site/non-site

CÉZANNE
site/non-site

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This spring the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza is pleased to present a monographic exhibition devoted to Paul Cézanne (1839–1906), a fundamental figure in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century painting who is regarded as the father of modern art.

This is the first exhibition of the artist's work to be held in Spain in the past thirty years since the retrospective staged in 1984 by the Museo Estatal de Arte Contemporáneo (from which today's Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía originates).

The exhibition now on display is curated by Guillermo Solana, artistic director of the Museum, with Paula Luengo as technical curator. Taking us through different sections—*Portrait of an Unknown Man*, *The Bend in the Road*, *Nudes and Trees*, *The Phantom of Sainte-Victoire* and *Construction Game—Cézanne Site/Non-site* explores the relationship between the two genres which the master of Aix-en-Provence cultivated with the same passion: landscapes and still lifes.

Although Cézanne, following the example of his Impressionist contemporaries, painted his landscapes outdoors, the nature motifs he depicts are arranged into a sort of *mise-en-scène*, revealing compositions that are not impressions subject to seasonal and temporal changes. Furthermore, in an interplay of reciprocal influences, this painter's still lifes incorporate the changes and tensions of nature itself.

The exhibition relies on the invaluable contribution of many institutions and private collections from all over the world which have generously lent their works. Our most heartfelt thanks to them all for making it possible to bring such an ambitious project to fruition and for giving the people who live in Spain or travel to Madrid the pleasure of viewing this group of landscapes, still lifes, portraits and scenes of bathers, which is all the more outstanding owing to the difficulty of bringing them together in this day and age.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SPORT

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Technical Curator
Paula Luengo

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Note

The reader will find that the captions of Paul Cézanne's catalogued works include a number preceded by the letter R. In the case of oil paintings, this refers to the number under which the work is listed in John Rewald, *The Paintings of Paul Cézanne. A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996). For watercolors, see John Rewald, *Paul Cézanne: The Watercolours. A Catalogue Raisonné by John Rewald* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1983).

GUILLERMO SOLANA

CÉZANNE *Site / Non-site*

For María

1. RUINS OF THE LANDSCAPE

"Nature speaks to everyone.
And yet, no one has ever painted the landscape."

Cézanne according to Gasquet[1]

"With Cézanne landscape itself comes to an end," wrote Robert Motherwell in 1944, with that very modern fondness for certifying the death of a tradition. I cannot help imagining Cézanne looking at Sainte-Victoire and unwittingly painting the last landscape in History. But Motherwell's words are somewhat ambiguous. Does he mean that Cézanne *destroyed* (consciously or otherwise) landscape painting? Or did that responsibility fall to those who came after him? Whatever the case, the idea of the end of landscape would have surprised Cézanne, as he believed that the history of landscape had not even begun.

1. "La nature parle à tous. Eh bien! Jamais on n'a peint le paysage." Joachim Gasquet, *Cézanne* (Fougères: Encre marine, 2002), p. 258.

Paul Cézanne
L'Estaque: Pines and Sea, 1883–85 (detail)
[cat. 27]

Motherwell's whole sentence takes us beyond Cézanne to the heart of twentieth-century Art History: "With Cézanne landscape itself comes to an end, and from him to the Cubists the emphasis is changed: the subject becomes 'neutral.' Now certain painters wish to be called non-figurative […]."[2] Landscape painting was thus not the only genre that perished; all genres had been dissolved by a corrosive agent called "indifference to subject matter." The idea of a Cézanne who painted a portrait, a landscape, or a still life in the same manner arose in the circle of his young Nabi admirers. Maurice Denis cited his friend Paul Sérusier's words: "You must notice one thing [in Cézanne] […] It is the absence of a subject. In his first style the subject was unimportant, sometimes childish. After his evolution, the subject disappeared; there is only a *motif*."[3] Later on, "indifference to subject matter" became the slogan that accounted for the evolution of painting toward abstraction, as Motherwell suggested. Even the art of film borrowed the *topos* of "indifference" proclaimed by the filmmaker (and former painter) Robert Bresson: "Equality of all things. Cézanne painting with the same eye and the same soul a fruit dish, his son, the Montagne Sainte-Victoire."[4]

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2. Lecture delivered at the "Pontigny en Amérique" symposium at Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, on August 10, 1944. The lecture text was originally titled "The Place of the Spiritual in a World of Property." It was retitled "The Modern Painter's World" for publication in *Dyn*, no. 6 (November 1944), pp. 9–14. *The Collected Writings of Robert Motherwell*, ed. Stephanie Terenzio (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 32.

3. "Une chose est à remarquer, ajoute encore Sérusier, c'est l'absence de sujet. Dans sa première manière le sujet était quelconque, parfois puéril. Après son évolution le sujet disparaît, il n'y a qu'un motif." "Cézanne" [1906], in Maurice Denis, *Le Ciel et l'Arcadie,* ed. Jean-Paul Bouillon (Paris: Hermann, 1993), p. 139. English translation cited from *Conversations with Cézanne*, ed. Michael Doran (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 2001), p. 162.

4. "Egalité de toutes les choses. Cézanne peignant du même œil et de la même âme un compotier, son fils, la montagne Sainte-Victoire." Robert Bresson, *Notes sur le cinématographe* (Paris: Gallimard, 1965), p. 136. English translation cited from *Film, Art, New Media: Museum without Walls*, ed. Angela Dalle Vacche (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 166.

Motherwell does not hold Cézanne responsible for all this; rather, he suggests that everything began with the *transition* from Cézanne to Cubism. The origins of Cubism lend themselves to different versions; one could be the following. Barely a few months after Cézanne's death, the first cubist experiments took place, following in his footsteps, in the field of landscape painting: first Braque, with his views of L'Estaque (and Le Havre and La Roche-Guyon), and later Picasso, with the Rue des Bois and Horta de Ebro. But whereas the titles of these brilliant attempts speak of geographical places, of houses, trees, roads, and bridges, their forms are reminiscent of objects placed on a table. Shortly afterward the Cubists abandoned landscape to concentrate on still life. Braque explained this step as follows: "What greatly attracted me—and it was the main line of advance of Cubism—was how to give material expression to this new space of which I had an inkling. So I began to paint chiefly still lifes, because in nature there is a tactile, I would almost say a manual space. I wrote about this moreover, 'When a still life is no longer within reach, it ceases to be a still life.' For me that expressed the desire I have always had to touch a thing, not just to look at it. It was that space that attracted me strongly, for that was the earliest Cubist painting—the quest for space."[5]

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5. "Ce qui m'a beaucoup attiré – et qui fut la direction maîtresse du cubisme – c'était la matérialisation de cet espace nouveau que je sentais. Alors je commençais à faire surtout des natures mortes, parce que dans la nature morte, il y a un espace tactile, je dirais presque manuel. Je l'ai écrit du reste: 'Quand une nature morte n'est plus à la portée de la main, elle cesse d'être une nature morte.' Cela répondait pour moi au désir que j'ai toujours eu de toucher la chose et non seulement de la voir. C'est cet espace qui m'attirait beaucoup, car c'était cela la première peinture cubiste, la recherche de l'espace." Dora Vallier, "Braque, la peinture et nous: propos de l'artiste," *Cahiers d'Art*, vol. 29, no. 1 (October 1954), p. 16. English translation cited from Richard Friedenthal, *Letters of the Great Artists: From Blake to Pollock*, trans. Daphne Woodward (New York: Random House, 1963) p. 264.

Braque's self-citation refers us to an earlier text in which he explained the difference between still life and landscape: "In the still life you have a tactile, I might almost say a manual space, which can be contrasted with landscape space, visual space. Still life involves the sense of touch in the conception of the painting. And when a still life is no longer within reach, it ceases to be a still life. In tactile space you measure the distance separating you from the object, whereas in visual space you measure the distance separating things from each other."[6]

Having embarked on the adventure of Cubism as pupils of Cézanne, Braque and Picasso received a prize that is only rarely granted in Art History: their master was considered a *forerunner* of Cubism. This interpretation lived on for decades, until long after the demise of Cubism. The artist Robert Smithson triggered a rebellion against it in 1969. Smithson maintained that Cézanne's oeuvre had been distorted by the Cubists in particular and by modern formalist ideology in general and advocated the need for a new interpretation:

> I do think an interesting thing would be to check the behavior of Cézanne and the motivation to the site. Instead of thinking in formalist terms—we've gotten to such a high degree of abstraction out of that—where the Cubists

6. "Avec la nature morte, il s'agit d'un espace tactile et même manuel, que l'on peut opposer à l'espace du paysage, espace visuel. La nature morte fait participer le sens tactile dans la conception du tableau. Elle cesse d'être nature morte dès qu'elle n'est plus à la portée de la main. Dans l'espace tactile, vous mesurez la distance qui vous sépare de l'objet, tandis que dans l'espace visuel, vous mesurez la distance qui sépare les choses entre elles." Georges Braque, "Propos de Georges Braque," *Verve, revue artistique et littéraire*, vol. 6, nos. 26–28 (1952), pp. 61–86. English translation cited from Jan Birksted, "Modernism and the Mediterranean: The Maeght Foundation" (Aldershot-Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), p. 40.

> claimed Cézanne and made his work into a kind of empty formalism, we now have to reintroduce a kind of physicality; the actual place rather than the tendency to decoration which is a studio thing, because the Cubists brought Cézanne back into the studio. It would be interesting to deal with the ecology of the psychological behavior of the artist in the various sites from that period. Because in looking at [Cézanne's] work today, you just can't say it's all just shapes, colors and lines. There is a physical reference, and that choice of subject matter is not simply a representational thing to be avoided. It has important physical implications. And then there is Cézanne's perception: being on the ground, thrown back on to a kind of soil. I'm reversing the perspective to get another viewpoint, because we've seen it so long now from the decorative design point of view and not from the point of view of the physicality of the terrain.[6]

The Earth is a Museum

Smithson's invitation to return to Cézanne's experience at the actual *sites* of his painting was not without precedents. Paradoxically, the first was Braque, who chose L'Estaque because it was one of the places that were most strongly identified with Cézanne (he would later also do so with La Roche-Guyon, another village where Cézanne had painted). Following those cubist preliminaries, the pilgrimage to Cézanne's *holy places* ushered in a new period in the mid-1920s. The American painter and professor Erle Loran went to live

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7. "Fragments of a Conversation" [1969, ed. William C. Lipke], in *Robert Smithson: The Collected Writings*, ed. Jack Flam (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1996), p. 188.

in Aix (he stayed in Cézanne's studio for a time) and spent more than two years photographing places Cézanne had painted in an attempt to "solve the mysteries of Cézanne's form."[8] Loran published his first results in an article entitled "Cézanne's Country" in *The Arts* magazine in April 1930.

In the spring of 1933, the German Gustav Rewald (he would later change his name to John when in exile), who was studying at the Sorbonne and touring the south of France in search of medieval monuments, met the painter Leo Marchutz, who lived in the Château Noir—a common setting for Cézanne's late works. Marchutz showed him Loran's article, took him to see the new *motifs* he had located, and asked him to photograph them with his fabulous Leica. Rewald moved into the Château Noir and together the two men set out on a long hunt. They would get up at dawn, cycle around the area, and climb trees to view the landscape. Rewald would return to Aix every spring until 1939, meanwhile extending his explorations to Auvers, Montgeroult, La Roche-Guyon, and other places in the northern Île-de-France region where Cézanne had also worked. The results were not always encouraging; as there were no powerful telephoto lenses, Mont Sainte-Victoire looked too small in many of the photos. Skeptics have always thought, like John Richardson, that those photos "merely reveal how greatly the painted image diverges from the natural one."[9] But they reaped an immediate benefit nonetheless. Lionello Venturi (who was preparing the

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8. Erle Loran, *Cézanne's Composition: Analysis of His Form with Diagrams and Photographs of His Motifs* [1943], foreword Richard Shiff (Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), p. 1.

9. John Richardson, "Cézanne at Aix-en-Provence," *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 98, no. 644 (November 1956), pp. 411–13.

catalogue raisonné of Cézanne's oeuvre, published in 1936) shared his photos of unpublished or little known paintings with Marchutz and Rewald and in return they helped him identify the places. In 1936 they supplied Fritz Novotny with a list of located *motifs*, which Novotny would use in his book *Cézanne and the End of Scientific Perspective.*[10]

Loran, Marchutz and Rewald, as well as the authors (Venturi and Novotny) who benefited from their explorations, can be defined, if not all as formalists, at least as greatly inclined to formal analysis. It was their interest not only in locating *motifs* but also in delimiting Cézanne's pictorial space that led them to the landscapes of Provence. Where does the polemical opposition considered by Robert Smithson between formal reduction and the return to the *sites* stand now? I believe I have an inkling of how Smithson would have answered this objection. He would perhaps have claimed that whereas Cézanne worked with the *real* Mont Sainte-Victoire, Loran and Rewald, in contrast, based their work on pictures of Sainte-Victoire (or rather on reproductions of those paintings). They toured Provence almost as if visiting an exhibition. Smithson might perhaps have added that Loran and Rewald worked with the photographic medium and even *for* this medium; they scrutinized each place, concerned with framing their shots, tirelessly seeking the Cézannian *postcard*. "Cézanne and his contemporaries," wrote Smithson, "were forced out of their studio by the photograph. They were in actual competition with photography, so they went to sites; because photography does make Nature an impossible

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10. *Cézanne und das Ende der wissenschaftlichen Perspektive* (Vienna: Schroll, 1938). On the photographic adventure in Aix, see John Rewald, "The Last Motifs at Aix," in *Cézanne: The Late Work*, ed. William Rubin (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966), pp. 83–106.

concept. It somehow mitigates the whole concept of Nature in that the earth after photography becomes more of a museum."[11]

Site/Non-site

The new interpretation Smithson proposed of Cézanne was based on concepts he himself had shaped in the context of his own work as an artist:

> I was sort of interested in the dialogue between the indoor and the outdoor and [...] I developed a method or a dialectic that involved what I call *site* and *non-site*. The *site*, in a sense, is the physical, raw reality—the earth or the ground that we are really not aware of when we are in an interior room or studio or something like that—and so I decided that I would set limits in terms of this dialogue (it's a back and forth rhythm that goes between indoors and outdoors), and as a result I went and instead of putting something on the landscape I decided it would be interesting to transfer the land indoors, to the *non-site*, which is an abstract container.[12]

The *site* is open, dispersed—amorphous, even; the *non-site* stems from the need for, the requirement of, *limits*:

> In June, 1968, my wife Nancy, Virginia Dwan, Dan Graham, and I visited the slate quarries in Bangor-Pen Angyl, Pennsylvania. Banks of suspended slate hung over a greenish-blue pond at the bottom of a deep quarry. All boundaries and

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11. "Fragments of a Conversation" [1969], in *Robert Smithson: The Collected Writings*, p. 188.

12. "'Earth' [1969], Symposium at White Museum, Cornell University," in *Robert Smithson: The Collected Writings*, p. 168.

> distinctions lost their meaning in this ocean of slate and collapsed all notions of gestalt unity. […] I collected a canvas bag full of slate chips for a small *non-site*. Yet, if art is art it must have limits. How can one contain this "oceanic" site? I have developed the *non-site*, which in a physical way contains the disruption of the site.[13]

The pieces Smithson called *non-sites* were intended for an art gallery (or museum). In this regard, the *site/non-site* dialectic seems to be inspired by disciplines such as mineralogy, paleontology, and archaeology, whose activity is divided between an excavation *site* and a place of conservation, study, and exhibition—usually a museum. The museum in general could be regarded as the *non-site* par excellence, as the pieces it exhibits always come from somewhere else, from where they have been taken. The *site/non-site* dialectic has sometimes been interpreted as a critical revision of the *white cube*, of the modern conception of the museum (and the art gallery) as a pure and autonomous environment.

Site	*Non-site*
Outdoors	Art gallery, museum

But equating the *non-site* with the gallery or museum is not the only possible or even the most relevant identification. In a text cited previously, Smithson defines the *site* as "the earth or the ground that we are really not aware of when we are in an interior room or studio or something like that." When

13. "A Sedimentation of the Mind: Earth Projects" [1968], in *Robert Smithson: The Collected Writings*, pp. 110–11.

Smithson began making regular excursions to various spots on the outskirts of New Jersey, ranging from quarries to industrial areas and suburbs, in the company of various artist friends (such as Carl Andre, Don Judd, Sol LeWitt, Richard Long, and Robert Morris, among the best known), he did so by escaping from the studio and from the myth of the lone artist in his studio. The subsequent evolution of his work would make him one of the pioneers of what was called the *poststudio artist*. The *site/non-site* pair should be reinterpreted in terms of the opposition between field work and studio work.

Site	*Non-site*
Outdoors	Studio

Smithson believed that he had found in Cézanne a precedent for his own situation: Cézanne too had felt the need to escape from the enclosure of the studio; he too had given priority to working outdoors, claiming that "all pictures painted inside, in the studio, will never be as good as those done outside."[14] Nevertheless, even assuming that Cézanne had painted all his landscapes outdoors, landscape accounts for only half of his output. The other half, made up of still lifes, portraits, and scenes of bathers, was conceived and executed in the studio. The relationship between studio and *plein air* practice is a dialectical opposition in which the opposite terms are mutually required.

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14. "Mais, vois-tu, tous les tableaux faits à l'intérieur, dans l'atelier, ne vaudront jamais les choses faites en plein air." Letter from Cézanne to Zola, undated [Aix, *circa* October 19, 1866], in *Paul Cézanne*, *Correspondance*, ed. John Rewald (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1968), pp. 122–23. English translation cited from *Paul Cézanne, Letters*, trans. Marguerite Kay (New York: Da Capo Press, 1995), p. 112.

Can the relevance of the *site/non-site* dialectic to Cézanne be taken any further? The *non-site* is not only a collection of material fragments extracted from the *site*; it is intended as a *representation* of the *site*. This is how Smithson characterizes it in a very short essay entitled "A Provisional Theory of Non-sites," in which he distinguishes between a "natural or realistic picture" and a "logical picture" that "rarely looks like the thing it stands for."[15] The *non-site* would be a three-dimensional "logical picture" of the *site* that it stands for. The idea of the *non-site* as a representation takes us back to painting. What prevents us from regarding a Cézanne painting as a sort of *non-site*?—as a particular kind of two-dimensional *non-site* which does resemble what it stands for. The picture stands for a place; if that place is outdoors, we call the picture a "landscape" and, if it is indoors, a "still life."

Site	*Non-site*
Outdoors	Studio
Landscape	Still life

The secondary relationship between landscape and still life is built on the basic opposition between outdoors and indoors, between *plein air* and studio. A landscape painting would thus be the *non-site* of a real *site* (Sainte-Victoire) and a still life would be the *non-site* of a *non-site* (apples on the studio table).

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15. Robert Smithson, "A Provisional Theory of Non-Sites" [1968], in *Robert Smithson: The Collected Writings*, p. 364.

The Lost Place

The first time he visited Cézanne, Émile Bernard enjoyed the privilege of accompanying him to paint the *motif*. They passed the studio on the Chemin des Lauves and carried on walking: "It was two kilometers away with a view over a valley, at the foot of Sainte-Victoire, the craggy mountain which he never ceased to paint in watercolor and in oils. He was filled with admiration for this mountain. 'And to think that pig Menier has been here,' he exclaimed, 'and wanted to make soap for the entire world from it!' With this thought he began to expound on his opinions on the contemporary world, industry, and everything else. 'Things aren't going well,' he whispered with a furious look. 'Life is terrifying!'"[16]

It is no coincidence that during that first initiatory meeting the master should have taken the novice Bernard to Mont Sainte-Victoire, his main shrine of worship. Or that he should have accompanied this revelation with an entreaty about the diabolical industrial threat. Sainte-Victoire had first appeared in Cézanne's oeuvre in *The Railway Cutting* (1860, Pinakothek der Moderne), a landscape where the leveled ground of the railroad cuts through the path that leads over the undulating hills from the house to the distant mountain. The blue fullness of Sainte-Victoire seems to offset the reddish wound inflicted by

16. "C'était à deux kilomètres encore, en vue d'une vallée, au pied de la Sainte-Victoire, montagne hardie qu'il ne cessait de peindre à l'eau et à l'huile, et qui le remplissait d'admiration. 'Dire que ce cochon de Menier est venu ici, s'exclamait-il, et qu'il voulait en tirer du savon pour le monde entier!' Là-dessus il commença à me dire ses idées sur le monde actuel, l'industrie et le reste: 'Ça va mal, me murmurait-il avec un œil furieux... C'est effrayant la vie!'". Émile Bernard, *Souvenirs sur Paul Cézanne* (Fontfroide: Bibliothèque artistique & littéraire, 2013), p. 15. English translation cited from *Conversations with Cézanne*, p. 56.

industrial progress. Cézanne would later feel that he had been expelled from his local paradises such as L'Estaque, his seaside retreat, which had been spoiled by industrialization and urban development: "I remember perfectly well the Establon and the once so picturesque banks of L'Estaque. Unfortunately what we call progress is nothing but the invasion of bipeds who do not rest until they have transformed everything into hideous *quais* with gas lamps—and, what is still worse—with electric illumination. What times we live in!"[16]

Fleeing from bipeds and their inevitable improvements, Cézanne traveled to progressively more distant and solitary places. Whereas up until 1895 he had worked west and south of Aix (at the Jas de Bouffan, in Gardanne and, further south, in L'Estaque), thenceforward he headed eastward in the direction of Le Tholonet, where he found *motifs* such as the Château Noir and Bibémus quarry. It was a more rugged and sparsely inhabited terrain with wilder vegetation, which echoed the elderly painter's glum feelings.[18]

Amid Ruins

Of these places, the one which best embodies the fugitive and somewhat savage spirit of Cézanne's final years is Bibémus: a sandstone quarry which

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17. "Je me souviens parfaitement de l'Establon et des bords autrefois si pittoresques du rivage de l'Estaque. Malheureusement ce qu'on appelle le progrès n'est que l'invasion des bipèdes, qui n'ont de cesse qu'ils n'aient tout transformé en odieux quais avec des becs de gaz et – ce qui est pis encore – avec éclairage électrique. En quel temps vivons-nous!" Letter from Cézanne to Mademoiselle Paule Conil, the artist's niece, Aix, September 1, 1902. In *Paul Cézanne, Correspondance*, p. 290. English translation cited from *Paul Cézanne, Letters*, p. 292.

18. Theodore Reff, "Painting and Theory in the Final Decade," in Rubin, *Cézanne: The Late Work*, p. 23.

had been worked since Roman times and was so called by the hunters who used to drink there. In *Bibémus Quarry* (*c.* 1895, Folkwang Museum) [fig. 1], the first picture painted there, Cézanne descends to the interior of the earth; as T. J. Clark states, "the view from Bibémus is […] a view from the tomb."[19] The faces of the quarry look like cracked walls, like the ruins of a rustic and brutal architecture. Rewald likened it to a "fantastic playground" which a prehistoric giant would have begun to build only to abandon, leaving no further clues as to his intricate plan: "And nature has since spread a carpet of plants over the turrets, the square blocks, the sharp edges, the clefts, the caves, the tunnels and arches, thus reclaiming the site that had been wrested from her."[20]

Following a long period of inactivity, Bibémus was again worked after World War II, as a result of which Cézanne's original *motifs* were "literally demolished."[21] This did not prevent it from becoming a tourist attraction in 2006, the centenary of the painter's death, when platforms were installed in front of the *motifs* supposedly painted by Cézanne, along with reproductions of his paintings. This adaptation for tourist purposes would have delighted Robert Smithson as a parody of his ironic *tour* of the industrial devastation of Passaic, New Jersey. Smithson, no doubt recalling his own abandoned quarries

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19. T. J. Clark, "Phenomenality and Materiality in Cézanne," in *Material Events: Paul de Man and the Afterlife of Theory*, ed. Tom Cohen *et al.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), p. 111.

20. John Rewald, "The Last Motifs at Aix," in Rubin, *Cézanne: The Late Work*, p. 94.

21. Ibid., p. 105.

and mines, regarded Cézanne's Bibémus as a place that was irreducible to formalistic interpretation: "A sense of the picturesque results in Paul Cézanne's *Bibémus Quarry* (1895), but his direct encounters with the landscape were soon to be replaced by a studio-based formalism and cubistic reductionism which would lead to our present day insipid notions of 'flatness' and 'lyrical abstraction.'"[22]

In fact, Bibémus is a meeting point between formalism and place. On the one hand, the landscapes painted there by Cézanne, with their jigsaws of planes and zigzagging lines, must have fascinated the Cubists and their successors. On the other, anyone who visited the site discovered that this apparent abstraction was in fact a depiction of a very specific place, as Erle Loran did: "What appeared to be a highly abstract synthesis of planes and geometric, linear movements, unrelated to anything I had ever seen in nature, became quite definitely the analysis and organization of a very specific place, as is shown by the photograph of the motif."[23]

The secret of this particular convergence lies in Cézanne's fondness for geology, encouraged and fueled by his conversations with his naturalist friend Antoine Fortuné Marion. Cézanne considered geology to be a sort

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22. *Robert Smithson: The Collected Writings*, p. 162. And also: "The origins of Cézanne were never really understood, why he was going to quarries. Then in a sense it was formalized by [the Cubists] and to a greater extent by Matisse, the armchair art of the interior studio," in "Four Conversations between Dennis Wheeler and Robert Smithson" [1969–70], Ibid., p. 231.

23. Loran, *Cézanne's Composition*, p. 115.

of anatomy of landscape, which allowed the painter to "achieve the very structure of earth beneath the fleeting appearance and its seasons."[24]

Smithson regarded Bibémus as a stronghold against the formalist attempt to *lead* Cézanne *back* into the studio. But it was Cézanne himself who took reminiscences of Bibémus to his studio. The paintings of the quarry executed in 1895–1904 and the large contemporary still lifes show a deep morphological similarity. If we compare *Bibémus Quarry* [fig. 1] with *Apples and Oranges* (1899, Musée d'Orsay) [fig. 2], we find a sort of *gravitational perspective* in both.

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24. "Il veut attendre la structure même de la terre sous la face passagère et ses saisons." Gasquet, *Cézanne,* p. 153. And also: "To paint a landscape correctly, first I have to discover the geological strata" ("Pour bien peindre un paysage, je dois découvrir d'abord les assises géologiques"), Ibid., pp. 245–46. Toru Arakawa, "Cézanne, Smithson and the Limitless Scale of the Present," draft of a lecture delivered in 2009. Consulted at http://www.academia.edu/5350854/Cezanne_Smithson_and_the_Limitless_Scale_of_the_Present_Draft_of_the_Conf._Paper_2009, on 23/12/2013.

Fig. 1. Paul Cézanne, *Bibémus Quarry*, *c.* 1895
Oil on canvas, 65 x 81 cm
Museum Folkwang, Essen

The further away the forms are, the less they weigh. The closer they are to us, the faster they increase in weight. In the upper half of the painting the objects remain standing as far as an edge (of the precipice, of the table); beyond that everything spills over and collapses. The cracks in the rock and the creases of the tablecloth are elongated and deformed as if by the effects of gravity.

The *return to the studio* was not, as Smithson claimed, a distortion of the Cubists and other formalists, but a movement that was part of Cézanne's own dialectic between outdoors and indoors. The connections between landscape and still life reflect that dialectic, as Svetlana Alpers has pointed out:

> It was Cézanne who experimented with experiencing a landscape as if it were a still-life motif. Despite all his excursions outside to paint particular motifs such as the Montagne Sainte-Victoire, Cézanne's landscapes share with his still

Fig. 2. Paul Cézanne, *Apples and Oranges*, *c.* 1899
Oil on canvas, 74 x 93 cm
Musée d'Orsay, Paris

> lifes the studio terrain. They are distinguished by the absence of people, of seasons, of time of day. [...] The difference between things—between landscape as a motif and still life, or between rocks and trees and fields before mountains and bowls or a vase on tabletops placed before the leaves woven in a tapestry—is minimized in the process of painting. If his landscapes are like still lifes, so his still lifes are landscapes.[25]

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25. Svetlana Alpers, "The View from the Studio," in *The Vexations of Art: Velázquez and Others* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 39–40.

[Page 29, cat. 29, detail]

2. Portrait of an Unknown Man

The first owner of the *Portrait of a Peasant* in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza [cat. 1] was the dealer Ambroise Vollard, who identified it as the artist's last picture in his book on Cézanne: "On the following day he went down into the garden, intending to continue a study of a peasant which was going rather well. In the midst of the sitting he fainted; the model called for help; they put him to bed, and he never left it again. He died a few days later [...]."[26] Vollard's testimony is not always accurate; it is now thought that the last picture the painter worked on was one of the portraits of the gardener Vallier.

Whatever the case, *Portrait of a Peasant* is one of Cézanne's last works. The man, whose identity is not known, is seated with crossed arms, his left hand leaning on a stick and a white cloth over his arm. He wears a *canotier* that distinguishes him from other portraits (those of Vallier, for example). Behind

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26. Ambroise Vollard, *Paul Cézanne* (Paris: Georges Grès et Cie, 1924), p. 193. English translation cited from Ambroise Vollard, *Cézanne* (New York: Dover Books, 1984), pp. 113–14.

Paul Cézanne
Portrait of a Peasant, 1905–6 (detail)
[cat. 1]

Cat. 1
Paul Cézanne, *Portrait of a Peasant,* 1905–6
Oil on canvas, 64.8 x 54.6 cm
Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid
R 952

him are a tree (a large lime) and the garden vegetation. The picture is closely related to a watercolor in the Art Institute of Chicago, which must have been painted at the same time [fig. 3]. There are certain minor differences: in the watercolor the background tree is straighter and the balustrade is more closed. The man is more stoutly built in the watercolor and his facial features are slightly more defined than in the oil painting. The man in the Thyssen painting is faceless. This empty face contrasts with the advanced state of execution of the rest of the canvas; in the great majority of Cézanne's

Fig. 3. Paul Cézanne, *Man Wearing a Straw Hat*, *c.* 1905–6
Watercolor over graphite on paper, 479 x 315 mm
The Art Institute of Chicago. Gift of Janis H. Palmer
in memory of Pauline K. Palmer, 1983.1498

paintings the face is basically defined, even if other parts of the painting are still unfinished. This peasant's face has been left unpainted as if to fill in the gap later on. Are we really dealing with a portrait, or does the individual identity of the model no longer matter?

We assume that he is a peasant owing to the characteristic blue clothing, which Cézanne had depicted on other occasions (for example in *Peasant in a Blue Smock*, *c.* 1897, Kimbell Art Museum). Cézanne had been painting gardeners and other local workers for some time, notably between 1890 and 1895, when he produced the series of *Card Players*. Of the direct precedents of the painting in the Thyssen collection, mention should be made of *Seated*

Fig. 4. Paul Cézanne, *Seated Peasant*, *c.* 1892–96
Oil on canvas, 54.6 x 45.1 cm
Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Walter H. and Leonore Annenberg Collection. Gift of Walter H. and Leonore Annenberg, 1997, bequest of Walter H. Annenberg, 2002, 1997.60.2

Peasant (*c.* 1892–96, Metropolitan Museum of Art) [fig. 4] and *Portrait of a Peasant* (*c.* 1900, National Gallery of Canada) [fig. 5], as well as the series on the gardener Vallier (*c.* 1906, Tate Gallery) [fig. 6]. In all of them the figure is depicted full-face and seated, with crossed legs and clasped hands. Theodore Reff noted that Vallier's portraits possess a calm and dignity comparable to Renaissance portraits, but make no reference whatsoever to the social status or personal accomplishments of the sitter. "This inherent nobility," Reff adds, "is felt not only in his serene expression, but in his monumental proportions, which allow him to fill his space impressively."[27] Cézanne himself posed with

27. Theodore Reff, "Painting and Theory in the Final Decade," in Rubin, *Cézanne: The Late Work*, p. 22.

Fig. 5. Paul Cézanne, *Portrait of a Peasant*, *c.* 1900
Oil on canvas, 92.7 x 73.7 cm
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa
Purchased in 1950, 5769

Fig. 6. Paul Cézanne, *The Gardener Vallier*, *c.* 1906
Oil on canvas, 65.4 x 54.9 cm
Tate, London. Bequeathed by C. Frank Stoop 1933, N04724

such an attitude in the photographs Émile Bernard took of him in 1904 in front of one of his paintings of bathers [fig. 7]. To what extent did the painter project himself in his portraits of elderly peasants?

Gasquet explained something that is highly revealing about the portraits of Vallier: "He had the old man pose. Often the poor fellow was ill and did not come. Then Cézanne himself posed. He dressed up in dirty old rags in front of a mirror. And then by means of a strange transference, a mystical and perhaps intentional substitution, the features of the old beggar and those of the artist were intermingled on the dark canvas, both their lives [about to] issue into the same void and the same immortality."[28] Drawing inspiration from these observations by Gasquet, Lionello Venturi characterized Vallier's portraits as "veritable dialogues with death with a deeply tragic accent": "Cézanne observes the old gardener with such a burden of painful compassion that it is in fact he himself he is showing through it, producing a sort of self-portrait so to speak."[29]

Lawrence Gowing stated that "the gardener in profile has not only a look of Cézanne himself but the look of a Michelangelesque Moses—another of Cézanne's self-projections."[30] Indeed, the elderly painter identified with

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28. "Il faisait poser le vieillard. Souvent le pauvre, malade, ne venait pas. Alors Cézanne posait lui-même. Il revêtait devant un miroir les sales guenilles. Et un étrange échange ainsi, une substitution mystique, et peut-être voulue, mêla, sur la toile profonde, les traits du vieux mendiant à ceux du vieil artiste, leurs deux vies au confluent du même néant et de la même immortalité." Gasquet, *Cézanne,* p. 205. English translation cited from Steven Platzman, *Cézanne: The Self-Portraits* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 2001), p. 190.

29. "[…] véritables dialogues avec la mort, à l'accent profondément tragique." "Cézanne observe le vieux jardinier avec une telle charge de douloureuse sympathie que c'est lui-même en définitive qu'il révèle à travers elle, réalisant pour ainsi dire une sorte d'autoportrait." Lionello Venturi, *Cézanne* (Geneva: Skira, 1978), p. 127.

30. Lawrence Gowing, "The Logic of Organized Sensations," in Rubin, *Cézanne: The Late Work,* p. 70.

Moses, especially when he toyed with the idea he might die before finishing his task: "I am working doggedly, for I see the Promised Land before me. Shall I be like the great Hebrew Leader or shall I be able to enter?"[31] In his reply to a famous questionnaire, Cézanne cited, with slight modifications, some lines that Alfred de Vigny attributed to Moses:

> Lord, you have made me powerful and solitary
> Let me sleep the sleep of the earth.[32]

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31. "Je travaille opiniâtrement, j'entrevois la Terre Promise, Serais-je comme le grand chef des Hébreux ou peut-être bien pourrais-je y pènètrer?" Letter from Cézanne to Ambroise Vollard, Aix, January 9, 1903, in Paul Cézanne, *Cinquante-trois lettres transcrites et annotées par Jean-Claude Lebensztejn*, p. 58. English translation cited from *Paul Cézanne, Letters*, p. 293.

32. "Seigneur, vous m'aviez fait puissant et solitaire / Laissez-moi m'endormir du sommeil de la terre." It belongs to the document "Mes confidences," discovered by Chappuis in 1973 and published in *Conversations avec Cézanne*, ed. P. M. Doran (Paris: Macula, 1978), p. 104. English translation cited from Doran, *Conversations with Cézanne*, p. 103.

Fig. 7. Émile Bernard, *Cézanne in his Studio at Les Lauves, in front of the* Large Bathers (The Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia), 1904
Photo: Musée d'Orsay, Paris

When Émile Bernard returned to Aix many years after Cézanne's death, he recalled him in front of a painting with the figure of Moses in the cathedral [fig. 8]: "In the past I had seen Cézanne in that same place, beneath the large picture of the Burning Bush, whose Moses bore such an uncanny resemblance to him. No doubt his soul still returned there. I kneeled near the pew and prayed for my old master."[33]

In the *Portrait of a Peasant* in the Thyssen collection there is no trace of tragedy, but rather perfect calm. There is no anguish. But perhaps the painter is projected in it, as in other late portraits, and maybe so is the ever-closer prospect of death.

The unknown man is sitting on the terrace of the Chemin des Lauves studio against a background of vegetation. From this terrace Cézanne painted what was closest (the flowerpots, the garden plants) and furthest away (Sainte-Victoire). The small yellow horizontal wall divides the composition into two halves, upper and lower, which in turn represent interior and exterior, studio and outdoors.

The picture is thus located in an intermediate space, of transition, a *terra nullius* between those opposites. But the picture goes beyond this distinction. In the opinion of Theodore Reff, the portraits in which Vallier appears with the garden in the background "are images of a man wholly absorbed into his

33. "J'avais vu Cézanne autrefois à cette place, sous le grand tableau du *Buisson Ardent*, dont le Moïse lui ressemble si étrangement. Sans doute son âme y revenait encore. Je me mis à genoux près du banc d'œuvre, et je priai pour mon vieux maître." In Bernard, *Souvenirs sur Paul Cézanne*, p. 82.

natural environment and entirely at peace with it."[34] *Portrait of a Peasant* causes a similar effect. The blue jacket blends in places into the background vegetation painted in shades of green and blue—as in the last views of Sainte-Victoire where mountain and sky subtly interpenetrate one another, blurring the boundary between figure and background, restoring the continuity between man and nature.

34. Theodore Reff, "Painting and Theory in the Final Decade," in Rubin, *Cézanne: The Late Work*, pp. 22–23.

Fig. 8. Nicolas Froment, central panel, *Triptych of the Burning Bush*, 1475–76
Oil on panel
Saint-Sauveur Cathedral, Aix-en-Provence

3. The Bend in the Road

Cézanne's first solo exhibition opened at the small Galerie Vollard, rue Laffitte, at the beginning of November 1895; it would mark a decisive change in the reputation the artist enjoyed among his colleagues and the start of wider recognition. But the painter did not attend the *vernissage* (nor did he bother to travel to Paris to visit the exhibition in the following weeks). During those days he was busy with other things. On November 8, Cézanne and his old friends the painter Achille Emperaire (1829–1898) and the sculptor Philippe Solari (1840–1906), together with Solari's son Émile (1873–1961), went on an excursion to Bibémus quarry. From there they carried on walking until they came to an imposing landscape with Mont Sainte-Victoire in the background. They lunched in Saint-Marc beneath a fig tree (they had bought provisions from a road menders' canteen) and, after another walk over the stony hillsides, ended up dining in Le Tholonet. They returned in good spirits, but Emperaire, who was very drunk, was badly bruised in a fall and had to be taken home.

Another day that autumn, Cézanne and Solari decided to attempt something more ambitious: an ascent of the Sainte-Victoire. The night before they slept

Paul Cézanne
Bend in the Road through the Forest, *c.* 1873–75 (detail)
[cat. 4]

in Vauvenargues, in a room with smoked hams hanging from the rafters. They began the climb at daybreak. Émile Solari noted that the green bushes along the path looked blue in the morning light and Cézanne complained that the youngster should had discovered at a glance something that it had taken him thirty years to realize. It was terribly windy at the top. They had lunch amid the ruins of the chapel of the Camaldules, recalling that an episode from a Walter Scott novel took place there, but did not go down to the Garagaï abyss, which is also mentioned in the novel. Cézanne and Solari spoke of the many times they had ascended the mountain in their youth. On the way down Cézanne wished to prove he was in good shape by climbing a pine tree, but was unsuccessful: "And yet, Philippe, do you remember? We used to be able to do that so easily!"[35]

Joachim Gasquet met Cézanne shortly after these outings, when the painter was fifty-seven years old, and described him as an elderly man but full of energy: "He tired out the animal in him by continuing to go for long walks, climbing Mont Victoire alone, with his game bag on his back, come rain or shine."[36] Gasquet himself confirms that Cézanne's rambles of the final years were not merely sporting feats but nostalgic returns to his youth: "Because all those paths in Aix which he explored, well into old age, with his box of colors always on his shoulder, all that countryside which he magnified at a mature age on his gloriously humble canvases, he had already traveled, as an

35. Émile Solari's account was published by Gerstle Mack in his book *Paul Cézanne* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1935), pp. 327–28. Cited in Alex Danchev, *Cézanne: A Life* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2012), pp. 298–99.

36. "Il surmenait la bête en lui, faisant toujours ces longues promenades dont il avait gardé la passion, escaladant le mont Victoire, seul, le carnier au dos, sous le soleil ou sous la pluie." Gasquet, *Cézanne,* p. 156.

adolescent, with his rucksack on his back, he had trodden in all directions with his two inseparables: with Zola above all."[37]

The Picturesque Traveler

For Cézanne, one of the ways of destroying the landscape in modern society was by laying roads. "We live under the rule of road surveyors. It is the rule of engineers, the republic of straight lines... Tell me, is there a single straight line in nature? Everything, absolutely everything is subjected to the surveyor's line, city and countryside alike..."[38] In contrast with this geometric apriorism of modern roads, Cézanne praises the adaptation of Roman roads: "The old way is a Roman road. These Roman roads are always very well placed. Follow one of them. They had a feeling for the landscape; all of its directions make a picture. Our engineers don't give a damn about the landscape."[39]

The conception of the road as a *generator of pictures* typically belongs to the aesthetic of the picturesque that is associated with eighteenth-century gardens. Garden-landscape paths are designed to provide the stroller with the most attractive views. The rambler has merely to follow his gaze. Cézanne's criticism

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37. "Car tous ces chemins d'Aix, où il s'enfonçait, haut vieillard, la boîte à couleurs toujours à l'épaule, toute cette campagne que dans son âge mûr il magnifiait sur ses toiles d'une humilité si glorieuse, adolescent, le havre-sac au dos, il les avait parcourus, battus en tous sens avec ses deux inséparables. Avec Zola surtout." Ibid., pp. 44–45.

38. "Ah! Nous vivons sous la coupe des agents-voyers. C'est le règne des ingénieurs, la république des lignes plates... Est-ce qu'il y a une seule ligne droite dans la nature, dites? Ils mettent tout, tout au cordeau, la ville comme la campagne...". Ibid., p. 34.

39. "Ce vieux chemin est une voie romaine. Ces routes des romains sont toujours admirablement situées. Suivez-en une. Ils avaient un sens du paysage; de tous ses points elle fait tableau. Nos ingénieurs s'en foutent bien, du paysage." Ibid., p. 256. English translation cited from Doran, *Conversations with Cézanne*, p. 118.

of straight roads that are indifferent to the landscape they cut across also recalls eighteenth-century aesthetics. Granted, a straight route shortens the journey, as the Scottish philosopher Henry Home, Lord of Kames pointed out, but it "is less agreeable than a winding or waving walk; for in surveying the beauties of an ornamented field, we love to roam from place to place at freedom. Winding walks have another advantage; at every step they open new views."[40] The effect of novelty is underlined by another Scot, Sir William Chambers, in his *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*: "There are few things more variously entertaining, than a winding one, which opening gradually to the sight, discovers, at every step, a new arrangement; […] it occasions strong impressions of surprise and astonishment, which are more forcibly felt, as being more opposite to the tranquil pleasure enjoyed in the confined parts of the road."[41]

Bends in the road, by constantly altering our viewpoint, add to the *promenade* a whole repertoire of exciting subjective states: expectation, suspense, and amazement at what is new. These effects are ultimately associated with the appearance of *temporality* in the landscape experience. Does this bear any relation to Cézanne's painting? André Masson believed it does: "Since Cézanne (even though he relied partly on traditional perspective), concern with space has not left us, and why?—Who does not know: we can no longer separate the concept of space from that of duration."[42]

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40. Henry Home of Kames, *Elements of Criticism* [1762] (Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute, 1817), p. 397.

41. William Chambers, *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* [1772] (Dublin: Printed for W. Wilson, 1773), p. 32.

42. "Depuis Cézanne (bien qu'il se soit appuyé sur la perspective traditionnelle; en partie) l'inquiétude spatiale ne nous a plus quittés, et pourquoi? – Qui ne le sait: nous ne pouvons plus séparer le concept de l'espace de celui de la durée." André Masson, "Métamorphose de l'Artiste" [1956], in *André Masson: le Rebelle du surrealism, écrits*, ed. Françoise Levaillant (Paris: Hermann, 1994), p. 137.

The Winding Road

The lingering presence of the *route tournante*, the winding road, in Cézanne's landscapes should be related to this aesthetic. It is a motif that is linked to Cézanne's actual, real-life experience as a rambler, but at the same time had been part of the iconography of landscape since the seventeenth-century Dutch painters.

Let us consider, for example, a panel painting by Jacob van Ruisdael (*c.* 1645–50, National Gallery) [fig. 9]. The wide road begins in the foreground and ascends while turning to cross a copse of trees. If the painting ended here, it would be like a Cézanne. But it continues beyond the trees, allowing itself (and with it our gaze) to be carried along by an eye catcher in the middle distance: the large thatched-roof cottage among the trees. The road takes us up and down, across the undulating terrain, and perhaps we will continue, guided by a second eye catcher: the fragment of a blue mountain in the distance jutting out from the right edge of the painting.

If we now consider the same motif in Cézanne's work, the result could not be more different. *The Forest Road* [cat. 3] shows no horizon and only a tiny piece of sky up above. We are at the threshold of an impenetrable thicket. The large rock on the right causes us to hesitate as to whether to continue, and this doubt grows when we come to the tree in the middle of the road. The result is the same in *Turn in the Road* [fig. 10] (*c.* 1881, Museum of Fine Arts),

although very different means are used. The picture space displays a number of overlapping barriers that are increasingly difficult to overcome: first the row of trees, then the wall lining the road, then the houses (with closed doors and windows) and at the far end a wall of vegetation. We find neither human figures nor the slightest sign of activity. The space is uninviting and the road leading into the village winds and bends around [cat. 3].

Most of Cézanne's roads lead nowhere. The bend in the road is the device most often used by the painter to attract the spectator's gaze and immediately disappoint it by blocking it with vegetation, rocks, or the very topography of the place [cats. 2 and 4]. But the bend is not the only device. Cézanne spent the summer of 1888 in Chantilly, where he painted a series of works

Fig. 9. Jacob van Ruisdael,
A Road Winding between Trees towards a Distant Cottage, *c.* 1645–50
Oil on canvas, 32.6 x 30.4 cm
National Gallery, London. Wynn Ellis Bequest, 1876, NG988

whose main motif is the avenues that cross the forest surrounding the castle at regular intervals (they probably reminded him of the chestnut-lined avenue at the Jas de Bouffan). The canvas in Toledo (Ohio) [cat. 8] is the most ambitious in the series. The tops of the tall, leafy trees are joined to form an *allée couverte*—a living tunnel that creates an intense sensation of confinement, of coercion of the gaze. The light that filters through in that shady landscape casts shadows across the path like the rungs of a ladder, marking the rhythm of the gaze as it enters the painting. But the castle wall in the background blocks the exit.

Even where the landscape seems more open and the spectator can make out the sky in the background, this sky has particular characteristics, as Barnes

Paul Cézanne
The Forest Road, 1870–71
[cat. 3]

points out: "Because of the essential self-enclosure of Cézanne's compositions, there is little attempt to convey, even in landscape, the sense of infinite space, as it appears in the Renaissance artists or in such a modern painter as Renoir. Even when the horizon is visible the rearward plane has more the effect of a screen than of an illimitable distance, so that the space of the composition in its entirety is relatively limited."[43]

43. Albert C. Barnes and Violette de Mazia, *The Art of Cézanne* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1939), p. 48.

Fig. 10. Paul Cézanne, *Turn in the Road*, *c.* 1881
Oil on canvas, 60.6 x 73.3 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Bequest of John T. Spaulding, 48.525

No Trespassing

The tendency to enclose space in Cézanne's landscapes was noted a long time ago. Albert Boime has recently proposed a new interpretation of this tendency as an expression of Cézanne's particular territorial feeling. The painter *proprietor* (for example of the Jas de Bouffan estate) would be imaginarily extending his possessive attitude to the whole territory of Provence. In Boime's view, Cézanne stamps his landscapes with an "inviolability" that "encloses the painter and shuts out the spectator and would-be intruder"; that "antisocial attitude" and "obsession with privacy" would account for many of the features that critics have hailed as the most innovative. Cézanne's "deformations," his concern with structure, the telescoping of spatial planes and "his obsession with still life" are not "simple exercises in formal abstraction" that foreshadow twentieth-century avant-garde art, but reveal a need to control the real spaces he depicts: "It is as if Cézanne declares his motif as 'private property' and visually sets up a 'No Trespassing' sign."[44]

Boime's theory might be plausible were it limited to the landscapes of Provence, but the enclosure he describes is also found in pictures painted by Cézanne in other regions of France, from his early impressionist landscapes in the department of Oise. Rather than a proprietor, Cézanne was a rambler. His experience of the territory of Provence did not spur him to fence in and

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44. Albert Boime, "Cézanne's Real and Imaginary Estate," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 61, no. 4 (1998), pp. 552–67, esp. 552, 562.

parcel off the landscape but, on the contrary, to seek the freedom of the roads, to explore its intimate corners and its open vistas. But before becoming a painting, this perspective experienced by the *picturesque traveler*, this *walkscape*, needed to be processed by the artist's studio. To order his impressions of the outdoors, the painter subjects them to the cubic structure of the indoors with its vertical and horizontal coordinates, which symbolize the subject's rational control over nature. The memory of the constructed and closed environment of the *atelier* determines Cézanne's landscape from one end to another. Behind each bend in the road, in each background sky, we find the studio wall.[45]

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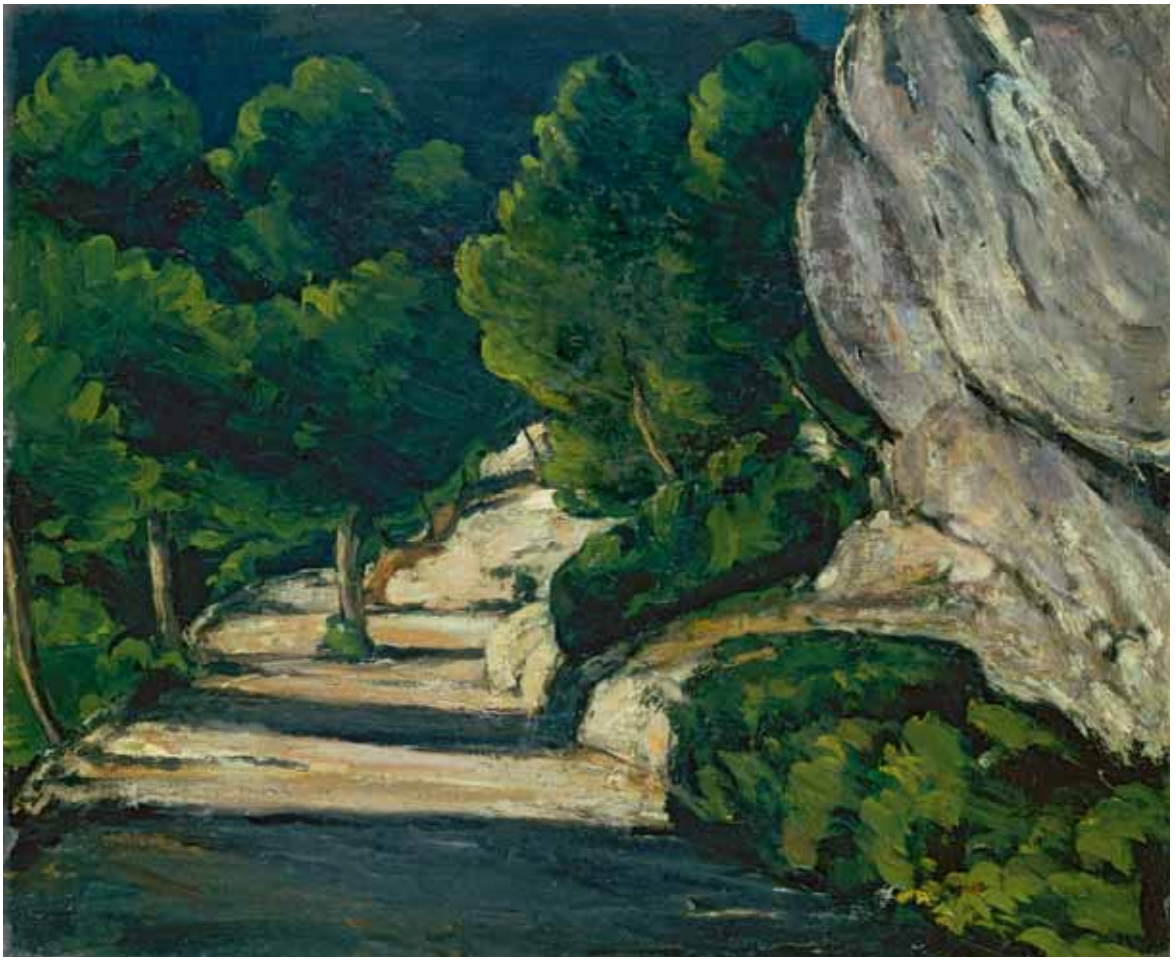
45. I am grateful to Tomás Llorens for his valuable suggestions on this point.

Cat. 2
Paul Cézanne, *Bend in a Road in Provence, c.* 1866
Oil on canvas, 92.4 x 72.5 cm
The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.
Adaline Van Horne Bequest
R 85



Cat. 3
Paul Cézanne, *The Forest Road*, 1870–71
Oil on canvas, 53.7 x 65 cm
Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main
R 168

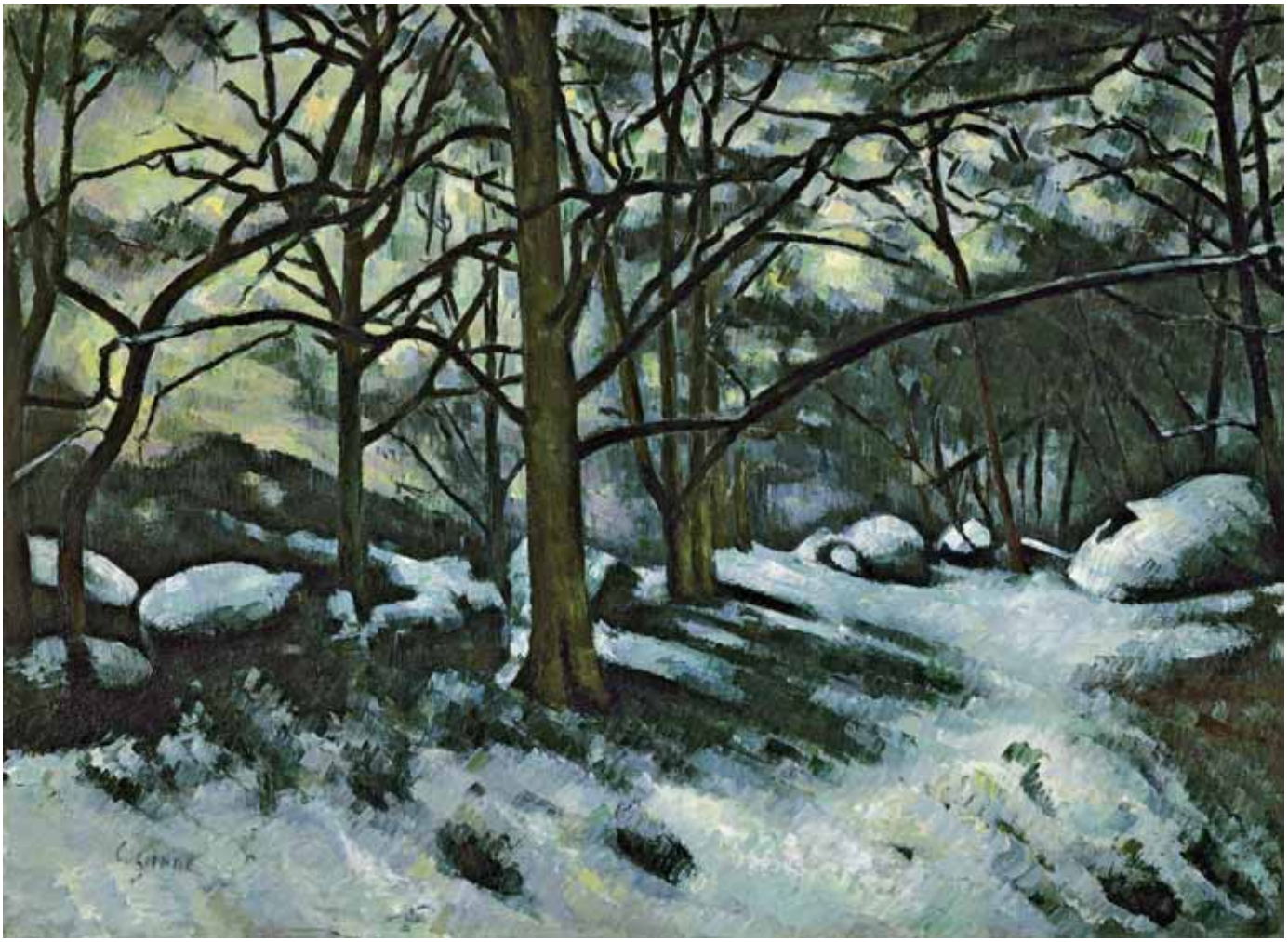
Cat. 4
Paul Cézanne, *Bend in the Road through the Forest*, *c.* 1873–75
Oil on canvas, 55 x 46 cm
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York. Partial gift, George Tetzel in memory of Oskar Homolka and Joan Tetzel Homolka, 1980
R 197

Cat. 5
Paul Cézanne, *Road at Pontoise*, 1875–77
Oil on canvas, 58 x 71 cm
The State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow
R 310

Cat. 6
Camille Pissarro, *The Woods at Marly*, 1871
Oil on canvas, 45 x 55 cm
Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid

Cat. 7
Paul Cézanne, *The Avenue*, 1880–82
Oil on canvas, 73.5 x 60.5 cm
Göteborgs Konstmuseum
R 409

Cat. 8
Paul Cézanne, *Avenue at Chantilly*, 1888
Oil on canvas, 81.3 x 64.8 cm
The Toledo Museum of Art. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William E. Levis, 1959.13
R 616

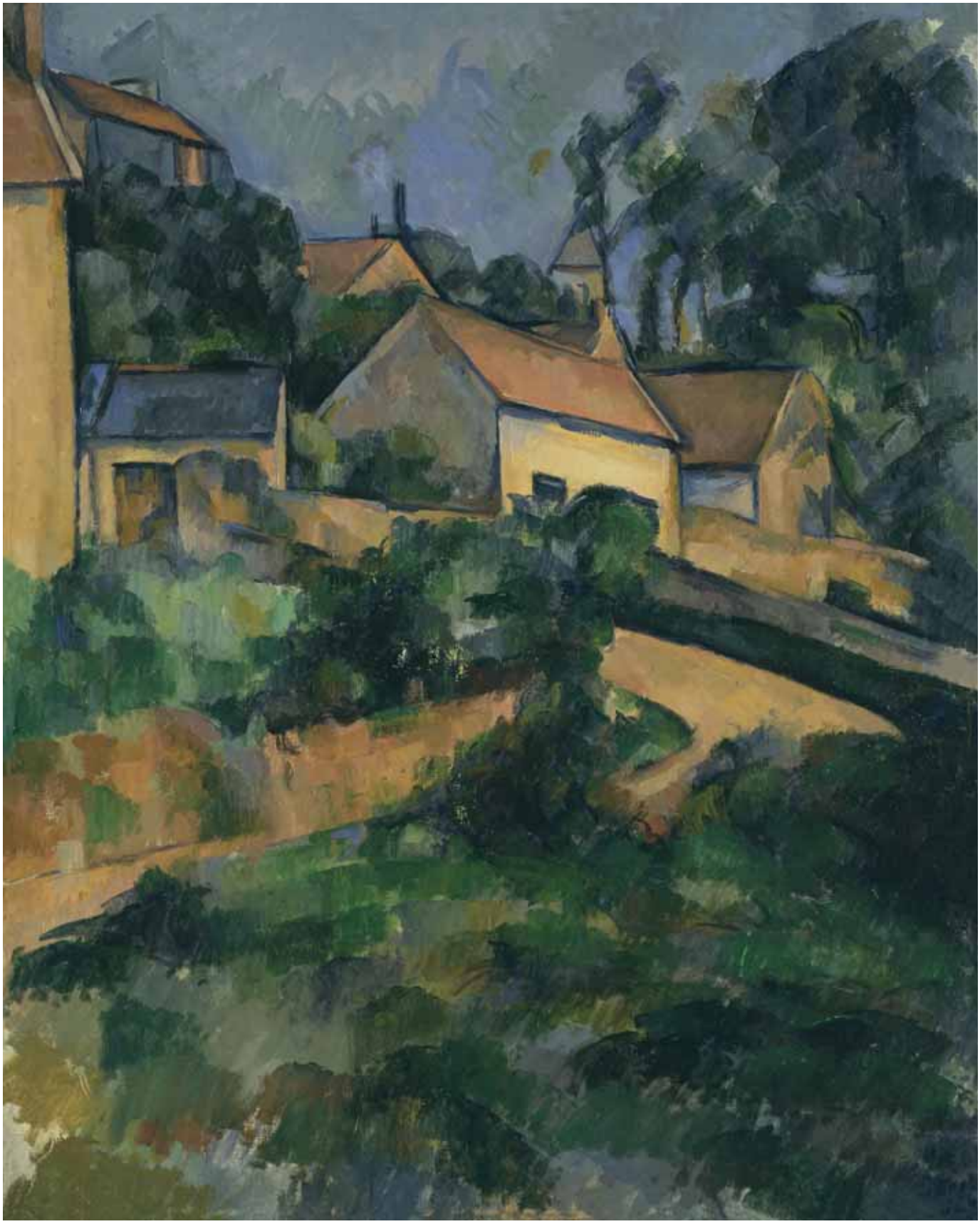


Cat. 9
Paul Cézanne, *Melting Snow, Fontainebleau*, 1879–80
Oil on canvas, 73.5 x 100.6 cm
The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of André Meyer, 1961
R 413

Cat. 10
Paul Gauguin, *Street in Rouen*, 1884
Oil on canvas, 73 x 92 cm
Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid

Cat. 11
Paul Cézanne, *Hillside in Provence*, *c.* 1890–92
Oil on canvas, 63.5 x 79.4 cm
National Gallery, London. Bought, Courtauld Fund, 1926
R 718

Cat. 12
Paul Cézanne, *Turning Road at Montgeroult*, 1898
Oil on canvas, 81.3 x 65.7 cm
The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Mrs. John Hay Whitney Bequest, 1998
R 828



Cat. 13
Paul Cézanne, *Bend of the Road at the Top of the Chemin des Lauves*, 1904–6
Oil on canvas, 65 x 81 cm
Fondation Beyeler, Riehen/Basel, Beyeler Collection
R 946

Cat. 14
Paul Cézanne, *The Bend in the Road*, 1900–6
Oil on canvas, 82.1 x 66 cm
National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, 1985.64.8
R 930

4. Nudes and Trees

> "[…] large nude beings moving in the middle of the countryside, rough like trees, but human like a line of verse from Virgil."
>
> Gasquet, *Cézanne*[46]

The compositions of bathers which Cézanne painted over the course of more than thirty years, from the mid-1870s to his death, are the part of his work which has given rise to the most literature and, at the same time, has most strongly defied interpretation. Inspired by studies of nudes from the period in which he frequented the Académie Suisse and by different book sources, they are the only important portion of Cézanne's oeuvre that is not executed or even conceived from life. In front of one of his canvases of *Large Bathers*, Cézanne explained to an interlocutor how he refused to undress a model in his studio: "'In any case,' he added, tapping himself on the forehead, 'painting is all in here!'"[47]

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46. "C'était de grands êtres nus se mouvant en pleins champs, frustes comme des arbres, mais humains comme un vers de Virgile." Gasquet, *Cézanne*, p. 78.

47. "D'ailleurs, ajouta-t-il en se frappant le front, la peinture… c'est là-dedans!" Francis Jourdain, cited in Doran, *Conversations avec Cézanne*, p. 84. English translation cited from Doran, *Conversations with Cézanne*, p. 83.

Paul Cézanne
Bathers, *c.* 1880 (detail)
[cat. 17]

The coexistence of imaginary compositions and scenes from nature in the painter's oeuvre is, in itself, by no means strange; in the work of Henri Fantin-Latour (1836–1904)—to cite a precedent familiar to Cézanne—realistic portraits and still lifes coexist alongside romantic literary and musical fantasies. Cézanne's compositions of bathers would have been accepted had they been minimally respectful of the ideals of nude painting, but his seriously *awkward* draftsmanship, his anatomical distortions shocked even the most favorable critics.

The main problem the paintings of bathers have always posed is their relation with the erotic scenes of the young Cézanne. The formalist reception of the painter assumed that there was a break between the passionate excesses of his early creation and the abstract nature of his mature work. For example, Kurt Badt noted that Cézanne's bathers lack a face, personal and even temporal features. They go beyond the particular to a higher, impersonal, and universal plane that is related to the idea and the unity of the artwork; the nudes and their postures exist only to the extent of the compositional relationships between them.[48] As Aruna D'Souza states, this interpretation strips Cézanne's bathers of any erotic connotations and even of their living corporeity: "Figures have been transformed into something like still life objects."[49] Another author, Rudolf Arnheim, has expressly encouraged this categorization: "The term *still life* ought to be reserved for arrangements of things not held together by a natural context. [...] Cézanne's or Matisse's

48. Kurt Badt, *The Art of Cézanne* (Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), p. 155.

49. Aruna D'Souza, *Cézanne's Bathers: Biography and the Erotics of Paint* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), p. 40.

nudes populating landscapes come close to still life arrangements of vegetation and human bodies. Those scenes are no more likely to occur anywhere outside art than Chardin's displays on the kitchen table."[50]

In contrast to this formalist tradition, another line of thought that is currently very widely held claims to decipher the compositions of bathers on the basis of Cézanne's (supposed) erotic obsessions. Psychoanalysis has played a key role in this, from Meyer Schapiro (with his historic article on Cézanne's apples) to T. J. Clark.[51] Authors who subscribe to this line of thinking tend to explain the bather scenes on the basis of the major erotic themes of the young Cézanne (such as *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* or *The Trial of Paris*) and in general to interpret the paintings as projections of the artist. The most extreme example is the speculations of Sidney Geist, who claimed to identify each figure of a bather (male or female) with Cézanne and the friends from his youth (Zola, Baille and Numa Coste), adding an unusual array of erotic fantasies to explain the connection between the figures.[52]

Colonnade and Arch

Cézanne's scenes of bathers are divided into two almost equal groups of male and female nudes. There is a basic compositional difference between them: the

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50. Rudolf Arnheim, *Parables of Sun Light: Observations on Psychology, the Arts, and the Rest* (Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), p. 42.

51. Meyer Schapiro, "The Apples of Cézanne" [1968], in *Modern Art: 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: Braziller, 1978), pp. 1–38; T. J. Clark, "Freud's Cézanne" [1995], in T. J. Clark, *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 139–68.

52. Sidney Geist, *Interpreting Cézanne* (Cambridge, MA-London: Harvard University Press, 1988).

male bathers are arranged in a horizontal strip of parallel verticals which is usually termed a *frieze composition*, but I prefer to speak of a *colonnade*; in contrast, the scenes of female nudes are arranged in a pattern that is usually called "triangular" or "pyramidal" and which I will refer to here as an *arch*. Tamar Garb maintains that each of these compositional modes symbolizes the masculine or the feminine: the male bathers' aligned bodies form a relatively impenetrable *phallic* barrier, whereas those of the female bathers are arranged around a central gap that allows the spectator in.[53]

In both the male *colonnade* compositions and the female *arch* compositions the elements which support the architecture of bodies are the trees. In the groups of male nudes, the trunks are arranged in a row parallel to the picture plane; in those of female nudes, the trees (especially two, one on each side of the picture) curve to suggest a large pointed arch. Gasquet describes the last and most monumental composition in the series, *The Large Bathers* in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, as follows: "Beneath tall trees with smooth, slender trunks, which are joined at the top in ogees that form the moving arch of a cathedral of vegetation overlooking a tender landscape of Île-de-France, on the banks of a slow-flowing river, women go to bathe."[54]

In many of the scenes of bathers, trees and nudes are intimately linked so that one figure is concealed behind a tree, for example, or embraces it, or leans on

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53. Tamar Garb, "Visuality and Sexuality in Cézanne's Late Bathers," in ***Oxford Art Journal***, vol. 19, no. 2 (1996), pp. 46–60, 55.

54. "Sous de hauts arbres, aux troncs lisses et fins, se rencontrant dans le ciel en ogives et formant comme un arceau mouvant de végétale cathédrale ouvert sur un tendre paysage d'Île-de-France, au bord d'une rivière lente, les femmes vont se baigner." Gasquet, *Cézanne*, p. 104.

it. In some cases the trees appear to act as external supports, as if the bodies were unable to hold themselves up. And in some instances the intimacy between human and plant is even greater and the tree appears to sprout from the body of the male or female bather like a monstrous appendage. Whatever the case, as Mary Louise Krumrine has pointed out, "Trees are never mere decorative elements in Cézanne's landscapes. For him they take on a vibrant, almost anthropomorphic role in his own theater of nature."[55] Beyond their compositional functions, trees are imbued with a symbolic value. Krumrine mentions several paintings of bathers in which the tree branches have a snake-like appearance; the association between serpent, nude, and tree recalls the scene of the Temptation and Fall in Genesis.[56]

There is, however, a type of relationship between trees and bodies that has so far been overlooked: relations *in absentia*, *substitutions* of trees for figures. To understand them it is first necessary to explain that Cézanne painted his scenes of bathers as variations on a small number of compositional schemes. The paintings form *genealogically* ordered series in which an initial composition gives rise to another, and the latter in turn to another; and a figure that appears in one painting may be replaced by another element in a subsequent composition.

Bathers at Rest [cat. 15], one of the first scenes of male bathers, appears to be an anthology of *academic studies* or independent poses with no narrative and

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55. Mary Louise Krumrine, *Paul Cézanne: The Bathers* (Basel: Kunstmuseum, 1989), p. 107.
56. Ibid., pp. 107–15.

hardly any compositional connections. The standing figure on the left, whose arm is raised in the posture of one of Michelangelo's slaves (whom Cézanne had often drawn), is taken from an earlier painting, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* [fig. 11], with the difference that in the latter it was a woman and here it is a man. The temptress showing herself provocatively to the hermit has become a male nude and the male saint has disappeared, leaving only the tree that stood behind him. As Krumrine notes, the branches of this tree are agitated and twisted in a very human attitude, as if reacting to the nude in front of it: "The tree has actually become more vital than the statue-like bathers present in the scene."[57] To illustrate this metamorphosis, Krumrine cites a passage from *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* by Flaubert (an author

57. Ibid., p. 120.

Paul Cézanne, *Bathers at Rest I,* 1875–78
[cat. 15]

whom Cézanne greatly admired) in which a tree gives rise to an erotic hallucination: "At the edge of the cliff the old palm tree with its tuft of yellow leaves becomes the torso of a woman leaning over the abyss, her long hair floating."[58]

Let us now examine a series of female bathers. In the watercolor *Three Bathers* (1874–75) in the National Museum of Wales [fig. 12], the violent gestures of the seated figure with her back to the viewer and the one standing in the center are enigmatic until we discover the head of an intruder peering out from amid the vegetation at the left edge. This peeping tom returns in the

58. "Au bord de la falaise, le vieux palmier, avec sa touffe de feuilles jaunes, devient le torse d'une femme penchée sur l'abîme, et dont les grands cheveux se balancent." Flaubert, *La Tentation de Saint Antoine*. English translation cited from Gustave Flaubert, *The Temptation of St Antony*, trans. Kitty Mrosovsky (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), p. 72.

Fig. 11. Paul Cézanne, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, *c.* 1870
Oil on canvas, 54 x 73 cm
Foundation E. G. Bührle Collection, Zurich

Fig. 12. Paul Cézanne, *Three Bathers,* 1874–75
Watercolor on paper, 114 x 127 mm
National Museum of Wales, Cardiff

Fig. 13. Paul Cézanne, *Three Bathers*, 1874–75
Oil on canvas, 19.5 x 22.5 cm
Musée d'Orsay, Paris, RF 1982 40

Orsay *Three Bathers* (1874–75) [fig. 13], where his face is reduced to a minimum, almost camouflaged among the trees. In the following stage—the *Three Bathers* in a private collection [fig. 14]—the face has disappeared but the tree that has taken its place stretches out a branch that is almost a hand to the woman on the left. In the *Three Bathers* (1879–82) in the Petit Palais [fig. 15], the trees have lost all trace of humanoid agitation and the attitudes of the female bathers are much more serene. We thus witness a gradual metamorphosis take place.

The third and last example is provided by the Detroit painting featuring five male nudes [cat. 17]—five figures linked together by their gestures and gazes. We are interested in the fourth figure. His posture—his head framed by his arms—is found across the whole spectrum of Cézanne's series of bathers, changing sex from time to time. It is a variant of the temptress figure seen

Fig. 14. Paul Cézanne, *Three Bathers*, 1875–77
Oil on canvas, 30.5 x 33 cm
Private collection

Fig. 15. Paul Cézanne, *Three Bathers*, 1879–82
Oil on canvas, 55 x 52 cm
Musée du Petit Palais, Paris

earlier in the Geneva painting. But whereas there it was set against a tree, here the figure itself has become a trunk: above his head is a bulky tree top that furthermore reproduces, augmented, the forms of the bather's arms. In a variant of this Detroit painting (*c.* 1879–82, private collection [cat. 16]) this figure is depicted without the treetop and, instead, with a trunk exactly behind him.

Vegetal Metamorphoses

It should be stressed that substitution relations between figures and trees are not symmetrical or reversible. I know of no cases where Cézanne has substituted a human figure for the tree in a subsequent variant. This asymmetry is the best proof that they are not simple formal substitutions where one element replaces another that performs a similar compositional role. The transformation process follows the pattern of mythological metamorphoses: it always involves humans turning into trees, never trees turning into humans. Given the classical culture of Cézanne, who was capable of reciting Latin passages from Virgil or Ovid from memory, it is unlikely that his substitutions of trees for figures are devoid of narrative implications. By this I do not mean that his bathers follow the plot of a particular metamorphosis, but mythological inspiration cannot have been alien to them. Trees play their role in scenes of both male and female bathers, but only act as substitutes for male elements, owing perhaps to a phallic symbolism. In this respect Cézanne strays from classical tradition. In the vegetal metamorphoses found in ancient mythology, young males do not usually turn into trees. Except for Cyparissus, most of them are transformed into flowers: Narcissus,

Hyacinth, and other less popular figures such as Mecon, Demeter's lover who became a poppy, and Krokus, lover of the nymph Smilax, who was turned into the saffron flower. It is above all nymphs and maidens who are transformed into trees, such as Daphne, Apollo's beloved laurel, or Phaethon's sisters the Heliads, who were turned into poplars.

The Fall of Phaethon (1541, Louvre) [fig. 16] is one of the five tapestries from a series on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* that were woven for Ercole II d'Este by the workshop of the Fleming Hans Karcher in Ferrara. The cartoons were executed by Battista Dossi, who drew inspiration from the frescoes painted together with his brother Dosso in the Sala delle Eliadi of the Villa Imperiale in Pesaro. The central motif is the Heliads, who are converted into four humanoid trees with intertwined branches. I am not going to suppose that

Fig. 16. After a cartoon by Battista Dossi,
The Fall of Phaethon, tapestry from the series of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, workshop of Hans Karcher, 1545
Wool and silk
Musée du Louvre, Paris

Fig. 17. Paul Cézanne, *Chestnut Trees at Jas de Bouffan*, 1885–86
Oil on canvas, 73 x 92 cm
Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis

Cézanne was familiar with this work (although he was living in Paris in 1875 when it was sold at the Hôtel Drouot in that city). I merely wish to stress the surprising similarity between the tapestry design and Cézanne's vision of some interwoven trees, which Meyer Schapiro compared to the ornamental lines found in Muslim art and the complex ribs of Gothic vaulting.[59]

The main subjects of this painting are the old chestnut trees of the Jas de Bouffan [fig. 17], which was the Cézanne family's home for nearly forty years—a large house with stone walls, fifteen or so hectares of vineyards and orchards and, around the house, a simple garden with a pool and a chestnut-lined avenue. The Jas de Bouffan provided Cézanne with a vantage point from which to paint the landscape: for example, on clear days, the Mont Sainte-Victoire. And it was also a microcosm of the landscapes Cézanne would later paint outside its grounds. As Denis Coutagne has pointed out: "In a sense, the Jas de Bouffan was like a miniature country, with its own internal geography: the basin was the water system, the avenue of chestnut trees a forest, the house a small castle, the farm and outbuildings a kind of village, the meadows a plain."[60]

The chestnut trees that line the avenue of the Jas de Bouffan and are reflected in its pool were one of Cézanne's favorite motifs [cats. 19, 21, 22 and 23],

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59. Meyer Schapiro, *Paul Cézanne* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1952), p. 72.

60. "Le Jas sera comme un pays en miniature, avec sa géographie interne: le bassin est comme un plan d'eau, l'allée de marronniers est une forêt ou une bordure d'arbres, la maison un petit château, les fermes et dépendances sont une sorte de village, le pré est une plaine." Denis Coutagne, "Le Jas de Bouffan," in *Cézanne en Provence*, ed. Philip Conisbee [exh. cat. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art; Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet] (Paris: Réunion de musées nationaux; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 99. English translation cited from the English version of the catalogue: *Cézanne in Provence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 78.

with their regular, classical trunks, like "verdant columns of the sky," as Gasquet described them.[61] After examining the paintings of bathers, one views the landscapes of the Jas de Bouffan differently: strangely uninhabited, like a stage set from which the actors are missing. The discovery of our account of metamorphosis may shed light on the relationship of the scenes of bathers to certain landscapes. What if the nudes were only a dream inspired by the row of chestnut trees by the pool? The unusual painting of the young Paul lying on the grass by a river, with a row of trees in the background is a halfway house between the realist landscape and the imaginary bathers [cat. 24].

After Cézanne's mother died, the Jas de Bouffan was sold in order to divide the proceeds among the heirs. Trees would accompany the painter expelled from his paradise. They replaced humans as he became progressively more unsociable, more wary of his fellow men. "He had no real friends," wrote Joachim Gasquet, "except trees. That quivering undergrowth, those bridges over ponds, that deep foliage where all shades of green gorge on the forest sap, those languid verdures in which all the breaths of the water are reflected."[62] Cézanne's last studio, built on the hill of Les Lauves, to the north of the city, in what was still a rural area, was surrounded by trees: olive, fig, and pine trees. It would be the setting for a late idyll:

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61. "[…] les colonnes verdoyants du ciel." Gasquet, *Cézanne*, p. 276. English translation cited from Doran, *Conversations with Cézanne*, p. 125. The expression recalls a line from Baudelaire: "La Nature est un temple, où des vivants pilliers […]."

62. "Il n'avait de vrais amis que les arbres. Ces sous-bois frissonnants, ces ponts sur des mares, ces feuillages profonds où toutes les gammes des verts se gorgent des sèves de la forêt, ces verdures traînantes où se reflètent toutes les respirations de l'eau […]." Ibid., p. 140.

> He loved trees. Toward the end, with his need for tender solitude, he befriended an olive tree. When he had had a good session in his studio in Les Lauves, at nightfall he went down to the gate and watched his days, his town, fall into slumber. The olive tree awaited him. The first time he had gone there, before buying the land, he had noticed it immediately. He had given orders for it to be surrounded by a wall while the building work was in progress, to protect it from knocks. And now, it was as if the old crepuscular tree had a gaze of sap and perfume. He touched it. He talked to it. And at night, on saying goodbye to it, he sometimes embraced it. […] The solitary Cézanne listened to the olive tree… The tree's wisdom entered his heart. "It is a living being," he said to me one day, "I love it as if it were an old companion… It knows everything about my life and gives me excellent advice… I would like to be buried at its feet..."[63]

This sentimental anecdote, perhaps an invention of Gasquet's, represents the last of Cézanne's vegetal metamorphoses.

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63. "Il aimait les arbres. Vers la fin, dans son besoin de solitude tendre, un olivier devint son ami. Lorsque dans son atelier des Lauves, il avait fait une bonne séance, à la nuit tombante, il descendait devant sa porte, il regardait ses jours, sa ville s'endormir. L'olivier l'attendait. La première fois qu'il était venu là, avant d'acheter le terrain, tout de suite il l'avait remarqué. Il l'avait fait entourer d'un petit mur, tandis qu'on bâtissait, pour le protéger de toutes meurtrissures. Et maintenant, le vieil arbre crépusculaire avait comme un regard de sève et de parfum. Il le touchait. Il lui parlait. Le soir, en le quittant, parfois, il l'embrassait. […] Cézanne, solitaire, écoutait l'olivier… La sagesse de l'arbre lui entrait dans le cœur." Ibid., pp. 223–24.

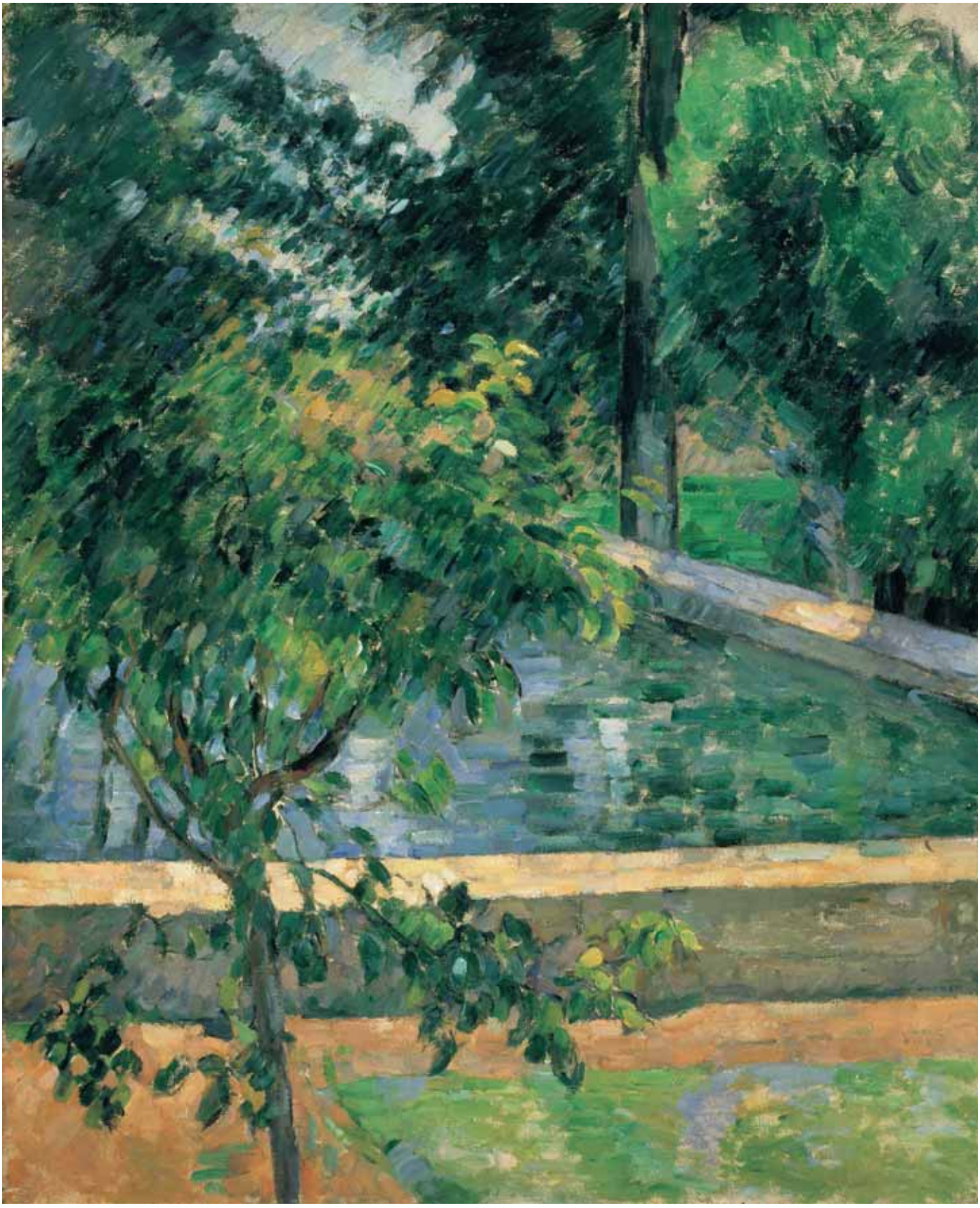
Cat. 15
Paul Cézanne, *Bathers at Rest,* 1875–78
Oil on canvas, 35 x 46 cm
Collection des Musées d'art et d'histoire de la Ville de Genève
R 259

Cat. 16
Paul Cézanne, *Bathers*, *c.* 1879–82
Oil on canvas, 43 x 53 cm
Private collection
R 747

Cat. 17
Paul Cézanne, *Bathers*, *c.* 1880
Oil on canvas, 34.6 x 38.1 cm
Detroit Institute of Arts. Bequest of Robert H. Tannahill
R 448

Cat. 18
Émile Bernard, *Women Bathing*, 1889
Oil on canvas, 47 x 57.2 cm
Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection,
on loan at the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid

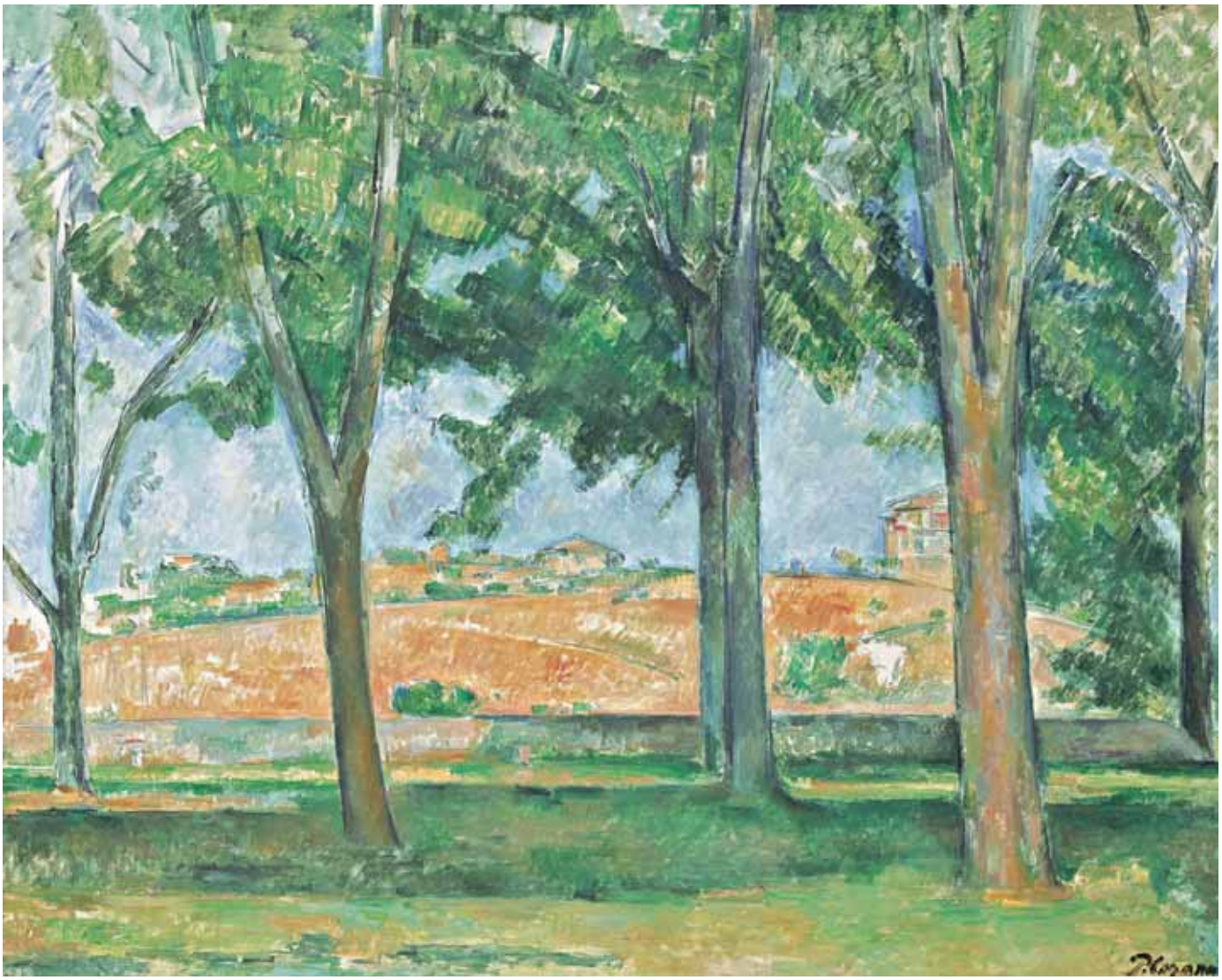
Cat. 19
Paul Cézanne, *The Pool at the Jas de Bouffan, c.* 1878–79
Oil on canvas, 73.7 x 60.2 cm
Collection Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York. Fellows for Life Fund, 1927
R 380



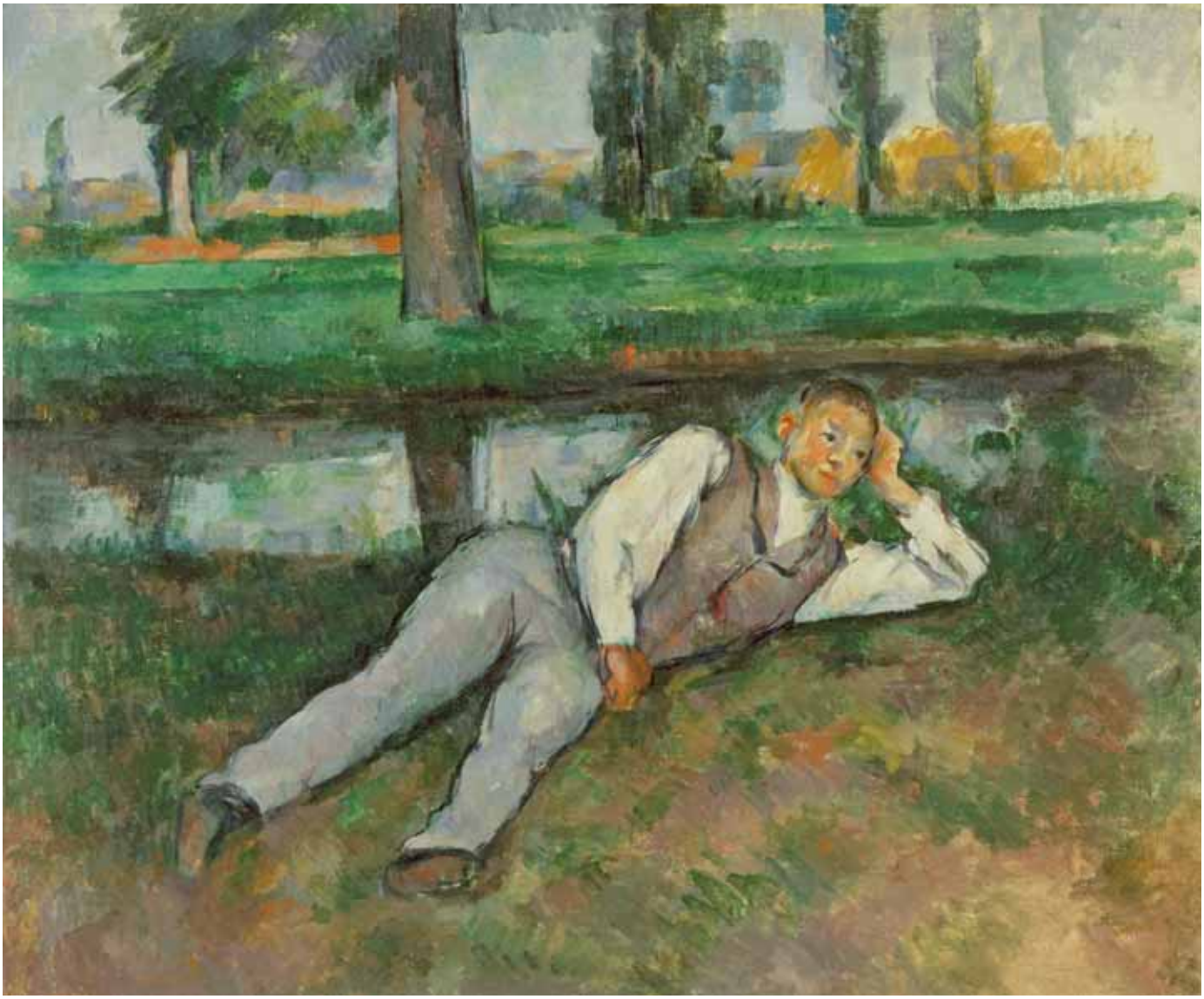
Cat. 20
Paul Cézanne, *The Chateau de Médan*, 1879–81
Watercolor, pencil and gouache on paper, 313 x 472 mm
Kunsthaus Zürich
R 89

Cat. 21
Paul Cézanne, *The Bare Trees at Jas de Bouffan*, 1885–86
Oil on canvas, 60.3 x 73 cm
The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo
R 552

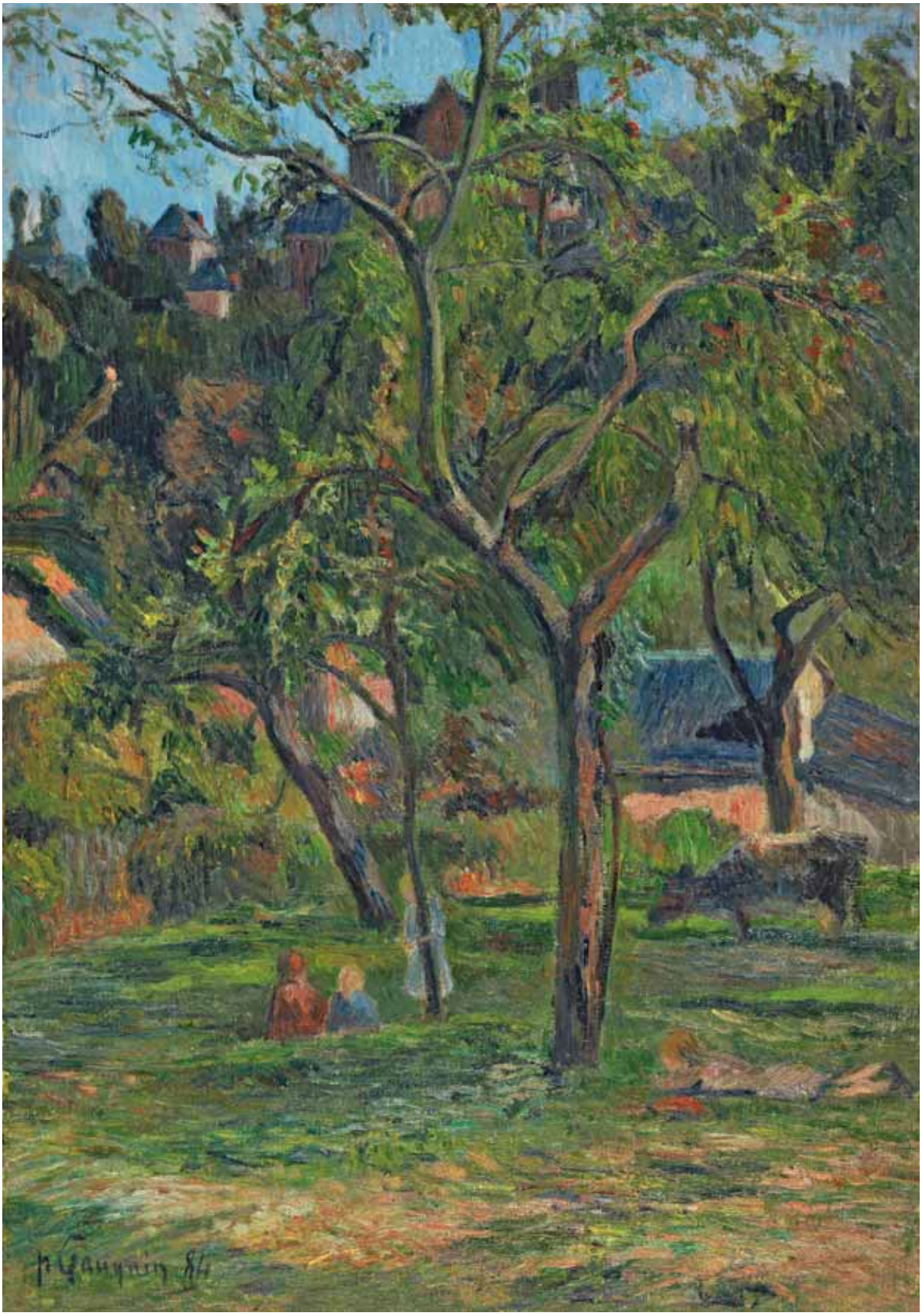
Cat. 22
Paul Cézanne, *Meadow and Farm of Jas de Bouffan*, *c.* 1885–87
Oil on canvas, 66 x 81.5 cm
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Purchased 1954
R 523

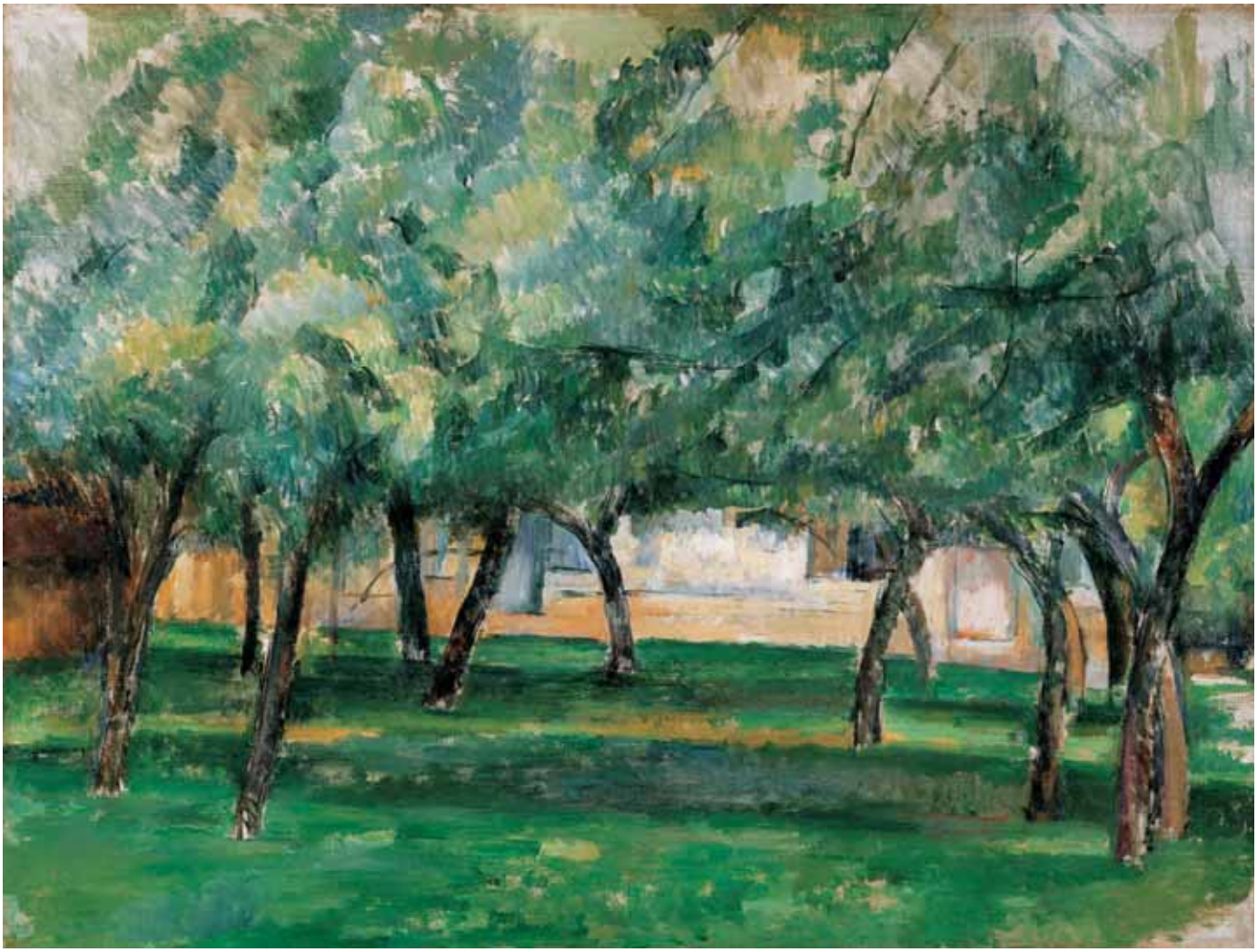


Cat. 23
Paul Cézanne, *The Chestnut Trees of Jas de Bouffan*, *c.* 1885
Oil on canvas, 65 x 81 cm
Volkart Foundation, Switzerland
R 521



Cat. 24
Paul Cézanne, *Boy Resting*, *c.* 1887
Oil on canvas, 54 x 65.5 cm
The Arman Hammer Collection. Gift of the Armand Hammer Foundation.
Hammer Museum, Los Angeles
R 682





Cat. 25
Paul Gauguin, *An Orchard under the Church of Bihorel*, 1884
Oil on canvas, 65.5 x 46 cm
Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection,
on loan at the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid

Cat. 26
Paul Cézanne, *Farm in Normandy*, *c.* 1885–86
Oil on canvas, 50 x 65.5 cm
Albertina, Vienna. Sammlung Batliner
R. 507

Cat. 27
Paul Cézanne, *L'Estaque: Pines and Sea*, 1883–85
Oil on canvas, 100 x 81 cm
Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe
R 530

Cat. 28
Paul Cézanne, *Forest Interior, c.* 1898–99
Oil on canvas, 61 x 81.3 cm
The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. Museum purchase, Mildred Anna Williams Collection
R 905

5. The Phantom of Sainte-Victoire

> "The bluish phantom of Sainte-Victoire floated at the edge of his thought and accompanied him on the horizon of all the landscapes."
>
> Gasquet, *Cézanne*[64]

Whereas, according to the impressionist conception, landscape is an outdoor practice, still life belongs to the studio. And not only because it is executed indoors, but because it embodies the world of the studio, the artist's laboratory. Still life always involves some reference to the purposes and limits of painting. It is a meta-pictorial genre in which the picture speaks above all about itself.

In still life, the subject is artistically shaped even before the painter begins to paint. Despite all the simulations of naturalist painting, the arrangement of the

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64. "Le fantôme bleuté de la Sainte-Victoire flottait au bord de sa pensée et marchait avec lui à l'horizon de tous les paysages." Gasquet, *Cézanne*, p. 77.

Paul Cézanne
Mont Sainte-Victoire, *c.* 1904 (detail)
[cat. 35]

objects in still life is not dictated by the economy of the kitchen or of the dining room, but by studio logic. Just as a portrait makes humans pose, so does still life make objects pose. We know with what painstaking care Cézanne composed his still lifes: folding and creasing the drapes, laying out the fruits in accordance with their shapes, sizes, and colors, and tilting objects if necessary using small coins. Perhaps he even dreamed of being able to arrange the elements of an outdoor landscape in the same way.

At one point during his meetings with Gasquet, Cézanne opens Balzac's novel *The Magic Skin* and reads a passage that describes "a tablecloth […] as white as a layer of freshly fallen snow." And Cézanne adds: "Throughout my youth, I wished to paint that, that tablecloth of freshly fallen snow."[65] The use of tablecloths in still life originates from seventeenth-century Dutch painting. From the fine white cloths of the still-life scenes of Willem Claesz. Heda and Pieter Claesz to the hanging folds of Jan Davidsz. de Heem and the Turkish rugs of Willem Kalf, crumpled tablecloths suggest the spontaneity of a scene caught by surprise, but at the same time frame the objects in an artful and theatrical setting. As his confession to Gasquet indicates, Cézanne found new metaphorical and figurative uses for tablecloths.

Recounting Cézanne's years in Paris, Gasquet describes the painter's nostalgia as follows: "The bluish phantom of Sainte-Victoire floated at the edge of his thought and accompanied him on the horizon of all the landscapes."[66] But

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65. "[…] une nappe [...] blanche comme une couche de neige fraîchement tombée" and "Toute ma jeunesse, j'ai voulu peindre ça, cette nappe de neige fraîche." Ibid., p. 367.

66. See note 64 above.

the phantom of Sainte-Victoire not only hovers over his landscapes. The painter André Masson stated of Cézanne's still-life scenes: "Look at these still lifes, they follow the advice of Sainte-Victoire: they are geological."[67]

This comment should be taken to be more literal that it seems at first sight. The arched or *billowing* tablecloth or napkin appears in the middle ground in the shape of a mountain from the end of the 1870s onwards in a series of compositions that combine fruits and a dish or sugar bowl. In *The Buffet* [cat. 29], the large piece of dark furniture causes the white cloth to stand out more, recalling a small mountainous landscape with fruit in its valleys. The cloth has an even higher peak in *Milk Can and Apples* (1879–80, MoMA)

67. "Voyez ces natures mortes, elles prennent conseil de la Sainte-Victoire: elles sont géologiques." "Cézanne est le premier peintre..." [1959], in André Masson, *Le Rebelle du surréalisme: écrits*, ed. Françoise Levaillant (Paris: Hermann, 1994), p. 140.

Fig. 18. Paul Cézanne, *Milk Can and Apples,* 1879–80
Oil on canvas, 50.2 x 61 cm
Museum of Modern Art, New York, The William S. Paley Collection

Fig. 19. Paul Cézanne, *Mont Sainte-Victoire* [*Seen from Les Infernets*], *c.* 1895
Oil on canvas, 81 x 100.5 cm
State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

[fig. 18], recalling the humpback outline of the mountain in *Mont Sainte-Victoire* [*Seen from Les Infernets*] (*c.* 1895, Hermitage) [fig. 19]. In the magnificent *Still Life with Flowers and Fruits* [cat. 36], the tension between the large bunch of flowers that towers over the rest of the painting and the movement of the tablecloth which juts (almost shoots) out diagonally to the left, has an exact parallel in the dialogue between the pine tree and the mountain in the Cleveland *Mount Sainte-Victoire* [cat. 35].

We witness a scenographic evolution in Cézanne's series of still lifes. From those of the 1870s, in which a cloth simply creates an isolated peak on the table, the drapes progressively grow; the tablecloths gradually cover the surface of the table, its edges and legs, until they completely conceal it. And the

Fig. 20. Paul Cézanne, *Still Life with Teapot*, 1902–6
Oil on canvas, 61.4 x 74.3 cm
National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, NMW A 2440

walls—especially at the far end—also vanish under wallpaper decorated with leaves or a heavy patterned curtain. To the point that the Cartesian coordinates of the indoor space of the studio, a symbol of the artist's rational control, are buried under the exuberant relief of a landscape.

A Temple in the Landscape

The first person to recognize Mont Sainte-Victoire in a kitchen scene was David Sylvester, in a delightful ekphrasis of *Still Life with Teapot* (1902–6, National Museum of Wales) [fig. 20] in which he describes the dish with four apples (or oranges) as "a sort of temple," a temple made up not of columns, but of spheres.

Fig. 21. Paul Cézanne, *Mont Cengle*, *c.* 1904–6
Oil on canvas, 73 x 92 cm
Foundation E. G. Bührle Collection, Zurich

> But they stand there now like a temple. Only, temples are not found on kitchen tables, but in landscapes. Yet isn't the scene presented by this painting more like a landscape than a kitchen table? It has the immensity of a landscape, and its feeling of permanence. We move in imagination among the objects in the foreground as if among great boulders at the foot of a mountain, a mountain formed by the drapery beyond. Cézanne's painting of drapery always tends to be metaphorical of mountains and cliffs; and here the drapery is not only mountainous in feeling but has a shape exactly echoing that of Mont Sainte-Victoire, which rears up in the background of so many of Cézanne's paintings of landscape. Consciously or unconsciously, Cézanne habitually gives the patterned drapery on the table in his later still lifes the form of Mont Sainte-Victoire.[68]

All the elements of *Still Life with Teapot* indeed hint at a metamorphosis into landscape: the background wall is painted to suggest a sky with clouds; the table cloth or curtain with its camouflage-like pattern of green and brown patches simulates the colors and textures of the terrain and rises in the curve of a mountain. But if there is a specific landscape equivalent to be found, rather than Sainte-Victoire I would propose taking a look at the adjacent hill, *Mont Cengle* (*c.* 1904–6, Foundation E. G. Bührle) [fig. 21].

"When Cézanne painted ostensible landscapes," Sylvester concludes, "it was always out of doors, from the motif. He never painted them, as painters always

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68. David Sylvester, "Still Life: Cézanne, Braque, Bonnard" [1961–62], in David Sylvester, *About Modern Art: Critical Essays 1948–2000* (London: Pimlico, 2002), pp. 94–95.

had before the nineteenth century, in the studio, out of his head or from sketches. But in these still lifes, painted in the studio, from nature, he is also painting his memories of landscape. He is projecting on to his intimate little indoors motif something of the vastness of the world outside. [...] The still life on the table in the studio becomes a metaphor of the immensity of the world."[69]

It is very likely that these traces are, as Sylvester states, almost always reminiscences of *real* landscapes. Or even echoes of previously painted landscapes. But in some cases the spectral appearance of Mont Sainte-Victoire in Cézanne's still lifes precedes the corresponding landscape views. We might therefore consider a further possibility: that his still lifes could sometimes have been *designs* for painted landscapes. It is known that, to devise his large compositions, Poussin used as an ancillary method small wax figures, which he dressed and arranged in suitable poses and placed in miniature settings that he then illuminated. This device, called the *grande machine*, was known and reported by several writers of the period, such as Le Blonde de la Tour, Bellori, and Sandrart. Cézanne must have read about Poussin's *grande machine*, and perhaps he sometimes regarded his still lifes as *maquettes*, scale *models* of future landscape paintings.

Concerning a Stoneware Jug

So far we have examined a number of *mimetic* analogies between still life and landscape: the similarities between a wall and a sky with clouds, between a

69. Ibid., p. 95.

flower vase and a pine tree, and in particular between a crumpled tablecloth and a mountain. But the landscape connotations are not limited to these similarities.

In Cézanne's still lifes, along with apples and anonymous utensils we find objects with an individual character as singular as that of the yellow building of the Château Noir in his landscapes, for example. Such objects reappear from one painting to another: the jug of olives, the bottle of rum, the decorated sugar bowl, the wicker-covered ginger jar, and the blue patterned curtain [cat. 36]. As Carol Armstrong has pointed out, these rustic objects recall a world of ceramics and textiles with an unmistakably Provencal flavor: "In their very humbleness, they are very significant indeed; they signify a locality, a life lived in a particular place."[70] They embody the landscape, because they embody the *genius loci*.

Among these objects there is one that is simpler than the rest—so much so that it would go unnoticed were it not for the fact that Cézanne bases a whole series of still lifes on it between 1890 and 1894. I am referring to the stoneware jug (in French *pichet de grès* or *cruchon*) accompanied by a plate, and apples and pears on the table. Some of the paintings in the series also feature the famous blue curtain with its abstract floral pattern, which is broken up and reconstructed into new shapes by the deep folds.

Cézanne imbues this series with spatial tensions as extreme as those we would expect to find in a series of landscapes. In the very narrow field of vision of

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70. Carol Armstrong, *Cézanne in the Studio: Still Life in Watercolors* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004), p. 17.

Jug and Plate of Pears [cat. 39], the pears depicted in close-up grow and grow to the extent that they approach the size of the jug, whereas in the version in the Fondation Beyeler [cat. 40], the fruit returns to a reasonable scale, but the space widens to include the background wall and a floor in a rampant plane. In the unfinished painting in the Tate and its companion piece in a private collection [cats. 41 and 42], the jug clearly towers above the fruit, creating a sort of family group. What is curious is that the size of the jug seems identical in the various paintings; it is the objects around it that differ, and the space that expands or shrinks.

In the dozens of paintings Cézanne made of Mont Sainte-Victoire we recognize the same, familiar object time and time again, depicted from different viewpoints and variable distances. Unlike Cézanne's tablecloths, the stoneware jug does not recall the silhouette of Sainte-Victoire; but how it is placed there makes it a modest equivalent to the mountain. The jug always stands to one side, but never ceases to be the centerpiece. This plain, styleless object, this grey and anonymous object possesses only one quality: its round belly—a veritable *mother-shape* for the things around it.

I can find no better way of glossing the presence of the stoneware jug than Wallace Stevens' famous poem "Anecdote of the Jar," in which still life and landscape are blended in an unusual yet harmonious way:

> I placed a jar in Tennessee,
> And round it was, upon a hill.
> It made the slovenly wilderness
> Surround that hill.

The wilderness rose up to it,
And sprawled around, no longer wild.
The jar was round upon the ground,
And tall and of a port in air.

It took dominion everywhere.
The jar was gray and bare.
It did not give of bird or bush,
Like nothing else in Tennessee.[71]

71. Wallace Stevens, *De la simple existencia. Antología poética* [bilingual edition by Andrés Sánchez Robayna] (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg/Círculo de Lectores, 2003), pp. 78–79.

Cat. 29
Paul Cézanne, *The Buffet*, 1877–79
Oil on canvas, 65.5 x 81 cm
Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, Budapest
R. 338

Cat. 30
Paul Cézanne, *Mont Sainte-Victoire Seen from Gardanne*, *c.* 1892–95
Oil on canvas, 73 x 92 cm
Yokohama Museum of Art
R 768

Cat. 31
Paul Cézanne, *Still Life with Pears*, *c.* 1895–1900
Oil on canvas, 38 x 46 cm
Wallraf-Richartz Museum & Fondation Corboud, Cologne
R 556

Cat. 32
Paul Cézanne, *Still Life with Cherries and Peaches*, 1885–87
Oil on canvas, 50.2 x 61 cm
Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Gift of Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc.,
and Mr. and Mrs. Armand S. Deutsch
R 561

Cat. 33
Paul Cézanne, *Flowers in a Green Vase*, 1880–82
Oil on canvas, 68 x 57 cm
Fondation Socindec. Courtesy Fondation Pierre Gianadda, Martigny (Switzerland)
R 477

Cat. 34
Paul Cézanne, *Bottles and Peaches*, *c.* 1890
Oil on canvas, 49 x 51 cm
Collection Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.
Purchased with financial support of the VVHK
R 679

Cat. 35
Paul Cézanne, *Mount Sainte-Victoire*, *c.* 1904
Oil on canvas. 72.2 x 92.4 cm
Cleveland Museum of Art.
Bequest of Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., 1958.21
R 900

Cat. 36
Paul Cézanne, *Still Life with Flowers and Fruits*, *c.* 1890
Oil on canvas, 66 x 81.5 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie
R 676

Cat. 37
Paul Cézanne, *Montagne Sainte-Victoire*, 1905–6
Watercolor on paper, 362 x 549 mm
Tate. Bequeathed by Sir Hugh Walpole 1941
R 587

Cat. 38
Paul Cézanne, *Montagne Sainte-Victoire*, 1890–95
Oil on canvas, 55 x 65.4 cm
Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh. Presented by Sir Alexander Maitland
in memory of his wife Rosalind 1960
R 901

Cat. 39
Paul Cézanne, *Jug and Plate of Pears*, 1890–93
Oil on canvas, 38.1 x 45.7 cm
Private collection
R 737

Cat. 40
Paul Cézanne, *Stoneware Pitcher*, 1893–94
Oil on canvas, 38.2 x 46 cm
Fondation Beyeler, Riehen/Basel, Beyeler Collection
R 743

Cat. 41
Paul Cézanne, *Still Life with Water Jug*, *c.* 1892–93
Oil on canvas, 53 x 71.1 cm
Tate. Bequeathed by C. Frank Stoop 1933
R 738

Cat. 42
Paul Cézanne, *Jug and Fruits on a Table*, 1893–94
Oil on paper laid down on panel, 41.5 x 72.3 cm
Private collection
R 742

Cat. 43
Paul Cézanne, *Seven Apples and a Tube of Paint*, 1878–79
Oil on canvas, 17.2 x 24 cm
Musée cantonal des Beaux-Arts, Lausanne.
Henri-Auguste Widmer Bequest, 1936
R 332

Cat. 44
Paul Cézanne, *Apples, Orange and Lemon*, *c.* 1885
Oil on canvas, 23 x 33 cm
Kunstmuseum Bern. Georges F. Keller Bequest
R. 564

Cat. 45
Paul Cézanne, *Still Life with Blue Bottle, Sugar Bowl and Apples,* 1900–2
Pencil and watercolor on paper, 480 x 630 mm
Belvedere, Vienna
R 552

Cat. 46
Paul Cézanne, *Bottle, Carafe, Jug and Lemons*, 1902–6
Watercolor on paper, 445 x 600 mm
Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid
R 614

6. Construction Game

We have seen how Cézanne incorporated landscape elements, both positive (the silhouette of Mont Sainte-Victoire in a crumpled tablecloth) and negative (concealing the table and the cubic interior space) into his still lifes. Conversely, in his landscape paintings we find him trying to impose an order, a typical control of the subjects painted in the studio, taking the *mise-en-scène* of still life to outdoor space.

Foremost among the features *imported* from still life is a peculiar configuration of space, which emulates the surface of a table—the same table that disappeared from the still lifes and now emerges in the structure of the land. The most passionate and the most eccentric collector of Cézanne, Dr. Albert C. Barnes, was also an early scholar of his oeuvre, which he subjected to laborious formal analyses. Barnes maintained that Cézanne applied to his landscapes a compositional scheme taken from the still lifes: the *table-top* scheme: "In his still-lifes […] there is usually a vertical plane, the foreground of the picture; then a roughly horizontal plane, in which the details of subject-matter—plates, fruits and the like—are placed; then a vertical background-plane which brings the recession of deep space to an end and thus shuts in the composition as a

Paul Cézanne
Gardanne, 1885–86 (detail)
[cat. 59]

whole. Both in a literal and in a figurative sense this may be termed a 'table-top' composition; and the same general arrangement, in which a central plane containing most of the detail of the picture is sandwiched between upper distance and lower foreground-planes, is also extensively used in his landscapes."[72]

The Prehensile Eye

At the start of his conversations with Cézanne, reconstructed in the style of Socrates' dialogues, Joachim Gasquet presents us with a Cézanne explaining a central issue with the gestures of a southerner:

> — Cézanne: The sun shines and fills my heart with hope and joy.
> — Me: You are happy this morning?
> — Cézanne: I have my motif… [*He clasps his hands together.*] A motif, you see, it is this…
> — Me: What?
> — Cézanne: Oh yes!… [*He repeats his gesture, separates his hands, spreading his fingers apart, and brings them slowly, very slowly, together again, then joins them, clenches them, intertwining his fingers.*] That's what you have to attain… If I go too high or too low, all is lost. There must not be even one loose stitch, a gap where emotion, light, and truth can escape.[73]

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72. Albert and De Mazia, *The Art of Cézanne*, pp. 46–47.

73. "Cézanne: Le soleil brille et l'espoir rit au cœur. / Moi: Vous êtes content, ce matin? / Cézanne: Je tiens mon motif… (*Il joint les mains.*) Un motif, voyez-vous, c'est ça… / Moi: Comment? / Cézanne: Eh! Oui… (*Il refait son geste, écarte ses mains, les dix doigts ouverts, les rapproche lentement, lentement, puis les joint, les serre, les crispe, les fait pénétrer l'une dans l'autre.*) Voilà ce qu'il faut atteindre… Si je passe trop haut ou trop bas, tout est flambé. Il ne faut pas qu'il y ait une seule maille trop lâche, un trou par où l'émotion, la lumière, la vérité s'échappe." Gasquet, *Cézanne*, p. 235. English translation cited from Doran, *Conversations with Cézanne*, p. 110.

To express the capturing of the motif, the painter uses his hands; he employs a tactile metaphor to refer to the world of painting. One of Cézanne's fetish words was "contact," which he wrote systematically as *conctat*, as if wishing to denote a sensitive point with this spelling error.[74] But it is not simply a hand that lightly brushes or strokes, but a hand that clasps. It was Lawrence Gowing who used the expression "prehensile eye" to refer to this particular trait of Cézanne's gaze.[75]

Once again the words cited earlier by Braque on the difference between landscape and still life are relevant: "In the still life you have a tactile, I might almost say a manual space, which can be contrasted with landscape space, visual space. Still life involves the sense of touch in the conception of the painting. And when a still life is no longer within reach, it ceases to be a still life. In tactile space you measure the distance separating you from the object, whereas in visual space you measure the distance separating things from each other."[76] What would a landscape painted by means of tactile vision be like? Tactile vision prefers the flat to the deep, the close to the distant, the object to its surrounding atmosphere. The tactile ideal is that of an individual object with well-defined limits and geometrical shapes. The most direct means of achieving this effect in a landscape is by resorting to architecture.

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74. Paul Cézanne, *Cinquante-trois lettres*, ed. Jean-Claude Lebensztejn (Paris: L'Échoppe, 2011), p. 63, no. 2.

75. Lawrence Gowing, "The Logic of Organized Sensations," in Rubin, *Cézanne: The Late Work,* p. 56.

76. "Avec la nature morte, il s'agit d'un espace tactile et même manuel, que l'on peut opposer à l'espace du paysage, espace visuel. La nature morte fait participer le sens tactile dans la conception du tableau. Elle cesse d'être nature morte dès qu'elle n'est plus à la portée de la main. Dans l'espace tactile, vous mesurez la distance qui vous sépare de l'objet, tandis que dans l'espace visuel, vous mesurez la distance qui sépare les choses entre elles." Braque, "Propos de Georges Braque," pp. 71–86. Partly translated into English in *Relating Architecture to Landscape*, ed. Jan Birksted (London: Taylor & Francis, 2004), p. 106.

That is why a good many of the landscapes from Cézanne's mature period are constructed landscapes.

House in Provence [cat. 54] is perhaps the landscape in which Cézanne's "prehensile eye" is most recognizable. The vertical cliff that provides a background is but the sweeping ridge that descends along the south side of Sainte-Victoire; the mountain is treated in the manner of a bas-relief. And in front of this relatively close background is a single house. With no sign of life or movement around it—neither people nor objects denoting a human presence. Or in its interior: there are neither curtains in the windows nor smoke in the chimney. The house appears to be sealed. Isolation and closure merely reinforce the impeccable definition of the house as a magnificent polyhedron. When we view this house in the middle of the plain, Giorgio de

Fig. 22. Paul Cézanne, *The Sea at L'Estaque behind Trees*, 1878–79
Oil on canvas, 73 x 92 cm
Musée Picasso, Paris

Fig. 23. Paul Cézanne, *Still Life with Apples and a Pot of Primroses*, *c.* 1890
Oil on canvas, 73 x 92.4 cm
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Bequest of Sam A. Lewisohn, 1951, 51.112.1

Chirico's words come to mind: "The Greek temple is at arm's reach; it seems that we can grasp it and take it away like a toy placed on a table."[77]

The Stepped Landscape

But the construction game is rarely displayed in this way, as an isolated happening in the landscape. Houses are generally depicted in groups in Cézanne's landscapes, like something that extends, propagating itself, over the terrain. From his landscapes painted in Auvers-sur-Oise [cats. 48 and 49] to his views of L'Estaque, Cézanne commonly adopts a high viewpoint in his village scenes: his rows of red tiled roofs resemble a sort of reduced-scale model or *maquette*. Commenting on one of the landscapes of L'Estaque, Joseph Rishel notes that the constructions, the houses on the coast, are "almost toylike in their schematic geometry."[78] In *The Sea at L'Estaque behind Trees* (1878–79, Musée Picasso) [fig. 22] the overall effect is of a stage framed by trees with a strip of proscenium and backdrop. What Picasso said to William Rubin about this backdrop, prodding the canvas with his knuckles—"Look at the sea; it is as solid as a rock"—is not irrelevant.[79] And what about the houses? They are scattered on the hillside rather like the apples on a still-life canvas, as in *Still Life with Apples and a Pot of Primroses* (*c.* 1890, Metropolitan Museum) [fig. 23]. The ruggedness of the hillsides of

77. "Il tempio greco è a portata di mano, sembra che lo si possa pigliare e portar via come un giocattolo posato sopra un tavolo." Giorgio de Chirico, "Classicismo pictórico," in De Chirico, *Il meccanismo del pensiero: critica, polemica, autobiografia 1911–1943*, ed. Maurizio Fagiolo (Turin: Einaudi, 1985), p. 227.

78. Françoise Cachin, Joseph Rishel, *et al.*, *Cézanne* [exh. cat.] (New York: Abrams, 1996).

79. "Regardez la mer, c'est solide comme la pierre." Interview with William Rubin in "Visits with Picasso at Mougins," *Art News*, no. 72 (summer 1973), p. 44.

L'Estaque made them ideally suited to table-top compositions. As Barnes states, the sequence of alternate horizontal and vertical planes of the table-top scheme, extending over the painting, gives the whole of the landscape the structure of a large flight of steps that directs our gaze upwards and to the background.[80] On the slope of L'Estaque, Cézanne uses the same procedure as farmers in mountainous areas who grow their crops on terraces. The tendency towards a stepped landscape, begun in the landscapes of L'Estaque in the 1870s [cats. 50 and 51], culminates ten years later in another landmark of Cézanne's geography: Gardanne. Built on a hill near Aix, this village, like L'Estaque, was a refuge for the painter's *secret* family, Hortense and Paul, between the summer of 1885 and the spring of 1886.

Gasquet describes "the rugged bell tower, the russet cluster of houses, the burnt roofs, an ever-refreshing mass of lush foliage, a well of green light out there somewhere in the heat, and atop the dry hill the two mills, the two abandoned towers."[81] Cézanne produced three oil paintings of Gardanne which provide us with a 180-degree panoramic view of the village. *Gardanne* [*Horizontal View*] owned by the Barnes Foundation (*c.* 1885) is the most finished. In the other two, which are vertical, the hill seems taller and steeper than it actually is. The version in the Metropolitan Museum [cat. 59] situates the spectator in the middle of the village; from the foreground, the constructions lead us to the church, the only element that rises above the

80. "The upward and backward rhythm of the main planes may recur again and again on a smaller scale, giving to the whole of the landscape the effect, for example, of a flight of steps." Barnes and De Mazia, *The Art of Cézanne*, p. 47.

81. "[…] le clocher rugueux, le troupeau roussi des maisons, les toits brûlés, une masse de grands feuillages mettant toujours une fraîcheur, un puits de lumière verte quelque part dans la chaleur, et sur la colline sèche les deux moulins, les deux tours abandonnées." Gasquet, *Cézanne*, pp. 148-49.

horizon, against a sky painted with vehement brushstrokes. In the Brooklyn version [cat. 60], painted from the opposite viewpoint and from further away, a dialogue is established between houses and vegetation (although the latter also takes on a *constructed* appearance). The stepped surfaces transform the landscape into a sort of architectural monument like Babylonian ziggurats or the pyramids of pre-Columbian Latin America.

Few paintings convey so intensely the feeling of a place with unique qualities. Paradoxically, the views of Gardanne would give rise to a whole host of paintings of places related to some extent, such as Picasso's Horta de Ebro and Braque's *château* at La Roche-Guyon [cat. 66] or, in a more explicit pastiche, the views of Cagnes, Saint-Paul-de-Vence [cat. 64], and Cadaqués painted by Derain in 1910. Cézanne's Gardanne provided the Cubists with a whole repertoire of formal elements: radically geometrized and faceted form, overall crystallization, interpenetration of planes, and greater density in the center of the canvas and lower density on the outer edges—elements which the Cubists would finally use to break down the feeling of landscape, transforming it into a *method*.

Cat. 47
Paul Cézanne, *Cabin*, 1865–70
Pencil, watercolor and gouache on paper, 216 x 343 mm
Private collection, USA
R 13

Cat. 48
Paul Cézanne, *Landscape near Melun*, *c.* 1879
Oil on canvas, 60 x 73 cm
The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo
R 405

Cat. 49
Paul Cézanne, *Landscape on the Banks of the Oise*, 1873–74
Oil on canvas, 74 x 93 cm
Collection du Palais Princier, Monaco
R 224

Cat. 50
Paul Cézanne, *The Viaduct at L'Estaque*, 1879–82
Oil on canvas, 55 x 65.5 cm
Ateneum Art Museum, Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki. Collection Antell
R 439

Cat. 51
Paul Cézanne, *View of Mont Marseilleveyre and the Isle of Maire (L'Estaque),* 1878–82
Oil on canvas, 54 x 65 cm
Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester. Anonymous gift in tribute
to Edward Harris and in memory of H. R. Stirlin of Switzerland
R 394

Cat. 52
Paul Cézanne, *The Roofs of Paris*, 1881–82
Oil on canvas, 59.7 x 73 cm
Private collection
R 503

Cat. 53
Paul Cézanne, *L'Hermitage at Pontoise,* 1881
Oil on canvas, 46.5 x 56 cm
Von der Heydt-Museum Wuppertal
R 484

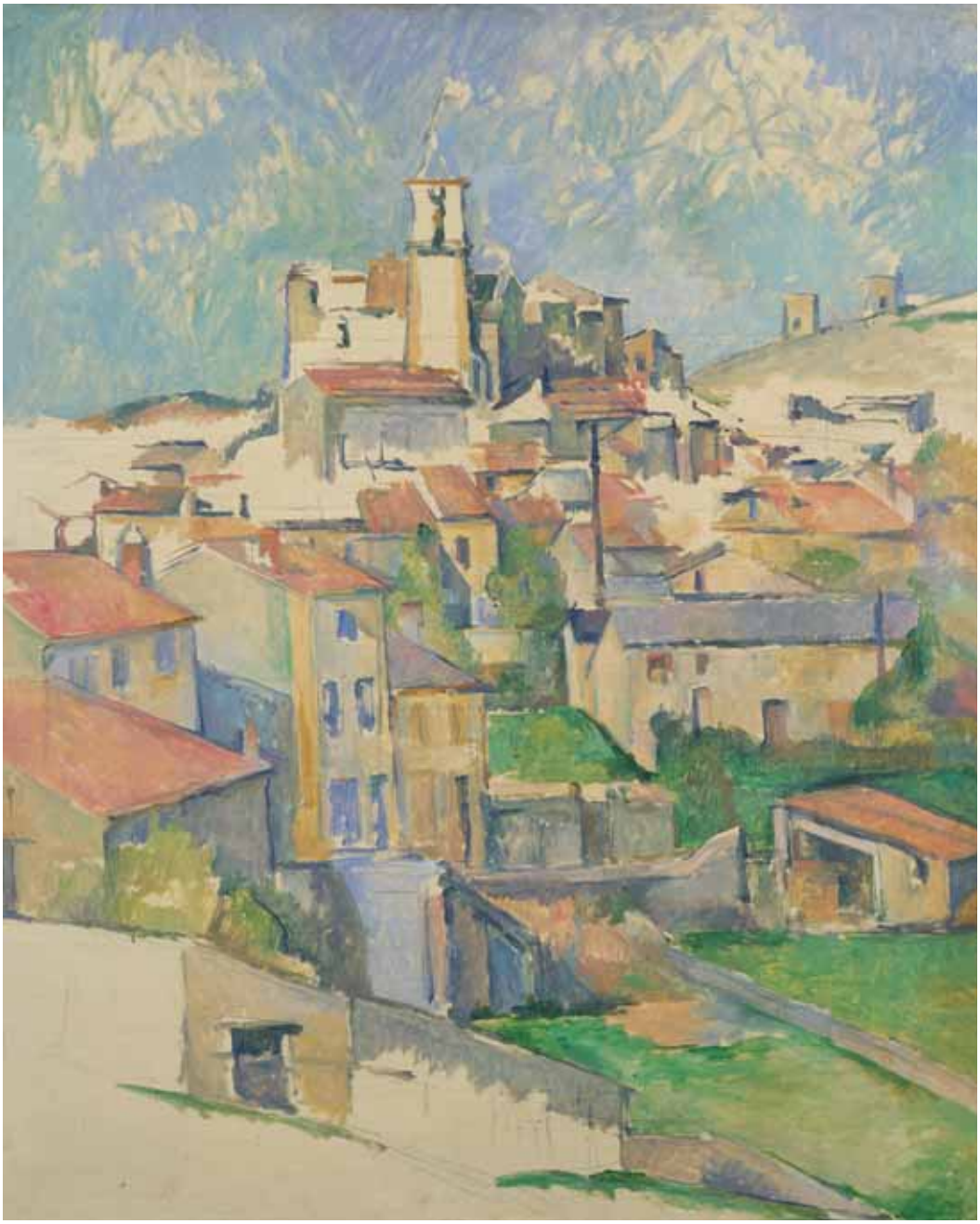
Cat. 54
Paul Cézanne, *House in Provence*, *c.* 1885
Oil on canvas, 65.5 x 81.3 cm
Indianapolis Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. James W. Fesler
in memory of Daniel W. and Elizabeth C. Marmon, 45.194
R 573

Cat. 55
Paul Cézanne, *Landscape around Aix*, 1900–6
Pencil and watercolor on paper, 368 x 546 mm
Mr. and Mrs. Barron U. Kidd
R 579

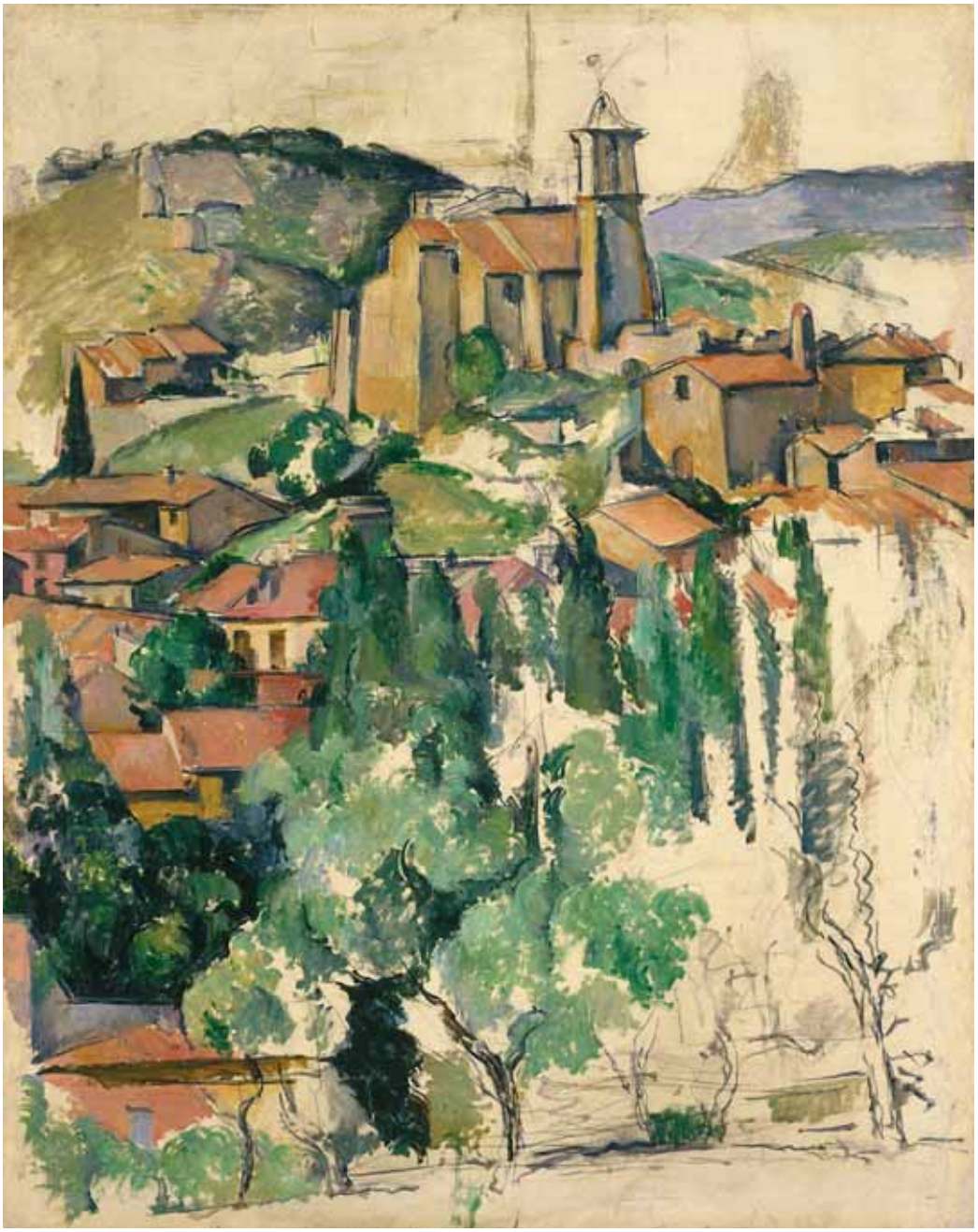
Cat. 56
Paul Cézanne, *Landscape in Provence*, 1900–4
Pencil and watercolor on paper, 450 x 603 mm
Fondazione Magnani Rocca, Parma
R 541

Cat. 57
Paul Cézanne, *View from Les Lauves towards Aix*, 1902–6
Watercolor on paper, 400 x 540 mm
Private collection
R 620

Cat. 58
Paul Cézanne, *The Mill at the Pont des Trois Sautets*, 1890–94
Pencil and watercolor on paper, 305 x 467 mm
Private collection
R 391



Cat. 59
Paul Cézanne, *Gardanne*, 1885–86
Oil on canvas, 80 x 64.1 cm
Lent by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Franz H. Hirschland, 1957 (57.181)
R 570



Cat. 60
Paul Cézanne, *The Village of Gardanne*, *c.* 1886
Oil and conté crayon on canvas, 92.1 x 73.2 cm
The Brooklyn Museum. Ella C. Woodward Memorial Fund
and the Alfred T. White Memorial Fund, 23.105
R 571

Cat. 61
Paul Cézanne, *Banks of the Marne*, *c.* 1888
Oil on canvas, 65 x 81.3 cm
Collection Art Gallery of New South Wales. Purchased 2008 with funds provided by the Art Gallery of New South Wales Foundation, the Art Gallery Society of New South Wales, and donors to the Masterpiece Fund in joint celebration of the Foundation's 25th anniversary and Edmund Capon AM OBE's 30th anniversary as Director of the Gallery
R 628

Cat. 62
Paul Cézanne, *The House at Bellevue*, *c.* 1890–94
Oil on canvas, 60.5 x 80 cm
Collection des Musées d'art et d'histoire de la Ville de Genève
R 691

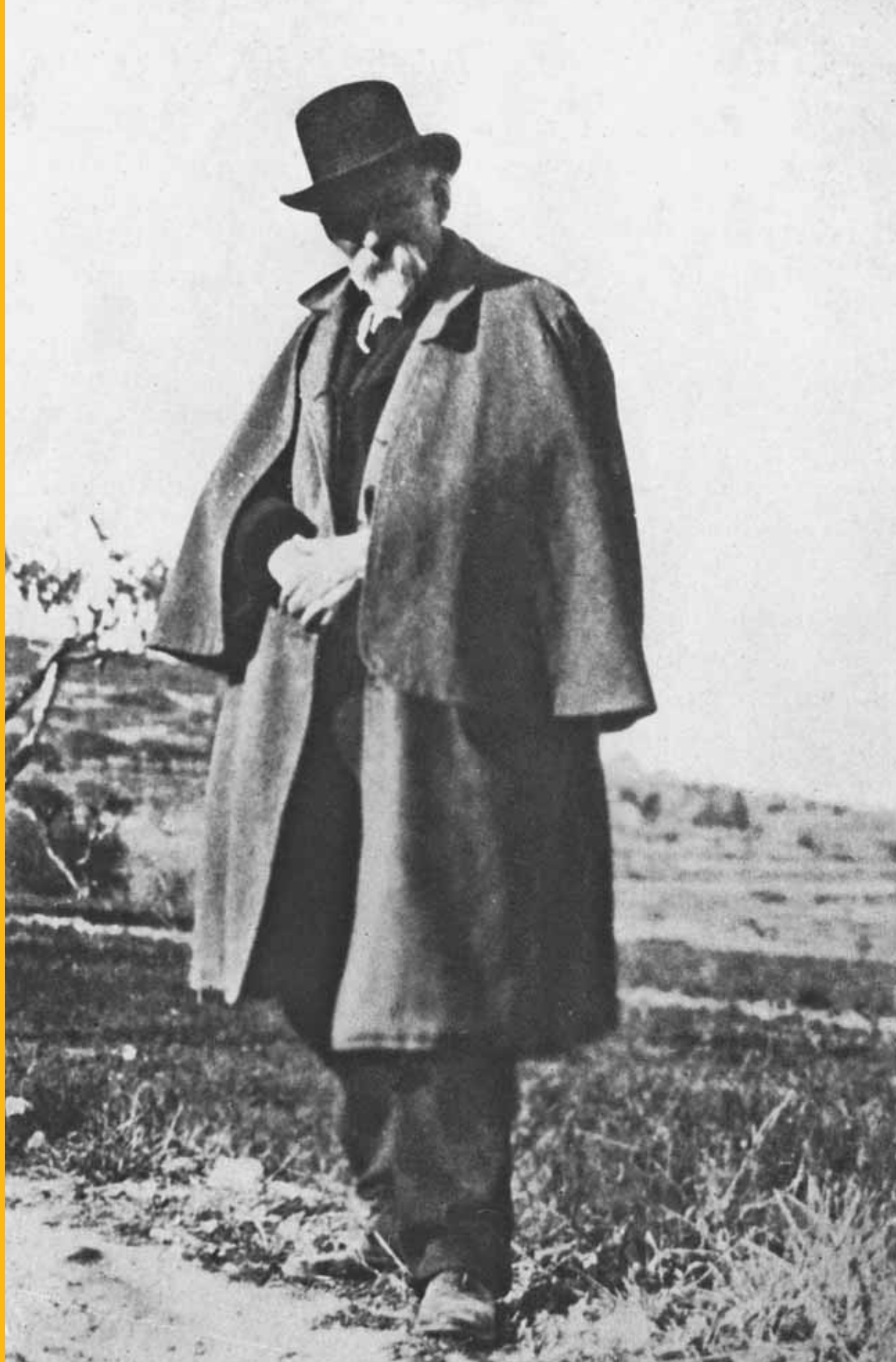
Cat. 63
André Derain, *The Church in Chatou*, 1909
Oil on panel, 34.5 x 35.7 cm
Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection,
on loan at the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid

Cat. 64
André Derain, *View of Saint-Paul de Vence*, 1910
Oil on canvas, 60.5 x 80.5 cm
Museum Ludwig, Cologne

Cat. 65
André Lhote, *Trees at Avignon*, *c.* 1909
Oil on canvas, 81.5 x 54.3 cm
Musée d'art moderne André Malraux, Le Havre

Cat. 66
Georges Braque, *The Castle at La Roche-Guyon*, 1909
Oil on canvas, 80 x 59.5 cm
Moderna Museet, Stockholm. Bequest 1966 from Rolf de Maré

Cat. 67
Raoul Dufy, *Factory in L'Estaque*, 1908
Oil on canvas, 73 x 60 cm
Musée Cantini, Marseille



Chronology

Paula Luengo

1839

Paul Cézanne is born on January 19 at number 28 rue de l'Opéra in Aix-en-Provence. The following month he is christened at the Catholic church of Sainte Madeleine, with his maternal grandmother Rose and his maternal uncle Louis as godparents. His father Louis-Auguste Cézanne (1798–1886), a hatter of Italian descent, and his mother Anne-Elisabeth Honorine Aubert (1814–1897), an employee of Louis-Auguste, marry five years later, on January 29, 1844.

1841

The painter's sister Marie, who will greatly influence Cézanne throughout his lifetime, is born on July 4.

1848

Together with his partner Joseph Cabassol (1859–1928), Louis-Auguste founds the Cézanne et Cabassol bank.

1850–52

After beginning his studies at the state school—where he meets the future sculptor Philippe Solari (1840–1906)—Paul attends the Saint-Joseph Catholic school with Henri Gasquet (d. 1906).

1852

The Cézannes send Paul as a boarder to the Collège Bourbon (now the Lycée Mignet) in Aix, where he receives a humanist education. He is a brilliant student who excels in Latin and Greek, geography and history, and music. At school he strikes up a close friendship with Émile Zola (1840–1902), one year his junior, and Jean-Baptiste Baille (1841–1918); the boys become known as "the three inseparables."

Fig. 24, Paul Cézanne, *c.* 1861

Fig. 25, Marie Cézanne, *c.* 1870

Page 167, Paul Cézanne, photograph by Émile Bernard, 1905

During their teenage years they remain in close contact with nature and the scenery of Aix, going for long walks and outings, among other open-air activities.

1854

Cézanne's sister Rose Honorine is born. Since the family now enjoys a higher social and economic status, she is christened at Aix Cathedral, with her two elder siblings as godparents.

1857

Cézanne attends the drawing classes of Joseph Gibert (1806–1884), director of the École de Dessin and curator of the Musée d'Aix.

1858

Early in the year Zola moves to Paris. This marks the beginning of an extensive correspondence between the two friends; an example is the letter from Paul to Émile on November 23, beginning: "Work, my dear, *nam labor improbus omnia vincit*" [because hard work overcomes everything].[1] In December Cézanne's father forces him to enroll at the Faculty of Law in Aix.

1859

Cézanne obtains second prize for the study of a head at the École de Dessin.

In September Louis-Auguste purchases the Jas de Bouffan, former residence of the governors of Aix, on the outskirts of the city. Cézanne and his family will spend long periods in the house until settling there permanently. Paul sets up a studio there.

1860

Backed by his mother, his sister Marie and Zola, Cézanne decides to devote himself to his vocation as a painter, against his father's wishes, and abandons his law degree. He avoids military service and studies the works in the Musée d'Aix.

During this period he paints a series of the four seasons on the walls of the living room at the Jas de Bouffan.

1861

In April Cézanne travels to Paris for the first time. There he frequents the Académie Suisse, where he meets Armand Guillaumin (1841–1927) and Camille Pissarro (1830–1903).

Fig. 26. Photograph of the living room of the Jas de Bouffan, *c.* 1900, with Cézanne's paintings of the four seasons and the portrait of his father

Fig. 27. The Jas de Bouffan today

In a letter written to his friend Baille on June 10, Zola describes the painter's day-to-day life in Paris: "I see Cézanne rarely. Alas! It is no longer as it was at Aix, when we were eighteen, free and without worry about the future. Now the demands of our lives, our different work, keep us apart. In the morning Paul goes to Suisse, I remain in my room to write. At 11 o'clock we lunch, each by himself. Sometimes, at midday, I go to him and he works on my portrait. Then, for the rest of the day he goes to Villevieille to draw; he has his supper, goes early to bed and I do not see him anymore. Is that what I had hoped for? Paul is still the excellent, odd fellow whom I knew at school. To prove that he has lost nothing of his originality, I only have to tell you that hardly had he arrived here, when he talked about returning to Aix; to have battled for three years for this voyage and then not to care a straw! With such a character, faced with changes of behavior so little foreseeable and so little reasonable, I admit that I remain speechless and pack up my logic. To prove something to Cézanne would be like trying to persuade the towers of Notre-Dame to dance a quadrille. [...] And note that age has increased his stubbornness [...]."[2]

Together with Zola, Cézanne visits the Salon, showing an interest in Alexandre Cabanel (1823–1889), Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier (1815–1891), and Gustave Doré (1832–1883). At the Louvre he studies the Venetians, Velázquez, Rubens, Delacroix, and Courbet.

He fails the entrance exam of the École des Beaux-Arts.

In the autumn he returns to Aix to work in his father's bank: "Cézanne, the banker, sees, not without shuddering, a future painter being born behind his counter."[3]

1862–63

Cézanne enrolls again at the École de Dessin in Aix.

In November he returns to Paris, where he lives until 1864.

At the 1863 Salon des Refusés, where one of his own works is shown, he admires Manet's *Luncheon on the Grass*.

In November he registers as a copyist at the Louvre. As he will comment to Bernard toward the end of his life, "The Louvre is the book in which we learn to read."[4]

Cézanne frequents the Café Guerbois on rue des Batignolles, where Claude Monet (1840–1926), Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841–1919), Pissarro, Alfred Sisley (1839–1899),

Fig. 28. Cours Mirabeau, Aix-en-Provence, early 20th century

Frédéric Bazille (1841–1870), Francisco Oller (1833–1917), Guillaumin, and Antoine Guillemet (1843–1918) meet.

1864–65

In 1864 Zola writes *Claude's Confession*, dedicating it to his friends Cézanne and Baille.

Cézanne divides his time between Aix and Paris.

1866

Back in Paris, Cézanne is again turned down by the Salon. He attends the "Thursday" meetings at Zola's house and visits Édouard Manet (1832–1883), who has seen his still lifes at Guillemet's home.

He writes a letter of protest to the Count of Nieuwerkerke (1811–1892), Superintendent of Fine Arts, calling for the reinstatement of the Salon des Refusés for artists who have been rejected by the jury of the official Paris Salon.[5]

At the Jas de Bouffan estate, where he also spends time, he paints likenesses of his friends the painter Achille Emperaire (1829–1898) and the art critic Antoine Valabrègue, as well as of his uncle Dominique and his father.

Guillemet visits him there. Describing this visit in a letter to Zola in October, Cézanne states: "But you know all pictures painted inside, in the studio, will never be as good as those done outside."[6]

1867

After spending the winter and spring in Paris, in the summer Cézanne returns to Aix, where he paints the surroundings of the Jas de Bouffan.

1869

At the beginning of the year he meets the seamstress Hortense Fiquet (1850–1922) in Paris. Hortense, who is eleven years his junior, will become his lifelong companion, although their relationship will be complex. In September he goes to stay in L'Estaque, a coastal village near Marseilles.

1870

Cézanne is a witness at Zola's wedding to Alexandrine Mélay.

In the spring, a Paris weekly publishes a caricature by Stock showing Cézanne with "two pictures, one a lying nude, the other a portrait of Emperaire, both of which had

Fig. 29. Paul Cézanne, *The Artist's Father Reading* L'Événement, 1866
Oil on canvas, 198.5 x 119.3 cm
National Gallery, Washington DC

Fig. 30. Panoramic view of L'Estaque, early 20th century

Fig. 31. Stock, *Caricature of Paul Cézanne* published in the *Album Stock*, 1870

been refused by the jury of the Salon. The accompanying text stated that Cézanne had delivered these paintings on March 20, the very last day before the opening, creating very great, though spiteful, interest among the artists and critics who happened to be present [at the Palais de l'Industrie]. Asked about his credo, Cézanne is reported to have said: 'Yes, my dear Mr. Stock, I paint how I see and how I feel… and my feelings are very strong. The others, Courbet, Manet, Monet, etc., feel and see as I do, but they have no courage. They paint pictures for the Salon. I, however, dare, Mr. Stock, I dare. I have the courage of my convictions, and he who laughs last, laughs best.'"[7]

Fleeing from the mobilizations for the Franco-Prussian war, Cézanne takes refuge in L'Estaque with Hortense, but visits his family in Aix from time to time.

1872–73

On January 4, 1872 his son Paul is born in Paris, where the painter and Hortense settle after the war.

In the autumn Cézanne goes first to Saint-Ouen-l'Aumône and later to Auvers-sur-Oise. He also works with Pissarro in Pontoise painting from life, executing canvases such as *Landscape on the Banks of the Oise* [see cat. 49]. The two artists influence each other, especially in building the landscape from planes of color. Cézanne even produces a version of one of Pissarro's canvases. Together with Guillaumin, they will also make prints using the materials and press owned by Dr. Paul Gachet (1828–1909), a collector and amateur artist.

Cézanne meets Père Tanguy (1825–1894), a dealer in art supplies who will act as his intermediary for a long time, buying and selling the artist's works and granting him credit.

1874

Cézanne shows three works at the First Impressionist Exhibition from April 15 to May 15 together with Pissarro, Renoir, Monet, Degas, Guillaumin, and Berthe Morisot (1841–1895).

1875

Cézanne remains in Paris. There he meets the customs official and collector Victor Chocquet (1821–1891) who, like Cézanne, is a great admirer of Delacroix. From this year on Chocquet will acquire works by Cézanne, whom he hails as a genius.

Fig. 32. Paul Cézanne in the Auvers region during one of his outdoor painting expeditions, *c.* 1874

Fig. 33. Camille Pissarro and Paul Cézanne

Fig. 34. Paul Cézanne, *Camille Pissarro Going Out to Paint from Life*, *c.* 1874–77
Pencil on paper. Musée du Louvre, Paris

Fig. 35. Paul Cézanne, *Cézanne Working on a Print with Doctor Gachet*, *c.* 1873
Pencil on paper, 205 x 130 mm. Musée du Louvre, Paris

1876

Turned down by the Salon once again, Cézanne settles in Aix and L'Estaque (during the summer).

1877

Cézanne returns to Auvers and to Pontoise, where he paints *Road at Pontoise* [see cat. 5].

He takes part in the Third Impressionist Exhibition with a large number of works—16 in all—including watercolors, still lifes, and landscapes. Once again, the opinion of the official critics is negative and the painter, disheartened, refuses to exhibit with the group again.

1878

Cézanne breaks away from the Impressionist group and settles in the south, in Aix, L'Estaque, and Marseilles, where Hortense and the young Paul live. His father learns of the existence of his partner and their son and reduces his allowance. Zola sends Hortense money from time to time.

On March 23, Cézanne writes to Zola: "I find myself very near to being forced to obtain for myself the means to live, always provided that I am capable of doing so. The situation between my father and me is becoming very strained and I am threatened with the loss of my whole allowance. A letter that Monsieur Chocquet wrote to me and in which he spoke of Madame Cézanne and of little Paul has definitely revealed my position to my father, who by the way was already on the watch, full of suspicion […]."[8]

In early November Hortense travels to Paris, where she has "a little adventure."[9] She returns to Marseilles the following month.

1879

Cézanne works in Paris and Melun and visits Zola at his house in Médan. He paints *Melting Snow, Fontainebleau* [see cat. 9] and *Landscape near Melun* [see cat. 48].

During the summer he moves to Pontoise to work with Pissarro.

1880

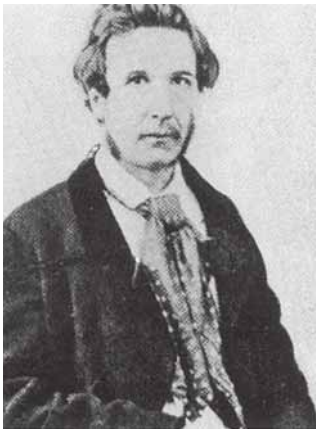
Cézanne remains for more than a year in Paris, where he enters works in the Salon, only to have them rejected again.

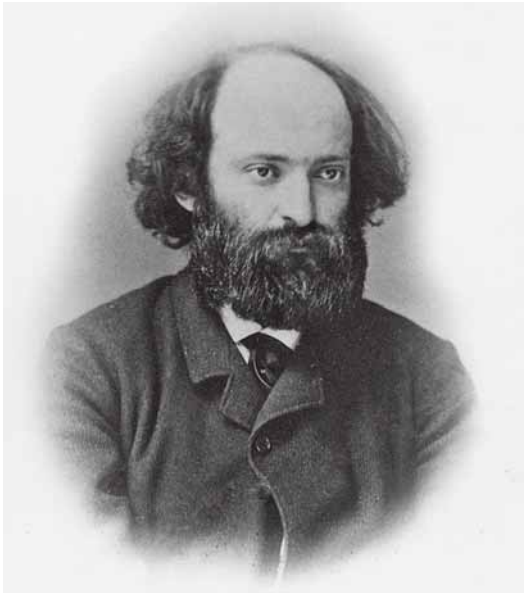
He spends the summer in Médan [see cat. 20].

Fig. 36. Victor Chocquet

Fig. 37. Émile Zola at his house in Médan, *c.* 1878

Fig. 38. Photograph used by Cézanne as a model for *Melting Snow, Fontainebleau* [cat. 9]





1881

Between May and November Cézanne and his family settle in Pontoise, near Pissarro and Gauguin [see cat. 53]. The artist travels from Pontoise to Médan, some 15 kilometers away, to visit Zola. In November he returns to Aix.

1882

In January Renoir visits him at L'Estaque, where they work together. During this period Cézanne paints *The Viaduct at L'Estaque* [see cat. 50] and *View of Mont Marseilleveyre and the Isle of Maire (L'Estaque)* [see cat. 51].

At the beginning of March Cézanne returns to Paris, where he paints *The Roofs of Paris* [cat. 52].

His portrait of *Louis-Auguste Cézanne* is admitted to the Salon owing to the insistence of Guillemet, who is a member of the jury. In the Salon catalogue he is listed as a pupil of Guillemet.

1883

Cézanne spends some time in L'Estaque, where he depicts the scenery [see cat. 27]. In May he writes to Zola: "I have rented a little house and garden at L'Estaque just above the station and at the foot of the hill, where behind me rise the rocks and the pines."[10]

In May he travels around Provence with Adolphe Monticelli (1824–1886), painting in Gardanne, a village very near Aix.

In December Monet and Renoir visit Cézanne at L'Estaque.

1884

Cézanne spends time between Aix, Gardanne, and L'Estaque.

1885

He has an affair with an unknown woman to whom he writes a passionate letter.[11]

Cézanne works in La Roche-Guyon with Renoir and in L'Estaque.

In August he returns to Aix, where he paints *The Bare Trees at Jas de Bouffan* and *The Chestnut Trees of Jas de Bouffan* [see cats. 21 and 23]. He walks to Gardanne every day to work in the open air [see cats. 59 and 60].

Fig. 39. Paul Cézanne, *c.* 1875

Fig. 40. The Pool of the Jas de Bouffan, photograph by John Rewald, *c.* 1935

1886

The publication of Zola's *The Masterpiece* [*L'Œuvre*] puts an end to the close friendship that had bound the two men since childhood, as Cézanne probably feels that the main character, Claude Lantier, a failed genius, is modeled on him. Cézanne's last letter to Zola, written in Gardanne on April 4, reads as follows:

> My dear Émile,
>
> I have just received *L'Œuvre* which you were kind enough to send to me. I thank the author of the *Rougon-Macquart* for this kind token of remembrance and ask him to allow me to press his hand in memory of old times.
>
> Ever yours under the impulse of years gone by.
>
> Paul Cézanne.[12]

At the end of April Cézanne marries Hortense. His father dies in October, leaving him a sizeable legacy that will allow him to live comfortably for the rest of his life.

1887

Cézanne spends a long period in Aix, working at the Jas de Bouffan [see cat. 22]. During this period of intense activity he paints the Mont Sainte-Victoire. In a letter sent to Zola nine years earlier, on April 14, 1878, he tells of his train journey: "When I went to Marseilles I was in the company of Monsieur Gibert. These people see correctly, but they have the eyes of Professors. Where the train passes close to Alexis' country house, a stunning motif appears on the East side: Ste. Victoire and the rocks that dominate Beaurecueil. I said, 'What a lovely motif'; he replied: 'The lines are too well balanced.'"[13]

Hortense and their son settle in Paris. Cézanne's friends will nickname her "la Boule" [the ball] and her son "le Boulet" [the little ball].[14]

Cézanne exhibits his work in Brussels with Les Vingt [the Group of Twenty].

1888

The Salon again turns down Cézanne.

He returns to Paris and its outskirts, where he paints *Avenue at Chantilly* [see cat. 8] and *Banks of the Marne* [see cat. 61].

1889

Cézanne shows *The House of the Hanged Man*, owned by Count Doria, in the exhibition of French art at the Paris Exposition Universelle.

In the summer Renoir and his family visit him in Aix, renting the nearby country house of Montbriandt, owned by Cézanne's brother-in-law, Maxime Conil.

Cézanne becomes increasingly isolated and works alone: "May I, however, be permitted to refute the accusation of disdain which you attribute to me with reference to my refusal to take part in the exhibitions of painting? I must tell you with regard to this matter, that as the many studies to which I have dedicated myself have given me only negative results, and as I am afraid of only too justified criticism, I had resolved to work in silence until the day when I should feel myself able to defend theoretically the result of my attempts."[15]

1890

Beginning in the summer, Cézanne and his family spend five months traveling around the Jura department, from which Hortense hails, and Switzerland. This is the only trip the artist makes outside France, at his wife's insistence.

His first symptoms of diabetes appear at the end of the year, making him very irritable.

1891

Cézanne reduces the allowance paid to Hortense and their son so that they return to Aix. Whereas he lives with his mother and sister at the Jas de Bouffan, he installs his own family in an apartment in the city, for the relationship between Hortense and her in-laws is not good.

During this period he paints still lifes, always depicting the same objects: a jug, fruit, a white tablecloth, and a curtain [see cats. 39 and 41].

He moves to Paris in September.

1892–93

Cézanne divides his time between Aix and Paris and resides at Fontainebleau. During this period he paints *Hillside in Provence* [see cat. 11].

In 1892 the art dealer Ambroise Vollard (1867–1939) discovers Cézanne. The painter is then working on a group of paintings of card players, for which workers and residents of Aix sit.

1894

Cézanne spends most of the year in Paris. The art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel (1831–1922) purchases his first Cézannes.

In June the widow of Père Tanguy, who had died the previous year, sells her husband's collection, including six canvases by Cézanne which fetch ridiculously low sums.

In the autumn Cézanne meets the sculptor Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), the statesman Georges Clémenceau (1841–1929), and the writer and critic Gustave Geffroy (1855–1926) at Monet's house in Giverny.

The American painter Mary Cassatt (1844–1926), who was staying at the same inn as Cézanne in the village of Giverny, describes him as follows: "When I first saw him I thought he looked like a cut-throat with large red eyeballs standing out from his head in a most ferocious manner, a rather fierce-looking pointed beard, quite gray, and an excited way of talking that positively made the dishes rattle. I found later on that I had misjudged his appearance, for far from being fierce or a cut-throat, he has the gentlest nature possible, 'comme un enfant' […] The conversation at lunch and at dinner is principally on art and cooking. Cézanne is one of the most liberal artists I have ever seen. He prefaces every remark with: 'Pour moi' it is so and so, but he grants that everyone may be just as honest and as faithful to nature from their own convictions; he doesn't believe that everyone should see alike."[16]

On his death, the painter Gustave Caillebotte (1848–1894) bequeaths his collection to the French state, including several works by Cézanne which are rejected by the authorities.

1895

In November, following Pissarro's advice, Ambroise Vollard organizes the first Cézanne exhibition at his gallery on rue Laffitte, featuring more than a hundred works by the artist. Cézanne does not attend. Renoir, Degas, and Monet purchase works. Pissarro exchanges one of his own canvases for some by the artist. Shortly afterwards Vollard travels to Aix to buy everything he can find by the painter from private individuals.

Fig. 41. Paul Cézanne, *Portrait of Paul Cézanne, the Artist's Son*, 1883–85
Oil on canvas, 35 x 38 cm. Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris
collection of Jean Walter and Paul Guillaume. R.F. 1963–59

Fig. 42. Paul Cézanne, *The Card Players*, 1890–95
Oil on canvas, 47 x 56.5 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Fig. 43. Paul Cézanne, *Self-Portrait with Palette*, *c.* 1890
Oil on canvas, 92 x 73 cm. Private collection

Fig. 44. Paul Cézanne painting at his Paris studio, 1894

Cézanne spends the autumn in Aix, making outings to the abandoned Bibémus quarry and to Mont Sainte-Victoire [see cats. 30 and 38].

From this year onwards, Paul Cézanne junior takes care of his father's administrative affairs and his relations with the dealer Vollard: "My dear Paul, in conclusion I must tell you that I have the greatest faith in your feelings, which impress on your mind the necessary measures to guard our interests, that is to say that I have the greatest faith in your direction of our affairs."[17]

1896

Cézanne meets the young poet Joachim Gasquet (1873–1921), the son of his childhood friend Henri, and strikes up a friendship with him. The painter seeks peace and quiet and becomes more and more of a loner.

Vollard visits Cézanne at the Jas de Bouffan.

On May 2 Zola publishes an article entitled "Peinture" in *Le Figaro* referring to Cézanne as follows: "Yes, thirty years have passed and I have somewhat lost interest in painting. I had grown up virtually in the same cradle as Paul Cézanne; one is only now beginning to discover the touches of genius in this abortive great painter."[18]

In June Cézanne goes to Vichy to bathe in the thermal waters and the following month he accompanies his wife to the spa at Talloires, beside Lake Annecy: "Life for me is beginning to be of a sepulchral monotony."[19]

1897

Cézanne stays in Paris from January to April. In the summer he rents a cabin in Le Tholonet, near the Bibémus quarry, where he often works as well as in Sainte-Victoire, the outskirts of Aix, and the Arc valley.

He is deeply affected by his mother's death on October 25, after which he will no longer live at the Jas de Bouffan.

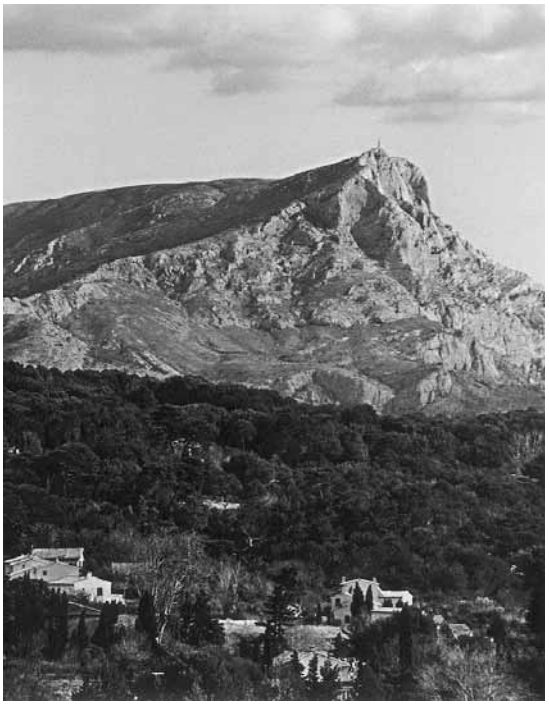
Hugo von Tschudi, director of the Nationalgalerie in Berlin, acquires a work by Cézanne for the museum through the collector and patron Wilhelm Staudt.

1898

Cézanne remains in Aix until the summer, when he paints in Montgeroult and the surrounding area [see cat. 12] and in Pontoise. In the autumn he settles in Paris for

Fig. 45. Joachim Gasquet

Fig. 46. Mont Sainte-Victoire seen from Les Lauves



nearly a year. He shows a total of 60 works in his second exhibition at the Galerie Vollard.

1899

Sale of the Jas de Bouffan estate, which passes to Louis Granel. Cézanne buys himself an apartment in the center of Aix, at 23 rue Boulegon, where he will live with his housekeeper, Madame Brémond, until his death. Hortense and their son Paul live in Paris. The painter will never again leave his city of birth except to visit the Salon d'Automne in the capital in 1904.

The artist's third exhibition is organized at the Galerie Vollard.

Cézanne attempts to buy the Château Noir, an old country house near Aix, where he likes to go and paint and in which he ends up renting a room to store his things.

1900

Three of Cézanne's works are shown at the Paris Exposition Universelle in May. The Berlin Museums acquire three canvases by the artist.

Maurice Denis (1870–1943) paints *Homage to Cézanne*, showing the symbolist artist Odilon Redon, the Nabis Édouard Vuillard, Ker-Xavier Roussel, Maurice Denis, Paul Sérusier, Paul Ranson, and Pierre Bonnard, Madame Denis, Ambroise Vollard, and André Mellerio gathered round a still life by Cézanne in the Galerie Vollard. Although Denis has not yet met Cézanne personally, he dedicates this tribute to him on behalf of the new generations. The French writer André Gide (1869–1951) acquires the canvas.

Denis replies to Cézanne's letter of thanks on June 13, 1901: "I am deeply moved by the letter which you have been good enough to send me. Nothing could have given me greater joy than to hear that the stir caused by *Hommage à Cézanne* has penetrated even your solitude. Perhaps this will give you some idea of the position as a painter which you occupy in our time, of the admiration which you evoke and of the enlightened enthusiasm of a group of young people to which I belong and who can rightly call themselves your pupils, as they owe to you everything which they know about painting. We shall never succeed in acknowledging this sufficiently."[20]

1901

Cézanne exhibits at the Salon de l'Esthétique in Brussels and at the 17th Salon des Indépendants. In November he buys a plot of land in Les Lauves, north of Aix, where he has a large studio built to his specifications, with plenty of natural light.

Fig. 47. Maurice Denis, *Homage to Cézanne*, 1900–1
Oil on canvas, 182 x 243 cm
Musée d'Orsay, Paris

1902

Cézanne receives a visit from the Bernheim-Jeune brothers, art dealers who wish to purchase works from him, but he remains faithful to Vollard.

Denis arranges for him to show his work at the Salon des Indépendants again and he also exhibits at the Societé des Amis des Arts in Aix. In the Aix catalogue he is referred to as a pupil of Pissarro.

In September the writer and critic Octave Mirbeau (1848–1917) requests that Cézanne be awarded the Legion of Honor, but his motion is rejected and the artist is bitterly disappointed.

Zola dies on September 29. On learning of his demise, Cézanne "broke into tears and for the rest of the day locked himself in his study."[21]

1903

Cézanne spends the whole year in Aix.

Zola's collection is placed on sale, including ten works from Cézanne's early period. The official institutions launch a campaign of hostile criticism against the painter, but he is increasingly admired and respected by his former Impressionist colleagues and by the young painters.

Pissarro dies in Paris on November 13.

1904

The young painter Émile Bernard (1868–1941) visits Cézanne during the month of February and engages in lengthy conversations with him on art theory. After Cézanne's death, Bernard will publish his memories and his correspondence with the painter, and his book *A Conversation with Cézanne* will come out twenty-one years later.

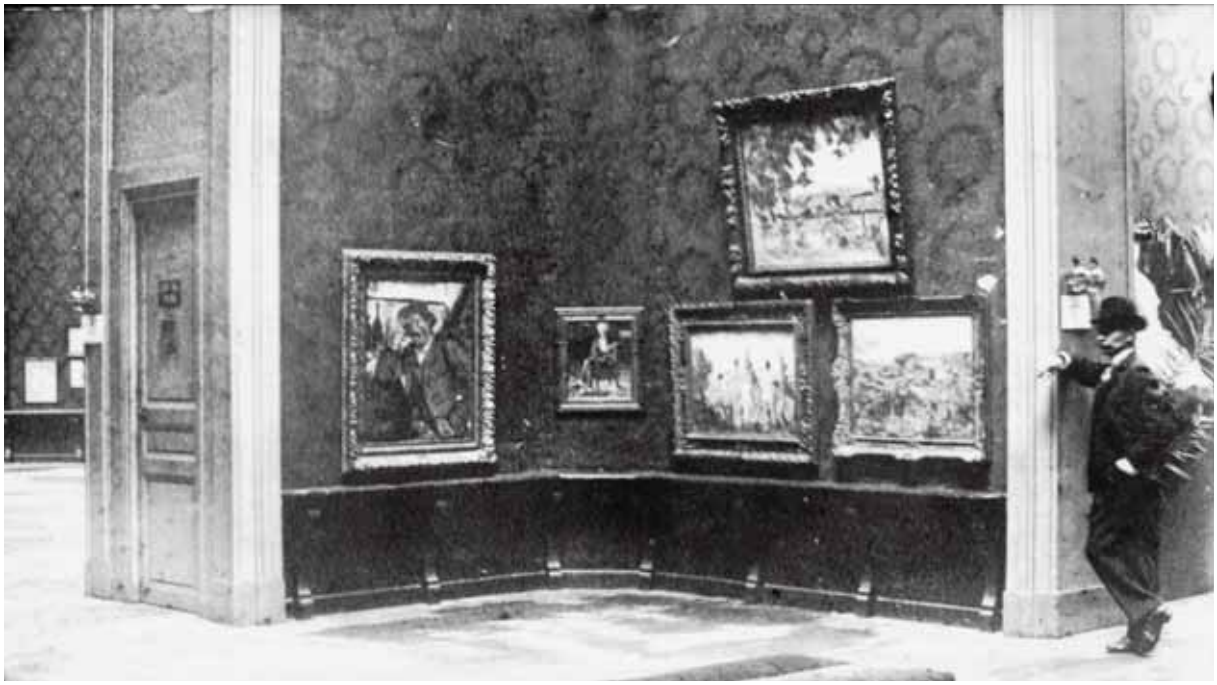
In a letter written to Bernard on April 15, Cézanne advises him: "[…] May I repeat what I told you here: treat nature by means of the cylinder, the sphere, the cone, everything brought into proper perspective so that each side of an object or a plane is directed towards a central point. Lines parallel to the horizon give breadth […]. Lines perpendicular to this horizon give depth."[22]

In the summer Cézanne spends several weeks in Paris and stays in Fontainebleau for the last time.

Fig. 48. The room devoted to Cézanne at the Salon d'Automne of 1904

Fig. 49. Inside Cézanne's studio, late 20th century, photograph by Henry Ely Aix

Fig. 50. Cézanne's studio at Les Lauves, photograph by Bernheim-Jeune, *c.* 1904



The Salon d'Automne, established the previous year, devotes a whole gallery to the artist, showing a total of 31 canvases and two drawings. Paul junior comments in a letter to Vollard that Cézanne is delighted with his success at the Salon.[23]

He paints several portraits of the gardener Vallier [see cat. 1].

1905

After working on it for nearly a decade Cézanne finishes the *Large Bathers*, a recurring theme in his oeuvre since the early 1870s [see cats. 15–18]. He shows his work at the Salon d'Automne and the Salon des Indépendants.

His health progressively worsens, although he carries on striving to "succeed by work"[24] and producing outdoor oil paintings such as *Bend of the Road at the Top of the Chemin des Lauves* [see cat. 13] and watercolors like *View from Les Lauves towards Aix* [see cat. 57].

1906

In January Denis and Roussel travel to Aix, where they photograph Cézanne at work and Denis paints *The Visit to Cézanne*.

Ten of Cézanne's works are shown at the Salon d'Automne.

The summer is particularly hard for the painter, as he tells his son on July 25: "Vallier massages me, my ribs are a little better, Madame Brémond says that my foot is better. I follow Boissy's treatment, it is horrible. It is very hot. From eight o'clock on the weather is unbearable."[25]

On October 15, while out painting, Cézanne is caught in a storm and collapses. He is carried home, where he dies on October 23 at the age of sixty-seven, and is buried in the cemetery at Aix. Hortense and their son Paul, who are in Paris, do not arrive in time to bid him their farewell. Paul is the painter's sole heir, as Cézanne had excluded Hortense from his will in 1902.

1907

The first posthumous retrospective of the artist's work at the 5th Salon d'Automne features 56 works chiefly from the collections of Pellerin, Gangnat and Cézanne junior.

The French government refuses the gift presented by Granel, owner of the Jas de Bouffan, of the painter's works located on the estate.

Fig. 51. Paul Cézanne in Fontainebleau forest, *c.* 1905

Fig. 52. Hortense Fiquet Cézanne, *c.* 1905

NOTES

1. All Paul Cézanne letters cited here appear in *Paul Cézanne, Correspondance*, ed. John Rewald (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1978), which was published in English as *Paul Cézanne, Letters*, trans. Marguerite Kay (New York: Da Capo Press, 1995). Citations are from the English edition. *Letters,* p. 31.
2. Ibid., pp. 87–88.
3. Emile Zola, *Émile Zola, correspondence, 1858–1867*, ed. B. H. Bakker (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal et Paris, CNRS, 1978), no. 46, p. 303.
4. *Letters*, p. 315.
5. Ibid., pp. 103–5.
6. Ibid., p. 112.
7. See note c by John Rewald in *Letters*, pp. 126–27.
8. Ibid., p. 154.
9. Ibid., p. 173.
10. Ibid., p. 209.
11. Ibid., p. 214.
12. Ibid., p. 223.
13. Ibid., p. 158.
14. Ibid., p. 234.
15. Ibid., p. 231.
16. Ibid., p. 237.
17. Letter from Cézanne to his son Paul, September 8, 1906. In *Letters*, p. 327.
18. Émile Zola, "Peinture," *Le Figaro*, May 2, 1896, cited in English in John Rewald, *The Ordeal of Paul Cézanne* (London: Phoenix House, 1950), p. 127.
19. *Letters*, p. 252.
20. Ibid., pp. 275–76.
21. See John Rewald's comment in *Letters*, p. 293.
22. *Letters*, p. 301.
23. Letter from Paul Cézanne junior to Vollard, November 11, 1904. Lionello Venturi, "Giunte a Cézanne," in *Commentari*, vol. II, no. 1 (January–March 1951), p. 49.
24. Letter from Cézanne to Joachim Gasquet, July 8, 1902. In *Letters*, p. 291.

Fig. 53. Paul Cézanne painting on the hill of Les Lauves, photograph by Ker-Xavier Roussel, 1906

Fig. 54. Maurice Denis, *Cézanne Painting*, 1906
Oil on canvas. Private collection

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John Rewald Papers, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, Gallery Archives: photograph on p. 167, figs. 25, 39, 52

Paul Cézanne leaving his studio at Les Lauves, photograph by Gertrude Osthaus, April 13, 1906

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