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The 1895 Cézanne Show at Vollard's Revisited

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This essay is supplements my essay "Vollard and Cézanne: An Anatomy of a Relationship," published in the catalogue for the exhibition *Cézanne to Picasso: Ambroise Vollard, Patron of the Avant-Garde* (NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 1996).

The Cézanne show at Ambroise Vollard's Paris gallery in November-December 1895 was a watershed moment for both artist and dealer. Both the artist and the dealer's commercial successes date from this moment. The composition of Cézanne's collectors was also largely divided by this exhibition. Who they were and what particular paintings they bought are listed below. The relative uniqueness of this solo exhibition is highlighted. The paper also addresses the still open questions as to how the paintings for the show were selected, by whom, and which pictures were included. In doing so it adds to the list of paintings that have already been attributed to the show. Finally, the essay revisits what impact recognition from the Vollard show may have had on Cézanne's artistic behavior, both in regard to the sizes of his paintings and his willingness to leave so many late paintings incomplete in appearance.

1. The solo show

The launching of Cézanne's public career at Vollard's is probably the earliest example where a living artist, who subsequently became famous, achieved market recognition through a solo exhibition. Before the 1880s, art dealers usually exhibited an artist's work one or several pictures at a time, but not collectively. Artists relied on studio visits to present a more wholistic vision of their creative output. Solo exhibitions in public locations were rare. These were generally arranged to honor recently deceased artists. The most notable exceptions were the solo shows Gustave Courbet held in his own pavilions, timed for the Universelle Expositions in 1855 and 1867 followed by Edouard Manet, who also arranged his own solo exhibition in 1867.

However, during the 1880s, art dealers increasingly turned to one-person shows to promote the work of their favored artists. These shows were not without risk. They had to overcome resistance to the apparent commercialism associated with showing in private galleries. Critics and the art public often objected to the absence of juries that would guarantee the aesthetic value of the exhibited art. Consequently, solo shows did not get the attention the public Salons received. Georges Petit's dual exhibition for Claude Monet and Auguste Rodin in his gallery in 1889 began eroding this resistance. Paul Durand-Ruel's solo shows for Monet in the 1890s, featuring in turn the artist's three great series paintings from this period, the grain stacks, the poplars, and his paintings of the facade of Rouen Cathedral, attracted significant press attention and sales. Even so, when Durand-Ruel gave young artists like Pierre Bonnard and René Seyssaud solo shows, they were much less successful.[1] Solo exhibitions for young or previously little-publicized artists proved to be consistent failures prior to 1900.

In support of this claim, table 1 lists the exhibition history of 160 artists who might be considered canonical, arranged according to their birth cohort, and how many group exhibitions (public or private) they participated in prior to receiving their first solo exhibition.[2] What the table demonstrates is that even after 1900 the one-person show as a career-building opportunity for young artists was rarely viable. Only after the Second World War did it become common for an artist to start a career via commercial gallery solo shows. So it is significant that Cézanne was the first artist before 1900, whom we have since come to regard as canonical, whose public recognition was built initially through one-person exhibitions.

We might think of Cézanne in 1895 as an established artist in the same sense as Monet, but more than fifteen years had separated Cézanne's participation in the second Impressionist

Table 1. Solo exhibitions, listed according to birth cohort by decade*

Artist's birth cohort	1st show solo show	2nd show solo show	3rd show solo show	4th show or later
1839-1848				Boldini, Caillebotte, Cassatt, De Nittis, Eakins, Gauguin, Leibl, Liebermann, Monet, Redon, Renoir, Repin, H. Rousseau, Sargent, Szinyei-Merse, Uhde, Velasco, Vereschagin (18 artists)
1849-1858				Chase, Corinth, Dewing, Frédéric, Gervex, Hodler, Khnopff, Klinger, Krohg, Luce, Morbelli, Peto, Segantini, van Gogh, Vrubel (15 artists)
1859-1868		Prendergast		Balla, Bernard, Bonnard, Delville, Ensor, Gallén-Kallela, Hassam, Henri, Jawlensky, Kandinsky, Klimt, Munch, Nolde, Pellizza da Volpedo, Ranson, Roussel, Schwabe, Sérusier, Seurat, Signac, Tanner, Toorop, Toulouse-Lautrec, Vallotton, H. van de Velde (25 artists)
1869-1878	Hartley Torres-Garcia		J. Stella	Denis, van Dongen, Dufy, Feininger, Glackens, Kupka, Malevich, Manguin, Marquet, Matisse, Mondrian, Mueller, Münter, Rouault, Sloan, Vlaminck (16 artists)
1879-1888	Albers H. Hofmann Orozco	Demuth Dove F. Varley Picasso	Kokoschka O'Keeffe	Arp, Avery, Beckmann, Bellows, Boccioni, Braque, Bruce, Camoin, Carrà, Chagall, de Chirico, R. Delaunay, S. Delaunay-Terk, Derain, van Doesburg, M. Duchamp, Gleizes, Gontcharova, Gris, Heckel, Herbin, Hopper, Kirchner, Klee, Kuhn, Larionov, Laurencin, Léger, Marc, Metzinger, Modigliani, G. Murphy, Ozenfant, Pechstein, Picabia, Rivera, M. Russell, Russolo, Schlemmer, Schmidt-Rottluff, Schwitters, Severini, Sheeler, Sironi, Utrillo, Weber (46 artists)
1889-1899	Burchfield Miro Man Ray G. Wood Nicholson	Moholy-Nagy	Delvaux Fautrier Magritte	Baumeister, Benton, S. Davis, Dix, Ernst, El Lissitzky, MacDonald-Wright, Marsh, Masson, Morandi, Rodchenko, Schiele, Shahn, Siqueiros (?), Soutine, Tobey, Vordemberge-Gildewart (17 artists)
Totals: 159	**10 artists**	**6 artists**	**6 artists**	**138 artists**

*The selection of 160 painters overall was based on the frequency of reproductions of their work in twenty-eight European and American textbooks that discussed painters working in the 19th and 20th centuries. Selected painters had three or more reproductions combined in the twenty-eight textbooks. One artist, Paula Modersohn-Becker, did not exhibit during her lifetime.

exhibitions (1879), where his work, moreover, had been met with ridicule. There were several other occasions where his work was shown, but they aroused no critical attention (see table 2 for a list of Cézanne's exhibitions through 1895). To the most informed of Parisian audiences

Table 2: Cézanne Exhibitions Through 1901

1874	Paris	First Impressionist Exhibition (2 paintings)
1877	Paris	Third Impressionist Exhibition (14 paintings)*
1882	Paris	Salon (1 painting)
1889	Paris	Exposition Universelle (1 painting)
1889	Copenhagen	Scandinavian and French Impressionists (4 paintings)+*
1890	Brussels	Exposition Les XX (January) (3 paintings)
1893	Paris	Galerie de Barc de Boutteville (1 painting)
1895	Paris	Galerie Vollard (50-150 paintings)
1895	Aix-en-Provence	Société des Amis des Arts, "Salon Aixois," 1st exhibition (December)
1896	Paris	Galerie Vollard, "Les Peintres-Graveurs," (June 15-July 20)
1897	Aix-en-Provence	Société des Amis des Arts, "Salon Aixois"
1898	Paris	Galerie Vollard, "Exposition Cézanne (May 9-June 10, 1898)
1899	Paris	15th Exposition des artistes indépendants (Oct. 21-Nov. 26) [three paintings, none identified]
1899	Paris	Galerie Vollard, "Paul Cézanne" (December) [catalogue of 40 paintings, 10 identified
1899	The Hague	Haagsche Kunstkring, "Tentoonstellung van teekeningen," (February 11-25)
1900	Paris	Exposition Universelle, Grand Palais, "Centennale de l'Art français de 1800 à 1899 (Summer) [three paintings: R. 224, R.278, and R.418]
1900	Berlin	Bruno & Paul Cassirer "III. Jahrgang der Kunst-Ausstellungen," (Nov. 2-Dec. 12) [paintings from Durand-Ruel and three others]
1901	Paris	Galerie Vollard (Jan. 20-Feb. 20) 36 paintings, no catalogue
1901	Brussels	"La Libre Esthétique," (March 1-31)
1901	Béziers	Société des Beaux-Arts, "Catalogue Peintures, Pastels, Aquarelles," (April-May)
1901	Paris	Indépendants (April 20-May 21) [2 paintings]
1901	The Hague	Eerste Internationale Tentoonstelling, Villa Boschard (May 9-June 12) four Cézannes, Hoogendijk collection

*These paintings may have all been lent by Victor Choquet.
**These paintings had been owned by Paul Gauguin and left in Copenhagen by the artist in 1885.

Cézanne was, in the words of the critic Gustave Geffroy, writing in 1894, "somebody as once unknown and famous, having only rare contacts with the public yet considered influential by the restless and the seekers in the field of painting, known but to a few, living in savage isolation, disappearing and appearing suddenly among his intimates."[3] If Cézanne's reputation was not

precisely created through the three successive exhibitions Vollard gave the artist in the late 1890s, it was certainly reborn through these commercial gallery exhibitions.

Cézanne's work in 1895 astonished even those artists who once knew him well. For the better part of two decades Cézanne's exclusive public forum was the shop of *père* Julien Tanguy, the now famous dealer in art supplies who acted as the occasional salesman for struggling painters.[4] At one time, Tanguy not only showed clients Cézanne paintings from his own stock, should they wish to peruse the paintings abandoned there, the artist had also lent the merchant the key to his Parisian studio.[5] Cézanne's relationship with Tanguy appears to have cooled at some point. The artist had reclaimed his key sometime before Tanguy's death in February 1894 and only six paintings by Cézanne, all dating from the early 1880s, were on hand at the auction held for the benefit of Tanguy's widow in June 1894.[6] These few paintings in Tanguy's possession could possibly be explained by the fact that, according to Gustave Geffroy, there was always a demand for any Cézanne that Tanguy had to offer.[7] Geffroy's assertion, however, is not supported by Cézanne's paintings provenances. John Rewald, for example, traced only one painting dating after 1885 to Tanguy's shop.[8]

Cézanne's break with Tanguy underlines how well hidden the post-1885 Cézanne was from public view, even from those individuals who knew him best.[9] If one wished to see Cézanne's paintings in 1894, as Geffroy did before writing his article on the artist in 1894, there were few places to go: the largest collections belonged to Caillebotte, Choquet, Gachet, Murer, Pissarro, and Zola—and they were not equally accessible—and they all featured only the artist's earlier paintings.[10] Only Choquet possessed paintings by Cézanne that dated from later than 1882, five out of the 36 paintings he either commissioned or purchased from the artist. Even

these pictures were inaccessible after the collector's death in 1891, locked up by the collector's widow in his Paris house and rarely visited even by her.[11] Pissarro, who could claim to know Cézanne as well as anyone, owned as many as thirteen pictures, but none dated from later than 1881. The perception of the artist's work, even among his artist friends, remained in a sort of stasis, shaped by the work of the late 1870s and the early 1880s. There were only a handful of collections in Paris, scattered among a variety of individuals, where one could see Cézanne's more recent work and the artist's significant development over the preceding decade. Of these the most significant collection belonged to Paul Alexis, the mutual childhood friend of the artist and Zola, who reputedly received four pictures from Cézanne on a visit to Aix in January 1892.[12] Hence, even for his fellow artists, the Cézanne exhibition came as a revelation.

2. The origins of the exhibition

Because it has so often been discussed, I wish now only to sketch out briefly the circumstances that led up to Cézanne's first show at Vollard's and to consider its importance for the subsequent development of the artist's work. Cézanne's relationship with Vollard would be tempered by the fact that he didn't need the money.[13] In this he stood in striking contrast to Gauguin, who was desperate for every franc Vollard would send him. Although not needing to sell, Cézanne did need to exhibit. We have a draft of a letter, addressed to Octave Mirbeau, probably dating from late 1894, found in one of the artist's sketchbooks, which begins with the crossed-out line "Show—I beg you to set me up with a dealer."[14] This request has usually been interpreted as the artist's need to find a substitute for the recently deceased *père* Tanguy. Cézanne must have dreamed of a dealer who was more than a mere replacement for Tanguy,

someone who could get him the recognition that the other Impressionists had already succeeded in obtaining. We know that Cézanne visited Monet's show of the Rouen Cathedral series at Durand-Ruel's gallery in 1895.[15] That would have served as a powerful example.

By most accounts, the idea for a Cézanne show owes its origins to Gustave Caillebotte's death in the February 1894 and the bequest of his collection of mostly Impressionist paintings to the State.[16] Renoir was named executor; working closely with Caillebotte's brother, and advised by Monet, the heirs entered into protracted negotiations with the government. Eventually, in January 1895 a settlement was reached (although the full agreement took many more months of negotiation to work out) in which the state agreed to display the collection in the Luxembourg Museum, while in return Caillebotte's representatives agreed—against the will's provisions—to allow only a portion of the collection to be accepted (the state claimed, with short-sighted good reason, limited space). The state made its selection, but responded to requests by some of the painters to substitute works in the bequest for others, which they believed more fairly represented their talents.[17]

The Caillebotte bequest generated a new solidarity among the erstwhile members of the Impressionist circle. In May 1894 Renoir and Monet worked together on a retrospective exhibition for Caillebotte mounted at Durand-Ruel's. Similarly, two years later Monet and Degas assisted Julie Manet in staging a retrospective of Berthe Morisot's work, who had died the year before, also at Durand-Ruel's.[18] During these same years Monet, the most famous and wealthiest of the Impressionists, took upon himself the role of Impressionism's patriarch.[19] A sign of Monet's desire to exert a leadership role among his former colleagues was his invitation to Cézanne—whom he had not met for over a decade—to come paint with him at Giverny in the

autumn of 1894. There, Cézanne met such Monet intimates as Auguste Rodin, Georges Clemenceau, and Octave Mirbeau. Monet may also have played a role in Geffroy's decision to write an article on Cézanne (Geffroy was almost the house apologist for Monet's work in the early 1890s). Geffroy's essay on Cézanne was first published in the spring of 1894 and then reprinted that autumn in the third volume of his series of essays on contemporary art, *La Vie artistique*.[20] Another feature of this historical moment is the sense in which Impressionism reasserted itself against Symbolism as the most modern form of contemporary painting. Much of the critical response to Cézanne around 1895, for example, dwelled on his role as contributor both to the evolution of Impressionism and Symbolism. Since most of the critics who wrote favorably about Cézanne's work belonged to the naturalist camp, it was the artist's truth to nature that triumphed over Gauguin's view of Cézanne as a mystic visionary.

Somewhere within this renewed Impressionist cadre and ideological prestige came the idea to seek public recognition for Cézanne. Jean Renoir claimed that the idea was his father's.[21] Vollard said it was his own.[22] In either case, Vollard's gallery was the logical choice for such an exhibition, because the Durand-Ruel gallery, which had always been the venue of choice for the inner Impressionist circle, had up to this point shown little interest in Cézanne.

The Vollard show has usually been described as a retrospective; it has recently been characterized as representing a careful selection of pictures "to represent the full span of Cézanne's production, both early and late, and the full range of his subject matter—nudes, landscapes, portraits, still lifes—and technical media, from oil paintings to watercolors," which reflect in turn "the dealer's aim... to reconstitute Cézanne's artistic personality through a comprehensive reconstruction of his artistic development."[23] This observation is both true in its

particulars and yet false in its overall conception of the exhibition's coherency. We might note that one critic concluded (wrongly) that the show consisted of work from only a small period within the artist's career.[24] Unlike the retrospectives given by Durand-Ruel during the 1890s to Caillebotte, Cassatt, Monet, Morisot, Pissarro, and Renoir, the Vollard show had no catalogue and hence no preface written by a famous critic. We possess neither installation photographs nor extensive verbal descriptions of the exhibition. Even the precise opening and closing dates are not known. It was not properly speaking a retrospective at all, and as to the careful selection of works, more often then not, critics apologized for the uneven quality of the works displayed—particularly in relation to the number of selected paintings that appeared to them unfinished. If one of the retrospective's necessary qualities is the production—either by the artist or his apologists—of an internal coherence to the art, a coherence that establishes both an individual work's relation to the *oeuvre*, and the *oeuvre*'s relation to the history of modern art, the Vollard show failed to meet these requirements. The exhibition exacerbated rather than resolved Cézanne's place in the history of modern art, vis-a-vis Impressionism or what came after. Was Cézanne to be allied with his Impressionist contemporaries or with younger artists Cézanne's work inspired, like Paul Gauguin, who rejected the naturalist basis of Impressionism?

Not only was there a confusingly wide range of techniques on display at Vollard's in 1895, the artist (or others) made some interesting choices about which paintings were included and which were not. A significant number of paintings that were likely in the show were minor efforts by the artist. Among the potential paintings that so far can be connected to the exhibition, at least 21 of them might be considered incomplete or a sketch, nine appear to be fragments, and one shows demonstrable signs of having been scraped by the artist with his brush (Rewald 362).

Many of what may be considered major paintings by Cézanne were not included in the show. Among the most notable missing paintings were the *Card Players* series, the recent landscapes depicting Mont Sainte-Victoire, and those painted in and around the Bibemus quarry. There were, however, probably multiple portraits of Mme. Cézanne in the exhibition.

Vollard's anecdotal accounts about the show, written long after the event, have been treated in the Cézanne literature in a variety of ways—some of what the dealer described has been accepted; other features of his account had tended to be ignored or disputed. The problems begin with the dealer's claim to have shown 150 paintings, whereas contemporary reviewers scaled the number of works to about 50, which even then must have filled Vollard's rather small shop. John Rewald suggested that the dealer rotated the canvases throughout the course of the exhibition, which makes sense given the cramped space.[25] Based on Vollard's own account, works we know to have been sold either at or not longer after the first exhibition via the dealer's sales records, and other scholarly attributions, currently in the most authoritative online catalogue of Cézanne's works, only fifty-nine oil paintings have been linked to the exhibition.[26] What is certain is that whatever their actual number, Vollard recorded having received his Cézannes unsigned, undated, and with no indications of their titles—if the artist had ever had titles for them. According to Vollard, not only did the dealer have to frame all these paintings, he also had to provide them with new stretchers, since Cézanne sent them to him un-stretched.

Imagine a young dealer, with few financial resources, scrambling to find stretchers and frames for a great many pictures. Even if he rotated the paintings, individual frames would possibly have had to be made for as many as half of all the canvases displayed. In his Cézanne monograph Vollard recalled his fortune "in finding some narrow white mouldings at two cents a

yard which an apprentice joiner let me have very cheaply."[27] We can imagine then a very crowded interior, with paintings hung in multiple rows, almost touching, separated visually by the bands of simply shaped, narrow white frames.

In his Cézanne biography Vollard made much of the show's window display; he meant, he wrote, for it to be provocative and he meant his visitors to see the connection between his exhibition and the Caillebotte bequest.[28] The show has even been related to the anarchist sympathies Vollard is said to have held.[29] By his own account Vollard placed in his window *Bathers at Rest*, R.261, one of the three Cézannes, no doubt lent by Renoir, rejected by the state from the Caillebotte collection. Vollard related how he hung the painting in his window alongside *Leda and the Swan*, R.447, and another, unidentified "study of nudes." Vollard would have known through Renoir the paintings from the Caillebotte collection the government had agreed to accept. What makes Vollard's claims about the connection between the Caillebotte bequest and the Cézanne show is how little we can gather about how much the public were aware of the agreement between the state and the heirs—completed in June 1895—by the end of year.[30] We know that later, when the Caillebotte collection was finally displayed in the Musée de Luxembourg, two years later, in February 1897, a conservative outcry, led by the Academicians, was raised. The Cézanne exhibition appears to have preceded the first public debate over the bequest.

The numerous pages Vollard devoted in his Cézanne biography to the public outcry curiously echo the uncomprehending reactions to the 1863 *Salon des refusés* Zola depicted in *L'Oeuvre*. The facts we have hardly support such a comparison. Not only was the show not nearly so widely reviewed (eighteen notices or critical reviews) as the retrospectives given to

artists such as Pissarro and Cassatt a few years before, only one of the reviews was significantly negative.[31] Overall, the Cézanne show was a much less publicized, and hence much less public event than Monet's exhibition of his Rouen Cathedral series exhibition in 1895, which received no fewer than forty reviews.[32] The retrospectives given to Pissarro and Cassatt a few years before attracted nearly as much attention as Monet's exhibition.[33] Finally, many of the first buyers out of the exhibition were Cézanne's fellow artists and collectors who were already at least somewhat familiar with his work. Vollard closed his Cézanne biography by publishing excerpts of reviews from 1895 to the 1906 Salon d'automne retrospective featuring the negative statements made about the artist's work and including little of the positive.[34] This strategy was clearly self-serving; it resembles Durand-Ruel's efforts to paint himself as a visionary dealer. By emphasizing the show's radical nature Vollard complimented a new generation of collectors who braved, Vollard suggested, critical opposition to buy Cézanne's pictures.

Let's return to the question of how the show might have been organized. Some scholars have credited the selection and display of Cézanne's paintings to everyone other than the artist. Partly this view is based on Cézanne's stated confidence in his son's ability to act on his behalf.[35] Walter Feilchenfeldt, for example, has argued that it was Cézanne *fils* in fact who rolled Cézanne's pictures, sending them to the dealer from his Paris studio.[36] Supporting this view is Vollard's account about how he tried to track down the painter, but failed, and met the artist's son instead at Cézanne's Paris studio. With this in mind, one might imagine that the dealer selected the works out of whatever was in the artist's Paris studio at the time, with the help of his son. However, Vollard also stated that he received the paintings from the artist rolled. Feilchenfeldt relies on Vollard's statement that the artist stored his Paris paintings by taking them off their

stretchers. A few pages earlier, Vollard recounts how Cézanne permitted Tanguy to enter his Paris studio in his absence to let clients choose "from the different piles of canvases" some to sell for 40 francs, others to see for 100 francs."[37] Given these "piles" of paintings it might make sense that for a short cross-town trip that rolling the canvases might have been the easiest way to transport them. We also have a reviewer's complaint that the show was made up of "studio leavings."

Vollard's own statements on the matter, reiterated in a number of publications all printed while the artist's son was still alive, run directly counter to arguments like Feichenfeldt's. The dealer described receiving the paintings from the artist rolled, shipped this way to save space and perhaps shipping costs. If Cézanne shipped them, then he also selected them. However negligent that selection process may have been, it makes Cézanne, not Vollard, the principal author of the exhibition. Then there is this: the young Provençal writer, Joachim Gasquet described seeing a great number of Cézanne's paintings stacked in the artist's studio in Aix in 1896.[38] Stacks, rather than piles, suggests paintings stored on their stretchers. And paintings on stretchers are less likely to be damaged over time.

We know that, like most artists of this era, Cézanne typically painted on commercially-stretched canvases sold in standard dimensions. Among the paintings Rewald placed in the exhibition, there were fifteen standardized sizes.[39] Of all the paintings that have been attributed to the exhibition in the online Cézanne catalogue, only a few paintings would not fit on standard-sized stretchers. On the other hand, among the paintings that show evidence of having been rolled, many of these have measurements inconsistent with established commercial stretcher lengths. So far I have been able to identify 54 paintings that clearly indicate evidence of having

once been rolled. There may be a few others, should one be able to examine all the artist's paintings at first hand. Of these rolled paintings only one could not possibly have been in the Vollard show, an early painting that Cézanne mailed to a German friend living in Stuttgart (R.83). There are also no rolled canvases dating from after 1895.

Evidence of a rolled canvas is sometimes subtle, but mostly not. Remarkably few of Cézanne's paintings possess significant surface damage to their paint layers. Sometimes one will see some fissures in the paint where the artist applied the paint too thickly. At other times Cézanne used types of manufactured paints that were subject to cracking. The damage that is caused by rolling a canvas is different. In these cases, the cracking patterns appear on the painting's surface run parallel to each other, along the direction of the roll. Such breaks in the paint pass through different color areas and/or paint thicknesses. With a re-stretched canvas one also usually finds cusping patterns within the canvas weave along the painting's edges. This slight redistribution of the canvas weave typically results from pulling a sized and painted, dry canvas across new stretcher bars.

One of the most frequently overlooked aspects of Cézanne's oil paintings in both the discussion of the Vollard show and the painter's treatment of his canvases generally, is how the largest majority of his paintings have come down to us in excellent condition. Precisely because most paintings by Cézanne are so well preserved that evident signs of rolling in some of them support Vollard's story about how he received his pictures. If we have a rolled canvas and we have other circumstantial evidence indicating that the painting in question could have been in the Vollard show, we have good evidence that the artist himself, in accordance with Vollard's story, sent the picture in question to the dealer. Some of Cézanne's paintings we know were in the

1895 show no trace of having been rolled, while others do. Among the still lifes previously mentioned, several show evidence of having been rolled, but others do not (these paintings are small, so they may not have required rolling or would have been rolled so tightly as to damage the canvas surface). Among other paintings that conceivably could have been left in Cézanne's Paris studio, landscapes painted in northern France (such as on the banks of the Marne) show no evidence of having been rolled. Conversely, we have paintings that were certainly made in the south of France, and therefore had no reason to be in the artist's Paris studio, such as the *Great Pine Tree* (R.447) or *The Bay at Marseilles Seen from the Village of St. Henri* (R.281), or the two great landscapes of *The Bay of Marseilles Seen from L'Estaque* (R.625 and R.626), all with obvious indications that they once were rolled.

From this physical evidence we can draw some broad conclusions. Some of the paintings in the 1895 show were lent by Renoir (on behalf of the Caillebotte family) and by Monet and perhaps by others. Some of the paintings probably came from Cézanne's Paris studio, quite possibly having been rolled if they had not been stored on stretchers. This may especially be true of the fragmented paintings, which are all still lifes and come from the period in which Cézanne worked with *père* Tanguy. Some of the Paris paintings still on their original stretchers would have been delivered to the dealer by other means. Most of the other rolled paintings that we can currently identify were likely those sent by Cézanne from his Aix studio, just as Vollard describes. Evidence of rolling also helps establish the provenance of several Cézanne paintings that do not appear in Vollard's business diaries or stock books, but which clearly passed through the dealer's hands (among them Rewald numbers 158, 308, 323, and 601).

Not all the paintings that Cézanne likely sent from Aix possess telltale signs of rolling, particularly the smaller paintings. Other factors also would affect a painting's appearance and condition, such as how tightly the canvas may have been rolled, how thick its paint layers are, and how recently the painting had been made. Another bit of evidence, although it probably does not bear on the first exhibition in 1895, as to whether Vollard once owned a Cézanne painting not currently in the published provenances is the appearance of brown taping around the edges of a painting. Vollard consistently added taped borders to the Cézanne paintings that passed through his shop. For example, the *Still Life with Primroses* in the Metropolitan Museum (R. 680), has the tape Vollard typically used, yet the dealer is currently missing from the painting's provenance. Vollard appears to have chosen taped edging to tighten up a painting's composition visually and to give a painting a more finished appearance.[40] Taping was particularly useful for paintings by Cézanne where the artist had left significant portions of the canvas unpainted. We know that many of the paintings that appear the most incomplete often the ones that stayed longest in the dealer's possession. The presence of taping helped the dealer present less complete paintings as finished works, rather than mere sketches. For these he could charge much more than he could get for a sketch.

3. Paintings that can be attributed to the 1895 Cézanne show at Vollard's

Vollard cited 22 paintings that were included in the exhibition, not all of which may be firmly identified by the titles he gave them. John Rewald and collaborators added a number of other paintings to Vollard's list. Further additions may be made using known sales of paintings in immediate proximity of exhibition, and finally, through evidence of rolling. Paintings are

indicated by titles and their catalogue number in Rewald's raisonné.[41] Rolled canvases are indicated with an *. So far 101 paintings might be traced to the exhibition (as well as some works on paper).

Rewald 128: Feast (Orgy), c. 1867* (private collection, Paris)
Rewald 261: Bathers at rest, III, 1876-77 (Barnes)
Rewald 351: *The Abandoned House*, 1878-79 (private collection, NY)
Rewald 421: *Portrait of Louis Guillaume*, 1879-80 (National Gallery, Washington, D.C.)
Rewald 445: *Self-Portrait,* c. 1882* (Pushkin Museum, Moscow)
Rewald 447: *Leda and the Swan*, c. 1880 (Barnes)
Rewald 536: *Mme. Cézanne in a striped dress*, 1885 (Yokohama Museum of Art)
Rewald 553: *Bather Before a Tent*, 1878 (Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart)
Rewald 601: *Great Pine Tree*, 1887* (Museu de Arte, São Paulo)
Rewald 628: *Banks of the Marne*, 1888 (private collection, Paris)
Rewald 688: *Jas de Bouffan*, 1890-94 (private collection, Tokyo)
Rewald 700: *Mme. Cézanne in a Green Hat*, 1891-92 (Barnes)
Rewald 703: *Mme. Cézanne in the Conservatory*, 1891-92 (Metropolitan Museum, NY)
Rewald 800: *Basket of Apples*, c. 1893 (Art Institute of Chicago)
Rewald 806: *Young Girl with a doll*, 1894 (Bridgestone Museum, Tokyo)
Rewald 815: *Underbrush*, 1893-94 (L.A. County Museum of Art)

Paintings attributed to the show by the Rewald catalogue raisonné; attributed to the show by the online catalogue raisonné edited by Walter Feilchenfeldt, Jayne Warman and David Nash, identified as either possibly belonging to Vollard's list or through other external evidence:

Rewald 162: *Le Pêcheur à la ligne*, c. 1868-70* (location unknown)
Rewald 281: *Bay at Marseilles Seen from the Village of St. Henri*, 1877-79 (Yoshino Gypsum Co.)
Rewald 370: *Bather with Outstretched Arm*, 1877-78 (private collection, NY)
Rewald 373: *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, c. 1878-80 ((private collection, NY)
Rewald 458: *Four Bathers*, 1880 (private collection)
Rewald 658 *The Boy in a Red Vest*, 1888-90* (Bürhle Foundation, Zürich)
Rewald 729: *The Bridge over the Marne at* Créteil, c. 1894 (Pushkin Museum, Moscow)
Rewald 774: *Self-portrait wearing soft hat*, 1894 (Bridgestone Museum, Tokyo)
Rewald 802: *Still Life*, c. 1895 (private collection, U.K.)

Paintings recorded to have been purchased from Vollard (or likely from Vollard) before August 1896:

Rewald 114: *Standing nude drying hair*, c. 1869 (private collection)
Rewald 120: *Le Nègre Scipion*, c. 1867 (Museu de Arte, Säo Paulo)
Rewald 164: *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, c. 1870 (private collection, NY)
Rewald 250: *Bathers by the water*, 1875-77 (private collection)
Rewald 297: *Portrait of Victor Choquet*, c. 1877 (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond)
Rewald 334: *Five Apples*, c. 1877-78* (private collection)
Rewald 339: *Apples and Napkin* (private collection, Japan)
Rewald 346: *Apples*, c. 1878* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)
Rewald 353: *Still Life with Two Pears*, c. 1875 (private collection)
Rewald 369: *Bather with outstretched arm*, 1877-78 (private collection)

Rewald 385: *Self-Portrait*, c. 1877 (Musée d'Orsay, Paris)
Rewald 420: *Compotier, pommes et miche de pain*, c. 1879-80 (Oskar Reinhart coll.)
Rewald 424: *Glass and Apples*, 1879-80* (Kunstmuseum, Basel)
Rewald 425: *Bowl and Milk Pitcher*, c. 1879* (Artizon Museum, Tokyo)
Rewald 443: *L'Estaque*, 1883 (MoMA, NY)
Rewald 454: *Harvesters*, c. 1880 (private collection, Switzerland)
Rewald 456: *The Struggle of Love, II*, c. 1880 (National Gallery, Washington, D.C.)
Rewald 470: *Begonias in a pot*, c. 1880 (private collection)
Rewald 505: *Auvers*, 1881 (private collection)
Rewald 533: *Sketch of Mme. Cézanne*, c. 1883 (private collection, Chicago)
Rewald 534: *Sketch of Artist's Son*, 1883-85 (Von der Heydt Museum, Wuppertal)
Rewald 538: *Chestnuts and Farm at the Jas de Bouffan* (private collection, NY)
Rewald 557: *Two fruit*, 1885 (private collection, Japan)
Rewald 558: *Still Life*, c. 1885 (private collection, NY)
Rewald 569: *Gardanne (Horizontal View)* c. 1885* (Barnes)
Rewald 570: *View of Gardanne*, c. 1886* (Metropolitan Museum, NY)
Rewald 622: *Maison au bord de la Marne*, c. 1884-94 (White House collection)
Rewald 657: *The Boy in the Red Vest*, 1888-90 (MoMA, NY)
Rewald 659: *Boy in a red vest*, 1888-90 (National Gallery, Washington, D.C.)
Rewald 674: *Still Life*, c. 1890 (Hermitage, St. Petersburg)
Rewald 724: *Banks of the Marne*, c. 1892 (National Gallery, Washington, D.C.)
Rewald 741: *Still Life*, 1894* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Paintings that exhibit clear indications of having once been rolled:

Rewald 68: *Rocks by the Sea* (Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh)
Rewald 83: *Skull and Chandelier, 1866* (Heinrich Morstatt, Stuttgart) (private collection, Zürich)
Rewald 101: *Artist's Father Reading Newspaper*, 1866 (National Gallery, Washington, D.C.)
Rewald 107: *Uncle Dominique*, c. 1866 (Metropolitan Museum, NY)
Rewald 124: Satyrs and Nymphs, c. 1866 (Sotheby's last known)
Rewald 128: Feast (Orgy), c. 1867 (private collection, Paris)
Rewald 133: *Provencal landscape* (private collection)
Rewald 138: *Still Life with bottle, cup and fruit*, c. 1869 (Nationalgalerie, Berlin)
Rewald 147: *Antony Valabregue* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles)
Rewald 154: *Women and a child in an interior* (Pushkin Museum, Moscow)
Rewald 155: *Contrast*, c. 1870 (private collection)
Rewald 158: *Avenue at the Jas de Bouffan*, c. 1869 (Tate Gallery, London)
Rewald 166: *Pastoral*, c. 1870 (Musée d'Orsay, Paris)
Rewald 167: *Temptation of St. Anthony* (E. H. Bührle Stiftung, Zurich)
Rewald 168: *Road with trees in rocky mountains* (Städel Museum, Frankfurt a. M.)
Rewald 182: *Self-Portrai*t, c. 1875 (Musée d'Orsay, Paris)
Rewald 183: *Landscape with watermill* (Yale University Art Gallery)
Rewald 217: *Mme. Cézanne seated, 1874* (Onyx Art Collection)
Rewald 263: *Seated Bather at Water's Edge*, c. 1876 (Im Obersteg Collection, Basel)
Rewald 291: *Afternoon in Naples with black servant*, 1877-78 (National Gallery, Canberra)
Rewald 293: *The Seine at Bercy* (after Guillaumin), 1876-78 (Hamburger Kunsthalle)
Rewald 303: *La Corbeille renversée*, c. 1877 (Glasgow City Art Gallery)
Rewald 308: *House at Auvers*, c. 1877 (Stiftung Langmatt Sidney and Jenny Brown, Baden)
Rewald 323: *Mme. Cézanne Knitting*, c. 1877 (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm)
Rewald 324: *Mme. Cézanne in Yellow Dress*, c. 1877 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)
Rewald 334: *Five Apples, c. 1877-78 (private collection)*
Rewald 341: Apricots and Cherries on a Plate, c. 1877-79 (Sotheby's last known)
Rewald 346: *Apples, c. 1878 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)*

Rewald 347: *Pears and a Knife*, c. 1878 (private collection)
Rewald 354: *Some apples*, c. 1879-80 (Stiftung Langmatt Sidney and Jenny Brown, Baden)
Rewald 416: *Self-Portrait*, c. 1879-80 (Oskar Reinhart Collection, Winterthur)
Rewald 421: Portrait of Louis Guillaume, 1879-80 (National Gallery, Washington, D.C.)
Rewald 423: *Plate of Peaches*, c. 1879-80 (Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, NY
Rewald 424: *Glass and apples*, c. 1879-80 (Kunstmuseum, Basel)
Rewald 425: *Bowl and Milk Pitcher*, c. 1879 (Artizon Museum, Tokyo)
Rewald 445: *Self-portrait*, c. 1882 (Pushkin Museum, Moscow)
Rewald 532: *Mme. Cézanne*, 1883-85 (Philadelphia Museum of Art)
Rewald 561: *Still Life with Plate of Cherries*, 1885-87 (L.A. County Museum)
Rewald 566: *Basin at Jas de Bouffan*, 1886 (Metropolitan Museum, NY)
Rewald 569: *Horizontal View of Gardanne*, c. 1885 (Barnes)
Rewald 570: *View of Gardanne*, 1886 (Metropolitan Museum, NY)
Rewald 572: *Hamlet at Payennet near Gardanne*, 1886-90 (White House collection)
Rewald 601: *Great Pine Tree*, 1887 *(Museu de Arte, São Paulo)*
Rewald 625: *Bay of Marseilles Seen from L'Estaque*, c. 1885 (Metropolitan Museum, NY)
Rewald 626: *Bay of Marseilles Seen from L'Estaque*, c. 1885 (Art Institute of Chicago)
Rewald 651: *Mme. Cézanne in a yellow chair*, 1888-90 (Fondation Beyeler, Riehen/Basel)
Rewald 653: *Mme. Cézanne in armchair*, 1890 (Art Institute of Chicago)
Rewald 658: *Young Man in a Red Vest*, 1888-90 (E. H. Bührle Stiftung, Zurich)
Rewald 673 *Apples*, 1889-90 (private collection)
Rewald 693: *Pigeonnier at Bellevue*, c. 1890 (Kunstmuseum Basel)
Rewald 723: *Trees and Houses by a water*, 1892-93 (private collection)
Rewald 735: *Pot de gingembre* (Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.)
Rewald 741: *Fruits et Cruchon*, c. 1894 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)
Rewald 766: *Running water in woods* c. 1895 (Cleveland Museum of Art)

Paintings rejected from the Caillebotte donation not mentioned by Vollard as having been in the first Cézanne exhibition, but which might have been lent by Martial Caillebotte along with *Bathers in Repose, III* (Rewald 261):

Rewald 244: *On the Banks of the Etang*, 1876-77 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)
Rewald 265: *Rococo Vase,* 1875-77 (National Gallery, Washington, D.C.)

One of the most interesting aspects of this list is the relatively even distribution of paintings from throughout the artist's career. If we consider Cézanne's early period to conclude near the end of the 1870s, that would coincide approximately with Rewald's catalogue numbers 1-350. The middle period of Cézanne's work, reflecting an artist grown confident in his technique, falls between the late 1870s and the late 1880s, which in the Rewald catalogue number between about 350 and 600. The most recent work, from the late 1880s to 1895 begins around 600 and ending in the early 800s. With that in mind, the work exhibited in 1895 divides into 38 paintings representing his early work, 32 mid-career paintings, and 27 recent paintings.

While it is possible that Cézanne's son could have gathered such a distribution from the artist's Paris studio "leavings," it seems unlikely. Rather, the distribution of works strongly suggests that Cézanne intended to display representative examples from the entirety of his creative production. Only the slight preponderance of early paintings suggests that some of the paintings likely came from paintings left in Paris.

To this list of paintings we can add other candidates for inclusion in the show. We know that watercolors were also in the exhibition, so the actual total of oil paintings—if Vollard is to be believed—probably falls well below 147. Table 3 includes the paintings identified above and other possible works for the exhibition, identified according to known early collectors of Cézanne's work. Forty-six individuals can be directly or indirectly connected with the paintings that may have been in the exhibition.[42] Of course, some of the paintings listed in table 3 may have been acquired prior to the Vollard exhibition. Others were probably purchased within a year or two subsequent to the exhibition, by which time the dealer had refreshed his inventory—especially those where Vollard is not listed in current provenances. The dealer only began to make a careful record of his Cézanne paintings in his first stock book begun sometime in 1899. Early Cézanne sales not recorded in his stock books number at minimum 76 sales.[43]

4. Cézanne's early collectors

Table 3 is useful not just for establishing possible candidates for the Vollard show. From it, we can also explore the different collectors and dealers who early on acquired the artist's paintings. Within the provenances of Cézanne's paintings one discovers striking evidence for the existence of two Cézannes, the one familiar to his admirers from the Impressionist years and the

Table 3. Reconstruction of all possible paintings exhibited at Vollard's in 1895.

Buyer	Rewald (1996) cat. #	Buyer	Rewald (1996) cat. #
Bauchy	R.285; R.382	Hessel	R. 199; R.281
Blot	R.351; **R.741**	Hoogendijk	R.132; R.182; R.280; R.303; R.347; R.356; R.430; R.474; R.476; R.480; R.597; R.608; **R.626**; R.639; R.660; R.673; R.679; R.702; R.734; R.739; R.740; R.742; R.744; R.767; R.773; R.844
Bonger	R.414; R.435; R.477; R.478; R.638	Leclanché	R.170
former Caillebotte collection	R.244; R.261; R.265; **R.447**	Loeser	R.230; R. 256; R.264; R.266; R.283; R.284; R.488; R.561; R.565; R.572; R.622; R.637; R.699
Cassatt	R.339; R.420	Matisse	R.360
Charpentier	R.99	Maufra	R.334
Cochin	R.156; R.293; R.308; R.331; R.338; R.536; R.566; R.613; R.615; R. 635; R.645; R.700; 814	Mirbeau	R. 99; **R.162**; R.195; R.286; R.433; R.451
Costa	R.169; R.505; **R.570**	Murat	**R.425**
Degas	R.164; R.297; **R.346**; R.369; R.374; R.416; **R.424**; R.557	Pellerin	R.86; R.104; R.105; R.128; R.133; R.167; R.183; R.257; R.263; R.299; R362; R.373; R.628; R.703; R.729
Doria	R.147; R.175	Pissarro	R. 114; R.196; R.250; R.385
Duret	R.198; R.397	Renoir	R.456
Fabbri	R.62; R.124; R.287; R.314; R.324; R.341; R.345; R.394; R.410; **R.421**; R.423; R.438; R.448; R.449; R.458; R.489; R.496; R.501; R.551; R.554; **R.569**; R.659; R.717; R.724	Rosenberg, A.	R.107
Fabre	R.470; R.594	Rouart, H.	R. 127; R.216; R.330; R.342; R364
Feydeau	R.407	Shchukin, I.	R.137; R.222
Gasquet	R.601	Shchukin, S.	R.77; **R.445**
Geffroy	R.533; R.534; R.538; R.674; R.731	Sumners, J.	R.454
Halevy	R.558	Tavernier	R.22; R.134
Havemeyer	R.189; R.210; R.219; R.469; R.623; R.625	Vallotton	R.372
Hazard	R.353; R.W57; R.W59; R.W61; R.W62	Viau	R.305; R.310
Heilbut	R.621	Vollard	R.43; R.50; R.66; R. 68; R.85; R.97; R.101; R.102; R.104; R.105; R.106; R.128; R.132; R.138; R.142; R.154; R.164; R.166; R.167; R.175; R.183; R.250; R.291; R.293; R.308; R.323; R.334; R.351; R.354; R.536; R.362; R.370; R.373; **R.42l; R.447**; R.458; R. 531; R. 532; R.536; R.544; R.553; R.594; **R.601;** R.614; R.628; R.635; R.651; R.653; **R.658**; R.659; R.688; R.693; R.700; R.703; R.709; R.721; R.729; R.766; R.774; R.800; R.802; R.806; R.815

Key: Paintings that exhibit clear evidence of having once been rolled
Paintings that exhibit no clear signs of having been rolled, but have been placed in the show by Vollard and others
Paintings placed in the show that also exhibit evidence of having been rolled

evolved artist, who reached maturity during the 1880s at a time when he was largely invisible to the Parisian art world.[44] Table 4 lists the known owners of Cézanne's paintings dating from before and after the first exhibition. The number of pre-1895 owners listed in the first column (48) is slightly more than those post-1895 owners listed in the second (46), yet there are some striking discontinuities between the two.

As illustrated by chart 1 and 2, the percentage of collectors among the overall owners of Cézanne's paintings significantly increased, from 32% to 58%. Prior to 1895 most of Cézanne's

Table 4. Owners of Paintings by Cézanne: Pre- and Post-1895 Vollard Show*

Owners Pre-Vollard Show		**Owners Post-Vollard Show****	**Pre- and Post-Vollard Show**
Paul Alexis (childhood friend, critic)	1	Alexandre, Arsène	Bauchy (Café des variétés)
Mogen Ballin (Danish painter)	2	Berendt (?)	Mary Cassatt
M. Bauchy (collector)	3	Georges Bernheim (collector/dealer)	Count Armand Doria
Mme. Baudy (Hôtel Baudy, Giverny)	4	Bernheim Jeune (dealer)	Paul Durand-Ruel
Edouard Béliard, (artist: 1st Imp.)	5	Eugène Blot (collector/dealer)	Théodore Duret
Georges de Bellio (collector)	6	Andries Bonger (collector)	Charles Loeser
Eugène Boch (Belgian artist, Les XX)	7	Pierre Bonnard (artist)	Lucien Moline
Bourdin (collector)	8	Isaac de Camondo (collector)	Claude Monet
Gustave Boyer (C's childhood friend)	9	Cerfils (?)	Camille Pissarro
Ernest Cabaner, (musician)	10	Georges Charpentier (collector)	Auguste Renoir
Chabrier, Emmanuel (composer)	11	Baron Denys Cochin (collector)	Emile Schuffenecker
Gustave Caillebotte (artist)	12	Count Enrico Costa (collector)	
Mary Cassatt (artist)	13	Edgar Degas (artist)	
Felicien Champsaur (writer)	14	Maurice Denis (artist)	
Victor Choquet (collector)	15	Georges Dumesnil (Prof. of Philosophy, Aix)	
Maxime Conil (C's brother-in-law)	16	Egisto Fabbri (artist/amateur)	
Robert de Bonnières (writer/critic)	17	Maurice Fabre (Montpellier artist/collector)	
Count Armand Doria (collector)	18	Gustave Fayet (collector)	
Ferdinand Dufau (dealer, Galerie Vivienne)	19	Georges Feydeau (collector)	
Galerie Durand-Ruel (dealer)	20	Paul Gallimard (collector)	
Théodore Duret (writer)	21	Joachim Gasquet (friend since 1896)	
Justin Gabet (C's childhood friend)	22	Gustave Geffroy (critic)	
Dr. Paul Gachet (artist/amateur)	23	P. Guillaume (collector)	
Abbé Gauguin (collector)	24	Ludovic Halevy jeune (collector)	
Paul Gauguin (artist)	25	Mr. & Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer (collectors)	
Armand Guillaumin (artist)	26	P. Hazard (collector)	
Sara Hallowell (dealer)	27	Emil Heilbut (critic, dealer)	
Paul Helleu (artist)	28	Jos. Hessel (dealer)	
Charles Loeser (collector)	29	Cornelis Hoogendijk (collector)	
Maximilien Luce (artist)	30	Joyant (dealer, Manzi & Joyant)	
Malcoud (dealer)	31	Maurice Leclanché (collector)	
Père Martin (dealer)	32	Henri Matisse (artist)	
Lucien Moline (director Galerie Laffitte)	33	Maxime Maufra (artist)	
Donop de Monchy (collector)	34	Octave Mirbeau (critic)	
Claude Monet (artist)	35	Natanson, Thadée (collector)	
Georges Murat (collector)	36	Auguste Pellerin (collector)	
Eugène Murer (artist/amateur)	37	Redon, Odilon (artist)	
Camille Pissarro (artist)	38	Alexandre Rosenberg (collector)	
Alphonse Portier (dealer)	39	Henri Rouart (collector)	
Auguste Renoir (artist)	40	Felix Roux (collector)	
Armand Rondest (C's grocer)	41	Ivan and Sergei Shchukin (collectors)	
Emile Schuffenecker (artist)	42	Richard Sumner (friend of Loeser)	
Paul Signac (artist)	43	Adolphe Tavernier (collector)	
Père Tanguy (dealer)	44	Félix Vallotton (artist)	
Père Thomas (dealer)	45	Georges Viau (collector)	
Fannie Toure (servant)	46	Edouard Vuillard (artist)	
Victor Vignon (artist)	47		
Emile Zola (C. childhood friend)	48		

*Personal relationships include paintings left with shopkeepers and other merchants, either in lieu of payment or because the artist simply left a picture behind.
**Post-1895 owners of Cézannes include only individuals who began buying Cézanne paintings before the end of 1900.

paintings were in the possession of an intimate circle of the artist's family, childhood friends, and persons with whom the painter came into daily contact. Significantly, the collectors who came to

buy Cézanne's works after 1895 were much more likely to buy the artist's recent paintings than the pre-Vollard collectors had. Post-1884 works represent fewer than 5% of the total number of paintings in these older collections. Conversely, the new collectors bought post-1885 paintings

Chart 1. Pre-1895 Vollard Exhibition Owners of Cézanne Paintings

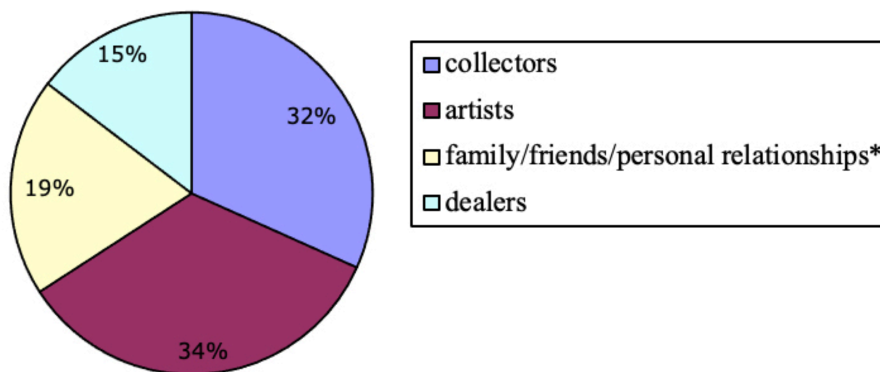
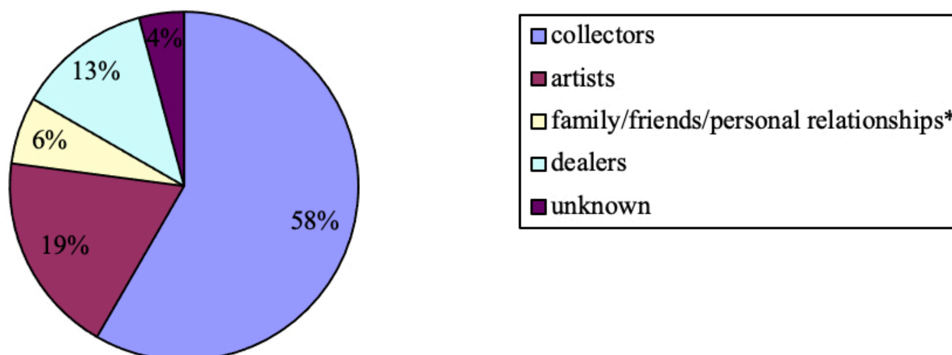


Chart 2. Post-1895 Vollard Exhibition Owners of Cézanne Paintings



at a ratio of about 33% of the total paintings they acquired.[45] We should note in this context such

striking exceptions as Geffroy, Monet's intimate and apologist, who bought only recent paintings by Cézanne, as well as the Dutch collector Cornelis Hoogendijk, who out of his 31 Cézanne paintings acquired 21 post-1885 pictures.

Table 5 underlines the discontinuity between pre-1895 owners of Cézanne pictures and the post-1895 owners. Only ten individuals (excluding Vollard) possessed paintings by the artist prior to 1895 and continued to acquire them at the Vollard show or later, and the list includes four

Table 5. Buyers of pre- versus post-1885 Cézanne paintings

Collectors	**Pre-1885**	**Post-1885**		**Collectors**	**Pre-1885**	**Post-1885**
Bauchy	2			Hoogendijk	10	21
Blot	9	3		Leclanché	3	
Bonger	5	1		Loeser	8	7
Bonnard	1			Matisse	1	3
Bourdin	2			Maufra	1	
Camondo	2	5		Mirbeau	13	1
Cassatt	2			Monet	7	7
Cerfils	1			Murat	2	
Charpentier	1			Natanson	1	
Cochin	12	19		Pellerin	99	51
Costa	2	1		Pissarro	19	2
Degas	6	1		Redon		1
Denis		2		Renoir	3	1
Duret	5	3		Rosenberg, A.	3	
Fabbri	25	11		Rouart	5	
Fabre, M	1	2		Schuffenecker, E.	3	2
Fayet	6	3		Shchukin, I.	2	
Feydeau	1			Shchukin, S.	5	4
Gallimard	2	1		Sumner	1	
Gasquet	1	4		Tavernier	5	
Geffroy	2	6		Vallotton	1	
Halevy		1		Viau	6	1
Havemeyer	8	5		Vuillard	2	
Hazard	1			**Total:**	**298**	**169**

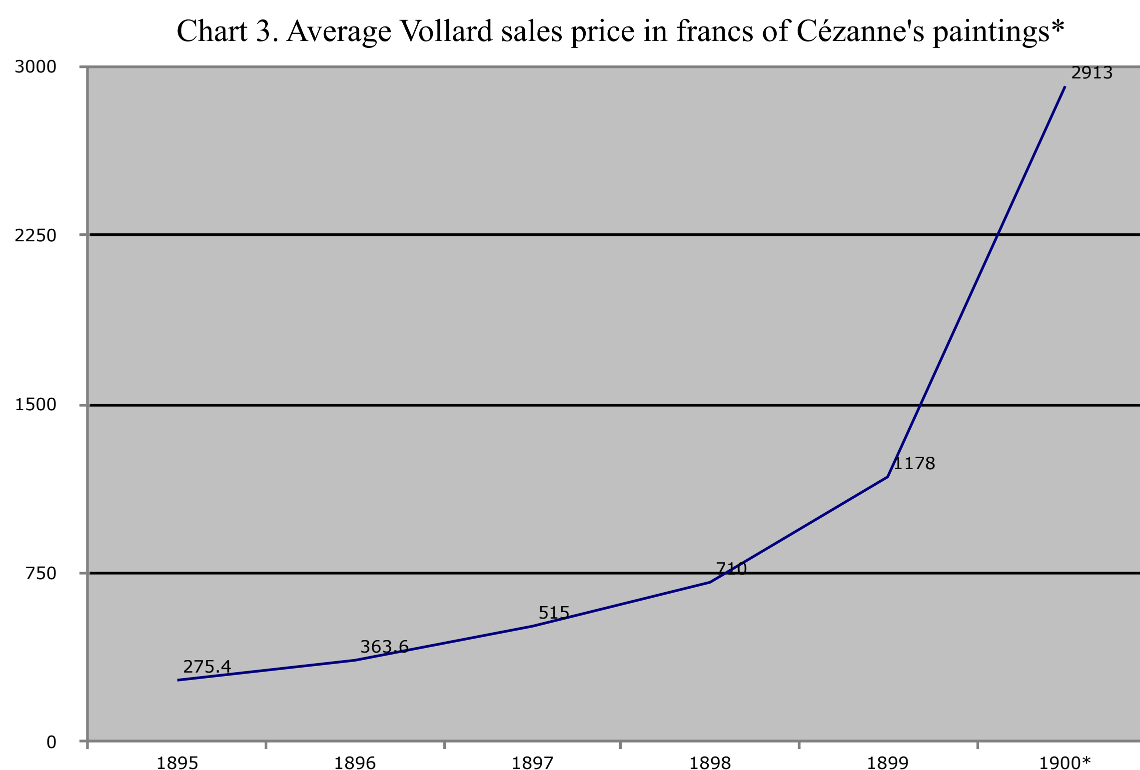
artists—three of his Impressionist colleagues and Emile Schuffenecker.[46] It is certain that Degas bought all seven paintings by Cézanne from Vollard, beginning in November 1895. For Degas, who had not, like Monet, Renoir, and Pissarro, painted alongside Cézanne, the show was a complete revelation. But like the pictures Renoir and Pissarro bought out of the Vollard show, Degas acquired paintings from Cézanne's early maturity. None would acquire a painting that Rewald dated to later than 1885. Monet was unique among his colleagues for acquiring both early and late Cézanne paintings.[47]

Monet's active interest in Cézanne's work dates, if not precisely from the Vollard exhibition, then from a year or two immediately preceding it. The only Cézanne we know for certain that Monet possessed before 1895 was the picture given to the artist in 1894 by the painter Paul Helleu. Two early acquisitions Monet possibly acquired via trades with his first dealer, *père* Martin. According to Rewald eleven of Monet's fourteen paintings were definitely acquired after 1895. Notably, half of Monet's pictures Cézanne painted in 1890 or later. Monet's engagement with the late Cézanne—also reflected in Geffroy's acquisition of Cézanne's late work—corresponds to his radical reappraisal by his former colleague's work. Monet would subsequently come to prize his Cézanne paintings over the work of all other artists. He even hung one over his bed (*Château Noir*, 1903-04, MoMA). Cézanne in turn came to believe that Monet was his only important contemporary. This high mutual regard could not have preceded the Vollard show by many months, if at all.[48]

The disjunction between pre- and post-1895 collectors was probably affected by the rising prices for the artist's work. Chart 3 illustrates Cézanne's sales recorded in Vollard's diaries between 1895 and 1900. It is a testimony to the career-building event of the Vollard's

exhibitions that the average price of a Cézanne painting regardless of size rose from 275 francs in 1895 to 1,178 francs in 1899. The auction of the Choquet collection in 1899 led to a further escalation in the artist's prices. The thirty paintings in the Choquet collection, including small sketches, yielded an average price of 1,489 francs.By 1900 the average price of Cézanne's paintings had grown to 2,913 francs. Returning to Table 5, four or perhaps five galleries besides Vollard became significantly involved in the Cézanne market after the 1895 exhibition. One was

Chart 3. Average Vollard sales price in francs of Cézanne's paintings*



*SALES FIGURES FOR THE FIRST HALF OF 1900 ONLY. SOURCE: AMBROISE VOLLARD, DIARY [A], 1894-1900, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, GETTY RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

foreign: the Berlin dealers Bruno and Paul Cassirer, represented in Paris at the end of the 1890s by Emil Heilbut. Of the new Parisian dealers two bought in large quantities: the Galeries Jos. Hessel and Bernheim-Jeune. Hessel was the cousin of Gaston and Josse Bernheim and became director of one of their galleries, so perhaps it is more accurate to say that only one new gallery

of importance began acquiring Cézannes for the first time following the Vollard exhibition. The two interrelated firms also appear to have entered the market for Cézanne at the same time: in December 1898—that is, six months after the second Vollard show (summer 1898).[49] At one time or another, well over 200 paintings passed through Bernheim-Jeune's hands, while Hessel eventually acquired at least 48 paintings. As for the Galerie Durand-Ruel, their active pursuit of Cézanne's work began somewhat later, in the spring of 1899, when the gallery purchased fifteen Cézanne's paintings at the Choquet auction. Eventually, at least 67 paintings passed through the firm. With three prominent dealers actively buying works by Cézanne and with Vollard controlling access to all works still in the artist's possession, dealer competition must have played a very significant role in the escalation of the artist's prices. The entry of two paintings by Cézanne into the Musée de Luxembourg in 1897 as part of the Caillebotte bequest was another important signifier of Cézanne's rising value, as was the acquisition by the Nationalgalerie in Berlin of a Cézanne landscape in 1898 for the price of 1,500 or perhaps even 2,000 francs.[50] These were still very inexpensive acquisitions, compared, for example, to what collectors and museums were then paying for works by Camille Corot.

Until 1904 and the artist's first public retrospective, it was widely recognized that if one wanted to study Cézanne's work one needed to visit Vollard's shop.[51] So much did the artist's work belong to commercial galleries and enthusiastic collectors that Cézanne's commercial success significantly preceded the influence his paintings would subsequently exert on the next generation of painters. Symbolic of the market preceding artistic influence is the example of Henri Matisse, who acquired from Vollard his little picture of bathers (R.360) for 1300 francs in December 1899, before any discernible influence of Cézanne's work can be found in his own.[52]

5. Cézanne between the Salon and the market

This last section is devoted to what the Vollard exhibition in 1895 might have meant to Cézanne. Cézanne's adherence to an institution that he derisively called in the 1890s the "Salon de Bouguereau" reflects his investment in those elements that had ensured the Salon's dominance for three quarters of a century, its system of jury review, in which an artist's success is judged by his or her peers, and the subsequent award system, from state purchases to knighthoods to admission in State museums, with the ultimate goal being admission to the Louvre. To achieve these ends, Cézanne stubbornly continued to submit paintings to the Salon juries despite equally constant rejection. Except for the two times he showed with the Impressionists, the artist submitted to the Salon's juries from the late 1860s until his first "success" in 1882. This feat was accomplished, however, only by circumventing jury review, taking advantage of a new Salon regulation, subsequently repealed, that allowed established artists to select pupils to show without jury review. Cézanne's sponsor was an old friend of Manet's, Antoine Guillemet. Cézanne was thus able to contribute to the 1882 Salon a painting titled *Portrait of M. L.A.* Rewald believed this picture was actually the portrait of his father reading the newspaper, *L'Événement*, painted in 1866 (R.101), now in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C. He did not submit to the jury in 1883 and for the next Salon he asked Zola to submit "a head" to the jury, also presumably an older painting, which was refused. It was likely the last time the artist submitted to the jury, although one source has the artist continuing to submit paintings to the juries for the Salon of 1886, 1887, and 1888, where each time they were refused.[53]

Cézanne, following Monet, developed over the course of his career a new conception of what it was to show work. If we believe that he played an instrumental role in the creation of the first Vollard exhibition, Cézanne chose to display a body of work, rather than the display of a single or multiple masterworks in this, his first solo exhibition. His changing ambitions can be traced through the relative size of the artist's canvases over the course of his career (see table 6). At the beginning of his career Cézanne painted numerous murals, many of which have been transferred to canvas. They represent the largest paintings of his career. He also worked on a number of large stretched canvases: 6% of the canvases before 1873 were size 50 or larger. Not surprisingly, most of his other paintings at this time were quite small, about 70% size 10 or smaller, reflecting the effort the artist put into painting the masterwork, supplemented by small studies. At the time of his participation in the two Impressionist exhibitions, large canvases, like the murals, disappear from his production. Unfortunately, his one large Salon-style painting exhibited at the Impressionists' first exhibition, a aggressive revision of Manet's *Olympia,* has not survived. All we have are the cartoons it inspired. As to the other paintings, particularly those shown in 1877, medium-sized works came to dominate. Before the end of the 1870s about 26% of his paintings were on size 15 to 40 canvases (compared to about 14% in the earliest period).

In the late 1870s and early 1880s the artist experienced financial difficulties. At that time Cézanne owed Tanguy over 4,000 francs.[54] It was also the period during which the artist reached the style generally agreed to be the work of his first maturity, featuring what has been famously called the artist's "constructive stroke." We should not be surprised that during the early 1880s canvases between size 15 and 40 reached almost 40% of his output. Since no canvas was larger

Table 6. Percentage of standard canvases by size used by Cézanne

Canvas Size #	1859-1873	1874-1879	1880-1884	1885-1895	1896-1906	Stretcher's largest dimension
0	1.0%	3.3%	1.0%			18x14cm
1	2.5%	3.8%	3.5%	1.0%		22x16cm
2	1.5%	8.0%	1.0%	0.7%	0.6%	24x19cm
3	4.5%	3.8%	2.5%	1.5%	1.8%	27x22cm
4	10.0%	8.8%	9.5%	2.0%	3.0%	33x24cm
5	8.5%	7.4%	7.0%	4.0%	1.8%	35x27cm
6	12.3%	4.5%	8.5%	2.6%	1.2%	41x33cm
8	15.4%	8.0%	5.0%	9.2%	4.3%	46x38cm
10	14.3%	17.1%	15.0%	9.6%	7.3%	55x46cm
12	7.0%	8.0%	6.0%	6.2%	3.0%	61x50cm
15	4.0%	8.0%	7.5%	4.4%	12.8%	65x54cm
20	2.5%	13.9%	19.0%	10.0%	10.3%	73x60cm
25	7.0%	3.3%	4.0%	25.0%	21.8%	81x65cm
30	3.5%	1.6%	7.5%	16.0%	20.6%	92x73cm
40		.5%	1.5%	5.2%	7.3%	100x81cm
50	1.0%			0.4%	1.8%	116x89cm
60	1.5%			1.8%	0.6%	130x97cm
80						146x114cm
100	1.5%					162x130cm
120	1.5%			0.4%	0.6%	195x130cm
larger	0.5%				0.6%	207x133cm
					0.6%	249x208cm
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	

than size 40, comparatively small for Salon pictures, we should also not be surprised that Cézanne chose to submit the old, but large *L'Événement*, on the only occasion when he knew his submission would be admitted.

As Cézanne's finances improved following his father's death, the number of larger canvases increased (canvases size 15-40 now represented more than 60% of his production). At the same time he did not produce very large paintings on the scale of those painted early in his career. Only three paintings that Rewald dates to between 1885 and 1895 were greater than size 60, *The Large Bather* (R.555) now in the Museum of Modern Art, which, if Rewald's dating is correct, comes at the beginning of this period of the artist's career, that is, ca. 1885 and the two

large versions of *The Card Players* (R.706 and R.710), in the collection of the Barnes Foundation and a private collection respectively. The two *Card Players*, the smaller variants, and the large studies made for them anticipate the *Large Bathers* project, which occupied the last years of his life and were his most ambitious work since the 1860s. However, like the *Large Bathers*, Cézanne did not exhibit any of the pictures from the series during his lifetime.

Roger Fry in his monograph on the artist saw an intimate connection between the artist's work and his refused submissions to the Salon. "If one imagines such early works [by Cézanne] as the *Autopsy*, the *Lazarus* or the *Assassination* to have been acclaimed as works of genius by the art critics of the day and imposed by them on the public, one would have predicted for Cézanne the probability of a much more commonplace career than that which he actually traversed."[55] Years of rejection had raised the Salon to an exalted place in Cézanne's personal cosmos. It was to this imaginary Salon that Cézanne embarked on a succession of aborted projects, perhaps beginning with *The Large Bather* in 1885, certainly renewed with the even more ambitious *Card Players* series of the early 1890s, which were executed in multiple versions and worked out in fragments through multiple studies. They culminated in the *Large Bathers* series, begun sometime after the artist's success at Vollard's. Notably, these were not the paintings that were featured at Vollard's in 1895. Instead, Cézanne willingly consigned his reputedly unfinished works to Vollard. Following the 1895 show, Cézanne began working on very large canvases again. Only this time, instead of producing a corresponding numerous body of small works, the big paintings are accompanied by a large set of considerably sized pictures. Almost 73% of the artist's work was executed on size 15-40 canvases. The late Cézanne worked big; these are the paintings most prized by the market and by the museums.

Another sign of Cézanne's surge in ambition after 1895 is his increased emphasis on figure painting. The number of landscapes the artist painted after 1895 (42%) compared to the number of landscapes made in the period between 1883 and 1895 remained nearly the same (44%) before the 1895 show. But after 1895 Cézanne painted more portraits, bathers, and other figure paintings (41%) compared to the period from 1883 to 1895 (31%) and fewer still lifes (17% after 1895 and 25% previously). The third sign of change in his post-1895 paintings is the increased number of paintings that many of his contemporaries took to be unfinished works.[56] 34% of Cézanne's landscapes painted after 1895 might be considered incomplete compared to 13% of those painted between 1883 and the end of 1895. Similarly, 19% of his still lifes were left unfinished compared to 14% before the Vollard show. Among portraits, bathers, and figure paintings the percentages are 27% after 1895 compared to 20% before.

**

Powerful stories have often been told about the corrupting force of the market upon an artist's integrity. Since at least the 1860s critics who defended modern painting against the academicians would argue that academic art had been debased by its commercialism, by its appeal to popular tastes. There is tangible evidence of this in the figure of William Bouguereau, an artist whom Cézanne identified with all that he hated about the Salon. Bouguereau admitted, in an 1891 interview that Cézanne quite possibly read, to adapting his style to suit public tastes.[57] But the moderns claimed authenticity against academic commercialism usually from the vantage of themselves exhibiting in commercial galleries. How did they reconcile themselves to this contradiction? The answer I have given elsewhere is that they did so by ruthlessly separating art and money as two completely unrelated arenas of value.[58] But it may also have been true that at

least some artists and critics regarded the market as merely a stimulant, that its effects could be either for the good or for the bad, but was not an intrinsically corrosive agent. Encouraged by his dealers, Bouguereau adapted his style to please the mass tastes of his times. Cézanne adapted his style to no one's taste but his own—Vollard never instructed him on what or how to paint—but the artist was given new confidence to push his art still further by the only form of public recognition then available to him: sales. Rainer Maria Rilke later testified to the continuing anxiety about this, reflecting on the widely held suspicion that the reputation of such an unusual artist might be dealer-manufactured rather than genuine.[59]

If we use the Salon as Cézanne's standard, the artist was never satisfied with any of his paintings after the 1870s. But if we use the market as Cézanne's standard, then he brought a great many works to completion, insofar as he was willing to have them exhibited and sold. In a curious way, this was in keeping with the faith of many 19th-century art critics that vindication of artists neglected by Salon juries or even connoisseurs would come in two forms, high prices and entry into the state's museums. In the Nineties everyone was aware of the huge price (553,000 francs) paid at the Secrétan auction in 1889 for Jean-François Millet's L'*Angelus* as well as the high prices other Barbizon painters were then commanding. More informed Parisians would also have been aware of the heady sums American buyers were beginning to pay for Manet's paintings. Conversely, the entry of most modern painters into French public collections still had to be forced. The two most notable examples were Monet's and John Singer Sargent's subscription that purchased Manet's *Olympia* for the Louvre, and the Caillebotte bequest through which Monet himself, as well as Cézanne, entered the Luxembourg. Such forms of recognition hardly constituted public validation, although it did give Cézanne—always thirsty for official

approval—enough satisfaction to declare, according to Vollard: “At last I’ve shit on Bouguereau.”[60] In reality, throughout the 1890s and for well into the 20th century it would be sales and not the promise (or even the realization) of the Luxembourg that offered surrogate medals for post-Salon artists.

As Cézanne became increasingly famous, stories by friends and acquaintances of the artist found their way into print. They portrayed a man who sometimes behaved crudely, which belied the quality of his education and the fact that he could be well-mannered when he wanted to be. He was said to grow more irascible, more suspicious and more subject to violent outbursts as he grew older. He didn’t like to be touched and had an apparent fear of women. He was highly sensitive and very jealous of others. He was intensely competitive with his fellow artists, at one time fearing that Gauguin had stole his “*petit sensation*” from him. He was convinced of the excellence of his art, yet anxious about its worth. As he once told Joachim Gasquet (in July 1902) “I try to succeed by work. I despise all living painters, except Monet and Renoir, and I want to succeed by work.”[61]

To the stories about his personality were joined descriptions of Cézanne’s negligent attitude towards his work. Gustave Geffroy gives us one of the earliest such accounts by paraphrasing a comment by Renoir (probably embellished by Geffroy), describing how absorbed Cézanne became while painting. He noted how the painter returned again and again to his subject, but also how he sometimes gave up “in despair, returning home without his canvas, abandoned on a stone or left on the grass, prey to the wind, the rain, and sun, the painted landscape absorbed into the ground, taken over by the surrounding nature.”[62] In a memoir published much later Joachim Gasquet plagiarized Geffroy, “When a work was almost finished,

he sometimes abandoned it, left it in the sun or rain, to be reabsorbed by the countryside like dust…"[63] We also have to contend with Vollard's story about how Cézanne authorized Tanguy to cut up his paintings "for collectors who could afford neither one hundred nor forty francs. So one might have seen Tanguy, scissors in hand, disposing of tiny 'motifs' while some poor Mycaenas paid him a louis and marched off with three *Apples* by Cézanne."[64] The online Cézanne catalogue catalogues 36 paintings as fragments.[65] Of these perhaps as few as twenty demonstrate having been once part of a larger painting and they are exclusively still lifes. There are six paintings, all still lifes, that can potentially be placed in the 1895 show that appear to show signs of having been cut down from their original canvas size (Rewald #s 334, 339, 346, 353, 424, and 425). It is easy to imagine that these paintings may well have been left in Cézanne's Paris studio and given by his son to Vollard. It is also possible that these were paintings that Cézanne retrieved from Tanguy after he stopped doing business with the dealer.

The still life paintings that appear reduced from a larger format belong predominantly to a limited period in the artist's career, roughly from about 1879 to 1882, depending on how one dates the artist's paintings. Because this was a period in which the artist was still working out his characteristic style of painting application and color modeling the still lifes from this period, especially the ones that appear in a more fragmentary state, suggest the artist's desire to experiment and learn. Their subject might be said to be their technique. In the Cézanne catalogue, there are 186 still lifes over all. Of these only a handful appear to be reduced in such a way that any object within the respective painting appears to have been dramatically cropped. The remaining still lifes that could have been reduced from larger canvases still possess a compositional unity even if it is merely a pile of fruit on a chair or table. The issue posed by

Vollard's Tanguy story is about agency. How do we know whether someone cut down these still lifes with only some regard for the painting's appearance after surgery? Could we not equally say that Cézanne reduced these canvases to create something new and visually coherent on their own terms?

That Cézanne occasionally violently attacked his paintings is supported in the online catalogue by seven examples described as having been "slashed." Interestingly, the majority of these pictures date from 1890 or later, more or less contemporaneous with Geffroy's account. The slashed paintings, like the fragmented still lifes, are exceptional works within the Cézanne catalogue. Also notable is that Cézanne did not throw them away. And the markings on the "slashed" paintings cannot be said to really spoil them. Perhaps Cézanne did throw away many other paintings that dissatisfied him. This would hardly be unique to Cézanne. Jasper Johns famously threw away all his work predating his breakthrough work of *Flags* and *Targets*.

Additional evidence that Cézanne valued even these fragmented or damaged paintings (and was involved in their exhibition) may be found in the photographs made of Cézanne's paintings in the Vollard archive. We know, for example, that in 1904 Vollard sent Paul Cézanne junior, who was then living with his parents at Aix, a "first lot of photographs" for him to catalogue and date, which he promised to return to the dealer by the end of the year.[66] A little over four months later Cézanne *fils* writes to Vollard acknowledging the receipt of five albums of photographs.[67] We do not know whether Cézanne *fils* worked on Vollard's photographs at any later time, but the circumstantial evidence is against it; that is, for paintings that Vollard clearly acquired after the artist's death there are almost no photos authenticated by Cézanne *fils*. This sets a fairly firm date when a painting by the artist must have been in his possession (although

possession does not mean ownership). The point is this. Having a photograph made of a painting constitutes another kind of closure on the object. The catalogued image, after all, was to belong to Vollard's unrealized catalogue raisonné on the artist. Thus we find in the photographs commented on by Cézanne *fils* a large number of paintings that have subsequently been taken to be uncompleted works. If we use, for example, the exhibition *Cézanne: Finished, Unfinished*, for 28 paintings out of the 86 shown in the exhibition, or just under a third of the total, Cézanne *fils* had photographs.[68]

Cézanne is said to have encouraged his reputation as an unrealized artist—his willingness, for example, to identify with the character in Balzac's story, Frenhoffer, student of Poussin doomed to produce a painting intelligible only to himself. But here as elsewhere perhaps we are misreading how Cézanne understood his inadequacies. In his statements regarding his struggles to achieve his goals, it often appears that the artist invited his interlocutors to look past his disclaimers, to appreciate instead the reach of his ambition. How else to interpret such remarks as when the artist admits that his paintings "are imperfect things. Oh yes, I say it. The problem is that I don't explore the local colors."[69] What can the failure to "explore the local colors" mean to Cézanne? By this time the artist was nothing but a painter of color, modeling form, uniting compositions, rendering observed reality with each exactly determined and exactly applied *tache* of color. His failure was precisely his triumph.

Another characteristic of most of Cézanne's paintings that contributed to the mythologies surrounding the artist is the absence of signatures. To his contemporaries the absence of signatures was taken as a sign that the artist had not completed a painting. Geffroy's review of the 1895 Cézanne show explicitly argued against this view. He noted that the exhibition lacked a

catalogue, that the paintings lacked dates, and that they lacked signatures. "But fear not, the works are signed, better marked than by a signature."[70] Of course, just because Cézanne's painting style is so distinctive, it has not prevented many scholars and curators from worrying over the idea that in the absence of signatures Cézanne left many of his works "unfinished." Richard Shiff has argued that because of the artist's financial independence following his father's death, he was no longer need to create exhibition-ready canvases. Thus the lack of signatures. According to Shiff, Cézanne left "parts of them in varying states of finish, and often returned to repaint canvases with the result of placing one image over another incompatible one. His lifelong search may have had its inherent principles and order, but the physical record of that work is chaotic."[71]

These images of fragments and chaos contrasts strongly with the physical condition of the very largest majority of the artist's paintings, which as noted have come down to us in near pristine condition, whether "finished" or not. In only one surviving painting did Cézanne place a still life on top of an earlier painting, a nude (R.590). As Shiff points out, Cézanne did take up works previously abandoned in an attempt to develop them further. But the mature artist who shows up in 1895 is a painter who very thoroughly worked out his compositions in advance of executing the pictures, and who made remarkably few revisions to his compositions as he painted. Cézanne's difficulties lay not with establishing the motif, about which he took great care, but in achieving the exact color relationships that both described what he saw in nature and related to the colors already on his canvas. The problem became even more difficult for the artist in his later work as he tried to achieve exact color contrasts through which to model form without creating line.

What makes a painting "unfinished?" We usually don't consider Edgar Degas as a painter of unfinished paintings. Yet Degas was notorious for how he reworked canvases. Collectors feared to show Degas paintings they had purchased, because they knew he might demand the painting back to be reworked. Degas cut down his canvases and drawings or added pieces to them as he changed the composition. But unlike Cézanne, he was far more likely to add his signature to a work, even if, at a profound level, it was merely a station on the way to a larger realization.

So let's first consider the "unprofessional" absence of signatures. Cézanne signed a good percentage of paintings in his oeuvre overall and occasionally even dated them. 63 out of the 954 paintings in the Rewald catalogue are signed. 25 of these (or a little under 40%) date from 1874 or earlier. 11 more paintings (17.5%) were shown at the third Impressionist exhibition in 1877. Overall 50 out of the 63 paintings that date from 1880 or before bear signatures either because these paintings were acquired by individuals the artist knew well, such as Victor Gasquet, Eugène Murer, and Gustave Caillebotte and/or were exhibited at either the first or the third Impressionist exhibition. Only six paintings have been tied to Tanguy as the first owner, which are the only ones it could be said that Cézanne gave up without a specific collector in mind—unless perhaps it was to Tanguy himself that the painting was given.

Finally, there are seven signed paintings (circa 11%) that date from after 1880. This would appear to support Shiff's argument. Let's look closer at when and why Cézanne chose to sign his paintings. Just as Cézanne did early in his career, his late signed works can be tied to individuals well-known to the artist. In 1896, a decade after the artist probably stopped working on *Chestnut Trees at the Jas de Bouffan* (Volkart Holding AG, Winterthur, R. 521), Cézanne gave

the picture to Gasquet, and signed it. He also gave Gasquet the version of Mont Sainte-Victoire now in the Courtauld and signed it.[72] He gave another signed painting as a wedding gift, *Bathers* (Musée d'Orsay, R. 668). In 1892 Cézanne reportedly gave Paul Alexis four canvases. Two of these, including an obviously unfinished landscape, have been traced in Rewald's catalogue and both are signed, *Seated Smoker* (Kunsthalle, Mannheim R.756) and *The Kitchen Table* (Musée d'Orsay, R.636). There are only two other signed canvases belonging to the early 1890s that have not yet been traced to Alexis in their respective provenances, the signed still life in the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago, *The Basket of Apples* (R. 800) and *The Large Apples* (R. 661), now in a private collection. Given what we know about Cézanne's attitudes toward signatures, there is a considerable possibility that Alexis may have once owned both of them.

In general, when Cézanne sold or gave a painting to someone he knew and admired, he signed them. But he also became increasingly disinterested in signing paintings regardless of who acquired them. For example, after 1879, Cézanne signed only two of the sixteen paintings Choquet subsequently acquired. Even an installed commission of decorative panels (R. 643 and R.644) that Cézanne painted for Choquet in 1890 do not bear his signature. It is also quite evident that Cézanne gave up signing well before the death of his father, so his motives for doing so may have been less about economics and more about the artist's career ambitions. Early in his career, Cézanne preserved the academic notion that signing a painting constituted the final act in the work's completion before its public exhibition. Yet, just at the moment when Cézanne arguably reached artistic maturity, around 1883, the ambition to sign fades away. Consider all of the large paintings of Cézanne's post-1883 career, the *Bathers*, the *Card Players*, the large versions of the portraits of his wife. None of these paintings bear a signature. These were the

works that Cézanne may have imagined exhibiting at the Salon, but since that opportunity was denied to him, he left even the most complete of these works unsigned.

Without buyers like Choquet, without Salon submissions, the absence of Cézanne's signature does not signify that these paintings, as opposed to all the rest in his studio, had reached a final state. One might argue that after 1883 there are no finished paintings in Cézanne's *oeuvre*. Or we can turn this statement around and say that after 1883 there are no unfinished paintings in Cézanne's *oeuvre*. The artist clearly did not hesitate to submit for exhibition paintings that others would consider unfinished.

Finally we should note that during the last ten years of the artist's life, Cézanne's attitude toward the sketch altered dramatically. It has often been observed that there is an organic relationship between the artist's later oil paintings and his watercolors, both in terms of the thin washes of paint and the tendency to leave areas of the canvas unworked, much like he left untouched much of the watercolor paper. Yet within this relationship two other elements need to be attended to: the proliferation of such apparently incomplete works, which cannot all be attributed to the artist's death in 1906, and the fact that such paintings were usually executed on canvases of considerable size. The "failures" become all the more noticeable in relation to the scale of Cézanne's ambition.

Notes

[1] The Galerie Durand-Ruel gave Bonnard a solo show in 1896. Bonnard had achieved some reputation for himself as a poster artist and at the salons of the Galerie Le Barc de Bouteville in the early 1890s, but he was hardly famous. Witness the abuse Camille Pissarro poured on the artist's exhibition in a letter to his son Lucien: "Another symbolist has failed miserably! And one whose coming triumph was hailed by Geffroy in *Le Journal*. All the painters worth anything, Puvis, Degas, Renoir, Monet and your humble servant, unanimously term hideous the exhibition held at Durand's of the symbolist named Bonnard. Moreover, the show was a complete fiasco." John Rewald et Lucien Pissarro, eds., *Camille Pissarro: letters to his son Lucien* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1943), 281-82.

[2] It should be noted, however, that group exhibitions in 1900 often gave artists the chance to exhibit fairly large collections of paintings compared to the handful of pictures one could show at the Paris Salon before the breaking of its monopoly in 1874. Conversely, those artists born before 1900 who were given solo exhibitions at the beginning or very early in their careers did this primarily in provincial cities. No French artist, for example, born before 1900, had a solo exhibition in Paris among his or her first three exhibition opportunities.

[3] Quoted in John Rewald, *Cézanne and America: Dealers, Collectors, Artists and Critics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 14.

[4] A lively description of Tanguy's shop was provided by Cecilia Waern in "Some Notes on French Impressionism," *The Atlantic Monthly* 69, no. 414 (1892), 540-41. She noted how hard it was to find Tanguy's shop "as he constantly shifting his quarters, from inability to pay his rent." See also Emile Bernard's recollections of Tanguy, "Julien Tanguy dit le 'Père Tanguy'," *Mercure de France*, 76:276 (December 16, 1908), 600-16. Bernard described (605) a stack or "tied" packet of Cézanne paintings that emphasized its "modest size" (un paquet de dimension restreinte).

[5] See Vollard, *Paul Cézanne, his life and art*, trans. Harold Livingston Van Doren (New York: Crown Publishers, 1937), 48.

[6] John Rewald, with Walter Feilchenfeldt and Jayne Warman, *The Paintings of Paul Cézanne: a catalogue raisonné,* 2 vols. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996) identifies only three of the six paintings: R.497, ca. 1881; R.500, ca. 1881; and R.502, ca. 1881, and suggests two others, R.408, ca. 1879, and R.382, ca. 1877-78. These attributions are made in the catalogue entry to R.500, vol. 1, 334. These earlier pictures fit Cecilia Waern's description of the Cézannes she saw in Tanguy's shop in 1892: "dusky heavy Cézannes that looked like they were painted in mud." See Waern, 541. Would Waern have seen the artist's more recent work and still describe them in this manner?

[7] See Geffroy, *Paul Cézanne et autres textes*, ed. Christian Limousin (Paris: Séguier, 1995), 46.

[8] The painting in question is R.680, *Apples and a Pot of Primroses*, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It has a curious history. It was acquired by the artist Paul Helleu at an unspecified date—how Rewald decided it once belonged to Tanguy is not self-evident—and given by Helleu to his friend Claude Monet in 1894. Because of the firm date of this gift, but also because of the painting's style, the painting has been dated as widely apart as late as 1894 and as early as 1880. Rewald assigned it a date of ca. 1890.

[9] The date 1885 is at least a somewhat arbitrary. Cézanne's removal from the Parisian art world and the corresponding development of his art were both gradual processes. However, 1885 possesses some notable landmarks for the artist. In that year he had a mysterious love affair. It was also then that Monet writes Pissarro, inquiring after the artist. Above all it was in December of 1885 that Zola published the first installment of *L'Oeuvre*, which would lead to the famous riff between the childhood friends. These events were followed the next year by the death of the artist's father, which secured the artist's financial independence.

[10] Geffroy commented at the beginning of his 1894 essay (the first version of which was written the previous May) that he had recently seen a "score" of Cézannes. If he had, where did he? Only the old collections of Choquet, Pissarro, and Murer contained enough works to be considered a score. This implies that Geffroy wrote his initial appreciation of the painter (there were several more) based almost exclusively on pre-1883 examples from the artist's *oeuvre* (with the exception of the two still lifes, a landscape, and a figure painting owned by Alexis, which the artist gave the writer in 1891 while on a visit to Aix. Geffroy's description of the demand for the artist's pictures occurs in the context of a discussion of how difficult Cézanne's works were to see. "What did his canvases look like? Where were they to be seen? The answer was that there was a portrait at Emile Zola's, two trees at Théodore Duret's, four apples at Paul Alexis', or else that the preceding week a canvas had been seen at Tanguy's, the dealer in the rue Clauzel, but that it was necessary to hurry to find it for there were always collectors quick to pounce upon these prizes, which appeared so rarely." See Geffroy, *Paul Cézanne et autres textes*, 46.

[11] See John Rewald, "Choquet and Cézanne," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th period, vol. 74 (July-August, 1969): pp. 33-96, esp. pp. 70-72.

[12] Rewald et al., *Paintings of Paul Cézanne,* provides provenances for two of Alexis' four paintings (R.636 and R.756). At this time, Cézanne almost never signed paintings, but the two paintings Rewald's provenances gave to Alexis were signed, which suggests the likelihood the other two were signed as well. There are really only two candidates in Rewald's catalogue that are signed and also fit the description of the pictures given by the artist to Alexis: R.612, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and R. 661 (private collection). Alexis also owned a Cézanne still life of "three apples" by 1886 (although Geffroy seems to be referring to the same painting in his description of a painting of "four apples" belonging to Alexis).

[13] Since the death of his father in 1886 Cézanne was able to live off his legacy—the estate was valued at about 150,000 francs of which Cézanne received a one-third share. We also have the testimony of Paul Alexis, who wrote Zola about their mutual childhood friend in 1891: "there's no lack of money. Thanks to his *pater*, whom he now venerates… he now has enough to live on." See Nina M. Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cézanne and Provence : the painter in his culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 232.

[14] The choice of Mirbeau for this plea probably owes to three things. First, the artist had just recently met the writer at Giverny. Second, Mirbeau had spoken favorably of Cézanne in an article in *Le Journal* on "The Caillebotte Donation and the State." Third, Mirbeau had written an obituary of *père* Tanguy and had organized the auction in benefit of Tanguy's widow.

[15] In a letter to his son Pissarro recounts sharing his enthusiasm for Monet's show with Cézanne, whom he encountered at the exhibition. See Rewald and Lucien Pissarro, eds., *Camille Pissarro*, 269.

[16] Because of the controversial nature of the bequest and the decision of the State to accept only a portion, it has been the subject of frequent discussions. The most authoritative are the articles and supporting documents by Marie Berhaut and Pierre Vaisse in the *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1983): 201-39. See also Kurt Varnedoe, "Caillebotte's Will and Bequest," in *Gustave Caillebotte* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 197-203 and Anne Distel et al., *Gustave Caillebotte: Urban Impressionist* (New York, London, Paris: The Art Institute of Chicago with Abbeville Press, 1995).

[17] The correspondence between the state and Sisley and Pissarro regarding replacing paintings with more representative canvases is reproduced in *Gustave Caillebotte*, 1987, 321.

[18] See Alain Clairet, Delphine Montalant and Yves Rouart, *Berthe Morisot 1841-1895: Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint* (Montolivet: CÉRA, 1997), esp. p. 104.

[19] Christian Limousin has made a convincing case that Monet was motivated by the controversy engendered by the Caillebotte bequest to, as it were, circle the wagons of the old band of Impressionists against officialdom and that in any case he had become in the 1890s the highly successful patriarch of Giverny, and as Impressionist "father" (for he was by far the most famous of the old comrades) was quite willing to gather the "sons" to him. See Limousin's introduction to Geffroy, *Paul Cézanne et autres textes,* 18ff.

[20] Limousin's re-publication of Geffroy's first essay on Cézanne distinguishes between the original text and the expanded version that was published in *La Vie artistique*. See ibid., 45-56.

[21] J. Renoir, *Renoir, My Father*, trans. Margaret H. Liebman (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1948), 272.

[22] Vollard, Cé*zanne*, 50-51.

[23] Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, 233.

[24] Henri Barbusse, “Notes d’art,” L’Aurore parisienne, illustrée, littéraire, artistique, politique, mondaine, vol 1., no. 3 (December 20, 1895), 4. Reprinted on the website of the Société Paul Cézanne: https://www.societe-cezanne.fr/2016/07/27/1895/.

[25] Rewald et al., *Paintings of Paul Cézanne,* vol. 1, 146.

[26] Walter Feilchenfeldt, Jayne Warman, and David Nash, eds., *The Paintings, Watercolors and Drawings of Paul Cézanne*, an online catalogue, https://www.cezannecatalogue.com/

[27] Vollard, *Cézanne*, 52-53.

[28] Ibid., 53.

[29] See Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, 239.

[30]At the end of 1894, after a year of increasingly acrimonious wrangling a number of articles appeared, both pro and anti-government. However, the two parties reached agreement in late January 1895. The final selection was determined by June 1895, and the state’s official agreement published in late February 1896. The Cézanne show could only be distantly coordinated with any of these events.

[31] Besides the Barbusse and Geffroy reviews cited above, they were: Anonymous, “Nouvelles locales,” *Le National, journal républicain d’Aix*, vol. 25, no. 1270 December 29, 1895, 2; Anonymous, “Les Expositions: Oeuvres de M. Césanne [sic],” *L’Art français* (November 23, 1895); Anonymous, [Untitled], *L’Art international* (November 25, 1895); Arsène Alexandre, “Claude Lantier,” *Le Figaro* (December 9, 1895); Georges Denoinville, “Un comble,” Le *Journal des artistes* (December 1, 1895); Georges Lecomte, “Chronique de la littérature et des arts. Les expositions,” *La Société nouvelle, revue internationale, sociologie, arts, sciences, lettres* (Paris and Brussels), vol. 11, no. 82 (December 1895), 813-15 and “Notes d’art. Paul Cezanne,” *La Justice*, vol 16, no. 5810 (December 13, 1895), 1; Camille Mauclair, “Choses d’Art,” *Mercure de France*, vol. XVII, no. 73 (January 1896), 130 and “M. Paul Cézanne, *Gil Blas*, vol 17, no. 5844 (Nov. 18, 1895), 2; André Mellerio, “L’Art moderne, exposition de Paul Cézanne,” *La Revue artistique* (January-February, 1896); Thadée Natanson, “En passant…,” La Revue blanche (November 15, 1895), 473 and “Paul Cézanne,” *La Revue blanche* (December 1, 1895), 496-500; Charles Sauner, “Les Expositions,” *La Revue encyclopédique*, no. 124 (February 1896); François Thiébault-Sisson, “Petites expositions. Paul Cezanne,” *Le Temps*, vol. 35, no. 12624 (December 22, 1895), p. 3; and René Boylesve, “Chroniques. III Les arts. Notes d’art. Paul Cezanne (Vollard), *L’Ermitage*, vol. 12 (January 1, 1896), 43.

[32] Paul Hayes Tucker listed the reviews of Monet’s exhibitions in his bibliography in *Monet in the ‘90s* (Boston, New Haven, and London: Museum of Fine Arts and Yale University Press, 1989).

[33] Camille Pissarro’s 1892 show at the Durand-Ruel gallery, for example, according to the latest literature, received thirty-nine separate reviews and notices plus some reprints of articles in different journals.

[34] Vollard, *Cézanne*, 115-26.

[35] See Rewald, ed., *Paul Cézanne, Letters,* revised ed. (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1984), 322.

[36] See Isabel Cahn, "L'exposition Cézanne chez Vollard en 1895," in *Cézanne aujourd'hui (*Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1997), 135-44, esp. 138-39. Cahn's argument has been accepted as authoritative in subsequent accounts such as by Athanassoglou-Kallmyer.

[37] Vollard, *Cézanne*, p. 48.

[38] Gasquet, article on Cézanne published in *Les Mois dorés*, July 1896, cited in translation by John Rewald, *Studies in Post-Impressionism*, New York and London: H.H. Abrams and Thames & Hudson, 1986), 248-49.

[39] Pre-manufactured canvases in those years came in twenty standard sizes according to the height of the stretcher. Each size was offered in three standard widths. Of course, if cut down or re-stretched, the sizes would vary.

[40] Vollard appears to have done this with other artists' works as well; paintings by van Gogh and Seurat that Vollard once possessed have this taping, such as van Gogh's *Fishing at Pont de Clich,* Seurat's *The Port at Grandcamp* and Gauguin's *Still Life with Teapot and Fruit*, 1896.

[41] The Société Paul Cézanne (https://www.societe-cezanne.fr/2016/07/27/1895/) offers an alternative list of included paintings, based on the known buyers, Vollard's account, a list originally published by Cahn, 1997 and the Feilchenfelt and Warman online catalogue, and descriptions in the review articles.

[42] The notable, and interesting exceptions, are the paintings belonging to Victor Choquet, Cézanne's most loyal collector, and to Emile Zola, with whom the artist had fallen out after the publication of *L'Oeuvre.*

[43] See my discussion of Vollard's early sales in "Vollard and Cézanne: An Anatomy of a Relationship," in Rebecca A. Rabinow, et al., *Cézanne to Picasso. Ambroise Vollard, Patron of the Avant-Garde* (New York; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006), esp. 37-38.

[44] Much of what we know about the early post-1895 owners of Cézanne's paintings derives from Vollard's stock books and business diaries. Stock Book A was begun in 1899 and lasted until about April 1904. We have a sales book MS 421 (4,2) that covers the period from June 20, 1894 to November 3, 1897. We also have an account book MS 421 (4,3) that recorded sales and purchases between June 1894 and June 1900. There is an additional notebook MS 421 (4,4) that notes buyers and has some prices. The originals are now in the Vollard Archives, Musée du Louvre, Bibliothèque Centrale et Archives des Musée Nationaux, Paris, but photocopies of all the diaries and Vollard's three stock books are in Special Collections, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

[45] One of the things these figures call into question is the quantity of recent paintings (mid-1880s or later) in the possession of *père* Tanguy. It seems likely that if he had had such pictures on hand he would have sold them, or would at least have had them in his possession at the time of his death. This does not seem to have been the case.

[46] Schuffenecker's involvement with Cézanne's market was, to describe it generously, shady, including the "finishing" of at least several Cézanne paintings and the forging of at least one signature.

[47] Renoir bought one picture to add to his collection of three Cézanne paintings previously received either as gifts from the artist or, in one case, as an exchange of paintings (R.485). Pissarro added three paintings to his collection in 1895 by trading with Vollard one of his early landscapes for them. He also bought another for 200 francs. Significantly, both artists acquired pictures painted in the early 1880s or before. All four of Pissarro's acquisitions, using Rewald's dating, belong to 1877 or earlier.

[48] In the wake of the Caillebotte affair Monet invited Cézanne to Giverny in the autumn of 1894. The two men had not met for about a decade. While there, Cézanne painted several pictures, which he left behind at his hotel. Beyond these canvases it was unlikely that Monet would have seen any of Cézanne's paintings since the early 1880s. We don't know whether Cézanne attended either of Monet's first two series exhibitions, the Grainstacks in 1891 and the Poplars in 1893. But Pissarro encountered Cézanne at the Rouen Cathedral show in May 1895, and writes to his son (May 26, 1895) about their mutual enthusiasm for Monet's new work. See Rewald and Pissarro, eds., *Pissarro: letters,* 269.

[49] Diary A (MS 421, 4,3) records sales of a still life (R.644?) to Gaston Bernheim December 8, 1898; Hessel's first recorded purchase from Vollard was two days earlier, a portrait of a woman.

[50] The records are not clear as to whether the National Gallery's visionary director Hugo von Tschudi purchased the work directly from the Galerie Durand-Ruel or through an intermediary. See Rewald et al., *Paintings of Paul Cézanne*, v. 1, 286.

[51] Such was the advice Bernard Berenson gave to Leo Stein in 1903. See Leo Stein, *Appreciation: painting, poetry and prose* (New York: Crown, 1947), 154.

[52] Given the average price of the artist's works at that time, Vollard did not give the painter a discount.

[53] See "Chronology of Paul Cézanne's Life," in *Joachim Gasquet's Cézanne: A memoir with conversations*, trans. Christopher Pemberton (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 230-31.

[54] See Tanguy's letter to Cézanne dated 31 August, 1885 in Rewald, ed., *Paul Cézanne, Letters*, pp. 221-22. Tanguy asked for a portion of the debt to be paid to meet his rent; his letter indicates that the debt was created in the late 1870s.

[55] Fry, *Cézanne: a study of his development*, 2nd ed. (New York: Noonday, 1960), 4.

[56] What makes a Cézanne painting "incomplete" is likely in the eye of the beholder. But for my purposes, I used simply the presence of significant areas of unpainted canvas to identify the work as "incomplete." This means that paintings that appear clearly intended as sketches are also included in the overall count of incomplete works. For dates I used the Feilchenfeldt, et al. *The Paintings, Watercolors and Drawings of Paul Cézanne* online catalogue's earliest attributed creation date for a painting.

[57] See Louise d'Argencourt, "Bougeureau and the Art Market in France," in *William Bouguereau: 1825-1905* (Montreal: Museum of fine Arts, 1984), 106.

[58] See Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), esp. chapter one.

[59] Rilke, *Letters on Cézanne*, ed. Clara Rilke, trans. Joel Agee (New York: North Point Press, 2002), 58-59.

[60] See Vollard, *Cézanne*, 50.

[61] Cézanne's anxiety over Gauguin's presumed theft is recounted in Geffroy's *Claude Monet: Sa vie, son temps, son oeuvre* (Paris: G. Crès, 1922), 197. Gasquet is quoted in John Rewald, *Paul Cézanne, a biography*, trans. Margaret H. Liebman (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1948), 291.

[62] Geffroy, *Paul Cézanne et autres textes,* 257.

[63] J. Gasquet, *Cézanne*, 120.

[64] Vollard, *Cézanne*, 48.

[65] See Feilchenfeldt, et al. *The Paintings, Watercolors and Drawings of Paul Cézanne.*

[66] Rewald, ed., *Paul Cézanne. Letters*, 303.

[67] Ibid., 310.

[68] Felix Baumann, Evelyn Benesch, and Walter Feilchenfeldt, eds., *Paul Cézanne: Finished - Unfinished* (Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2000).

[69] In conversation with Jules Borély on a visit with the artist in 1902 but only published in 1926 in the essay "Cézanne at Aix," reprinted in P. M. Doran, ed., *Conversations with Cézanne, Documents of twentieth-century art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 20.

[70] Geffroy "Paul Cézanne," *Le Journal* (November 16, 1895), reprinted in *La vie artistique*, 6th edition (Paris: H. Floury, 1900), 214.

[71] Richard Shiff, *Cézanne and the End of Impressionism: a study of the theory, technique, and critical evaluation of modern art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 162.

[72] Gasquet owned three other paintings, *The Large* Pine, (Museu de Arte de São Paulo), which has been placed in the 1895 Vollard show, *The Old Woman with a Rosary* (National Gallery, London), a very recent painting, and Cézanne's copy after Delacroix's *La Barque de Dante*, a very old picture, that were not signed. It is unclear why the artist would sign two of Gasquet's pictures but not the other three, since all five would have been given to Gasquet at about the same time.