Paul Cèzanne, the Basel sketchbooks

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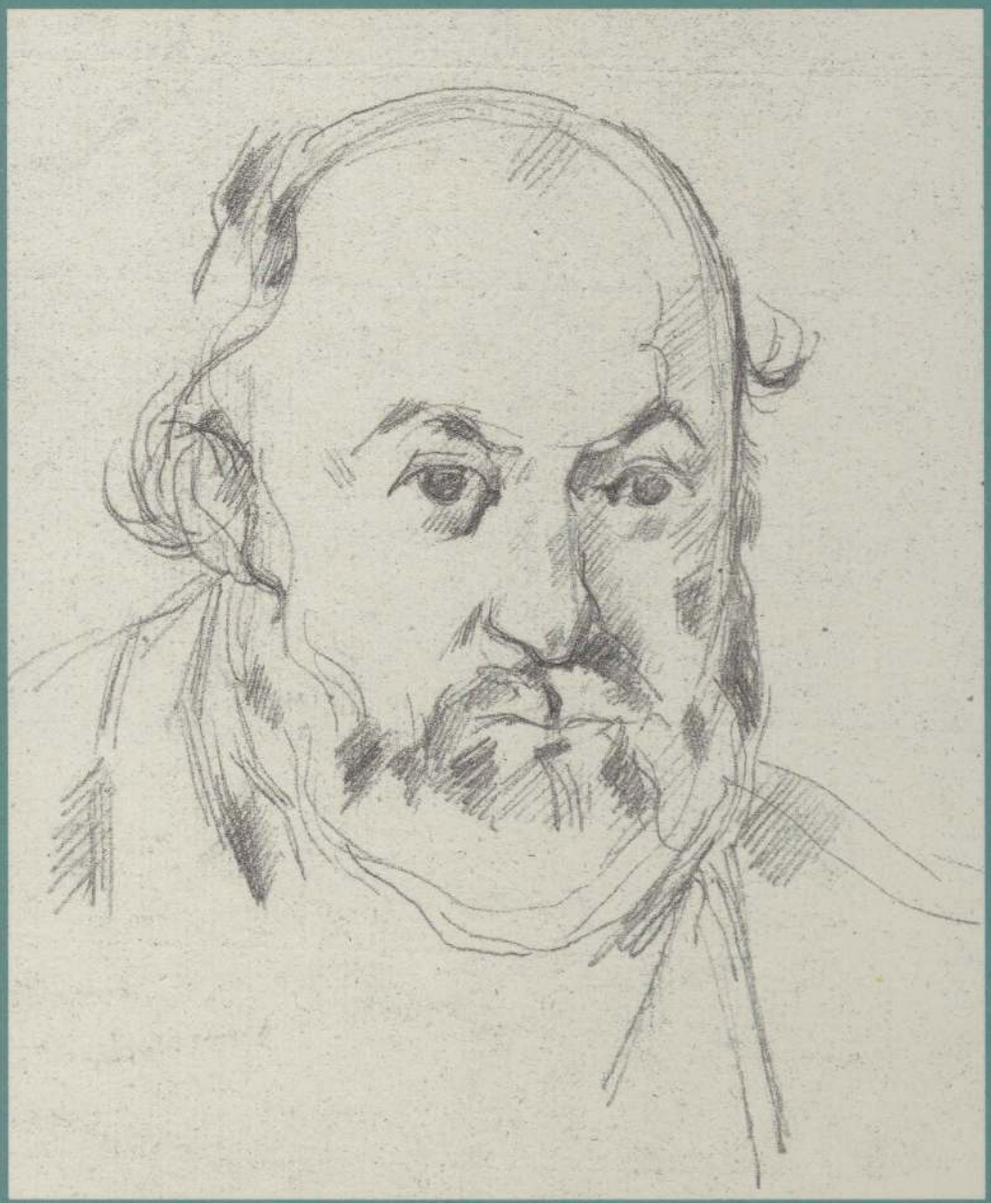

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART
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152 pages; 127 illustrations

Paul Cézanne: The Basel Sketchbooks

LAWRENCE GOWING

Throughout his life Paul Cézanne drew, privately and for his own purposes, in notebooks and on single sheets. These drawings offer unique insights into his ideas and working methods.

The drawings reproduced in this book have been selected from the exceptionally comprehensive collection at the Kunstmuseum in Basel, Switzerland, which spans most of Cézanne's career, from the 1860s to about 1900. All of the artist's major themes are represented in these small drawings: landscape, still life, portrait, and figure composition, including bathers and copies from Renaissance and neoclassical sculpture.

The Basel collection was acquired in the 1930s in two blocks, with the later addition of a few miscellaneous sheets. In 1934 the Kunstmuseum purchased from the Bern painter Werner Feuz a group of sixty-five sheets which had come from the collection of Cézanne's son. In 1935 Feuz made available another eighty-five sheets, derived largely from three sketchbooks formerly in the collection of the well-known Parisian collector and dealer Paul Guillaume. The Kunstmuseum has maintained its collection as a coherent entity, a unique treasure for students of Cézanne's work.

For this volume, Sir Lawrence Gowing has written a brilliant guide to the work. His text discusses in illuminating detail the subtleties of the sheets reproduced, analyzing the developing genius of the artist who to a great extent invented modern drawing.

This book is published to accompany an exhibition at The Museum of Modern Art, the first showing of the Basel sketchbooks in America. One hundred twenty-three drawings in the collection have been selected for

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Foreword

On behalf of the Trustees of The Museum of Modern Art, I would like to thank the Trustees of the Basel Kunstmuseum, its Director Dr. Christian Geelhaar, and the Director of the Kupferstichkabinett of the Basel Kunstmuseum, Dr. Dieter Koepplin, for their great generosity in lending this extraordinary group of 114 drawings from the sketchbooks of Paul Cézanne. The Basel sketchbooks are a treasure which has been part of the collection of the Kunstmuseum since the 1930s. Their early acquisition was an act of faith and foresight, for the thirties were a time when Cézanne's pencil drawings were not yet highly appreciated. When we asked whether we might borrow the major part of this great resource, Basel's response was immediate and enthusiastic.

The history of the cooperation between the Basel Kunstmuseum and The Museum of Modern Art extends over many years. The former director of the Kunstmuseum, Dr. Franz Meyer, was a generous friend, lending to many of our exhibitions, and this tradition has continued under the direction of Dr. Geelhaar. In recent years, our two museums have assisted each other with many important loans. The Department of Drawings of our museum has also had a long and fortunate association with Dr. Koepplin. The twentieth-century collection of the Kupferstichkabinett is as rich and varied—and farsighted—as its more famous historical collection. Basel has often been the first to present drawing retrospectives of contemporary artists, among them A. R. Penck, Georg Baselitz, and, more recently, Bruce Nauman. Past Museum of Modern Art exhibitions of drawings, such as "Jean Arp: Works on Paper," "Drawing Now," and "New Work on Paper 2," benefited immeasurably from the assistance of the Basel collection.

I should like, also, to take this opportunity to thank Sir Lawrence Gowing for his extraordinary catalogue text. It is one of the very few recent discussions in English of Cézanne's pencil drawings. We believe that this sensitive and perceptive appreciation of Cézanne as a draftsman will add a great deal to our understanding of his art.

For generously supporting the exhibition and this catalogue, we are most grateful to Knoll International Holdings, Inc., and to its Chairman, Marshall S. Cogan, a Trustee and good friend of this Museum, who serves on our Committee on Drawings.

Finally, we all owe our warm appreciation to the director of the exhibition, Bernice Rose, Curator in our Department of Drawings, for proposing this project and bringing it so handsomely to pass.

RICHARD E. OLDENBURG, *Director*
The Museum of Modern Art

Foreword

Of the nearly twenty sketchbooks of Paul Cézanne catalogued by Adrien Chappuis, only a few remain intact. Many were broken up and their pages dispersed. Most of these sketchbooks have found their way into American collections, public and private. The drawings in this exhibition seem to have formed originally part of five sketchbooks: the "Basel Museum carnets," as Chappuis calls them.

The Basel sketchbooks are but one of the many remarkable treasures from the Kupferstichkabinett (Department of Prints and Drawings) of the Basel Kunstmuseum. That we may now share this treasure with the visitors to The Museum of Modern Art pleases us for many reasons. In 1976 the Basel Kunstmuseum took part in the exhibition "European Master Paintings from Swiss Collections" at The Museum of Modern Art and the history of our institution was surveyed in the catalogue. The Kunstmuseum has since lent works to several major exhibitions organized by The Museum of Modern Art, notably paintings by Cézanne, Rousseau, Picasso, Klee, and Johns. The Museum of Modern Art in return has shown unusual generosity in the loan of no fewer than sixteen works by Picasso which formed the nucleus of our exhibition "Picasso aus dem Museum of Modern Art New York und Schweizer Sammlungen," and ten years later, in 1986, two monumental panels were much admired highlights of our presentation of Monet's *Water Lilies*.

Although as an institution it is much older—in 1662 the City and the University of Basel acquired the Amerbach Kabinett and put it on public view nine years later—the Basel Kunstmuseum started building its collection of twentieth-century art at the very same time The Museum of Modern Art was founded. In the mid-twenties the construction of a new museum to house not only the famous collection of Old Masters but also a collection of contemporary art was decided by the Basel authorities. In 1927 Otto Fischer was appointed director; he laid the foundations of the modern collection by proposing the acquisition of important paintings by Munch, Nolde, Ensor, Klee, and Ernst. When the new Kunstmuseum was inaugurated in 1936, these paintings were presented in a room dedicated to contemporary art. In 1939 Otto Fischer was succeeded by Georg Schmidt, whose first and most decisive deed was the acquisition of twenty key works, mainly Expressionist, which, once the highlights of German museums, were sold by the Nazis as "degenerate art." He realized that this was a unique opportunity for the Basel collection of modern art to gain international status. The farsightedness of Georg Schmidt, and later of Franz Meyer (director from 1962 to 1980) made up for what the museum lacked in financial means for acquisitions. And we owe a debt of gratitude to the museum's many donors, such as Raoul La Roche, who donated his unparalleled collection of Cubist and Purist art, and others whose generosity helped immeasurably to make Basel's collection of twentieth-century art today one of the finest in Europe.

CHRISTIAN GEELHAAR, *Director*
Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel

Preface

The Acquisition of the Basel Drawings

In choosing only the best of the 152 sheets of Cézanne drawings in the collection of the Basel Kunstmuseum—114 were selected for this exhibition—Sir Lawrence Gowing and Bernice Rose are not contradicting the decisions of the museum's acquisitions committee in 1934 and 1935. Indeed that eight-member commission, headed by Karl August Burckhardt-Koechlin and in charge of evaluating the director's acquisition requests, did not regard the drawings they were buying as forming an inviolable group. They even assumed, when they bought two blocks comprising 140 Cézanne sheets for Fr. 31,000 (about U.S. $10,125, at the 1934 conversion rate), that they might later sell some of them to lower the cost of the individual drawings (Fr. 220 [about $72]). Alternatively, the money could be used to buy a Cézanne watercolor for the collection, which the director, Otto Fischer, felt would provide a strong centerpiece to focus the collection. (Today it is still lacking; will it always be so?) During the years of economic and political crisis from 1932 to 1935, paintings by Cézanne came on the market and possible purchases were discussed by the board; Rudolf Staechelin, a board member and collector of Impressionist paintings, was a particularly strong advocate of such an acquisition. At that time, museums could expect to be offered Cézanne paintings repeatedly at ever lower prices (approximately Fr. 125,000 for a good one). Yet it was only toward the end of the directorship of Georg Schmidt that the museum purchased two paintings (in 1955 and 1960) by the *primitif* of a new art form (as Cézanne had once called himself, even while criticizing the "primitives" of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries because when they painted they were only drawing).

The first sixty-five leaves of Cézanne drawings, from the collection of the painter's son, were offered "out of the blue" by the Bern painter Werner Feuz (1882–1956) in 1934. Although they were individual sheets mostly taken from several different sketchbooks, he made them available only *en bloc* (at first sixty, then sixty-three, and finally sixty-five drawings, for Fr. 20,000, then Fr. 17,000, and finally Fr. 15,000 [about $4,900]). The same was true of the eighty-five sheets from the estate of the well-known Parisian collector-dealer Paul Guillaume offered in February 1935. (Guillaume had died in 1934 at the age of forty-two. In 1966 his astonishing collection went to the Louvre for the Musée de l'Orangerie.) Of the drawings offered in 1935, eighty came from the three sketchbooks which Werner Feuz had bought in 1934 from the Guillaume estate. Feuz, who had broken up the sketchbooks, added to them five single sheets which Cézanne's son had let him have earlier. He offered these eighty-five sheets first to Maja Sacher-Stehlin, who had established the Emmanuel Hoffmann Foundation in Basel in 1933, for Fr. 25,000, and then to the Basel Kunstmuseum for Fr. 20,000. Robert von Hirsch, who had emigrated from Frankfurt to Basel in 1933, contributed Fr. 10,000 toward the final asking price of Fr. 16,000 (about $5,225). "In return," von Hirsch chose ten drawings for his own distinguished collection. At his death in 1977 these ten drawings (and a number of important paintings) came to the Basel Kunstmuseum as the Martha and

Robert von Hirsch Donation (To bring up to date the listing of their provenance in Adrien Chappuis's 1973 catalogue raisonné of Cézanne's drawings, I note the Chappuis numbers of these ten sheets: 294, 301, 371, 413, 501, 678, 935, 939, 974, and 1066, with versos nos. 526, 527, 925, and 1142.)

An exhibition of the Cézanne drawings acquired in 1934, together with those offered in 1935 and practically secured, was organized by the Kupferstichkabinett (Department of Prints and Drawings) in March 1935. This exhibition pointed up the harmony between the early and later works, respectively, in the two blocks. Not least, it made evident the strength of expression in the copies after Old Master paintings and sculpture. At the time, Georg Schmidt wrote in a Basel newspaper that "Cézanne extracts the formal contents from works of art of the past... in the sense of absolute form." Cézanne, well on in years, must have had something like that in mind when he said, "The mistral blows through the work of Puget."

That exhibition in the spring of 1935 made everyone aware of what Heinrich Müller and Hermann Meyer, two of the three artists on the acquisitions committee of the Basel Kunstmuseum, had remarked upon earlier (and set down in their meeting's minutes): "Every drawing has something new and valuable," and, "*as a whole*, this collection would be an important focal point of our collection"—and the two painters did not distinguish between the collections of the Kupferstichkabinett and the Department of Paintings. After all, in the museum's Amerbach Kabinett Holbein's paintings and the block of more than a hundred of his drawings had lived side by side for a long time. This exhibition in 1935 was the first devoted exclusively to Cézanne drawings; seeking to understand them, Fritz Novotny asked pointedly, perhaps embarrassingly, "Although he fought it on principle, why did Cézanne keep the line to the extent of creating pure drawings?"

In 1935, the desirability of selling certain of the drawings for financial reasons was brought up once again. Fortunately, however, several donors were found to provide the modest sum that made this unnecessary—Maja Sacher-Stehlin, Dr. Jacob Brodbeck-Sandreuter, Dr. G. Engi, and the collectors Karl im Obersteg and Consul Fritz Schwarz von Spreckelsen. Their contributions put an end to the threat of having to sell "dispensable" Cézanne drawings. The group of Cézanne drawings, although not a self-contained whole yet illustrating a great artist's method of working, would (along with the blocks of Holbein drawings and drawings by other masters up to and including Hans von Marées, all of which had been collected "disproportionately") later justify the Kunstmuseum's collecting philosophy, especially where drawings are concerned: many (good) examples from few artists are preferable to few (good) examples from many artists. This, of course, also means a preference for highlights over documentary material chosen with that "art-historical impartiality" which, as is well known, produces a problematic similarity among museum collections the world over.

It had been believed in Basel, at least in 1934, that there were few Cézanne drawings left. It was an assumption made on the basis of the drawings reproduced in the books about Cézanne by Vollard in 1914 and Meier-Graefe in 1922, but an assumption soon to be overturned, not only by the acquisitions from Werner Feuz but by the Cézanne exhibition in the Basel Kunsthalle in the autumn of 1936, which contained sixty-eight further drawings, not belonging to the Basel Kunstmuseum. The existence of such a large group of works of varying importance, not previously known, determined the acquisitions policy. Walter Ueberwasser, assistant curator in the Kupfer-

stichkabinett, put it simply in the *Basler Nachrichten* in 1935: "So that, when people ask where the Cézanne drawings are, the answer is immediately: in Basel! For until now, no one else has collected them in this way. The drawings deserve to be added to the collection of masterpieces in pen and ink which bring people from far and wide to the Basel collection. We need mention only Holbein." Moreover, the Cézanne drawings did not have the "parochial character" of the Basel museum's collection, which, with Holbein and Böcklin considered practically local artists, had essentially guided its collecting philosophy (indeed in 1932 a special allocation of Fr. 300,000 was given by the city government for enlarging the collection of these "local" artists).

Since the Cézanne drawings were so important from the point of view of collections policy, it was decided at the time of the purchase to introduce them to the public in a catalogue of their own. The museum held to this plan even at the time when Lionello Venturi was preparing his catalogue, but in the end permitted him to reproduce 103 drawings in small format. As is generally known, an exemplary scholarly catalogue of the drawings of Paul Cézanne in Basel did not exist until the distinguished authority Adrien Chappuis undertook the task. Chappuis, who had published a book about Cézanne's drawings in Paris in 1938, took on the project of cataloguing the Basel drawings at his own expense, as a *nobile officium*, and even paid the cost of photographing related works. His catalogue of the Basel drawings was published in 1962, with his catalogue raisonné of Cézanne's drawings following in 1973. In 1970, the philosophy and history faculty of the University of Basel awarded him a doctorate honoris causa.

To date, no watercolor has been added to the collection of drawings, neither in 1934–35, nor in 1978 at the auction in London of the Robert von Hirsch Collection. However, in 1951 the board realized that an extraordinary study for the portrait of the painter Achille Emperaire (Chappuis 229), a study reproduced and thus emphasized in Vollard's Cézanne monograph of 1914, would enhance this large drawing collection and so be worth the high price of Fr. 9,500. The drawing was offered for sale by Dr. Lukas Lichtenhan, an art dealer and former director of the Basel Kunsthalle, who had bought it from Cézanne's son, probably around 1934. (Incidentally, Adrien Chappuis gave a similar portrait drawing of Emperaire to the Louvre; see FIG. 7.) In 1970, the Kupferstichkabinett at the Basel Kunstmuseum was given a relatively early, spirited drawing of an utterly relaxed *Sleeping Workman* (Chappuis 113) by the Emile Dreyfus Foundation and the paintings collection a group of very important Impressionist canvases. Emile Dreyfus, who died in 1965, had been a close friend of the painter and museum board member Heinrich Müller, mentioned earlier; Müller had certainly owned the drawing since 1934–35.

The Basel Cézanne drawings have been exhibited in their entirety and partially on a number of occasions: in their own museum; in the museum at St. Gall (Switzerland) in 1972, in the Kunsthalle at Tübingen in 1978 (with a scholarly catalogue by Götz Adriani), and at the Palazzo Braschi in Rome in 1979 (with a catalogue introduction by Nello Ponente). We are sure that at The Museum of Modern Art in New York they will find a particularly knowledgeable and attentive public and readers who will derive as much pleasure as we did from Sir Lawrence Gowing's essay. Ample reason for us at the Kunstmuseum to be grateful for the exhibition and the catalogue.

DIETER KOEPPLIN, *Director*
Kupferstichkabinett, Basel Kunstmuseum

Paul Cézanne: The Basel Sketchbooks

The habit of dreaming and the habit of drawing were at the outset closely related in Cézanne's art—and in his life. None of the young painters who became his fellows rather than his intimates in Paris used sketchbooks as he did, to accommodate a confirmed and unbroken habit. Even the prolific output of drawing by Degas was in pursuit of the perfectible definition of habitual subject matter, usually in front of his eyes. None of them drew as Cézanne did, predominantly out of his head. He alone was working in his twenties (he was born in 1839) against the current of objective observation as Monet and Pissarro and their respective friends understood it, and it was to this exceptional activity that his cahiers were largely devoted.

Cézanne's concern with drawing originated side by side with the other preoccupations of his adolescence, the literary friendships, the artistic ambition which was reflected in his attendance at drawing school, his attachment to the darker side of Romantic subject matter, and his juvenile fantasies of love and death. They are all there, jumbled together in the early sketchbook pages, each of them about as unpromising as the next and none of them yielding even to the most strenuous hindsight much sign of the man whom we come truly to recognize at thirty-three, when his juvenilia are behind him, leaving little apparent mark on his stable and humble maturity. Nothing in the earliest drawings shows much of the man whom we know later, nothing except the fact that they exist at all.

The discipline of the life class was inseparable from the vocation of artist and he rarely used his sketchbooks there. The connected habits of drawing and dreaming were Cézanne's alone, and for them the private cahiers were indispensable. The graphic reverie consolidated and fortified his fantasies. Indeed it seems to have been an end in itself, before it produced any practicable studies for possible pictures, an end in itself because it preserved and protected his inward life.

In his twenties Cézanne's privacy was already almost impenetrable. A frigid life drawing was given to a fellow student at Aix. A fine and finished copy of the *Apotheosis of Henry IV* (Chappuis 102; now in the British Museum) was given away in 1865, no doubt in token of common admiration for Rubens, just as an admiration for Delacroix brought him together with Victor Chocquet ten years later. Otherwise he had few friends close enough to receive his drawings and his dreams. Only his letters to Zola were often illustrated, to share a memory or report a project.

The first plate in this collection of sheets in the Basel Kunstmuseum, the majority of them from Cézanne's cahiers, is in very much the style in which he drew for Zola (P. 43). One might imagine a Romantic literary subject. Some cloaked and bearded Ossianic elder, seemingly dressed in doublet and hose, to which the looped flourish of the pen lends an odd effect of tartan, strides with his stick out of a cloud of furious penmanship, which is

NOTE: *Catalogue numbers cited within the text refer to the following works. For drawings: Adrien Chappuis,* The Drawings of Paul Cézanne: A Catalogue Raisonné, *2 vols. (Greenwich, Conn., 1973); for paintings: Lionello Venturi,* Cézanne: Son art, son oeuvre, *2 vols. (Paris, 1936); for watercolors: John Rewald,* Paul Cézanne: The Watercolors —A Catalogue Raisonné *(Boston, 1983).*

still joined to him at the feet as if it were also his shadow. The penmanship has the look of studied virtuosity that writing masters used to encourage; the scholarly associations have overtones almost of pedantry. To use the pen so freely the young Cézanne must have improvised such fantasies often. Yet he was still on his guard. To mask something in the corner that was held to spoil the sheet he applied white paint with a palette knife.

This was spirited amateur illustration, the amusement of a schoolboy in the 1850s, somewhat in the Romantic Scottish vein of the time and probably addressed to a friend, with a message that is lost forever. The drawings done at the Atelier Suisse, of which there are at Basel representative examples (P. 44) of a model very willing to display his biceps, were a considerable advance on the genteel classicizing performances which had won approval in the life class at the Palais de Malte. They are smaller—more, as teachers still say, "the size that you see it." They are more tonal and thus altogether more pictorial, in the manner of young painters under the shadow of Courbet in Paris in the 1860s. Another sheet (P. 45), also on the brown paper that Courbet encouraged, is an unfinished three-quarter length of the same model, in *profil perdu* this time, roughly shaded in parallel strokes with the contour of the belly summarized in disconnected curves, the first that we see of what became characteristics of the later graphic style. Then Cézanne turned the sheet over and used the verso for short poses by lamplight at the end of the day. No stranger to the art of pumping iron, the model distended his muscles with obliging pride while his formidable shadow stretched up the screen behind him.

Cézanne was approaching painting through two different kinds of drawing—observed and imagined—as well as storming it directly in the remarkable group of pictures worked with the palette knife. It does not appear that drawing as such had any great part in the intense activity of 1866. The palette-knife style, like most of the advanced painting of its time, had no need or use for linear formulation. It was wrought directly in the paint and drew its monumental resolution from the technique, generalizing from observation straight into slabs of tone. Only a small proportion of Cézanne's pictures ever depended on drawings directly. Drawing came to hold value rather in itself. Eventually the relevance to painting was no more than marginal. Only paint could sustain Cézanne, as he wrote in his last year, because painting alone could attain the magnificent richness of nature.[1] Nevertheless drawing was also magnificent, not in its parallel to nature but in a separate fidelity to the emotional scene within him.

Of Cézanne's two opposite kinds of drawing, the imagined at first outnumbered the observed. After his attendance at life class and the Atelier Suisse his drawings from life were practically limited to studies for portraits. In sheer quantity they did not compare with the boiling torrent of fantasy that generated subjects for paintings like the *Temptation of St. Anthony* and the so-called *Orgy,* as well as less precisely identifiable vignettes of passion, violence, and mourning which filled sheet after sheet.

The studies for Cézanne's early portraits culminated in what are by any standards great drawings, sheets to astonish anyone accustomed to the myth that Cézanne could not draw. But others have been misconstrued. Two alert, amused heads of Antony Valabrègue (FIG. 1) were unconnected with Cézanne's first portrait of his friend in 1866; they belong to an altogether more advanced stage in the linear formulation and relate rather to the third of his portraits, with the granulated paint and the pattern of the 1870s (Venturi 128). Drawings like these were added on an impulse to an empty page in a book,

FIG. 1 *Two Heads and Two Other Studies.* c. 1866

seized up at random. On page after page of this book, tangles of curly rhythm studied a detail or a whole design for one of the fanciful subjects that he had in mind in the later 1860s. On the recto of the Valabrègue there are four studies for a kneeling figure (P. 46) that he used in the *Apotheosis of Delacroix*, which he continued to work on in oil or watercolor all his life and still hoped to paint in 1904. But in the drawing the devout pose and bearded head have the appearance rather of a Christ in prayer. There is a strange mood of comic devotion.

Another page from the same book (P. 47) had a part in evolving the subject later known as *The Eternal Feminine*. It is an extreme example of Cézanne's generative linear broth, which evidently diverted the artist himself. We can disentangle a naked woman springing on to an enormous couch, where her morose creator (as I think) is sitting up in bed. The pair of them are surrounded by a miscellaneous audience, including a monarch who offers his crown and the familiar stereotype of the shaggy artist. A rough crayon rectangle frames the disorder, giving undeniable scale to the design, which thus becomes a fairly disrespectful lampoon of Delacroix's *Death of Sardanapalus*. On the right side a man, rather larger in scale, cranes round the edge of the composition and grasps its frame to watch with tolerant amusement the antics of his imagining. Round the right corner below him a nude figure falls headforemost as if in Michelangelesque damnation. On the left another dives out of the framed picture and in the middle, on the bank of this seething brew, Cézanne's usual foreground female reclines.

No artist ever entered more wholeheartedly into his joke. The disorder of Cézanne's tribute to Delacroix is seen to make a serious point. Cézanne's appreciation of his historical situation was always intelligent. Delacroix's jumbled masterpieces really do appear to be emptying their assorted contents out onto the floor at our feet.

In the later 1860s Cézanne was still preoccupied with the conception of a painter. The conception that occupied him was the idea of the Baroque-Romantic-modern painter, the idea that was due to Delacroix and was indeed ultimately more important than anything that he had painted—an idea that predicated a traditional modernism, wrought out of color. The particular aspect that concerned Cézanne was the image of the painter at his easel, a figure imagined to be as hirsute and as turbulent as Cézanne himself. Critics have sought to recognize in two drawings, which are both at Basel, one juncture or another in Balzac's *Unknown Masterpiece* (FIGS. 2, 3). But there is no sign in either of the drawings of the self-deluding painter whose hermetic concentration resulted in tangled nonsense. As a

FIG. 2 *Painter Holding a Palette.* 1868–71

parable Balzac's story applied (if at all) rather to Cézanne's later years. The spirit in which Cézanne drew a robed and rounded painter completing a full-length nude had more in common with Daumier's satires on the prevalence of Venuses in the annual Salons.

Ascribing as we do a sombre and prophetic dignity to the Cézanne of later years, we overlook the humor, which made conspicuous its abrupt and furious reversals. The picnics by the thunderous light of evening, which he began to paint toward 1870 and planned in sheets like the example here (P. 49), were serious only in their foreboding mood. In this variation a fisherman (the subjects were always beside water) was combined with a strolling couple, a frolicking dog (the evidence that Cézanne was a dog lover recurred in his compositions all his life), and the reclining nude in the foreground who supplied the requisite incongruity and passion for any painter who looked to Manet and Giorgione. The imaginative intensity of the details in picnic pictures like the one known as *Pastorale* (Venturi 104) were rehearsed in sheets of richly shaded pencil vignettes, like nothing that any of his friends ever dreamt of, at once both ominously and lyrically imagined (FIG. 4).

What were evidently wholly in earnest from 1867 onward were the tragic themes that connected virility with death. Nothing in the drawings at Basel brings us close to the convulsive rhythms which rendered the grief of the Magdalen as witness to the Descent into Limbo,[2] but the theme of grief and mourning was in itself clearly precious to the painter.

A drawing by Fra Bartolommeo for an Entombment, which Cézanne copied, had an evidently seminal importance (FIG. 5). Cézanne seems already to have drawn a similar pose from life and both images, together with Entombments by Ribera, which were to be seen in Paris in the late 1860s, contributed to an extraordinarily rude and forceful version of the theme, known as *Preparation for the Funeral (The Autopsy)* (Venturi 105), which seems to have been painted around 1867. The copy of Fra Bartolommeo was marked equally

FIG. 3 *The Painter.* 1868–71

by its sympathy with the subject and its resistance to the suavity of style. The abruptness of the crisscross hatching and the disconnected linear accents are the signs of Cézanne's determined independence of Renaissance continuity. Modern paraphrases of tradition make a virtue of violence to their sources. There are other scenes of violence for its own sake, none more telling than *The Murder* (P. 54), in the unusual medium of reed pen and ink, which may have been linked to a picture of a similar subject painted in 1867–68 and now at Liverpool (Venturi 121). The drawing has a suggestion of Goya, who otherwise did not figure in Cézanne's repertoire until ten years later.

The imagining to which Cézanne gave as much attention as any was never more than a burlesque of the sultry orgies that late Romantic painters contrived, but the subject, originally entitled *Le Punch au rhum* at the suggestion of Guillemet and later known as *Afternoon in Naples*, stimulated as inscrutable a tangle as any he attempted. Nine or more drawings exist, of which we show the three most legible among the four at Basel (FIG. 6;

FIG. 4 Studies for *Pastorale*. c. 1870

FIG. 5 *Study of Christ (after Fra Bartolommeo)*. 1866–69

PP. 56, 57). For a time, invention for Cézanne consisted in setting Rorschach-type tests for himself. Nothing is more surprising than the lucid and funny pattern which was the eventual outcome of these seemingly hopeless tangles. It is easy to understand why Cézanne from the later 1870s onward, if not abandoning invention, at least restricted it to the circumscribed terms of the bathers pictures. From Cézanne's earlier introspective frame of mind, only drawing remained to accompany his sharp turn outward to look at real existence after 1872.

The tangled compositions that Cézanne was drawing toward the end of the 1860s (PP. 46–48, 53) came chiefly from a single sketchbook, identified by its measurements of 18 by 24 centimeters. Most are in some degree enigmatic, though none is so mysterious as two men in matter-of-fact discussion over a prostrate, or perhaps recumbent, woman (P. 53). More controlled, though more fantastic, is a detail (P. 48) from the corner of a composition known as *The Orgy* (Venturi 92) throughout its years in the Pellerin collection, until Mary Lewis recognized that it is the Banquet of Nebuchadnezzar from Flaubert's *Temptation of St. Anthony*.[3] Designs like *Afternoon in Naples* and the *Modern Olympia* had each a last reprise at Auvers, where Dr. Gachet, his cor-

dial admirer, sometimes intervened to prevent Cézanne overworking such jeux d'esprit, as he was apt to. There is one landscape drawing (P. 88) that appears to rehearse a part of the view that he painted in one of his most substantial, and most summary, pictures at Auvers, his panorama of the town (see FIG. 16), now at Chicago. Otherwise drawing had no great part in Cézanne's conversion to Impressionism and his assimilation of Pissarro's example. For a time an element of illustration continued to find its way into his sketchbooks but the friendships that he illustrated in Auvers took the place of the frenzied elaboration of fantasy.

The palette-knife style of 1866, suited to painting straight from the model, in which drawing had no place, seemed to be the moment of triumph in Cézanne's early development. But the portrait of his father, Louis-Auguste, reading *L'Événement* (Venturi 91) was not, as criticism supposed until lately, the masterpiece of Cézanne's twenties. Responsive and sympathetic as the tonal modeling was, it remained deficient in a respect that admiration for Impressionism overlooks. It was lacking in structure. By Cézanne's highest standard it was deficient in form, and to judge by the frequency with which he returned to drawing the subject years later (it is not clear how many years later), as if he thought of painting it again, Cézanne himself came to feel it so (P. 65).

FIG. 6 Study for *Afternoon in Naples*. 1872–76

When Cézanne achieved the masterpiece that had eluded him in 1866, it was from the opposite standpoint. The second portrait in the flowered armchair was the outcome of remarkable drawings as nothing that he had painted before had been. They had transposed the subject onto a new level. The masterpiece of Cézanne's twenties was the portrait of Achille Emperaire (the crippled painter from Provence whom he had met in Paris) seated, enthroned rather, in the same armchair. The picture (Venturi 88), now in the Musée d'Orsay, establishes a serene and powerful presence (and thus an implicitly ironical one). It achieved a seemingly primitive grandeur, which was simply the largeness that was attributed to the dwarfish sitter. Studies of Cézanne used to assume that anything so primitive must have been painted before the sophisticated Impressionism of the Louis-Auguste. It is as if the fiery little man were exerting an hieratic, quasi-Byzantine rule by the sheer impregnable simplicity of his image.

All this was achieved by resolution of the shape. It was attained, as nothing else in Cézanne's work ever was, by drawings. Not drawings that constituted patterns to paint from, so much as rehearsals for the pictorial act, evolving its ultimate simplicity. These drawings were essays in both of the alternative styles that were open to him. Both drawings must have been made from life but they took up opposite attitudes to the subject, which was explicitly stenciled across the canvas, the conception of a painter. One, perhaps the first, on a famous sheet now in the Louvre (FIG. 7), showed the conception of Baroque turbulence which Cézanne had been toying with since before the middle of the

FIG. 7 *Portrait of Achille Emperaire*. 1867–70. Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Paris

decade. The sitter's head was turned and tilted to his right, foreshortening it as if to be seen from below. In this version he looks to the right in a triumphant encounter and the curls in which the face is framed give it an impressive force. Though we recognize that the diagonal axes and the rhetorical defiance are akin to the Baroque, the truth is that in both respects it is more extreme than anything that the seventeenth century can show.

The Basel sheet (P. 51) is distinguished precisely by its abstinence from the assertiveness of the Louvre drawing. The level poise of the Basel head, with its appearance of heavy-lidded worldweariness, and the equal terms on which it meets us nonetheless, have the mild, brooding power of identity in itself, the authority of being as it happens to be. Presence is made manifest and identified in bushy lumps that softly displace the light—balls of fluffy moustache and beard—and equally in the curving shadow that models the nose, because the shadow that a thing casts is also a thing, as heavy oval lids in rounded sockets are also eye, and the plane of the temples is also the noble breadth of head. Our impression of respect, perhaps awe, for the human scheme is confirmed when we come to know the outcome. The code of existence, which was read in the drawing, produced in the finished picture a whole system of pleating and gathering tailored to intimate the parallels of shape and nature. In the Basel sheet Cézanne drew the gentle existence of things in their primal naturalness, without the bombastic Baroque program. He needed the program, but knowing the drawing we recognize how this same reading of identity in difference was extended to the entire subject and ultimately came to fill the whole tall canvas.

After 1869, at intervals all his life, Cézanne had need of the bombastic rhythmic program for his mood of triumphant celebration. Another kind of picture, in which the rhythmic impetus is subsidiary, establishes year by year a natural character in what is seen, the spectacle divinely spread before his eyes, which builds, unstyled and unforced, an enduring and coherent totality.

There was nothing in Cézanne's work of the sixties (unless it was the fidelity that he could command at will day after day in the palette-knife portraits) to suggest that it was within his power to produce such masterly drawings as the two heads of Emperaire. He must have had some idea in the years before 1872 of the possibility of trusting to a modestly realistic dependence on actuality to be converted so suddenly to Pissarro and the style which was to be known as Impressionism. In his sketchbooks and the etchings which he learned to

make with Dr. Gachet, there were immediate signs of a comradeship that was evidently to his taste. Members of the cast of a bohemian comedy appear, a bearded young man of indomitable pretentiousness with a Barbizon hat (P. 60), an oarsman with dark glasses who habitually shields the back of his neck, the solicitous woman of the party (P. 61). The atmosphere has relaxed dramatically from the doom-shadowed Romanticism of Aix. The picnic group with the bearded young man has on the verso a drawing of Dr. Gachet at work on an etching. It is one of the few pages that were simply turned over when the recto was full so the artist could continue in a favorite vein. Another sheet has a party of three young people with their elders under a tree behind a country house and in the margin Dr. Gachet again, as jolly and offhand as ever (P. 62).

Drawings like these, which were sociable and illustrative, indeed on the verge of becoming anecdotal in terms that were in the main quite foreign to Cézanne's art, developed a style to suit. The drawing of the party of six, perhaps taking their ease in Gachet's garden, employed a trivially leafy formula for foliage and the figures have a ramshackle, extemporized thinness. Nothing has the substance of drawings that were directly observed. The truth is that the Impressionist doctrine of direct dependence on nature, never on conventional conceptions of it, which dismantled the description and substituted the sensation of what is seen, liberated Cézanne from the cul-de-sac that closed the way forward through Romantic illustration.

Impressionism severed the equation of drawing with dreaming. The house and foliage in the garden drawing had nothing in common with the corresponding elements in a picture of the same time like the *House of the Hanged Man* (Venturi 133), which Cézanne, avoiding now the reference to anecdote and fate, called "A Cottage at Auvers-sur-Oise." There is only a distant reminiscence in the Auvers picnic of the descriptive convention in one or two sprigs of leaves that terminate the foliage in paintings like the *House of Père Lacroix* (Venturi 138) and the etching of the rue Rémy. For a time Cézanne's drawing remained like a beleaguered relic of the convention that had guided him in his twenties but the anecdote and the description were soon gone forever. Drawing never evolved a visual code to compare with the analysis of sensation in paint. Its abstraction was of quite another kind, analyzing and synthesizing the sensations of art which were to fill his later sketchbooks.

The socializing of the circle at Auvers was clearly at least as important to Cézanne as any emotional support that he derived from the objective method or the grandeur of humility in Pissarro's example. The pages of sketchbooks that were filled with grim vignettes of sexual violence hardly appear again after 1872. In their place thenceforward there are pages on which miscellaneous drawings, usually carefully finished and assembled as if at random, begin to take on the appearance of a diary, recording the artist's frame of mind during evenings at home with his congenial mistress and baby son. He extemporized fragmentary compositions of bathers and adumbrated a self-portrait among them (P. 72). A woman (P. 58) is imagained in the lunging position which later supplies the central figure who seizes up a child in the *Struggle of Love*. (A similar figure terminates one of the little square bathers compositions [Venturi 267].) On the right there is a roughly indicated wrestling couple. The lunging movement may be unconnected, or it may be a move to intervene. It may be a step toward the idyllic amorous struggle that began to occupy Cézanne in the later seventies. Finally the idyll is completed by the tenderly modeled face of his son at five or six (in 1875–78)

peeping over the lower edge of the sheet. The fragments complement one another until in the 1880s the sheets become cumulative collections of whatever is occupying Cézanne's thought. It may be that the more than usually devilish tempter, the one who clasps St. Anthony's shoulder, is completely unconnected with the aperitif glass which shares the sheet, yet in combination each contributes to a quite palpable mood (P. 55).

These pages, which the artist reserved, as I think, for use in the evenings and sometimes went on adding to over a considerable time, are in a sense exceptional. He was more accustomed to seize up a sketchbook whenever he needed paper and drawing—or making a shopping list (P. 91)—quite irrespective of his previous use of the book or the page. The pages were not used in any particular order and a few remained blank. Just occasionally what had been drawn on one side of a page suggested something to him when he set to work on the other. Was it a coincidence that two of the earliest occasions on which he used the second Basel sketchbook to draw from paintings in the Louvre (as distinct from the sculptures, which he usually drew) he took the two sides of a single leaf (FIG. 8; P. 94), on days which Adrien Chappuis considered to have been up to eleven years apart? Or is it more likely that the differences of style on the two sides of the leaf were due to the differences between the two paintings that he copied, Chardin's Diploma picture *The Skate* and Rubens's *Disembarkation of Marie de' Medici at Marseilles*, or perhaps even to his changing mood and growing tiredness on a single day?

He may well have felt tired, because the first drawing was a very observant study elaborately worked in pencil hatchings of the color modulations in one small passage of still life around the pewter jug on the right-hand side of the picture. It was in fact a drawing of the way Chardin foretold Cézanne himself

FIG. 8 *Naiad (after Rubens)*. 1895–98

and he might have been forgiven for feeling excited and moved. For the hour or more that the copy of the Chardin must have taken, Cézanne was at the top of his graphic form. One would guess the sheet was drawn not long before or after 1889 (Chappuis reasonably proposed 1887–91). When Cézanne turned to the other side of the leaf, a few minutes later or a few years, he was in the Medici gallery and his frame of mind, for whatever reason, was rather different. He had no particular concern with color variations but he was deeply affected by the magnificent phy-

sique of Rubens's middle naiad. He formulated the torso in overlapping arcs which were no more than a bold summary but were and are nonetheless so compelling that some of us cannot keep the drawing out of mind when we see the decoration. The interleaving of the external oblique muscles is so beautifully realized and leads round so inevitably to the splendid amplitude of the back, just glimpsed below and behind the naiad's left armpit, that one finds oneself speculating not only about Cézanne's appreciation of Rubens but about Rubens's appreciation of womanhood—his model or his conception, whichever it was. Were these naiads really the Capaio ladies from the rue Verbois, or was he swinging into the orbit of his ideal and drawing Cézanne irresistibly after him?

At the top of his form as Cézanne was on that day, whenever it was, he was so determined to extrapolate imaginary anatomy and read back its curvilinear momentum that in imaginative gravity and even in "style" the Rubens copy is not unlike the passage under and behind the handle of Chardin's pewter jug. Chappuis's reading of Cézanne was perceptive and his catalogue raisonné is a masterly classification. His proposal that the Rubens copy dates from years later, between 1895 and 1898, cannot be disproved and should not be neglected because it is in the last resort an imaginative metaphor for the drive in Cézanne's drawings toward his final style.

One of Cézanne's most significant yet elusive achievements in the 1870s was to allow his imagined world to catch up with the real world that he was painting from nature. Rivière remarked that a bather picture which Cézanne exhibited with the Impressionists in the boulevard des Capucines was like Greek art of the great period,[4] but apart from this the lack of interest in such eccentricities was complete. Yet he continued to adjust the designs and refine the component figures by trial and error. Attempts to enrich the Bathsheba subject by adding a nude from Poussin to the incident from Rembrandt (PP. 68, 69) were eventually abandoned after it had been painted three times on a diminutive scale. None of the major bathers subjects which still preoccupied him had any narrative basis or literary subject whatever.

His aspiration to paint a subject picture was held in suspense until the later 1880s but not forgotten. The square group of four or five women bathers occupied him throughout the second half of the 1870s and revealed its monumental import when it was painted with massive deliberation in parallel brushstrokes in about 1879. The compact design has always been a favorite with artists. Picasso owned one variation, Henry Moore another. This early page devoted to it (P. 72) has a particular interest because on the right, as if to complete the line-up of subjects that were occupying him at Auvers, he tried out a full-face self-portrait in patches of soft pencil tone. He was wearing the peaked hunting cap in which he went out to paint, not unlike the cap that his father wore, in which Paul still often drew him (P. 65). He was experimenting with full-face and sidelong arrangements for self-portraiture and on the verso of this sheet he filled a whole page (FIG. 9) with self-portraits and other such famous heads, including one by Gerard Dou, who was a favorite of his, and a Filippino Lippi, then supposed to be by Masaccio. Some of them look straight at the spectator, some avert their eyes. It is not a drawing to compare with the delicate bathers on the recto so much as a dry compilation assembled with considerable labor to help with a problem that worried him. He wore his peaked cap to paint himself in the character of a workmanlike pleinairist in 1873 or 1874 (which may be the date of both sides of the drawing; the painting is now in Leningrad [Venturi 289]) and deliberately painted his

eyes looking away, perhaps on the model of a Lucas van Leyden that he copied, but the falsification suited him no better than it did Lucas and he never attempted this remedy for the embarrassment of self-portraiture again.

From the tangled violence of the compositions that Cézanne drew in the 1860s, no one could have foreseen the delicacy and tenderness with which he drew bathers in the 1870s and 1880s. In painting it had become a matter of honor to depend on observation. It seems that the new painting from nature was itself enough to establish new criteria for invention that were both gentler and more rational than the sheer temperamental force that they replaced. These qualities brought immediate assurance and strength even to drawing which had no recourse to observation.

Sixteen or more sketchbook drawings were devoted to the back of a standing boy; two of them are at Basel (PP. 70, 71). They show how alternate hesitancy and conviction yielded more and more confidence in a real presence, so that the probing conjured up a memory of real forms in space out of the material whiteness of the paper. The notation of modeling across the shoulders, the flatness and the resilient curve, positively invite one to reconstruct where the modulation into blue will in Cézanne's visual syntax communicate both the solidity and the envelopment in light. Then the imagining can proceed another stage, perhaps with apricot-pink in the *points culminants* on the left scapula and buttock and a still more relaxed summary of the surfaces that turn away from them and carry the spine up through the neck. It will be seen that in this language the left arm must flex and rise from the elbow to allow the figure a rhetorical initiative and earn him a leading role in the boy bathers groups of the later 1880s, in fact to give him the heroic look of a back by El Greco.

FIG. 9 *Heads after Various Old Masters.* 1876–79

The seated bather at the water's edge makes one of the most complete of all Cézanne's drawings (P. 73) and one of the few that he was able to paint almost exactly as he had drawn it (Rewald 123; Venturi 260). It is notable that the landscape, though eminently leafy, is quite free from the trivial picturesqueness of foliage in the drawing of the group at Auvers. On the contrary, the growth round the tree trunk at the boy's back is so satisfactorily springy in its growth that one finds oneself thinking of landscape drawings by Rembrandt. The last thing that one would have foreseen from the turmoil of Cézanne's imagination in the 1860s is that it would have attained a vein of idyllic pastoral with no parallel since Venetian imagining in the sixteenth century and its sequels in the graphic work of Rembrandt.

It is only lately that opinion has rallied round Cézanne's enduring achievement—of rebuilding the credible solidity of an image, out of visual sensation when he was painting from nature and out of an invented reconstruction of it when he was painting from his imagination. Those who lamented Cézanne's bathers (FIGS. 10, 11), which were held to have been "not what he was good at," put their finger on exactly what qualified Cézanne to take the crucially courageous, foolhardy option

which retrieved imaginative painting from its falsification in the Salons. The bather who holds the mirror for her morosely dubious sisters releases them from the faked fidelity of their time (P. 72). Below the group of four and the tentative likeness of himself in the cap with the shiny peak there are two versions of the bather with her head enfolded in her arms, one with a poetic tenderness, the other hard-bitten and prosaic. She was the earliest and latest of the party, descended from Delacroix's *Le Lever*, still rapturous and self-embracing in the Barnes Foundation *Large Bathers* (Venturi 720), in readiness for her liberation as a demoiselle in the rue d'Avignon and the poetic freedom of another time.

In the second half of Cézanne's work most of his drawings were of a new kind, a kind that was both observed and in another sense imagined or reimagined. It engaged, that is to say, both visual acuity and imaginative vision—the vision of another artist's vision. Henceforward more than half the drawings represented works by other artists. It is remarkable that drawings of this kind were if anything more personal and more spirited than the drawings that he made from life.

Cézanne had been drawing from other works of art at least from the time of his first studies in Paris in the 1860s. He had evidently absorbed a good deal of information about the training and self-training of artists. (He knew more about the history of art than he pretended.) So he surely knew that copying engravings after the masters was the best attested means of elementary training. He evidently noticed that the illustrations to Charles Blanc's *History of Painting*, published entire in 1869 and available in the periodical installments to which he subscribed in the preceding years, provided a wider range of examples than any single collection. He drew from them and evidently painted from drawings like his copy (Chappuis 214; now in a Swiss collection) of Sebastiano del Piombo's *Descent into Limbo*—which was then ascribed to Navarrete, and was published in Charles Blanc's chapter on the Spanish School in 1867—rather than from the book itself. In Paris however he drew from the start from the pictures in the Louvre. The literal and detailed copy of the king's elevation from Rubens's *Apotheosis of Henry IV*, which he gave away in 1865, has been mentioned, and the figure of Bellona tearing her hair, which he copied at least ten times in later years, became the emblem of a distraught mood that preoccupied him; the two examples at Basel are illustrated here (FIG. 12; P. 131).

Most of Cézanne's copies in the Louvre during the 1860s were laborious and rather dull. A study (Chappuis 168) of the right-hand side of the *Marriage at Cana*, which became one of his favorite pictures, missed in its abrupt rec-

FIG. 10 *Bather, Canister, and Handwritten Notations.* 1883–86

tilinear style any of Veronese's grace, and a curious combination of figures and limbs from one of Giulio Romano's tapestry designs and another picture (Chappuis 241) was more mannered than its source. The uncharacteristic random, lunging line of drawings after Delacroix (FIG. 13) has been thought to date from the 1860s, but Cézanne rarely drew in those years with that apparent desperation. The peculiar, almost illegible style may have been due, in the 1870s or later, to an inability to grasp the shapes in the ceiling of the Galerie d'Apollon without holding his sketchbook above his head.

The more feeling, less dutiful approach to the work of the other artists seems to have dated from the relaxed and fruitful months that Cézanne spent in Paris and its environs in the early 1880s. He approached a famous and seductive statue in the gardens of the Luxembourg and a charming marble which had lately been placed in the Louvre almost as if they were slices of life, as if they were the only models that offered, as they may well have been, certainly the only ones of such animation and prettiness. Antoine-Auguste Préault, a sculptor in the *style troubadour* of the restoration monarchy, had just died. Jean-Baptiste Pigalle was an *ancien régime*

FIG. 11 *Three Bathers.* 1887–90

FIG. 12 *Bellona (after Rubens).* 1895–98

exponent of the neoclassicism that Cézanne in general avoided; the accession of his *Love and Friendship* within the year had similarly brought him to mind. Neither took rank as a particularly instructive master and to judge by the drawings, Cézanne was in no mood for instruction. The *Clémence Isaure*'s quite voluptuous pelvic tilt was outlined in slender, cursive pencil line (he had drawn it carefully before) which thickened into a denser black wherever a pocket of shadow along the contour gave the cue for piquant emphasis (P. 75). Though the sketchy style had no place for what the skin-tight bodice revealed, its piquancy was never out of mind.

Pigalle interpreted the usually amorous theme of *Love and Friendship* as a weeping cupid comforted with all the *sensibilité* of a sentimental mother. It was an occurrence that

FIG. 13 *Studies after Delacroix's Apollo Ceiling*. 1867–70

the father of an eight-year-old knew all about. The same flowing line gave a businesslike rather than flattering account of it, as if the mother and child were observed at a park bench (P. 74). To draw it from life as readily as from marble would have called for a Rembrandt.

Sculpture revealed a special advantage as a subject to a draftsman like Cézanne. Sculptures like the Pigalle fixed a transitory aspect of life which could be studied from them as nowhere else, so that a living subject became as unmoving as still life, as we call that part of the habitual equipment for living which painters can study to their hearts' content. Cézanne's sketchbooks recorded an inexhaustible engrossment in the candlesticks and spirit stoves, which were part of the nomadic life that the little family was accustomed to (P. 77), together with the likenesses of his partner, his son, and himself and whatever pictorial design had lately attracted his attention. They all occupied Cézanne quite fully in the evenings.

He still needed to attend to the human world with similar ideal concentration. This was when he realized that Renaissance and Roman portrait busts were as solid and still, yet as lively, as anything at home and (he knew them so well) as full of associations and habitual meanings, too. In drawings like the sketchbook page dominated by Filippo Strozzi (P. 76) we become aware that much which interested Cézanne interested him almost alone. The patrons for Florentine portraiture were the kind of merchants and money men that one could observe in a bank. Only Degas had in his time been as interested in the physiognomy of financial life as Cézanne evidently was. Cézanne was unique in persistently drawing the space around a head and in drawing also the distance between himself and his subject, the distance to which, late in life, he could still tell his visitors that he attached more importance than anything else in painting.[5]

Watching how he reaches round Strozzi's great nose, out past six or seven contours, one after another, we follow him back into the gulf of distance and find it already threaded by the edges of other volumes, other space. Looking across to the back of the head, curving inward toward the nape, we are aware that these successive outlines are a function of the form. Cézanne was not drawing a bounding line so much as a linear property that was inherent. No single boundary, one would guess, was "right" or even righter. One is aware rather of a zone of decision within which self-generated qualities of the form made identity manifest, and encouraged head and not-head both to claim more and offer more to the other.

The self-generated growth of form in drawings like this was very imaginative and the resulting wholeness very objective—seemingly true not only to the work by Benedetto da Maiano, which was the ostensible motif, but to the whole space and the milieu that was drawn. One is accustomed in speaking of Cézanne's art in his maturity to find that one

is speaking of an order of form, and thus by implication of a formalism, which was recognized only in the twentieth century. (Perhaps wrongly; it may be that every last harmony in Cézanne's late work presented itself to him first as a figurative code which could be read, a means of portraying shapes and sequences that he could see.)

But what kind of form have we here? The light pencil indications of concentric arcs round the dome of the head, well within the contour (wherever *that* is), are comprehensible as the close-cut, flat-lying locks of hair, which follow the roundness of the skull. They may link with the line of the frontal bulge above the eye. But then they clearly link with the lines down the nose, which cannot be outlining anything. What kind of formal rationale is that? They must be manifesting the prominence which is everything to the shape and the character, not *drawing* in any traditional sense. Accounting for what is irrationally real in Cézanne's drawings, we become aware of a reality beyond description. Tracing these problematic lines which begin at the top of the forehead as contours and end as alignments and correspondences, we are observing the new role of linear directions in Cézanne's drawings of the 1880s and in the drawings of the twentieth century which look to him. The chains of causation in modern art characteristically skip a link or two before they take effect.

The household still lifes which one imagines Cézanne reflecting on during family evenings in the early 1880s suggested some of the most original pages in his sketchbooks. None of his pictures touched the possibilities contained by a drawing at Basel (FIG. 14) in which a space punctuated by edges of plates and a tumbler led back to the central motif of a glass carafe, realized in broad ellipses that set the idiom in which spatial recession was rendered. These separate lengths of parabola echo across a little space as independent parts of the whole, which is the unity of the image. We are looking not at the outlines of things but at the signs for their common roundness —as if, sitting at the uncleared table, we realized the plenty of nature and the abundant content of linear signs.

Figure sculpture and family life as well both offered inviting subjects with human dimensions that were irresistible. With another bust by Benedetto and one by Mino da Fiesole, both drawn in the cast collection, which was then in the Trocadéro, one cannot doubt that Cézanne's explicit concern was with character. Harping on the features of Pietro Mellini (P. 78), the repeated lines which finally dug troughs of shadow have a quality of asseveration, aggravation almost, which in the marble is conveyed by grotesquely numerous parallel wrinkles, both phlegmatic and worried, which cross the forehead and the cheek, wrinkles which Cézanne omits altogether.

The drawing from Mino da Fiesole's bust of Giovanni de' Medici is at the opposite extreme (P. 79). In place of the look of accustomed exasperation and fatigue there is an ideal tolerance in which one can read sympathy and courage. It was a very quick drawing and the summary notations all round the contour of varying relationships with the background form an object lesson in how the image of a head in space was achieved, as well as a demonstration of the cast of form, which was becoming characteristic of Cézanne. In the neck for example one can imagine the location of that nearest point which in the next style was to be identified as the *point culminant*. The marks were so hastily scribbled that it is a marvel the result should have been so orderly and complete, so recognizable in a moment as a work by our artist.

Cézanne was calling the past in aid of the pursuit of form for current experience. The impact of Impressionism had, rather unexpectedly, converted him into a pioneer for-

malist of the unprecedented kind that we recognize as peculiar to the twentieth century, the kind of artist who perceives the necessity, as Cézanne put it, "to become classical by way of nature, that is to say through sensation."[6] For him, drawing empirically in the Louvre was the opposite and alternative to "looking for style in the imitation of the Greeks and Romans." So what had happened to his dream, the fantasy of sexual violence that had filled his first cahiers in the 1860s, when it appeared to be almost the chief motive for art and his constant preoccupation in drawing? He met it again in the museum. He rediscovered it preserved intact in the art of the greatest Provençal sculptor, Pierre Puget, which he had known all his life. In Paris, the Puget room in the Louvre was his constant resort, like a remedy for homesickness. He felt the breath of the mistral blowing through the gallery. It seemed to make the marble vibrate. In imagery that was very classical, yet at the same time convulsed by suffering, he would have recognized a frame of mind akin to the mood of his own youth. The style in which Cézanne drew sculpture surrounded by pockets of shadow had a parallel in Puget's style as he described it. He pointed out to Gasquet that Puget "used surrounding shadows in the same spirit as his contemporaries used dark underpainting."[7] Cézanne recommended Gasquet to look at the effect that Puget achieved in the shadow under the caryatid balcony at Toulon.

Cézanne, full of opposites, found quite various values in the museums. Deeper than style, the examples that held his attention possessed primal qualities of form. The *Borghese Mars* (P. 83) and the Florentine *Beatrice of Aragon* (P. 82) have in common a simple roundness which recedes from the salient center back to the contour and round out of sight, a contour that implies the flatness of tangents at the circumference, the flatness across the shoulder blades for example, or the tension in which the princess's hair is wound over the lumpish dome and under her head. The summary recessions of the *Mars* failed him with the princess and he lost his temper, lost it apparently at the refusal of the primal unity to accommodate the modulations that would form the features, but really at the inaccessibility in the 1880s of the all-embracing simplicity that was in store for Brancusi.

Simultaneously, it seems, the collections were offering values that were not simple at all. The coils of the *Lycian Apollo*'s python (P. 80), winding up the tree trunk beside him, gave an irresistible clue to the corded spiral-

FIG. 14 *Still Life with Carafe.* 1881–84

ing of the contour that followed the swing of hip and thigh, the loop of muscle over the pelvis, and then the curving grasp of his fingers. The slant of this lordly abandon culminates in an alignment that is simply invented. The angle imputed to the pubis reappears in the lance (or whatever) that this Apollo is holding. Neither Cézanne nor anyone else in the nineteenth century ever painted a figure as willfully complex—one would say deliberately mannered—as this drawing. The repeated contours were now quite plainly the gratuitous richness of orchestration to ensure that these echoes should resound.

The languorous indulgence of the *Lycian Apollo* is the exact converse of the rhythmic torment and the convulsive reversals, which are twisted and convulsed again, that Cézanne noticed in the group of *Milo of Crotona,* the work of his favorite sculptor, Pierre Puget. Cézanne returned to the subject (PP. 81, 128, 129), which was one of a suite in which Puget celebrated strength, but with a curious ambivalence. Milo was a wrestler and a patriotic hero who walking in the woods found a tree trunk that woodmen had failed to split. When he sought to rend it, his hand was gripped in the cleft; held prisoner he was devoured by a lion. So this image of strength in fact celebrated its fate (in the other two works, Puget illustrated its triumph and its repose from the story of Hercules). Moreover the doom of strength was linked with an allegory of inescapable commitment to the natural order; it is easy to understand the attraction that such a symbol had for Cézanne in his last years.

At about the time of the earliest of the three drawings of the *Milo* at Basel (P. 81), possibly when he was approaching forty-five, Cézanne made no fewer than four other drawings of the group, all rather similar in character. He quite evidently made them for pleasure; he was enjoying the fantasy. It is clear enough: the successive contours of the chin and cheek, freely and brilliantly drawn, follow the head whose features are eloquently, openly outlined as it is thrown back in an ecstasy, almost, of agony. The masses of chest and belly, drawn down and in, are twisted in their suffering into the most agonized and agonizing rhythm. Then the sequence is reversed again and the herculean leg is thrown forward in an ironic powerless stride. The sufferer had to surrender both arms to his natural tormentors, the tree and the lion, each as sinuously realized as the other. His limbs were dragged out of their sheaths of skin, flayed with their knotted muscles like the desperate anatomy that Cézanne drew (P. 103). Like the *Lycian Apollo,* the *Milo,* also seen from below, is another splendid study of bodily perspective. The recession of contours, in their writhing twisting out of sight, is feelingly drawn to thrust the swelling boss of the form out toward us. The more systematic Cézanne's studies in the museums became, the more light they shed on the physique of all form. And we understand better his view of the *point culminant,* from which the planes recede away into distance.

The drawing of Michelangelo's so-called *Dying Slave* from the third Basel sketchbook represents the point at which his successive drawings of the marble reach a rapturous consummation (P. 84). None of them realize so well the potential of the band round the chest as a telling meridian of the circumference. Cézanne was surely aware that he was using these drawings from sculpture as another artist might use drawings from life. Indeed, the sculptures of the masters interpreted the unity and wholeness of life to him, as preliminary drawing from the antique was intended to in the old pedagogic procedure. Masterpieces played the part of life for him and he read the unity he learned from them back into Hortense and young Paul, indeed back into the apples and napkins. Cézanne is supposed to have regretted his lack of mod-

els, yet suspected the motives of at least one visitor who applied to fill the role. It is not quite certain how far Cézanne really did lack them. One woman at least evidently served him as a life model around 1900.[8] A drawing at Basel from the middle 1880s (P. 85) shows a standing model, a man of insignificant physique seen in profile supporting one arm above his head, no doubt with a rope. But was it drawn from life or copied from a life drawing? In the latter case was it from one of his own, or from someone else's?

Yet the fragmentary sketch of dubious import is not shamed by comparison with the sheet (P. 84) on which Cézanne dealt worthily with one of the masterpieces of the world. The truth is that something which survives in Cézanne's imagery of the male body, and almost only there, has a profound and enigmatic value to us. Cézanne alone inherited something, recaptured more and re-created, whatever we still know of a bondage—*in* the flesh as well as *of* it—which is yet felt as a liberation, a commitment that is sublime. The platonic idea of the imprisonment of the spirit in the flesh yielded a different legacy—a self-realization that was in no way violent or even self-willed and an aesthetic that broke the mold of flattering idealization, to replace it with the comprehending realism of the late nineteenth century.

In this drawing a momentum in the curve of the back, which ripples likewise through the ribbed thorax, gathers in the shoulder to flow up through the suspended arm, like a common aspiration made visible. Though drawing so seldom from the nude, Cézanne knew better than anyone what was affecting in the figure image. He set in everything he touched new standards of realization that would ring entirely and simply true.

Cézanne still had a weakness for Salon sculpture. It represented quite simply the liveliest available form of popular life that did not actually move. It was still almost too distractingly mobile to be drawn, perhaps too *humanly* mobile, as distinct from the motion of styles which was definable as planetary motion is defined. Rude's *Neapolitan Fisherboy* (P. 92) reached out for his turtle with such human eagerness that multiple contours of arm and hand were the necessary recourse. Even his curiosity about the creature was too vivid to permit a single contour at forehead or chin or one mouth only. It is evident that this was not any kind of dehumanization, but rather a vulnerability to humane perception, which was sympathetic and inconvenient. (If original perceptiveness can ever be, precisely, inconvenient when its involuntary products—in this case the pattern of the kinetic phases streaking down the sheet—are "meaningful" and "necessary," those synonyms for "beautiful" to which we are reduced.)

Prettiness now attracted Cézanne nearly as much as violence had done. The dainty airs of the *Nymph Amalthaea* (P. 86) had more suggestion of the Parisian demimonde than of the rustic goat-girl who was Jupiter's nurse. She was drawn like the *Clémence Isaure* with intentional charm and the same vagrant contour pointed by piquant crevices of shadow. Some pages of Cézanne's cahiers in the 1880s seem like experiments in how much empty paper could be dominated by how sparing and open a line. The cast of an Italian terra-cotta of the fifteenth-century King Charles VIII, which arrived at the Trocadéro in 1882, suggested a drawing that was virtually a fantasy, it retained so little information about the sculpture (P. 87). Yet the simplified shape of the bust is curiously echoed by the emptiness of the line; the round pupils of the eyes have a vacancy quite like the portrait. Cézanne was learning to call the blank paper in aid of his pencil, just as he later did with watercolor. It is this that galvanizes the whiteness and gives so vivid a sense of the artist. Everything else—the shape, the proportions, the curly

wave of the contour, which has no resemblance whatever to the close, firm shape of Charles's actual cap—was invented or half-remembered in a dream of what line could do with paper.

The drawing of the boy king was essentially imaginary. Rather few of the drawings of the 1880s were so uninformative. Much commoner are sheets from the books that Cézanne kept by him during the evenings that the family spent together. When Cézanne drew at all, he usually drew his son Paul and sometimes Hortense or himself. Quite often he combined whichever heads he had drawn with objects in the room and any works of art that he was thinking about, each drawn separately on any convenient scale. These carnets of the late 1870s and the 1880s were the diaries of his affections and his generally contented state of mind. They are chiefly represented at Basel by drawings of his son (P. 66), his face sharply outlined in the light of the lamp, the boy stolid or dubious or reading at table, with his sleeve separately observed and modeled most subtly, or lying down to sleep, his eyes still watchfully open to the life of the room. The little detail of the arm on the table was fruitful. Within a few years Cézanne had done a series of twenty-two drawings of his son writing or reading at the table, the most delightful of our glimpses of their lives together. The boy was evidently the great interest of the painter's life.

FIG. 15 *Copy after Pareja* (detail from a sheet of studies). c. 1879

But before he drew the seven heads of Paul, perhaps on a single evening, on the two sides of one page, he had used a corner of the verso for a copy (FIG. 15) of an illustration from Charles Blanc's history, which had become the household picture book. It was a seventeenth-century genre-like setting of the *Calling of St. Matthew* by the Spanish painter Juan de Pareja, copied in meticulous outline and of apparently limited interest—indeed, of suffocating dryness—so that we resolved to show in these plates the recto, which has seldom been seen. But the copy of the *Calling of St. Matthew* is worth investigating. The rectangle in which the painter was to draw was exactly ruled in the corner of the sheet. Then Cézanne proceeded to mark off along its upper edge the exact points at which the vertical divisions of Pareja's design (a window, shutter, entrance, curtains, and a heavy frame on the wall) intersect with that edge to provide a grid that would facilitate a proportionate copy of the illustration, and set about its use in an outline of extreme exactitude. Before he abandoned it, never in his life to lay such plans again, the copy was more than half finished. In all the cahiers there is not another design controlled by divisions fixed by any form of calculation. Indeed there is hardly another copy of Cézanne that is so exact and un-Romantic. The linear transcription on which he embarked suggests that he had in mind something like the engravings of Abraham Bosse, which were approximately contemporaneous and possibly a source for Pareja. At all events Cézanne evidently thought of something more measured

and complete than any other copy he made.

This unfinished pencil outline was one of the very few copies that he attempted in any medium at any time seeking closely to follow the character and detail of the source—and it is a surprise, because one had not thought of Cézanne's sympathies as so limited, to discover that all the others were after originals by Delacroix: the *Barque of Dante* copied in the 1860s, a version of *Medea* in the 1880s, and a watercolor (given to him by Vollard) of a bouquet in 1900.

The date of the Pareja copy in Basel was possibly around 1879–80. In other words it was being drawn within a year of Cézanne's expedition to Médan to paint the village and Zola's house there, the picture now in Glasgow, in which buildings and trees reflected in the river were, more than any other motif that he painted, built out of vertical intersections of the horizontals.

It is at first sight strange that one of the most committed and prolific painters of landscape, who was also apparently one of the greatest, should have dealt with landscape only in a small minority of his drawings, though in some from the late 1880s and the early 1890s as beautiful as have ever been drawn. Cézanne was a natural figure painter who produced landscapes—the reverse of Claude Gellée, who could not imaginably have painted or drawn anything else. In the nineteenth century not landscape only but all painting altered profoundly. Painters referred to their subjects directly and followed them, if not unaltered, with minimum adjustments, as only exceptional painters, like Caravaggio, Hals, and Velázquez, had done before. In the nineteenth century the primary design of a painting was often no more than the decision in which direction to look. When Corot and Courbet went painting together, each is said to have been surprised by his companion, one that his choice of subject was made so quickly, the other that it took so long.

FIG. 16 *Auvers: Village Panorama*. 1873–75. Oil on canvas. The Art Institute of Chicago

The preparatory drawing (P. 88) for what was one of the turning points in Cézanne's development, the panoramic view of Auvers (FIG. 16), at Chicago, did not prejudge how the picture was to be painted. The design, or lack of it, was determined by the choice of where to stand and which way to look. The drawing was no more than the hastiest possible memorandum of this choice. There was no need for more and no time to lose on it. Few though they are, Cézanne's drawings of landscape and townscape and his views over the bay at L'Estaque are very significant. It is remarkable and quite exceptional that in 1880 one of Cézanne's most intelligent and intelligible pictures, the view across the river of the village of Médan (FIG. 17), called for as many as five drawings, in pencil (FIG. 18) and watercolor, all of them more or less concerned with the balance of vertical against horizontal. This same balance of alignments, which was profoundly linked with the seriousness of art before Cézanne and after him, continued to

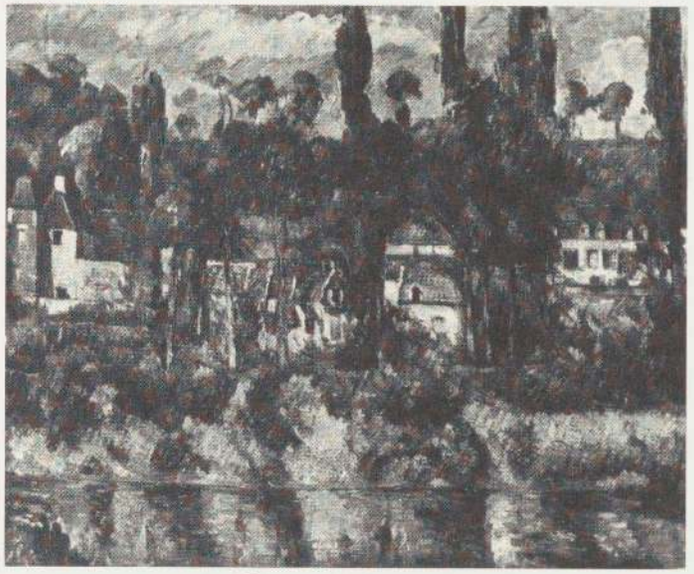


FIG. 17 *Château at Médan*. c. 1880. Oil on canvas. Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum

FIG. 18 *Landscape at Médan*. 1879–80

occupy him in the early 1880s and among the sheets at Basel there is another drawing that concerned the further investigation of vertical and horizontal at another village in the Île de France (P. 89). The subject now concerns (like more than one of the pictures of the time) the way downhill to the village clustering in a valley and up the slope on the other side to the skyline. The first pencilings were hardly more controlled or calculated than the sketch at Auvers (P. 88); indeed the initial style appears to have been indistinguishable. Then the significance occurred to him of the straight winter trees beside the road into the village, and a little distance either side. These slender verticals crossed the horizontals of houses and garden walls and meeting the skyline branched and intersected it, reaching up into the sky. The subject that now concerned him was straightness. The houses were redrawn more decisively; architectural character became apparent; triangular gables set up systems of parallel diagonals. The horizontals crossed the sheet at well-calculated spatial intervals but the verticals of trees and posts were not quite beyond doubt. Then it appears that Cézanne found an approximate straightedge in his pocket, perhaps a card or a fold of paper; he added a ruled vertical to the still-sketchy uprights of some of the trees, sometimes supplying a straighter edge, more often a sharper reinforcement.

The alignments that spanned the depth and breadth of Cézanne's landscapes during the 1880s were unfailingly logical and beautiful, and he occasionally drew them in his sketchbooks. One of his subjects of houses against the flank of Mont Sainte-Victoire, in 1885 or the next year, led him to study the pattern of parallel cast shadows, chimney on roof and wall on ground beside (P. 102), transitory shadows, which he painted rather rarely, but the kind of echoing angle, the geometry of color, discovering here a kinship with the slope of the Mont de Cengle, on which later

FIG. 19 *Roof and Window*. 1889–92

watercolors were often to be based. We have the word of Émile Bernard, the only man who ever watched Cézanne paint a watercolor, that he began by laying in the shadows on the empty ground, which must have looked rather like the shadows penciled softly on the empty ground here. (A later version of the roof and shadow can be seen in FIG. 19.)

Sometimes in the 1880s his drawings seem to be rehearsing ways in which color might be worked. In one of the Basel drawings massive tree trunks were by turns emphasized and interrupted by diagonal hatching in contrary directions (FIG. 20). The drawing was very likely a preparation for one of the *sous-bois* of 1888, which confined the space with planes of foliage rendered in a crisscross of parallel brushstrokes. Within a few years directional handling of any kind was replaced by the overlapping color patches of his later style, and the unbroken stream of draftsmanship was directed elsewhere.

When he was fifty, as if at a signal, Cézanne started painting the subject pictures for which temperament seemed to have destined him from the beginning. His first subject, and the first picture in which he made considerable use of drawings, was a large group of Harlequin and Pierrot from the Comédie italienne, a common source for enlightened painters in the middle decades of the century when a reputed family of Harlequins, the Dubureau, held the stage. Cézanne's picture, *Mardi Gras* (FIG. 21), was not unlike (except for the absence of Columbine) the subject as painted by Degas a few years before. As Harlequin, Paul junior, Cézanne's frequent model as well as his aide, was portrayed stepping forward, straight as a ramrod, though leaning back as if in consultation with Louis Guillaume as Pierrot, shown stooping forward to urge or provoke him. An element of provocation, though more often originating with Harlequin, was a common feature of Comédie dramas. Cézanne imagined the opposing movements of the two figures vividly; the action of the picture is seemingly automatic,

FIG. 20 *Bare Trees*. c. 1887

as if the figures were attached to a pendulum swinging back and forward from the top edge. In the drawing for Pierrot, the conical hat, with contours that radiate as if from a pivot, contributes to the impression (P. 98).

The drawings from life for *Mardi Gras* are as substantial as any that Cézanne did and their effect on the resolution of the picture is plain. A series of drawings, watercolors, and oil studies of his son as Harlequin reflects the intimacy of their relationship, the character of the youth, and his father's regard (P. 99). Cézanne never analyzed a head with more understanding than his son in the Harlequin hat. Beside it there is another, showing the play of shadow across the features, of a different, older man, with a family likeness but smaller eyes more deeply set, a head that is broader at the cheekbone and temple, with eyebrows that take a sharper downward turn. This head, though more generally and softly drawn, is most like a self-portrait now in the collection of Paul Mellon (Chappuis 1124) which has been supposed to date from 1889 on account of its likeness to the photograph of the painter for his pass to the Exposition Universelle, a photograph with a resemblance to the summary second head on the Basel sheet. It is known that when his model left, Cézanne was not always ready to stop work. Gasquet tells that he would sometimes change into the clothes of the gardener whom he was painting and paint himself,[9] and whether or not Gasquet's reports were reliable in detail, they were often perceptive. It may be that after a day's work in the rue du Val-de-Grâce in 1889, when his son had left, Cézanne drew himself for a moment or two, seeking perhaps a fuller envelopment of a similar characterful shape in light.

The Comédie with its anarchic play must have interested Cézanne, and the autonomous movement of extempore theater retained its interest for many painters into the twentieth century, when it became inseparable from the traditional autonomy of creative caprice, extending back before 1500. In the twentieth century it was enriched by the legacy of Cézanne and his *Mardi Gras*. Harlequin's unruly behavior signified simply the liberation of lust and Cézanne evidently knew a popular print with this sense, of the kind that was collected in the Recueil Fossard, illustrating the comic lust that was the recurrent theme of the extempore theater, and drew three richly imagined paraphrases of it, which remain as diverting as ever (PP. 96, 97). The reminder of the sexual violence endemic to the tangled drawings of his twenties may have amused Cézanne and the performance of his harlequinade is perhaps just a little more savage than agrees with the comedy. It is a problem with Cézanne to decide how far his vein of social comedy extends; one feels uncertain whether it was failing health that

FIG. 21 *Mardi Gras*. 1888. Oil on canvas. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow

prevented him from painting the *Apotheosis of Delacroix*. If he did intend seriously to paint it, one would guess that the spectators in the left-hand corner might have looked something like the substantial provincial party with parasols and shooting sticks in a drawing at Basel (P. 90).

On one occasion when Paul junior came to the rue du Val-de-Grâce to change into the Harlequin costume, his father must have prevailed on him to pose in his underpants for one or other of his reconstructions of the pose with hands on hips, which originated from a photograph in 1877 or earlier and which he was still seeking to substantiate with observation to incorporate in the later developments of the design. He needed in fact quite summary diagrams of the detail of the pose and a sheet at Basel shows that he obtained them (P. 93). The motif led, of course, to *The Bather* (Venturi 548) in The Museum of Modern Art.

Museums exist so that future growths may have roots—so that the idiosyncrasies of artists may be allied to the generality of art. Cézanne was the ideal user of the Louvre. It was a landmark in his life when he discovered that painting was not sculpture.

Drawing sculpture was in several ways an education. His understanding that the living subject which was captured in sculpture existed in three dimensions can be judged by the space that he drew in Pigalle's *Mercury* (P. 110). The complexity of thorax and abdomen occupied a certain volume. The fluttering contours of the back conveyed the movement that enclosed it. In token of it all, the neoclassical *Mercury* wore a look of ribald triumph.

Even more telling is the comparison between Poussin's Arcadian shepherd (FIG. 22) and the *Crouching Venus* (then restored with a head) which Cézanne drew from the same point of view (P. 130). He realized in doing so that the difference in scale between nearness and distance admitted him again, as with the *Mercury*, to a volume of space which he could only chart by drawing it afresh from the marble. The different measure between the close and visually massive knee and the distant shoulder was drawn with superlative confidence. The *Crouching Venus* is a great drawing and the *Discophoros* (P. 115) is another. The former disabuses the admirer of Poussin of the charms of ideal distance. The latter shows "the Greeks of the great period" as reborn in Tintoretto. The hip introduces us to the ferment of Tintoretto's interlocking arcs, which Cézanne never forgot.

One's first thought is that comparison with the space in the sculpture had proved to him that Poussin was limited by flatness. The *Crouching Venus* is indeed Poussin "remade from nature." Another look shows that in the Arcadian shepherdess (P. 95) Poussin has persuaded Cézanne that the organization of pictorial flatness permits a new order of certainty. The registration of alignments and their implicit parallels possess an epoch-making truthfulness. Checking the shepherdess's profile Cézanne discovers a certain angle to the vertical; a tree, the edge of hair, the back of neck, all confirm the infinitely indicative inclination. A sharp line derived from it extends from the plane of the forehead to the corner of the nostril. Eyebrow and eyeball are now a specific and certain distance to the right of it. The bridge of the nose and the upper lip disclose a parallel which is a fixed distance to the left. A determinable angle yields another pair of parallels and the gentle concavity of the brow curves into the straight edge of the nose itself. Under the governance of this new certainty the forehead and nose detach themselves like a mask, liberate themselves from conventional expectation and become instead grandly precise and ample. New connections prompting the pencil at every moment stimulate new and lovely

FIG. 22 *Arcadian Shepherd (after Poussin)*. 1887–90

analogies in the hair, the veil like a mountain crest and the descending sweep of drapery.

The possession of a structure of parallels to harmonize the happenings of the world was always a cherished aspiration of Cézanne's. Here he learned it from the events of a Poussin, and its relationship to the armatures that sharpened his observation from the 1890s onward is clear enough. Flatness was vindicated. Drawing was an alliance in which the painters triumphed together.

Cézanne's habitual formulations of what he drew derived from his intelligent understanding of principles that he discerned in historical styles, among them the parallelisms and convergences that he found in Poussin. He was subjecting the Arcadian shepherdess to an implicitly Poussin-type treatment. The system of parallels in which he analyzed the head of the shepherdess provided a scan that enabled him to discern the shape with a high degree both of objective particularity and subjective patterning. Systems like this are equally apparent in Cézanne's later paintings and from them Juan Gris deduced a coarser but recognizable Cézanne-type treatment with which he patterned his own pictures. We are watching the development and application of a geometrization which became the sign manual of sophistication in a certain twentieth-century style. This description does not fully account for the pleasure that the present writer at least takes in Cézanne's reading of Poussin's shepherds; it is not easy to explain the serenity that communicates itself. Is it possible that Cézanne and we too share in the philosophic grace with which the ubiquity of death was learned and accepted in Arcadia?

Though not a sculptor Cézanne used sculpture as the type of form and the archetype of naturalness. In his mood of 1889 the museum engrossed him. The major theme of his sketchbooks was now predetermined. He was drawing history, the whole inheritance from antiquity to Delacroix. No painter had ever identified himself with so extensive and various a past until Picasso. In this respect too Cézanne showed an incomparable sense of the kind of nourishment that twentieth-century artists would develop an insatiable appetite for. His self-identification was an absorbing theme in itself. He might question the temperament of Raphael but he had copied Raphael beautifully.

Since 1793 every French painter had inherited the Louvre. The genius of the nineteenth century in France was to breed an awareness

of fulfilling the destiny of princely collections. (The American genius of the twentieth century has been to breed merchant princes with the same sense of national destiny for their collections.) But Cézanne must have been conscious of a uniquely personal debt. Whomever he thought the bust of Richelieu was carved by (P. 126), he must have thought of his drawing, which was a deliberately masterly drawing of a masterpiece, as a tribute to the conception that Richelieu originated of the royal collection as a national collection. In the earliest of the eighteenth-century busts that Cézanne drew, one is aware of an almost complacent assumption of beneficence (P. 132). I used to imagine a likeness to J. S. Bach; looking at Cézanne's complex ordering of structures, Bach is never quite out of one's mind. When one sees the bust is Mansart, whom Cézanne would have thought of as building the Louvre, one wonders if the significance is very different. When Cézanne spoke of construction, which other architect would he have had in mind?

Tributes to pillars of French tradition were incidental. The importance of French sculpture to Cézanne was as a source of form. The portrait busts that he drew show that, given more than the limited time and strength that illness allowed him, he could have painted the greatest portraits since the seventeenth century. Whatever he did would surely have given portraiture in the twentieth century the standing that it has lacked.

A series of drawings in profile of Coustou's bust of the Superior of the Oratorian fathers achieved increasing completeness (FIG. 23; P. 121) but one is unprepared for the full face (FIG. 24). Reflected light on the shadow side of the head enabled Cézanne to attend to the detail and gave the *points culminants* a darkling force. He found a diagonal alignment which recurred throughout the head and a slanting movement which almost distorted it, yet discovered the angle at which the head characteristically displaced the light. The alignments that connected areas of shadow were among the probing instruments of Cézanne's graphic style and they contrived an order of solidity as original and as perceptive as anything in nineteenth-century art. The neurasthenic sensitivity which his probing was in the course of discovering in the unfinished head of the painter Mignard yielded not only new forms but an unprecedented characterization (FIG. 25). They are penetratingly personal, as only the twentieth century has been. These expeditions into portraiture are worth more examination; there are similar structures of correspondence among the oils.

FIG. 23 *Father de La Tour (after G. Coustou).* c. 1895

In the drawings we have continual evidence of Cézanne breaking new ground, not only in extremes of expressive fantasy, but in new orders of objectivity. At last the dream and the drawing came together with a degree of realism and a figurative resourcefulness that were quite uncommon at any earlier time.

One notices the acuteness in old age of his eye for decorative style. A frame in his room seems to have held a needlework picture, as one would guess, in imitation Rococo style (P.139). One associates the subject with the famous watercolor of fruit and chair back in the Courtauld Institute (Rewald 643) and with the high-spirited Rococo clock at Basel (P.142). They echo the cumulative rippling of contours in the figure drawings.

The faculty that he exercised in drawing from sculpture was surprisingly unconnected with whatever particular figure he was drawing. It seems that he rather thought of it as strengthening a power within him, the power to imagine continuity and thus to portray it with his own means. The latest works that he drew in the Louvre in 1899 seem to have been eighteenth-century portrait busts, and these certainly show an exemplary continuity in for example their cadenzas of tumbling curls (PP.132,133). Cézanne imagined his study of them as strengthening the same faculty as he employed in the sequences of colored *taches* which conveyed the continuity of solid form in a picture.

In 1899 Vollard, whose portrait he was painting, had mildly suggested that Cézanne should fill in two patches of bare canvas in the hands which had defeated his ability to envisage the colors that would render the sequence of planes. Cézanne answered, "If my study in the Louvre presently goes well, perhaps tomorrow I shall find the right tone to fill the white spaces. Just understand, if I were to put something there at random I should be compelled to go over the whole picture again starting at that spot."[10] That drawing and painting actual continuity from such different models should have been the product of the same imaginative faculty remains surprising, and like any achievement that outruns comprehension it is admirable.

The art that he wanted to draw in the later sheets was, with few exceptions, a succession of individual pieces, single figures or single heads, each with a very pronounced physical presence. Sometimes a single figure must have been similarly drawn over and over again on successive days. Among these one

FIG. 24 *Father de La Tour (after G. Coustou)*. c. 1895

FIG. 25 *Pierre Mignard (after Desjardins)*. 1900

most often turns to those in which the contours are duplicated and reinforced until the momentum of the formulation across the form separates into countless ripples, in token of the rhythmic abundance. *Hercules Resting*, known as the *Gallic Hercules*, must be one of Puget's greatest inventions, lacking only the spectacular cruelty of Milo's fate, and Cézanne extracted its full value. The series of drawings of the *Hercules* began in the 1880s with analyses of the figure from the side (PP. 2, 105). These are drawings in simple line and nothing else, with a sympathetic reading of the Herculean lassitude, a torpid brooding. The interleaving of oblique muscles was formulated as intersecting arcs; the rhythmic pattern was as coherent as the views from Montbriant which he painted in 1887. Toward 1890 the back became the subject of more complex and tempestuous drawings (PP. 122, 123). Cézanne used the spine to interpret the division and conflict, which he often found in figures that interested him. The proliferating contours collected down the shadow side. The Puget series at Basel ends with the two drawings of Milo in an almost festive paroxysm, a culmination both horrifying and ecstatic, which is the nearest Cézanne came to expressionism (PP. 128, 129).

The fugal multiplicity of contours ended in a drawing of bathers that had a quality of dance. The same conjunction of figures appeared in two paintings (Venturi 727, 729), but there the sexes were no longer specific. This drawing seems to be the single time that men and women bathers appeared together in a mood of delight (P. 137). The same excitement figures on the verso of Chappuis 945 (P. 90), a drawing of a boy bather with arms folded behind his head and contours vibrant with life (FIG. 26).

The masterpiece which Cézanne seems to have looked at and copied whenever he was in Paris, Rubens's *Apotheosis of Henry IV*, centered on the most memorable of the embodiments of distress and conflict, which he had been drawing and imagining for most of his life, the catastrophic figure of Bellona, the muse of victory who is tearing her hair in the center of the picture. Of all the positions in which limbs are thrust out or hands clasped desperately to the head, hers is the most violent. She seems literally to be wrenching herself apart, her right leg and left arm are thrown out with such abandonment. Cézanne learned eventually to omit them both and concentrate all the disparate bodily meaning in the trunk and the gesture, which are agonizing enough.

It is remarkable that in the outcome this body is not divided or distraught. The physical unity becomes coherent; the body is made mysteriously rich and fruitful in its grief; the forms attain a state of efflorescent abundance. The comfort is in the way Bellona is drawn. From his first note of this possibility

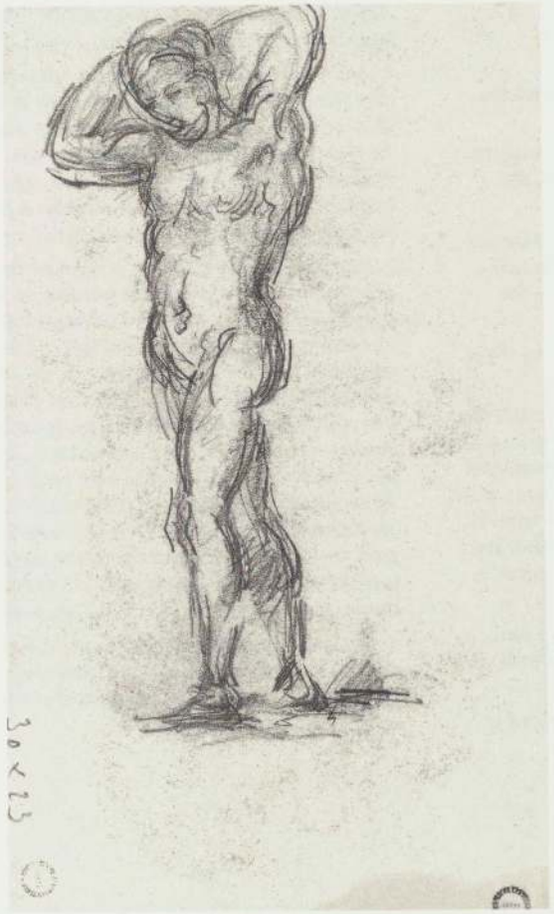


FIG. 26 *Bather Crossing His Arms Behind His Neck.* c. 1900

(FIG. 12) the artist finds the body to be as florid as roses. His pencil caresses in turn each roundness of the relief, making the shape blossom on the paper, until sorrow yields to the curvaceous loveliness. It is as sensual a fulfillment as one finds anywhere in Cézanne's work (P. 131).

Knowing him, we are not at all surprised to find that such an ecstatic transformation, so pregnant of a fruitful future, was read from a figure who in her original context was allegorically yet nonetheless tragically the victim of her own destructive frenzy. Agony was the prism which separated symbolic expression into its constituents, the elements among which each or any might lead on to quite a different expressive system.

In general Cézanne's drawings offer a legible and illuminating commentary on the current direction of his thought. Yet there are, for example, drawings of the 1880s which foreshadow paintings and watercolors that did not materialize for twenty years. It is still more difficult to evaluate the drawings that pointed toward pictures which remained unpainted. For example, the cross-reference between vertical and horizontal in the view over the road through the village (P. 89), the space across the table to the decanter through the elliptical drawing of the uncleared meal (FIG. 14), and the diagonal drift of parallels which characterized the face of the Oratorian father (FIG. 24).

There was nothing ordained about the date of Cézanne's death. If insulin had been invented he would have painted into his eighties. When would he have come to the point of realizing the potentials that were predicted in drawings? We cannot possibly know; we have no warrant that he would ever have reached them. We have to provide for the awesome likelihood that some of the prospects which his work held out were destined always to remain in store for an unknowable future.

Notes to the Text

1. Letter to his son, September 8, 1906; *Correspondance*, ed. John Rewald (Paris, 1978), p. 324.

2. See Mary Tomkins Lewis, "Cézanne's 'Harrowing of Hell and the Magdalen,'" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, 97 (April 1981), pp. 175–78.

3. Mary Tomkins Lewis, in her dissertation, "Cézanne's Religious Imagery" (University of Pennsylvania, 1981), and in *Cézanne's Early Imagery*, forthcoming from the University of California Press.

4. Quoted by John Rewald in *Cézanne: A Biography* (New York, 1986), p. 113.

5. Reported by Karl Ernst Osthaus in his description of a visit on April 13, 1906, published in *Das Feuer* (1920–21) and quoted, in a French translation by John Rewald, in P. M. Doran, *Conversations avec Cézanne* (Paris, 1978), p. 97: "'Le principal dans un tableau,' disait-il, 'est de trouver la juste distance. La couleur avait à exprimer toutes les ruptures dans la profondeur. C'est là qu'on reconnaît le talent d'un peintre."

6. Reported by Émile Bernard in *L'Occident*, July 1904, p. 24: "Il faut redevenir classique par la nature c'est-à-dire par la sensation."

7. Joachim Gasquet, *Cézanne* (Paris, 1921), as quoted in Adrien Chappuis, *The Drawings of Paul Cézanne: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Greenwich, Conn., 1973), p. 258.

8. An oil study (Venturi 710) and a watercolor (Rewald 387) were painted according to Vollard in Paris in 1898–99 from an aging model who may also have sat for two clothed figure pieces (Venturi 703, 705). See Ambroise Vollard, *Paul Cézanne* (Paris, 1914), p. 96. The evidence was discussed in the exhibition catalogue *Post-Impressionism* (London, Royal Academy, 1979), no. 46.

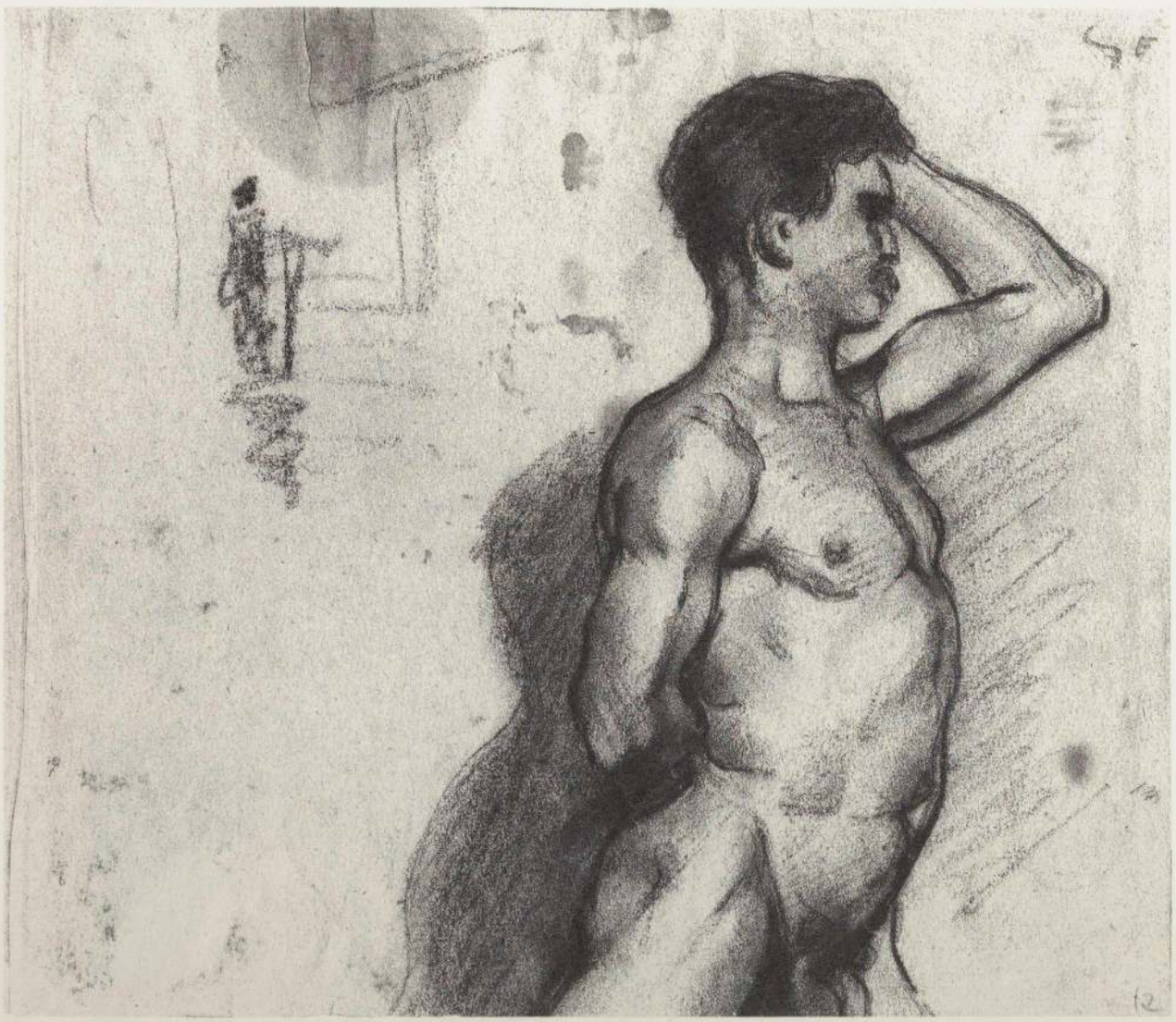
9. Joachim Gasquet (*Cézanne*, p. 67) told the story: "Dans sa bonté, son coeur d'homme sensible est là tout entier comme son cerveau d'artiste souffrant s'est tout entier, et très étrangement, traduit dans l'épisode du mendiant à la casquette. Il faisait poser le vieillard. Souvent le pauvre, malade, ne venait pas. Alors Cézanne posait lui-même. Il revêtait devant un miroir les sales guenilles. Et un étrange échange ainsi, une substitution mystique, et peut-être voulue, mêla, sur la toile profonde, les traits du vieux mendiant à ceux du vieil artiste, leurs deux vies au confluent du même néant et de la même immortalité." John Rewald has subjected the tale to skeptical and well-justified examination, most fully in *Cézanne: Les dernières années, 1895–1906* (Paris, 1978), no. 13, p. 89.

10. Vollard, *Paul Cézanne*, pp. 95–96. Vollard's portrait was painted in Paris in 1899 and the story was interestingly confirmed in Maurice Denis's journal of the time, in the entry for October 21, 1899.

Plates

43

Three Pen Sketches
c. 1858



44

Male Nude
c. 1865

45

Male Nude
1867–68

Man Kneeling, His Arms Raised
1866–67

47

Study for *The Eternal Feminine*
1870–75

48

Studies for *The Orgy*
1864–68

49

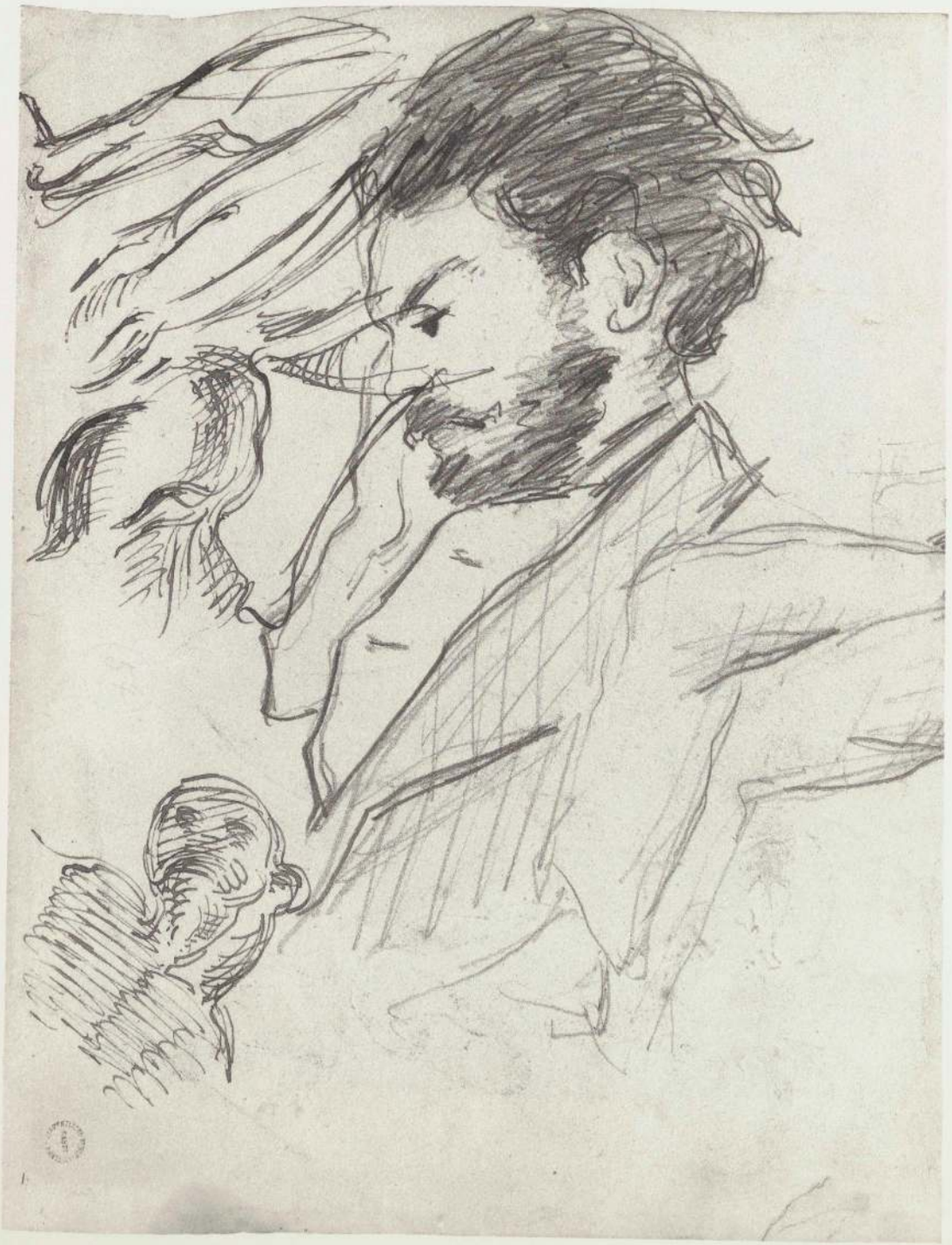
Landscape, Including a Man Fishing and Two Lovers
1868–70

50

Portrait of Achille Emperaire
1867–70

51

Head of Achille Emperaire
1867–70



52

Portrait of Fortuné Marion, and L'Écorché
1869–73

53

Discussion Between Two Men, Reclining Nude Woman
1868–72

54

Scene of Violence (also known as *The Murder)*
1869–72

55

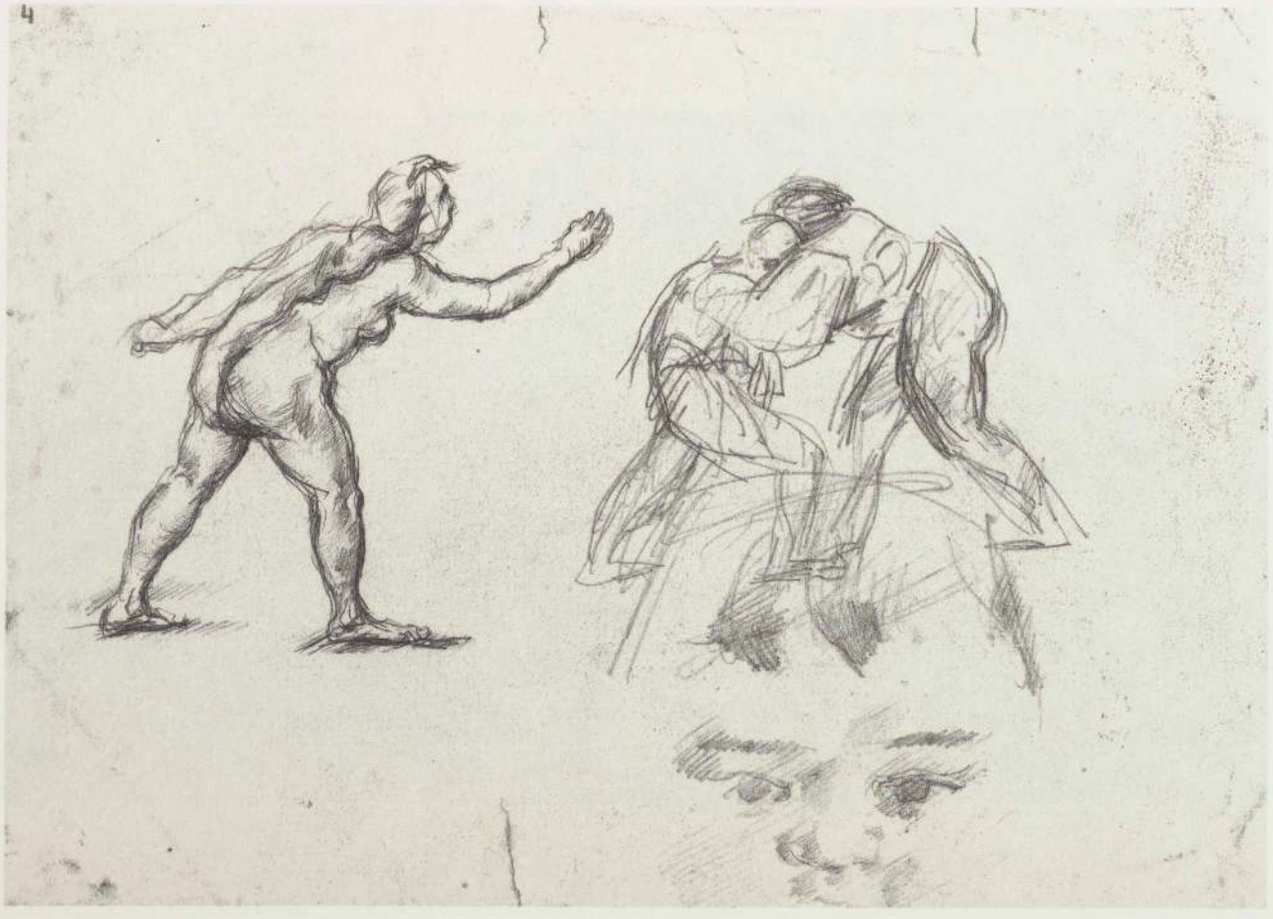
Goblet, and Study for *The Temptation of St. Anthony*
1870–73

56

Female Nude for *Afternoon in Naples*
1872–75

57

The Couple, Study for *Afternoon in Naples*
1872–75



58

Woman Bather, Two Men Wrestling, Boy's Head
1871–78

59

Three Women Bathers
1873–77

60

Group Sitting Under a Tree
1871–74

61

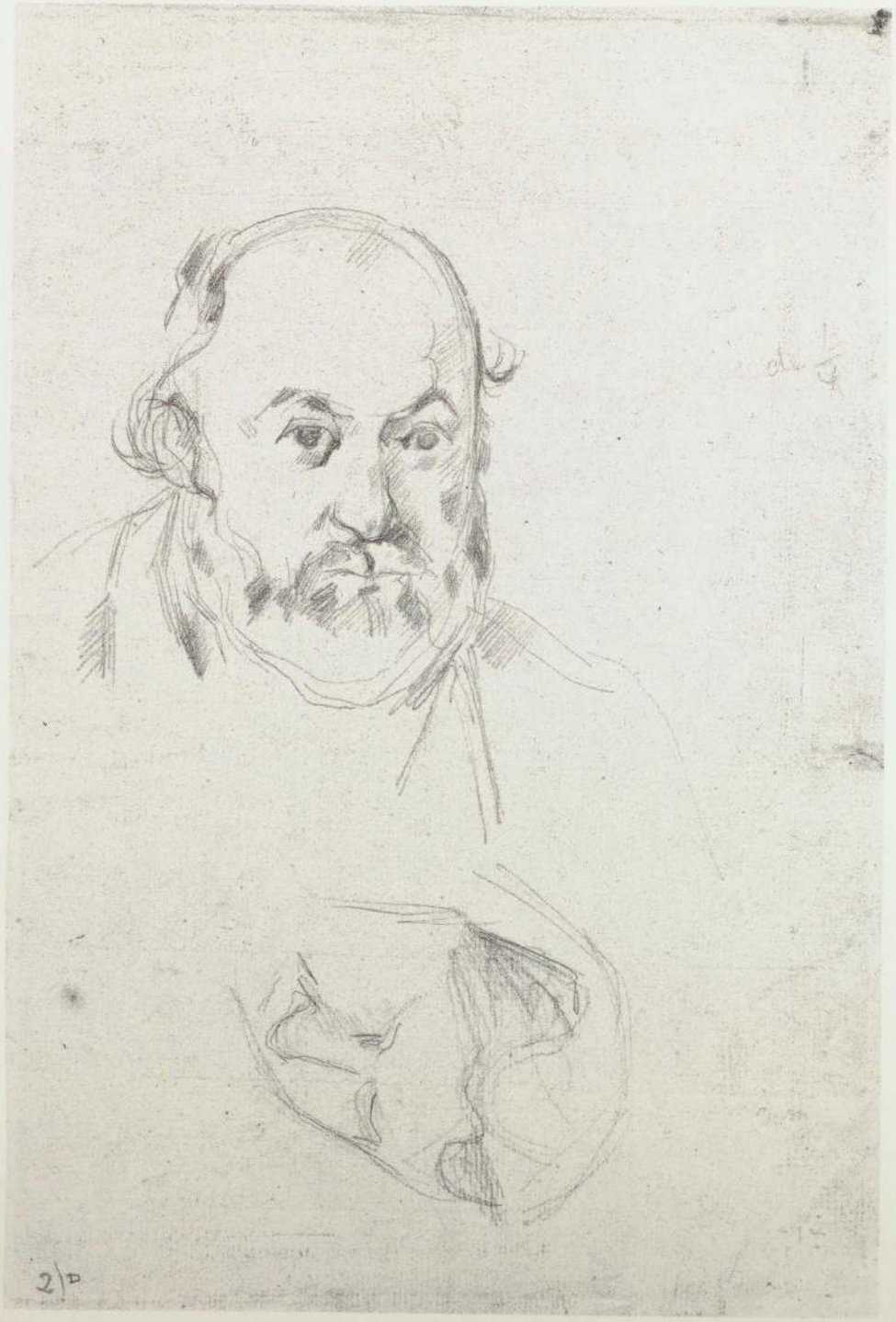
Outing in a Boat
1871–74

62

Family in a Garden, and Studies
1870–73

63

Camille Pissarro, Seen from the Back
1874–77



64 *Self-Portrait*
c. 1880

65 *Portrait of Louis-Auguste Cézanne*
1879–82

66

Three Heads, Sleeve of a Garment
c. 1879

67

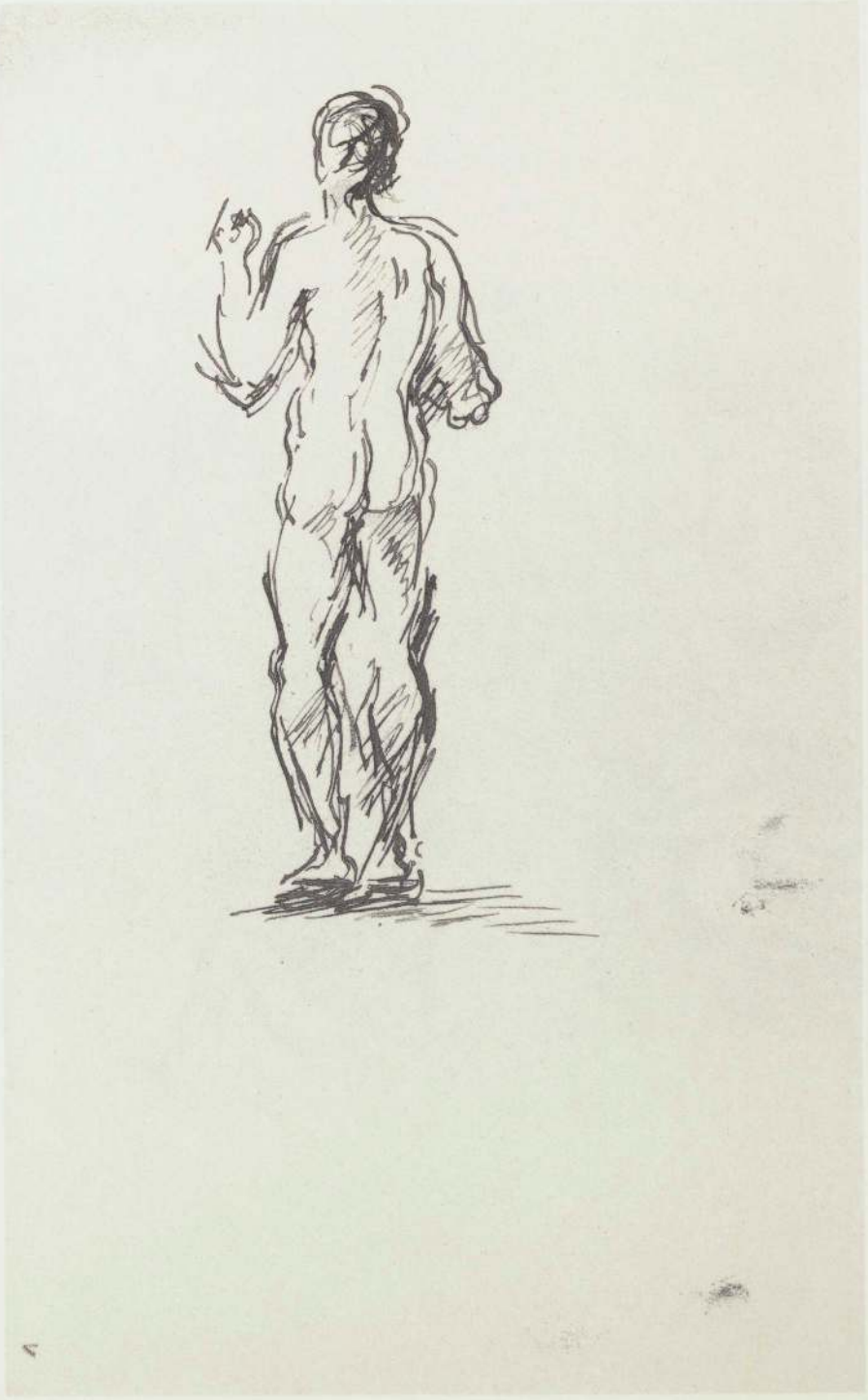
The Artist's Son
1880–81

Study of a Reclining Female Nude
1877–79

69

Study for *Bathsheba*
1877–79

Bather Seen Back View
1877–80



71

Bather Seen Back View
1877–80

72

Page of Studies, Women Bathers
1873–77

73

Bather Sitting at Water's Edge
1877–80

74

Love and Friendship (after Pigalle)
1879–82

75

Clémence Isaure (after Préault)
1880–83

76

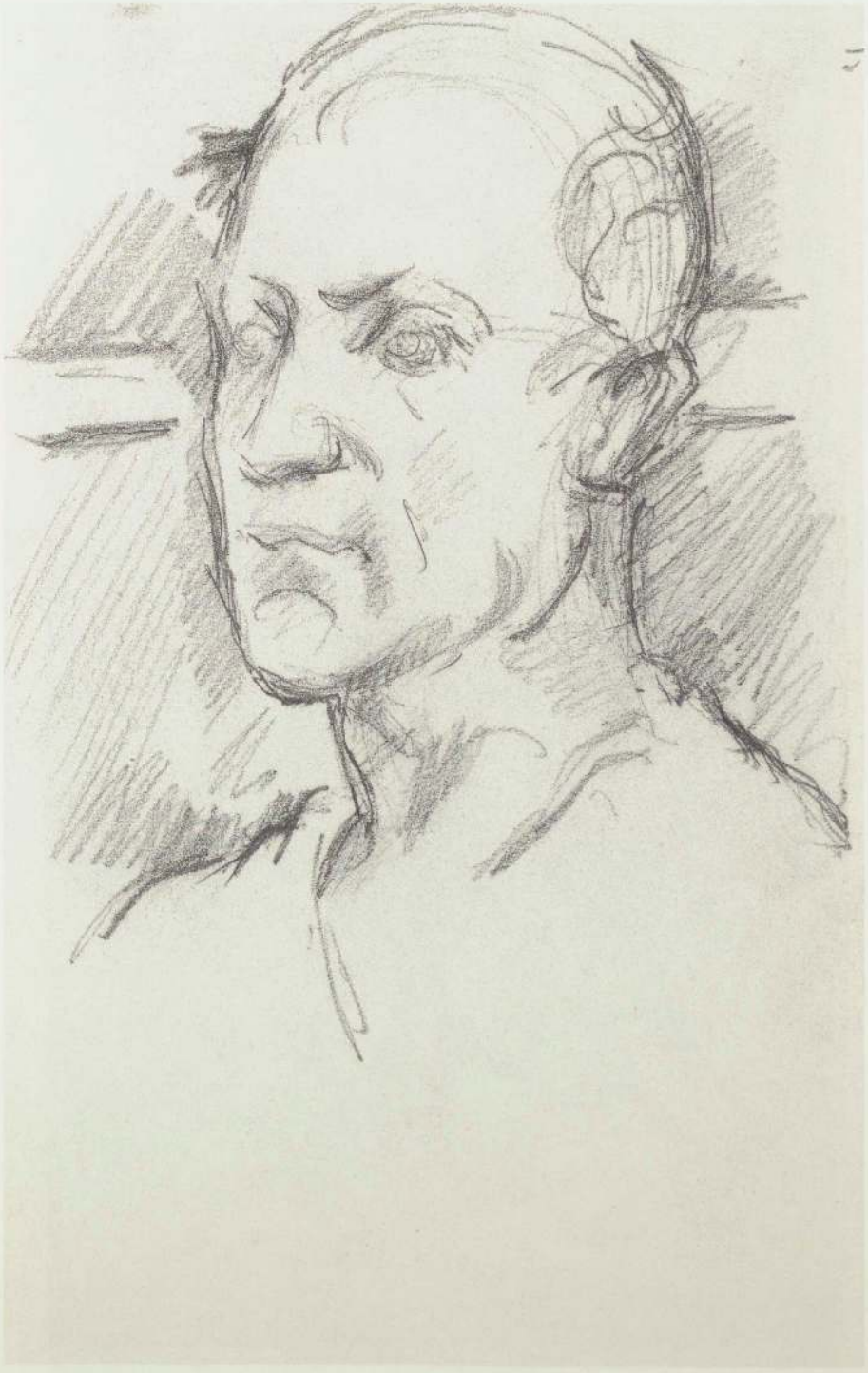
Filippo Strozzi (after Benedetto da Maiano)
1881–84

77

Still Life with Candlestick
1881–84

78

Pietro Mellini (after Benedetto da Maiano)
1881–84



79

Giovanni de' Medici (after Mino da Fiesole)
1881–84

80

The Lycian Apollo (after the Antique)
1881–84

81

Milo of Crotona (after Puget)
1882–85

82

Beatrice of Aragon (after a Florentine Bust)
1884–87

83

The Borghese Mars (after the Antique)
1881–84

84

The Dying Slave (after Michelangelo)
1884–87

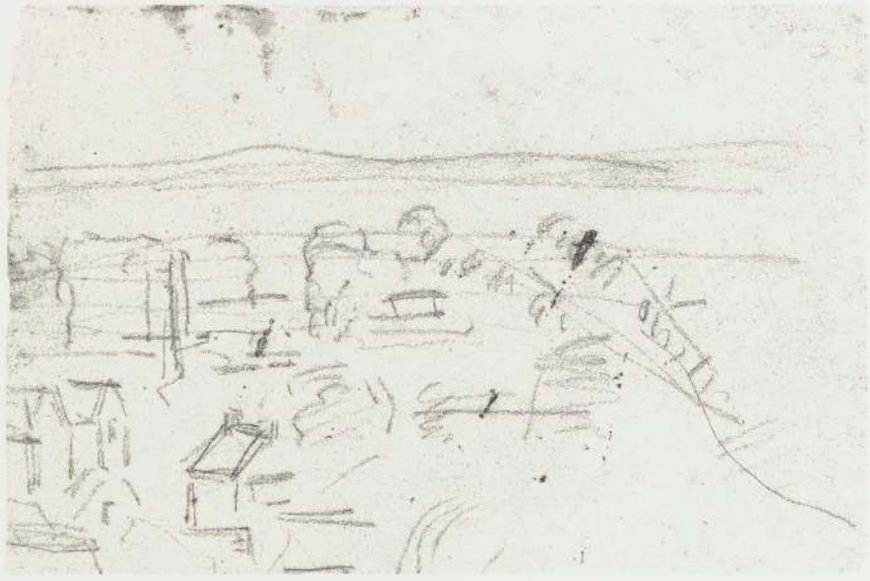
85 *Male Nude with His Arm Raised*
1882–85

86

The Nymph Amalthaea (after Julien)
1882–85

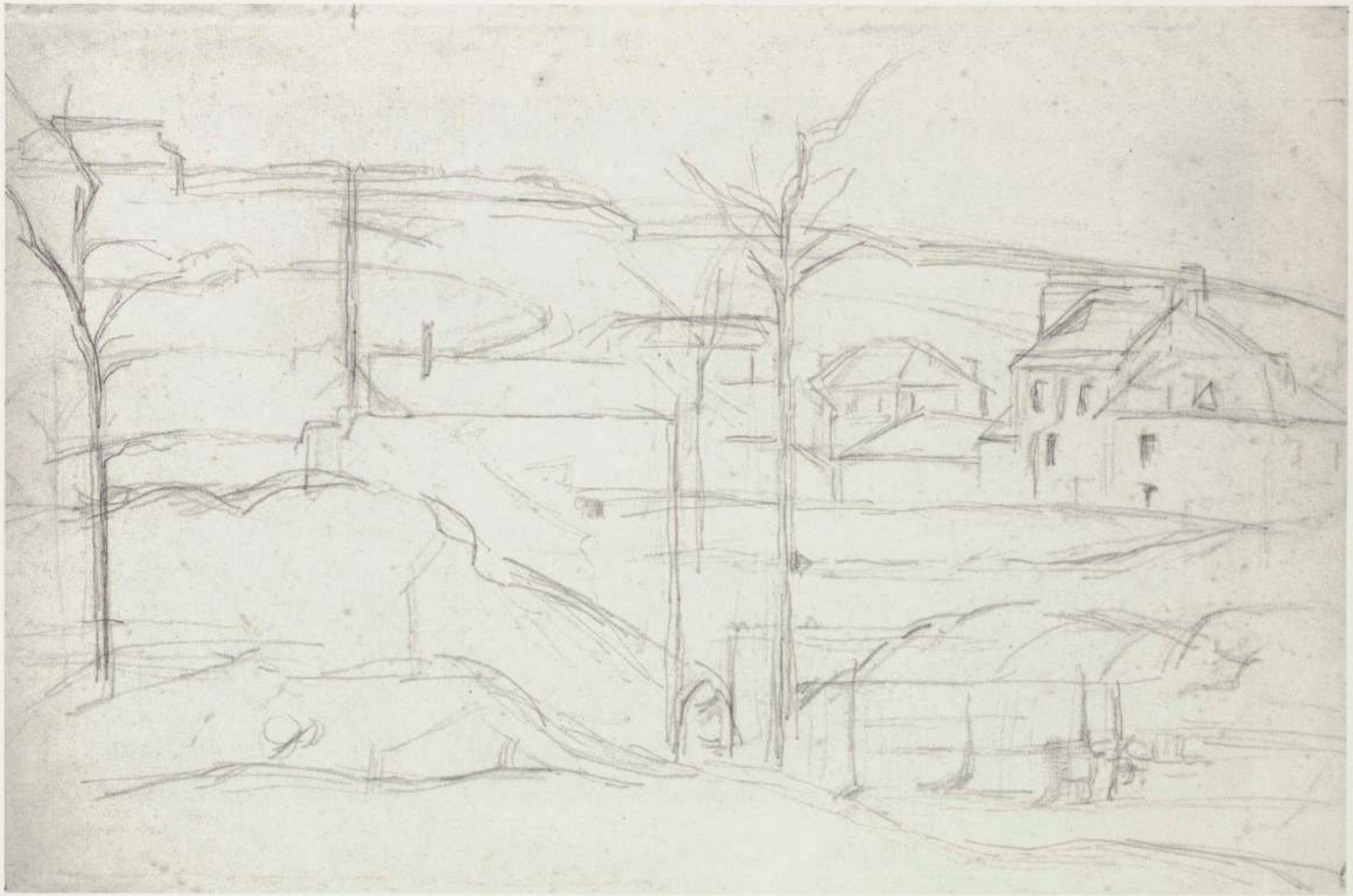
87

Charles VIII (after A. Pollaiuolo)
1884–87



88

Landscape with Houses and Trees
c. 1874



89

Hills with Houses and Trees
1880–83

90

Spectators
1886–89

91

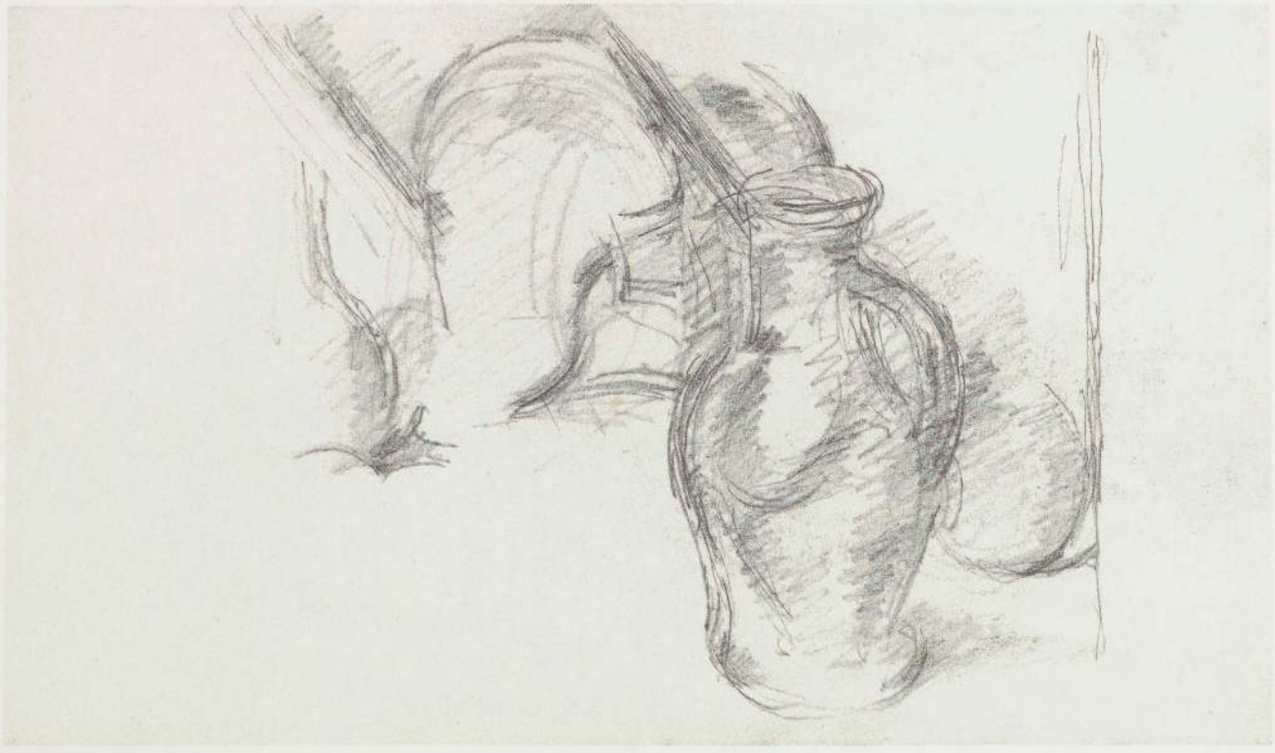
Head, Woman Bather, Handwritten Notations
c. 1888

92

Neapolitan Fisherboy (after Rude)
1884–87

93

Study of Bathers
1886–89



94

Still Life with Pitcher (after Chardin)
1887–91

95

Arcadian Shepherdess (after Poussin)
1887–90

96

Carnival Scene
1885–88

97

Carnival Scene, Study
1885–88

98

Louis Guillaume in Pierrot Costume
c. 1888

99

Studies for *Mardi Gras*
c. 1888

100

Peasant with His Arms Crossed
1890–94

101

Portrait of Mme. Cézanne
1887–90

Landscape of Hills with a House
1882–85

103

L'Écorché, and Interior with a Chair
1887–90

104

Hercules Resting (after Puget)
1887–90

105

Hercules Resting (after Puget)
1887–90

106

Trees, Reclining Woman
1889–92

107

Study of a Tree
1886–89

108

Provençal Landscape
1889–92

109

Flower Outdoors
c. 1890

110

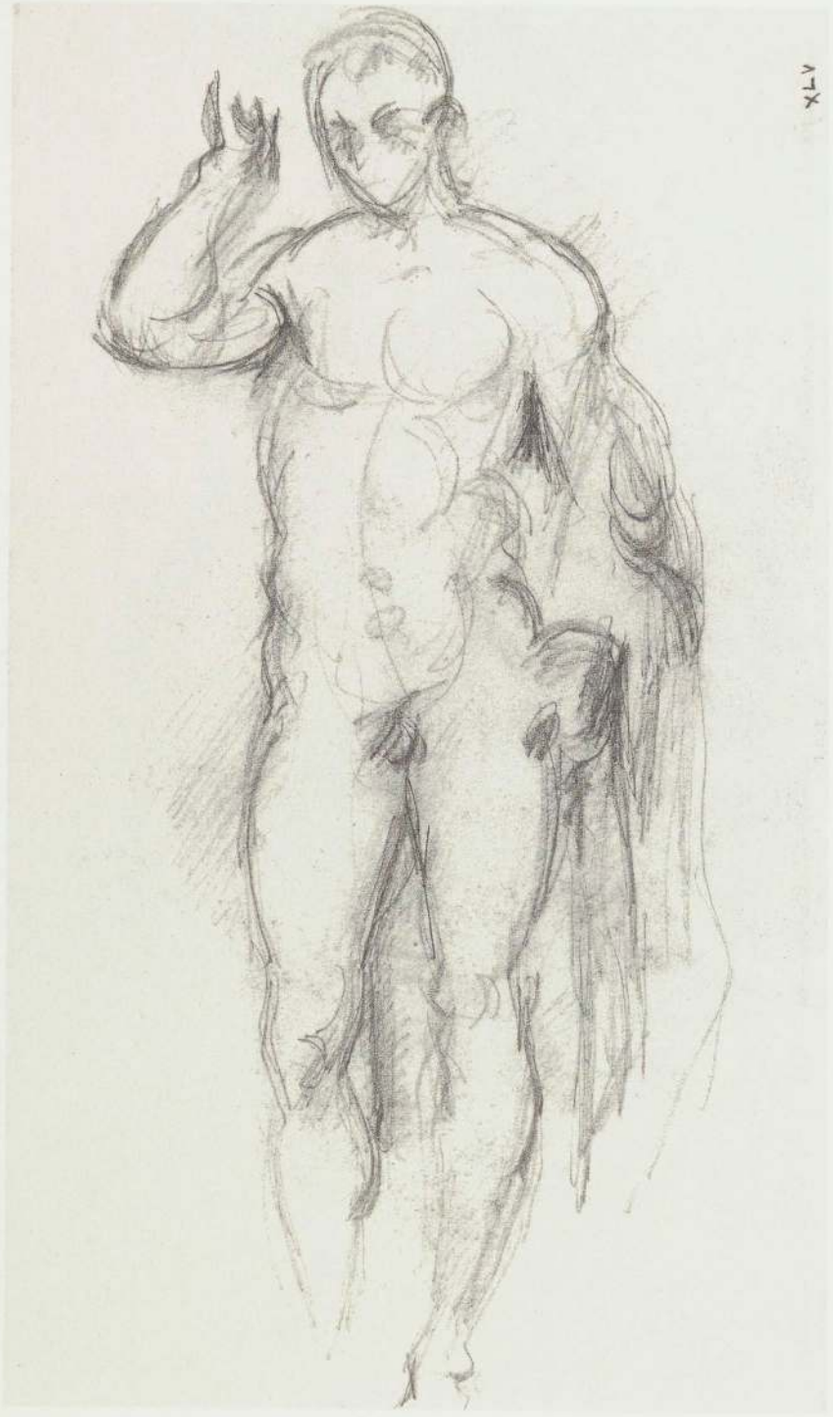
Mercury (after Pigalle)
c. 1890

Voltaire (after Houdon)
c. 1890

Eve Picking the Apple (after Titian and Rubens)
c. 1895

113

After a Statue
c. 1895



After the Antique Statue of a Roman Orator
1887–90

115

The Discophoros (after the Antique)
1890–95

116

The Borghese Mars (after the Antique)
c. 1895

117

The Borghese Mars (after the Antique)
c. 1894–97

118

Pierre Mignard (after Desjardins)
1892–95

119

Le Grand Condé (after Coysevox)
1892–95

120

Nivelle de La Chausée (after J.-J. Caffiéri)
c. 1900

121

Father de La Tour (after G. Coustou)
c. 1895

Hercules Resting (after Puget)
1890–94

123

Hercules Resting (after Puget)
1894–97

124

After a Bust of a Man
1894–98

125 *Rinaldo della Luna (after Mino da Fiesole)*
1894–97

126

Cardinal Richelieu (after Bernini)
1894–98

127

Bust of a Man (after Chinard)
1897–1900

128

Milo of Crotona (after Puget)
1897–1900

129

Milo of Crotona (after Puget)
1897–1900

130

Crouching Venus (after the Antique)
1894–97

131

Bellona (after Rubens)
1896–99

132

J. Hardouin Mansart (after Lemoyne)
c. 1900

133

Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (after Girardon)
c. 1900

134

Bust of the Emperor Septimius Severus (after the Antique)
1896–99

135

Titus (after the Antique)
c. 1900

136

Bust of Caracalla (after the Antique)
c. 1900

137

Bathers
1897–1900

138

Marie Serre (after Coysevox)
c. 1900

Back of a Chair and Decorative Design
1896–99

140

Bust of a Child (after Desiderio da Settignano)
after 1900

141

Page of Studies, Including a Skull
c. 1900

142

Rococo Clock
after 1900

A Note on the Drawings

The five sketchbooks (or carnets) referred to in the text were described by Adrien Chappuis in his 1973 catalogue raisonné of Cézanne's drawings. Chappuis noted that "the word *carnet* means, truly speaking, a small account book that is higher than it is wide. When the leaves are bound by their shorter side one should use the word *album*. However, it has become the habit to speak of *'un carnet de Cézanne'* " (p. 21). He then gave the five sketchbooks the following designations.

Carnet known as the 10.3 × 17 cm sketchbook. Broken up. A total of 19 drawings (including versos) known; all are at Basel.

Carnet known as the 18 × 24 cm sketchbook. The actual dimensions of the sheets vary from 17.7 × 23 cm to 18 × 24 cm. Broken up. A total of 68 drawings known; most are at Basel.

Carnet I (BS I). Sheets vary from 13 × 21.8 cm to 13.1 × 21.4 cm. Many sheets have been trimmed. This and the following two sketchbooks, which Chappuis calls "the three Basel Museum carnets," were bought by Werner Feuz after the death of Paul Guillaume and broken up by him. A total of 35 drawings in Carnet I were catalogued by Venturi (as nos. 1323–1357).

Carnet II (BS II). Sheets vary from 12.2 × 20.9 cm to 12.5 × 21.5 cm. A total of 40 drawings catalogued (Venturi 1358–1397).

Carnet III (BS III). Sheets vary from 19.3 × 12.4 cm to 20.7 × 12.5 cm. A total of 39 drawings catalogued (Venturi 1398–1436).

In addition there are at Basel several sheets formerly thought to have belonged to the 18 × 24 cm sketchbook, some of them on laid paper, and a number of miscellaneous odd sheets. Despite his insistence on selling groups of drawings *en bloc*, Werner Feuz did not maintain the integrity of each sketchbook, so that Basel has sheets from each of these sketchbooks but not entire sketchbooks.

There are 114 of the Basel drawings in the exhibition which this book accompanies; all are reproduced, either as plates or as text figures. Nine further figures, illustrating the versos of drawings in the plates, and four figures illustrating ancillary works not in the exhibition are also included.

In making the selection from the total of 152 sheets in Basel, Dr. Koepplin and I agreed from the outset on the principle of selecting only the best of the drawings. While all are significant, the drawings were bought in groups and not all are necessarily of equal interest. Sir Lawrence Gowing endorsed this approach and felt that a strict selection would underline the growth of Cézanne as a master draftsman. Professor Gowing and I, meeting in Basel, worked out a preliminary selection, which I then refined. We agreed that the catalogue would illustrate all the drawings in the exhibition, plus several more he thought pertinent to specific points in his discussion but which I felt were not necessary for the exhibition (primarily the versos). As he wrote his text, we further refined the selection a little; Professor Gowing was kind enough to write about things I particularly wished to show, and I included in the exhibition some things he particularly wished to write about.

In the plate section of this book, the drawings appear in a generally chronological order according to Chappuis dates, but by no means strictly in the order of the catalogue raisonné. The illustrations were reproduced from plates made directly from the drawings, not from photographs, and were printed in a duotone process.

BERNICE ROSE, *Director of the Exhibition*

List of Illustrations

In the list below, dimensions are given in inches and in centimeters, height preceding width, and indicate the full sheet. Catalogue numbers refer to Adrien Chappuis, The Drawings of Paul Cézanne: A Catalogue Raisonné, *2 vols. (Greenwich, Conn., 1973). In a few items, catalogue numbers are also cited from Lionello Venturi,* Cézanne: Son art, son oeuvre, *2 vols. (Paris, 1936) and John Rewald,* Paul Cézanne: The Watercolors—A Catalogue Raisonné *(Boston, 1983). Verso drawings are noted. Unless an item identifies another repository, all works are in the collection of the Basel Kunstmuseum; with those exceptions, this list is essentially a catalogue of the exhibition "Paul Cézanne: The Basel Sketchbooks" at The Museum of Modern Art, New York.*

Frontispiece

P.2 *Hercules Resting (after Puget).* 1887–90
Pencil
8⅜ × 4¾" (21.3 × 12.1 cm)
Chappuis 1003. Verso: Chappuis 1002

Text Figures

FIG.1 *Two Heads and Two Other Studies.* c. 1866
Black crayon and India ink
9⅝ × 6¹⁵⁄₁₆" (23.7 × 17.7 cm)
Chappuis 154. Verso: Chappuis 174

FIG.2 *Painter Holding a Palette.* 1868–71
Pencil and pen
4⅛ × 6¹⁄₁₆" (10.3 × 17 cm)
Chappuis 128. Verso: Chappuis 187

FIG.3 *The Painter.* 1868–71
Pencil
6¾ × 4⅛" (17.1 × 10.3 cm)
Chappuis 129. Verso: Chappuis 316

FIG.4 Studies for *Pastorale.* c. 1870
Pencil
8⅞ × 11⅞" (22.5 × 30.2 cm)
Chappuis 249

FIG.5 *Study of Christ (after Fra Bartolommeo).* 1866–69
Pencil
6¹⁵⁄₁₆ × 9⅞" (17.7 × 24 cm)
Chappuis 171. Verso: Chappuis 136

FIG.6 Study for *Afternoon in Naples.* 1872–76
Pencil
4⅛ × 6⅝" (10.3 × 16.7 cm)
Chappuis 286. Verso: Chappuis 315

FIG.7 *Portrait of Achille Emperaire.* 1867–70
Charcoal, pencil, and white color
19¼ × 12⅜" (49 × 31 cm)
Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Paris
Chappuis 230

FIG.8 *Naiad (after Rubens).* 1895–98
Pencil
8³⁄₁₆ × 4¹³⁄₁₆" (20.8 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 1128. Verso: Chappuis 958

FIG.9 *Heads after Various Old Masters.* 1876–79
Pencil
7⅞ × 11⅞" (20 × 30 cm)
Chappuis 392. Verso: Chappuis 373

FIG.10 *Bather, Canister, and Handwritten Notations.* 1883–86
Pencil, blue crayon, pen with black and violet inks, and watercolor
8⅛ × 5" (20.5 × 12.6 cm)
Chappuis 629

FIG.11 *Three Bathers.* 1887–90
Pencil heightened with a little watercolor
5 × 8⅛" (12.6 × 20.5 cm)
Chappuis 965

FIG.12 *Bellona (after Rubens).* 1895–98
Pencil
8¼ × 4¹³⁄₁₆" (20.9 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 1138. Verso: Chappuis 673

FIG.13 *Studies after Delacroix's Apollo Ceiling.* 1867–70
Soft pencil
9 × 6¹⁵⁄₁₆" (22.8 × 17.7 cm)
Chappuis 195. Verso: Chappuis 160

FIG.14 *Still Life with Carafe.* 1881–84
Pencil
7¹³⁄₁₆ × 4¾" (19.9 × 12 cm)
Chappuis 554

FIG.15 *Boy's Head, and Copy after Pareja* (detail). c. 1879
Pencil
9⅞ × 12¹³⁄₁₆" (25 × 32.5 cm)
Chappuis 726. Verso: Chappuis 725

FIG.16 *Auvers: Village Panorama.* 1873–75
Oil on canvas
25⅝ × 31⅞" (65 × 81 cm)
The Art Institute of Chicago
Venturi 150

FIG.17 *Château at Médan.* c. 1880
Oil on canvas
23¼ × 28⅜" (59 × 72 cm)
Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum
Venturi 325

FIG.18 *Landscape at Médan.* 1879–80
Pencil on gray paper
10⅜ × 11¹³⁄₁₆" (26.4 × 30 cm)
Chappuis 787

FIG.19 *Roof and Window.* 1889–92
Pencil
5 × 8⅛" (12.6 × 20.6 cm)
Chappuis 1144. Verso: Chappuis 475

FIG.20 *Bare Trees.* c. 1887
Pencil
8³⁄₁₆ × 5³⁄₁₆" (20.8 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 922

FIG.21 *Mardi Gras.* 1888
Oil on canvas
39⅜ × 31⅞" (100 × 81 cm)
Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow
Venturi 552

FIG.22 *Arcadian Shepherd (after Poussin).* 1887–90
Pencil
8¼ × 4¹³⁄₁₆" (20.9 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 1011. Verso: Chappuis 1140

FIG.23 *Father de La Tour (after G. Coustou).* c. 1895
Pencil with small touch of green watercolor
8¼ × 5⅜" (21 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 1119

FIG.24 *Father de La Tour (after G. Coustou).* c. 1895
Pencil
7⅞ × 4¹³⁄₁₆" (20 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 1117. Verso: Chappuis 1207

FIG.25 *Pierre Mignard (after Desjardins).* c. 1900
Pencil
8¼ × 4¹³⁄₁₆" (20.9 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 1216. Verso: Chappuis 1195

FIG.26 *Bather Crossing His Arms Behind His Neck.* c. 1900
Pencil heightened with white
8⅛ × 5" (20.4 × 12.6 cm)
Chappuis 1217. Verso: Chappuis 945

PLATES

P.43 *Three Pen Sketches.* c. 1858
Pen and ink on ruled writing paper glued to cardboard
7³⁄₁₆ × 5⅝" (18.2 × 14.3 cm)
Chappuis 41

P.44 *Male Nude.* c. 1865
Charcoal and gouache on brown paper
11⅜ × 9¹³⁄₁₆" (28.9 × 24.9 cm)
Chappuis 104. Verso: Chappuis 227

P.45 *Male Nude.* 1867–68
Charcoal on gray-brown paper
16¼ × 11¾" (41.3 × 29.9 cm)
Chappuis 112. Verso: Chappuis 105

P.46 *Man Kneeling, His Arms Raised.* 1866–67
Soft pencil
6¹³⁄₁₆ × 9⁵⁄₁₆" (17.7 × 23.7 cm)
Chappuis 174. Verso: Chappuis 154

P.47 Study for *The Eternal Feminine.* 1870–75
Pencil and black crayon
6¹³⁄₁₆ × 9⅜" (17.7 × 23.6 cm)
Chappuis 258. Verso: Chappuis 177

P.48 Studies for *The Orgy.* 1864–68
Pencil with touches of white
6¹³⁄₁₆ × 9⁷⁄₁₆" (17.7 × 24 cm)
Chappuis 136. Verso: Chappuis 171

P.49 *Landscape, Including a Man Fishing and Two Lovers.* 1868–70
Pencil and white gouache
4⅛ × 6¾" (10.3 × 17.1 cm)
Chappuis 188. Verso: Chappuis 211

P.50 *Portrait of Achille Emperaire.* 1867–70
Charcoal on gray paper
12 × 9½" (30.6 × 24.1 cm)
Chappuis 228

P.51 *Head of Achille Emperaire.* 1867–70
Charcoal
17 × 12⅝" (43.2 × 31.9 cm)
Chappuis 229

P.52 *Portrait of Fortuné Marion, and L'Écorché.* 1869–73
Pencil and pen
9⅛ × 6¹³⁄₁₆" (23 × 17.7 cm)
Chappuis 232. Verso: Chappuis 212

P.53 *Discussion Between Two Men, Reclining Nude Woman.* 1868–72
Pencil and pen
6¹³⁄₁₆ × 9¹³⁄₁₆" (17.7 × 23.4 cm)
Chappuis 236. Verso: Chappuis 199

P.54 *Scene of Violence* (also known as *The Murder*). 1869–72
Reed pen, ink, and wash
5⁹⁄₁₆ × 7³⁄₁₆" (14.1 × 18.2 cm)
Chappuis 254

P.55 *Goblet,* and Study for *The Temptation of St. Anthony.* 1870–73
Pencil
6 × 8⅜" (15.3 × 21.2 cm)
Chappuis 447. Verso: Chappuis 393

P.56 Female Nude for *Afternoon in Naples.* 1872–75
Pencil on gray paper
3½ × 5⅝" (8.9 × 14.2 cm)
Chappuis 283

P.57 *The Couple,* Study for *Afternoon in Naples.* 1872–75
Pencil on gray-brown paper
5⁹⁄₁₆ × 11¾" (14.1 × 29.8 cm)
Chappuis 285

P.58 *Woman Bather, Two Men Wrestling, Boy's Head.* 1871–78
Pencil
7³⁄₁₆ × 10⁵⁄₁₆" (18.2 × 26.2 cm)
Chappuis 361

P.59 *Three Women Bathers.* 1873–77
Pencil
5 × 8⅛" (12.6 × 20.5 cm)
Chappuis 371. Verso: Chappuis 1142

P.60 *Group Sitting Under a Tree.* 1871–74
Pencil
4⅛ × 6⅝" (10.3 × 16.8 cm)
Chappuis 256. Verso: Chappuis 291

P.61 *Outing in a Boat.* 1871–74
Pencil
4⅛ × 6⅝" (10.3 × 16.8 cm)
Chappuis 255. Verso: Chappuis 328

P.62 *Family in a Garden, and Studies.* 1870–73
Pencil
9⅞ × 8¼" (25 × 21 cm)
Chappuis 294

P.63 *Camille Pissarro, Seen from the Back.* 1874–77
Pencil
4 15/16 × 5 15/16" (12.5 × 15 cm)
Chappuis 301

P.64 *Self-Portrait.* c. 1880
Pencil on gray-brown paper
11 15/16 × 8 1/16" (30.4 × 20.5 cm)
Chappuis 610. Verso: Chappuis 350

P.65 *Portrait of Louis-Auguste Cézanne.* 1879–82
Pencil
8 1/8 × 4 13/16" (20.7 × 12.5 cm)
Chappuis 413. Verso: Chappuis 527

P.66 *Three Heads, Sleeve of a Garment.* c. 1879
Pencil
9 7/8 × 12 13/16" (25 × 32.5 cm)
Chappuis 725. Verso: Chappuis 726

P.67 *The Artist's Son.* 1880–81
Pencil
6 3/4 × 6 1/2" (17.1 × 16.6 cm)
Chappuis 820. Verso: Chappuis 245

P.68 *Study of a Reclining Female Nude.* 1877–79
Pencil
8 1/4 × 7 3/8" (21 × 18.7 cm)
Chappuis 462

P.69 Study for *Bathsheba.* 1877–79
Pencil
15 3/16 × 7 9/16" (38.8 × 19.2 cm)
Chappuis 463

P.70 *Bather Seen Back View.* 1877–80
Pencil
4 3/4 × 7" (12.1 × 17.9 cm)
Chappuis 429

P.71 *Bather Seen Back View.* 1877–80
Pencil and pen with traces of oil color
7 15/16 × 4 7/8" (20.1 × 12.4 cm)
Chappuis 428

P.72 *Page of Studies, Women Bathers.* 1873–77
Pencil and pen
7 7/8 × 11 7/8" (20 × 30.1 cm)
Chappuis 373. Verso: Chappuis 392

P.73 *Bather Sitting at Water's Edge.* 1877–80
Pencil
5 13/16 × 7 3/4" (14.7 × 19.6 cm)
Chappuis 431

P.74 *Love and Friendship (after Pigalle).* 1879–82
Pencil
8 3/16 × 5 3/16" (20.8 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 501

P.75 *Clémence Isaure (after Préault).* 1880–83
Pencil
8 1/4 × 4 3/4" (20.9 × 12.1 cm)
Chappuis 498

P.76 *Filippo Strozzi (after Benedetto da Maiano).* 1881–84
Pencil
8 7/16 × 5 3/16" (21.4 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 559

P.77 *Still Life with Candlestick.* 1881–84
Pencil
4 15/16 × 7 3/4" (12.5 × 19.6 cm)
Chappuis 553

P.78 *Pietro Mellini (after Benedetto da Maiano).* 1881–84
Pencil
8 1/8 × 4 13/16" (20.7 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 555

P.79 *Giovanni de' Medici (after Mino da Fiesole).* 1881–84
Pencil
8 1/8 × 5 3/16" (20.7 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 560

P.80 *The Lycian Apollo (after the Antique).* 1881–84
Pencil
8 1/4 × 4 3/4" (20.9 × 12.1 cm)
Chappuis 584. Verso: Chappuis 667

P.81 *Milo of Crotona (after Puget).* 1882–85
Pencil
8 15/16 × 4 3/4" (21.1 × 12.1 cm)
Chappuis 506

P.82 *Beatrice of Aragon (after a Florentine Bust).* 1884–87
Pencil
8 3/16 × 5 3/16" (20.8 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 671

P.83 *The Borghese Mars (after the Antique).* 1881–84
Pencil
8 1/4 × 4 13/16" (20.9 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 588. Verso: Chappuis 1009

P.84 *The Dying Slave (after Michelangelo).* 1884–87
Pencil
8 1/8 × 4 15/16" (20.7 × 12.5 cm)
Chappuis 678

P.85 *Male Nude with His Arm Raised.* 1882–85
Pencil
8 1/4 × 4 3/4" (21 × 12 cm)
Chappuis 652

P.86 *The Nymph Amalthaea (after Julien).* 1882–85
Pencil
8 1/4 × 4 13/16" (20.9 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 605. Verso: Chappuis 1013

P.87 *Charles VIII (after A. Pollaiuolo).* 1884–87
Pencil
8 1/8 × 5 3/16" (20.7 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 680

P.88 *Landscape with Houses and Trees.* c. 1874
Pencil
7 1/4 × 8 7/8" (18.4 × 22.4 cm)
Chappuis 741. Verso: Chappuis 320

P.89 *Hills with Houses and Trees.* 1880–83
Pencil
12 5/16 × 18 5/8" (31.3 × 47.3 cm)
Chappuis 798. Verso: Chappuis 823

P.90 *Spectators.* 1886–89
Pencil
5 × 8 1/16" (12.6 × 20.4 cm)
Chappuis 945. Verso: Chappuis 1217

P.91 *Head, Woman Bather, Handwritten Notations.* c. 1888
Pencil
5 × 8 1/16" (12.6 × 20.5 cm)
Chappuis 963

P.92 *Neapolitan Fisherboy (after Rude).* 1884–87
Pencil
5 3/16 × 8 1/4" (13.1 × 20.9 cm)
Chappuis 681

P.93 *Study of Bathers.* 1886–89
Pencil on gray paper
8 15/16 × 11 3/8" (22.7 × 29.5 cm)
Chappuis 946

P.94 *Still Life with Pitcher (after Chardin).* 1887–91
Pencil
4 13/16 × 8 3/16" (12.2 × 20.8 cm)
Chappuis 958. Verso: Chappuis 1128

P.95 *Arcadian Shepherdess (after Poussin).* 1887–90
Pencil
7 15/16 × 4 13/16" (20.2 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 1012. Verso: Chappuis 1052

P.96 *Carnival Scene.* 1885–88
Pencil
4 3/4 × 7 1/2" (12 × 19 cm)
Chappuis 935

P.97 *Carnival Scene, Study.* 1885–88
Pencil
5 7/8 × 9 5/16" (15 × 23.6 cm)
Chappuis 937. Verso: Chappuis 852

P.98 *Louis Guillaume in Pierrot Costume.* c. 1888
Pencil
12 3/8 × 9 9/16" (31.4 × 24.3 cm)
Chappuis 940

P.99 Studies for *Mardi Gras.* c. 1888
Pencil
7 1/16 × 9 7/8" (18 × 25 cm)
Chappuis 939

P.100 *Peasant with His Arms Crossed.* 1890–94
Pencil
15 × 11 7/16" (38 × 29 cm)
Chappuis 1061. Verso: Chappuis 463

P.101 *Portrait of Mme. Cézanne.* 1887–90
Pencil with touch of brick-red watercolor
8 1/8 × 4 15/16" (20.7 × 12.5 cm)
Chappuis 1066. Verso: Chappuis 526

P.102 *Landscape of Hills with a House.* 1882–85
Pencil
4 7/8 × 7 13/16" (12.4 × 19.8 cm)
Chappuis 894

P.103 *L'Écorché, and Interior with a Chair.* 1887–90
Pencil on gray paper
12 1/4 × 18 3/4" (31.2 × 47.7 cm)
Chappuis 980

P.104 *Hercules Resting (after Puget).* 1887–90
Pencil
4 3/8 × 5 1/8" (11.2 × 12.9 cm)
Chappuis 1005

P.105 *Hercules Resting (after Puget).* 1887–90
Pencil
8 1/16 × 4 3/4" (20.4 × 12.1 cm)
Chappuis 1004

P.106 *Trees, Reclining Woman.* 1889–92
Pencil
5 × 8 1/16" (12.6 × 20.5 cm)
Chappuis 1150. Verso: Chappuis 1103

P.107 *Study of a Tree.* 1886–89
Pencil
7 15/16 × 4 7/8" (20.2 × 12.3 cm)
Chappuis 926. Verso: Chappuis 928

P.108 *Provençal Landscape.* 1889–92
Pencil
4 15/16 × 8" (12.5 × 20.3 cm)
Chappuis 1148

P.109 *Flower Outdoors.* c. 1890
Pencil
8 1/16 × 4 13/16" (20.4 × 12.5 cm)
Chappuis 1021. Verso: Rewald 121

P.110 *Mercury (after Pigalle).* c. 1890
Pencil
8 1/8 × 4 13/16" (20.7 × 12.5 cm)
Chappuis 974. Verso: Chappuis 925

P.111 *Voltaire (after Houdon).* c. 1890
Pencil
8 1/8 × 5 1/8" (20.6 × 13 cm)
Chappuis 1018

P.112 *Eve Picking the Apple (after Titian and Rubens).* c. 1895
Pencil
8 7/16 × 5 3/16" (21.4 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 1114. Verso: Chappuis 1054

P.113 *After a Statue.* c. 1895
Pencil
8 1/4 × 5 3/16" (20.9 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 1115

P.114 *After the Antique Statue of a Roman Orator.* 1887–90
Pencil
8 1/4 × 4 7/8" (21 × 12.3 cm)
Chappuis 993

P.115 *The Discophoros (after the Antique).* 1890–95
Pencil
7 7/8 × 5 3/16" (19.9 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 1049

P.116 *The Borghese Mars (after the Antique).* c. 1895
Pencil
8 1/16 × 4 13/16" (20.5 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 1055

P.117 *The Borghese Mars (after the Antique).* 1894–97
Pencil
8 1/8 × 4 15/16" (20.6 × 12.5 cm)
Chappuis 1056

P.118 *Pierre Mignard (after Desjardins).* 1892–95
Pencil
8 1/16 × 4 7/8" (20.5 × 12.4 cm)
Chappuis 1027. Verso: Chappuis 687

P.119 *Le Grand Condé (after Coysevox).* 1892–95
Pencil
8 3/16 × 4 3/4" (20.8 × 12.1 cm)
Chappuis 1033

P.120 *Nivelle de La Chausée (after J.-J. Caffiéri).* c. 1900
Pencil
8 × 5 3/16" (20.3 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 1206

P.121 *Father de La Tour (after G. Coustou).* c. 1895
Pencil
8 1/16 × 5 1/8" (20.4 × 12.9 cm)
Chappuis 1118

P.122 *Hercules Resting (after Puget).* 1890–94
Pencil
8 × 4 13/16" (20.3 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 1059

P.123 *Hercules Resting (after Puget).* 1894–97
Pencil
7 13/16 × 4 15/16" (19.8 × 12.5 cm)
Chappuis 1060. Verso: Venturi 1421

P.124 *After a Bust of a Man.* 1894–98
Pencil
8 1/4 × 5 1/8" (20.9 × 13 cm)
Chappuis 1106

P.125 *Rinaldo della Luna (after Mino da Fiesole).* 1894–97
Pencil
8 1/16 × 5 1/8" (20.5 × 12.9 cm)
Chappuis 1039

P.126 *Cardinal Richelieu (after Bernini).* 1894–98
Pencil
8 5/16 × 4 7/8" (21 × 12.3 cm)
Chappuis 1105

P.127 *Bust of a Man (after Chinard).* 1897–1900
Pencil
8 1/4 × 5 1/8" (21 × 13 cm)
Chappuis 1202

P.128 *Milo of Crotona (after Puget).* 1897–1900
Pencil
8 1/2 × 5 3/16" (21.5 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 1200

P.129 *Milo of Crotona (after Puget).* 1897–1900
Pencil
8 3/8 × 5 3/16" (21.2 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 1201

P.130 *Crouching Venus (after the Antique).* 1894–97
Pencil
8 1/4 × 4 13/16" (21 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 1099

P.131 *Bellona (after Rubens).* 1896–99
Pencil
8 1/4 × 4 13/16" (20.9 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 1140. Verso: Chappuis 1011

P.132 *J. Hardouin Mansart (after Lemoyne).* c. 1900
Pencil
7 7/8 × 4 13/16" (20 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 1207. Verso: Chappuis 1117

P.133 *Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (after Girardon).* c. 1900
Pencil
8 1/8 × 5 1/8" (20.6 × 12.9 cm)
Chappuis 1212

P.134 *Bust of the Emperor Septimius Severus (after the Antique).* 1896–99
Pencil
8 1/4 × 5 3/16" (21 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 1136

P.135 *Titus (after the Antique).* c. 1900
Pencil
8 1/4 × 5 3/16" (21 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 1205

P.136 *Bust of Caracalla (after the Antique).* c. 1900
Pencil
8 1/4 × 4 13/16" (21 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 1204. Verso: Chappuis 686

P.137 *Bathers.* 1897–1900
Pencil with touches of violet watercolor
4 7/8 × 7 5/8" (12.4 × 19.3 cm)
Chappuis 1218

P.138 *Marie Serre (after Coysevox).* c. 1900
Pencil
8 1/4 × 4 13/16" (20.9 × 12.2 cm)
Chappuis 1195. Verso: Chappuis 1216

P.139 *Back of a Chair and Decorative Design.* 1896–99
Pencil
7 15/16 × 4 15/16" (20.1 × 12.5 cm)
Chappuis 1135

P.140 *Bust of a Child (after Desiderio da Settignano).* after 1900
Pencil
7 15/16 × 4 7/8" (20.1 × 12.4 cm)
Chappuis 1222. Verso: Chappuis 1137

P.141 *Page of Studies, Including a Skull.* c. 1900
Pencil
7 11/16 × 4 3/4" (19.5 × 12.1 cm)
Chappuis 1215

P.142 *Rococo Clock.* after 1900
Pencil
8 7/16 × 5 3/16" (21.4 × 13.1 cm)
Chappuis 1223. Verso: Chappuis 685

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Sir Lawrence Gowing has had a distinguished career as art historian, teacher, museum administrator, and painter in both Britain and the United States. He is recognized as one of the world's preeminent authorities on the work of Cézanne.

In 1987 Professor Gowing was appointed to the chairmanship of the curatorial department of The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C., having spent the previous year as Kress Professor at the National Gallery of Art. He was Keeper of the British Collection and Deputy Director of the Tate Gallery from 1965 to 1967 and Professor of Fine Arts at Leeds University from 1967 to 1975. He has been Slade Professor of Fine Art, University College London, and Adjunct Professor at the University of Pennsylvania. Knighted in 1982, Professor Gowing was a trustee of the British Museum from 1976 to 1981. He has also served as a trustee of the Tate Gallery and the British National Portrait Gallery. Among his many publications are monographs on Renoir, Vermeer, Cézanne, Constable, Goya, Turner, Matisse, and Hogarth. His paintings are represented in the permanent collections of the Tate Gallery, the National Galleries of Canada and South Australia, the British Council, the Fitzwilliam Museum, and the Ashmolean Museum.

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