca/fr/expositions/paris-au-temps-du-postimpressionnisme-signac/>; Nathalie Bondil, “‘Good painting is in itself revolutionary’: The Independent Spirit in The Time of Signac,” in *Signac and the Indépendants*, ed. by Gilles Genty and Mary-Dailey Desmarais (Montréal: Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, 2020), 14-16.

¹⁴² Mary-Dailey Desmarais, interview by Leslie Barry.

¹⁴³ Desmarais.

¹⁴⁴ Desmarais.

¹⁴⁵ National Gallery of Art, *Introduction to the Exhibition—Degas at the Opéra*, accessed June 8, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DL1rW7HzYoo>.

¹⁴⁶ Musée d’Orsay, “Degas à l’Opéra,” accessed August 22, 2021, <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/expositions/degas-lopera-196069>.

¹⁴⁷ National Gallery of Art, “Explore Degas at the Opéra in 3D,” accessed June 29, 2020, <https://my.matterport.com/show/?m=Pgs42EBMemX>.

¹⁴⁸ Laurence des Cars et Kaywin Feldman, “Preface », in *Degas at the Opéra*, ed. by Henri Loyrette (London: Thames and Hudson, 2020), 13.

¹⁴⁹ Henri Loyrette, ed., “Appendix: List of Works on Show,” in *Degas at the Opéra* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2020), 309–17.

¹⁵⁰ National Gallery of Art, *Introduction to the Exhibition—Degas at the Opéra*.

¹⁵¹ Krzysztof Pomian, “Entre le visible et l’invisible : la collection,” in *Collectionneurs, amateurs et curieux Paris, Venise : XVI e-XVII e siècles* (Paris: NRF Gallimard, 1987), 42-44.

¹⁵² Additional discussion of the term “riff” follows in the text. Of note, although the word “riff” is used in the French language as a noun and with the same spelling, its use in French as a verb is not common. For the French version of this publication, the word “riff” as a verb has been indicated by placing the word in quotation marks.

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- ¹⁵³ Phillips Collection, “The Phillips Collection Announces Updated Exhibition Schedule,” accessed July 6, 2021, <https://www.phillipscollection.org/press/phillips-collection-announces-updated-exhibition-schedule>.
- ¹⁵⁴ Adrienne L. Childs, “Riffs and Relations: An Introduction,” in *Riffs and Relations: American Artists and the European Modernist Tradition*, ed. by Adrienne L. Childs (New York, N.Y.: Rizzoli Electa, 2019), 14.
- ¹⁵⁵ Phillips Collection, “*The Road Menders*,” work by Vincent van Gogh, 1889, oil on canvas, accessed August 19, 2021, <https://www.phillipscollection.org/collection/road-menders>. The work was called a “copy” by van Gogh.
- ¹⁵⁶ National Gallery of Art, “*Woman with a Parasol - Madame Monet and Her Son*,” work by Claude Monet, 1875, oil on canvas, consulted August 19, 2021, <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.61379.html#provenance>.
- ¹⁵⁷ The Phillips Collection, *Curator’s Perspective: Dr. Adrienne L. Childs on Riffs and Relations*, video recording, May 15, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9wL-NfBUZjI>. The video is also embedded on the museum's website for the exhibition, accessible at <https://www.phillipscollection.org/event/2020-02-29-riffs-and-relations-african-american-artists-and-european-modernist-tradition>.
- ¹⁵⁸ The living and contemporary artists mentioned here in the section relating to *Riffs and Relations* are from the United States. As suggested by the English title of the exhibition and accompanying catalogue, Adrienne L. Childs and other authors of the catalogue use the term “African American” (and occasionally “Black”). In French, the term “Afro-États-unien” may sometimes be used rather than “Afro-Américain”. To align with the original English as used by the curatorial and editorial team of the exhibition and accompanying publications, the choice was made to use the term “Afro-Américain” and its derivatives when discussing *Riffs and Relations* in the French version of this publication.
- ¹⁵⁹ The Phillips Collection, *Curator’s Perspective*.
- ¹⁶⁰ The Phillips Collection.
- ¹⁶¹ The Phillips Collection.; Manet was inspired by two works at the Louvre: Titian’s *Le Concert champêtre* (previously attributed to Giorgione) for the subject; and *Le Jugement de Paris*, an engraving based on a work by Raphaël for the central grouping. Musée d’Orsay, “*Le Déjeuner sur l’herbe*,” work by Edouard Manet, 1863, oil on canvas, accessed August 19, 2021, <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/oeuvres/le-dejeuner-sur-lherbe-904>.
- ¹⁶² The Phillips Collection, *Curator’s Perspective*.
- ¹⁶³ The Phillips Collection.
- ¹⁶⁴ Adrienne L. Childs, “Riffs and Relations: An Introduction,” 13–14.
- ¹⁶⁵ Sebastian Smee, “At 100, the Phillips Collection Doesn’t Seem to Have Aged,” *Washington Post*, November 24, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/museums/phillips-collection-centennial-announcement-2021/2020/11/23/14f9d7f2-2d99-11eb-bae0-50bb17126614_story.html.
- ¹⁶⁶ Kerry Hannon, “Art Created 100 Years Apart, Linked by Trauma, Offers Solace,” *New York Times*, May 21, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/21/arts/design/art-phillips-collection-washington.html>.
- ¹⁶⁷ Dorothy Kosinski, “Forward and Acknowledgments,” in *Riffs and Relations : African American Artists and the European Modernist Tradition*, ed. Adrienne L. Childs (New York, N.Y.: Rizzoli Electa, 2019), 7–11.
- ¹⁶⁸ Kosinski.

¹⁶⁹ Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, “À l’affiche : Le Canada et l’impressionnisme. Nouveaux Horizons,” accessed March 6, 2021, <https://www.beaux-arts.ca/a-laffiche/expositions-et-salles/le-canada-et-limpressionnisme-nouveaux-horizons>.

¹⁷⁰ Atanassova, “Liste des planches,” in *Le Canada et l’impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons (1880-1930)*, ed. by Katerina Atanassova (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 2019), 236-145.

¹⁷¹ Atanassova, interview by Leslie Barry.

¹⁷² Lise Schaeren Decollogny, “Press Release: Canada and Impressionism New Horizons,” Fondation de l’Hermitage, December 4, 2019, https://www.fondation-hermitage.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/presse/2020_Canada/Canada_CP_DEF_EN.pdf; Chris Hannay, “Canadian Artists Are Making a Big Impression on Europe,” *Globe and Mail*, September 2, 2019, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/art-and-architecture/article-canadian-artists-are-making-a-big-impression-on-europe/>; Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, “À l’affiche : Le Canada et l’impressionnisme. Nouveaux Horizons.” The above are additional sources consulted for confirmation of exhibition dates.

¹⁷³ Atanassova, interview by Leslie Barry.

¹⁷⁴ Atanassova.

¹⁷⁵ Atanassova.

¹⁷⁶ Atanassova.

¹⁷⁷ Atanassova, “Repenser l’impressionnisme Au Canada : Une Introduction”; Bruce, “Les Artistes Canadiens à l’étranger : Le Paradoxe Parisien.”

¹⁷⁸ Bruce, “Les Artistes Canadiens à l’étranger : Le Paradoxe Parisien.”

¹⁷⁹ Atanassova, interview by Leslie Barry.

¹⁸⁰ Atanassova.

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¹⁸⁵ Hannay, “Canadian Artists Are Making a Big Impression on Europe.”

¹⁸⁶ Connor Jessome, “The AGH Abroad: Canadian Impressionism at the Kunsthalle München,” *Art Gallery of Hamilton* (blog), October 18, 2019, <https://www.artgalleryofhamilton.com/agh-abroad-kunsthalle-munchen/>.

¹⁸⁷ Hannay, “Canadian Artists Are Making a Big Impression on Europe.”

¹⁸⁸ Hannay.

¹⁸⁹ Atanassova, interview by Leslie Barry.

¹⁹⁰ Atanassova.

¹⁹¹ Atanassova.

¹⁹² Shelton, “Critical Museology: A Manifesto,” 2013.

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Figures

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 1 | Thomas Struth, *Art Institute of Chicago II*, Chromogenic print mounted to acrylic, edition number 3/10, 1990, (Art Institute of Chicago), <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/117271/art-institute-of-chicago-ii-Chicago>.

The photograph includes a depiction of Gustave Caillebotte's painting *Paris Street; Rainy Day* (1877), held at the Art Institute of Chicago. The photograph is featured in an article with the following quote:

I heard from a friend a few weeks ago that what she has missed so much during this long shutdown is wandering the galleries of the Art Institute of Chicago. The luxury of devoting an afternoon to a stroll through a world-class museum is something many Chicagoans probably took for granted. [...] The Art Institute reopened on July 30, and it will be operating at 25% capacity to ensure physical distancing requirements can be met.

Source of quote:

Ginny Van Alyea, "The Art Institute Reopens July 30, and It's Free for One Week for Locals," *Chicago Gallery News*, July 16, 2020, <https://www.chicagogallerynews.com/news/2020/7/the-art-institute-reopens-july-30-and-it-s-free-for-one-week-for-locals>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 2 | Gustave Caillebotte, *Paris Street: Rainy Day*, 1877, Oil on canvas, (Art Institute of Chicago), <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/20684/paris-street-rainy-day>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 3 | James Abbott McNeill Whistler, *Arrangement en gris et noir n° 1, ou la mère de l'artiste*, Oil on canvas, 1871, (Musée d'Orsay), <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/oeuvres/arrangement-en-gris-et-noir-ndeg1-974>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 4 | Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Luncheon of the Boating Party*, Oil on canvas, between 1880 and 1881, (Phillips Collection), <https://www.phillipscollection.org/collection/luncheon-boating-party>.

The image also appears in a message from the Phillips Collection in Washington, DC, with the following quote:

After 2 weeks of multiple health screens and asking everyone to quarantine, I surprised my closest inner circle with a trip to a private island where we could pretend things were normal just for a brief moment in time.

Source of quote:

Phillips Collection, “After 2 weeks of multiple health screens,” *Facebook*, October 28, 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/phillipscollection/photos/10158937687947369>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 5 | Screenshot of an image of one of the iconic lion statues at the entrance to the Art Institute of Chicago wearing a mask bearing the Chicago city flag.

Source:

Colby Smith, “Art Institute Of Chicago Is Reopening And Has Extended ‘Monet & Chicago Through Summer,’” *Secret Chicago*, January 27, 2021, <https://secretechicago.com/the-art-institute-reopening/>.

Smith attributes the photograph as : “Featured Image from Instagram / @artinstitutechi.”

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 6 | Photomontage depicting public health measures in effect at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts in July 2020, created from photos taken by the author on July 24, 2020.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 7 | Screenshot of curator Katie Hanson, before removing her mask to give an online conference on the exhibition *Monet et Boston : Lasting Impression*.

Source:

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, « We're live from the galleries," *Facebook*, November 23, 2020,
<https://www.facebook.com/28314922320/videos/370622874266634>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 8 | Henri Beau, *Femme à l'ombrelle*, Oil on canvas, 1897, (Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal).

The work was purchased by the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts in 1986.

Source:

Photograph taken by the author of Plate 27 in the following exhibition catalogue chapter.

Katerina Atanassova, ed., *Le Canada et l'impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons (1880-1930)* (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 2019).

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 9 | Helen McNicholl, *Septembre ensoleillé*, oil on canvas, 1913 (Collection of Pierre Lassonde).

Source:

Photograph taken by the author of Plate 32 in the following exhibition catalogue chapter.

Katerina Atanassova, ed., *Le Canada et l'impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons (1880-1930)* (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 2019).

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 10 | James Wilson Morrice, *Quai des Grands-Augustins*, Oil on canvas, Between 1890 and 1905, (Musée d'Orsay), <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/oeuvres/quai-des-grands-augustins-21127>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition

Figure 11 | James Wilson Morrice, *Le Bras gauche de la Seine devant la place Dauphine*, Oil on canvas, Between 1865 and 1924, (Musée d'Orsay), <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/oeuvres/le-bras-gauche-de-la-seine-devant-la-place-dauphine-21126>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 12 | Screenshot of a photograph taken September 10, 2020 showing *Apple Trees in Blossom, Pommiers en fleurs or Le Printemps* (1872) by Claude Monet on exhibition in *Monet and Chicago*. The work was on loan from the collection of the Union League Club of Chicago.

Source:

Steve Johnson, "Union League Club Votes to Sell Its Prized Monet Painting to Cover Pandemic Losses," *Chicago Tribune*, December 2020, <https://www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/museums/ct-ent-union-league-club-monet-painting-20201204-huubxty4znekbmazxf3se6k45i-story.html>.

The author attributes the photograph to "Brian Cassella / Chicago Tribune."

Also consulted:

Kathryn Kremnitzer, "Checklist of the Exhibition," in *Monet and Chicago*, ed. By Gloria Groom (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 2020), 129-42.

Union League Club of Chicago, *Pommiers En Fleurs (Apple Trees in Blossom; Le Printemps; (Springtime)*, accessed August 25, 2021, <https://ulcc.emuseum.com/objects/1382/pommiers-en-fleurs-apple-trees-in-blossom-le-printemps-sp>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 13 | Screenshot of a photograph showing *Apple Trees in Blossom, Pommiers en fleurs ou Le Printemps* (1872) by Claude Monet carried by conservators in the conservation workshop of the Union League of Chicago in 2010.

Source:

Steve Johnson, “Union League Club Votes to Sell Its Prized Monet Painting to Cover Pandemic Losses,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 2020, <https://www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/museums/ct-ent-union-league-club-monet-painting-20201204-huubxty4znekbmazxf3se6k45i-story.html>.

The author attributes the photograph to: “Charles Osgood / Chicago Tribune.”

Also consulted:

Kathryn Kremnitzer, “Checklist of the Exhibition,” dans *Monet and Chicago*, éd. par Gloria Groom (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 2020), 129-42.

Union League Club of Chicago, *Pommiers En Fleurs (Apple Trees in Blossom; Le Printemps; (Springtime)*, accessed August 25, 2021, <https://ulcc.emuseum.com/objects/1382/pommiers-en-fleurs-apple-trees-in-blossom-le-printemps-sp>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 14 | Screenshot of an official tourism webpage of the City of Chicago where appears, among others, Gustave Caillebotte's painting *Paris Street: Rainy Day* (1877) from the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago.

Source:

City of Chicago, *Choose Chicago*, accessed July 6, 2021, <https://www.choosechicago.com/>.

Also consulted:

Gustave Caillebotte, *Paris Street: Rainy Day*, 1877, Oil on canvas, (Art Institute of Chicago), <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/20684/paris-street-rainy-day>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 15 | Screenshot of an official tourism webpage of the City of Boston where appears, among others, Pierre-August Renoir's *Dance at Bougival* (1883) from the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Source:

City of Boston, "Virtual Boston," *City of Boston*, accessed August 25, 2021, <https://www.boston.gov/visiting-boston>.

Also consulted:

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Dance at Bougival*, 1883, oil on canvas, (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/32592/dance-at-bougival>.

The images that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Two works exhibited in *Monet and Chicago et Monet and Boston: Lasting Impression*.

Left:

Figure 16 | Monet, Claude, *Water Lily Pond*, Oil on canvas, 1900, (Art Institute of Chicago), <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/87088/water-lily-pond>.

Right:

Figure 17 | Monet, Claude, *The Water Lily Pond*, Oil on canvas, 1900, (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/33697>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 18 | Photomontage by the author of screenshots of the online exhibition visit featuring sections relating to themes of steel mills and war.

Source:

Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, “*Paris dans le temps du postimpressionnisme : Signac et les Indépendants*,” accessed August 25, 2021, <https://www.mbam.qc.ca/fr/expositions/paris-au-temps-du-postimpressionnisme-signac/>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 19 | Paul Signac, *Sketch for “In the Time of Harmony,”* Oil on canvas, 1893, (Private collection).

Source:

Photograph taken by the author of an image of the work appearing in the following exhibition catalogue chapter.

Charlotte Hellman, “A Life Centered on Friendship,” *Signac and the Indépendants*, (Paris: Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, 2020), 23.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 20 | Maximilien Luce, *Steelworks*, Oil on canvas, 1899, (Private collection).

Source:

Photograph taken by the author of an image of the work appearing in the following exhibition catalogue chapter.

Natalie Bondil, “Coffee and Steelworks, Maximilien Luce,” *Signac and the Indépendants*, (Paris: Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, 2020), 53.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 21 | Photomontage created from photographs taken by the author of the dress rehearsal of *Degas Danse* at the Musée d'Orsay on October 9, 2019. The performance was part of the programming for the exhibition *Degas à l'Opéra*.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 22 | Photomontage created by the author from screenshots of press releases announcing programming planned for *Degas at the Opéra* at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, as well as event cancellations notices at the onset of the pandemic in March 2020.

Source:

National Gallery of Art, “National Gallery of Art Celebrates Degas's Love of the Paris Opéra in Exhibition on View March 1 through October 12, 2020,” press release, October 11, 2019, last updated 13 juillet 2020, <https://www.nga.gov/press/exh/5133.html>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 23 | Screenshot of curator Kimberly Jones giving a conference on *Degas at the Opéra* on March 8, 2020, before the exhibition closed due to the pandemic. The NGA published the conference online shortly thereafter, when the museum was obliged to close.

Source:

National Gallery of Art, « Introduction to the Exhibition—*Degas at the Opéra* », Youtube, le 31 mai 2020, consulté le 26 août 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DL1rW7HzYoo>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 24 | Screenshot of the National Gallery of Art webpage presenting a virtual visit of *Degas at the Opéra*.

Source:

National Gallery of Art, “Degas at the Opéra Virtual Tour,” accessed August 26, 2021, <https://www.nga.gov/features/degas-virtual-tour.html>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 25 | Degas, Edgar, *The Curtain*, Pastel over charcoal and monotype on laid paper mounted on board, 1880, (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC), <https://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/2020/degas-opera.html>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 26 | Édouard Manet, *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, 1863, Oil on canvas, (Musée d'Orsay, France), <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/oeuvres/le-dejeuner-sur-lherbe-904>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 27 | Photomontage from screenshots of a 3D model of the exhibition that is posted on the Phillips Collection website, highlighting the two following works in an exhibition room of *Riffs and Relations: African American Artists and the European Modernist Tradition* at the Phillips Collection in Washington, DC.

Left: Ayana V. Jackson, *Judgment of Paris*, Archival pigment print on German etching paper, allemande, 2018, (the artist and Mariane Ibrahim Gallery, Chicago).

Right: Renee Cox, *Cousins at Pussy Pond*, Archival digital chromogenic print mounted on aluminum panel, 2001, (Collection of Sydney and Walda Besthoff).

Source:

Phillips Collection, “*Riffs and Relations: Explore 3D Space*,” accessed August 26, 2021, <https://www.phillipscollection.org/event/2020-02-28-riffs-and-relations-african-american-artists-and-european-modernist-tradition>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 28 | Photomontage from screenshots of a 3D model of the exhibition that is posted on the Phillips Collection website, highlighting the two following works in an exhibition room of *Riffs and Relations: African American Artists and the European Modernist Tradition* at the Phillips Collection in Washington, DC.

Left: Carrie Mae Weems, *After Manet*, Chromogenic print, 2002 (Printed 2015), (National Gallery of Art, Alfred H. Moses and Fern M. Schad Fund, Washington, DC).

Right: Robert Colescott, *Sunday Afternoon with Joaquin Murietta*, Acrylic on canvas, 1980, (Collection of Arlene and Harold Schnitzer).

Source:

Phillips Collection, “*Riffs and Relations: Explore 3D Space*,” Accessed August 26, 2021, <https://www.phillipscollection.org/event/2020-02-28-riffs-and-relations-african-american-artists-and-european-modernist-tradition>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 29 | Photomontage from screenshots of a 3D model of the exhibition that is posted on the Phillips Collection website, highlighting the two following works in an exhibition room of *Riffs and Relations: African American Artists and the European Modernist Tradition* at the Phillips Collection in Washington, DC.

Left: Descriptive panel with a reproduction of *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* by Édouard Manet, 1863.

Center: Pablo Picasso, *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe after Manet*, Linoleum cut, 1962, (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

Right: Mickalene Thomas, *Le Déjeuner sur L'herbe: Les Trois Femmes Noires*, Color photograph and paper collage on cardboard, 2010, (Collection of the artist).

Source:

Phillips Collection, “*Riffs and Relations: Explore 3D Space*,” accessed August 26, 2021, <https://www.phillipscollection.org/event/2020-02-28-riffs-and-relations-african-american-artists-and-european-modernist-tradition>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 30 | Claude Monet, *Woman with a Parasol—Madame Monet and Her Son*, Oil on canvas, 1875, (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC), <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.61379.html>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 31 | Photomontage from screenshots of a 3D model of the exhibition that is posted on the Phillips Collection website, highlighting the two following works in an exhibition room of *Riffs and Relations: African American Artists and the European Modernist Tradition* à la Phillips Collection à Washington, DC.

Left: Claude Monet, *Woman with a Parasol—Madame Monet and Her Son*, Oil on canvas, 1875, (National Gallery of Art).

Right: Titus Kaphar, *Pushing Back the Light*, Oil and tar on canvas, 2012, (Maruani Mercier Gallery).

Source:

Phillips Collection, “*Riffs and Relations: Explore 3D Space*,” accessed August 26, 2021, <https://www.phillipscollection.org/event/2020-02-28-riffs-and-relations-african-american-artists-and-european-modernist-tradition>.

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 32 | Robert Pilot, *En attendant le bac*, 1927, Oil on canvas, (Private collection).

Source:

Photograph taken by the author of the plate appearing in the exhibition catalogue.

Katerina Atanassova, ed., *Le Canada et l'impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons (1880-1930)* (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 2019).

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 33 | Franklin Brownell, *En attendant les bateaux de Nevis*, Oil on canvas, 1916, (Private collection).

Source:

Photographie prise par l'auteure de la plaque de qui figure dans le catalogue d'exposition.

Katerina Atanassova, éd., *Le Canada et l'impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons (1880-1930)* (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 2019).

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 34 | Frances Jones, *Le jardin d'hiver*, Oil on canvas, 1883, (Nova Scotia Archives Documentary and Fine Art Collection).

Source:

Photograph taken by the author of the plate appearing in the exhibition catalogue.

Katerina Atanassova, ed., *Le Canada et l'impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons (1880-1930)* (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 2019).

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 35 | H. Mabel May, *Les tricoteuses*, Oil on canvas, 1915, (Collection of Pierre Lassonde).

Source:

Photograph taken by the author of the plate appearing in the exhibition catalogue.

Katerina Atanassova, ed., *Le Canada et l'impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons (1880-1930)* (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 2019).

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 36 | Clarence Gagnon, *Le train en hiver*, Oil on canvas, c. 1913-1914, (Collection of Donald R. Sobey).

Source:

Photograph taken by the author of the plate appearing in the exhibition catalogue.

Katerina Atanassova, ed., *Le Canada et l'impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons (1880-1930)* (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 2019).

The image that appeared in the version submitted to the university has been removed from this edition.

Figure 37 | Screenshot with inscription by the author “Save the date!”

Source:

Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, « À l’affiche : Le Canada et l’impressionnisme. Nouveaux horizons, » accessed March 6, 2021, <https://www.beaux-arts.ca/a-laffiche/expositions-et-salles/le-canada-et-limpressionnisme-nouveaux-horizons>.

The year 2020 was marked by the convergence of a pandemic and profound postcolonial questioning of the persistence of certain inequitable social and heritage structures. In these circumstances, many people entered real or virtual museum spaces featuring exhibitions relating to impressionism, presented by North American museums. For some, this may have been a comforting experience, but not necessarily for all, or in the same way. Drawing on exhibitions relating to impressionism presented by North American art museums in 2020, a question arises as to how a concept called "shared heritage" can contribute to art history and museum studies, and prove relevant to current museum practice. Following discussion of theoretical foundations leading to a concept of shared heritage and an assessment of trends in current impressionism studies, six exhibitions were studied. The results of this research demonstrate various ways in which the shared heritage of impressionism develops, persists, and reverberates locally and internationally, through collections, collaborations, and historical and contemporary appropriation, critique, and reimaginings.



Leslie Barry is a Canadian-American scholar with master degrees (M.A.) in Art History from the University of Illinois at Chicago and Museology from the Université de Montréal. She studies international and interdisciplinary trends in modern and contemporary art, critical museology, and postcolonial theory. A polyglot, her academic work often traces paths that are shared with linguistic anthropology. Leslie is also a proud healthcare professional who is endlessly fascinated by the power of empathy, art, and art spaces to impact individual and community wellbeing.