

OSKAR BÄTSCHMANN | PAUL CÉZANNE AND AMBROISE VOLLARD: THE PAINTER AND THE ART DEALER

I. Projections and Identification: Cézanne – Delacroix – Poussin

In 1904 Paul Cézanne finally admitted to himself that he had to abandon the dream he had cherished for so long of executing his painting of *The Apotheosis of Delacroix*. He wrote to Emile Bernard of the end of this unusual project: "I do not know if my indifferent health will ever allow me to realize my dream of painting his apotheosis".¹ An oil sketch (fig. 1) shows a number of figures in a landscape, raising their hands in applause, kneeling, advancing or working at an easel. Some figures are identified: the painter in front of the motif is Camille Pissarro, the figure seen from behind with a Barbizon hat, painter's bag and stick is Cézanne himself. On the right is Monet with a parasol, and one of the two on the left is probably Victor Chocquet, while the barking dog symbolizes Envy, that is, the critics. Delacroix's body is being born aloft on clouds by two angels, while a third angel is hovering nearer; according to Bernard's description from 1904, Cézanne intended to show an angel bearing the brushes and another holding the palette.²

In 1894 Cézanne was photographed in his studio in Paris before an easel on which a small oil sketch can be seen. The photograph (fig. 2) gives the impression that Cézanne was working on the sketch, but he is not shown at work, and the brush in his hand is too big for the little sketch. Cézanne indicates in the photograph one of his

¹ Paul Cézanne, *Correspondence*, ed. by John Rewald, Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1937, pp. 260–261: Letter of May 1904 to Émile Bernard, p. 260; the passage begins by Cézanne agreeing with Odilon Redon in admiring Delacroix, and ends with the sentence: "Je ne sais pas si ma précaire santé me permettra de réaliser jamais mon rêve de faire mon apothéose." Cf. Paul Cézanne, *Paul Cézanne: letters*, ed. by John Rewald, Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1976, p. 302.

² Emile Bernard, *Souvenirs sur Paul Cézanne* [first published 1907], Paris: Société des Trente, 1912, pp. 51–52: "Il avait en vue une Apothéose de Delacroix. Le maître romantique était emporté, mort par des anges; l'un tenait ses pinceaux, l'autre sa palette." – More recent reprint in: Paul Cézanne, *Conversations avec Cézanne*, ed. by P. M. Doran, Paris: Macula, 1978, p. 69. – Götz Adriani, *Cézanne Gemälde*. Exh. cat. Tübingen, 1993, Cologne: DuMont, 1993, no. 63, pp. 195–197.



Fig. 1. Paul Cézanne, *Apotheosis of Delacroix*, c. 1894, oil on canvas, 27 x 35 cm, Paris, Musée d'Orsay.

dreams, the completion of his project. Understandably, the aging painter could not reflect on the *Apotheosis of Delacroix*, that is the acknowledgement and reverence shown to him after his death, without also reflecting with bitterness on his own situation. Cézanne's project was as bizarre around 1894 as it was ten years later, when he showed the sketch to Emile Bernard, evidently in more or less the same state. It is significant that Cézanne chose to show the *Apotheosis of Delacroix* as the artist's body being borne to heaven by angels, reminiscent of the motif of angels mourning Christ. The *Apotheosis of Delacroix* is a retrospective painting that looks back to the year of Delacroix's death. It reflects the common fate of the artist, who is glorified after his death by his followers and admirers, not as a triumphant hero but as a victim, thus perpetuating the legend of the artist subject to incessant attack and always finding disfavour with the critics and the public. In his review of the World Exhibition of 1855 Charles Baudelaire in retrospect wrote of Delacroix that despite his public triumph: "No artist has been more savagely attacked, more thoroughly mocked, more avidly hindered and hampered than he."³

³ Charles Baudelaire, 'Exposition universelle 1855', in: Charles Baudelaire, *Curiosités esthétiques. L'Art romantique et autres Oeuvres critiques*, ed. by Henry Lemaître, Paris: Garnier, 1962,



Fig. 2. Paul Cézanne in his Paris studio before the sketch of *The Apotheosis of Delacroix*, photograph of 1894, in: Paul Cézanne, Correspondance, Paris: Grasset, 1937.

Two years earlier Delacroix published his large article on Nicolas Poussin, where he described the great painter as an artist who enjoyed few successes in a country that had little understanding of painting, but who nevertheless pursued his artistic aims unerringly. Poussin was represented by Delacroix as one of the boldest innovators in painting, an artist who broke entirely with the false mannerist schools and led the life of a modern artist, refusing to be intimidated in his fight against the enemies of art,

pp. 209–240, p. 252: “Jamais artiste ne fut plus attaqué, plus ridiculisé, plus entravé.” – Cf. Charles Baudelaire, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. by François Pichois, Paris: Gallimard, 2 vols, 1975/76, vol. 2, pp. 575–597; Charles Baudelaire, *Sämtliche Werke/Briefe*, ed. by Friedhelm Kemp, Claude Pichois, Wolfgang Drost, 8 vols, Munich-Vienna: Hanser, 1977–1992, vol. 2, 1983, pp. 225–253, quotation p. 246.



APOTHÉOSE DE DELACROIX, PAR FANTIN

« Du haut du ciel, ta demeure dernière,
» mon colonel, tu dois être content. »

En mettant à l'huile cette belle pensée de Scribe, M. Fantin ne s'est pas dissimulé, comme on pourrait croire, les difficultés sans nombre que devait lui suggérer l'introduction de Champfleury au milieu de cette fête de famille; la présence du chef réaliste n'était-elle pas faite, en effet, pour mécontenter le colonel?... troubler tout?... Ces difficultés, M. Fantin les a surmontées heureusement, en n'accordant à Champfleury qu'un simple petit banc, prêt, du reste, à le lui retirer au premier mot, et à l'envoyer voir chez Courbet l'apothéose de Courbet par Courbet. Cette idée ingénieuse nous a plu.

Fig. 3. H. Onkway, Caricature of Fantin-Latour's painting, in: *Le Monde illustré*, 1864, p. 349.

the misunderstanding he met with in France and his own misfortunes.⁴ Neglecting every bit of historical evidence, Delacroix interpreted the most famous French painter Nicolas Poussin as a victim of the nation, but it seems that he wrote rather about himself and about his misfortunes of becoming a "membre de l'Institut".

In the Salon of 1864 Henri Fantin-Latour exhibited his painting *Hommage à Delacroix*, which was intended as a political demonstration for contemporary art.⁵ It shows

⁴ Eugène Delacroix, 'Le Poussin', in: *Moniteur Universel*, June 26, 29 and 30, 1853; and in: Eugène Delacroix, *Oeuvres Littéraires*, vol. 2, Paris: Crès, 1928, pp. 57–104; Eugène Delacroix, *Ecrits sur l'art*, ed. by François-Marie Deyrolle and Christophe Denissel, Paris: Librairie Séguier, 1988, pp. 209–255, p. 210: "On a tant répété qu'il est le plus classique des peintres, qu'on sera peut-être surpris de le voir traiter dans cet essai comme l'un des novateurs les plus hardis que présente l'histoire de la peinture."

⁵ *Fantin-Latour*. Exh. cat. Paris, Ottawa and San Francisco, 1982/83, Paris: RMN, 1982, nos. 54–57, pp. 165–178; the painting was exhibited in the Salon in 1864 entitled: *Hommage à Eugène Delacroix*; Fantin-Latour was apparently stimulated by Charles Baudelaire, 'L'oeuvre et la vie d'Eugène Delacroix', in: *L'Opinion nationale*, Sept. 2, 14 and November 22, 1863, in: Baudelaire, *Curiosités esthétiques* (as in n. 3), pp. 421–451; Baudelaire, *Oeuvres complètes* (as in n. 3), vol. 2, pp. 742–770.



Fig. 4. Maurice Denis, *Hommage à Cézanne*, 1900, oil on canvas, 180 x 240 cm, Paris, Musée d'Orsay.

painters, critics and writers assembled in two rows around the self-portrait by Eugène Delacroix, which is in a heavy gold frame. H. Onkva published a superb caricature of the Fantin-Latour painting 1864 in *Le Monde illustré* (fig. 3). Edmund Duranty defended the painting in 1867: "Controversial artists pay homage to the memory of one of the greatest controversial artists of our time." The painters whom Fantin-Latour depicted had all been rejected by the jury for the Salon of 1863, and had exhibited in the *Salon des refusés*.

When Cézanne was photographed in Paris in 1894, at the age of 55, with the sketch of his *Apotheosis of Delacroix*, he was still awaiting the public recognition he had always striven for. He was also without any financial success, although this was easier to bear after his inheritance. In the 1870s, when Cézanne sketched out his first idea for *The Apotheosis of Delacroix*, he must have been well familiar with the theme of the persecuted artist from comments about himself. Georges Rivière affirmed this in an article in the magazine *L'Impressioniste* in 1877: "The artist who has been most attacked in the last fifteen years, most abused by press and

public, is Cézanne. There is no insult that has not been heaped upon his name; his works have aroused shouts of laughter, and they still do."⁶ In 1894 Cézanne had no less reasons to project his fate onto the supposed fate of Delacroix – when he believed Baudelaire and Théophile Gautier – rather than Delacroix when he saw in Nicolas Poussin an image of himself. At the auction of the estate of Père Tanguy in 1894 at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris, Cézanne's paintings were offered for between 45 and 215 francs.⁷ The exhibition in Vollard's shop in 1895 was Cézanne's first one-man show and it was as important for the recognition of the artist as the World Exhibition of 1855 had been for Delacroix.⁸

In the *Salon de la Société nationale des Beaux-Arts* of 1901 Maurice Denis presented his large canvas *Hommage à Cézanne* (fig. 4). This painting shows a group of artists and a critic in Ambroise Vollard's gallery in Rue Laffitte 6 around Cézanne's still-life *Compotier, verre et pommes*, which is on the easel. The easel suggests the artist's studio in the gallery. The men, who are dressed in formal black, are in earnest conversation. Odilon Redon is cleaning his spectacles, Vuillard is looking attentively at him, the critic André Melléro is lost in thought, and Vollard has stepped on (This "on" doesn't make sense here.) to the easel at the back. Denis is looking at Redon, while Sérusier is answering him; Ranson, Roussel and Bonnard are listening eagerly, but Marthe Denis is ignoring the conversation and looking at the picture. The reverence shown in Maurice Denis' *Hommage à Cézanne* is firstly accorded to the painting, but it passes on from the painting to the absent master, whose art is being discussed by this group of Nabis and Symbolists in Vollard's gallery.⁹

The still-life on the easel in Denis' painting already had an important history: Paul Gauguin bought it from Père Tanguy when he was still a banker and owned it until 1898. Then it was sold to the collector Georges Viau, a dentist, where Maurice Denis copied it. Viau lent it for the retrospective of French art at the World Exhibition in Paris of 1900.

⁶ George Rivière, in: *L'Impressioniste*, 1877, quoted in John Rewald, *Cézanne. A Biography*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1986, p. 112. – On Cézanne and his critics see Judith Wechsler (Ed.), *Cézanne in Perspective*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1975 and George Heard Hamilton, *Manet and his Critics*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954.

⁷ For comparison: all the six canvases by Paul Gauguin were sold for less than 100 francs, only a painting by Claude Monet was exceptionally knocked down for 3000 francs.

⁸ Ambroise Vollard, *En écoutant Cézanne, Degas, Renoir*, Paris: Grasset, 1938, pp. 37–45; Georges Rivière, *Cézanne, le peintre solitaire*, Paris: Floury, 1933, pp. 151–155.

⁹ Dario Gamboni, *La plume et le pinceau. Odilon Redon et la littérature*, Paris: Éditions de minuit, 1989, p. 178.

II. Vollard: Art Dealer

In January 1894 Camille Pissarro wrote to his son Lucien about a young man he had met in the house of the painter John Lewis Brown in Paris. Pissarro did not mention the name of this young man who was warmly recommended by Monsieur Viau, the collector, and had just opened a small shop at Rue Laffitte. Then Pissarro added: "Je crois que ce petit marchand fera l'affaire, il n'aime que les choses de notre école ou qui se rapprochent d'elle par le talent. Il est très enthousiaste et s'y connaît. Il commence déjà à intéresser certains amateurs qui furètent."¹⁰ This little man was Ambroise Vollard. Only one year later, after some experiences and discussions on prices, Pissarro had changed his opinion: "Vollard, ce dont tu peux être sûr, ne s'occupera que de ce qui se vend: des noms; des autres, il s'en fiche!"¹¹ – "You may be sure that Vollard is only interested in what sells, the names; about the others he doesn't care at all."

Ambroise Vollard, born 1867 on the small volcanic island of La Réunion in the Indian Ocean, arrived in 1890 or – more probably two years earlier – in France in order to study law at the University of Montpellier.¹² Two years later, he proceeded to Paris and enrolled in the *Ecole de Droit* in Paris where he received his *Licence*. More interested in his explorations of the shops in the Latin Quarter than his studies, he made his first acquisitions of small drawings, engravings and first paintings. In around 1893 after serving a brief apprenticeship at the gallery *L'Union Artistique*, he opened his first shop at Rue Laffitte 37. This choice clearly demonstrates the ambition of the 26 year old Vollard. Rue Laffitte, between Boulevard des Italiens and the Notre Dame de la Lorette Church, was well known in Paris as the "rue des tableaux", where Durand-Ruel and Bernheim Jeune and many other art dealers had their galleries. In January 1894 Pissarro noted that Vollard exclusively displayed canvases by "young painters" like Gauguin, Sisley, Redon, Raffaëlli and Groux in his shop.¹³ In 1894 Vollard, who was not only ambitious but also aggressive and – as Una Johnson rightly pointed out – enterprising and uncommonly shrewd, organized an exhibition of the drawings and sketches by Edouard Manet he had bought from Manet's Widow. In the *Souvenirs d'un marchand de tableaux*, published in Paris in 1937, Vollard reports his visits to Manet's widow.¹⁴ Unfortunately he gives no information about the drawings and sketches he

¹⁰ Camille Pissarro, *Lettres à son fils Lucien*, présentées, avec l'assistance de Lucien Pissarro par John Rewald, Paris: Michel, 1950, p. 325.

¹¹ Pissarro, *Lettres à son fils Lucien* (as in n. 10), p. 407.

¹² The chronology of Vollard's life and activities is still insufficiently verified.

¹³ Pissarro, *Lettres à son fils Lucien* (as in n. 10), p.325.

¹⁴ Ambrosie Vollard, *Souvenirs d'un marchand de tableaux*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1937, pp. 71–76.

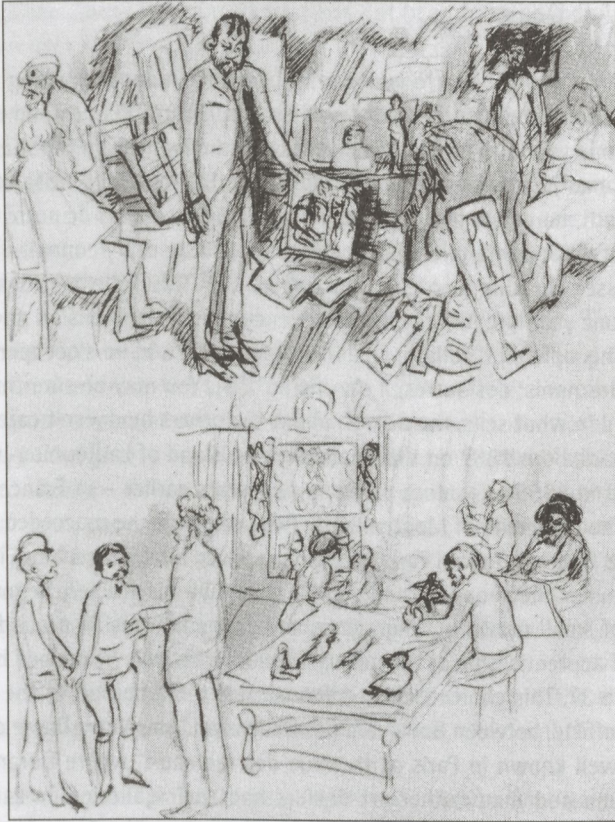


Fig. 5. Pierre Bonnard, *The Painter's Life*, about 1898, page 3 of a sketchbook: Vollard in his gallery with the artists he represents; Below: Bonnard seated at the table, makes a puppet at the Théâtre des Pantins, founded by his brother-in-law, composer Claude Terrasse (foreground), and Alfred Jarry (in bicycle pants), the creator of 'Ubu roi', a performance of which was given at the puppet theater in 1898), pen and brown ink with blue wash, France, private collection.

bought and showed in his shop – nor does Alain de Leiris in his catalogue of Manet's drawings, (1969), where the Vollard exhibition is omitted.

Vollard tells more about the neglected and still unsold versions of Manet's *Execution of Maximilian* and his discovery of the last remaining part of the second large version cut to pieces by Manet's widow and her brother. Vollard bought this most important fragment. Edgar Degas had previously acquired three small parts of this painting – among them the sergeant. Degas was misinformed by Manet's family that there were no more pieces of the canvas. When Degas found out about Vollard's discovery, he

urged the dealer to sell him the important piece of the central group of Mexican soldiers in order to reconstruct the painting.

In April 1895 Vollard moved to a larger shop in Rue Laffitte 39, where he remained until the end of 1897. From 1898 until 1914 Vollard practised as an art dealer and publisher at Rue Laffitte 6,¹⁵ between Boulevard des Italiens and Boulevard Haussmann. Within a few years Vollard's shop at Rue Laffitte 39 had become a meeting place for "young artists" as the drawing by Pierre Bonnard proves (fig. 5). It shows Pissarro, Renoir, Vollard, a client, Bonnard and Degas. Vollard celebrated the opening of his new gallery at Rue Laffitte 39 with an exhibition of paintings by Vincent van Gogh. At the auction of the estate of Père Tanguy in June 1894 at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris, Ambroise Vollard bought four (of five) paintings by Cézanne at low prices between 95 and 215 francs. Within a year he was able to sell three of them for a profit of more than one hundred percent. It is significant, that three months earlier, in March 1894, Vollard had refused to buy Cézanne's paintings at the auction Théodore Duret held in the Gallery Georges Petit where the three paintings were sold for between 650 and 800 francs.¹⁶ In his *Souvenirs* Vollard pretends to have discovered Cézanne by himself in the tiny shop of Père Tanguy, where he received quite a blow in the stomach by a painting.¹⁷ It is likely that Renoir and Pissarro talked to Vollard about the painter, who was personally unknown to the dealer. Vollard had tried eagerly but unsuccessfully to find Cézanne in and around Paris in June 1895.

An additional motive for Vollard to show Cézanne's paintings, watercolours and drawings in November and December 1895 was the public dispute about the Caillebotte's bequest to the Musée du Luxembourg, then the Museum of Contemporary Art. The painter and important art collector, Gustave Caillebotte, who died in February 1894, had specified in his will that the collection was to remain undivided. This was followed by public polemics, threats by Jean-Léon Gerôme and some of his colleagues of the École des Beaux-Arts, long negotiations by the "Comité consultatif des musées nationaux" and the executors of Caillebotte's will, Martial Caillebotte and Auguste Renoir. To avoid an entire rejection of the bequest, Martial Caillebotte and Auguste Renoir finally agreed to the selection of only 38 of the 69 paintings by the members of the administration and Léonce Bénédict, curator of the Musée du Luxembourg.¹⁸ The officials perfidiously claimed, that the rejected works were merely sketches or unfinished canvases and that the selection was in the interest of the artist's

¹⁵ Isabelle Cahn 'L'exposition Cézanne chez Vollard en 1895', in: *Cézanne aujourd'hui* [Conference acts: Paris, Musée d'Orsay, 29./30. 11. 1995], Paris: RMN, 1997, p. 137.

¹⁶ Cahn, *L'exposition Cézanne* (as in n. 15), p. 137.

¹⁷ Vollard, *Souvenirs* (as in n. 14), p. 76.

¹⁸ Kirk Varnedoe, *Gustave Caillebotte*, London – New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, pp. 197–204.

reputation. Among the five paintings by Cézanne, only two landscapes were finally admitted to the Luxembourg, and in 1896 they were poorly hung on the ceiling.¹⁹ *Baigneurs au repos*, now in the Barnes Foundation and *Le vase Rococo* now in the Washington National Gallery of Art are the most important of the rejected works by Cézanne. The third – a landscape – is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.²⁰ For Cézanne's first one-man show Vollard planned to ask some owners – among them Camille Pissarro – for loans. In his anecdotal book on Cézanne of 1914 Vollard describes at length how he eagerly tried to find the phantom-like painter but finally succeeded in meeting the painter's son, Paul. By Paul's good offices the art dealer received about 150 rolled up canvases from the painter in Aix-en-Provence, far more than he could accommodate in his shop. Either the number was exaggerated or Vollard received far fewer works, for later he speaks of only one hundred canvases, or he showed only selected parts, or perhaps various selected parts. One reporter counted about fifty works, another only some thirty works.²¹ Vollard published no catalogue and made no list of the works shown. In 1914 he listed 23 paintings.

From this list I have chosen to show two of the seven pictures which were bought by Edgar Degas from the exhibition on November 29, 1895. Vollard tried to stimulate reviews of the exhibition, and Gustave Geffroy, Thadée Natanson and Arsène Alexandre published important analyses. Six rather friendly reviews were elsewhere published in newspapers and only Georges Denoinville attacked the painter for his "atrocités en huile" in *Le journal des artistes*.

But Vollard had learned much more about public relations strategies. In the windows of his shop he displayed three paintings: the *Bathers at Rest*, the most mocked and criticized painting of the 3rd impressionist exhibition of 1877 and again during the affair Caillebotte, the voluptuous *Leda and the Swan* and an unidentified picture with nudes. It is unknown how Vollard managed to receive the most scandalous painting from the Caillebotte bequest for his exhibition. It is evident that he had tried to create a scandal and to achieve "succès de scandale". In his book on Cézanne, he remembers with particular delight that the *Bathers at rest* offended the amateurs and painters alike (among them Puvis de Chavannes): "Cela était jugé un outrage à l'art, outrage qui, pour certains, s'aggravait d'un outrage à la pudeur."²² – "It was considered an insult to art

¹⁹ John Rewald, *The Paintings of Paul Cézanne. A Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996, vol. 1, no. 390, p. 259.

²⁰ Rewald, *The Paintings of Paul Cézanne* (as in n. 19) 1996, no. 244, p. 172.

²¹ Cahn, *L'exposition Cézanne* (as in n. 15), p. 139.

²² Ambroise Vollard, *Paul Cézanne. Huit phototypies d'après Cézanne* [first published 1914], Paris: Crès, 1924, p. 79.



Fig. 6. Paul Cézanne, *Portrait of Ambroise Vollard*, 1899, oil on canvas, 100 x 81 cm, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais de la Ville de Paris.

and by some visitors still more, an insult to shame." Vollard also made some anecdotal observations about the reactions of some shocked visitors, but he confessed also that he finally removed the scandalous painting from the window in order to reduce the repulsion of a part of the public. In the end he found success. The important collector Auguste Pellerin bought his first Cézanne, *Leda and the Swan*, and the prominent collector Comte Isaac de Camondo bought five watercolours for a total of 600 francs. Between November 1895 and January 1896 Vollard sold watercolours and drawings from the Cézanne exhibition paintings for about 5400 francs, but his commercial list, published by Isabelle Cahn in 1997 seems incomplete.²³ Art historians

²³ Cahn, *L'exposition Cézanne* (as in n. 15), p. 144; See Walter Feilchenfeldt, 'Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte Cézannes in Deutschland', in: *Cézanne. Gemälde*. Exh. cat. Tübingen, 1993, ed. by Götz Adriani, Köln: DuMont, 1993, pp. 293–312.

agree with Una Johnson's comment in the MOMA catalogue of 1977²⁴, that "with this exhibition Cézanne's belated career was launched – and so was that of Ambroise Vollard." Apparently Paul Cézanne did not visit his exposition at Vollard's gallery, probably to avoid trouble with the public and critics. In 1896 Vollard travelled to Aix-en-Provence to meet Cézanne and buy other canvases and in May and June 1898 he organized the second Cézanne exhibition; we know much less about this second exhibition. Then in 1899 he ordered his portrait by Cézanne (fig. 6), which the painter left unfinished and unsatisfied, after 150 terrible sessions – as Vollard reports. In January 1900 Vollard informed Paul Gauguin in a letter, that he had bought Cézanne's entire atelier and that he had already organized three or four exhibitions with growing public success. This letter may have had the effect, that Gauguin, less than a year after describing Vollard as a "caïman de la pire espèce" – an alligator of the worst kind – signed a contract with him in March 1900 for the delivery of 20 to 24 canvases a year for a monthly salary of 300 francs.²⁵ In November–December 1898 Vollard organized an exhibition of Gauguin's *D'où venons nous? Que sommes nous? Ou allons-nous?* in his gallery, together with eight paintings related to this large master-piece. Vollard had bought everything for only 1000 Francs.²⁶ He continued his austere and very simple policy of buying low and selling high. In 1918 he disposed of the enormous wealth of 10 million francs according to the estimation by the art dealer René Gimpel.

III. Vollard, publisher

In his *Souvenirs*, Vollard commented: "I was hardly settled in the Rue Laffitte when I began to dream of publishing fine prints, but I felt they must be done by 'painter-printmakers'! My idea was to obtain works from artists who were not printmakers by profession."²⁷ While Vollard appeared to painters and clients as the most clever money-maker or as an alligator in the art market, he also appeared as a fervent amateur (painter?) of original prints by contemporary artists. Throughout his career he invested a large sum of money in the publication of print albums and art books according to his idea "of becoming a publisher, a great publisher of books".

²⁴ *Ambroise Vollard, Editeur. Prints, Books, Bronzes*, Exh. cat. New York, 1977, ed. by Una E. Johnson, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977, p. 19.

²⁵ *The art of Paul Gauguin*. Exh. cat. Washington, Chicago and Paris, 1988/89, Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1988, p. 384.

²⁶ *Gauguin à Tahiti. L'atelier des tropiques*. Exh. cat. Paris, Boston 2003/04, Paris: RMN, 2003, pp. 219–251, 351–355.

²⁷ Vollard, *Souvenirs* (as in n. 14), p. 305.



Fig. 7. Paul Cézanne, *Small Bathers*, 1896–1897, Color litho on chine collé, 21.8 x 26.6 cm, Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago.

In 1895 he published an album with lithographs by Pierre Bonnard. It was followed in 1896 by the *Album des peintres-graveurs*, containing lithographs by Bonnard, Denis, Fantin-Latour, Munch, Redon and others. In the same year Vollard published Gustave Flaubert's *Tentation de Saint-Antoine* with 24 lithographs by Odilon Redon. His publications include 214 albums and books and 30 bronzes.

In 1914 Vollard also became the author of an anecdotal biography of Cézanne by publishing a profusely illustrated book in quarto, with an original 1873 etching by Cézanne, 2 colour plates, 56 photogravures and many figures. This book was highly praised in the *Burlington Magazine* by Roger Fry who compared the Author with Giorgio Vasari.²⁸

Vollard's second Album *L'Album d'estampes originales* included the first lithograph by Cézanne, The so-called *Small Bathers*. The larger colour-lithograph after the *Bathers at rest* (fig. 7) was intended as part of a third album. When this plan failed, it was printed

²⁸ Roger Fry, 'Paul Cézanne by Ambroise Vollard: Paris, 1915. A Review by Roger Fry', in: *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 31, 1917, pp. 53.



Fig. 8. Paul Cézanne, *Large Bathers*, 1896–1898, Color litho on laid paper, 41 x 51 cm, Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung.

separately. A third lithograph in black shows Cézanne's Self-portrait. Douglas Druick studied at length the technical procedures and the collaboration of publisher, printer and artist.²⁹ He concludes: "Thus while Pissarro may have been correct in stating that Vollard geared his publishing projects to the market, it seems that over time the dealer's attitude changed." Compared with the early etchings by Cézanne, the lithographs for Vollard are "works of a very different kind". According to Druick, "they reflect not only the artist's approach to a new medium, but also his approach to an unfamiliar, public situation".³⁰

Cézanne was quite the opposite of an "artist on show" working for exhibitions. The exhibition artist became established as the new main type in the second half of the 18th

²⁹ Douglas W. Druick, 'Cézanne's Lithographs', in: *Cézanne. The late work*, ed. by William Rubin, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977, pp. 119–137; idem, 'Cézanne, Vollard, and Lithography: The Ottawa Maquette for the "Large Bathers" Colour Lithograph', in: *National-Gallery-of-Canada-Bulletin*, 19, 1972, pp. 2–36.

³⁰ Druick, *Cézanne's Lithographs* (as in n. 29), p. 134.



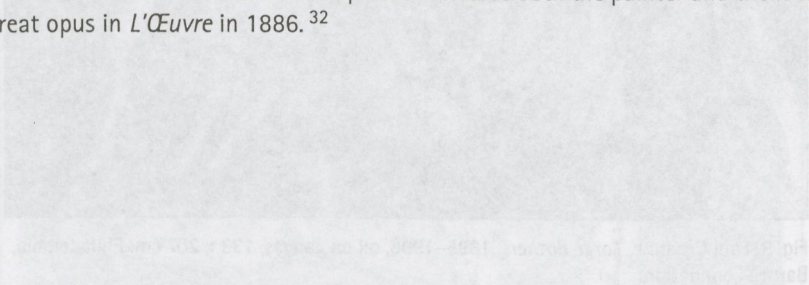
Fig. 9. Paul Cézanne, *Large Bathers*, 1895–1906, oil on canvas, 133 x 207 cm, Philadelphia, Barnes Foundation.

century, when exhibitions were institutionalized in France, England and elsewhere in Europe. As a result, the public emerged as the new recipient for works of art and the new power in the art world, while art critics claimed to express public judgment. The well-known French artists working for exhibition pieces included Jacques-Louis David, Théodore Géricault and Eugène Delacroix who defended the aim to catch the public eye. Gustave Courbet was not only the most gifted artist of the Second Empire but also the most gifted organizer of one-man-shows and private exhibitions in France and elsewhere. In 1867 Edouard Manet insisted: "Exhibiting is an existential affair, the *sine qua non* for the artist." The exhibitions immediately gave rise to the suspicion that artists could be corrupted by money, mass taste, cheap applause and the pressure to succeed in the competitive art world.³¹

Before 1895 Cézanne had only a few opportunities to exhibit; his last participation with three paintings was at the 1890 Exhibition of the avant-garde group *Les Vingt* at Brussels. The success of his One-man-show in Vollard's gallery in 1895 obviously changed nothing in Cézanne's self-understanding as an artist or of his reputation as a misanthropic, unsociable loner. But one important change occurred, which may be in connection with the Vollard exhibition and the widely positive reactions especially to the figure compositions.

³¹ Oskar Bätschmann, *The Artist in the Modern World. The Conflict Between the Market and Self-Expression*, Cologne: DuMont, 1997, p. 136.

Apparently in 1895 Cézanne found new energy for realizing his second dream of painting. We may identify it in the three large compositions of the *Great Bathers*. It seems that Cézanne began to work on the first version (fig. 8) in 1895 or shortly after and some years later he also undertook the other two large compositions (fig. 9). We may suppose that the exhibition in Paris and the encouragement by Vollard and others were decisive for the elimination of the scruples against masterpieces – which have to be understood as exhibition pieces – as well as for the struggle against the unfavorable criticism that Emile Zola had expressed towards both the painter and the idea of a great opus in *L'Œuvre* in 1886.³²



³² Émile Zola, *L'Œuvre*, Paris 1886, in: Zola, *Les Rougon-Macquart*, 5 vols, Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1966, vol. 4, pp. 9–363.

Oskar Bätschmann

Paul Cézanne a Ambroise Vollard: maliar a predajca umenia

Vzťahy medzi Cézannom a Vollardom začali okolo roku 1894, keď sa Ambroise Vollard dostal na parížsku umeleckú scénu. V tomto roku si otvoril prvý malý obchod s umením na Rue Laffitte č. 37, v parížskej štvrti, kde malo svoje sídlo viacero obchodníkov s umením ako napríklad Durand-Ruel. Jedným z jeho prvých nákupov bola kolekcia kresieb a skíc, ktoré zakúpil od vdovy po Manetovi.

Už v roku 1895 sa presídlil na Rue Laffitte č. 39, kde si otvoril väčší obchod s umením. Medzi umelcami, ktorých diela ponúkal vo svojich priestoroch, patrili Pissarro, Renoir, Bonnard i Degas. Prvé diela Paula Cézanna získal na aukcii z pozostalosti Pére Tanguyho, v júni 1894 v Hôtel Drouot v Paríži. V novembri a decembri 1895 pripravil prvú Cézannovu samostatnú výstavu, kde vystavil jeho maľby, kresby a akvarely, pričom sa neustále pokúšal stretnúť sa s umelcom osobne. Až prostredníctvom jeho syna Paula získal kolekciu približne 150 plátien z Aix-en-Provence.

Ambroise Vollard bol výborným stratégom predaja a svojim aukciám zabezpečoval i publicitu. V roku 1896 odcestoval do Aix-en-Provence za Cézannom, aby zakúpil ďalšie jeho diela. Druhú Cézannovu výstavu pripravil v roku 1898, opäť v Paríži. Základom obchodnej stratégie A. Vollarda bolo lacno kúpiť a drahšie predat. Podobne postupoval aj v prípade Paula Gauguaina, s ktorým podpísal zmluvu v 1900. Okrem dobrých stykov z umelcami začal byť Vollard aktívny aj na poli vydávania publikácií a albumov diel. V 1895 vydal album 5 Bonnardových litografií. Nasledoval L'Album d'estampes originales, ktorý obsahoval aj prvú litografiu Cézannových „Kúpajúcich sa“.

Vzťahy medzi Vollardom a Cézannom prispeli k väčšej prezentácii umelca v parížskom prostredí, keďže on sám radšej žil v samote v Aix-en-Provence. Tieto aktivity dodali Cézannovi odvahu pustiť sa do ďalších väčších realizácií vo svojej tvorbe.

¹ The Műcsarnok (Palace of Exhibitions) moved to its new building, today's Műcsarnok, on the edge of City Park in 1886, the year of the Millennium.

² Béla Déry: A Nemzeti Szalon művészetét vizsgálja az évtizedek 1894–1904 [Ten Years of the National Salon Art Society 1894–1904], Legény Testvérek, Budapest, s. 4. (1874), p. 3.

³ On the Nagybánya artists' colony founded in 1884, which had a central role in the history of modern Hungarian painting: Géza Csorba – György Galcsik (Ed.): Csik Nagybánya művészei – Die Kunst von Nagybánya – The Art of Nagybánya, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, Budapest, 1996.